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## "The German Arizonians": Ethnic identity and society formation on a Southwestern frontier, 1853--World War I

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"THE GERMAN ARIZONANS:" ETHNIC IDENTITY AND SOCIETY  
FORMATION ON A SOUTHWESTERN FRONTIER,  
1853 - WORLD WAR I

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the

**Doctor of Philosophy Degree in History**  
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**College of Liberal Arts**

**Graduate College**  
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## Dissertation Approval

The Graduate College  
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

JULY 22, 2003

The Dissertation prepared by

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Entitled

**"THE GERMAN ARIZONAN" ETHNIC IDENTITY AND SOCIETY FORMATION ON A  
SOUTHWESTERN FRONTIER, 1853 - WORLD WAR I**

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**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY**

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## ABSTRACT

### **“The German Arizonans:” Ethnic Identity and Society Formation on a Southwestern Frontier, 1853 - World War I**

Dr. Hal Rothman, Examination Committee Chair  
Professor of History  
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

This study discusses the experiences and the acculturation process of German immigrants in Arizona from the Gadsden Purchase of 1853 to World War I. German immigrants with distinct regional identities, Bavarians, Badenens, Wuerttembergers, Rhinelanders, and Prussians, made the transition to a regional New World identity and became Arizonans. Even though their history is ultimately the story of acculturation to a dominant society, it is the process that is important. Based on the analysis of census schedules, letters, newspaper reports, interviews, and other archival materials, this study tries to uncover the forces and mechanisms that determined the processes that formed American Arizonans out of German Arizonans and German pioneers.

Germans who came to Arizona beginning in the 1850s encountered a cultural, social, and political environment that was distinctly different from many that their fellow compatriots experienced. During the first decades of their settlement the region was devoid of a dominant “Anglo-American” presence, and

in a multi-cultural environment, in the interplay with Hispanics, Native Americans, Americans, and other European immigrants, Germans were able to settle in their new home and participate in the construction of Arizona's social, cultural, and political structures. In this process they formed ethnic identities for themselves that fostered their accommodation to the environment and reflected their position within the regional society. Early German pioneers became German Arizonans and ultimately, under the pressures of anti-German sentiments during World War I, acculturated into American Arizonans. In this process German immigrants created, invented "Germanness" to help them accommodate in a new environment and filled it with a content that included the German language, ethnic food, internalized American stereotypes about Germans, and ethnic traditions on a lowest common denominator.

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Harris who always welcomed me in their home during my visits to Las Vegas and who treated me as if I was their own son. A special "thank you" I extend to my haematologist, Dr. Rinah Shopnick – without her, most likely, I would have never seen this day.

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Gerhard Grytz  
Pocatello, Idaho  
July 2003

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

From the end of the Napoleonic Wars to the eve of World War I, more than five and one half million Germans left their homes and embarked on the long journey to the United States. During this century, German immigrants settled throughout their new nation. There they accommodated themselves and participated actively in the formation of evolving regional American societies. Many Germans were also among the large wave of people who migrated westward across the Mississippi River after the middle of the nineteenth century. Some of these German immigrants decided to settle in the Territory of Arizona.<sup>1</sup>

The Germans who came to Arizona beginning in the 1850s encountered a cultural, social, and political environment that was distinctly different from many that their fellow compatriots experienced. The cultural and social dominance of "Anglo-American" norms and lifestyles that they encountered in their respective areas of settlement heavily influenced the acculturation

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<sup>1</sup> Klaus Bade "Conclusion: Migration Past and Present — The German Experience," in People in Transit: German Migrations in Comparative Perspective, 1820-1930, ed. Dirk Hoerder and Jörg Nagler, 399-412 (Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute and Cambridge University Press, 1995), 400.

experience of the majority of German immigrants. In Arizona such a dominance, at least until the arrival of the railroad, did not exist, and the German acculturation process in Arizona took place under unique, ethnically diverse circumstances.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, Arizona was a frontier in the most basic meaning of the word. It was a contested ground in which no single group of people was able to establish complete control. After the acquisition of the American Southwest by the United States as a result of the Mexican-American War and the Gadsden Purchase of 1853, Americans and Euro-Americans in growing numbers came to Arizona in search of new opportunities. During the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries these newcomers in the interplay with the resident Native American and Hispanic population participated in the creation of new social, cultural, and political regional structures in Arizona.<sup>2</sup>

German immigrants played an integral part in the development of Arizona's society during this period. During the first decades of their settlement in the region the area was devoid of a dominant "Anglo-American" presence, and in a multi-cultural interplay with Hispanics, Native Americans, Anglo-Americans, and other European immigrants, Germans were able to settle in their new home and participate in the construction of Arizona's social, cultural, and political structures. In this process they formed ethnic identities for

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<sup>2</sup> Thomas E. Sheridan, Arizona: A History (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1995), xiv-xv.

themselves that fostered their accommodation to the environment and reflected their position within the regional society. Early German pioneers became German Arizonans and ultimately, under the pressures of anti-German sentiments during World War I, acculturated into American Arizonans.

The history of Germans in Arizona has been long ignored by historians of German immigration and the American West alike. During the last century academic and lay historians produced an abundance of studies on German immigrants in America. A majority of these studies are filiopietistic in nature. Their primary purpose is to emphasize the contributions Germans made to America and its culture, thus attempting to gain recognition for German group accomplishments. Such histories stress the importance of ethnic leaders and their deeds at the expense of the majority of regular, average immigrants. With this emphasis these works help to mythologize the past as the story of significant men who led "their people through the wilderness to establish new homes in a strange land."<sup>3</sup>

The more analytical studies of German immigrant experience deal with a multitude of topics ranging from Germans in metropolitan areas, "little

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<sup>3</sup> For an excellent overview of the older historiography of German-American immigration history, see Kathleen Neils Conzen, "The Writing of German-American History," Immigration History Newsletter 12 (1980): 1-14. For the filiopietistic nature of German immigration history, see Frederick C. Luebke, "Three Centuries of Germans in America," in Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration, Frederick C. Luebke, 157-189 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 157; and Conzen, "Writing of German-American History," 2-3. A good rather recent example of this kind of filiopietistic history would be Gerard Wilk, Americans from Germany (New York: German Information Center, 1976). Frederick C. Luebke, "Turnerism, Social History, and the Historiography of European Ethnic Groups in the United States," in Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration, Frederick C. Luebke, 138-156 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 138.

Germanies,” the Americanization of Germans, to the culture of emigration in Germany. Some of these studies also address the histories of Germans on the American frontier, but none such analytical study exists yet on the experiences of Germans in Arizona.<sup>4</sup>

The history of German immigrants in Arizona has been neglected for several reasons. In the first place, their relatively small numbers did not attract much attention. Secondly, they did not specifically concentrate in certain regions of the territory nor did they form any kind of “ethnic cocoon” as German immigration historian Walter Kamphoefner calls ethnic enclaves. Small numbers and lack of concentration make studies of their immigrant experiences complicated. Thirdly, primary source material about their histories is exceedingly rare and difficult to locate. These externalities might have discouraged scholars potentially interested in this topic. Finally, historians have not viewed studying their history a necessity or as very relevant because of the overarching theoretical concept of Turnerian frontier history and traditional assimilation models that dominated the field of European, and German, immigration history for most of the twentieth century.<sup>5</sup>

In 1893, Frederick Jackson Turner laid out his conceptual framework for the study of the history of the American nation and the American West in his essay “The Significance of the Frontier in American History.” The notion put

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<sup>4</sup> For examples of these more serious studies, see the bibliography of this dissertation.

<sup>5</sup> Walter D. Kamphoefner, The Westfalians: From Germany to Missouri (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

forth in his work that the frontier experience played the most significant role in the creation of American character and democracy dominated the histories of the nation and the American West for the most part of the twentieth century. These histories interpreted the frontier as the crucible in which European immigrants were liberated, transformed, and ultimately Americanized. This view of western history minimized the importance of ethnicity in this process and discouraged the study of ethnic history in the American West. A majority of academic historians subscribed to the Turnerian idea of the frontier as the force that easily and swiftly assimilated millions of European immigrants into the American mainstream. This conceptual framework left little room for the study of ethnocultural differences in behavior and attitudes that the common frontier experience allegedly overpowered. No wonder then that European, including German, immigrants did not play a prominent role in frontier history.<sup>6</sup>

German and other European immigrants in the West did not fare much better in their treatment by historians of immigration. They too were influenced by the Turner hypothesis and gave little attention to European ethnocultural

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<sup>6</sup> Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in The Turner Thesis: Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History, George Rogers Taylor (ed.), 3-28 (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1972). Jörg Nagler, "Ethnic Persistence and Transformation: A Response to Kathleen N. Conzen," German Historical Institute Washington D.C. Annual Lecture Series 3 (1990): 38-44, 39; Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Historical Approaches to the Study of Rural Ethnic Communities, in Ethnicity on the Great Plains, ed. Frederick C. Luebke, 1-18 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), 3; Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Making Their Own America: Assimilation Theory and the German Peasant Pioneer," German Historical Institute Annual Lecture Series 3 (1990): 1-44, 5. For an excellent discussion of the relationship between frontier history, immigration, and Turnerism, see Frederick C. Luebke, "Turnerism, Social History, and the Historiography of European Ethnic Groups in the United States," in Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration, Frederick C. Luebke, 138-156 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990).



differences in the American West. This led one of the first American immigration historians who investigated the phenomenon of mass migration from Europe to America systematically, the Turner student Marcus Lee Hansen, to proclaim that the "European immigrant was not a frontiersman." But even historians who were less directly influenced by Turner curiously overlooked Europeans who settled in the West. Perfect examples of this neglect are two of the most influential studies of the immigrant experience produced during the second half of the twentieth century, Oscar Handlin's The Uprooted and John Bodnar's revisionist work The Transplanted. Neither Handlin, who focused on the social process in which culturally uprooted European immigrants tried to adapt to a new life in America, nor Bodnar, who viewed the European immigrant experience embedded in the immigrants' struggle to adjust to a new capitalist economic system, made any attempts to expand their studies beyond the East Coast into the West. What happened to the millions of European immigrants who moved westward or to the ones who debarked their immigrant vessels in ports like Galveston or San Francisco and whose initial experiences as immigrants in the new country were out West? In these environments, were they still "victims of capitalism" in the sense of Handlin's study or Bodnar's "children of capitalism?" Here again the idea of the western frontier as the

ultimate assimilationist power, leads both Handlin and Bodnar, as well as many other immigration historians of the time, to avoid these questions.<sup>7</sup>

Historians of the American West who were not completely consumed by the Turnerian framework also spent surprisingly little time and effort to place the European immigrant experience into their studies of the region. For example, Rodman Paul acknowledges in his study The Far West and the Great Plains in Transition, 1859-1900 the importance of ethnic diversity to the history of the American West, but he summarizes the part Europeans played in only a few pages. Even more unsatisfying is their treatment in Robert Hine's The American West. Hine completely dismisses the experiences of European immigrants as unimportant for the interpretation of American West history. He acknowledges their presence in the region and their "cultural differences" but asserts that they quickly assimilated into the dominant society, which did not perceive them as alien. Yet the very cultural differences that Hine tries to downplay played substantial roles in the individual immigrant experience as well as in the creation of new regional societies in the West.<sup>8</sup>

During the last two decades, the "New Western History" a new school of historical thought has emerged that provides the perfect analytical paradigms

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<sup>7</sup> Marcus Lee Hansen, The Transatlantic Migration, 1607-1860 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940), 14; Handlin, Oscar. The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1951); John Bodnar, The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985).

<sup>8</sup> Rodman Paul, The Far West and the Great Plains in Transition, 1859-1900 (New York: Harper and Row, 1988); Robert V. Hine, The American West: An Interpretive History (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984), 237.

for the study of European immigrants in the West. This new approach no longer perceives the West as a process in Turnerian terms, but as a place, a geography bound by specific parameters. In this formulation, the West is a region, a meeting ground, in which ethnically and culturally diverse people cooperated, competed, and often clashed in their attempts to survive and thrive in an often hostile environment. Patricia Nelson Limerick in Legacy of Conquest outlined this new approach and called for the study of long neglected ethnic and racial groups in the West. However, while promoting the West as a meeting ground of different ethnic groups, Limerick remains suspiciously silent about European immigrants in the region. They find no conceptual place in her study, leaving only speculation about their story. She terms as “Euro-Americans” in contrast to the outdated term “Anglo-Americans” but fails to distinguish the different European groups and incorporate them into her study. What happened to them? Did they, unlike African-Americans, Hispanics, Asians, or Native Americans, realize the “American Dream” or did they become Americans during their move westward – or in other words did they undergo the Turnerian frontier experience?<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Patricia Nelson Limerick, The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West (New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 1987). In light of the New Western History many studies have been published that address the histories of long neglected ethnic minority groups in the West. Excellent examples are Sarah Deutsch, No Separate Refuge: Class, Culture, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Gilbert G. Gonzáles, Labor and Community: Mexican Citrus Worker Villages in Southern California County, 1900-1950 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); George J. Sanchez, Becoming Mexican-American: Ethnicity, Culture and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1990-1945 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Chris Friday, Organizing Asian American Labor: The Pacific Coast Canned-Salmon Industry, 1870-1942 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994); Albert S. Broussard, Black

Other members of the emerging New Western History have followed Limerick in paying little attention to European immigrants. The editors of the Oxford History of the American West, an excellent sample of New Western History, for example, did not include any essay that concentrates on European immigrants. Richard White's It's Your Misfortune addresses European immigrants frequently, but does not give them a central place in the conceptual layout of his book as he does for non-European groups. These studies mention German immigrants only in passing. A rather typical example is Walter Nugent's Into the West. He acknowledges the ethnic diversity of European immigrants in the West several times, but mentions Germans only briefly in the context of the settlement of Texas, Kansas, and the Oklahoma land rush. This lack of attention should come as a surprise for German immigrants were either the largest or second most numerous European immigrant group in all western states at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup>

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San Francisco: The Struggle for Racial Equality in the West, 1900-1954 (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993); and Quintard Taylor, In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the American West, 1528-1990 (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1998).

<sup>10</sup> Clyde A. Milner II., Carol A. O'Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss, eds, The Oxford History of the American West (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Richard White, "It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A New History of the American West" (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991); Walter Nugent, Into the West: The Story of Its People (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), 48, 69, 143. There are some excellent studies that address the history of European immigrants in the American West. Examples are David M. Emmons, The Butte Irish: Class and Ethnicity in an American Mining Town, 1875-1925 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989); Dino Cinel, From Italy to San Francisco (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982); Kamphoefner, Westfalians: and Jon Gjerde, The Minds of the West: Ethnocultural Evolution in the Rural Middle West, 1830-1917 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997). Most of these studies, however, focus on regions with high ethnic concentrations — ethnic enclaves — and do not address the majority of European immigrants who settled under different circumstances in the West. Still, this kind of work is rare and it appears to be difficult to fill a volume that tries to bring the European story in the West to the forefront with new original essays. So, for example, four of

This study is conceived in the terms of the New Western History. It views Arizona as a meeting ground of various ethnic groups and their cultures and tries to shed light on the continuously neglected German immigrant experience in this context. Very few serious academic studies exist that address the experiences of any European immigrant group in Arizona. One of these studies, Phylis Cancilla Martinelli's "Ethnicity in the Sunbelt," describes the assimilation of Italians in Scottsdale. Another, Blaine Lamb's "Jewish Pioneers in Arizona," is an attempt to illustrate the Jewish history in the territory. Yet, no such study exists that tells the history of German immigrants in Arizona.<sup>11</sup>

Such a study has to take into account the specific historical development of the region within which the German experience is viewed. Arizona itself, as a geographical and political concept, did not exist until the middle of the nineteenth century and its creation outlined a territory with arbitrary borders. Writing about the history of Arizona and the history of Germans in Arizona has to look also beyond such haphazard political distinctions. It has to be put into the context of the ties to neighboring New Mexico, Mexico, and California, all of which influenced economic, social, and cultural developments in Arizona. In

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eleven essays in Frederick C. Luebke, ed., European Immigrants in the American West: Community Histories (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998) are excerpts from Emmon's and Cinel's above mentioned books. For the numerical distribution of European immigrants in the West at the turn of the century, see the table in Luebke, European Immigrants, x-xiii.

<sup>11</sup> Phylis Cancilla Martinelli, "Ethnicity in the Sunbelt" (Ph.D. diss.: Arizona State University, 1984). Blaine P. Lamb, "Jewish Pioneers in Arizona, 1850-1920" (Ph.D. diss.: Arizona State University, 1982).

addition, this history has to acknowledge the ties to the markets in the East that brought Arizona into the larger context of capitalist resource exploitation.<sup>12</sup>

The history of the German experience in Arizona is a story of accommodation and ultimately acculturation to a dominant society during the early decades of the twentieth century. Though in the end acculturation resulted, it is the process that made American Arizonans out of German Arizonans and German pioneers that is most important. In order to uncover this process one has to assess carefully the experiences of ordinary German immigrants and avoid the “pitfalls of filiopietism.” The history of Germans in Arizona and in America generally is first and foremost the story of large numbers of ordinary immigrants and not the one of colorful and successful leaders. An examination of their ethnic behavior in a multicultural setting will provide new insights into how German immigrants accommodated themselves in contrast to their experiences in the “Anglo-American” environments in the East. Additionally, this kind of investigation will provide new understandings of the history of social formation in Arizona and the American Southwest overall.<sup>13</sup>

Acculturation and assimilation are not one-way streets. While immigrants adapt to a host society, they and their culture also influence and alter the host culture. Older sociological assimilation models leave no room for reciprocal cultural influences and focus only on how immigrants’ cultural traits

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<sup>12</sup> Luebke, New World, xv. Sheridan, Arizona, xiv-xv.

<sup>13</sup> Frederick C. Luebke, Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), xv.

faded away and how they adopted the ones of the host society. Newer interpretations promote the idea of “cultural pluralism,” which leaves space for the retention of some of the immigrants’ culture within the context of social and political integration while it acknowledges the cultural influence the immigrant culture has on the host society.<sup>14</sup>

The underlying premise of these newer approaches is that one deals with only two collectives, the immigrant culture and the host society. For the case of Arizona, and the American West in general, this assumption is simply inadequate. Multiple cultures influenced each other in the process of forming new regional societies. Consequently, these cultures had a greater impact on society formation than the “dual model” accounts for and it left also more opportunity for the respective groups to maintain some of their cultural traits and values. This means for the focus group of this study, the Germans of Arizona, that their “Germanness” had a distinct impact on the formation of the local society while at the same time they were able to retain some of their “Germanness” in the process.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Karen J. De Bres, “From Germans to Americans: The Creation and Destruction of Three Ethnic Communities” (Ph.D. diss.: Columbia University, 1986), 8-9.

<sup>15</sup> Wolfgang Helbich, “Immigrant Adaption at the Individual Level: The Evidence of Nineteenth Century German-American Letters,” Amerikastudien, 42 (1997): 407-418, 410. For excellent discussions of current acculturation and assimilation models, see John Higham, “Current Trends in the Study of Ethnicity in the United States,” Journal of American Ethnic History 2 (1982): 5-15; Oliver Zunz, “American History and the Changing Meaning of Assimilation,” Journal of American Ethnic History 5 (1985): 53-72; and Russell A. Kazal, “Revisiting Assimilation: The Rise, Fall, and Reappraisal of a Concept in American Ethnic History,” American Historical Review 100 (1995): 437-471.

In order to assess the influence Germans had on the formation of Arizona's society and how much of their culture they were able to retain in this process, one first has to define who is German and what is actually German about them. For statistical purposes this study considers all people who were born within the borders of Bismarck's German Empire of 1871 to be German. However, this does not infer that ethnicity is primordial. Frequently, scholars of German immigration have argued that Germans in the United States actually never constituted a "real" ethnic group. They point to the various dialects, regions of origin, classes, and times of emigration that divided them. Especially the place of origin is an important aspect at a time when cultural traits like language, food, dress, building style and much more varied tremendously from state to state and even within them. Many of the German immigrants who came to America in the nineteenth century, before and after the founding of a German nation state, viewed and defined themselves as Bavarians, Wuerttembergers, Hessians, and Prussians, rather than as Germans. These distinctions were lost on the native population in the new country who summarily defined them as Germans. Quickly, in a foreign country and environment, these immigrants themselves realized that they had some things "German" in common. The contents of this "Germanness" differed depending on the social, economic, and political contexts in which they defined it. In other words, Germans — like other



immigrant groups — in the United States invented their own ethnic identity in real historical context.<sup>16</sup>

This study subscribes to the theory of the “invention of ethnicity” as formulated by historian Kathleen Neils Conzen. Ethnicity is viewed neither as a primordial attribute — “inherent in a group’s blood, soul, or past” — nor as a “collective fiction” in the sense of Werner Sollars’s work. German immigrants in Arizona defined their ethnicity against the background of the social, economic, and political environment they encountered and as this environment changed they redefined this Germanness. They invented and reinvented their German ethnic identity as part of their identity as German pioneers and German Arizonans. In a “real life context,” they constructed their identities based on preexisting “solidarities, cultural attitudes and historical memories.” In defining their identity and ethnicity in cultural terms, they were able to bridge the divisions of German “*Kleinstaaterei*.” The shared ethnic identity of Germans in Arizona rested much on the lowest common denominators of some German social and cultural behavior, much of which could be termed in a loose sense as folklore. This invention of ethnicity was not solely based on shared

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<sup>16</sup> Kathleen Neils Conzen, “German-Americans and the Invention of Ethnicity,” in America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History, vol. 2, The Relationship in the Twentieth Century, eds. Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, 131-147 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 131; and John G. Rice, “The Role of Culture and Community in Frontier Prairie Farming,” Journal of Historical Geography, 3 (1977): 155-173, 157.

backgrounds but also influenced by the imposition of American ethnic categories.<sup>17</sup>

What they had in common most was the German language. Though they defined themselves in terms of their native states, provinces, or villages, when they arrived in the United States, they found themselves being described in terms of their language and they soon learned to define themselves in the same terms. More than anything else the German language became the major element of their "Germanness." In addition, German immigrants in Arizona incorporated positive aspects of American stereotypes about Germans, such as thriftiness, honesty, good education, into their ethnic identity, thus reinforcing such stereotypes, while they tried to downplay negative stereotypes. In this respect one can say that the formation of German immigrant identity occurred in a dialogue between themselves and the host environment.<sup>18</sup>

As this study shows, "invented Germanness" was present in the identity of German immigrants in Arizona at all times in different forms, degrees and intensity in different realms. Though these ethnic attributes can be traced for a long time, they nevertheless are temporary attributes that are best understood and studied in the context of the first generation of immigrants. This study focuses mainly on German-born immigrants and their experiences in Arizona.

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<sup>17</sup> Kathleen Neils Conzen and others, "The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U.S.A.," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12 (1992): 3-41. Werner Sollars, ed. *The Invention of Ethnicity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), ix-xx. Conzen, "The Invention of Ethnicity," 5. Luebke, "Three Centuries," 163.

<sup>18</sup> DeBres, "Germans to Americans," 76. Conzen, "The Invention of Ethnicity," 10.

In order to uncover their “Germanness” and understand their accommodation process, it pays special attention to aspects of immigrant adaptation and acculturation. This aspect of this study is loosely based on Elliot Barkan’s “thirteen points” of acculturation, integration, and assimilation. The evaluation of this process especially concentrates on cognitive traits such as learning English and Spanish, loss of German language and other cultural traits; self-identification measured by naturalization or the desire to return; social traits such as primary relations; and structural traits such as occupation or civic responsibility and initiative as criteria.<sup>19</sup>

An analysis of these factors in the German immigrant experience in Arizona shows that it can be structured into three parts: the phase of German pioneers with little emphasis on formal ethnic behavior, German Arizonans when the stress of “Germanness” intensified and became more formal, and American Arizonans when “Germanness” was only celebrated in the private sphere. During all three stages, part of the identity of such people was always German, but their main loyalty rested not with this abstract ethnic group but with the local Arizonan communities — a circumstance that probably made it easier for them to gradually adapt their cultural identity in a changing environment

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<sup>19</sup> Zunz, “Meaning of Assimilation,” 60. Barkan’s thirteen points are: “identity; language usage; norms/values/culture; associations/organizational membership; networks; personal relationships and spousal choice; status reference/source of recognition; homeland interests; citizenship and political involvement; residence/geographical mobility; occupation and occupational mobility; personal goals; and boundary maintenance/interaction with larger society” (Elliot Barkan, “Race, Religion and Nationality in American Society: A Model of Ethnicity — From Contact to Assimilation,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 14 (1995):38-75, 53-54). For additional analytical criteria to assess the degree of immigrant acculturation and assimilation, see also Wolfgang Helbich, “Immigrant Adaption,” 409-410.

without feeling disloyal to their old *Heimat* (home). They transplanted Old World localism to the American Southwest.<sup>20</sup>

Religion and church affiliation played a central role for many German immigrants in their acculturation to the new American social and cultural environment. This study does not emphasize religious differences among German immigrants in Arizona. The lack of efforts to create "German churches" indicate that religious affiliation did not play a major part in the construction of their identity and in their experiences as Germans in Arizona. Information about religious orientation is difficult to ascertain because the censuses list no such category and other sources do not contain enough information to make conclusive statements. Clearly, German Christians did not find Arizona a threat to their religious beliefs.

An exception has to be made for German Jews. Most historians of the German experience in America encounter the dilemma of how to approach the Jewish segment of German immigrants and their unique situation. The most common approaches are either complete exclusion or undifferentiated exclusion. This study tries to apply a "middle-way" and discusses the history of German Arizonan Jews in a separate chapter.

Many of the German Jews in Arizona viewed themselves as being equally Germans and Jews and they displayed characteristics of what Naomi Cohen and Stanley Nadel call a "dual identity." An analysis of the German

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<sup>20</sup> Conzen, "Historical Approaches," 12.

Jewish experiences shows that they went through similar transition processes as gentile Germans in regard to the formation of identity that started to diverge only during the early twentieth century. They evolved from German Jewish pioneers via German Jewish Arizonans into American Jewish Arizonans and sometimes into American Christian Arizonans. Viewing this process, at times, a “triple identity” instead of a dual one seems plausible.<sup>21</sup>

The German Jews in Arizona intensely associated with other German immigrants during the nineteenth century. They participated in the few ethnic German institutions in the territory and in the case of the Tombstone *Tumverein* actually initiated the creation of one. The German language and German behavior seemed to play a large role in their economic and social life. Overall, it appears that during the nineteenth century a *nexus* between German Jews and gentile Germans existed in Arizona in an environment that was almost completely void of any anti-Semitic sentiments. Some scholars have argued that this nexus — the attachment to and identification with gentile Germans — benefitted German Jews in their economic and social lives in America. In Arizona at least, it appears to have been the other way around. Gentile Germans through their association with German Jews were often able to benefit from the extended family-based mercantile networks that German Jewish

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<sup>21</sup> Stanley Nadel, “Jewish Race and German Soul in Nineteenth Century America,” *American Jewish History* 77 (1987): 6-26; Naomi W. Cohen, *Encounter with Emancipation: The German Jews in the United States 1830-1914* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1984), 57-63.

Arizonans developed. This nexus between German Jews and gentile Germans dissolved slowly during the early twentieth century when the number of Jews from outside Germany increased in Arizona and when this population acquired the “critical mass” to be able to establish functioning Jewish religious and social organizations.<sup>22</sup>

Before describing the various aspects of the Jewish and gentile German experiences in Arizona in detail, chapter two provides a demographic analysis of the German population in the territory during the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. This analysis sets up the later interpretation of the German experience in Arizona by illuminating various aspects of German demographics and comparing them with other ethnic groups in Arizona, the overall population in Arizona, and to the demographics of Germans in the United States during the period. The analysis shows that German immigrants did not form even a single ethnic enclave in the territory and with the exception of Arizona’s three emerging urban centers, Tucson, Phoenix, and Prescott, German immigrants lived spread out in the various parts of the territory constituting on an average between one and six percent of the total non-Indian population — approximately the national average.

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<sup>22</sup> Many historians of the Jewish experience in America have noted that anti-Semitic sentiments were less prevalent in the American West during the nineteenth century. See for example, Moses Rischin and John Livingston, ed., Jews in the American West (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991), 21-22; and Henry Tobias, A History of the Jews in New Mexico (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 120. For the German Jewish nexus, see Cohen, Encounter with Emancipation, 62.

The questions that will be answered in this process are: what was typical or atypical for this sub-population in comparison to German immigrants in the rest of the United States, the population of Arizona, and other frontier societies? Among the issues addressed are population numbers, male/female ratio, settlement patterns, age distribution, residence continuity, marital status and the change of these features over time. In an attempt to penetrate the "salt-water curtain" that separates "Old and New World," this chapter also contains an analysis of the background of the emigrants and their motivations for leaving their home, which are both essential factors influencing the experiences of Germans in Arizona.<sup>23</sup>

The third chapter analyzes the first phase of the unique experiences of German immigrants in Arizona. Prior to the 1870s, the social and cultural environment these German pioneers encountered was different from those of the immigrants who arrived after the transcontinental railroad reached the territory. No "Anglo-American" dominance existed in Arizona and assimilation pressures were mainly absent. In this environment German pioneers apparently felt neither the need to stress their particular ethnicity nor develop ethnic institutions. Additionally their relatively small numbers made the development of these kinds of institutions, such as a *Turnverein*, extremely

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<sup>23</sup> The call to tear down the "salt-water curtain" that separates the American and European side of migration history was made by English historian Frank Thistlethwaite in 1960. He contends that the migration experience is a process in which "the individual moves from one social identity to another." Frank Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in Comité International des Sciences Historiques, XI Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, Stockholm, 21-18 Août 1960, Rapports: V, Histoire Contemporaine (Göteborg-Stockholm-Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiskell, 1960), 37.

difficult even if desired. These individuals brought their “cultural baggage” with them to the territory and influenced the evolution of a new society in their “German way.”

The majority of German pioneers in Arizona had contact with each other. They were able to talk to each other in their native language and engage in “German behavior” on social and business occasions whenever they liked. One of the major business ventures in early Arizona, the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company, was almost exclusively German affairs bringing together German pioneers from different backgrounds. In order to succeed these early German immigrants cooperated not just with each other but with the Hispanic society that was already in place before the arrival of the first Euro-Americans. These connections proved to be extremely important. At the foundation of many early German and Euro-American success stories lay economic and social ties to the Hispanic population that spanned across the border into Mexico.

German Arizonans’ view of the “ethnic other,” the Hispanic population, significantly differed from that expressed by many German visitors. A picture evolves that is almost the opposite from the one with regard to the view of Native Americans. Visitors viewed Native Americans mainly as “noble savages” worthy of their admiration but they saw the Hispanic portion of the population as inherently inferior. German pioneers in Arizona, on the other hand, perceived



Indians as “murdering savages” but valued Hispanic culture, friendship, spouses, and overall cooperation.

The experiences of early German pioneers in Arizona portray a picture that is quite contrary to the Turnerian view of the American frontier process. German immigrants could easily identify themselves as frontiersmen mainly because they did not have to change their ethnic behavior. They became “German pioneers” and not Americans as the Turner school contends. Following the arrival of “Anglo-Americans” in larger numbers during the 1870s and especially after the arrival of the railroad in the 1880s the environment changed leading to an identity transformation — the German pioneer became a German Arizonan.

The following two chapters, “German Arizonans at Work” and “German Arizonans in Society, Politics, and Family,” will focus on how German immigrants were able to accommodate themselves as German Arizonans in the territory’s economic and social life. During the late nineteenth century, an increasing number of German immigrants found a place in Arizona’s evolving capitalist economy while also using their real and alleged occupational skills to create a German Arizonan identity for themselves. Mining and the dream of riches might have been the things that lured many Germans to the territory but only very few individuals saw this dream fulfilled. The majority of them could not realize their goals of quick wealth and accordingly the transiency rate among

German immigrants, like that of other groups, was very high during the early years of the "Arizona adventure."

The distinguishing factor between those who stayed and those who left again appears to have been moderate economic success in fields other than mining. For the most part of the nineteenth century, Germans in Arizona were proportionally over-represented among the groups of artisans and merchants while German brewers were able to establish a temporary monopoly in their industry. The key to even moderate success was occupational flexibility and economic diversification. While carving out economic niches for themselves, German artisans tried to exploit American stereotypes about the superior skills of German craftsmen. They used these views to promote the sale of their products and services while at the same time internalized them to create, invent, a shared German ethnic identity.

In the interaction with other ethnic groups Germans participated in the development of new social structures in Arizona. Their large membership in an array of social clubs, associations, and lodges that were mainly reserved for the more affluent Arizonans suggests that many of them became highly regarded members of society. In this process, German Arizonans played an active role in the political life of the territory. Their political behavior contradicts notions, promoted by many historians of the German American experience, that German immigrants in the United States were notoriously inactive in politics. While they integrated into this emerging society, they also showed signs of a desire to

separate themselves from it to a certain degree by attempting to establish their own ethnic organizations. During the late 1870s and after the arrival of the railroad in the territory in 1880, the influx of larger numbers of Americans created for the first time assimilationist pressures to which Germans in the region responded by stressing their ethnic background.<sup>24</sup>

The chapter on the social and political German explores their urge to preserve German *Kultur*, traditions, and values and the way in which this influenced the formation of a German Arizonan identity. These tensions played out in the public and private spheres. In the public sector, German ethnic behavior manifested itself in attempts to create German social institutions like *Turnvereine* and *Gesangsvereine*. These ethnic associations were only short lived because Germans in Arizona never achieved the “critical mass” to sustain such efforts. Other public displays of German ethnic behavior were visible in the entertainment industry dominated by German brewers and in law enforcement. Utilizing their positions in this system, some Germans tried to establish German *Ordnung* in the territory — an attempt that is well illustrated by the practices of German justice of the peace, Charles H. Meyer, in Tucson. Other social behavior patterns indicating a growing urge to create and preserve ethnic identity were the choice of German spouses, German naming practices, the increasing desire to visit home, aspects of chain migration, the hunger for

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<sup>24</sup> For a discussion of the political inactiveness of German immigrants in the American Southwest, see for example Tomas Jaehn, “The Unpolitical German in New Mexico, 1848-1914,” *New Mexico Historical Review*, 71 (1996): 1-24.

news from Germany, and living associations. These public and private displays of German ethnic behavior became increasingly visible after the arrival of the railroad, started to vanish during the early twentieth century, and finally disappeared as the effects of World War I reached Arizona.

The concluding chapter examines the period of World War I that ushered in the end of an era for German Arizonans and for German Americans overall. "Germanness" had proved to be an asset for German immigrants in Arizona in the process of establishing themselves in an evolving regional society. It also had been a major part of the identity they created for themselves in this process. With overt anti-German sentiments growing during the war period, this situation changed drastically. No discriminatory acts are recorded against particular German individuals in Arizona but it became apparent for them that their "Germanness" could not longer be used as an asset. On the contrary, it became a detriment.

This chapter discusses the process through which German Arizonans redefined their identity into one of American Arizonans. They made this transition mainly in their public behavior. Private behavioral changes in this period are harder to assess. From some documents one can infer that in the privacy of their homes some Germans still cherished the use of the German language in their conversations and celebrated German traditions. Publicly these ethnic behaviors vanished completely. Remarkably, during the war, with all its anti-German sentiments in the United States, the Germans in Arizona

remained completely silent. It appears that for the majority of them the transition from German Arizonan to American Arizonan was painless, perhaps because they used the concept of Germanness derived from "Germany as a country" foremost to create a shared ethnic identity with fellow immigrants and their loyalty was not to *Vaterland* but to *Heimat*.

After more than six decades the process was completed through which German pioneers and German Arizonans became American Arizonans. This study shows the various stages the German immigrants went through and how they were able to accommodate themselves in a changing environment. At the same time it also illustrates how their presence and their actions contributed to the evolution of an emerging new regional society in the American Southwest. Many other ethnic groups were involved in this process and their stories also need to be told in order for us to get a more complete view of society formation in Arizona.

This regional study on German immigrants intends to provide one important piece needed to complete the mosaic that comprises the history of Arizona and the American Southwest. Though it focuses only on Arizona it also has broader implications. Patterns portrayed here could also apply to other regions in the American West as well as to other ethnic groups. It could be used as a model to study ethnic groups in various meeting grounds of the American West. In this regard, it is important to caution the reader of this study that the processes and experiences portrayed do not necessarily apply to all

German immigrants in Arizona. Individuals and their histories are unique and as the acclaimed historian Jon Gjerde reminds immigrant historians: the typical immigrant experience does not exist.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Jon Gjerde, From Peasants to Farmers: The Migration from Balestrand, Norway, to the Upper Middle West (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

## CHAPTER 2

### GERMANS IN ARIZONA: A DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

For almost three centuries Germans, have been one of the most significant ethnic groups in the United States. They began migrating to America in the seventeenth century and after the Revolutionary War, more Germans arrived in the United States than people from any other country. Between 1820 and 1970, approximately 6.9 million Germans left their homes to relocate in the United States. They accounted for about fifteen percent of the total immigration to this country. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, annual German arrivals outnumbered those from any other country and between 1880 and 1920, they were the largest single ethnic element among first-generation immigrants.<sup>1</sup>

During the time frame of this study, Germans reached their highest percentage among the foreign-born population in the United States, about 4 percent from 1860 to 1890. At the time, a drastic decrease in German immigration took place. Beginning in the 1890s, German immigration dropped

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<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States. From Colonial Times to 1970 (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1975), Part 1, Series A, 1-5, Series C, 228-295.

Table 2.1  
First Generation German Immigrants in the United States' Population,  
1850-1920

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>U.S.</u> <u>Population</u>	<u>German-Born</u> <u>Population</u>	<u>German-born</u> <u>percent of</u> <u>foreign-born</u>	<u>German-born</u> <u>percent of total</u>
1850	23,192,000	583,774	26.0	2.5
1860	31,443,000	1,276,075	30.8	4.1
1870	39,818,000	1,690,533	30.4	4.2
1880	50,156,000	1,966,742	29.4	3.9
1890	62,948,000	2,784,894	30.1	4.4
1900	75,995,000	2,663,418	25.8	3.5
1910	91,972,000	2,311,237	17.1	2.5
1920	105,710,000	1,686,108	12.1	1.6

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States. From Colonial Times to 1970 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1975), Part 1, Series A 1-5, Series C, 228-295.



abruptly and decreased to a trickle until World War I. The debate over this dramatic decline of German immigration relied upon several arguments concerning the existing push and pull factors that influence migration. With the official announcement of the United States Bureau of the Census that the frontier had closed in 1890, the character of German immigration and the mind set of the potential immigrant changed. Migration to the United States was no longer associated with *Landnahme* (acquisition of land) but *Arbeitsnahme* (acquisition of wage-labor). Given the choice between taking up wage employment in American or the expanding German industrial centers, potential German emigrants frequently opted for the more familiar environment at home.<sup>2</sup>

German men and women who came to the territory of Arizona and resided there between the 1850s and 1910s fit into the context of the larger trends of German immigration to the United States. This examination is largely based on the information provided by the United States decennial census reports and will address the number of Germans in Arizona, their percentage among the foreign-born population, their residency patterns, age structure, and gender ratio. In addition, a discussion of the motivating factors that influenced the decision to emigrate from Germany, combined with an analysis of time of emigration, age at immigration, and length of residency in the United States, tries to provide an insight into the backgrounds of the German immigrant

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<sup>2</sup> Klaus Bade, "German Emigration to the United States and Continental Immigration to Germany in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Central European History* 13 (1980): 348-377, 362. Peter Marschalk, *Deutsche Überseewanderung im 19. Jahrhundert: Ein Beitrag zur soziologischen Theorie der Bevölkerung* (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1973), 44.

population in Arizona. These insights should help to place into perspective better the ethnic behavior of the Germans in the region and the process of their ethnic identity formation that the following chapters discuss.

A major problem in studying German immigration is how to define "German." Being of German origin is a vague and imprecise concept. As mentioned earlier, German immigrants were an extraordinarily heterogeneous group – they were people from a variety of provinces with linguistic, religious, political, and socio-economic distinctions. Moreover, Germany as a nation state did not come into existence until 1871. Prior to German unification, United States census schedules list numerous kingdoms, principalities, and duchies as the places of birth of the immigrants that are generally considered to be ethnically German. Beginning with the 1880 census most of the time the schedules list simply "Germany" as their place of birth. For the purposes of this study, to provide for accuracy and consistency of statistical data, the only viable solution to determine "Germanness" is to include only individuals who were born within the confines of what became the German Empire under Bismarck in 1871. This likely excludes some individuals who were ethnically German but were born outside those borders, such as Austria-Hungary, and include some who considered themselves being of a different ethnicity but were born within Germany, such as the French of Alsace-Lorraine.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Luebke, *New World*, xiii. Luebke, "Three Centuries," 163. For a more detailed discussion of the problematic issue of how to define German ethnicity, see Luebke, *New World*, vi-xiii.

The following demographic analysis of first generation German immigrants in Arizona is largely based on the census records of the United States. Some difficulties and problems permeate an analysis that relies on this type of source. The nature of the census schedules and the way data was gathered pose one kind of problem. The original purpose for conducting decennial censuses was to collect population numbers on which the government would base the number of political representatives and taxation. Consequently, they prepared the reports primarily in order to count the number of residents and were taken in long decennial intervals. The census-taking deputy marshals considered other information that was to be collected, such as sex, age, occupation, value of property, and place of birth, as only secondary and treated the collection of this data not with perfect accuracy. In addition, they had to rely on the information provided to them by the individuals whom they counted and this material might not always have been accurate or truthful. Sometimes census takers missed or misspelled names, they omitted names if individuals were not at home at the time they took the census, and occasionally they did not reach and record people who lived in remote areas. This is especially true for such a scattered populated region as Arizona. Despite these problems and limitations, the census schedules provide a wealth of information

that can provide an accurate though not ideal demographic profile of the German immigrant population in Arizona.<sup>4</sup>

Prior to the discovery of gold during the early 1860s, Arizona held little attractiveness to outsiders when it became part of the United States after the Mexican-American War. This region was never a prize that Americans coveted. On the contrary, they perceived Arizona to be an unwelcome burden. Most American politicians and pioneers viewed it as a wasteland, “an Indian-infested obstacle between Santa Fe and San Diego.” Consequently, few Americans and Euro-Americans came to Arizona to settle in the immediate aftermath of its acquisition.<sup>5</sup>

Among the few Euro-Americans who came to the region that would eventually become the Territory of Arizona during the 1850s were a few German immigrants. Most of them arrived after the Gadsden Purchase of 1853 that brought the southern part of Arizona into the United States. A variety of reasons motivated these early settlers. By 1860, 146 German immigrants had

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<sup>4</sup> For a detailed discussion of the above described problems and limitations as well as for the history of the United States census, see Margo J. Anderson, The American Census: A Social History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988). In addition to the imperfections of the census, there are obviously the shortcomings of the person who analyzes the census schedules – the author of this study. Some parts of the handwritten schedules were hard or impossible to decipher and consequently misspellings of some names and the omission of some individuals of German origin occurred in the process of extracting data from the schedules.

<sup>5</sup> Sheridan, Arizona, 50.

found their way to the newly established District of Arizona within the Territory of New Mexico.<sup>6</sup>

Even though German immigrants played a small role in the population of Arizona during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they were important to the history of the territory. The 146 Germans living in Arizona in 1860 constituted 6.0 percent of the total non-Indian population of the territory. This percentile is higher than that for Germans in the nation overall and 2 percent higher than in Texas, which historians generally perceived to have been heavily German. This was the highest percentage Germans ever achieved in Arizona and though their numerical presence increased over the following decades their percentage of the total population consistently declined. Arizona's population was growing significantly faster than the number of German immigrants who made the territory their new home. By 1870, 361 first generation Germans resided in Arizona accounting for 3.8 percent of the population. During the following decade Arizona's population quadrupled to 40,440 inhabitants whereas the number of Germans only tripled to 1,054

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<sup>6</sup> No specific statistical data is available for Arizona prior to 1860 as the 1850 decennial census does not list Arizona separately as it had not come into existence yet. Diane Rose, "The Maps, Plans, and Sketches of Herman Ehrenberg," *Prologue* 9 (1975), 162-170, 170. "Contzen, Fritz," Hayden File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona. "Contzen, Julius," Hayden File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona. "Appel, Nathan B.," Hayden File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona; and Blaine P. Lamb, "Fifty-four Years on the Southwestern Frontier: Nathan Benjamin Appel in New Mexico, Arizona, and Southern California," *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly* 16 (1984): 3-21. H.N. Greenwood, "Sol Barth: A Jewish Settler on the Arizona Frontier," *Journal of Arizona History* 14 (1973): 363-378.

Table 2.2  
First Generation German Immigrants in Arizona's Population,  
1860-1910

<u>YEAR</u>	Arizona Population	German-born in Arizona	Percent of German- born of Arizona Population
1860	2,421	146	6.0
1870	9,658	371	3.8
1880	40,440	1,054	2.6
1890	53,620	1,188	2.2
1900	122,931	1,190	1.0
1910	204,354	1,693	0.8

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: New Mexico [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Arizona [microfilm]; Superintendent of the Census, Population of the United States in 1860. Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), Table I, 657; Superintendent of the Census, Ninth Census 1870. Volume I. The Statistics of the Population of the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872), Table VI, 336; Department of the Interior, Census Office, Statistics of the Population of the United States of the Tenth Census 1880 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), Table II, 49; Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910. Volume II. Population 1910 (Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1913), Table 1, 77.

individuals. One can attribute this large population increase during the 1870s to two factors. First, the arrival of the railroad made access to the region easier and led to an increased influx of individuals from the East. Second, this increase was to a certain degree artificial as larger numbers of Native Americans were accounted for in the 1880 census than had been previously.<sup>7</sup>

While the total population of Arizona steadily increased from 1880 to 1910, the number of Germans in the region remained stagnant until 1900, with a final resurgence during the 1900s. One can attribute the continuous percentile decrease of first generation German immigrants in Arizona to several circumstances. A consistently rising number of native-born Americans were attracted by the growing number of business and wage-labor opportunities in the region. In contrast, many German immigrants at the time were still mainly motivated by the availability of cheap land that they could possibly acquire – a commodity that was becoming scarcer in Arizona at the turn of the century as well as in other places of the American West. Combined with struggling

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<sup>7</sup> Unless otherwise noted all statistical calculations were performed by the author with a "SPSS for Windows" program based on the detailed analysis of the following census population schedules and census materials. Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: New Mexico, microfilm; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Arizona, microfilm; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Arizona, microfilm; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Arizona, microfilm; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Arizona, microfilm. "Decennial Census 1860. Territory of New Mexico, County of Arizona," in Federal Census — Territory of New Mexico and Territory of Arizona (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965), 1-48; "The Special Territorial Census of 1864 Taken in Arizona," in Federal Census — Territory of New Mexico and Territory of Arizona (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965, 49-124); and "Decennial Census 1870. Territory of Arizona," in Federal Census — Territory of New Mexico and Territory of Arizona (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965), 125-253.

agricultural development in the territory and declining placer mining opportunities, Arizona held little for these German immigrants. Given the choice between employment in the growing industrial centers of the East and a region of the Far West, the growing percentage of German industrial laborers who were attracted to the United States by wage-labor employment opportunities, often chose the former. Overall, this decline also reflects general trends in German emigration patterns. Since the 1890s, especially in the aftermath of the panic of 1893, the total number of Germans who immigrated into the United States declined annually until it was reduced to a trickle by World War I.<sup>8</sup>

From 1860 to 1910, Arizona had a very high proportion of foreign-born individuals in its population. In 1860 more than half the territory's residents were born abroad and by 1910 almost one fourth of all its inhabitants remained foreign-born. By far the largest non-Indian ethnic segment consisted of people of Hispanic descent, some of whom were born where they resided but were labeled as foreign-born after Arizona's acquisition during the Mexican-American War. The second largest ethnic group from 1860 to 1880 came from Ireland. Germans followed with 11.8 to 6.6 percent of the territory's foreign-born population. In 1890, German immigrants for a short time were actually the largest Euro-

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<sup>8</sup> Marschalk, *Deutsche Überseewanderung*, 44. Walter D. Kamphoefner, "German Emigration Research, North, South, and East: Findings, Methods, and Open Questions," in *People in Transit: German Migrations in Comparative Perspective, 1820-1930*, ed. Dirk Hoerder and Jörg Nagler, 19-34 (Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute and Cambridge University Press, 1995), 28. General German migration patterns during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries will be discussed later in this chapter.



Table 2.3  
German and Foreign-born Population in Arizona, 1860-1910

ETHNICITY	1860			1870			1880			1890			1900			1910		
	no.	/	%	no.	/	%	no.	/	%	no.	/	%	no.	/	%	no.	/	%
Foreign-born (percent of AZ population)	1,242		(58.1)	5,809		(60.7)	16,049		(39.7)	18,795		(35.1)	24,233		(19.7)	48,765		(23.9)
Hispanic	(*)			4,348		74.8	9,330		58.1	11,534		61.4	14,172		58.5	29,452		60.5
German	146		11.8	371		6.4	1,054		6.6	1,188		6.3	1,190		4.9	1,693		3.5
Irish	(*)			495		8.5	1,296		8.1	1,171		6.2	1,159		4.8	1,550		3.2
English	(*)			134		2.3	708		4.4	1,117		5.9	1,561		6.4	3,500		7.1
Italian	(*)			12		0.2	104		0.6	(*)			699		2.9	1,531		3.1
Austrian	(*)			24		0.4	(*)			105		0.6	298		1.2	1,483		3.0
Euro-American (total)	(*)			1,292		22.2	4,420		27.5	5,197		27.6	6,983		28.8	14,971		30.7
other	(*)			169		2.9	2,299		14.3	2,064		11.0	3,078		12.7	4,342		8.9
Percent of German-born of Euro-American	(*)			28.5			24.8			22.9			17.8			11.3		

(\*) Data not available

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: New Mexico [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Arizona [microfilm]; "Decennial Census 1860. Territory of New Mexico, County of Arizona," in Federal Census — Territory of New Mexico and Territory of Arizona (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965), 1-48; Superintendent of the Census, Ninth Census 1870. Volume I. The Statistics of the Population of the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872), Table VI, 336-342; Department of the Interior, Census Office, Statistics of the Population of the United States of the Tenth Census 1880 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), table XIII, 492-495; Bureau of the Census, Population Statistics of the Eleventh Census of the United States 1890 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), Table 32, 606-609; United States Census Office, Census Reports, Volume I. Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900. Population, Part I (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), Table 33, 732-735; Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910. Volume II. Population 1910 (Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1913), Table I, 84.

American group in the region at 6.3 percent. After 1890, Arizona became more Anglo-American in the real sense of the term – English-born immigrants now constituted the largest non-Hispanic ethnic population followed by Germans.<sup>9</sup>

In the period after 1870, two additional trends in the changing ethnic make-up of the territory become apparent. With the arrival of the railroads the number of non-Hispanic and non-European immigrants increased dramatically. The large numbers of Chinese immigrants who made their way to the territory with the railroad construction comprised the majority. After 1890, the number of so-called “new immigrants” from southern and eastern Europe also increased steadily, reflected in the growing number of Italians in the region. Most of them found their new homes in the developing corporate mining districts in the southeastern part of Arizona. During the first decade of the twentieth century increasing numbers of immigrants labeled as Austrians by the U.S. census could have contributed to the creation of a larger German-speaking community in the region. However, many of these “Austrians” were in reality non-German speakers and members of various ethnic groups included in the Austro-

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<sup>9</sup> The ethnic landscape in Arizona resembled very much the situation in the rest of the American Southwest at the time. For example, in neighboring New Mexico, Hispanic and Irish immigrants constituted the largest ethnic groups during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as well with Germans representing the third largest contingent. See, Jaehn, “New Mexico,” 50-52; and Jennie Louise O’Leary, “Irish-Born Immigrants in the Arizona and New Mexico Territories, 1850-1880” (M.A. thesis: Arizona State University, 1994), iii. Interestingly, Tomas Jaehn in his study of Germans in New Mexico dismisses the German population in Arizona as irrelevant because of their small numbers despite the fact that their percentage of the total as well as foreign-born populations was always higher than in New Mexico (Jaehn, “New Mexico,” 50-51).

Hungarian Empire and should be considered part of the movement of central/eastern European people to America.

In 1870, Germans accounted for more than one fourth of all European immigrants in Arizona. Afterwards their percentage declined consistently until 1910 when they made up approximately one-tenth of Europeans in the territory. During this period Euro-Americans evolved as the group that led the political and economic development in Arizona, while the influence of the Hispanic population declined. Germans constituted a significant segment of this group and therefore their presence and their actions were relevant to the maturation of Arizona during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Germans in Arizona never developed any permanent or periodic ethnic enclaves as did their fellow compatriots in Texas or the Great Lakes region. Their numbers were simply too small for such an endeavor. They never achieved an ethnic dominance in any region of Arizona as did Germans in Fredericksburg, Texas, Irish in Butte, Montana, or Italians in San Francisco. Germans settled throughout the territory. They tended to concentrate in counties that were the homes of the few emerging urban settlements. During the first decades of their settlement, Pima County, the location of Tucson, one of Arizona's oldest towns, and Yavapai County with Prescott as the first larger completely Euro-American city, attracted substantial numbers of German immigrants. During the last decade of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, a concentration of German settlers occurred in Maricopa

Table 2.4  
Residence of German Immigrants in Arizona by County, 1870-1910

<u>COUNTY</u>	<u>1870</u>		<u>1880</u>		<u>1890</u>		<u>1900</u>		<u>1910</u>	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Pima	154	41.5	537	50.9	202	17.0	116	9.7	196	11.6
Pinal			89	8.4	62	5.2	52	4.4		
Chocise					248	20.9	155	13.0	396	23.4
Graham					33	2.8	73	6.1	94	5.6
Santa Cruz							25	2.1	24	1.4
Yavapai	163	43.9	228	21.6	264	22.2	277	23.3	255	15.1
Maricopa			94	8.9	212	17.8	223	18.7	340	20.1
Apache			43	4.1	45	3.8	17	1.4	12	0.7
Gila					46	3.9	61	5.1	126	7.4
Navajo							23	1.9	40	2.4
Coconino							102	8.6	81	4.8
Yuma	45	12.2	31	2.9	25	2.1	41	3.4	94	5.6
Mohave	9	2.4	32	3.0	51	4.3	24	2.0	35	2.1
Total	371	100	1,054	100	1,188	100	1,190	100	1,693	100

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: New Mexico [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Ninety Census of the United States, 1870: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Arizona [microfilm].

County, the home of the rapidly expanding city of Phoenix and in Cochise County, which became the location of developing industrial mining complexes with corporate towns like Bisbee and Morenci.<sup>10</sup>

To call the Germans of Arizona an urban people would be an overstatement, but the emerging towns and cities in the territory attracted them. In 1860, only 6.8 percent of Germans lived in the only existing city, Tucson. Over the next decades this number increased steadily until 1910 when more than half of the German population lived in urban areas. The highest urban percentage of Germans can be detected in Tucson in 1880 with 17.5 percent, in 1870 in Prescott with 14.6 percent, and in 1910 in Phoenix with 12.8. The growing business opportunities and expanding labor markets in the evolving urban areas, which benefitted from the arrival of the railroads in the territory, increasingly attracted German Arizonans. Other towns of concentration were located in the southeast. Here wage-labor opportunities in the industrial mining complexes drew substantial numbers of Germans to towns like Bisbee and Morenci during the early twentieth century. Despite this concentration of a substantial number of Germans in some towns and cities, nowhere there did they ever achieve any kind of dominance that would have allowed them to create disproportionate ethno-political, ethno-cultural, or ethno-economic influence.

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<sup>10</sup> For the Irish in Butte, see Emmons, Butte, and for the Italians in San Francisco, see Cinel, San Francisco. For the location of Arizona counties from 1860 to 1910, see the maps contained in Appendix.

Table 2.5  
Selected Urban Residences of German Immigrants in Arizona, 1860-1910

<u>CITY</u>	<u>1860</u>		<u>1864</u>		<u>1870</u>		<u>1880</u>		<u>1900</u>		<u>1910</u>	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Tucson	10	6.8	24	17.1	39	10.5	184	17.5	89	7.5	141	8.3
Prescott					54	14.6	116	11.0	89	7.5	119	7.0
Phoenix							71	7.6	107	9.0	216	12.8
Tombstone							82	7.8	36	3.0	22	1.3
La Paz			27	19.3	13	3.5						
Arizona City					25	6.7						
Wickenburg					11	3.0	7	0.7	6	0.5	14	0.7
Yuma							15	1.4	24	2.0	26	1.5
Flagstaff									45	3.8	45	2.7
Winslow									6	0.5	76	4.5
Clifton							8	0.8	13	1.8	32	1.9
Globe							26	2.5			77	4.5
Bisbee									81	6.8	128	7.6
Morenci									56	4.7	21	1.2
Total	10	6.8	51	36.4	142	38.3	509	49.3	552	47.1	917	54.0

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: New Mexico [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Ninety Census of the United States, 1870: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Arizona [microfilm].

An examination of the age structure of German Arizonans shows that they resemble the general make-up of frontier societies in the American West during the time period. In 1860, the vast majority of Germans were in the age group of eighteen to thirty-four years of age. Over time, the German immigrant population grew older and in 1880 the majority was between twenty-five and forty-four, and in 1910 between thirty and fifty-four years old. This illustrates that as time progressed Arizona developed an environment and opportunities that were becoming more attractive to an older population and migrants to the territory tended to stay longer in the same place — in other words, they were “growing old in Arizona.” The shift in the age structure of German Arizonans is also an indication of the creation of a more settled population with an increasing number of families who decided to make the territory their permanent home. The complete absence of any first-generation Germans ten years of age or younger indicates that families with younger children did not directly move from Germany to Arizona.

During the early period, Arizona was attractive to young adventurers and gold seekers, but by the end of the century it became more inviting to an older, more stable population. This is a trend that also holds true for the non-German population in the territory as well as for the American Southwest overall. The majority of migrants to the American Southwest during the nineteenth century



Table 2.6  
Age of First Generation German Immigrants in Arizona, 1860-1910

AGE	1860		1870		1880		1900		1910	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
under 5	0		0		0		1	0.1	3	0.2
5-9	0		0		0		7	0.6	5	0.3
10-14	0		0		2	0.2	6	0.5	11	0.6
15-19	3	2.1	1	0.3	16	1.5	17	1.4	14	0.8
20-24	31	21.2	68	18.3	99	9.4	51	4.3	93	5.5
25-29	49	33.6	120	32.3	214	20.3	59	7.5	147	8.7
30-34	37	25.3	66	17.8	205	19.4	168	14.1	209	12.3
35-39	14	9.6	60	16.2	176	16.7	156	13.1	204	12.0
40-44	6	4.1	30	8.1	144	13.7	171	14.3	231	13.6
45-49	4	2.7	14	2.8	89	8.4	139	11.7	196	11.6
50-54	1	0.7	4	1.1	61	5.8	148	12.4	178	10.5
55-59	0		5	1.3	26	2.5	102	8.6	127	7.5
60-64	0		3	0.8	140	1.3	65	5.5	114	6.7
65-69	1		0		4	0.4	47	4.0	65	3.8
70 and over	0		0		2	0.2	23	1.9	79	4.7
unknown	0		0		2	0.2	0		17	1.0
Total	146	100	371	100	1,054	100	1,190	100	1,693	100
Median Age	28		29		34		42		42	
Range	17-65		18-61		11-70		4-87		2-88	

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: New Mexico [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Ninety Census of the United States, 1870: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Arizona [microfilm].

consisted of individuals in the economically most productive age groups, from eighteen to thirty-five.<sup>11</sup>

The gender ratio among German Arizonans also reflects general developments in the American Southwest during the period. In 1860, the German immigrant population consisted almost toally of young, single males. The number of German females in Arizona only increased after the arrival of the railroads in the territory in the 1870s. In 1880, they made up almost 10 percent of the German population and their percentage increased consistently over the following decades until they constituted slightly more than one fourth of Germans in 1910. This also reflects national and regional trends of American immigration. The number of male immigrants to the United States exceeded the number of females and the gender ratio in the American Southwest was generally unbalanced towards the male population until the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

Given the age structure and the ratio of male to female residents, it is not surprising that the majority of German immigrants in Arizona early on were single — 80 percent in 1864. By 1880, two major developments in the marital status of German immigrants took place. As the territory developed economically and socially and as conflicts between Native Americans and settlers subsided, the number of Germans who either moved to the territory with

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<sup>11</sup> O'Leary, "Irish-Born Immigrants," 35.

<sup>12</sup> Hoerder, "Introduction," 9; and Luebke, "Three Centuries," 163."

Table 2.7  
Sex Ratio of First Generation German Immigrants in Arizona, 1860-1910

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>Male</u>			<u>Female</u>		
	no. / %		% AZ	no. / %		% AZ
1860	142	97.3	69.3	4	2.7	30.7
1870	368	99.2	71.3	3	0.7	28.7
1880	956	90.7	69.7	98	9.3	30.3
1900	928	77.9	58.4	262	22.0	41.6
1910	1,235	72.9	58.0	458	27.1	42.0

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: New Mexico [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Arizona [microfilm]; Superintendent of the Census, Ninth Census 1870. Volume II. The Vital Statistics of the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872), Table XXI, 536; Department of the Interior, Census Office, Statistics of the Population of the United States of the Tenth Census 1880 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), Table XVII, 542; Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910. Volume II. Population 1910 (Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1913), Table 2, 77.

their families or founded families within steadily increased. In 1880, 26.7 percent of Germans were married compared to 52.7 percent in 1910. Until the turn of the century, a substantial number of married Germans resided in the territory without their spouses present, like many members of other immigrant groups did. In 1880, more than one third of all, mainly male, married German Arizonans lived geographically separated from their wives. By 1910, this proportion declined to approximately one tenth.

In the beginning, the German population of Arizona consisted mainly of young, single men. Later some formed or brought their families to the territory until a more stable community evolved and the family became the dominant life-style. While this progression is consistent with models of frontier society development, it does not conform to the patterns of German migration to the United States. German trans-Atlantic migration patterns are the opposite: until 1890, family migration dominated and then individual emigration emerged as the paramount form.

Whether male or female, single or married, the road to Arizona for most Germans was not a straight one from the fatherland. The majority of individual examples reveal that German Arizonans resided in other regions of the United States for extended periods of time before moving to the territory. By 1880, more than half of the German families arrived in Arizona from the West. By this time more than half of them relocated from nearby California to the territory. Apparently, they were the families of German immigrants who had with varying

Table 2.8  
Marital Status of First Generation German Immigrants in Arizona, 1864-1910

<u>MARITAL STATUS</u>	<u>1864</u>			<u>1880</u>			<u>1900</u>			<u>1910</u>		
	no. /	%	AZ %	no. /	%	AZ %	no. /	%	AZ %	no. /	%	AZ %
single	112	80.0	(*)	714	67.7	(*)	493	41.4	59.1	607	35.8	57.7
married (total)	27	19.3	(*)	283	26.7	(*)	578	48.6	35.0	892	52.7	37.6
married living with spouse	2	1.4	(*)	182	17.1	(*)	520	43.7	(*)	806	47.6	(*)
married not living with spouse	25	17.9	(*)	101	9.5	(*)	58	4.9	(*)	86	5.1	(*)
widowed	0	0	(*)	27	2.6	(*)	103	8.5	5.4	157	9.3	4.6
divorced	0	0	(*)	6	0.6	(*)	12	1.0	0.5	32	1.9	0.1
unknown	1	0.7	(*)	26	2.5	(*)	4	0.3		5	0.3	
total	140	100	(*)	1,056	100	(*)	1,190	100	100	1,693	100	100

(\*) data not available

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Arizona [microfilm]; "The Special Territorial Census of 1864 Taken in Arizona," in Federal Census — Territory of New Mexico and Territory of Arizona (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965), 49-124; Department of the Interior, Census Office, Statistics of the Population of the United States of the Tenth Census 1880 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), ??; United States Census Office, Census Reports, Volume II. Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900. Population, Part II (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), Table 30, 258; Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910. Volume II. Population 1910 (Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1913), Table 11, 79.

degrees tried to exploit the opportunities in the California Gold Rush and its aftermath. Most were interested either in mining or merchandising prospects in Arizona's western neighbor state. After the discovery of valuable minerals in Arizona in the early 1860s, some moved with their families to the territory to seek out similar opportunities. The number of German families relocating to Arizona from the West declined steadily after 1880, and in 1910 they comprised only one fifth of this sub-population. During the same period, the number of families who arrived in the territory from the Midwestern states constantly increased. In 1880 only two families resided in Arizona that had previously made a living on the Great Plains. Their numbers had increased to thirty-seven in 1900 and eighty-two in 1910, by then constituting one fourth of all German Arizonan families with U.S.-born children outside the territory. This shift suggests a changing background in the German families who tried to establish new homes in Arizona as well as a transformation in the perceived opportunities that the region promised to offer — from the placer mining and merchandising sector to agriculture and industrial labor.<sup>13</sup>

The lack of population stability is a problem that affects many frontier studies. Those who stayed in a fixed location heavily shaped the history of that area. Transients left fewer traces and associations than permanent residents, however important they may have been. This is a problem also for the history of

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<sup>13</sup> No sources are available that can provide conclusive data regarding the location of prior residences of German Arizonans. At least for families with children born prior to their movement to the territory this information can be extracted and statistically used by looking at the places of birth of their children.

Table 2.9  
Prior U.S. Residences of German Arizonans, 1880-1910

<u>REGION</u>	<u>1880</u>		<u>1900</u>		<u>1910</u>	
	no.	/ %	no.	/ %	no.	/ %
Mexico	1	1.2	4	0.2	17	5.4
California	47	54.7	63	31.5	66	20.9
New Mexico	5	5.8	16	8.0	27	8.5
Texas	6	7.0	17	8.5	23	7.3
other West	13	15.1	27	13.5	38	12.0
Mid-West	2	2.3	37	18.5	82	25.9
South	3	3.5	14	7.0	25	7.9
East Coast	9	10.5	22	11.0	38	12.0
Total	86	100	200	100	316	100

Table based on place of birth of the children of first-generation Germans residing in Arizona.

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Arizona [microfilm].

Germans in Arizona. Many Germans who came to Arizona in the nineteenth century left the territory again after a short period of residency. A comparison of the names of German-born immigrants between 1860 and 1910 census reports reveals considerable impermanence. Only seven of the individuals who resided in Arizona in 1860 reappear in the 1864 census and six in the census of 1870. Of the Germans who were enumerated in the 1864 census only fifteen still lived there in 1870. After 1870 the German community in Arizona increased in stability. Forty-three of the inhabitants listed in the 1870 census can also be found in the 1880 census. This stability increases from 1880 to 1900 and then especially to 1910 as more and more Germans made Arizona their permanent home.

No conclusive evidence explains why so many Germans were leaving the Territory again during this period. It seems rather obvious that young, single individuals — the majority of German immigrants in the territory during the early period — were more likely to move again, a typical behavior pattern for most young and unmarried people. The Civil War contributed to a higher mobility rate in the Territory in the early 1860s. Although the major events of the war were relatively remote from Arizona and the local scale of combat did not match what took place in the East, the Territory nevertheless suffered invasion and pitched battles. As a result, the civilian population and the economy suffered some disruption and destruction, which spurred an overall increase in population movement. That was reflected among the German immigrants. The threat



presented by attacks from Native Americans added to the geographical mobility. This huge overall population turnover was typical in the new settlements throughout the West. Economic status appears to be the most important single factor to distinguish between those who stayed and those who left. In most cases, those who settled permanently were economically successful. The German immigrants who resided in Arizona for a longer period of time during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were fortunate in different economic spheres.<sup>14</sup>

The following overview of German migration patterns complies with the call made by English historian Frank Thislethwaite in 1960 for the penetration of the "salt-water curtain" that separates the study of the American immigrant experience from its European origins. He correctly emphasized that a comprehensive understanding of the immigrant experience can only be achieved by taking the emigrants' background in their countries of origin into consideration. In this case, the socio-economic, political, and cultural heritages of German immigrants in Arizona have to be considered to obtain a clearer picture of their patterns of accommodation and identity formation. As the preceding demographic analysis established, the first-generation German population in Arizona is typical of German immigration to the United States in

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<sup>14</sup> Tobias, *Jews in New Mexico*, 36, 51. One of the biggest blows to population stability in the territory came when in 1861 federal troops left Arizona to engage in the Civil War farther east. This led to an intensification of conflict between Native Americans and Euro-American settlers (Sheridan, *Arizona*, 66). For the disruptions of these conflicts in Arizona, see for instance Robert M. Utley, *The Indian Frontier of the American West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984) and Donald E. Worcester, *The Apaches: Eagles of the Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979).

the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Hence, a review of major patterns of German emigration, such as their motivation for emigration, information about the host society, age at emigration, and year of emigration, can be a useful tool to place the German experience in Arizona into the larger context of German immigration to the United States and illuminate the conditions under which these migrants formed ethnic identities.<sup>15</sup>

The huge migration of Germans to the United States that occurred through much of the nineteenth century has been studied in detail by historians on both sides of the Atlantic. These studies conclude that a variety of factors caused this mass exodus from Germany. Political unrest, economic crises, overpopulation, crop failures, restrictive marriage laws, and religious persecution all influenced the emigrants' decision to leave their homeland in the search of a better life. However, it is impossible to neatly attribute an individual's motivation for emigration to one single factor. When applied to the individual's choice to emigrate, all these factors become hopelessly entangled. Such decisions were based on the combination of these various factors. German migration patterns to the United States and Arizona are closely related to the overall prevailing conditions on both sides of the Atlantic. So for instance, did a combination of such factors as the economic changes caused by the Industrial Revolution, mandatory military service, anti-socialist and anti-Catholic government legislation and policies (*Sozialistengesetzgebung* and *Kulturkampf*) serve as

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<sup>15</sup> Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe," 32, 34, 37.

“push factors” for German emigrants during the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>16</sup>

Some historians have overemphasized the political “push factors” that motivated Germans to leave their homes in the nineteenth century. This has led to a distorted view of the political role Germans played in the United States. Following the failure of the liberal revolution of 1848/49, the number of emigrants from Germany drastically increased. This swell led historians to conclude that this segment of German emigration was motivated primarily by political considerations and their disappointment over the failure to implement liberal political changes in Germany. Statements of German immigrants in the United States contributed to this distorted picture by emphasizing the political and personal freedoms that they experienced in their new host country in contrast to the reactionary fatherland. Recognizing and accentuating these political differences does not necessarily entail that their decision to emigrate from Germany was politically motivated. Newer studies punctuate that the so-called “political emigration” in the aftermath of the failed revolution had its real, concrete causes rather in the preceding 1846/47 agricultural crisis created by the potato blight. German historian Peter Marschalk points out that Germans

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<sup>16</sup> Mack Walker, Germany and the Emigration, 1816-1885 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964) is a pioneering study in this field that still provides valuable and valid insights into German migration patterns and migration motivations. Newer studies include Marschalk, Deutsche Überseewanderung; and Walter D. Kamphoefner, “At the Crossroads of Economic Development: Background Factors Affecting Emigration from Nineteenth-Century Germany,” in Migration Across Time and Nations, ed. Ira A. Glazier and Luigi De Rosa, 174-201 (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1986). Luebke, “Three Centuries,” 161. Frederick C. Luebke, Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), 29.

generally did not risk their existence and base their decision to emigrate on political circumstances alone. Considering also that many German emigrants at the time consisted of small farmers (*Kleinbauern*) and that the majority of political activism and turmoil occurred in the cities, he concludes that non-political considerations motivated most emigrants at the time and that the number of “political emigrants” most likely did not exceed a few thousand.<sup>17</sup>

This example of the “political emigration” serves as a caution to carefully consider the complexity of prevailing political, socio-economic, and cultural conditions combined with the individual’s life circumstances when assessing the motivations for emigration. This also holds true for individuals who allegedly emigrated entirely for religious, military, or economic reasons. These considerations definitely played a role in an individual’s decision to emigrate, but they were at the same time only one part of a conscious resolution influenced by a complex system of predicaments. It appears evident that people who are solidly connected to their *Heimat* (home) and are capable of earning their livelihoods will hardly be prepared to leave their habitats. Only when a combination of several variables lead to unbearable hardships in combination

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<sup>17</sup> Marschalk, *Deutsche Überseewanderung*, 39, 55-58. This study did not encounter one single German Arizonan who had left his native country solely for political reasons. However, many of the merchants and artisans who would become influential members of Arizona’s society were exposed to and affected by the revolutionary activities that they had encountered in their ancestral cities. Their involvement in territorial politics in Arizona might be a reflection of this circumstance. For the political activities of German Arizonans and German Arizonan Jews, see Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

with a loosening of the inner ties to the home will their eyes open to the possibility for emigration.<sup>18</sup>

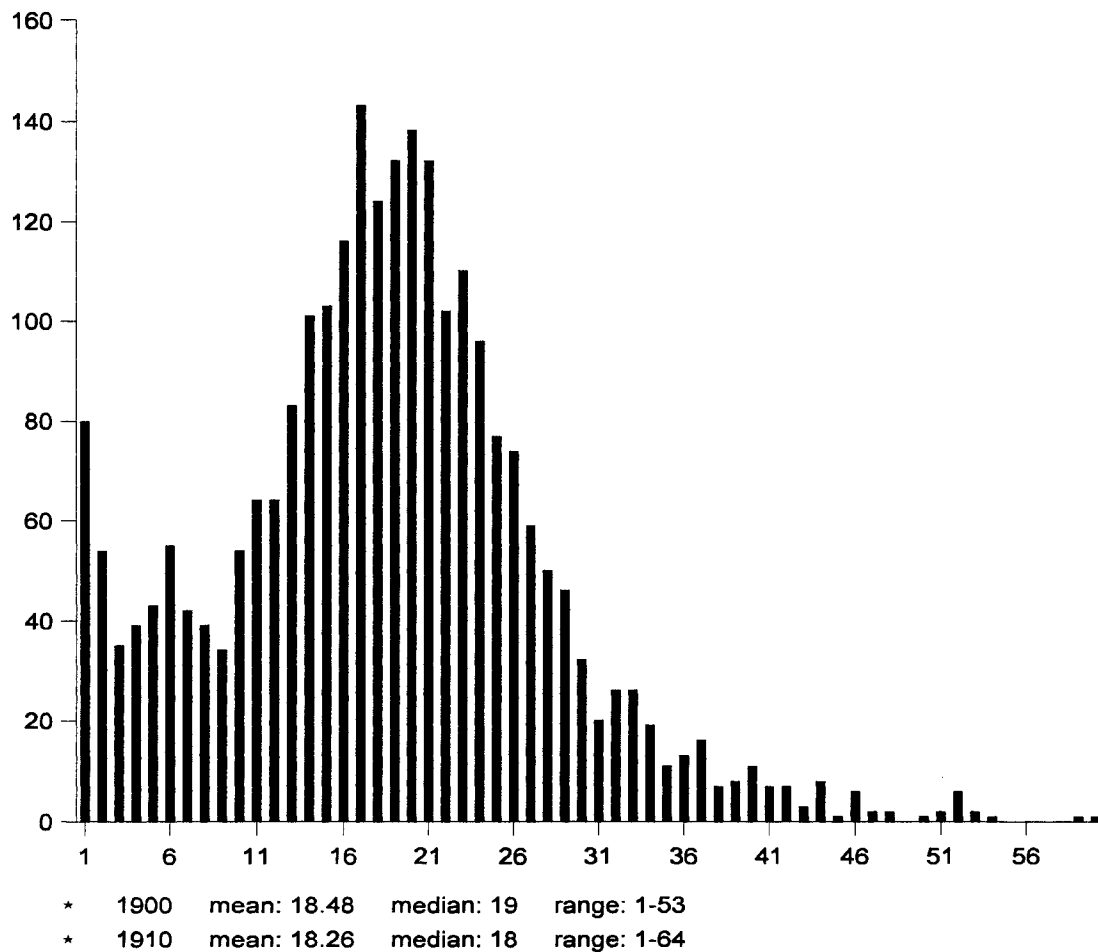
Younger individuals were more prone to experience this loosening of their inner ties to the home as the case of German immigrants to Arizona illustrates. As seen in Figure 2.1 most German immigrants in Arizona in 1900 and 1910 emigrated from their homeland at a relatively young age. Most of them were between sixteen and twenty-five years of age when they left Germany. Individuals who were thirty years and older seemed less willing to make the journey. Also significant is the larger number of young children under the age of ten who took part in this migration mainly as part of family units. While this number is considerable, one should note that Arizona's German population throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was almost completely devoid of children in this age group (see Table 2.6). This suggests that at least families with young children did not migrate directly from Germany to Arizona.

The choice to emigrate for most individuals was not just predicated on the various "push and pull factors" but was also embedded in their social context. Emigrants made rational decisions and had a clear picture of where they wanted to go, what awaited them there, and what they intended to achieve. German emigrants during the nineteenth century made their own individual decisions to relocate based on a wealth of information that was available to them. Their move to the United States was hardly a leap into the unknown.

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<sup>18</sup> James S. Olson, The Ethnic Dimension in American History (St. James, NY: Brandywine Press, 1999), 39. Marschalk, Deutsche Überseewanderung, 52.

Figure 2.1  
Age at Time of Immigration, German Arizonans 1900-1910



Sources: Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Arizona [microfilm].

Already during the early nineteenth century a flowing stream of information regarding the conditions in potential immigration regions in the United States existed in Germany and with the growing number of emigrants during the following decades this wealth of knowledge increased even more. Numerous emigration newspapers and emigration societies emerged in Germany during the nineteenth century and they provided a multitude of valuable information about potential immigration locations. In addition, numerous books about the United States were published in Germany that helped the potential expatriate to get a detailed, even though sometimes distorted, picture of their new homes.<sup>19</sup>

For a long time, historians assumed that information obtained through emigration newspapers, emigration societies, and guidebooks played a crucial role in the German immigration experience. Newer studies, however, conclude that their influence should be not exaggerated, especially when it comes to the decision making process to emigrate. As one German historian suggests, these materials facilitated rather than caused emigration. Information obtained

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<sup>19</sup> Reinhard R. Doerries, "German Transatlantic Migration from the Early Nineteenth Century to the Outbreak of World War II," in Population, Labour and Migration in 19<sup>th</sup>- and 20<sup>th</sup> Century Germany, ed. Klaus J. Bade, 115-134 (Leamington Spa: Berg Publishers, 1987), 119. Kamphoefner, The Westfalians, 4. For a detailed list of German emigration newspapers (1848-1884) and emigration societies (1833-1850), see Marschalk, Deutsche Überseewanderung, 19, 21. Between 1815 and 1848 some fifty books on the United States were published in Germany. Probably the most read of the time was Gottfried Duden's Report of Life in Missouri (1829), which portrayed emigration to the United States as the major solution that Germans faced (Robyn Burnett and Ken Luebbering, German Settlement in Missouri: New Land, Old Ways [Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1996], 6-7). Ironically, the work that portrayed the potential of the United States for immigrants in the most positive tone and coined the phrase in Germany of "America as the land of unlimited opportunities" Max Ludwig Goldberger's Das Land der unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten (1903) was published at a time when German migration to the United States was already dramatically in decline (Günter Moltmann, "Roots in Germany: Immigration and Acculturation of German-Americans," in Eagle in the New World: German Immigration to Texas and America, ed. Theodore Gish and Richard Spuler, 3-25 [College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1986], 15).

through personal contacts, especially contained in personal letters from the United States back to Germany, played a much larger role in the decision to emigrate as well as in the selection of a specific immigration destination than any other materials. This is especially true for a destination as remote as Arizona in the nineteenth century. Details about the American Southwest were sparsely available in Germany during this period. The German immigrants who made their way directly to Arizona from the Old World were heavily influenced by personal contacts with friends or family members who resided there already. This study did not encounter a single individual who had made the journey from Germany to Arizona solely based on guidebooks or similar materials. Friends, family members, and sometimes strangers from the same villages of origin, came to Arizona predicated on the information provided in letters home by German Arizonans. This part of the German migration to Arizona certainly falls into the category of "chain migration," leading to smaller concentration of Germans in specific places in Arizona. Especially German Arizonan Jews relied upon patterns of "chain migration" in their move to the region and as a consequence, they were able to utilize emerging family networks for emotional comfort and economic benefit. In Arizona, the number of individuals participating in this process was too small for the creation of any ethnic enclaves which are sometimes the consequence of chain migration processes.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Kamphoefner, "German Emigration Research," 29. Dirk Hoerder, "Introduction," in People in Transit: German Migrations in Comparative Perspective, 1820-1930, ed. Dirk Hoerder and Jörg Nagler, 1-16 (Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute and Cambridge University Press, 1995), 2. For an overview of the information available in Germany about the American Southwest during the nineteenth century, see Jaehn, "New Mexico," 8-45. Kamphoefner,



Driven by push factors, attracted by pull factors, and based on this information, Germans made their way across the Atlantic. Generally, historians of the German emigration experience distinguish three phases with distinct characteristics of this mass migration movement. During the first phase from 1815, after the relaxation of emigration restrictions in many German kingdoms and principalities, to the end of the American Civil War, the majority of German migrants to the United States consisted of *Kleinbauern* (small plot farmers) and *Kleinhandwerker* (small time artisans) who migrated primarily in family units (*Familienauswanderung*). The second period lasted from 1865 to the middle of the 1890s. Here one observes an increase of the emigration of landless peasants, many from Northeastern Germany, and downwardly mobile artisans, together with a trend of a growing percentage of individual emigrants (*Einzelauswanderung*). The final phase of this movement lasted from 1895 to the beginning of World War I. This period finds a steady decline of emigration numbers with the conclusion of family migration and a drastic increase in the percentage of industrial laborers who sought to find wage-labor employment in the United States. The drastic decline in newcomers from Germany deprived German American communities of the rejuvenating ethnic energy that a larger influx would have constituted. This trend contributed to the gradual loss of ethnic

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"German Emigration Research," 32-33. For patterns of chain migration amongst German immigrants and their consequences, see Kamphoefner, The Westfalians.

distinctiveness that these communities experienced and is especially true for Germans in Arizona.<sup>21</sup>

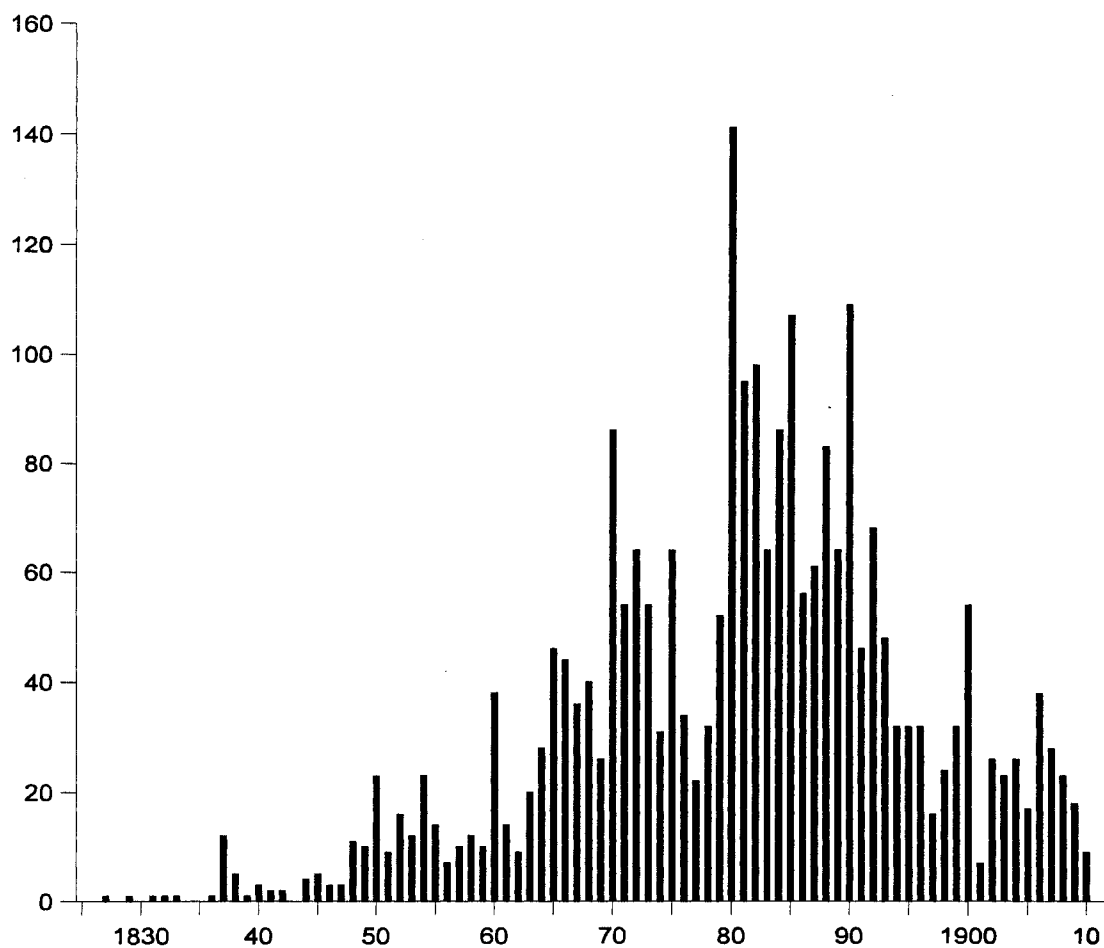
An analysis of the years of emigration of Germans who resided in Arizona in 1900 and 1910 reveals that to a large degree the members of this population followed these cycles of German emigration. The first significant number of German Arizonans emigrated from Germany between the late 1840s and the beginning of the Civil War in 1861. During the Civil War one can note a substantial drop in migration to the United States. The bulk of German Arizonans arrived in America between the end of the Civil War and the middle of the 1890s. Within this period a substantial drop occurred during the later part of the 1870s, which most likely was caused by the resurgence of German political, economic, and social life in the aftermath of the founding of the German nation-state in 1871.

The number of German immigrants to the United States during the post-Civil War era is closely related to the prevailing economic conditions in the host country and has to be viewed closely in a trans-Atlantic perspective. The immigration curve follows to a large degree the cycle of booms and busts in the United States. Especially in the aftermath of the panic of 1893, immigration rates of Germans into the United States declined dramatically. Despite

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<sup>21</sup> Marschalk, Deutsche Überseewanderung, 82. Doerries, "German Transatlantic Migration," 119, 126.

Figure 2.2  
Year of Immigration, German Arizonans 1900-1910



Sources: Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Arizona [microfilm].

economic recovery after 1896, German immigration rates to the United States never rebounded to the previous levels as Figure 2.2. illustrates at least concerning German Arizonans.<sup>22</sup>

Two other major developments contributed to the phasing out of German migration to the United States following the 1890s. First, in 1890 the U.S. government officially declared the frontier to be closed. Consequently, many potential immigrants were under the impression that the free settlement of government land had come to an end. Many possible German emigrants believed that they would no longer be able to fulfill their dreams of owning their own land in the United States without the availability of substantial amounts of capital. Without these funds, many Germans faced the choice between wage-labor employment in the evolving German industries or similar work overseas. Given this choice, an increasing number of potential emigrants opted for the former environment that was closer at home. Secondly, for a growing number of German migrants, especially from the rural northeastern parts of Germany, the rapidly expanding industrial centers in central and western Germany became viable alternatives to overseas migration during the 1890s. Deteriorating opportunities in the United States combined with expanding

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<sup>22</sup> Kamphoefner, "German Emigration Research," 28.

economic growth in Germany resulted in a major loss of attractiveness of trans-Atlantic migration for members of all social classes.<sup>23</sup>

In assessing the backgrounds of Germans in the United States during the nineteenth century another phenomenon has to be considered. During the earlier part of the century, the people in Germany who suffered the most serious economic deprivations hardly had the resources to make the journey across the Atlantic. Only individuals and families who possessed at least a minimal amount of economic security and resources were able to pay for the voyage to the "New World." As a result, for example, a majority of the early German Arizonans came to the United States with enough capital to secure, or at least lay the foundation, for a comfortable living. In the later part of the nineteenth century, however, the nominal and real costs of trans-Atlantic travel declined substantially and an increasing percentage of German immigrants consisted of members of the working class with few financial resources. As a result, over time a shift of the social and economic backgrounds of Germans who came to America is observable — middle and lower middle class to members of the industrial proletariat, a trend that is to a lesser degree reflected in the immigration patterns of German Arizonans.<sup>24</sup>

German migration to the United States was only one segment, though a very large one, of population shifts within Germany and on the European

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<sup>23</sup> Marschalk, *Deutsche Überseewanderung*, 40. Klaus Bade, "Die polnische Ost-West-Wanderung in Preussen vor dem ersten Weltkrieg als 'Interne Auswanderung,'" *Przegląd Zachodni*, 40 (1984): 85-91, 86. Bade, "German Emigration," 362.

<sup>24</sup> Kamphoefner, "German Emigration Research," 25.

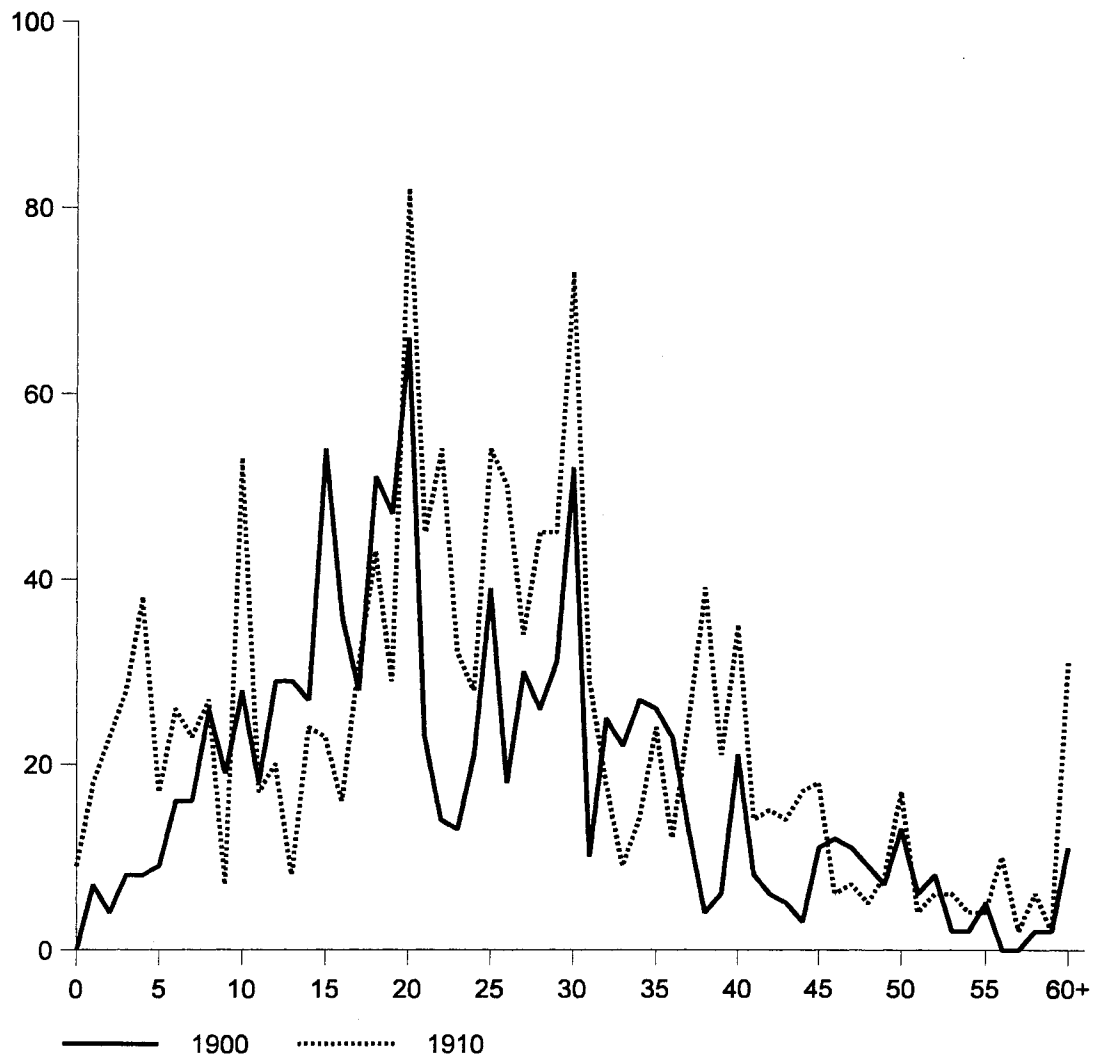
continent. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Germany experienced a vast amount of migration. Despite these circumstances, a majority of Germans never accepted migration as a way of life. Neither did they incorporate concepts of cultural equality into their thinking. The Germans who migrated abroad held their culture to be superior and tried to export their allegedly sophisticated Germanness — whatever its contents — and considered themselves valuable elements of their host societies who could actually improve those host cultures. At the same time, they considered immigrants to Germany as coming from inferior cultures — people who were not welcomed and were supposed to be segregated. Germans per se assumed that they were welcomed wherever they went, but rarely accepted those who came to Germany.<sup>25</sup>

In this demographic analysis and overview of German migration patterns one last aspect had to be addressed: the residence length in the host country of the immigration population under investigation. Acculturation and assimilation processes are closely linked to the exposure to the host culture or cultures. The majority of German Arizonans who resided in the territory in 1900 and 1910, had already lived in the United States for a substantial period of time. The residence length of the bulk Germans exceeded ten years, much of which was spent in regions in the United States away from Arizona. This is an important factor that has to be kept in mind later when identity formation processes are

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<sup>25</sup> Doerries, "German Transatlantic Migration," 115. Hoerder, "Introduction," 15-16.

Figure 2.3  
Residence Length in U.S., German Arizonans 1900-1910



Sources: Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Arizona [microfilm].

discussed. Exposure to host country and culture combined with the immigrants' desire to regain and conserve old traditional ways of life that they remembered or thought to remember created the backdrop to their cultural identity formation in Arizona.<sup>26</sup>

The demographic analysis of the first generation German population in Arizona during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries establishes that it represents a rather typical German immigrant population. Population percentages, age structure, marital status, and settlement patterns resemble national patterns of German immigration in the United States and also follows major trends of frontier development in the American West. Such a typical immigration population, in contrast to regions with high concentrations of Germans — ethnic enclaves — which are frequently the object of immigration historians, provides perfect conditions to uncover general patterns of identity formation among German immigrants in a Western setting.

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<sup>26</sup> Bradley H. Baltensperger, "Agricultural Change among Nebraska Immigrants, 1880-1900," in Ethnicity on the Great Plains, ed. Frederick C. Luebke, 170-189 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), 171. Walker, Germany, 69.



## CHAPTER 3

### EARLY GERMAN PIONEERS

German immigrants who moved to Arizona prior to the arrival of the transcontinental railroad settled under unique social and cultural circumstances. The region lacked Anglo-American dominance and the ensuing assimilationist pressures that they encountered in other parts of the United States. In this environment, Germans neither felt the urge to stress their ethnicity nor develop ethnic institutions while nevertheless bringing their cultural baggage with them to the territory. These constraints influenced the evolution of a new frontier society in their own “German way.”

Many of the early German pioneers in Arizona had contact with each other frequently, spoke to each other in their native language, and were able to engage in “German behavior” on social and business occasions. One of the earliest business ventures in Arizona, the “Sonora Exploring and Mining Company,” was almost exclusively German. It brought together German immigrants from varying backgrounds. Besides cooperating with each other, Germans heavily relied upon the existing Hispanic society to realize their dreams of success. Their ties to Hispanic society proved invaluable in the early

days and often rested at the foundation of many German and Euro-American success stories. Economic ties were sometimes consolidated through intermarriages and if change in the ethnic behavior of these early German pioneers is observable at all, it appears that they tended to gravitate to the Hispanic culture of the region.

German immigrants in Arizona easily identified themselves as frontiersmen because they did not have to change their ethnic behavior. Contrary to the contentions of the Turnerian frontier process, that allegedly transformed Euro-Americans into democratic Americans, these immigrants became "German pioneers" and were able to retain this identity at least until the influx of larger numbers of native-born Americans during the 1870s. They adapted to their new lives as German pioneers in an environment that contrary to common belief was not all that unfamiliar to them.

The German immigrants who arrived in Arizona after the Gadsden Purchase during the late 1850s and 1860s were not the first Germans who significantly influenced the development of this region. More than a full century before their arrival, several German-speaking missionaries made their presence felt in the Southwest. During the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, several German Jesuits performed missionary work in Sonora, Arizona, and California. The best-known individual in this group was Padre Eusebio Keno, who is normally associated with the Spanish missionary phase in the region.

He was, however, the first German-speaking individual to influence the development of Arizona.<sup>1</sup>

Keno was born near Trient in *Südtirol* in 1645 and received his education in Innsbruck, Ingolstadt, Öttingen, and Freiburg. He came to the New World in order to participate in the larger mission of the Catholic Church to convert the Natives of America. For more than twenty years, Keno was a very important figure in Sonora and Arizona performing his missionary work while exploring and cartographing the region. He also was one of Arizona's first farmers and cattlemen to promote the area beyond its boundaries. During his time in Arizona, Keno founded missions that included San Xavier del Bac and the close-by settlement of Tubac. Keno's greatest legacy was probably the introduction of fruit trees, vegetables, sheep, mules, and cattle thus changing dramatically the agricultural development in Arizona, and he became, as one historian noted, the first "farmer-cattle baron" of the area.<sup>2</sup>

Many other German missionaries tried to follow in the footsteps of Keno in Arizona during the eighteenth century. German Jesuits, such as Jacob Sedelmair, Ignatz Keller, Heinrich Ruhen, Joseph Och, Michael Gerstner,

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<sup>1</sup> For the German Jesuits in the Southwest, see Albrecht Classen, "Ignaz Pfefferkorn, ein jesuitischer Missionar in der Neuen Welt: Ein Beitrag zur deutschamerikanischen Reiseliteratur der Frühneuzeit," in Yearbook of German-American Studies (Lawrence: Society of German-American Studies, 1997), 21-45; Erwin G. Gudde, German Pioneers in Early California (Hoboken, N.J.: n.p., 1927. Reprint, San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1970), 5-7; and Marshall Trimble, Arizona: A Panoramic History of a Frontier State (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1977), 75-78.

<sup>2</sup> Classen, "Pfefferkorn," 21-22. Keno apparently also erected a mission on the site where Yuma is located today (Richard Josiah Hinton, The Hand-Book to Arizona: Its Resources, History, Towns, Mines, Ruins, and Scenery [New York: American News Co., 1878], microfilm, 244). Trimble, Arizona, 77.

Bernhard Middendorff, and Ignaz Pfefferkorn influenced the further development of the region significantly. They arrived in New Spain in 1754 and after more than one year of negotiations with Spanish colonial authorities were granted the permission to move north to Sonora. The Spaniards hoped to utilize the work of these missionaries in their attempts to control the region and its Natives, yet they were suspicious of the loyalty of the Jesuits. The most influential of these Jesuits was Ignaz Pfefferkorn, who was born in Mannheim in 1725 and came with some of the aforementioned brothers to Arizona in 1754. Pfefferkorn diligently collected information about the environment and the people of the region, which was published in a two-volume work dedicated to Arizona and Sonora. His writings were published in Cologne in 1794 and 1795 under the title Beschreibung der Landschaft Sonora.<sup>3</sup>

Pfefferkorn frequently drew parallels in his writings between the conditions and the environment in the Southwest and the ones prevalent in Germany. He viewed the mountain ranges, rivers, and climate of Arizona and Sonora as comparable to the ones he left behind in his native country. He also compared the vegetation of the region and its use to the crops and herbs growing in Germany. At least through his description, it appears, that contrary to common belief, the Germans who moved to Arizona did not encounter an environment that was completely different from the one they had left. It has to

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<sup>3</sup> Trimble, *Arizona*, 78. Classen, "Pfefferkorn," 22-24. Ignaz Pfefferkorn, Beschreibung der Landschaft Sonora samt andern merkwürdigen Nachrichten von den inneren Theilen Neu=Spaniens und Reise aus Amerika bis in Deutschland (Köln, 1794, 1795), microfilm copy in Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona.

be stressed that some of his comparisons are rather far fetched and were probably motivated by an attempt to portray the region as more attractive for possible, and in his view desirable, colonization attempts by other European powers, which is underlined by his frequent critique of Spanish colonial rule.<sup>4</sup>

Pfefferkorn expressed the sorrow that he felt for the local native population, who, according to him, were ruthlessly exploited by the Spanish colonial powers. He criticized the Spanish for their inefficiency in dealing with the Indians as well as the resources of the region. He was convinced that if “only Germans would control the area, they could do wonderful things with its native people and resources.” This kind of critique and lack of cooperation with Spanish authorities led to the expulsion of the Jesuits from America per royal decree. Sixty years after this account was published, German pioneers who arrived in Arizona after the Gadsden Purchase had the chance to prove the validity of Pfefferkorn’s assumptions.<sup>5</sup>

The early German pioneers who arrived in Arizona during the 1850s and 1860s, like their Euro-American counterparts, were driven by their quest for precious metals and desire for adventure. The California Gold Rush also attracted many adventurers to Arizona in the hopes that they could discover comparable fortunes. This mining of Arizona’s metal resources began after the completed Gadsden Purchase in 1853. In the following years, the discovery of

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<sup>4</sup> Pfefferkorn, Sonora, 33f., 77f. Classen, “Pfefferkorn,” 25..

<sup>5</sup> Pfefferkorn, Sonora, 15, 76.

silver and gold near Tubac — Keno's foundation —, the gold strike at the Gila River, 1858-60, discovery of gold on the Colorado River at La Paz in 1862, and the Lynx Creek Gold Rush near present-day Prescott in 1863 brought numerous Euro-American fortune seekers — miners and others — to Arizona.<sup>6</sup>

Yet not all newcomers to the region, including the early German arrivals, were driven by the lure of gold and silver. Some tried to establish themselves as farmers in the region, others wanted to make their profits off the miners — “mine the miners” — and still others had hardly any control over their deployment to Arizona as members of the United States Army. Still, at the height of the mineral frenzy, more than one-fifth of German pioneers engaged in mining and many more had at least some secondary interest in it.

German immigrants entered Arizona from various directions — east, west, and south. Some, like Joseph Smith (Josef Schmid) and John Andreson, were veterans of the California Gold Rush who thought that they could find the fortune in Arizona that they missed in California. Smith was one of the earliest Euro-American settlers of Contra Costa County, California. He moved to Arizona during the early 1860s and found some success at the Mowry Mines by 1864, accumulating \$5,000 of property as a mining engineer. Andreson, born in Schleswig-Holstein in 1834, came to the United States in 1850 and moved to

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<sup>6</sup> Irene A. Mendelsohn, “The Anglo-American Colonization of Arizona before 1900” (M.A. thesis: University of Southern California, 1927), 26-27; Trimble, *Arizona*, 213; and Patrick C. Henderson, “A History of the Prescott Bradshaw Mining Districts” (M.A. thesis: University of Arizona, 1958), 15-19.

Table 3.1  
Major Areas of Occupation of German Arizonans, 1860-1870

<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>1860</u>		<u>1864</u>		<u>1870</u>	
	no.	/ %	no.	/ %	no.	/ %
Military	53	35.6	51	36.4	112	30.2
Merchant	8	5.5	17	12.1	29	7.8
Miner	3	2.1	30	21.4	13	3.5
Agriculture	7	4.8	4	2.9	42	11.3
Other	75	52.0	38	27.2	175	47.2
Total	146	100	140	100	371	100

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: New Mexico [microfilm]; "Decennial Census 1860. Territory of New Mexico, County of Arizona," in Federal Census — Territory of New Mexico and Territory of Arizona (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965), 1-48; "The Special Territorial Census of 1864 Taken in Arizona," in Federal Census — Territory of New Mexico and Territory of Arizona (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965, 49-124); Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Arizona [microfilm].

California, but after a relatively long and unprofitable time there, continued to Arizona in 1863. Like the majority of individuals involved in the gold rushes of the Southwest, he had little luck and moved on again. Other prominent German pioneers, like Frederick Ronstadt, entered the territory from the South, from Mexico. Ronstadt moved to Arizona in 1854 after he had risen to prominence and obtained citizenship in Mexico.<sup>7</sup>

Regardless of where they came to Arizona from, it appears that the majority of German pioneers in Arizona had prior frontier experience upon their arrival in the territory. A prime example is the history of the undoubtedly most prominent and possibly most influential early German pioneer in Arizona, Herrman Ehrenberg. He had acquired extensive experience on a variety of frontiers in different regions of the Western Hemisphere. He was involved in the Texas Revolution, participated in the foundation of a German colony in Texas, traveled the Oregon Trail, performed geographical surveys on the Hawaiian Islands and on other islands in the South Pacific, and prior to his arrival in Arizona took part in the California Gold Rush.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> For Joseph Smith, see "1864 Census; "History of Contra Costa County (San Francisco: Slocum & Co., 1882), copy in Smith, Joseph, Hayden File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona; and Arizona Miner 6 July 1864, 4:2. Andreson, John, Hayden File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona. For Frederick Ronstadt, see for example C.L. Sonnichsen, Tucson: The Life and Times of an American City (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 57.

<sup>8</sup> Charles D. Poston, Building a State in Apache Land (Tempe: Aztec Press, 1963), 18; and Natalie Ornish, Ehrenberg: Goliad Survivor. Old West Explorer (Dallas, Texas Heritage Press, 1997), 3, 40.



Ehrenberg was born in the town of Steuden near Leipzig on October 17, 1816. At approximately the age of seventeen, he departed for the United States and tried to settle in Texas where he got involved in the Texas Revolution. In 1840, he returned to Germany where he studied mining, geology, and geography at several universities, finally graduating from the University of Freiburg. While perfecting his education, Ehrenberg wrote a book about Texas and its revolutionary battles, which was first published in Germany under the title Texas und seine Revolution in 1843, and which may have influenced some of his countrymen to emigrate to Texas.<sup>9</sup>

After the completion of his university education, Ehrenberg returned to the United States and tried his luck in the California Gold Rush. Failing to achieve the desired success, he turned his eyes towards Arizona in 1854 after the Gadsden Purchase. He made his way there together with his partner Charles Poston, who later became known as the “father of Arizona,” exploring the mining

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<sup>9</sup> Ornish, Ehrenberg, xviii; Rose, “Ehrenberg,” 163. Ehrenberg’s motivation for his original departure from Germany is unknown. One historian, who assumed that Ehrenberg was Jewish, gave as the reason that he wanted to escape anti-Semitism in Germany (Joseph Stocker, Jewish Roots in Arizona [Phoenix: Phoenix Jewish Community Council, 1954], 1). For a long time historians assumed that Ehrenberg was the first Jewish pioneer to settle in Arizona. Recently however, historian Benjamin Sacks proved that he was born into a Lutheran family in Steuden (“Herrman von Ehrenberg,” type-written manuscript, Ehrenberg, Herrman, Arizona Historical Foundation, Special Collections, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona). For Ehrenberg’s heritage, see also “Maria Augusta Ehrenberg, Rome, Italy, to Daniel Williamson, Tucson, Arizona, 1930,” transcript of letter in Ehrenberg, Herrman, Hayden File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona. For Ehrenberg’s studies in Germany, see “Emil Ehrenberg, Teplik, to ‘The Proprietor of the Station Dos Palmas between San Bernardino and La Paz and Ehrenberg,’ 24 September 1882,” Goldwater Collection, Arizona Historical Foundation, Special Collections, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona. Ehrenberg’s book was actually published in three consecutive years, 1843-1845, under three different titles: Texas und seine Revolution (1843), Der Freiheitskampf in Texas im Jahre 1836 (1844), and Fahrten und Schicksale der Deutschen in Texas (1845). See, “E.W. Winn, University of Texas, Austin, Library Office, to Frank Lockwood, Tucson, Arizona,” transcript of letter, Ehrenberg, Herrman, Hayden File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona.

opportunities in the region. Ehrenberg was the first individual to draw and publish a detailed map of the area acquired by the United States through the Gadsden Purchase and subsequently performed surveys of a variety of regions within Arizona including the proposed town site of Colorado City, later Arizona City and today's Yuma. His extensive explorations and surveys made him one of the foremost experts regarding the population, geography, geology, and actual value of Arizona as acknowledged by his contemporaries. At the same time, he also explored the mining opportunities in the region and by 1862 he was successfully developing several claims on the Colorado River near La Paz.<sup>10</sup>

Ehrenberg accurately predicted the future economic development of Arizona. He frequently expressed and published his opinion regarding the potential of Arizona. He foresaw little growth opportunities in agriculture because of the limited portion of the region that could be cultivated profitably. The future of Arizona, he predicted, rested in the field of systematic mining development, however, not on the basis of individual placer mining. He correctly anticipated the need for large financial investment in order to facilitate efficient extraction and marketing of mineral resources. Ehrenberg demanded a concerted and coordinated effort of the government to protect the region in which eastern capital could provide the means for the systematic exploration and extraction of the vast mineral riches of Arizona.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Ornish, Ehrenberg, xviii; and Rose, "Ehrenberg," 167. Weekly Arizonan 14 April 1859, 3:3. Rose, "Ehrenberg," 169.

<sup>11</sup> "Ehrenberg, Letter to the Editor," Weekly Arizonan 2 June 1859, 2:3. "Herrman von Ehrenberg," 7-8.

Herrman Ehrenberg was not only a typical German pioneer, he also was one of the first who made the transition to a new era. He started to identify himself no longer just as a German pioneer but also took on the identity of an Arizonan. In 1865, he stated that he “linked [his] destiny with that of Arizona [and had] no desire to abandon it.” At that moment, he was on the verge of making the transformation from a German pioneer to a German Arizonan. Ehrenberg never was able to fully complete this process and emerge as a German Arizonan community leader because of his untimely death in 1866. In August of that year, on his return from California, he was murdered under mysterious circumstances at an overland coach station near present-day Palm Springs.<sup>12</sup>

Ehrenberg not only foresaw that the future of Arizona rested in the systematic development of its mineral resources, but he also acted upon it. Together with his partner Charles Poston, who was ultimately responsible for raising the eastern capital for such a venture, he formed the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company, which introduced a new form of mining venture in Arizona. Financed by eastern capital, it represented the first incursion of a corporate venture in Arizona. Under Ehrenberg’s guidance this enterprise quickly developed into a business that was almost completely run and dominated by

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<sup>12</sup> “Ehrenberg to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 25 September 1865,” RG 75, NA, letter reprinted in Arizona Historical Review 7(1969): 88-89. Ornish, Ehrenberg, xix. Daily Arizona Miner 23 August 1866, 2:2 and 24 August 1866, 1:2-3. Daily Alta California 31 October 1866, 2:2 incorrectly reports October 9 as the murder of Ehrenberg. Sources vary in their accounts, whether Ehrenberg was murdered by Indians or Mexicans. See for example Francis Commins Lockwood, Pioneer Days in Arizona, From the Spanish Occupation to Statehood (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932), microfilm, 142; and John Ross. Browne, Adventures in the Apache County: A Tour Through Arizona and Sonora, With Notes On the Silver Regions of Nevada (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1869), microfilm, 238.

German pioneers. The company recruited German mining engineers and miners from other places in the American West and also brought into the operation German immigrants who had come to the region on their own.<sup>13</sup>

Ehrenberg's company particularly recruited miners and mining engineers from the German settlement of New Braunfels, Texas. Many qualified German individuals had settled in this ethnic enclave, but as a result of the lack of mining opportunities there many had to work in a variety of different occupations. Presented with a new prospect in Arizona, several of them enthusiastically enlisted with the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company. One of them was Frederick Brunckow, who was born in Berlin around 1830. He was a mining engineer by profession and had graduated with a degree from the University of Freiburg – the same university Herrman Ehrenberg had attended. Brunckow left Germany after the failed 1848 Revolution and was lured to the United States by the mining opportunities in the California Gold Rush. He made his way to Texas in 1850. After his arrival in Arizona, Brunckow quickly assumed a leading position in the company overseeing its mining operations. He was highly respected for his mining knowledge by his German colleagues and together with some of them he engaged in developing mining claims outside of the company's realm. This finally lead to his departure from the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company when he started to develop the San Pedro Silver Mines near

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<sup>13</sup> Poston, Apache Land, 64.

Tombstone. There, on July 23, 1860, he was murdered by some of his Mexican employees.<sup>14</sup>

Another German mining engineer who made his way from New Braunfels to Arizona in the employ of the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company was Charles Schuchard. He became the company's engineer in charge of the smelting operations. In addition to his mining work for the company, Schuchard drew sketches and made maps of Southwestern Arizona, which accompanied the company's reports to its stockholders. He also tried to establish himself as an agriculturist in the region, taking up 160 acres in 1856. Failing to achieve the desired results in agriculture he decided to return to Texas in 1859 where he raised sheep.<sup>15</sup>

The company not only recruited Germans from Texas, but was also able to bring into the business some Germans who had acquired mining experience during the California Gold Rush. He secured the services of metallurgist and mining engineer Guido Küstel. Küstel had been with the San Francisco smelting firm of Wass, Uzany, and Warwick before he joined the Sonora Exploring and

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<sup>14</sup> Poston, *Apache Land*, 64. C.D. Poston, "A Piece of History. In Memoriam Frederick Brunckow, 19 February 1880," 1-2, MS 881, Morgan Wood Papers 1923-1927, folder 13, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona. Even though Brunckow and Ehrenberg attended the same university, there is no evidence that suggests that they already knew each other in Germany. After his departure from the Sonora Company, Brunckow also worked for the Arizona Land and Mining Company (*Charter and By-Laws of the Arizona Land and Mining Company* (Providence: Knowles, Anthony, & Co., 1859), microfilm, 25). Diane North, *Samuel Peter Heintzelman and the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1980), 196.

<sup>15</sup> North, *Heintzelman*, 196. "Old Records of Pima County, Arizona," Book No. A, 179, copy in "Schuchard, Charles," Hayden File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona. *Arizona Citizen* 7 June 1898, 3:3.

Mining Company as the Superintendent of Amalgamating. He was the German mining pioneer who introduced new amalgamation processes to Arizona drawing on the vast expertise that he displayed in his text Nevada and California Process of Silver and Gold Extraction.<sup>16</sup>

Ehrenberg's company also utilized the services of many other Germans who had made their way to the territory on their own. Almost all needs of the company that were not directly mining related were serviced by German pioneers of the region. Henry Alfing, one of Arizona's earliest settlers, was in charge of logistics at the headquarters in Tubac as the company's major-domo. The company's blacksmith and carpenter were the German natives Louis Quesse and Wilhelm Streit. German immigrant Edward Radcliff was employed at the Arivaca Mines as a clerk and accountant, while Prussian-born Frank Rechter served as the company's teamster.<sup>17</sup>

For the acquisition of the necessary supplies for the company operations Ehrenberg relied on the services of two German pioneer merchants, Theodore Moohrmann and Frederick Hulseman. Hulseman was the general store-keeper of the company and was in charge of the Tubac office for which he received an

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<sup>16</sup> Sonora Exploring and Mining Company, Report of Frederick Brunckow, Geologist, Mineralogist, and Mining Engineer, to a Committee of Stockholders of the Sonora Exploring & Mining Co. Upon the History, Resources, and Prospects of the Company in Arizona (Cincinnati: Railroad Record Print, 1859), microfilm; and Sonora Exploring and Mining Company, Report of the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company Made to the Stockholders. December 1856 (Cincinnati: Railroad Record Print, 1856), microfilm. North, Heintzelman, 200.

<sup>17</sup> For a list of the leading German employees of the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company, their positions and their annual compensation, see "Report of Frederick Brunckow." In this report, Henry Alfing's name is misspelled as "Elfing, major-domo, Tubac." North, Heintzelman, 92-97. For Edward Radcliff and Frank Rechter, see 1860 Census; and Weekly Phoenix Herald 2 July 1891, 2:1.

annual salary of \$1,500. Moohrmann, who was a native of Mecklenburg, also operated for the company in and around Tubac. Even though he did not receive an annual salary from the company, like Hulseman, it appears, that his dealings with the company were lucrative, leading to his accumulation of property in the amount of \$6,000 by 1860.<sup>18</sup>

The Germans involved with the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company worked together, they lived in close proximity to each other, and associated and socialized with each other. They did not, however, engage in overt German ethnic behavior nor did they show any urge to erect a German ethnic enclave. Their close relationships rested on a few basic "German" characteristics. They were freely able to communicate in their shared common mother tongue whenever they wanted, they were able to enjoy together typical German meals prepared by their German cook David Bontrager, and they could practice German *Gemütlichkeit* in a business and social setting.<sup>19</sup>

Many of the Germans who worked for the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company left no lasting imprint on Arizona. The majority were looking for short-

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<sup>18</sup> For Frederick Hulseman, see "Report of Frederick Brunckow," 1860 Census; and North, Heintzelman, 86. For Theodore Moohrmann, see Moohrmann, Theodore, Biographical File, Index #5196, Special Collections, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona; "Pima County Record Book 'B'," copy in MS 183, Pima County Collection, Papers 1864-1885, Box 4, Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona; and 1860 Census.

<sup>19</sup> North, Heintzelman, 7. San Francisco Bulletin 21 August 1860, 1:2. The principal Anglo-American partner of the company, Charles Poston, criticized the Germans for their *gemütliche* behavior by stressing that he has "no interest in such men [who] just know how to smoke the pipe" (Poston, *Apache Land*, 139). Even though they did not build an ethnic enclave, the concentration of German in and around Tubac was clearly visible for contemporary visitors (Samuel Woodworth Conzzen, The Marvelous Country; Or, Three years in Arizona and New Mexico, the Apache Home [Boston: Shepard and Gill, 1873], microfilm, 164).

term opportunities and never developed a long-lasting connection to the specific locale and moved on again. For a short period of time, however, one of Arizona's leading economic ventures was dominated by German pioneers. Their major legacy became the introduction of German mining techniques and technology to Arizona, which influenced the region's industry for decades to come.<sup>20</sup>

Not all early German pioneers who came to Arizona were primarily interested in mining. Some of them tried to probe the region's agricultural potential while others attempted to make their profits by supplying and trading with the miners and evolving mining companies. Among the first American and Euro-American farmers in the region were two German brothers, Fritz and Julius Contzen. Born in 1820 and 1831 respectively, the two brothers were reared and educated in Waldeck, Bavaria. Both were students of agriculture and forestry and Julius achieved the status of Professor of Forestry in his native Bavaria.<sup>21</sup>

In 1848, Julius and Fritz Contzen joined a group of German emigrants and moved to Texas where they intended to establish a German agricultural colony. After the failure of this venture, they searched for other agricultural opportunities in the American West. In 1854 they joined Major W.H. Emroy's Boundary Commission, making their way to the newly acquired southern Arizonan region. They settled near Tucson and founded the Punta de Agua

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<sup>20</sup> North, Heintzelman, xiii. "Herrman von Ehrenberg," 11.

<sup>21</sup> "Contzen, Julius," Hayden File. "Contzen, Fritz," Hayden File. "Contze," Stadtarchiv Bad Wildungen, Germany.



Ranch located approximately three miles south of the San Xavier mission.

Julius' time in Arizona was plagued by physical ailments, to which he finally succumbed in 1857.<sup>22</sup>

After Julius' death, Fritz Contzen was able to successfully continue their agricultural venture and he became one of Arizona's earliest successful pioneers. He supplemented his income and supported the growth of his farm through a mail contract with the United States government. In the future, such government contracts would secure the economic success for many German and German Jewish immigrants in the region. Contzen emerged as one of Arizona's longest lasting agricultural pioneers and became a highly respected economic and public figure in the Tucson area during the following decades.<sup>23</sup>

Other German pioneers also tried agriculture though not with the same success that Fritz Contzen enjoyed. Among them were Henry Alfing and Josef Hundredmark. While in the employ of the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company, Alfing established a farm near Tubac. In the 1860 census he listed as his main occupation, farmer, with property valued at \$2,500. During the following decade, Alfing abandoned his farm and in 1870 his status was reduced to that of a laborer in Tucson with a depleted property valuing \$300.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> "Contzen, Fritz," Hayden File. C.L. Sonnichsen, Tucson, 49-50. Arizona Daily Star 30 July 1909, 6:3.

<sup>23</sup> Tucson Citizen 3 May 1909, 8:4. "Contzen, Fritz," Hayden File.

<sup>24</sup> 1860 Census; 1870 Census; and "Alfing, Henry," Hayden File. It is not possible to assess whether Henry Alfing accumulated his property through the work for the Sonora Mining and Exploring Company or his agricultural business.

As the American and Euro-American mining pioneers began prospecting the interior of central Arizona, agriculturalists followed. One of them was Josef Hundredmark who followed the miners on the heels of the Lynx Creek Gold Rush in 1863. He established and operated the Willow Springs Ranch northeast of present-day Prescott and became one of the leading farmers of central Arizona during the 1860s and 1870s.<sup>25</sup>

One of the most profitable and most consistent economic business for early German pioneers in Arizona was merchandising. The most amazing and most successful merchants in the territory belonged to a group of German Jewish entrepreneurs, some of whom accumulated substantial economic fortune, fame, and social recognition. One of the leading gentile German merchants during the 1850s and 1860s was Frederick Hulseman, who had been connected to the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company.<sup>26</sup>

Frederick Hulseman came to Arizona from Mexico together with his brother Louis, where the two brothers had established themselves earlier as successful farmers and ranchers. In Mexican Sonora, they had risen into the highest strata of the local society. During the 1850s, the Hulsemans expanded their interests into Arizona with a mercantile business in Tubac, while continuing their agricultural venture in Mexico. Their dealings with the Sonora Mining and Exploring Company as well as American and Euro-American miners in the

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<sup>25</sup> Arizona Miner 26 October 1864, 3:4.

<sup>26</sup> The experiences of German Jewish merchants will be examined in detail in a later chapter that is dedicated to a comparison of German Arizonan and German Jewish Arizonan identity development.

region proved to be extremely profitable. The 1860 Census lists Frederick and Louis as Tubac merchants who held property with a combined value of \$16,800.<sup>27</sup>

Other German pioneer merchants who achieved relative success during the early development of the territory were Henry Marks and Edward Schneider. Marks operated his business in Tucson and Casa Blanca whereas Schneider tried to profit from the gold rush on the Colorado River during the early 1860s. He established businesses at Fort Yuma and adjacent Arizona City. The histories of Schneider's and Marks' businesses illustrate one of the pioneer strategies that led to economic success. Both did not limit themselves to operate in only one occupational field. Occupational and entrepreneurial flexibility and diversification were essential keys to unlock the doors to economic success in Arizona's frontier environment. Henry Marks operated a boarding house as well as his mercantile business and Schneider kept a hotel together with his wife, Louisa, in Arizona City.<sup>28</sup>

Many of the early German and Euro-American pioneers in Arizona displayed this kind of occupational flexibility that assured some relative economic affluence. Other German pioneers who followed this trend were

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<sup>27</sup> San Francisco Bulletin 11 August 1855, 4:4. Weekly Arizonan 19 May 1859, 3:3; and 29 September 1859, 3:3. 1860 Census.

<sup>28</sup> For Henry Marks, see "Marks, Henry," Hayden File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona; "1864 Census," and 1870 Census. For Edward Schneider, see 1860 Census; Arizona Sentinel 19 July 1873, 1:1; and "E.N. Schneider, Arizona City, tp E.W. Morse, San Diego, CA, 17 April 1860," transcript of letter in "Schneider, Edward N.," Hayden Arizona Collection, Special Collections, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona.

Albert Bowman and Louis Quesse. Bowman, born in Brunswick, worked in the region around Arizona City as a miner, upholsterer, and trader in connection with Frederick Ronstadt. Louis Quesse worked as a blacksmith while plowing the fields on his farm near Tubac. Additionally, he tried to establish himself as a brewer in this city. Quesse's economic diversification paid off, and by 1870, he accumulated property that totaled a value of \$4,000.<sup>29</sup>

Despite occupational flexibility, diversification, and hard work, it appears, that economic success of early German pioneers in Arizona was limited. More than half of all German pioneers residing in the region in 1860 did not own any property at all. A decade later the percentage of property-less Germans had risen to over 75%. The remainder of the German population that was able to acquire assets achieved at best moderate economic success as Table 3.2 illustrates. Only a handful of exceptional individuals found the riches that they had set out to accumulate in Arizona. Ironically, not the miners who dreamt of mountains of gold achieved this success, but the artisans who produced goods and provided services to the miners and merchants who traded with them.

The lack of economic success in their frontier endeavors led to high transiency rates among German pioneers in Arizona. Disillusioned, many German pioneers left the region after short periods of residency. This lack of

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<sup>29</sup> For Albert Bowman, see 1860 Census; "1864 Census;" and "Oury Property Records, 1862-64," 10, copy in "Bowman, Albert," Hayden File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona. For Louis Quesse, see 1860 Census; "1864 Census;" 1870 Census; and "Biographical Information," "Quesse, Louis," Hayden File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona. Quesse immigrated to the United States before 1848 ("Christian Ludwig Quesse," Kommunalarchiv Minden, Germany).

**Table 3.2**  
**Value of Property Owned by German Arizonans, 1860-1870**

US\$	<u>1860</u>		<u>1864</u>		<u>1870</u>	
	no.	/ %	no.	/ %	no.	/ %
0	56	59.6	56	62.9	203	77.8
1-100	1	1.0	14	15.7	2	0.8
101-500	10	10.6	10	11.2	26	10.0
501-1,000	8	8.5	1	1.1	8	3.0
1,001-2,000	4	4.3	2	2.3	6	2.3
2,001-5,000	8	8.5	6	6.7	9	3.4
5,001-10,000	3	3.2	0	0	3	1.1
10,001-50,000	4	4.3	0	0	2	0.8
50,001 +	0	0	0	0	2	0.8
Total	94	\$ 117,625	89	\$ 30,665	261	\$ 292,420
Unknown	52		51		110	
Mean	1,286		346		1,120	
Range	\$ 0-23,000		\$ 0-5,000		\$ 0-124,000	
% of AZ total	7.3		(*)		(*)	

(\*) = data not available

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: New Mexico [microfilm]; "Decennial Census 1860. Territory of New Mexico, County of Arizona," in Federal Census — Territory of New Mexico and Territory of Arizona (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965), 1-48; "The Special Territorial Census of 1864 Taken in Arizona," in Federal Census — Territory of New Mexico and Territory of Arizona (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965, 49-124); Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Arizona [microfilm].

population stability combined with the relatively small number of Germans created a scenario in which German pioneers were not in a position to create an ethnic enclave or ethnic institutions, even if they had the desire to do so. This did not mean that German pioneers were not drawn together on the basis of shared ethnic backgrounds. An analysis of their tight relationships reveals a picture that is quite contrary to Turnerian frontier beliefs. Ethnic cooperation and friendships superseded the rugged individualism that allegedly prevailed on the Western frontier.<sup>30</sup>

During the 1850s and 1860s, German pioneers in Arizona maintained very close business relations. At least for the first fifteen years, almost each and every German pioneer who was not a member of the U.S. Army was connected through business ties. Albert Bowman had business interests with Frederick Ronstadt, who in turn was connected to Charles Schuchard in the Dunbar Company. Schuchard did business with German frontier merchant L.J.F. Jaeger. Jaeger was connected through cattle and mining interests to German merchant Allen Gabriel who operated in Arizona during the early 1860s while retaining his main business interests in California. Through his cattle business, Gabriel was also connected to Fritz Contzen. He in turn did business with many other German pioneers, including Charles H. Meyer and Henry Augustus Strube. Business relations tied Henry Strube to the brothers Andrew and Jacob Starrar who were instrumental in the foundation of the Phoenix

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<sup>30</sup> Nagler, "Ethnic Persistence," 39.

settlement. The Starrar brothers in turn sold some of their agricultural products to German merchant Charles Gerson, who resided in Arizona City, and he had ties to C.A. Luke, who emerged as one of the most influential pioneers in and around Prescott. This sample of business connections between German pioneers, which could be extended even more, illustrates that they cooperated closely with each other, probably on the basis of a common ethnic background.<sup>31</sup>

Beyond close business relations, German pioneers on the Arizona frontier also developed strong friendships that often proved very valuable. Herrman Ehrenberg's best friends were all fellow German pioneers. He was close to Gerhard Waldemar, C.H. Borger, Hyman Mannasse and Sol Barth. Another associate of the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company, Frederick Brunckow, was close friends with Louis Quesse, who in turn was friendly with Fred Fisher. Fisher had developed a tight friendship with German merchant Edward Schneider. These friendships proved especially important during hard times on the frontier. After the premature death of German farming pioneer George von Toddenworth, his friend Charles H. Meyer assumed guardianship of his children and assured through his connections back home to Germany that

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<sup>31</sup> "Oury Property Records, 1862-64," 10, "Bowman," Hayden File; Saturday Phoenix Review 22 June 1895, 1:1; "J.M. Scammell, Sacramento, CA, to Mrs. Geo. F. Kitt, Tucson, AZ, 16 March 1950," letter in "Gabriel, Allen," Hayden File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona; "Pima County Book of Records, 17 January - 28 December 1865," 199-202, copy in "Contzen, Fritz," Biographical File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona; "Pima County Book of Deeds No.1," 40, copy in "Contzen, Fritz," Biographical File; Arizona Miner 28 August 1874, 1:2; Weekly Arizona Miner 10 March 1876, 2:4; and "Gerson, Charles," Hayden File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona.

they would receive a fair share of their inheritance from the Old World. Another prominent German pioneer who surrounded himself almost exclusively with German friends and had to rely heavily on their support after his economic demise was Henry Wickenburg. He maintained close friendships with numerous German farmers and miners, amongst them Friedrich Tegner, Frederick Brill, and Valentine Guyerick.<sup>32</sup>

The majority of early German pioneers in Arizona were tied together either through business relations or friendships. However, the question remains what was the basis for these ties — what did they have in common? A look at the German origins of German pioneers does not explain their commonality. They came from various German kingdoms, principalities, and duchies. Many Germans residing in Arizona in 1860 came primarily from the southern regions like Baden, Bavaria, Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Wuerttemberg, while in 1870, natives of Prussia dominated, reflecting general patterns of German emigration that featured first southern and then northern and eastern German emigrants. Despite this circumstance, processes of chain migration appeared not to have been at work during this period.

One aspect certainly would be the shared identity of pioneers in a frontier environment. Beyond that, their relations rested on a few basic commonalities

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<sup>32</sup> "Herrman von Ehrenberg," 18-20; "F. Brunckow, Cerro Colorado, AZ to Louis Quesse, n.p., 7 March 1859," copy of letter in MS 674, Louis Quesse, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona; "E.N. Schneider, Arizona City, to E.W. Morse, San Diego, CA, 17 April 1860," transcript of letter in "Schneider, Edward N.," Hayden Arizona Collection, Special Collections, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona; "Probate Court of Pima County, Docket No. 205," copy in "Toddenworth, George," Hayden File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona; and Wickenburg Sun 12 April 1984, 16-17.



that “Germanness” provided for them. The most important aspect that they had in common, and which drew them together, was a shared language. They were able and eager to communicate in this language with each other as frequently as possible. Sometimes the reason for a visit to a neighboring German pioneer would be for the sole reason to “talk Dutch [*Deutsch*].”<sup>33</sup>

German pioneers had the opportunity to communicate with each other in their native language in a variety of settings under different circumstances. Frequently some of them would get together, speak German, while enjoying “typical” German food in places like Louis Heller’s “La Paz, Bakery, and Coffee Saloon” or at Gross’ and Scherer’s “National Restaurant” in Prescott. There, they could socialize, exchange news, and reminiscence about the *Heimat* in an atmosphere of German *Gemütlichkeit*.<sup>34</sup>

The connections back to the various parts of Germany that they called their homes were another aspect that tied these German pioneers together on an ethnic basis. Despite their emigration from Germany and their move to the Far West of the United States, the majority of German immigrants never severed their ties to their *Heimat*. Through various means they kept in touch with friends and relatives back in Germany. The news from home that they received through these contacts was frequently shared with other Germans in

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<sup>33</sup> North, *Heintzelman*, 8. “Account by Charles B. Genug,” copy in “Guyerick, Valentine,” Hayden Arizona Collection, Special Collections, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona.

<sup>34</sup> *Arizona Miner* 20 July 1864, 3:2; and 30 October 1866, 1:1. *San Francisco Bulletin* 10 April 1863, 1:3. *Arizona Citizen* 1 May 1875, 1:3.

Table 3.3  
Place of Birth of German Arizonans, 1860-1870

STATE	1860			1864			1870		
	no.	/	%	no.	/	%	no.	/	%
Baden	15		10.3	4		2.9	17		4.6
Bavaria	17		11.6	3		2.1	20		5.4
Bremen	1		0.7	2		1.4	4		1.1
Brunswick	1		0.7	0			1		0.3
Hamburg	0			2		1.4	2		0.5
Hannover	10		6.8	4		2.9	17		4.6
Hesse-Cassel	11		7.5	0			4		1.1
Hesse-Darmstadt	10		6.8	2		1.4	5		1.3
Holstein	1		0.7	1		0.7	0		
Mecklenburg	2		1.4	0			1		0.3
Prussia	31		21.2	21		15.0	123		33.2
Saxony	10		6.8	1		0.7	2		1.5
Silesia	1		0.7	0			0		
Westphalia	1		0.7	0			0		
Wuerttemberg	18		12.3	1		0.7	11		3.0
Germany	14		9.6	98		70.0	163		43.9
Total	146		100	140		100	371		100

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: New Mexico [microfilm]; "Decennial Census 1860. Territory of New Mexico, County of Arizona," in Federal Census — Territory of New Mexico and Territory of Arizona (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965), 1-48; "The Special Territorial Census of 1864 Taken in Arizona," in Federal Census — Territory of New Mexico and Territory of Arizona (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965, 49-124); Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Arizona [microfilm].

Arizona who were eager to learn about the developments Germany even if this news did not come from the same regions that they called home.

The economically more affluent German pioneers were able to return to Germany for visits. John Andreson had acquired enough wealth on the Arizona frontier that he was able to visit friends and family in his native Schleswig-Holstein. Fritz Contzen returned with his new Arizonan family to Bavaria in 1873 where they spent an entire year. During their stay, he arranged for the future education of his children in Germany. The news from home that these Germans brought back to the territory was eagerly awaited by their friends and business associates. It appears that this news from the old country was a cherished item among the frontier Germans and they tried to retrieve as much as possible. Whenever possible Germans pioneers accommodated German visitors to the region to display their hospitality but also to gather information about home.<sup>35</sup>

The most important means of staying in touch with home were letters sent back and forth across the Atlantic ocean. There is sufficient evidence that almost all German pioneers in Arizona maintained correspondence with family and friends at home in Germany, though few of these letters survived. The letters sent by Louis Quesse to his parents and their replies serve as one example of how German pioneers in Arizona communicated in the German

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<sup>35</sup> "Andreson, John," Hayden File. "Contzen, Fritz," Biographical File; and Arizona Citizen 14 February 1874, 3:2. "Hulseman, Frederick," Hayden File; and Julius Froebel, Seven Years Travel in Central America, New Mexico, and the Far West United States (London, 1859), 495.

language with their old home. One other source of news from the *Heimat* were German newspapers, which were available to German pioneers, for example, at Edward Schneider's "Arizona News Depot and Circulating Library" in Yuma.<sup>36</sup>

Before 1870, these German pioneers, with their close relations to each other and their Old World home, did not undergo a frontier transition in a Turnerian sense. They neither became rugged frontier individuals nor did they "Americanize." On the other hand, they also did not display overt ethnic behavior and showed no real inclination to attempt the establishment of a German ethnic community. German pioneers in Arizona also did not form any local identity. They were looking to exploit frontier opportunities and were not interested in the process of community building. Additionally, no assimilationist pressures existed in the territory during these early years that would have fostered the development of an ethnic defense.

If any substantial change in ethnic behavior can be observed amongst German immigrants in Arizona, it would be an acculturation to the existing Hispanic society and culture which they encountered upon their arrival in the region. At least during the first fifteen years following their arrival, from the middle of the 1850s into the 1870s, German pioneers were gradually drawn into

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<sup>36</sup> Only the correspondence of two German Arizonan pioneers remained preserved over time in archives and private collection. Several letters of Louis Quesse's correspondence with his parents in German are preserved at the archives of the Arizona Historical Society in Tucson (MS 674). The complete correspondence of Heinrich Schuermann with his future wife Dorette Titgemeier and some other family members, consisting of several hundred letters, is preserved in the private collection of Charlotte Dean, Safford, Arizona. *Arizona Sentinel* 19 July 1873, 1:1.

the life-style of the local Hispanic society. This happened in an environment where Spanish was the *lingua franca*.<sup>37</sup>

The view of and attitude toward the Hispanic population and society in the region varied substantially between German visitors and German pioneers. The visitors, who subsequently wrote about their experiences in and impression of the American Southwest, often either deliberately overlooked Hispanics or depicted them in a negative manner. Typical German ethnocentric bias influenced this view of Hispanics, unlike Native Americans, as culturally and socially inferior people.<sup>38</sup>

During the early years of their settlement, German pioneers displayed a different attitude towards the local Hispanic population and society. They quickly realized the value of friendly relationships with the members of the existing communities, which had evolved during the Spanish and Mexican period in the region. The contacts between German pioneers and Hispanic locals developed into business relations, friendships, and often marital ties. All this occurred in an environment, that contrary to common belief, appeared to have been not that strange and foreign to these German immigrants and who, for the most part, did not perceive it as unfriendly and hostile. Ignatz Pfefferkorn's writings, eluded to earlier, illustrate that the Arizonan and German environments were to a degree comparable. As historian Tomas Jaehn pointed

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<sup>37</sup> Sheridan, Arizona, 110.

<sup>38</sup> For a detailed discussion of the attitudes and views of German writers and victors of the American Southwest, see Jaehn, "New Mexico," 34-36; and Tomas Jaehn, "Multiculturalism in New Mexico," Amerikastudien 41(1996): 557-574.

out in his study of Germans in New Mexico, Southwestern villages resembled somewhat the *kleinbürgerliche Dörfer* of farmers, artisans, and shopkeepers in which many of the German pioneers had grown up. The layout of Hispanic communities like Tucson or Tubac, which were devoid of the “grid patterns of Anglo-American towns” and where the buildings and neighborhoods radiated outwards from the *plaza*, were similar in design and nature to the German *Runddörfer* that have at their center the *Marktplatz*.<sup>39</sup>

From the outset, German pioneers in Arizona developed business relation with local Hispanic merchants, farmers, and artisans. Often these business relations stretched across the American-Mexican border, which was for many settlers on both sides during the early decades nothing more than a mere line in the sand. Henry Alfing had business contacts with several Hispanic businessmen on both sides of the border. Frederick Hulseman, while operating his mercantile business in Tubac, maintained his interests across the border in his ranch, which he had founded and developed together with fellow German immigrant Carlos Hundhausen already prior to the Gadsden Purchase. They leased land from Mexican landlord Don Manuel Gandara, on which they developed a flourishing ranch with 5,000 sheep, 100 cows, and 100 horses. Many other German-Mexican business relations existed within southern Arizona

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<sup>39</sup> Jaehn, “Multiculturalism,” 568.

and across the border, which was equally typical of other American and Euro-American settlers in the region.<sup>40</sup>

The link that connected many German immigrants most closely to the local Hispanic society were inter-ethnic marriages. Marriages between American and Euro-American settlers and Hispanic women were a frequent occurrence in the American Southwest during the early days. These marriages strengthened the ties between the different ethnic groups in the region. Until the 1870s, more than half of the marriages that involved Euro-Americans in Pima County were unions between pioneer men and Hispanic women. These ties gave also German pioneers access to the inner circles of the local communities and often opened the door to prosperity.<sup>41</sup>

These intermarriages also resulted in the acculturation of German pioneers to the Southwestern Hispanic way of life by bridging cultural differences. In light of the almost complete absence of German females in Arizona and the possible opportunities that intermarriages promised, many German immigrants wedded local Hispanic women. Fritz Contzen, for instance, married Mariana Ferrer, the daughter of Vincente Ferrer, a prominent Mexican trader and explorer, in August 1861. That this marriage was not necessarily

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<sup>40</sup> "Old Records of Pima County, Arizona, Book No. A," 211-212, copy in Southwest Index, document #1517, Special Collections, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona. Nancy Ann Prigge, "A History of Calabasas," typewritten manuscript, MS 231 William A. Duffen Papers, 1870-1961, Box 4, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona; and "Old Records of Pima County, Arizona, Book No. A," 205-210, copy in "Hulseman, Frederick," Hayden File.

<sup>41</sup> Sheridan, Arizona, 109-110. Larry D. Ball, Desert Lawmen: The Sheriffs of New Mexico and Arizona, 1846-1912 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), 31-32.

simply an “affair of the heart,” but rather an attempt to build favorable ties to the local community, might be illustrated by the circumstance that after Mariana’s death in September 1861, Contzen very quickly remarried Mariana’s sister, Olympia Marguerita.<sup>42</sup>

Several other German pioneers took the same path in order to establish ties to influential local Hispanic families. Charles Gross, miner, merchant, and hotelier, in La Paz and Castle Dome married a daughter of the highly respected and influential Ferrara family. In 1859, Louis Quesse was united in marriage with Manuela Otero, the daughter of Manuel and Maria Clara Otero, an influential Hispanic family in the Tucson area. Edward Schneider’s success as merchant and hotelkeeper in Arizona City also rested heavily upon his marriage to his wife, Louisa, who hailed from an eminent Sonoran family. But not all of these marriages involved daughters from prominent Hispanic families. Often simply the unavailability of any non-Hispanic partners led Euro-American and German pioneers to marry local women. George von Toddenworth married a local, Maria Jesusa, in the middle of the 1860s.<sup>43</sup>

The number of these cross-cultural marriages started to decline in the middle of 1860s, when the overall relations between the increasing number of American and Euro-American newcomers and the local Hispanic population

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<sup>42</sup> Darlis A. Miller, “Cross-Cultural Marriages in the Southwest: The New Mexico Experience,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 57 (1982): 335-359, 335, 339. “Contzen, Fritz,” Biographical File; and “Contzen, Fritz,” Hayden File.

<sup>43</sup> *San Francisco Bulletin* 10 April 1863, 1:3. “Quesse, Louis,” Hayden File. “Schneider, Edward,” Hayden File. “Probate Court of Oima County, Docket No. 205,” copy in “Toddenworth, George,” Hayden File; and *Weekly Arizona Citizen* 23 October 1875, 3:3.



gradually deteriorated. This gradual dissolution of the ties between these groups goes hand in hand with the emergence of Euro-American settlements, in which these ties were not a prerequisite for social acceptance and economic success. The foundation and development of the towns of Phoenix and Prescott are prime examples. The community of Phoenix started as an agricultural settlement in the Salt River Valley in the middle of the 1860s and German pioneers were intricately involved in its establishment and growth. Jacob and Andrew Starrar, Henry Wickenburg, L.J.F. Jaeger, and Jacob Denslinger were principal partners and investors in the Swilling Irrigation and Canal Company, which laid the foundation for the establishment of Phoenix. This settlement evolved into a Southwestern city that was dominated by Americans and Euro-Americans with a substantial Hispanic population. In this Euro-American foundation no longer did an equilibrium between the different ethnic groups exist. Quickly Euro-Americans, amongst them Germans, evolved as the leading segment of economy and society whereas Hispanics became relegated to manual laborers and the lower strata of society.<sup>44</sup>

The development of the city of Prescott even more clearly illustrates the severing of ties to the Hispanic population and its exclusion. Prescott was founded during the Lynx Creek Gold Rush in 1864 and was a Euro-American

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<sup>44</sup> Arizona Citizen 10 April 1872, 4:2; Salt River Herald 11 May 1878, 1:2; and Arizona Gazette 19 July 1883, 3:3. Thomas Edwin Farish, History of Arizona, vol. 6 (San Francisco: The Filmer Brothers Electrotype Company, 1917), 71. Madeline Ferrin Paré, Arizona Pageant: A Short History of the 48th State (Phoenix: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1965), 195-196. Geoffrey P. Mawn, "Phoenix, Arizona: Cental City of the Southwest, 1870-1920" (Ph.D. diss.: Arizona State University, 1979), 6-17.

settlement that was established solely for Euro-Americans. Several German immigrants were instrumental during the early development and growth of the town. These German pioneers included C.A. Luke, Henry Brinkmeyer, Josef Ehle, Daniel Hatz, and Johann Raible. Hardly any Hispanics settled in this central Arizonan town and their presence was actually not welcomed. This rejection of the Hispanic population by Euro-Americans, including Germans, is made clear by the exclusion of Mexicans in mining in the region in the mining codes from 1863 to 1864.<sup>45</sup>

Despite the cooperation between German immigrants and their ties to the local Hispanic society, life for them was often rough. Violent encounters between pioneers and mainly Apache Indians occurred frequently, especially during the Civil War when Union troops abandoned the territory. Violence amongst Euro-American settlers and Mexicans was at times also rampant. Some of the German pioneers fell victim to this violence while others succumbed to illnesses. Henry Alfing was stabbed in June 1860. Julius Contzen died of a fever in 1857, and Peter Wegger, a miner who had come to Yavapai County in 1865, died of pneumonia. The same illness also claimed the

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<sup>45</sup> Melissa Ruffner, Prescott: A Pictorial History (Virginia Beach: The Donning Company, 1985), 23, 30-31, 90. "Landgrants and Patents," 15: E1, Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona. "Journal of the Pioneer and Walker Districts, 1863-1864," Arizona State-Wide Archival and Records Project, Works Project Administration, 1941, 4-5, as quoted in Henderson, "Prescott," 60.

life of early German pioneer Louis Quesse who died in 1871. For a variety of reason, life could be very short in Arizona.<sup>46</sup>

Many of the German immigrants who survived these hazards but could not fulfil their dream of immediate success left the territory. Others stayed on despite the lack of success. Maybe the most tragic example of a “shattered pioneer dream” is the history Henry Wickenburg. Wickenburg, an unsuccessful participant in the California Gold Rush and a native of Prussia, came to La Paz in 1862 in his continued quest for riches. “Dutch Henry,” as he became known amongst Arizonans, made one of the richest gold finds in Arizona. In October 1863, he discovery what he named the Vulture Mine southwest of Prescott. Initially, Wickenburg was able to extract substantial quantities of gold, which aided his establishment of the agricultural settlement of Wickenburg and his future success seemed to be limitless. Wickenburg briefly entertained the establishment of a German ethnic agricultural community around Wickenburg, but was not able to resist a \$25,000 buy-out offer for his claim and sold out. During the following decades, he was neither able to establish his envisioned enclave nor achieve any real success in agriculture. While Wickenburg the German pioneer did not prosper, his discovery and the town that bears his name did. By the turn of the century, the Vulture Mine had become the richest

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<sup>46</sup> Henderson, “Prescott,” 18. Sacramento Union 18 February 1860, 4:4. “Contzen, Julius,” Hayden File. “Wegger, Peter,” Hayden File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona. “Quesse, Louis,” Hayden File.”

gold producing mine in Arizona recording a record gold output of \$18,000,000.

In despair and discouraged, Wickenburg committed suicide in 1905.<sup>47</sup>

The German pioneers in Arizona, whether miners, merchants, or artisans, successful or unsuccessful, made their way to the territory voluntarily. A substantial number of Germans who lived in Arizona during the 1860s and 1870s did not have that much control over their destiny. From 1860 to 1870, one-third of all German immigrants in Arizona were members of the United States military (see Table 3.1). Their situation and their experiences in Arizona were unique and do not easily fit into the above described patterns. For one, they did not make an independent choice to come to the region. Their stay in Arizona was part of their military assignment and during their time in the region they lived in a different, often isolated, military environment. For instance, they did not have as many opportunities as other German pioneers to communicate and socialize with fellow Germans outside of the military.

Many of the Germans who came to Arizona as enlisted members of the United States military had enrolled on the east coast. For many the decision to join the military resulted from their economic situation. German immigrants with little or no financial assets, like immigrants from other countries, especially Irish, primarily viewed military service as a stable source of income with the possibility

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<sup>47</sup> "Wickenburg, Henry," Biographical File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona; and Hartford Evening Press 10 March 1865, 1:6. Wickenburg Sun 12 April 1884, 16. Henry Wickenburg's "fabulous" future is predicted in an account of the Hartford Evening Press 10 March 1865, 1:7: "A new town is laid out, stores are building, and Wickenburg bids fair to be one of the towns of the Pacific. Dutch Henry has already become Wickenburg; by and by, I suppose, it will be Hon. Mr. W. or Col. Or Gen W." The Prospect, Prescott, "Special Mining Edition," 14 December 1902, 46. Arizona Star 23 May 1902. Wickenburg Sun 12 April 1884, 16.

for upward economic mobility. For some service also promised a free journey into the American West, which they otherwise would not have been able to afford. These soldiers hoped that they would be able to explore their own opportunities in the West after their enlistment expired.<sup>48</sup>

Little material is available that could illuminate the experiences of German military members during their deployment in Arizona. It is obvious that a majority of them left the territory again while still on active duty, normally a result of their redeployment into other regions of the American West or to the eastern battle fields during the Civil War. Many of the Germans who were discharged in Arizona immediately left the territory to establish themselves in different areas of the West in various occupational field. Fred Scholder, a native of Wuerttemberg had joined the Army on the east coast and was stationed in Arizona from 1853 to 1858. Upon his discharge in Tucson in 1858, he relocated to San Diego where he established a business and started a family. Scholder specifically listed as the major reason for his enrollment in the military the opportunity of westward movement that the service promised and that he was not able afford by himself.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Winfried Becker, "Historische Aspekte der deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen," Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 71 (1989): 177-208, 195. For the Irish and the military, see for example O'Leary, "Irish-Born," 52.

<sup>49</sup> The research for this study has not produced an example of a German soldier discharged in Arizona who moved back east immediately afterwards. This circumstance gives further credence to the assumption that many of them viewed military service as a cheap vehicle to move into the American West. For Fred Scholder, see "Scholder, Fred," Hayden File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona.

Some German soldiers remained in the territory after their discharge and tried to establish businesses and families in the region. These Germans became members of the group that made the transition to a German Arizonan identity during the late 1870s and 1880s. Amongst those who stayed were Charles Blush, John Tillman, and Robert D'yhr, who all became miners with moderate success after their service term had expired. Others, like Josef Fisher, Fritz Jesson, Henry Schwenker, and John Waltemath established themselves as artisans in various occupations and became valuable and respected members of various Arizonan communities.<sup>50</sup>

Most of the German immigrants who arrived and lived in Arizona during the 1850s and 1860s were typical German pioneers. They cooperated with each other on the basis of a shared German pioneer identity. They were primarily interested in the exploitation of frontier opportunities and most had no desire in establishing German, or for that matter any, communities. After realizing their frontier dream — or as in most cases failing to achieve them — many left Arizona again after a relatively short period of residency.

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<sup>50</sup> "Blush, Charles," Hayden File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona. "Tillman, John," Southwest Index, Document #7237, Special Collection, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona; and Mohave County Miner 22 March 1885, 3:3 and 20 August 1892, 3:2. "D'yhr, Robert," Hayden Arizona Collection, Special Collections, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona; Mohave County Miner 17 February 1884, 3:2; and 12 September 1886, 3:2. "United States Senate, Memorandum for Mrs. Kitt," copy in "Fisher, Jacob," Biographical File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona. "Obituary Book," Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona. MS 790 Tompkins, Edith, Folder 4, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona. "Waltemath, John Henry," Biographical File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona; and Arizona Citizen 23 January 1867, 3:4.

Some of them made Arizona their permanent home. Together with newly arriving German immigrants, they engaged in community building. These efforts took place in a changing environment. Beginning in the 1870s, and especially after the arrival of the railroad in Arizona in 1880, large numbers of Euro-American newcomers entered Arizona, attempting to establish an American economic and social dominance. With their arrival the frontier society dissolved and the eastern industrial age arrived. German immigrants had to situate and accommodate themselves in this changing environment. They did this through their work and social interactions. Within both realms they developed and expressed a new identity — that of “German Arizonans.”<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Mendelsohn, “Arizona,” 44–45. Sheridan, Arizona, 117, 122. For some German pioneers the transition into this new environment was not that easily acceptable. Charles A. Luke, for example, promoted the establishment of a “pioneer aristocracy.” (Charles A. Luke, Phoenix, to Hon. Chas. D. Poston, Phoenix, 26 January 1884,” letter in “Luke, Charles A.,” Hayden File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona.

## CHAPTER 4

### GERMAN ARIZONANS AT WORK

During the late nineteenth century, a dramatic number of American and Euro-American settlers moved into the territory of Arizona. From 1870 to 1900, the territory's population grew from 9,658 to 122,931 inhabitants. With them came a proliferating number of German immigrants who intended to make Arizona their new home. Their population grew from 371 in 1870 to 1,190 at the turn of the century. Whereas German pioneers in the 1850s and 1860s were primarily lured to the region by the dreams of accumulating riches in mining, a majority of German settlers in the late nineteenth and early century intended to make Arizona the permanent, new home for themselves and for the families they brought with them or formed in the region.<sup>1</sup>

German immigrants were important for Arizona's economic and social development during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In a variety of occupational fields, they contributed to the evolution of a capitalist economy in the region. They did this in a familiar environment as they had left a developing and expanding bourgeois capitalist society in Germany similar to the

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<sup>1</sup> For the growth of Arizona's population, see Table 2.2.



emerging economy in the Southwest. With this experience and knowledge German immigrants in Arizona tried to establish themselves successfully in a variety of economic fields.<sup>2</sup>

While carving out economic niches for themselves, Germans used their real and alleged occupational skills also to create a German-Arizonan identity for themselves. They were partly to define themselves as German-Arizonans by exploiting stereotypes about the superior skills of German craftsmen. They used these stereotypes to promote the sale of their products and services and by doing so also reinforced those stereotypes about Germans. Simultaneously, this process gave German immigrants in Arizona the opportunity to define themselves as German-Arizonans. They internalized stereotypes held about them to invent a "German ethnic identity."

German-Arizonans during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were over-represented in two occupational categories. German immigrants who operated as entrepreneurs in the territory from 1880 to 1910 made up between 13 and 18 percent of their own working population, while the region's average was only around 5 percent. Many of those entrepreneurs were German and German-Jewish merchants who operated their businesses in the territory. German artisans in the territory were also heavily over represented among the working population of the region. From 1880 to 1910, at least one-fourth of all

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<sup>2</sup> For the role of capitalism in the conquest of the American West, see William G. Robbins, Colony and Empire: The Capitalist Transformation of the American West (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994). Walter Struve, Germans and Texans: Commerce, Migration and Culture in the Days of the Lone Star Republic (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 5-8.

Table 4.1  
Occupations of German Immigrants in Arizona, 1860-1910

OCCUPATION	1860			1870			1880			1900			1910		
	no. /	%	[AZ %]	no. /	%	[AZ %]	no. /	%	[AZ %]	no. /	%	[AZ %]	no. /	%	[AZ %]
agricultural	7	5.0	(*)	47	13.0	[22.3]	64	6.8	[16.1]	124	13.4	(*)	160	13.0	[31.3]
unskilled	14	10.0	(*)	65	17.7	[35.0]	103	11.0	[32.6]	118	12.8	(*)	155	12.7	[24.4]
semi-skilled	7	5.0	(*)	18	5.0	[8.5]	210	22.4	[22.5]	206	22.4	(*)	248	20.2	[19.7]
skilled	43	30.4	(*)	76	20.9	[14.0]	238	25.3	[12.0]	226	24.5	(*)	322	26.2	[10.7]
clerical	4	2.8	(*)	17	4.7	[1.7]	38	4.0	[1.9]	41	4.5	(*)	45	3.7	[4.4]
entrepreneurial	8	5.7	(*)	29	8.0	[3.2]	124	13.3	[5.5]	156	17.0	(*)	223	18.1	[5.1]
professional	5	3.5	(*)	0	0	[1.0]	20	2.1	[2.1]	41	4.5	(*)	62	5.0	[3.6]
military	53	37.6	(*)	112	30.7	[14.3]	142	15.1	[7.3]	8	0.9	(*)	13	1.1	[0.8]
Total*	141	100		364	100	[100]	939	100	[100]	920	100		1,228	100	[100]

(\*) includes only individuals for whom an occupation is provided in the census reports

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: New Mexico [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Arizona [microfilm]; Superintendent of the Census, Ninth Census 1870. Volume I. The Statistics of the Population of the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872); Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Arizona [microfilm]; Department of the Interior, Census Office, Statistics of the Population of the United States of the Tenth Census 1880 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883); Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Arizona [microfilm]; Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910. Volume IV. Population 1910, Occupation Statistics (Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1913).

occupied Germans worked as skilled craftsmen. At the same time, only about 10 percent of Arizona's labor force worked in this field. Beyond the over-representation of German immigrants in merchandising and skilled crafts, an analysis of the occupations of German immigrants in Arizona reveals another important trend. Though well below the regional average, the number of Germans who tried to establish themselves as agriculturalists increased steadily from sixty-four in 1880 to 160, or 13 percent of Germans working population, in 1910. They were driven by their desire to fulfill their dream of landownership that was for many almost impossible to achieve in Germany.

Like in many other regions of the United States, merchants were instrumental in the economic development of Arizona and a significant number of this group consisted of German immigrants who supplied the territory with much needed goods and merchandise while also providing some of the capital needed for further economic development. Some of these merchants were instrumental in developing a banking system in Arizona, further stimulating the economic growth of the region. Perhaps the most successful and most flamboyant members in this group were German Jews who established their businesses in the territory and whose stories will be examined separately in the chapter that deals with German-Jewish identity formation later in this study.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> For the development of Arizona's banking system in the nineteenth century and the role gentile and Jewish Germans, see Larry Schweikart, A History of Banking in Arizona (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982), 1-62, 180-183.

One of the typical German merchants in the region was Theodore Gebler. He emigrated from Germany to the United States in 1851 and relocated to San Francisco in 1855 where he operated a merchandising business until the early 1880s. There he profited mainly from trading with miners, and in 1881, he decided to move this venture to southern Arizona. First he moved to Tucson and later to the border town of Nogales where he dealt in tinware and hardware mainly doing business with mine owners and miners. Through this venture Gebler acquired considerable wealth and established himself in Nogales as one of the premier real estate owners in and around the city. According to a contemporary biography, much of Gebler's success was attributed to his "German character traits" of hard work, thriftiness, and honesty in conjunction with his excellent German education.<sup>4</sup>

Gebler, like other German merchants, for instance, Peter Forbach, P.B. Warnekros, or Henry Cordes, took pride in those alleged qualities and frequently employed in their business fellow German immigrants who possessed those alleged qualities as well. This practice of providing employment for fellow immigrants was however not as widely spread in Arizona as in other parts of the country and among other ethnic groups. In no way did this reach an extent as on the East Coast where German entrepreneurs very often hired their entire skilled workforce directly from Germany during that

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<sup>4</sup> Portrait and Bibliographical Record of Arizona. Commemorating the Achievements of Citizens Who Have Contributed to the Progress of Arizona and the Development of Its Resources (Chicago: Chapman Publishing Co., 1901), 649-650.

period. Nevertheless, German merchants and entrepreneurs took in fellow Germans and employed them in various capacities. This practice was, however, more frequent among German-Jewish merchants whose mercantile businesses very often involved larger extended families.<sup>5</sup>

For the largest part non-Jewish German merchants in Arizona met moderate success in their ventures. The twin pillars for this modest success were successful and friendly business relations to other Arizonan merchants, very often fellow German merchants, and the acquisition of government contracts to supply troops stationed in the territory as well as the growing number of Indian reservations. An example of this serves the history of the business venture of German merchant and entrepreneur Peter Forbach. Forbach, who came to Arizona from Germany in the 1870, established himself as a merchant in Sacaton on the Gila River Indian Reservation. Forbach traded directly with the Native Americans and he was able to secure several government contracts to supply the reservation with supplies. Forbach purchased many of the agricultural products that he supplied to the reservation from his friends, Andrew and Jacob Starrar, farmers in the Phoenix area who

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<sup>5</sup> Arizona Citizen 24 January 1874, 1:3 and 5 September 1874, 1:4; Bibliographical Record, 572-573; "Henry Edward Cordes, interview by Mona Lange McCroskey, 21 January 1998," interview #1199-1200, folder 250, DB 330, Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona. For practices of German entrepreneurs on the East Coast of hiring large numbers German immigrants as their work force, see Sven Beckert, "Migration, Ethnicity, and Working-Class Formation: Passaic, New Jersey, 1889-1926," in People in Transit: German Migrations in Comparative Perspective, 1820-1930, ed. Dirk Hoerder and Jörg Nagler, 347-378 (Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute and Cambridge University Press, 1995). The experiences of German Jewish merchants and their business strategies will be examined in Chapter 6.

were some of the few German pioneers who remained in Arizona and made it their permanent home.<sup>6</sup>

Many of the mercantile ventures of Gentile German businessmen never grew beyond a moderate level. Unlike their German Jewish counterparts, most of them lacked prior experiences in the field and converted from other occupations into the mercantile business. One of these examples is Henry Cordes who made his way from Bremen to the United States in 1869. Upon his arrival in Arizona in the early 1880s he was employed in a variety of occupations and moved around the territory driven by his *Wanderlust* before establishing an overland trading station at Antelope, which he later renamed "Cordes Station." From there he arose to moderate success by trading with miners and agriculturalists in the area, among them some Germans. Similarity the business of P.B. Warnekros evolved in Tombstone. Making his living for ten years in California as a miner, he relocated to Tombstone in 1878. Initially, his primary interest was silver mining, soon however, he realized that catering to the miners and the mining industries was a more profitable venture. He established a mercantile business that grew into the largest in the city. As a result of the decline of Tombstone his business diminished accordingly and Ultimately he cannot be described as prosperous. Again, contemporaries

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<sup>6</sup> Arizona Republic 13 April 1921, 11:4. Arizona Citizen 24 January 1874, 1:3; and 5 September 1874, 1:4.

attributed both men's accomplishment to their alleged German traits of honesty and reliability.<sup>7</sup>

Gentile German merchants operated in the territory of Arizona with limited and moderate success. Their prosperity rested on the cooperation with each other, with German Jewish merchants, and with other fellow Arizona merchants. In conducting their business relations, German merchants, like German artisans, tried to exploit stereotypes held about Germans in the United States to their advantage. Though describing a uniform or consistent content of stereotypes held about Germans at the time is hard, it appears that the most frequent traits ascribed to Germans in this country were discipline, stability, persistence, honesty, and hard work. These traits allegedly rested at the foundation of their successful enterprises and made them admirable contributors to the American economic value system. Germans in other western regions, like Wyoming, New Mexico, and Texas had been ascribed with those qualities and much of their success had been attributed to it. While the German-Arizonans tried to build on the exploitation of these stereotypes, they also used the contents of them to create a shared identity by postulating that these qualities were inherent of a shared *Deutschtum*.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Anne Cordes Jarman, "John Henry Cordes," typewritten manuscript, "Cordes, John," Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona; "Cordes," interview. Biographical Record, 572-573

<sup>8</sup> For stereotypes held about Germans in United States during the nineteenth century in general, see, for example, Albert Bernhardt Faust, The German Element in the United States With Special Reference to Its Political, Moral, Social, and Educational Influence, 2 vols. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909), vol. 1, 465-470; Luebke, Bonds of Loyalty, 57-60; and Frederick C. Luebke, "Images of German Immigrants in the United States and Brazil,

Another field in which German settlers in Arizona tried to exploit stereotypes and developed a shared identity as Germans was agriculture. Despite the unfavorable predictions of Herman Ehrenberg, farming and ranching became attractive and profitable ventures in the region during the late nineteenth century. Stock raising played an especially important part in the agricultural development of Arizona, a business that the German-speaking missionary Keno actually introduced during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. During the late nineteenth century, the raising of cattle and sheep provided the largest agricultural growth sectors in Arizona. This growth was mainly stimulated by the demands of the federal government, which had to arrange for the supply its troops stationed in the territory as well as the growing number of Indian reservations. American, Euro-American, and German stockmen followed the developments of the forts and reservations and some were able to secure lucrative contracts directly with the government or with regional merchants who had ties to the federal government. Still, by the late 1870s, Arizona was hardly able to produce enough cattle to feed the stationed

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1890-1918: Some Comparisons" in America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History. Vol. 2, The Relationship in the Twentieth Century, eds. Trommler Frank and Joseph McVeigh, 160-175 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 209. For specific regions, see Simone Schede, "'Gone, But Not Forgotten' — But Almost: The German Heritage of Arkansas," Amerikastudien 44 (1999): 477-496 482; Don Hodgson, "The Other Germans in Wyoming," Annals of Wyoming, 63 (1991): 145-149, 145; and Terry G. Jordan, "A Religious Geography of the Hill Country Germans of Texas," in Ethnicity on the Great Plains, ed. Frederick C. Luebke, 109-128 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), 109.



military and the Native Americans living on the reservations resulting in high prices and large profits for farmers and merchants alike.<sup>9</sup>

Another component that stimulated the move of German immigrants to the territory and their decision to engage in agriculture was the 1877 Desert Land Act, which provided for an increase in the homestead allotment from 160 to 640 acres. Many German immigrants dreamt of acquiring land, a dream they could not fulfil in Germany, so they embraced the opportunity even knowing that agricultural success under the climatic conditions of Arizona would be hard.<sup>10</sup>

Neither ranching nor farming would have expanded tremendously in the territory without the arrival of the railroad. The railroad reached the territory in 1880 and later connected several cities. It provided for the influx of settlers and expanded the market for agricultural products grown and raised in the region. Before the railroad, the majority of Arizona's agriculture markets were in the West and the South. The railroad eliminated these limitations, and for a short period, agriculture and ranching flourished in the territory until a major drought and the reckless exploitation of the soil, which one historian called "livestock poker," led to a decline that persisted until the twentieth century.<sup>11</sup>

Until the 1880s, the number of German agriculturists in the territory was minimal. During the following years, however, more German immigrants in the

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<sup>9</sup> For Ehrenberg's predictions and Keno's agricultural influence, see Chapter 3. For the development of Arizona's agriculture during the nineteenth century in general and the impact of the federal government, see Sheridan, Arizona, 107-130.

<sup>10</sup> Sheridan, Arizona, 131-132.

<sup>11</sup> Sheridan, Arizona, 143.

territory were engaged in this sector. Their percentage among the German working population never even closely reached the percentage among the rest of the Arizona population. Among those early farmers who came to the territory was George Scherrer. By trade a tailor, he temporarily engaged in mining before he made his way from Texas to Arizona. Here he invested himself in stock raising and reached moderate success, which contemporaries ascribed to his "German character."<sup>12</sup>

Many other German agriculturists in the territory during this time had similar stories to Scherrer – lack of prior agriculture experience and exploitation of German stereotypes. Conrad Meyer, who came to Arizona in 1870 had acquired 160 acres through the Homestead Act, was one of them. Allegedly his education in Germany and his German traits of earnestness and thriftiness promised him prosperity in his venture in the Salt River Valley. A brush maker by trade, he had no prior agricultural experience. After unsuccessful attempts to establish a farm near Prescott, he moved to the Salt River Valley near the growing settlement of Phoenix. Correctly realizing the significance of water supply for agricultural success, he became an investor in the Tempe Irrigation Canal Company. The acquisition of water rights would assure some success of his farm.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Biographical Record, 897.

<sup>13</sup> Biographical Record, 745-746.

In close proximity to Meyer's farm, fellow German Philip Myers, who had come to Arizona in 1890, established a successful sheep farm. He, too, invested in the Tempe Irrigation Canal Company, which provided the water for his 240-acre farm. Myers cooperated with earlier established fellow German farmer Meyer as well as with John Kirwaggen who had established a successful fruit farm near Jerome. Propelled partly by this cooperation, Myers became the director of the Tempe Irrigation Canal Company and one of the best-known agriculturists in the Salt River Valley.<sup>14</sup>

One of the oldest and most successful Germans in Arizona who exemplified typical German agriculturist patterns was Frederick Brill. He immigrated from Germany in 1849 and moved to Texas where he settled near San Antonio in 1850. Business connections to German-Jewish Arizonan merchant J.A. Meier brought him to Arizona in 1865 where he engaged in numerous enterprises. Initially, Frederick Brill was interested in mining while establishing at the same time a small farm near Wickenburg. On this farm he created the first orchard in the territory growing apples and peaches on the Hassayampa River. Realizing quickly that the real profits in Arizona's agriculture rested upon the government contracts, he switched his operation over to cattle. He was able to obtain a contract to supply the army and quickly established a ranch with 700 head of cattle.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Biographical Record, 848. The Traveler 10 August 1994, 4.

<sup>15</sup> Frederick Brill was the son of the surgeon Johann Gottlieb Brill and came with substantial financial assets to the United States. For Brill's German family and background, see Jörg Drespe, Lippstadt, Germany, to Gerhard Grytz, Pocatello, Idaho, 3 July 2001," original letter

"German Fritz," as locals increasingly referred to him, brought to Arizona agriculture, "German methods and German tenacity." Yet those were not the only "German items" he imported into the region. He also brought the first famous Holstein cattle to Arizona. He purchased six cows in California at the price of \$350.00 per head. Much of his future success rested on the breeding of this type of cattle. Brill did much of his business directly with the U.S. government through contracts he was able to obtain and through German-Jewish merchants, J.A. Meier and Hyman Mannasse, who held those kinds of contracts on their own. In addition, he sold cattle and other agricultural products such as potatoes. In 1880, Brill harvested 100,000 pounds of potatoes on his farm. Through his agricultural expertise, his business savvy, and his connection to fellow German agriculturalists and merchants, Brill became the only German agriculturalist in the territory who acquired substantial property. In 1898, he was able to sell a herd of 1900 cows that he ranged in the Bloody Basin at a price of \$14.00 a head, for a total of approximately \$27,000. Business success and social ties propelled Brill into one of the more prominent

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in private collection, Gerhard Grytz, Pocatello, Idaho; Karl-Georg Brill, Solingen, Germany, to Jörg Dresch, Lippstadt, Germany, 21 September 1995," original letter, Stadtarchiv Lippstadt, Germany; and "Bürgerbuch der Stadt Lippe / Lippstadt, 1576-1910," Stadtarchiv Lippstadt, Germany. "Brichta-Brown," Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona. "Brill Frederick Louis," typewritten manuscript, Arizona Historical Foundation, Special Collections, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona. "J.A. Meier, La Paz, to E.W. Morse, San Diego, 14 March 1865," copy of letter in "Brill, Frederick Louis," Hayden Arizona Collection, Arizona Historical Foundation, Special Collections, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona. "Brichta-Brown."

figures of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Arizona until his death in April 1911.<sup>16</sup>

Brill's success was an exception among German immigrant agriculturalists in Arizona. The majority of them remained small homesteaders with limited success, if they had success at all. Some, like Michael Brasler in the Prescott area and Dud Hollister at Fort Rock on the Yavapai/Mohave border, had to abandon their agricultural ventures in the middle of the 1870s after they were not able to profit from their farms. Others, like Leonard Wortmann or Ferdinand Berthold were able to sustain their farms though they did not acquire nearly as much wealth as Brill. They represent the majority of German farmers and ranchers who were neither overly successful nor complete failures. The majority of them owned their own farms outright, without a mortgage, and were able to provide a comfortable income and living for themselves and their families while becoming productive and respected German Arizonans.<sup>17</sup>

German farmers, like German merchants, found varying degrees of success in the territory. The ones who were able to survive the agricultural

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<sup>16</sup> "Brill," manuscript, 3-4. Arizona Gazette 17 September 1885, 2:3. "Brichta-Brown." "F.L. Brill, Wickenburg, to J.A. Meier, La Paz, 10 December 1885," copy of letter in "Brill, Frederick Louis," Hayden Arizona Collection, Arizona Historical Foundation, Special Collections, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona. Phoenix Herald 18 June 1880, 4:2. Prescott Courier 11 March 1898, 9:1.

<sup>17</sup> Weekly Arizona Miner 28 September 1877, 3:2; 8 February 1878, 3:3; 21 November, 3:1; and 30 January 1880, 2:2. Arizona Sentinel 2 November 1878, 3:3; and Arizona Enterprise 23 January 1878, 3:2. Arizona Miner 15 September 1876, 5:1. Arizona Miner 8 March 1873, 3:1. "Probate Court of Pima Court Records, Docket 129," copy in "Berthold, Ferdinand," Hayden File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona; Weekly Arizona Star 9 June 1878; and Arizona Citizen 12 June 1875 2:3.

Table 4.2  
Home Ownership Among German Immigrants in Arizona, 1870-1910

<u>OWNERSHIP STATUS</u>	<u>1900</u>		<u>1910</u>	
	no.	/ %	no.	/ %
owns house (no mortgage)	272	22.8	343	20.3
owns house (mortgage)	24	2.0	54	3.2
rents house	279	23.3	396	23.4
owns farm (no mortgage)	83	7.0	105	6.2
owns farm (mortgage)	15	1.3	19	1.1
rents farm	12	1.0	17	1.0
boarding	355	30.0	513	30.3
army quarters	7	0.6	3	0.2
insane asylum			24	1.4
unknown	143	12.0	219	12.9
Total	1,190	100	1,693	100

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Arizona [microfilm].

demise of the mid-1890s remained in the territory. According to contemporary sources, their moderate success was attributed to the expertise and education that they acquired in Germany, though very often those aspects were not real but part of their alleged stereotypical German character traits. These farmers cooperated with each other as well as with German merchants and other German immigrants in the territory and on the basis of those shared internalized stereotypes held about Germans, they established a common sense of ethnic German Arizonan identity.<sup>18</sup>

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, skilled craftsmen comprised the largest group of German immigrants in Arizona. Working in a variety of occupations, these German artisans, even more so than German merchants and farmers, had a profound impact on the economic development of Arizona. For most of the nineteenth century, Germany had a large surplus of skilled craftsmen who first suffered from guild restrictions and later from the growth of industrialization and mechanization of production. For many of them emigration represented an opportunity to employ their learned crafts in the "New World." Toward the end of the nineteenth century, with the enormous industrial growth on America's East Coast, the West appeared to be the nation's region where their "Old World" craft skills could be put to their greatest advantage. Additionally, the western environment provided possibly for the opportunity to establish businesses. Some of these Germans made their way to the territory

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<sup>18</sup> Baltensperger, "Agricultural Change," 179.

of Arizona where they hoped to fulfill their dreams of establishing their own enterprises. Their skills and their crafts proved to be important assets for the economic development of the region, while their pride in their "German skills" provided them with one of the means to create a shared ethnic identity in the Southwest.<sup>19</sup>

The variety of skilled occupations in which Germans worked in the territory increased from the 1870s to World War I. The most frequent skills imported by Germans to the territory were baker, carpenter, blacksmith, butcher, and brewer. This does, however, not mean that Germans working in these occupations in the territory had actually acquired those skills in the "Fatherland." The developing economy of Arizona very often required occupational flexibility, to which German artisans were not accustomed and had to adjust in order to achieve even modest success.<sup>20</sup>

Prussian-born immigrant Charles Miller, who came to Arizona in 1880, prided himself on his skills as blacksmith that he had learned through an apprenticeship in Germany. He had hoped to use this skill to support himself and his family and gain economic status in the territory. For the most part of his residency in the territory, he had to rely on employment in other occupational fields to achieve these goals. He worked as a teamster and wagonmaster, and

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<sup>19</sup> Walter Struve, "German Merchants, German Artisans, and Texas during the 1830s and 1840s," *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, 23 (1988): 91-103, 92-94. Carole C. Terry, "Die Deutschen Einwanderer in Sacramento: German Immigrants in Sacramento, 1850-1859" (M.A. thesis: University of Nevada, Las Vegas, 2000), 40. Jaehn, "New Mexico," 72.

<sup>20</sup> Jaehn, "New Mexico," 160.



Table 4.3  
Occupations of German Arizonan Artisans, 1870-1910

<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>1870</u>		<u>1880</u>		<u>1900</u>		<u>1910</u>	
	no.	/ %	no.	/ %	no.	/ %	no.	/ %
Baker	8	10.7	28	11.7	21	9.3	46	14.3
Barber			11	4.6	11	4.9	12	3.7
Blacksmith	10	13.2	23	9.7	22	9.7	22	6.8
Brewer	11	14.5	31	13.0	3	1.3	9	2.8
Butcher	6	7.9	19	8.0	20	8.8	29	9.0
Carpenter	6	7.9	28	11.8	25	11.1	37	11.5
Cook	5	6.6	14	5.9	19	8.4	31	9.6
Shoemaker			11	4.6	8	3.6	5	1.6
Tailor	5	6.6	8	3.4	12	5.3	15	4.7
Other	25	32.9	65	27.3	85	37.6	116	36.0
Total	76	100	238	100	226	100	322	100

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Arizona [microfilm].

ultimately became employed by the United States government at Fort Huachuca. Herbert Gerwien also made his way to Arizona from Prussia, arriving at Casa Grande, the terminal of the Southern Pacific Railroad from the West in 1879. By trade a cabinet maker and carpenter, he quickly realized that the services of a builder and mason would provide for a more profitable income. He became one of Benson's foremost builders and erected, according to contemporary sources, "nearly all the buildings within the limits of the town." His success in the field of contracting gave him the opportunity to apply his learned skills as a cabinet maker, for which he also received substantial recognition in this small southern Arizona settlement.<sup>21</sup>

The majority of German artisans gravitated to the growing number of urban settlements in Arizona during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. There, they tried to find employment in occupations where they could apply their learned skills or acquire new ones. German artisans who lived in Arizona during this time, whether employed in their learned trades or other fields, accumulated at best modest wealth. Foremost, their employment provided for the basic needs of living. Charles Schmidt came to Arizona in 1890 and was employed as a butcher for decades without ever being able to establish his own business or acquire his own home. He was recognized for his professional skills, which did not win him any substantial economic success.

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<sup>21</sup> "Membership Book," Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, 233, copy in "Miller, Charles," Biographical File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona. Biographical Record, 897-898.

Upon his death at the Arizona Pioneer Home in Prescott, Schmidt did not possess any property. Some of the affluence achieved by German artisans proved to be only temporary. H. L. Boettcher, who also resided in Prescott and had accumulated some property through his work as a printer, saw his moderate wealth slip away through "some unforeseen accidents," among them unemployment. Disillusioned, he committed suicide in 1911.<sup>22</sup>

For many German Arizonan craftsmen, the application of their skills provided for a continuous income that would enable them to establish themselves as respected members of their communities. For some it also provided the chance for limited upward mobility. Born in Heidelberg in 1848, Fred Brecht came to Prescott in 1871. There he found employment in his learned trade of blacksmith. In subsequent years he was able to establish his own shop on West Gurley and Granite streets. He operated this business mainly as a one-man operation until 1905. By this time he had accumulated some wealth and had become a respected member of Prescott's society, which reflected in his election as City Councilman for two terms. The capital accumulated through his blacksmith business enabled him to become an investor and stockholder of the Prescott State and Commercial Trust and

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<sup>22</sup> Already in 1883, the future economic opportunities for artisans in the region is viewed pessimistically by contemporaries (Patrick. Hamilton, The Resources of Arizona: A Description of Its Mineral, Farming, Grazing and Timber Lands; Its Rivers, Mountains, Valleys and Plains; Its Cities, Towns and Mining Camps; Its Climate and Productions; With Brief Sketches of Its Early History, Pre-Historic Ruins, Indian Tribes etc [San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft & Co., 1883], microfilm, 208-209). "Obituary Book," Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona. Prescott Journal Miner 6 June 1911, 5:1-2; and "Suicide Note," copy in "Boetcher, H.L.," DB 18, file 8, Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona.

Savings Bank after selling his blacksmith shop in 1905, and ultimately, Brecht assumed the position of the bank's director.<sup>23</sup>

One of the few available objective measurements of artisan success is the rate of home ownership of German skilled craftsmen. In 1900, only 30 percent of German artisans in Arizona owned their own homes, and by 1910, this percentage had declined to less than 20 percent. The vast majority of them either were forced to rent their homes or live in the growing number of boarding houses in the territory. Home ownership as an indication of economic success reveals that, especially in the beginning of the twentieth century, German skilled craftsmen had a hard time making economic progress due to increasing competition. Combining this statistic with the histories of individual German artisans in the territory exposes a picture that shows German craftsmen acquiring very modest economic success during the late nineteenth century. At the onset of the new century, the pace with which industrially produced goods flowed into the region accelerated dramatically and often local craftsmen could not compete with these products in quality or price, leading to a further demise of economic opportunities for German artisans.<sup>24</sup>

For the Germans, who found some moderate success in the field of skilled labor, opportunities had often rested upon several factors — cooperation and help of fellow German immigrants and the exploitation of “German

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<sup>23</sup> “Obituary Book,” Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona.

<sup>24</sup> For home ownership see, Table 4.2.

stereotypes.” German craftsmen who moved to the region often depended on already established German immigrants for initial employment. Fred Brecht found his first employment in the freighting business of German pioneer, L.J.F. Jaeger, at the Vulture Mine near Wickenburg. After he had moved from there to Prescott he did not find any employment, either in his skilled craft as blacksmith or anywhere else. At this point, a fellow German immigrant and brewer, most probably Johannes Raible, offered him a job in the construction of his new brewery. An opportunity from a fellow German immigrants made it easier for Brecht to establish an economic foundation for later establishing his own business as a blacksmith.<sup>25</sup>

The second aspect that German artisans tried to exploit for their economic advancement was the utilization of stereotypes commonly held about German craftsmanship and education. Henry Buck made his way from San Francisco to Prescott in the early 1870s and advertised his barber shop by pointing out that he had acquired the skills for his craft through an apprenticeship in Germany. The Arizona Miner concurred with his own assessment by pointing out that Buck’s “[German] style was not surpassed by any tonsorial artists on the Pacific Coast.” Advertisements in the same newspaper praised the services of German blacksmith J. Radezusky, on the corner of Granite and Goodwin streets in Prescott, as superior because of his

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<sup>25</sup> “Reminiscences of Mr. Fred Brecht, of Prescott, as Told to Mrs. Geo. F. Kitt, 21 April 1932,” typewritten manuscript, copy in “Brecht, Fred,” Biographical File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona.

German training in the field. The businesses of German boot and shoe makers August Schmidt and C.H. Recum advertised the quality of their products on the basis of their “superior” German craftsman’s skills.<sup>26</sup>

While German artisans tried to exploit stereotypes about the alleged superiority of German craftsmanship as a strategy to improve their sales, they also internalized these strategies, providing a place for “Germanness” as part of their ethnic identity. Nowhere else is this practice more observable than among the German brewers and brewing entrepreneurs. During the nineteenth century in the United States, no other group of German artisans became more closely associated with the introduction of “superior” German craftsman skills and “superior” German products than brewers.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, German brewers dominated the brewing business in the United States. The product that would insure them economic success and prosperity was German lager beer, introduced to the United States by John Wagner in 1840. A market existed for this product on the eastern coast of the United States, mainly among German immigrants. Very quickly, the larger American and Euro-American public embraced this product. German brewers and their lager beer began to take over the market, in a similar fashion to what they had done in England more than three centuries earlier.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Arizona Miner 2 June 1878, 2:2. Arizona Miner 1 August 1879, 2:3. Arizona Miner 12 September 1879, 3:2. “Obituary Book,” Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona.

<sup>27</sup> Becker, “Historische Aspekte,” 197. Stanley Baron, Brewed in America: A History of Beer and Ale in the United States (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1962), 176-177.

As German brewers in the United States after 1850 began to cater to a clientele beyond German enclaves, the production of their malt beverage increased dramatically. German brewers produced approximately 750,000 barrels of lager beer in 1850. This output had increased to 59.5 million barrels in 1910. During this period, German brewers transformed American drinking habits — a shift from hard liquor common in the early republic to brewed beverages. The German brewing business expanded across cultural boundaries of *Kleindeutchlands* (little Germanies) and across the continent radiating out from the East Coast.<sup>28</sup>

German brewers and brewing entrepreneurs expanded their services and businesses also into the American West, especially after the Civil War. At first, German brewers and their businesses flourished in those western locales where a substantial number of Germans resided. San Antonio, with its large German born population, proved a ready market. California offered another chance for German brewers to flourish. German brewing techniques, German brewing products, and German brewing entrepreneurs dominated the brewing industry in San Francisco and Sacramento alike.<sup>29</sup>

Not long after the first German immigrants made their way to Arizona, German brewers followed. From 1860s to the 1880s, German brewing entrepreneurs and their brewers prospered, establishing a monopoly in this field

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<sup>28</sup> Donna Gabaccia, We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 97-99.

<sup>29</sup> Stanley, Brewed in America, 180, 203; and Terry, "Sacramento," 70.

in the territory. In 1860, only one brewer operated in the area but the number increased to eleven in 1870 and thirty-one in 1880, marking the high point of the industry in the territory. In Arizona like elsewhere, these brewers not only introduced their product but also “German ways of life.” They saw themselves as promoters of German values and traditions. Their breweries, with their *Biergärten*, provided more than just an alcoholic beverage. They provided recreation and entertainment opportunities “like theater, song and games.” Additionally, their establishments provided meeting places for the few emerging German institutions, such as the *Turnverein*, *Gesangsverein*, and *Schützenverein*. German immigrants in Arizona met in those environments, enjoying German *Gemütlichkeit* over a glass of beer while playing billiards and cards, bowl or practice their skills in the shooting galleries.<sup>30</sup>

German brewers and brewing entrepreneurs quickly established their businesses in all major cities of the territory. German Jewish immigrant Alexander Levin established Levin’s Brewery and Levin’s Park in Tucson. Raible and Scherrer conducted their business in Prescott in competition with Julius Nanning Rodenburg’s Arizona Brewery. By 1878, Gustav Becker had established the United States Brewery in Phoenix while shortly afterwards Charles Luke and Joseph Thalheimer erected the Arcade Brewery. These German brewers and entrepreneurs operated their businesses extremely successfully during the 1870s and 1880s, while they tried to expand their

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<sup>30</sup> See, Table 4.2. Stanley, Brewed in America, 221. Gabaccia, We Are What We Eat, 99.



businesses beyond Phoenix, Tucson, and Prescott to more remote areas of the territory, such as Tombstone, and Bisbee. Their demise began with the arrival of the Southern Pacific Railroad in 1880. With the railroad came refrigerated bottled beer from the East that was in quality as well as price superior to the locally produced brew. By 1890, most local brewing ventures had been forced into closure. The decline of the German brewing industry led to a decrease in public expression of German ethnic behavior. The closure of many *Biergärten* and restaurants, in which *Vereine* had met and German Arizonans had gathered and socilaized, deprived German Arizonans of public venues to display their ethnic identity and ultimately to a decline in ethnic distinctiveness.<sup>31</sup>

One of the most important German brewing entrepreneurs was Johannes Raible who was born in Treuchtelfingen in 1833. He learned about possible opportunities in the United States through letters that were reprinted in the local newspaper Der Alb-Bote, and in 1850, he decided to emigrate. Prior to moving to Arizona in 1864, Raible resided in New York, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Colorado. Raible was among the first settlers of the newly created capital of Arizona Territory, Prescott. Together with his German partner, George Scherrer, he started the construction of the Pacific Brewery on South Montezuma Street in 1867, which was completed early next year. According to

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<sup>31</sup> Stanley, Brewed in America, 253-260. Sonnichsen, Tucson, 88. Mike Roca, "John Raible," 1, typewritten manuscript, Hayden Collection, Special Collections, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona. Prescott Journal Miner 22 April 1913, 7:1. "Luke, Charles, Biographical Information," in "Lockett-McCaffrey," Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona. Arizona Miner 8 August 1879, 4:1. Phoenix Herald 21 June 1879, 3:3. Stanley, Brewed in America, 255, 260..

a local newspaper, he and Scherrer produced the “most excellent German lager beer in the territory.” The two partners operated the venture successfully until 1872 when Scherrer returned to Germany.<sup>32</sup>

Raible’s brewing venture in Prescott reveals several typical patterns of German brewers and businessmen. They were operating their businesses in close cooperation with other German Arizonans and they attempted to improve the quality of their products, for which they developed an “ethnic pride.” After the dissolution of Raible’s partnership with Scherrer, he took a family member, his brother-in-law Charles Wurth, into the business and formed the firm Raible and Wurth. At the same time, he also had business connections together with fellow German Arizonan Daniel Hatz in mining ventures around Prescott. The Pacific Brewery employed German immigrant brewer Louis Wumch as its prime operator. In cooperation with his brother-in-law and with the guidance of Wumch, Raible tried to improve the quality of his product by purchasing an interest in a brewery in remote Tiger. The water available there, apparently improved the quality of the lager beer that Raible produced. In another attempt to improve the quality of his lager, Raible purchased his barley from German agriculturalist Schroeder located near Camp Verde.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> “Johannes Raible,” Stadtarchiv Albstadt, Germany; “Dr. Lang, Albstadt, Germany, to Gerhard Grytz, Pocatello, Idaho, 10 July 2001,” original letter in private collection, Gerhard Grytz, Pocatello, Idaho. “Edward Knight, Indianapolis, to Mrs. Garrett, Prescott, Arizona, 14 April 1947,” copy of letter in “Raible, John,” Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona. Arizona Miner 7 December 1867, 3:1; 25 January 1868, 3:2; and 1 February, 1868, 3:1. Roca, “Raible,” 2.

<sup>33</sup> Roca, “Raible,” 3. Arizona Miner 21 October 1871, 3:1. Weekly Arizona Miner 20 June 1879, 3:3. Arizona Miner 8 August 1879, 4:1. Weekly Arizona Miner 17 August 1877.

Raible's Pacific Brewery also provided a place where fellow German Arizonans could gather and enjoy a glass of beer in the atmosphere of German *Gemütlichkeit*. There, they would socialize and often do business with each other. Raible's friends Otto Esch, Fred Hilderbrand, Frank Schultz, Daniel Hatz, Fred Brecht, Hugo Richard, George Schuerman, and his business partners Charles Luke and Louis Weimert frequented the Pacific Brewery. For almost two decades, Raible's brewing venture proved to be extremely profitable and he rose to prominence in Prescott's society.<sup>34</sup>

Another eminent brewer and businessman in Arizona was Raible's business partner Charles Luke. Luke, who was born Dalhausen, Westphalia in 1832, made his way to the United States in 1852 and located in Placerville, California in 1854. From there he moved to Prescott, Arizona in 1870 and established himself in partnership with fellow German immigrant F. Saffenberg as a wholesale and retail liquor dealer on Montezuma Street. One of the items for sale at C.A. Luke and Co. was Raible's beer, which was manufactured next door. Beyond his retail business, Luke also had interests in mining and co-owned with German immigrant Charles Pletz a mine in the Bradshaw Mountains. During the 1870s, Luke became one of the leading figures of Prescott's society and he provided the town with its first public hall for "theatricals, balls, party's and public meetings." This hall, erected in 1876, also

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<sup>34</sup> Weekly Arizona Miner 26 October 1877, 3:2; and 24 May 1878, 3:1. Phoenix Daily Herald 24 June 1899, 2:2. Weekly Arizona Miner 14 November 1879, 3:1; and 2 November 1877, 4:1. Arizona Courier 22 April 1884, 3:2.

provided an additional meeting venue for German Arizonans in Prescott, where they could socialize and engage in German festivities. Toward the end of the decade, Luke's business ventures in Prescott were on the decline and much of his property was liquidated in a sheriff's sale in 1878.<sup>35</sup>

From his earliest days in Arizona, Luke had also established relationships with other German immigrants in other regions of the territory. Together with Andrew and Jacob Starrar, he invested in irrigation projects in the Salt River Valley. Developing these contacts, Luke relocated to Phoenix after his business demise in Prescott. There he and fellow German Arizonan Josef Thalheimer, erected the Arcade Brewery in 1879. Luke and Thalheimer manufactured a "quality German brand of lager beer." In his business ventures Luke applied similar strategies as other German Arizonans, with his emphasis on cooperation with fellow Germans. He also tried to exploit American stereotypes about German expertise and craftsmanship. The quality of the beer he produced in the Arcade Brewery allegedly owed much to the "Old World" brewing expertise of its owners, Luke and Thalheimer. Neither one of them had been apprenticed as brewers in Germany.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Charles Luke's birth name was Carl August Lücke ("Dr. Peters, Beverungen, Germany, to Gerhard Grytz, Pocatello, Idaho, 7 August 2001," original letter in private collection, Gerhard Grytz, Pocatello, Idaho). "Familie Lücke," Stadtarchiv Beverungen, Germany. "Luke, Charles, Biographical Information," in "Lockett-McCaffrey," Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona. Weekly Arizona Miner 10 March 1876, 2:4. Arizona Miner 9 April 1870, 3:1. Weekly Arizona Miner 6 June 1877, 3:4. "Landgrants and Patents," 15, E1, Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona. Weekly Arizona Miner 15 February 1878, 4:1; and 9 August 1878, 4:2.

<sup>36</sup> Arizona Miner 28 August 1874, 1:2; and Farish, Arizona, v.6, 86-87. "Luke, Biographical Information." Weekly Arizona Miner 19 December 1879, 3:1. "Familie Lücke,"

A third brewing entrepreneur of the Prescott area, who employed business practices similar to those of Luke and Raible, was Julius Nanning Rodenburg. A native of Bremervoerde, Rodenburg made his way to Arizona via Chile, Mexico City, and San Francisco. Again in partnership with another German, J. Aumuller, Rodenburg established the Arizona Brewery in 1870. Advertisements for the Arizona Brewery stressed that the quality its products owed much to the German expertise of its owner, though Rodenburg had not received any training as a brewer in Germany. In cooperation with other Germans, Rodenburg tried to expand his business venture by erecting a brewery at Seymour and creating a store in Chino Valley, which served as a sales outpost for his product. The Arizona Brewery provided Germans with another excellent gathering and socializing place. Rodenburg explicitly catered to the German Arizonan portion of Prescott's population by providing them with the most recent newspapers from Germany. Like Raible and Luke, Rodenburg operated his brewing business successfully until the late 1880s when the demise of German Arizonan brewers began. He remained a highly respected citizen of Prescott until his death in 1913, an investor in several other business ventures, including mining.<sup>37</sup>

Another important and influential brewing entrepreneur in the territory was Alexander Levin. In cooperation with fellow German Jew Joseph Goldtree,

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<sup>37</sup> Prescott Journal Miner 22 April 1913, 4:4. Arizona Miner 19 April 1873, 3:1. Arizona Weekly Journal Miner, 3 August 1883, 3:2. Phoenix Herald 21 June 1879, 3:3. Arizona Weekly Journal Miner 29 June 1883, 3:1. Arizona Weekly Journal Miner 12 July 1879, 2:5. Weekly Arizona Miner 6 May 1881, 4:2. Prescott Courier 26 April 1913, 7:1.

he established the Pioneer Brewery in Tucson in the summer of 1869. During the 1870s, Levin created first Levin's Park, a combination of amusement park and beer garden, and later, Tucson's first formal opera house, Levin's Opera House. "The Park," as it became known, with its bowling alley and shooting gallery, provided many German immigrants living in Tucson with opportunities to gather, socialize, communicate in their native language and engage in the activities of the *Turnverein*, *Gesangsverein*, and *Schützenverein*.<sup>38</sup>

The majority of the above discussed brewing entrepreneurs did not acquire brewing skills through an apprenticeship in Germany. In advertising their products, they frequently pointed toward their "superior" German craftsman's skills as brewers in an attempt to portray their products as high quality. Clearly, they tried to exploit American stereotypes about German skilled craftsmanship. Other German Arizonan immigrants, in a similar manner, tried to exploit these stereotypes for the sale of their primary products as well as related activities and businesses. Prime examples for this practice are the hoteliers, Heinrich Schuerman, Henry Brinkmeyer and George Luhrs.

Schuerman was born and reared in Melle near Osnaubrück, received an education in the German public school system, and was apprenticed as a baker. In 1869, at the age of seventeen, he together with Heinrich Beinke emigrated to the United States. For several years, Schuerman settled and

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<sup>38</sup> Sonnichsen, *Tucson*, 88, 105-106. See also advertisement for the Park Brewery in T. R. Sorin, *Hand-Book of Tucson and Surroundings: Embracing Statistics of the Mineral Fields of Southern Arizona* (Tucson, Arizona: Citizen Print, 1880), microform.

worked as a baker in St. Louis. In the late 1870s, Schuerman made his way to Arizona. There he worked as a baker and, several months after his arrival, he purchased a hotel from fellow German immigrant Daniel Hatz that he renamed the Schuerman House. At the Schuerman House, he operated a bakery advertising his "superior" products to the public while stressing his "German qualities" in order to promote the business of his hotel. While operating this business, Schuerman tried to fulfill a dream that many Germans held who came to the United States — acquisition of land. He filed on 160 acres near Oak Creek and established a farm, on which he grew grapes, planted fruit trees, and held some cattle, pigs, and chickens. Over the years, Schuerman became a highly respected member of Prescott's society and had close relations and friendships with fellow German immigrants, among them Raible and Luke, who operated their businesses on Prescott's main business street.<sup>39</sup>

Henry Brinkmeyer came to the territory through the process of chain migration. Without knowing much about the American West and the territory of Arizona, he decided to accompany Schuerman's future wife Dorette Titgemeier to Prescott. Brinkmeyer found his first employment at Schuerman House, exemplifying the willingness of German immigrants in Arizona to help their

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<sup>39</sup> "Rüdiger Blomberg, Bischöfliches Generalvikariat, Osnabrück, Germany, to Gerhard Grytz, Pocatello, Idaho, 24 August 2001," original letter in private collection, Gerhard Grytz, Pocatello, Idaho. "The Schuerman Family: Red Rock Pioneers," 15, unpublished manuscript, folder 201, DB 330, Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona. "George Schuerman, Richmond, Indiana, to Heinrich Schuerman, St. Louis, 22 July [?]," original letter, Private Collection of Charlotte Dean, Safford, Arizona. Heinrich Schuerman, Prescott, Arizona, to Dorette Titgemeier, Wetter, Germany, 9 April 1883," original letter, Private Collection of Charlotte Dean, Safford, Arizona. Heinrich Schuerman, Prescott, Arizona, to Dorette Titgemeier, Wetter, Germany, 28 January 1884," original letter, Private Collection of Charlotte Dean, Safford, Arizona.

fellow countrymen without personal knowledge of them. While working at the Schuerman House, Brinkmeyer acquired knowledge and skills in the bakery trade. In the middle of the 1880s, he, in cooperation with another German immigrant, Locher, purchased a lunch stand and a bakery from Ignatz Thorbecke, another German immigrant from the same region. With the profits from this venture, Brinkmeyer was able to purchase the Sumner House, a hotel that he renamed the Brinkmeyer Hotel, and which he operated until a fire destroyed it in 1900. In conjunction with the hotel, Brinkmeyer continued to operate a bakery with the assistance of his German head baker, Albert Heller. He took pride in his products and in his German "skills as a baker" — skills that he had acquired in Arizona through a German immigrant. After rebuilding the hotel, Brinkmeyer brought his family, his father and his brothers to the territory. Thry helped him to operate the business until his retirement in 1930. Brinkmeyer, like Schuerman, became one of the leading citizens of Prescott and an influential member of the German Arizonan community in the area establishing friendships with many fellow German immigrants.<sup>40</sup>

George Luhrs was the Hanoverian proprietor of the popular Commercial Hotel in Phoenix. Luhrs, by trade a wagonmaker, emigrated from Germany via California to Wickenburg in 1869. Not finding the desired riches that he had hoped for, he returned to Germany in 1876. After a relatively brief period there,

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<sup>40</sup> Caroline Brinkmeyer, "Henry Brinkmeyer Sr.," 1, typewritten manuscripts, "Brichta-Brown," Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona. "Heinrich Schuermann, Prescott, Arizona, to Dorette Titgemeier, Wetter, Germany, 24 Apr. 1884," original letter, Private Collection of Charlotte Dean, Safford, Arizona. "Henry Brinkmeyer Sr.," 1-8. Biographical Record, 765.



he decided to come back to the territory, and upon his return in 1878, he opened a carriage and wagon factory in Phoenix. With the profits accumulated through this venture, Luhrs was able to purchase the entire block between Center and First, Jefferson and Madison Streets in Phoenix. There, in 1887 and 1888, he built the Commercial Hotel. He operated his hotel, according to contemporary sources, in a superior European style. His success enabled him to bring the majority of his family, sister, brother, and father to Phoenix. He operated his hotel and other ventures in Arizona well into the 1920s, first recognized as the “German hotel man of Phoenix” and later as “Arizona’s hotel pioneer.”<sup>41</sup>

The production of food was another area in which German artisans took pride and contributed to the formation of a German ethnic identity among German immigrants in Arizona by creating specialty products, which were viewed as “ethnic” by them as well as by outsiders. A relatively large number of German bakers and German cooks operated their businesses or applied their skills in Arizona during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. They partially catered to German Arizonans and their hunger for home-style foods while, at the same time, introducing new products and new methods into Arizona’s evolving society and its culinary landscape. Schuerman and Brinkmeyer continued the tradition of producing German bakery goods, which

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<sup>41</sup> Biographical Record, 497-498. Arizona Republican 13 April 1927, 5:5. Arizona Republican 5 May 1929, 5:5.

other German bakers earlier introduced. Daniel Hatz in connection with Jacob Henkle created one of the first bakeries in Prescott.<sup>42</sup>

Prescott however was not the only place in Arizona where German food products were available. The first German baker in Phoenix was J. Bauerlein, a German immigrant who operated a very small business with a furnace made of adobes for an oven. In Tucson, Tobias Lauenstein's Old German Bakery catered to a German and Arizonan clientele after 1869. The business was first run by Lauenstein in partnership with fellow German immigrant John Hucke who carried on the business following the dissolution of their partnership in 1870. From the earliest times, German food products were available in every part of the territory where Germans settled. In La Paz, Charles Gross operated a bakery and later created together with Charles Scheerer the National Restaurant, which served typical German meals. These establishments, bakeries and restaurants alike, that featured German ethnic food were visible in the territory well into the early twentieth century.<sup>43</sup>

As already indicated, many German artisans who tried to establish themselves in Arizona were not able to pursue the same occupation or trade that they learned in Germany. Occupational flexibility was the key to even moderate success in this evolving Southwestern economy. While engaging in other occupations, these German artisans remained poised to stress

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<sup>42</sup> De Bres, "From Germans to Americans," 20. Arizona Miner 9 October 1869, 2:4.

<sup>43</sup> Farish, Arizona, vol. 6, 179, 214. Weekly Arizonan 17 July 1869, 3:1; and 30 April 1870, 3:3. San Francisco Bulletin 10 April 1863; and Arizona Miner 30 October 1866, 1:1.

stereotypical alleged superior German craftsmen's skills, which provided them with some common contents of "Germanness." Besides flexibility, diversification was another strategy to achieve economic prosperity and upward occupational and social mobility. The histories of some German artisans in the territory illustrate some of these practices.<sup>44</sup>

William Schuckmann, who came to Arizona in 1890 via Milwaukee and Sonora, first worked in his learned profession as an assayer for the San Pedro Mining and Milling Company. He quickly realized that other cross-border ventures were more profitable than wage-work for a larger mining company. With his earnings, he invested in various businesses in Arizona and Sonora while familiarizing himself with the trade of cigar making. By 1898, he had accumulated enough capital to establish in Nogales, on the Mexican-American border, the Las Dos Naciones Cigar Company. During the early twentieth century, his business flourished and he employed upwards of sixty workers in a business that operated on both sides of the border. Schuckmann evolved as one of the so-called "farsighted capitalists" of the region.<sup>45</sup>

John Lutgerding, though less successful, was also very flexible in his work in Arizona. He came to La Paz in 1866 and relocated to Wickenburg in 1870 in search of mining riches. His learned profession was that of a blacksmith, which he eventually practiced in Phoenix. He worked as a

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<sup>44</sup> Susan J. Kuyper, "The Americanization of German Immigrants: Language, Religion and Schools in Nineteenth Century Wisconsin" (Ph.D. diss.: University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1980), 39.

<sup>45</sup> Biographical Record, 655.

blacksmith and a carriage maker on the site of the Commercial Hotel for fellow German immigrant George Luhrs. Intelligently, Lutgerding invested his income in a variety of businesses and ventures in Phoenix and over the years he became the proprietor of one of the largest butcher stores in this urban center. Apart from that, he became engaged in stock-raising, and his upward social and occupational mobility resulted in his assumption of the Vice Presidency of the Western Investment Bank in Phoenix.<sup>46</sup>

Flexibility and diversification did not ensure wealth and prosperity for all German Arizonans. For many, it simply meant being able to provide a living for themselves and their families. George Huber, who came to Arizona in 1887, worked in the territory and state for decades as a blacksmith, cook, laborer, farmer, and cattle raiser without accumulating any substantial wealth or property until his death in 1947. Similarly, German immigrant William Armbruster resided in the northern Arizona city of Holbrook for twenty-three years while trying to fulfil the "immigrant dream" by working as a blacksmith, farm laborer, and farmer without making those dreams ever come true.<sup>47</sup>

German artisans in Arizona throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth, century proved to be important for the economic development of the region. They used their skills, real and alleged, to create the foundations for

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<sup>46</sup> Biographical Record, 845-846.

<sup>47</sup> Prescott Courier 26 March 1947, 5:2; "Certificate of Award of Old Age Pension," copy in "Board of Supervisor Records, Box 2, Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona; and "Thomas B. Jones, Cottonwood, to Kenneth [?], 11 December 1935," copy of letter in "Board of Supervisor Records, Box 2, Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona. Biographical Record, 745.

relatively comfortable lives for themselves and their families. At the same time, they used and internalized these assets to create a shared “German ethnic identity.” To be German meant for them, beyond sharing a common language and some cultural heritage, to have German “superior” craftsman skills. On the basis of this shared identity, they cooperated and supported each other, in turn increasing their chances of becoming successful and respected Arizonans.

From 1880 to the beginning of World War I, at least one third of German immigrants in Arizona were either unskilled or semi-skilled laborers. Their histories and their experiences in the territory are harder to assess than any other group due to the lack of information about them beyond statistical data. The industrial development of the region after the arrival of the railroad in 1880 provided for ample unskilled wage-labor opportunities. Yet the structural economic development, with its demand for labor, does not completely explain the influx of unskilled and semi-skilled German immigrants in the area. This kind of wage-labor employment was readily available and accessible to them on the East coast. Like earlier German pioneers, they were motivated by western dreams of riches and land. They hoped that they would be capable, while working as laborers, to engage themselves in mining or somehow put themselves into the position to acquire land with earnings. Following the 1880s, placer mining opportunities in Arizona, where the systematic exploitation of

mineral resources by eastern financed companies was already well established, were no longer viable.<sup>48</sup>

The vast majority of German laborers in the territories could never fulfil their dreams of mining wealth or land acquisition. They were at best capable of sustaining their personal livelihood through their work. This is illustrated by the extremely low rate of home ownership among German unskilled and semi-skilled immigrants in Arizona. In 1900 and 1910, more than 90 percent rented a home, often shared with other workers, or as in most cases, resided in a boarding house. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that they were not in a position to provide for a family. In 1900, about 90 percent, and in 1910, still more than 82 percent of all German laborers in the territory remained single.<sup>49</sup>

Many of the German unskilled and semi-skilled laborers were employed in the emerging industrial mining complexes of southeastern Arizona. In places like Clifton, Bisbee, or Morenci, they worked alongside with an increasing number of Scottish, Cornish, Italian, Spanish, Czech, Serbian, and Bohemian laborers. The labor movement that developed in these areas suggests that these German immigrants over time identified with others on the basis of class membership. Whereas German artisans and entrepreneurs were able to develop an ethnic identity as German Arizonans, these German laborers

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<sup>48</sup> Sheridan, Arizona, 107, 152. Jaehn, "New Mexico," 151.

<sup>49</sup> 1900 Census; and 1910 Census.

became Arizonan workers in their self-perception. Though they spoke the same language as other German immigrants in the territory, they were separated and isolated from them through class status, and equally important, by geography. The majority of artisans and entrepreneurs, with few exceptions, operated their businesses in southern and central Arizonan urban centers.<sup>50</sup>

The lack of documentation makes it difficult to assess the perception of ethnic identity experiences among German laborers in Arizona . They might have thought of themselves as German workers, German Arizonans or German Americans, but none of these identities can be observed in public activities nor behavior. Probably, they identified themselves less with German Arizonan artisans and entrepreneurs, from whom they were separated in status and geography, but rather with white fellow workers who competed against Mexican and Chinese laborers. Class and “whiteness” appeared to have played a larger role in the formation of their identity than German ethnicity. German workers, unlike German artisans, certainly had the least opportunity to define their ethnic identity through their work.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> For the distribution of the German population in Arizona, see Table 2.4 and 2.5 Sheridan, Arizona, 168.

<sup>51</sup> Lawrence Fong, “Sojourners and Settlers: The Chinese Experience in Arizona,” Journal of Arizona History 21 (1986): 227-256, 232, 241. For the role of class status in identity formation and self-perception of German immigrants, see for example Hartmut Keil and John B. Jentz, eds, German Workers in Industrial Chicago, 1850-1910: A Comparative Perspective (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press), 1-11. For a detailed overview of the controversial discussion among historians (“soft and hard pluralists”) regarding the intersection of ethnicity and class, see Higham, “Current Trends,” 5-15. For the concept of “whiteness” as a cross-ethnic unification factor in the development of working class consciousness, see David R. Roediger, The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class (New York: Verso, 1999).

Beginning in the 1870s and even more so after the arrival of the railroad in 1880, an increasing number of German immigrants moved to the territory of Arizona to establish permanent homes. In cooperation with the German pioneers who decided to remain in the region, they engaged in community building. In a variety of occupational fields, as agriculturalists, merchants, entrepreneurs, and especially skilled crafts, these German settlers tried to provide for themselves and their families, and often in cooperation with fellow German Arizonans, they developed their little farms and businesses. In their respective fields, they contributed substantially to the economic development of Arizona while they used work and occupation as vehicles partly to define their shared German heritage. In their business activities they tried to exploit stereotypes held about German “superior” craftsmanship, German honesty, thriftiness, and sturdiness in order to promote the sale of their products and services. At the same time, this practice led them to internalize these stereotypes partly defining the contents of the *Deutschtum* that they allegedly shared. In this way they were able to give some concrete meaning to their “German” ethnic identity — they invented their ethnic identity.



## CHAPTER 5

### GERMAN ARIZONANS IN SOCIETY, POLITICS, AND FAMILY

With the arrival of the Southern Pacific Railroad in Arizona in 1880, the frontier era of the territory came to an end. The industrial age arrived in the region and with it came the influx of large numbers of American and Euro-American settlers. Unlike earlier pioneers, a majority of these settlers intended to make Arizona their new permanent home and they started to build communities. In the interplay with pioneers who had remained in the region, new social structures evolved in these communities that often became detached from the pre-existing Hispanic social patterns on which the early pioneers relied. These new settlers imported their skills, attitudes, values, and traditions and in interaction with frontier patterns of societal life fused them into a new "Arizonan" form of living. The result of this process was the creation of a distinct regional society in which settlers identified themselves as Arizonans.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sheridan, Arizona, 117, 122. The railroad provided the means for the influx of large numbers of Americans into Arizona, while an array of pamphlets and books praising Arizona's future and economic opportunities stimulated it. See for example, Arizona (Ter.) Legislative Assembly, Resources of Arizona With a Description of the Indian Tribes; Ancient Ruins; Cochise, Apache Chief, Antonio, Pima Chief, Stage and Wagon Roads; Trade and Commerce, etc (San Francisco: Francis & Valentine, 1871), microfilm; Patrick Hamilton, The Resources of Arizona: Its Mineral, Farming, Grazing Lands, Towns and Mining Camps; Its Rivers, Mountains, Plains, Mesas; With Brief Summary of Its Indian Tribes, Early History, Ancient Ruins, Climate, etc, etc. A Manual of Reliable Information Concerning the Territory (Florence, Arizona: n.p., 1881),

During the same period, an increasing number of German immigrants made Arizona their permanent home. In cooperation with other newcomers they participated actively in the development of these new social structures. German newcomers and remaining German pioneers developed for themselves a German Arizonan identity, which was facilitated through and manifested itself in the social realm. They started to identify themselves with the region and its evolving society, in the process becoming Arizonans. At the same time rising assimilationist pressures, created by the numerical dominance of Americans in the area, created an urge to preserve Germanness (*Deutschtum*). They mainly invented its contents, leading to the development of a German ethnic identity.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, German Arizonans participated in all aspects of Arizona's social and political life. The more affluent, middle class Germans, entrepreneurs, merchants, agriculturalists, and artisans, applied their energy and skills in efforts to create stable communities. They helped to create and participate in a variety of social institutions that evolved in the region and built foundations for social structures. Their commitment and their efforts in the process of community building earned German immigrants the respect of fellow Arizonan citizens while at the same time influencing the evolution of the social structures in their own German way.

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microfilm; William O. O'Neill, Central Arizona, for Home, for Health, for Wealth (Prescott, Arizona: Hoof and Horn Printers, 1887), microfilm; Maricopa County Immigration Union, Phoenix, Arizona, What the Salt River Offers to the Immigrant, Capitalist, and Invalid (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1887), microform; and Arizona (ter.) Commissioner of Immigration. Central and Southwestern Arizona. The Garden of America (Tucson: Tucson Citizen Print, 1889), microfilm.

Germans participated in the creation of institutionalized forms of social interaction that were crucial to sustain the evolving communities. Germans participated in the creation of fire departments in many communities of the region. These departments were crucial to ensure the survival of settlements in an arid, fire-prone environment. Fred Brecht, Julius Rodenburg, and John Sorg, were instrumental in creating Prescott's fire department. Together with other German immigrants they worked to guarantee the viability of this important organization.<sup>2</sup>

German Arizonans participated in the creation of a variety of social clubs and charitable organizations as well as venues in which these organizations could operate. In 1876, Charles Luke built the first public hall in Prescott large enough for social activities like balls, parties, theatricals, and public meetings. In the same venue, Julius Rodenburg's "Prescott Young Men's Literary and Social Club" held its meetings. In conjunction with these venues and clubs, German Arizonans promoted the creation of charitable activities. Charles Luke together with his wife and fellow German Arizonan Victoria Behan tried to establish a charitable association in cooperation with the foundation of a Catholic Church in Prescott.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Prescott Courier 26 April 1913, 7:1. "Fred Brecht," Obituary Book, Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona. "Sorg, John," DB 132, folder 8, I.13, Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona.

<sup>3</sup> "Landgrants and Patents," 15: E1, Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona. Arizona Miner 18 January 1873, 3:1. Weekly Arizona Miner 16 November 1877, 3:3.

Probably the most important social institution in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in Arizona was the Masonic Lodge. Freemasonry was a wide spread phenomenon throughout Arizona and the American West. It flourished at a time when relief agencies and charitable organizations did not exist in the territory. Lodges performed these needed welfare and social functions while providing its members with a venue in which to promote their personal economic interests. Overall, the Masonic lodges helped to create a sense of belonging and community in a region as ethnically and socially diverse as Arizona, in similar fashion as in many other regions of the West. Freemasonry and Masonic lodges were not typical German institutions and membership in them was generally reserved for the more affluent members of the local communities. Masonic membership was, on the one hand, the recognition of an individual's social status while at the same time membership in them enhanced this status. A vast majority of the Germans whose personal histories in Arizona are documented in more detail were members of this semi-secret society. This reflects the recognition they gained as respected citizens of the communities as well as their willingness to apply their efforts and energies for the benefit of those communities through these organizations while at the same time promoting their personal interests..<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> For the role of freemasonry among German immigrants in the American West, see for example, Jaehn, "New Mexico," 226-227; and in general, see White, Misfortune, 318. "In Memoriam Frederick Gustav Brecht," typewritten manuscript, 4 April 1942, "Brecht, Fred," DB 18, file 26, Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona. For a long list of German Arizonans in Masonic lodges, see Biographical Record.

In these clubs, charitable organizations, Masonic lodges, and other social institutions, such as the Pioneer Society, German immigrants participated in the creation of territorial social structures. At the same time, they established and maintained social relations with fellow Arizonans of different ethnic heritage. It appears that their participation in these organizations was highly welcomed because of the stereotypical German qualities they brought. These alleged qualities included honesty, reliability, and most importantly a good overall education. German *Bildung* was probably the most important asset that gained German immigrants social recognition and propelled some of its members into the highest echelons of their respective communities. German *Bildung* in combination with the social status that German immigrants were able to acquire qualified, in the eyes of many fellow Arizonans, these individuals for positions in the political realm.<sup>5</sup>

An analysis of the political activities of German Arizonans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century contradicts notions that German immigrants in the United States were inactive in politics. Many historians of the German experience in America point to a lack of participation in the political process. This is often explained by the background of German immigrants contending that German education did not encourage political participation, that Germans did not have a democratic tradition, that German Jews were for a long

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<sup>5</sup> Jaehn, "New Mexico," 206. Sheridan, *Arizona*, 109. "Stock, Hermann," Obituary Book, Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona. *Biographical Record*, 655. *Weekly Arizona Miner* 16 November 1877, 3:3.

time completely excluded from politics, or that Germans were simply not interested in politics. This alleged lack of political participation depends very much on the definition of politics. If one defines narrowly as "big national politics" then this statement about German immigrants holds true also in Arizona. If one broadens the scope, then one can detect the wide variety of German political interests and activities.<sup>6</sup>

Arizonans participated fully and extensively in the political life of the territory. In contrast to the picture that historian Tomas Jaehn paints of the "unpolitical German" in New Mexico, Germans in Arizona appeared to be very much politically minded. What obscures the view of many historians in this respect is their search for a manifestation of a German American political agenda. In a regional context, German American political issues did not play a significant role and hence no active German American political organizations or agendas evolved. German immigrants in the region were not political German Americans but political Arizonans. Their political agenda, first and foremost, aimed at benefitting the local communities, and at this level Germans in Arizona displayed a wide variety of political interest. Germans expressed their political

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<sup>6</sup> Kuyper, "Americanization of German Immigrants," 65; Lamberta M. Voget, The Germans in Los Angeles County California, 1850-1900 (Reprint San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1968), 43; and Jaehn, "The Unpolitical German," 4-6. For a reevaluation of German political behavior in the United States, see Frederick C. Luebke, "German Immigrants and American Politics: Problems of Leadership, Parties, and Issues," in Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration, Frederick C. Luebke, 79-92 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

opinions, voted in elections, held membership in political parties, and ran in elections for a variety of local offices and often were elected.<sup>7</sup>

German immigrants in Arizona never formed substantial concentrations of population in any of the counties or towns of the territory. This makes it basically impossible to assess their party political orientation. Voting patterns for ordinary German immigrants, miners, laborers, and farmers cannot be uncovered. The more affluent Germans, entrepreneurs, merchants, and artisans, appeared to have been evenly split in their support for the Democratic and Republican parties. German Arizonans did not constitute one political block with a unified agenda. Varying party affiliation was also a reflection of the different Old World backgrounds that they immigrants carried with them. Regardless of party affiliation, exercising their voting rights seemed to have been an important issue for them. Leopold Graf and J.J. Noli, for instance, during an 1878 election in Yuma, pledged an oath to acquire American citizenship in order to be allowed to cast their vote — a promise they never fulfilled.<sup>8</sup>

German immigrants expressed their political opinions and discussed regional and national issues with their friends in the territory and beyond. Fred Fischer frequently discussed matters of national politics in his correspondence

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<sup>7</sup> In his study on the political behavior of German immigrants in New Mexico, Tomas Jaehn points out a wide variety of political activities of Germans in the territory. He dismisses them, however, summarily as acts designed solely for their personal enrichment. His major critique is that German immigrants did not develop an ethno-political agenda and did not vote as an ethnic bloc. (Jaehn, "New Mexico," 91-103; and Jaehn, "The Unpolitical German," 19)

<sup>8</sup> Arizona Sentinel 30 November 1878, 3:4.

with his brother Harry Fischer in New York. Primarily, the German Arizonans were concerned with political issues and matters that directly affected their counties and their communities. Party politics in this regard did not play an overwhelming role and often Germans expressed their intent to support "the best for the job" regardless of party affiliation. The well-being of the local regional communities motivated their political interest and activities.<sup>9</sup>

German Arizonans were involved in the two major American parties. J.H. Behan was a delegate to the Democratic Convention and member of the Democratic Party. Builder and contractor Charles Petersen was involved in the Democratic Party of Phoenix and was a delegate to several of its conventions. German Arizonans were equally members of conventions of the Republican Party. Julius Siebeck, a German assayer operating his business in Yuma, was a member of the Yuma County Republican Central Committee. R.H. Burmister, the proprietor of R.H. Burmister and Sons Co. in Prescott, was a member of the Republican Party and its board during the 1890s, and in 1900, was nominated by the party as a candidate for the mayoralty of Prescott.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> "Fred Fisher, San Carlos, Arizona, to Harry Fisher, New York, 10 August 1884," copy of letter in "Fisher, Fred," Biographical File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona; "Fred Fisher, San Carlos, Arizona, to Harry Fisher, New York, 8 November 1884," copy of letter in "Fisher, Fred," Biographical File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona; "Fred Fisher, San Carlos, Arizona, to Harry Fisher, New York, 24 May 1885," copy of letter in "Fisher, Fred," Biographical File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona. Biographical Record, 897.

<sup>10</sup> Arizona Miner 13 August 1880, 7:7. Biographical Record, 45. Arizona Sentinel 19 April 1884, 3:3. Biographical Record, 93.



German Arizonans were involved in the political arena at all levels in the territory. In the early beginnings, Hermann Ehrenberg was a staunch supporter and active lobbyist for the establishment of Arizona as a separate territory. Some German Arizonans served in the territories legislative assemblies. One example is William Ohnesorgen. Ohnesorgen came to the territory in the late 1860s from San Antonio, working in a variety of occupations in Tucson and Benson. He was a public and politically minded individual who wanted to actively apply himself to the improvement of Arizona's society. In his quest for a seat in Arizona's legislative assembly, Ohnesorgen tirelessly campaigned across Pima County. Voters rewarded his efforts by electing with a handsome majority and served in the Arizona House of Representatives for one term and subsequently held several local political offices. Another candidate for Arizona's legislature was German immigrant C.F. von Petersdorff. Nominated by the Republican party, he was supported in his quest for political office by the fellow German Arizonan families of Contzen, Ronstadt, Hilzinger, Odermatt, Blay, Drachmann, Steinfeld, and Donau. Despite this support, von Petersdorff was not able to prevail in these elections.<sup>11</sup>

German Arizonans also ran for the highest political positions in the communities in which they resided and were at times elected. German brewing entrepreneur Charles Luke was elected mayor of Prescott in January of 1875

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<sup>11</sup> Rose, "Ehrenberg," 168. "Reminiscences of William Ohnesorgen, 22 October 1929," typewritten manuscript, copy in "Ohnesorgen, William," Biographical File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona; and Biographical Record, 968. "Reminiscences of C.F. von Petersdorff, 1927," typewritten manuscript, copy in "Von Petersdorff, C.F.," Biographical File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona.

and served one term until his relocation to Phoenix. In his bid for the city's highest office, Luke was supported by many of his fellow German immigrants in Prescott and his qualifications for office, his German character traits of honesty, integrity and education, were praised by the local newspapers. The turn of the century arrived in Tucson under the leadership of two German mayors. Harry Buehman came to Tucson in July 1873 and established together with Juan Rodriguez a photography business, which he continued after he bought out his partner. Buehman became one of the most renowned photographers of Arizona and invested in a variety of other businesses in the territory, including cattle raising and mining. His status as a respected businessman and citizen of Tucson resulted in the successful bid for the election to the mayoral office of this city in the fall of 1894. Buehman served two terms as Tucson's mayor, from 1895 to 1899, and applied his energy to the promotion of Tucson's interests. Prior to his terms as mayor, Buehman had served Tucson's public as public administrator of Pima County, County Assessor, and as secretary of the Board of School of Trustees of Tucson, all elected political offices.<sup>12</sup>

Harry Buehman was succeeded by fellow German Arizonan Gustav Hoff. Hoff won election to this office in 1898 and assumed his duty in 1899. During his tenure as mayor, Hoff worked diligently to improve Tucson's infrastructure. He was instrumental in the creation of new water works and a new sewer

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<sup>12</sup> "Biographical Information," File "Lockett-McCaffrey," Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona; and Arizona Citizen 9 January 1875, 2:1. Biographical Record, 985; and H.C. Stinson, Arizona: A Comprehensive Review of Its History, Counties, Principal Cities, Resources and Prospects, Together with Notices of the Business Men and Firms Who Have Made the Territory (Los Angeles: s.n., 1891), microfilm.

system in the town. Prior to serving as Tucson's top administrator, Hoff had served on the city's town council and was an elected member of the Sixteenth General Assembly of the Territory of Arizona as a representative of the Democratic Party. During his tenure in the Assembly, Hoff introduced more bills in the House than any other member. He served as Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and was also a member of the Judiciary Committee. In political terms, his greatest achievement was the introduction and passage of a bill that introduced the secret ballot in Arizona's territorial elections.<sup>13</sup>

Numerous other German Arizonans were involved in political activities on the county level and served in various positions in the counties governments. Charles Gross together with fellow German immigrant Peter Doll served on the Board of Supervisors of Yuma County and for one term assumed its chairman position. Heinrich Schuermann, the proprietor of the Schuermann House in Prescott, served two terms as Supervisor of Yavapai County as a representative of the Democratic Party. Fellow German brewing entrepreneur Julius Rodenburg was elected to the same position in 1881 after he had served on the Board of Supervisors since 1879. A third German Arizonan who was elected to the supervisor position of Yavapai County was Fred Brecht. He served in this political office for two years and was elected to Prescott's City Council in 1900. Brecht, like many of his German political friends, was praised by

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<sup>13</sup> Biographical Record, 151-152.

contemporaries for his civic and public spirit displayed in their political activities.<sup>14</sup>

German Arizonans were elected to a variety of political positions as representatives of the Democratic and Republican party and displayed their interests in community building. Edward Sawyer was elected as the first County Treasurer of Navajo County after its separation from Apache County in 1895. For several years as a member of the Democratic Central Committee, he was instrumental in the creation of this new county. In similar ways, Theodore Gebler secure the creation of Santa Cruz County. Residing in Nogales, Gebler, a member of the Democratic Party, applied his political energy to the creation of this new political entity that would give the specific region a more powerful voice in territorial politics.<sup>15</sup>

Most of the German Arizonans who ran for political office and served their respective communities were members of the more affluent middle-class that had achieved a degree of economic success and social recognition. But beyond entrepreneurs like George Luhrs, who served on Phoenix's city council, or Henry Brinkmeyer, one of Prescott's premier hoteliers, who served on

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<sup>14</sup> Arizona Sentinel 18 November 1882, 3:1; and 26 March 1892, 3:2. "The Schuermann Family: Red Rock Pioneers," unpublished manuscript, copy in DB 330, folder 201, Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona. "Julius Rodenburg," Hayden Arizona Collection, Special Collection, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona. "Reminiscences of Mr. Fred Brecht, of Prescott, as Told to Mrs. Geo. F. Kitt, 21 April 1932," typewritten manuscript, copy in "Brecht, Fred," Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona; "Fred Brecht," Obituary Book, Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona; and "In Memoriam Frederick Gustav Brecht, 4 April 1942," typewritten manuscript, copy in "Brecht, Fred," DB 16, file 26, Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona.

<sup>15</sup> Biographical Record, 27 and 649.

Prescott's city council, less affluent German Arizonans also displayed their political interest. Charles Holz, a mine laborer in the city of Tombstone, ran as a candidate for city council and with the support of substantial numbers of German residents was elected to this position. He served for six years for the betterment of the community's infrastructure without pursuing any partisan political agenda.<sup>16</sup>

During the late nineteenth century, German Arizonans served in political positions on all levels of territorial and communal politics. Through their political work, these German Arizonans often gained the respect of their fellow citizens and contributed to their standing in Arizona society. On the other hand, their success in political elections can be interpreted as a sign of their social respectability that German Arizonans had accumulated. What clouds the view of historians in the assessment of political participation of German immigrants is the circumstance that many interpret the absence of a specific German American political agenda as a sign of lacking political interest. Germans in Arizona did not pursue such an agenda because German American issues did not exist and they themselves did not identify themselves as German Americans but rather as German Arizonans. Their political activities in the territory show that German immigrants in Arizona were very political, not as

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<sup>16</sup> Biographical Record, 498. Caroline Brinkmeyer, "Henry Brinkmeyer, Sr.," typewritten manuscript, 1976, copy in "Brichta-Brown," Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona. "Reminiscences of Chas. H. Holz, 1927," typewritten manuscript, copy in "Holz, Charles," Biographical File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona.

Germans but as German Arizonans, who tried to promote their interests and the ones of their communities in a regional context.

While participating in the political process and filling political positions at all levels in the territory, German immigrants influenced the political and social development of the territory. An important example of this is the development of legal structures and legal interpretation in Arizona. The political position of Justice of the Peace was a highly sought after prize for German Arizonans. A longer list of German Justices marks the development of legal structures in the territory during the late nineteenth century. In the eyes of many fellow citizens, the alleged German character traits of honesty and righteousness combined with their solid Old World education made German Arizonans premier candidates for this position. Germans were frequently elected to the position of Justice of the Peace in various localities in the territory. Frederick Brill served in this position for several years in the town of Wickenburg. He fulfilled the duties of legal interpretation in this town from 1885 to 1886 and 1889 to 1892. George Hornmeyer served as Justice of Peace in Clifton for two terms and John Henry Waltemath dispensed justice in Tucson for a year. Other long-term Justices of the Peace in the territory were Ferdinand Berthold, at Tres Alamos, and Peter Doll in Ehrenberg.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> In their native Germany judgeship was not a political, elected position. These positions were reserved for elites with higher education and carried tremendous social prestige. Most of the German individuals who aspired to be elected as Justice of the Peace in Arizona would never have been in a position to raise to similar stature in Germany. "Brill, Frederick Louis," in "Bricht-Brown," Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona; and Phoenix Herald 20 January 1885, 3:1; and 19 November 1888, 3:4. Biographical Record, 836. Arizona Citizen 8 January 1876, 3:4; and 7 October 1876. Weekly Arizona Citizen 4 July 1874, 3:3; Arizona

These German Justices as their American and Euro-American counterparts dealt with the settlement of ordinary differences in the territory on a daily basis and their rulings affected everyday life of the residents. Consequently, justices in their interpretation of the law put their own unique individual stamp on the development of their respective communities. With their daily rulings they added stability to evolving fragile societies. Here where people of different cultural and ethnic backgrounds, natives and newcomers, met, rules had to be established which would facilitate interaction. An excellent example of how German Justices of the Peace, through their cultural interpretation of law, affected the development of Arizona's social and legal structures is the history of Charles Hermann Meyer.

During almost four decades, Meyer, as Justice of the Peace for Tucson, influenced the development of the city. Meyer, lacking any formal legal training, brought stability to Tucson society and order to Tucson's streets. The sense of law and order, *Ruhe und Ordnung*, that he displayed in his courtroom was clearly molded by his personal experience and German background. Meyer was born in Saxony in 1829 and was among the earlier Euro-American settlers in Tucson. His early history mirrors typical immigration experiences in the territory, flexibility in changing his occupation. When he arrived in Tucson in 1858, he was employed by the Army in a clerical position. Soon, he became known as "Doctor Meyer," the only physician in the Old Pueblo. He advertised

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Citizen 12 June 1875, 2:4; and "Berthold, Ferdinand," Hayden File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona.

his services throughout the territory and a medical history of Arizona Territory lists him as practicing medicine from 1864 to 1866.<sup>18</sup>

After Meyer finished practicing medicine he turned to pharmaceuticals and opened a drugstore on West Congress Street in Tucson. For this occupation he was allegedly qualified through an education and degree from the University of Heidelberg, which he actually never attended. In addition to dispensing medicine in his drugstore Meyer also handed out justice from the same place during his early years in Tucson. When Arizona Territory was organized in 1863, Meyer was officially elected Justice of the Peace in Tucson. When Meyer took on the task of enforcing law and order in Tucson he faced a difficult environment. In the early days of Euro-American settlement, Tucson was among the worst governed places in the West and crime and violence were rampant. Additionally, Meyer had no experience in matters of the law that could guide him in his new duties. He never received any training in law — neither in the United States nor in his native Germany. Sometimes he would pretend to consult legal books in order to reach a verdict. In reality the only books he

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<sup>18</sup> In his application to the Arizona Pioneer Society, Meyer lists his birthday as 6 June 1829 and his place of birth as Hannover, Saxony (Tucson Post, 12 September 1903, 7:2). "Biographic Sketch," 1, Box 6, MS 492, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona. In the "1860 Census" Meyer's occupation is listed as "clerk." The "1864 Census" list him as a "physician. See also "Biographic Sketch," 1; and E. Quebbeman, Medicine in Territorial Arizona (Phoenix: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1966), 358.



possessed in the early days were two medical works, The Technique of Setting Bones and Materia Medica, both written in German.<sup>19</sup>

According to contemporary sources, Meyer's main qualifications for the position were his honesty and moral integrity, which both derived allegedly from his German background. "Charlie was a druggist who knew nothing about law but he was perfectly honest and that was the only qualification the citizens required." In his duties as justice, Meyer relied solely on his sense of good and bad — basic moral judgments obviously guided by his German upbringing. The attitudes and values he displayed in his court bore a German characteristic that his fellow citizens recognized, thus putting a "German stamp" on the development of legal matters in Tucson.<sup>20</sup>

Meyer was content with establishing *Ruhe und Ordnung* in Tucson. For this matter, Meyer instituted the chain gang that would put law offenders to work for the betterment of Tucson. "In a short time all the wild, rough characters who had ruled the town were employed in levelling (sic) the streets." Meyer's authoritarian interpretation of law and legal procedures left little room for American democratic principles that were supposed to apply in courts.

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<sup>19</sup> Prescott Courier, Westward 17 June 1881, 9:1; "Biographic Sketch." 1; and Arizona Citizen 24 May 1889, 4:4. "Hunerlach, Universitätsarchiv Heidelberg, German, to Gerhard Grytz, Pocatello, Idaho, 25 July 2001," original letter in private collection, Gerhard Grytz, Pocatello, Idaho. Arizona Citizen 24 May 1889, 4:4; and Farish, Arizona, vol. 2, 254. Trimble, Arizona, 308.

<sup>20</sup> New York Tribune reprinted in Arizona Citizen, 24 May 1884, 4:4. Arizona Daily Star 9 September 1903, 4:1,2.

Principles such as “innocent until proven guilty” or “trial by jury” held no validity in his courtroom. Here he was “both judge and jury.”<sup>21</sup>

Through his much respected work, Meyer received substantial recognition from Tucson’s society reflected in naming a street, Meyer Street, after him. With the backing of large segments of his community, Meyer was repeatedly elected as Justice of the Peace. Often, he received the support of both the Republican and Democratic parties in his quest for reelection and at times it was assumed that he “should have his accustomed majority” on Election Day. Meyer held his office for the better part of forty years. During this time he emerged as one of the dominating legal figures in the territory. In addition to practicing law as Justice of the Peace, Meyer displayed his interest in the political arena by running for several additional offices and often won election to them. Among the many positions in which he served were Administrator from 1869 to 1870, City Recorder from 1881 to 1882, 1886 to 1887, 1890 to 1892, Notary Public from 1885 onward, and City Clerk from 1886 to 1892. In his various capacities, Meyer helped the territory of Arizona develop in an organized, “German” way. Meyer retired from his office as Justice of the Peace on January 1, 1903 and died soon after at the age of 74. The citizens of Arizona respected Meyer for his achievements in bringing German *Ruhe und*

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<sup>21</sup> Farish, Arizona, vol.2, 255. Widespread approval of Meyer’s practices is expressed in the newspaper article of the San Diego Union: “Some of his decisions would probably have made Chief Justice Marshall weep: but the Judge [Meyer] suits us well and deals out first class Tucson law and justice: and when Arizona becomes a State, we intend to make him Chief Justice of our Supreme Court” (San Diego Union 19 March 1873, 1:5). Tucson Post 9 December 1903, 7:2-4

*Ordnung* to Tucson. His political activities, according to contemporaries, were instrumental in the formation of “good government in the city and territory giving it a unique [German] character.”<sup>22</sup>

Like Charles Meyer, many German immigrants participated in the development of political and legal structures in Arizona Territory in a variety of capacities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In these positions German Arizonans tried to contribute to the development of Arizona’s evolving society. Their actions and convictions clearly reflected the expression of an Arizonan identity that they developed. Unlike the early German pioneers, these immigrants developed an affinity to the region, which they wanted to make their new permanent home. In this process German immigrants became Arizonans.

While German immigrants developed an Arizonan identity through their social and political interactions, an increasing urge to preserve “Germanness” became visible beginning in the 1870s. The influx of large numbers of American newcomers in the region changed the complexion of the territorial society creating assimilationist pressures. German immigrants reacted by stressing their cultural heritage and in the process creating German ethnic identity. A contributing factor in this process was the arrival of larger numbers

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<sup>22</sup> Mohave County Miner 22 November 1890, 2:1. Arizona Daily Star 4 November 1884, 3:3; Arizona Daily Citizen 10 December 1885, 4:1 and 23 October 1888; and Arizona Daily Star 9 September 1903, 5:2. For the different offices Meyer held in the city of Tucson, see Farish, Arizona, vol.2, 240; and “Biographic Sketch,” 1. Arizona Daily Citizen 18 June 1901, 4:2; Tucson Citizen 13 March 1902, 5:2; Farish, Arizona, vol.1, 345; and Arizona Daily Star 9 September 1903, 4:1,2. Arizona Daily Star 9 September 1903, 4:1,2.

of German immigrants from the Midwest who had previous experiences living in German ethnic enclaves. The development of a German identity was in this process less a reaction to an exclusion from an Anglo-American society, as German historian Kathleen Conzen contends in her study on Milwaukee Germans, but rather a tool that facilitated and accommodated German immigrants' placement in the regional society. As a group they would be able to emphasize common characteristics that would tie them together and would aid them in their social, political and economic fortunes in the region.<sup>23</sup>

German immigrants in Arizona developed a self-conscious identity — not as German Americans but as German Arizonans. Their membership in this sub-society worked for their mutual benefit. As these immigrants hailed from various parts of Germany and had distinctly different cultural backgrounds, the contents of this identity had to be constructed. The major basis of their shared ethnicity was the German language. On this basis, German immigrants in Arizona tried to develop a German identity based on the lowest common denominator that aided and facilitated their social and economic accommodation in their new home. This process of German Arizonan identity formation evolved on two levels. Publicly German immigrants tried to establish German ethnic institutions and privately through marital and friendship ties attempted to preserve their specific ethnic heritage.

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<sup>23</sup> Kathleen Conzen, Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836-1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 154.

In the beginning of the 1880s under unique temporary conditions, German immigrants in Arizona tried to create and institutionalize their German ethnic identity. Growing assimilationist pressures accompanied the arrival of the railroad in the territory in 1880, the influx of larger numbers of German immigrants from the Midwest accustomed to German institutions on American soil, and available venues created by German Arizonan brewing and entertainment entrepreneurs created an environment in which German Arizonans attempted to manifest and celebrate their ethnic identity in associational life (*Vereinswesen*). *Vereine* traditionally had been a part of social and cultural life for German immigrants regardless of their specific point of origin. These associations promised to create an environment in which they could gather, socialize, and create bonds based on their presumed ethnic heritage, which eventually could benefit the members of these societies in their quest for social and economic success. At the same time, *Vereine* could be used as a medium to promote German ethnic qualities that presumably could benefit Arizona society.<sup>24</sup>

German immigrants created a variety of ethnic associations wherever they settled in the United States. Through *Turnvereine*, *Gesangsvereine*, *Schützenvereine*, and other fraternal associations they attempted to preserve and sometimes transplant German culture and society. The German

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<sup>24</sup> For the general function of *Vereinswesen* for German immigrants in the United States, see for example Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, 27; Kyper, "Americanization of German Immigrants," 57; and Olson, *Ethnic Dimension*, 41.

immigrants who were active in those associations had differing motivations and goals. For some *Vereine* constituted venues in which they could gather, socialize, communicate with each other in the German language, and at times rely upon the support of other members. For others the *Verein* provided an institution in which they could promote serious *Deutschtum*. As historian Frederick Luebke observed in an analysis of the German community in Milwaukee, two types of Germans existed — “soul Germans and stomach Germans.” The former were individuals who attempted to transplant *Deutschtum*, and with it German values and traditions, to American society. Soul Germans tried to rationalize the contents of Germanness and mold its contents into an ideology that contemplated the superiority of German culture. Stomach Germans, by contrast, did not seriously reflect on their Germanness in an ideological manner and did not attempt to impose their superior cultural habits and values upon the whole society. For them, to be German meant very often just to communicate in the native language, read a German newspaper, enjoy a game of cards, or generally reminisce with other German immigrants about their home. Their Germanness was a matter of *Sauerkraut* and *Schnitzel* and not Hegel and Kant. The vast majority of German Arizonans could be described as stomach Germans. Their activities in the *Vereine* primarily involved socializing with fellow German immigrants and at no time displayed any serious attempts to transplant *Deutschtum* to Arizona.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, 27.

The most important and widespread ethnic association that Germans created in the United States was the *Turnverein*. Originally the idea of the *Turnverein*, as promoted by Friederich Ludwig Jahn, was a political one. The *Turner* movement aimed to foster the unification of the German States in the early nineteenth century and tried to gain the recognition for political freedom and liberty of Germany's lower and middle classes within this new political entity. The *Turnvereine* played an important role in Germany's 1848 revolution and after its failure German immigrants to the United States transplanted this institution and its ideas to the New World. The first *Turnverein* in the United States was created in Cincinnati in November 1848. During the 1840s and 1850s, on the background of a growing American nativist movement, Germans tried to utilize the growing number of *Turnvereine* and their membership to promote their political freedom and liberties as a separate ethnic group within the United States. By the 1870s, the *Turner* movement in the United States had distanced itself almost completely from any political ethnic ideology and primarily evolved into a social organization promoting a vaguely defined German way of life.<sup>26</sup>

As in other western territories and states, Germans in Arizona tried to found their own *Turnvereine*. In 1880, two such associations were formed in the territory, in Tucson and in Tombstone. The Tombstone *Turnverein* was

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<sup>26</sup> For a comprehensive history of the *Turner* movement in the United State, see Robert Knight Barney, "Knights of Cause and Exercise: German Forty-Eighters and *Turnvereine* in the United States During the Antebellum Period," Canadian Journal of History of Sport 13 (1982): 62-79.

formed primarily by German-Jewish immigrants who flourished in this southern Arizona town for a brief period. Tucson's *Turnverein* had its center located in Alexander Levin's entertainment facilities known as Levin's Park. Both associations attracted a large number of German Arizonans who engaged there in social and athletic activities. They provided German Arizonans with venues where they could gather, socialize, communicate with each other, build friendships, and give meaning to the contents of their shared ethnic background. Both the Tucson and the Tombstone *Turnvereine* were relatively short-lived and by the middle of the 1880s their activities had ceased.<sup>27</sup>

Beyond the *Turnverein* Germans in Tucson and Phoenix created choral societies (*Gesangsvereine*). Tucson's *Gesangsverein*, the Club Filarmonico Tusconense, was initiated by German immigrant Frederick Ronstadt and held its meetings at Levin's Park. In Phoenix, German Arizonans William Struenberg, V.T. Trumper, and Charles Luke joined forces in 1880 and created the *Germania*, which according to a contemporary source was taking "a foremost rank of one of the city's most important social institutions". Beyond *Gesangsvereine* German Arizonans engaged in activities similar to the ones practiced by *Schützenvereine* and *Kegelvereine* at Levin's Park.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Voget, "Los Angeles," 46; Jaehn, "New Mexico," 234; and Terry, "Sacramento," 79. Blaine P. Lamb, "Arizona," 262. Will H. Robinson, "recollections," typewritten manuscript, "William Henry Robinson Collection," Hayden Arizona Collection, Special Collection, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona

<sup>28</sup> Sonnichsen, *Tucson*, 175. *Phoenix Herald* 9 January 1880, 4:2.



None of these ethnic German associations was able to function for a sustained period of time. Germans in Arizona simply never acquired the "critical mass" to sustain such organizations. Under unique circumstances, the rise of assimilationist pressures, the influx of German Arizonans from the Midwest, and the existence of appropriate facilities like Levin's Park, fostered attempts at creating such German ethnic institutions. However large the psychological needs of German Arizonans to organize and operate associations that attempted to promote ethnic solidarity and ethnic identity, the specific circumstances that were a prerequisite for the success of such institutions did not prevail in Arizona. Germans had neither sufficient numbers, a necessary ethnic leadership, a concentration in specific regions or parts of towns, nor the degree of isolation from the native culture that was required for such ventures. For similar reasons, German Arizonans never attempted to create German churches, German schools or a German press.<sup>29</sup>

German Arizonans tried to compensate for the lack of such ethnic institutions in informal ways. The more affluent Germans, like Fritz Contzen or Gustav Hoff, arranged for their children to be educated in Germany. The lack of a German Arizonan press facilitated the importation of newspapers from Germany or from German American sources. These papers were available at Edward Schneider's News Depot in Yuma or Julius Rodenburg's Arizona

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<sup>29</sup> For an analysis of the conditions required for the creation and maintenance of *Vereine*, see De Bres, "From Germans to Americans," 77.

Brewery in Prescott. Other Germans, such as Heinrich Schuermann received their local newspaper directly from Germany.<sup>30</sup>

The German ethnic identity that German immigrants in Arizona tried to create for themselves manifested itself primarily in uninstitutionalized forms. For many German Arizonans, Germanness simply meant being able to socialize with fellow immigrants, communicate with them in their native language, enjoy some typical German food and discuss matters and news from the old home over a glass of beer in a relaxed atmosphere of *Gemütlichkeit*. During the 1880s, German brewing entrepreneurs in Prescott, Tucson, Phoenix, and some other smaller towns of Arizona created a variety of venues in which German Arizonans could engage in such activities. Typical German food was accessible to many German Arizonans through the bakeries, restaurants, and hotels of German proprietors. Ethnic food and its symbolic power as a reflection of cultural and social affinity, as historian Donna Gabaccia demonstrated, appears to have played a significant role for German Arizonans in the process of their ethnic identity formation.<sup>31</sup>

More often than not, German Arizonans enjoyed typical ethnic food and engaged in conversations in their native languages in the privacy of their homes

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<sup>30</sup> *Arizona Sentinel* 19 July 1873, 1:1. *Arizonan* 12 July 1879. "Fredericke Schuermann, Melle, Germany, to Heinrich and Dorette Schuermann, Prescott, Arizona, 23 November 1896," original letter, Private Collection of Charlotte Dean, Safford, Arizona.

<sup>31</sup> For German Arizonan breweries, bakeries, restaurants, and hotels, see Chapter 4. For an artistic rendition of one of the German brewing facilities with a beer garden, Peter Will's brewery in Florence, Arizona, see *History of Arizona Territory, Showing Its Resources and Advantages* (San Francisco: W.W. Elliott & Co., 1884), microfilm. For the importance of ethnic food in the process of ethnic identity formation, see Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat*, 5-9.

and not in public. The German Arizonan family played the central role in the process of ethnic identity formation. The urge to preserve Germanness in this context is most clearly manifested in the choice of German Arizonan spouses. After the arrival of the railroad in 1880, an increasing number of German immigrants in the territory married either first or second-generation Germans. A significant number of immigrants arriving in the territory at that time were accompanied by their families. Many others either went to Germany to find a wife or through correspondence established links that would lead to future marriages. Marriage was a common theme in the correspondences of German immigrants. Especially the less affluent would seek this avenue to find a spouse with a common background who could not so easily be found in Arizona.

In 1870, only 38.5 percent of all married German Arizonans had a spouse of German ethnic background, but this number increased to more than 50 percent after 1880 and remained at that level into the twentieth century. This increase is partly a reflection of the increase in German migration to Arizona after 1880. During that period, Philip Myers married German-born Mary Biehn in Wisconsin before their move to Arizona. Charles Petersen, who made his way from Illinois to the territory in the 1880s, had been married to German native Pauline Nessen. Upon her death, he married another German, Lena Papke, with whom he relocated to the territory.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Biographical Record, 848. "Petersen, Charles," Biographical File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona.

Table 5.1  
Spouse Ethnicity of German-born Immigrants in Arizona, 1860-1910

Ethnicity	1860			1870			1880			1900			1910		
	no.	/	%	no.	/	%	no.	/	%	no.	/	%	no.	/	%
German-born	6		66.6	4		15.4	102		56.0	238		45.8	359		45.0
2 <sup>nd</sup> Generation German				6		23.1	10		5.6	53		10.2	107		13.4
Other German speaking				1		3.8	5		2.7	15		2.9	40		5.0
American				1		3.8	27		14.8	105		20.2	168		21.0
Hispanic	3		33.3	12		46.2	18		9.9	32		6.2	28		3.5
Irish				2		7.7	4		2.2	14		2.7	22		2.8
Other British							7		3.8	20		3.8	25		3.1
Scandinavian							1		0.5	13		2.5	19		2.4
Other Western European							5		2.7	17		3.3	15		1.9
Eastern European							2		1.1	5		1.0	6		0.8
Native American							1		0.5						
Other										8		1.5	9		1.1
TOTAL	9		100	26		100	182		100	520		100	798		100

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: New Mexico [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Arizona [microfilm]

Other German Arizonans were able to marry German spouses who had made their way independently to the territory of Arizona. George Hornmeyer, proprietor of the Central Hotel in Clifton, in 1899 married Julia Kalkbrenner, a native of Baden-Baden who had moved to the region together with her parents George and Julia. Bertha Wyler made her way to Arizona on her own and in 1898 married fellow German Henry Katz who had established a dry goods store in Morenci. Following the same pattern Herbert Gerwien engaged in a marital union with fellow German immigrant Gertrude who had made the trip to the American Southwest on her own.<sup>33</sup>

If German Arizonans were not able to find a first generation spouse, they were frequently looking for a partner who at least had some German heritage. They married second generation Germans. William Schuckmann was married to Lena Gettelman, a second-generation German hailing from Milwaukee in 1898. George Sherrer married second-generation German Anna Marte. This preference for marital partners with at least some German background indicates that German Arizonans placed a high value on maintaining some sort of ethnic identity on the family level.<sup>34</sup>

The more affluent German Arizonans were in a position to attempt to maintain regional ethnic identity in their families. They took it upon themselves to travel to Germany to find a spouse from their home region. In 1891, Frank

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<sup>33</sup> Biographical Record, 836, 577, and 898.

<sup>34</sup> Biographical Record, 655, 894.

Kuhne, who had established himself in Prescott, traveled to Germany to bring back his wife Maria. Other affluent and prominent German Arizonans who returned to the homeland to find a spouse were Julius Rodenburg, Charles Luke, and Johann Raible. Charles Luke was among the first Germans to travel to the *Heimat* in the quest for a spouse. In 1866, he returned to his native Ulm where he re-established contact with a childhood friend, Anna Holzschuh. They were married in Germany and returned to Prescott where they lived together until Anna's death in April 1880. Soon after, in October 1880, Charles Luke remarried another German native Emma Liebenow.<sup>35</sup>

Sometimes these endeavors of German Arizonans proved to be more complicated than they initially assumed. Julius Rodenburg, the brewing entrepreneur in Prescott, publically stated that he wished to return to Germany in order to find a German wife. He intended to return to the territory with his new spouse within a few months. His search in the *Heimat* for a suitable marriage partner was unsuccessful and he had to return alone. In 1873, Johann Raible also set out to visit Germany in his "search of Mrs. Raible." After an extensive search in his native Treuchtelfingen, Raible had to return empty-handed to the United States. Intent on not returning to the territory without a

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<sup>35</sup> "Board of Supervisor Records," Box 2, Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona. "Charles Luke, Biographical Information," file "Lockett-McCaffrey," Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona; "Holzschuh" Stadtarchiv Ulm, Germany; and "Reminiscences of Mrs. Fred Brecht as Told to Mrs. Geo. F. Kitt, 21 April 1932," typewritten manuscript, "Brecht, Fred," DB 18, file 26, Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona.

spouse, Raible kept looking for a German marital prospect in New York. There he met Wilhelmina Wurth and married her in October 1873.<sup>36</sup>

A possible union with a German spouse was mainly reserved for the more affluent middle-class German Arizonans. They possessed the financial means to travel to Germany to seek out a partner or arrange for a marriage through correspondence. German workers displayed a similar desire to marry within their ethnic group, but often, they did not possess these means to fulfill those wishes. Into the twentieth century, more than 80 percent of German laborers had remained single because they were not able to sustain a family economically. Of those German workers who had formed families, more than two-thirds were married to either first or second-generation German spouses. Thus the creation of ethnic families which could foster and maintain German ethnic identity was a phenomenon largely limited to middle class and affluent German Arizonans. By 1910, more than 40 percent of German Arizonans were married to a non-German spouse. Remarkable in this regard is that unions with immigrants from other countries appeared to have been undesirable. Less than 20 percent joined into such a union. If the desire to marry a German could not be fulfilled an American spouse, preferably from the region, was most desirable. This indicated the possibility that marriage was also a means to strengthen the second part of their identity, the Arizonan half.

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<sup>36</sup> Weekly Arizona Miner 5 September 1873, 3:2. Arizona Miner 22 March 1873, 3:1; and "Edward H. Knight, Indianapolis, to Mrs. Garrett, Prescott, 14 April 1947," copy of letter in "Raible, John," Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona.

The inflow of German women into the territory who hailed from the same regions as their German Arizonan spouses was part of and facilitated chain migratory patterns amongst German Arizonans. These patterns of chain migration fostered to a degree the clustering of ethnic Germans in the territory. These clusters of family and friends were instrumental in building and maintaining a German ethnic identity among them. Unlike German pioneers, many of the Germans who immigrated to Arizona in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century knew exactly where they were going, and their trek to Arizona was not a leap into the dark. Many of them had friends or relatives already living in the territory who provided them with information and assisted them upon their arrival.<sup>37</sup>

Cenzie Holzschuh, together with one of her sisters, came to Prescott in May 1876 to join her older sister Anna who had been brought to the territory's capital by Charles Luke. Cenzie soon married a friend of Charles, Fred Brecht. German Arizonans often tried to bring family members from their old homes to the territory. George Luhrs, the proprietor of the Commercial Hotel in Phoenix, was able to reunite large segments of his family in the territory. In 1884, he had returned for a visit to Germany where he married his childhood friend Catherine Margarete Dodenhof. The couple did not return alone to Prescott. They were accompanied by George's father, and during the following years Luhrs was

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<sup>37</sup> Luebke, *Ethnicity*, xiv; and Kamphoefner, *Westfalians*, 5.



joined in Phoenix by his sister Jane and brother John, who found employment in George's business.<sup>38</sup>

Through the processes of chain migration a significant number of Germans from the Osnaubrück area made their way to Prescott. Heinrich Schuermann came from Melle near Osnaubrück via Saint Louis to Prescott during the early 1880s. He maintained close relationships to Augustus Thorbeck who hailed from the same region. Heinrich Schuermann for several years stayed in contact with his childhood friend Dorette Titgemeier and eventually brought her over to the territory to get married. In the process of their correspondence Schuermann provided his future wife with an array of information about Arizona which was also made available by her to her friends and family. When Dorette finally decided to travel to Prescott to join Heinrich in 1884, she was accompanied by Augustus Thorbeck's wife, the fiancé of Karl Wischmeyer, who also resided in Prescott, as well as several other unrelated people from the region, among them Henry Brinkmeyer.<sup>39</sup>

Brinkmeyer's history illustrates the forces and patterns of chain migration at work. Brinkmeyer grew up on a farm near Osnaubrück that was operated by

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<sup>38</sup> "Reminiscences of Mrs. Fred Brecht as Told to Mrs. Geo. F. Kitt, 21 April 1932," typewritten manuscript, "Brecht, Fred," DB 18, file 26, Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona. Biographical Record, 497-498.

<sup>39</sup> "Red Rock Pioneers," 15-16. Heinrich Schuermann, Prescott, Arizona, to Dorette Titgemeier, Melle, Germany, 20 December 1883," original letter, Private Collection of Charlotte Dean, Safford, Arizona. Dorette Titgemeier, Melle, Germany, to Heinrich Schuermann, Prescott, Arizona, 28 January 1884," original letter, Private Collection of Charlotte Dean, Safford, Arizona. Heinrich Schuermann, Prescott, Arizona, to Dorette Titgemeier, Melle, Germany, 24 April 1884," original letter, Private Collection of Charlotte Dean, Safford, Arizona.

his father. Henry's father, realizing that his oldest son would inherit the farm, tried to make arrangements for Henry's future. He received news that a group of people from the near-by town of Melle were planning to migrate to the United States and he made arrangements for his son to accompany them to Prescott. Through Dorette Titgemeier he received information about his future home and tried to arrange for the possible employment in her future husband's business. In 1884, at the age of seventeen, Henry Brinkmeyer, together with the group arrived in Prescott and Heinrich Schuermann, without personally knowing Brinkmeyer, gave him employment at the Schuermann House and apprenticed him in the bakery profession. These connections laid the foundations for Henry Brinkmeyer's future success and the establishment of his own business. In future years, other members of the Brinkmeyer family would join the chain migratory process. In 1894, his brother Herman joined him in Prescott, and in 1905, his youngest brother August also made the journey to the territory. Both established their own families in Prescott and were employed in Brinkmeyer's hotel for the remainder of their lives.<sup>40</sup>

Through chain migratory processes some clusters of German families who hailed from the same Old World regions evolved. Their numbers never grew large enough to facilitate the creation of an ethnic enclave or the persistent maintenance of ethnic institutions. None of Arizona's major settlement areas had enough German Arizonans to comprise an extraordinary

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<sup>40</sup> "Henry Brinkmeyer, Sr.," 1-5.

Table 5.2  
Living Association of German Immigrants in Arizona, 1870-1910

<u>LIVING ASSOCIATION</u>	<u>1870</u>		<u>1880</u>		<u>1900</u>		<u>1910</u>	
	no.	/ %	no.	/ %	no.	/ %	no.	/ %
not living with another German	189	50.9	779	73.9	781	65.6	1,151	68.0
living with another German	72	19.5	266	25.5	409	34.4	542	32.0
[family]	[10	13.9]	[130	49.0]	[301	73.6]	[455	84.0]
[business]	[22	30.6]	[68	25.5]	[44	10.8]	[38	7.0]
[unknown]	[40	55.5]	[68	25.5]	[64	15.6]	[49	9.0]
missing	110	29.6	9	0.9				
Total	371	100	1,054	100	1,190	100	1,693	100

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Arizona [microfilm].

concentration. Housing patterns in Phoenix, Prescott, and Tucson reveal that German Arizonans normally did not concentrate in one specific part of town. Their choice of living accommodations was more clearly influenced by social and economic status. Nevertheless, from the 1880s forward one-third of all German Arizonans lived together under the same roof with a fellow German. As time proceeded, these ethnic accommodation units were built primarily on the basis of family relations. In the twentieth century, more than 70 percent of all German Arizonans who shared quarters with each other were family related. These family units were the focal place for the creation and maintenance of German ethnic life and identity.

As part of their urge to preserve and form ethnic identity, German Arizonans maintained connections and ties to families and friends in their ancestral homes. The more affluent German Arizonans had opportunities and means to visit their *Heimat* personally. Julius Rodenburg spent several months in Germany, while Charles Petersen visited his home for four months. Fritz Contzen brought his Arizonan family back to Waldeck, Bavaria in 1874 and spent several months with them touring the country. For some Germans it appears that contact with their old homes and visits played such an important role that they were even willing to experience the perils of war. Both John Andresen and Charles Luke visited Germany during the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 and 1871. The majority of German Arizonans could not afford visits to their ancestral homes. Like Fred Fischer, they expressed the urge to do so in

correspondence with family members, but had to substitute letters for visits. Even though few of these correspondences have survived it is evident that a majority of German Arizonans stayed in touch with their families and friends in their old homes through correspondence.<sup>41</sup>

The nuclear and extended families of German Arizonans served as the major vehicle to maintain and create ethnic identity. Some of these German Arizonan families tried to instill in their children a sense of German ethnic identity. For that matter the more affluent German Arizonans attempted to arrange for an education for their offspring in Germany. Very few were in the position of Fritz Contzen who could arrange for such an education. Another way in which ethnic perseverance was manifested were naming practices of children in these families. Like other ethnic groups in Arizona, Germans, in an attempt to maintain ethnic identity beyond the first generation, gave their children typical first names. One-third of all children born into German Arizonan families received from their parents typical or possibly typical German first names. Heinrich and Dorette Schuermann's children were named Erwin, Klara, Helene, Heinrich, Fritz and Frieda. In 1880, more than 50 percent of the children of German Arizonan families had received such German names, this

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<sup>41</sup> Tucson Citizen 14 February 1874, 3:2; and "Contzen, Fritz," Biographical File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona. "Andreson, John," Hayden File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona. "Luke, Charles, Biographical Information," "Lockett-McCaffrey," Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona; and Arizona Miner 25 February 1871, 3:4. Fred Fisher, San Carlos, Arizona, to Harry Fisher, New York, 10 August 1884," copy of letter in "Fisher, Fred" Biographical File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona; and "Cotner, Andrews, Mann & Chapman, Indiana, to Marshall Trimble, Scottsdale, Arizona, 21 August 1886," copy of letter in "Fisher, Fred" Biographical File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona.

trend was on a decline in the twentieth century. The urge to pass on ethnic heritage through naming practices dwindled among German Arizonans.<sup>42</sup>

Within these German Arizonan families and among German Arizonan friends, ethnic behavior and ethnic preservation took place. Spouses and children, as well as family friends, communicated in the German language and German festivities were celebrated in an ethnic manner. Among the festivities where German traditions became the most apparent was Christmas. Julius Rodenburg was accredited with providing the first Christmas tree in Arizona and German women, like Harriet Burck, were famous for preparing their elaborate Christmas dinners. On Christmas Eve, carp was served and German Christmas carols were sung.<sup>43</sup>

German women apparently played an integral role in maintaining these families and contributing to ethnic preservation within them. Women were the anchors of these families who provided all family members with a stable environment. Nineteenth century German ideology defined a female role as one of housewife and mother, whose primary domain was the home. This definition of the woman's role ran even deep among Germans in Arizona. Women's primary duties revolved around feeding, clothing, and nurturing all family members. In this role women often maintained for their family traditional German everyday living patterns, such as preparing typical German meals. In

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<sup>42</sup> "Red Rock Pioneers," 16; and 1900 Census.

<sup>43</sup> Farish, Arizona, vol. 4, 89. Phoenix Herald 22 April 1881, 4:3. Weekly Arizona Miner 26 October 1877, 4:2. Mohave County Miner 6 June 1930.

their roles as mothers, German women were also responsible for instilling an ethnic identity upon their children. Within their roles in the family women primarily became responsible for the perseverance of ethnic German traditions and identity formation and maintenance.<sup>44</sup>

Despite ideological constraints, the role of women in German Arizonan families extended far beyond the domestic environment. Even though approximately 80 percent of German women during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were not employed, they contributed substantially to their family's livelihood. Women labored together with their husbands on their farms, provided assistance in the family shops and took on entrepreneurial responsibilities in family ventures. Julia Hornmeyer managed and oversaw everyday tasks in her husband's Central Hotel. P.B. Warkros' wife also ran the daily business of her husband's Arlington Hotel. For other women their daily contributions to their husband's businesses were not as obvious. One indication that these women took active roles and participated in the family businesses is the circumstance that German widows, after the death of their

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<sup>44</sup> For a traditional view of the female role in the German family, see Albert Bernhardt Faust, The German Element in the United States With Special Reference to Its Political, Moral, Social, and Educational Influence (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909), 464-468. For a more contemporary and critical discussion of German gender role ideals and reality in the United States, see Carol K. Coburn, "Ethnicity, Religion, and Gender: The Women of Block, Kansas, 1868-1940," in European Immigrants in the American West: Community Histories, ed. Frederick C. Luebke, 129-146 (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1998); and Christiane Harzig, "The Role of German Women in the German-American Working-Class Movement in Late Nineteenth-Century New York" Journal of American Ethnic History 8 (1989): 87-107, 58-60. Gabaccia, We Are What We Eat, 80. Silke Wehner-Franco, Deutsche Dienstmädchen in Amerika, 1850-1914 (Münster and New York: Waxmann, 1994), 277.

**Table 5.3**  
**Occupations of Female German Immigrants in Arizona, 1870-1910**

<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>1870</u>		<u>1880</u>		<u>1900</u>		<u>1910</u>	
	no.	/ %	no.	/ %	no.	/ %	no.	/ %
agricultural			1	1.0	3	1.1	12	2.6
unskilled	1	33.3	7	7.0	11	4.3	27	5.9
semi-skilled			2	2.0				
skilled			1	1.0	11	4.3	14	3.0
clerical							5	1.0
entrepreneurial			3	3.0	8	3.1	30	6.3
professional					3	1.2	4	0.9
not employed	2	66.7	82	84.0	225	85.9	363	79.3
unknown			2	2.0	1	0.4	3	0.7
Total	3	100	98	100	262	100	458	100

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Arizona [microfilm]; Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Arizona [microfilm].



husbands, had apparently no problem continuing those respective businesses, whether farms, craft shops or entrepreneurial ventures.<sup>45</sup>

Very few single German women came to the territory and provided for their own livelihood. The majority of them quickly were married to German Arizonans. One of the few exceptions was Anna Helmann who came to the territory in 1899 and filed for a homestead in Patagonia. She successfully operated her 160-acre farm and over the years expanded it to more than 600 acres. While managing and operating her farm, Anna Helmann also started to teach in nearby schools and influenced hundreds of school children with her German ways. Anna Helmann was an exception and the majority of German women fulfilled their domestic duties and in the process became prime preservers of German ethnic identity within German Arizonan families.<sup>46</sup>

During the late nineteenth century an increasing number of German immigrants moved to Arizona Territory intending to make it their new permanent home. While establishing themselves and their families in a variety of economic areas German immigrants developed an affinity to the region and started to identify themselves as Arizonans. Exploiting stereotypes about German

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<sup>45</sup> "Reminiscences of Anna Forbach," typewritten manuscript, copy in "Forbach, Anna," Biographical File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona; "Reminiscences of Mrs. Rachael Weelbright Miller, Prescott 1932," typewritten manuscript, copy in "Miller, Rachael," Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona. "G.C. Wilmoth, District Director, U.S. Department of Labor, El Paso, Texas, to Kenneth Aitken, Clerk, Board of Supervisors, Yavapai County, Prescott, Arizona, 26 December 1935," copy of letter in "Board of Supervisor Record," Box 2, Sharlott Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona. Biographical Record, 836 and 572. 1900 Census; and 1910 Census.

<sup>46</sup> "Fortune, Anna," Biographical File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona; and Barbara Camplell, "The Indomitable Mrs. Fortune," 29 July 1962, copy of article in "Fortune, Anna," Biographical File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona.

respectability, honesty and *Bildung*, they integrated themselves and participated in the development of new social structures in the territory and in the process many became highly respected members of this entity. Middle-class German Arizonans who put their efforts and energy into local community building participated fully in the social life and as a result of their acquired status were able to fully participate in the local political life. Contrary to the myth of the “unpolitical German,” German Arizonans displayed a variety of political interest in their activities in the territory.

While integrating fully in the regional life, German Arizonans, increasingly felt assimilationist pressures. As a reaction Germans tried to institutionalize their ethnic heritage. For a brief period of time, under unique circumstances, they were able to create a number of ethnic associations, which did not prevail. An insufficient number of German immigrants contributed to their demise. As a consequence, the main carrier for ethnic perseverance and the formation of ethnic identities became the German Arizonan family. Increasingly, German immigrants tried to form unions with German spouses. Within these newly created families ethnic heritage was celebrated and ethnic identity was formed.

Into the twentieth century, German immigrants in Arizona were able to form a German Arizonan identity that allowed them to accommodate themselves fully in the regional society. In this process, stereotypical Germanness proved to be an asset for German immigrants. With overt anti-German sentiments during World War I, this situation changed drastically.

Germanness no longer was an asset. On the contrary, it became a detriment. As a consequence German Arizonans consciously transformed into American Arizonans.

## CHAPTER 6

### “DUAL IDENTITY:” GERMAN ARIZONAN JEWS

Modern historians of German immigration often struggle with the placement of German Jews. Historians of the German experience in America encounter the dilemma of how to approach the Jewish segment of the German immigrants and their unique situation. The majority of them are fully aware of the important role Jews played in the German American communities, yet they cannot decide whether to treat them as Germans or not. The most common approaches by German immigration historians are either the complete inclusion of German Jews as Germans without any reflection on their differences or their total exclusion. Struggling with the Nazi experience, many twentieth century historians cannot imagine that nineteenth-century German Jews identified themselves equally as Germans and Jews. For many such a dual identity cannot be a reality after the Holocaust. But for people in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the conditions of the Nazi era were not part of their

intellectual equation. In effect, this divide is counter-factual history, a reading back into the past the conditions of a later time.<sup>1</sup>

German Jewish history during the nineteenth century is marked by the gradual complete legal emancipation of Jews in Germany. During this period, German Jews hoped that legal emancipation would ultimately lead to the elimination of the last remnants of anti-Semitism and full integration into German society. In this regard, German Jewish community leaders propagated the complete assimilation of Jews into German society, which entailed to a large degree the abandonment of Jewishness. These hopes were not fulfilled. After the foundation of the new Reich in 1871 and during Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*, anti-Semitic expressions in Germany rose. German Jews went through an identity crisis, torn between Germanness and Jewishness, between complete integration and affirmation of a Jewish identity. The formation of the *Zentralverein der deutschen Juden* in 1893 marks a turning point in this crisis. For many German Jews it had become clear that a "public affirmation of Jewish

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<sup>1</sup> For a detailed discussion of this topic, see Stanley Nadel, "Jewish Race and German Soul," 6-26. Examples of the complete exclusion of German Jews from the German immigrant experience in the United States are Albert Bernhardt Faust, The German Element in the United States With Special Reference to Its Political, Moral, Social, and Educational Influence, 2 vols. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909); Voget, Los Angeles; and Jordan, "Hill Country Germans of Texas." Examples for the largely unreflected inclusion of German Jews are Jaehn, "New Mexico;" and Terry, "Sacramento." An excellent exception is Stanley Nadel, "Kleindeutschland: New York City's Germans, 1845-1880" (Ph.D. diss.: Columbia University, 1981). A collection of essays published in Abraham, Peck, ed., The German-Jewish Legacy in America 1938-1988: From Bildung to the Bill of Rights (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989) illustrates the struggle of historians of the German Jewish experience to come to terms with problem of viewing German Jewish history solely through the lens of the Holocaust.

identity” was necessary to combat prolonged and continuing anti-Semitic sentiments.<sup>2</sup>

In the United States German Jewish immigrants displayed characteristics of what historians Naomi Cohen and Stanley Nadel called a “dual identity.” They viewed themselves as being equally Germans and Jews at the same time. In this regard, German Jewish immigrants in America became more equally German than German Jews in Germany. For the most part of the nineteenth century, a German Jewish nexus existed. This is well described in German Rabbi Bernhard Felsenthal’s often quoted statement of 1901 that “racially I am a Jew[...] politically I am an American[...]spiritually I’m a German”. German Jewish immigrants in the United States wished to spend their time in a German American milieu and promoted German *Kultur* in many different ways. German Jews participated actively in and provided leadership for German American institutions and their loyalty to the German language was at least as strong as that of any other German American. Until the early twentieth century, the majority of German Jews considered themselves to be part of the larger contingent of German immigrants in the United States.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> For an overview of the struggle of German Jews to create identity during the times of emancipation and rising anti-Semitism in the German Reich, see Jehuda Reinharz, Fatherland or Promised Land: The Dilemma of the German Jew, 1893-1914 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1975.) Ismar Schorsch, Jewish Reactions to German Anti-Semitism, 1870-1914 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972).

<sup>3</sup> Stanley, “Jewish Race and German Soul,” 7-8; and Cohen, Encounter with Emancipation, 57-63. Cohen acknowledges the German Jewish nexus, dedicates, however, only six pages of her 400-page study to it and concludes that this nexus dissolved already after 1870. Rabbi Felsenthal quoted as in Nadel, “Jewish Race and German Soul,” 7. Rudolph Glanz, “Jews in Relation to the Cultural Milieu of the Germans in America Up to the Eighteen Eighties,” in Studies in Judaica Americana, Rudolph Glanz, 203-255 (New York: KTAV

Many of the German Jews in Arizona viewed themselves as being equally Germans and Jews and displayed the characteristics of a dual identity. German Arizonan Jews intensely associated with German immigrants. They participated in the few ethnic German institutions in the territory, and in the case of the Tombstone *Turnverein*, actually initiated the creation of one. German language and German behavior appeared to have played a significant role in their economic and social life. In an atmosphere that was almost completely void of anti-Semitic sentiment, German Arizonan Jews went through similar transition processes as gentile Germans in regard to the formation of identity. Their experience started to diverge only during the early part of the twentieth century. They evolved from German Jewish pioneers, via German Jewish Arizonans, into American Arizonan Jews and sometimes into American Christian Arizonans. Viewing this process, at times a triple identity instead of a dual one seems plausible. Certainly, one cannot observe two separate communities that existed in isolation from each other, but two communities that overlapped, shared many members, a common culture, and a common language, and whose members at times intermarried.<sup>4</sup>

German Jews constituted between 2 and 8 percent of the German immigrant population in Arizona. They reached their highest percentage in the early 1880s, during the silver mining boom in Tombstone where a larger

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Publishing House, 1970), 206. Luebke, *Three Centuries*, 170.

<sup>4</sup> For the absence of anti-Semitic sentiments in the American Southwest, see Tobias, *Jews in New Mexico*, 44, 88.

concentration of German Jews occurred. Their percentage in the territory was significantly higher than the percentage of German Jews within the German population in the homeland. The exact number of German Jews is hard to assess because very often information regarding religious affiliation is not available. Historians of the German Jewish experience within the United States have employed certain methodologies to ascribe Jewishness to German immigrants on the basis of specific criteria. Historian Rudolph Glanz analyzes the names of German Jews in American in an attempt to distinguish Germans from German Jews solely on the basis of names. In a study on Jewish immigrants in Arizona, historian Blaine Lamb applies a similar methodology. He combines a Jewish name with a specific place of birth, Central or Eastern Europe, occupation, and close business associations with identified Jews as the basis for identifying Jewish immigrants in the region.<sup>5</sup>

As helpful as these approaches are, they are not perfect, especially when attempting to distinguish gentile Germans from German Jews. The case of Herrman Ehrenberg in Arizona serves as an example. On the basis of the aforementioned criteria, historians for a long time considered him to be the first German Jewish pioneer in Arizona. Yet, Ehrenberg was actually of Protestant birth and upbringing. His case not only shows the limitations of this methodology, it also exemplifies how similar gentile German and German-

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<sup>5</sup> 1860 Census; "1864 Census;" 1870 Census, 1880 Census; 1900 Census; and 1910 Census. Rudolph Glanz, "German-Jewish Names in America," *Jewish Social Studies* 23 (1961): 143-169; and Lamb, "Arizona," 3.



Jewish experiences in Arizona must have been and how difficult it is to separate them. In an attempt to avoid a distorted portrayal of the German Arizonan Jewish experience, the following analysis will only include German Jewish immigrants who are clearly identified as such through documentation.<sup>6</sup>

Like their gentile counterparts, German Jewish immigrants who moved to Arizona prior to the arrival of the transcontinental railroad settled under unique social and cultural circumstances. In an environment that lacked an Anglo-American dominance and assimilationist pressures, German Jews identified themselves as frontiersmen and participated actively in the evolution of a new frontier society. Under these circumstances, German Jews felt neither the urge to stress their German ethnic nor their Jewish identity through the creation of formal ethnic or religious institutions.

German Jewish immigrants who moved to Arizona during the 1850s and 1860s were attracted to the region by the opportunities presented by the discovery of precious minerals. In contrast to their fellow gentile German immigrants, German Jews were primarily interested in serving the mining community and not participating in the actual mining process, a strategy that was pioneered by Levi Strauss in the California goldfields. A majority of German Jews in the region were occupied as merchants and played a social and economic role similar to the one they had in Germany. Two of the earliest

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<sup>6</sup> Stocker, *Jewish Roots*, 1-6; and Gilbert Kushner, "The Jewish Community in Tucson: Structure and Forms of Jewish-Identification" (M.A. thesis: University of Arizona, 1958), 13. For the history of Herrman Ehrenberg and his heritage, see Chapter 3.

German Jewish immigrants in the region were Nathan B. Appel and Solomon Barth. Appel, who was born in Höchstadt am Main in 1828, arrived at Tubac via New Mexico in 1854. Appel engaged in freighting and merchandising for many years and with him German Jewish history in Arizona began. Shortly after Appel's arrival, Sol Barth, an immigrant from Prussia, established his business in the territory. For decades, Barth engaged himself in a variety of business ventures ranging from merchandising to cattle raising and farming.<sup>7</sup>

Many German Jewish merchants had several advantages over their fellow Arizonan merchants. They possessed merchandising experience and had acquired some capital prior to their migration to the Far West. They were related by family ties, marriages, or friendships with each other before they arrived in the territory. In addition, in many cases their families financially supported them, providing enough capital or at least credit to start. Although living in different regions and towns, German Jewish merchants maintained close business relations with each other, simultaneously helping newcomers with employment. Initially, these merchants did not settle in the territory with the intention of making it their permanent new home. Many of them had a clear cut

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<sup>7</sup> Hynda Rudd, "The Mountain West As a Jewish Frontier," Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly, 13 (1981): 241-256, 245; Hal Rothman, "'Same Horse, New Wagon:' Tradition and Assimilation Among the Jews of Wichita, 1865-1930," Great Plains Quarterly, 15 (1995): 83-104, 83; and Enno Meyer "Die Einwanderung der Juden in das Gebiet der heutigen Vereinigten Staaten von America," Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht, 40 (1989): 665-683, 669. "Appel, Nathan Benjamin," Document #13512, Southwest Index, Special Collections, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona; Harper's New Monthly Magazine, No. 176, January 1865, 148; and Abraham S. Chanin, Cholent and Chorizo: Great Adventures of Pioneer Jews on the Arizona Frontier, Sometimes Kosher, Sometimes Not, But Always Fascinating! (Tucson: Midbar Press, 1995), 4. Greenwood, "Sol Barth," 363-365.

idea of the country and their own personal goals. This is illustrated in a statement of Phoebus Freudenthal when he said “of course, the territory is good only to earn money — it is a place as everyone knows that God made last of all.”<sup>8</sup>

German Jewish merchants entered Arizona from the East and the West: from New Mexico via the Santa Fe Trail and from California, first establishing their businesses in La Paz. The earliest German merchants were Isaac Goldberg, Hyman Mannasse, Julius A. Meier, Aaron Wertheimer, and Louis Landsberger, all of whom did business with each other. Isaac Goldberg had immigrated to California in 1854. From there he moved to Arizona and by 1864, he had established himself as a respected merchant in La Paz. He then moved his business to Prescott where he established relations with three other German Jewish merchants, Louis Landsberger, Aaron Wertheimer and Henry Wunderlich. They all had moved from La Paz to Prescott, attracted by the business opportunities created by the Lynx Creek gold rush of the spring of 1863. These four became, together with Sol Barth, the predominate business figures in the Prescott area during the second half of the 1860s. Issac Goldberg then transferred his business to Tucson and Wunderlich migrated back to San

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<sup>8</sup> Rischin, Jews of the American West, 137-139. Phoebus Freudenthal in a letter to one of his brothers in Germany, quoted as in Tobias, Jews in New Mexico, 36.

Francisco in 1870. Aaron Wertheimer operated his business Prescott until his death in 1874.<sup>9</sup>

Two other German Jewish merchants helped to develop the mining area around Wickenburg. Hyman Mannasse had come to La Paz from San Diego in 1863 and from there he moved to Wickenburg in 1867. In this town, he opened a store together with Aaron Barnett who had been one of the earliest merchants in Wickenburg, and Julius Goldwater, a son of Russian-born Jewish merchant Michael Goldwater. By 1869, Barnett had accumulated \$11,000 worth of property, but the decline in mining in the area forced him out of business. Hyman Mannasse was able to continue the enterprise alone in Wickenburg until his death in a gunfight in 1875.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Lamb, "Arizona," 36. "1864 Census," 98, and 1870 Census. Arizona Miner 19 October 1866, 4:1; Alta California 14 October 1863, 3:2 and 16 February 1867, 1:5; "Pima County Book of Records, 17 May 1864 - 28 December 1865," 6, copy in "Landsberger Louis," Hayden File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson. "Reminiscences of an Arizona Pioneer: Personal Experiences of Issac Goldberg. June 1894." MS 881, Charles Morgan Wood Papers 1923-27, Box 1, Lamb, Arizona, 36, "1864 Census," 98, and "1870 Census," 174. "Reminiscences of an Arizona Pioneer: Personal Experiences of Issac Goldberg. June 1894." MS 881, Charles Morgan Wood Papers 1923-27, Box 1, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson. Weekly Arizona Miner 9 October 1869, 3:1. Lamb, "Arizona," 60-62; and Greenwood, "Barth," 363-367. Lamb, "Arizona," 62. Even though concentrations of successful German Jewish merchants in urban centers of the territory, especially Prescott, Tucson, and Phoenix, occurred, they apparently did not initiate the founding of any temples or synagogues during the 1860s and 1870s. Contemporary sources that list church institutions in these towns do not list any such Jewish institution. See for example, Hiram Hodge, Arizona As It Is; Or, The Coming Country. Compiled from Notes of Travel During the Years 1874, 1875, and 1876 (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1877), microfilm., 148-149; and Atchinson, Topeka & Santa Fé Railroad Company, Arizona. Her Great Mining, Agricultural, Stockraising & Lumber Interests (Chicago: Poole Brothers, 1884), microfilm, 10. Furthermore, none of the available sources give any indication that these Jewish pioneers engaged any kind of public celebrations of Jewish holidays.

<sup>10</sup> Lamb, "Arizona," 30-32, 159. Hyman Mannasse got involved in an argument with Mexican freighter Jesus Amado over the price of a load of barley that Amado was supposed to transport. After Mannasse called Amado a liar, a fight ensued in which Mannasse fired two shots at Amado before being hit fatally by a bullet from his opponent's weapon (Prescott Arizona Miner 23 April 1875).

The most important business man who migrated to Arizona from the East was William Zeckendorf. The youngest of three brothers, he arrived in Tucson from Albuquerque with sixteen wagon loads of goods in 1868. As there were not enough buyers for the goods at the time, William Zeckendorf established a permanent store in Tucson. His business flourished and by 1870, he had become one of the richest individuals in Arizona, owning property worth \$124,000. The Zeckendorf brothers provide an excellent example of how many German Jewish businessmen in Arizona operated successfully through their ties into networks that extended well beyond the region. Louis Zeckendorf maintained an office in New York, Aaron Zeckendorf worked in Albuquerque, and William in Tucson. This way the brothers were able to comb the newspapers for contract offerings in all these locations. These kind of families ties among Jewish merchants, transplanted from the Old World, were typical in the United States and aided their business ventures tremendously, placing them at an advantage vis-a-vis most of their gentile German and Arizonan counterparts who did not develop these sort of ties. In most cases the Zeckendorfs tried to acquire the profitable Indian trading licenses and U.S. government contracts, as did most of the other merchants in Arizona. These contracts were at the heart of economic development in the American Southwest and without them a majority of businesses would have neither

flourished nor survived, which confirms that the allegedly rugged individual of the West was largely dependent on the support of the Eastern government.<sup>11</sup>

German Jews in Arizona were not only closely connected with each other and their families outside of the region, they were also intricately connected to gentile German immigrants in the area through business relations and friendships. Nathan B. Appel was closely tied to the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company. This business, run mainly by German immigrants, provided Appel opportunities to expand his merchandising business and engage on a business and social level with fellow German immigrants. It appears that a large number of his friends emerged out of the circle of German immigrants who were involved with the Sonora Company. Appel also developed a friendship with fellow German pioneer William Ohnesorgen. Hyman Mannasse, butcher, meat dealer, and merchant, was joined in his business by Charles Lehman, a fellow German immigrant, and both men were connected through friendship.<sup>12</sup>

Another German Jewish pioneer merchant made his way from California to Arizona as a result of his business relations and friendship with a gentile

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<sup>11</sup> Floyd S. Fierman, "The Spectacular Zeckendorfs," The Journal of Arizona History 22 (1981): 387-414, 390-394. Rischin, American West, 138. 1870 Census. For similar Jewish merchandising networks in the United States and the West, see for example Elliott Ashkenazi, "Jewish Commercial Interests Between North and South: The Case of the Lehman and the Seligmans," American Jewish Archives 43(1991): 25-39; and William Toll, "The Origins of an Ethnic Middle Class: The Jews of Portland in the Nineteenth Century," in European Immigrants in the American West: Community Histories, ed. Frederick C. Luebke, 75-89 (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 76.

<sup>12</sup> "Appel," Document #13512. Lamb, "Nathan Benjamin Appel," 12. For the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company, see Chapter 3. "Affidavit of N.B. Appel, Territory of Arizona, County of Pima," copy in MS Nathan B. Appel, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona. Lamb, "Arizona," 39.

German pioneer. Julius A. Meier relocated his business from California to Arizona because of his connection to Frederick Brill, who was also a friend of Hyman Mannasse. After joining Brill and Mannasse in Arizona, Meier briefly contemplated a return to Germany as business was lacking, yet by 1865, he had established his business successfully at La Paz. While struggling to establish a successful economic venture, Meier had befriended fellow German immigrants Charles H. Meyer and Herrman Ehrenberg who also assisted him in his business. In addition he formed a partnership with Fritz Leinbach in 1865.<sup>13</sup>

During the early years of Arizona's development, the number of German Jewish immigrants in the region was very small. In the 1870 census, only eighteen German Jews can be clearly identified. Their small numbers combined with the absence of assimilationist pressures and anti-Semitic sentiments did not facilitate the creation of Jewish institutions. This parallels the development among German immigrants in Arizona who also did not attempt to create any ethnic institutions during the pioneer period. Nevertheless, gentile Germans and German Jews cooperated with each other on economic and social levels. In this regard a question formulated earlier has to be restated — what did German Jews and gentile Germans, and for that matter Germans overall, have in common? What bound them together and gave meaning to the

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<sup>13</sup> "1864 Census;" and "F.L. Brill, Wickenburg, to J.A. Meier, La Paz, 10 December 1865," copy of letter in "Brill, Frederick Louis," Hayden Arizona Collection, Special Collection, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona. "J.A. Meier, La Paz, Arizona, to E.W. Morse, San Diego, 14 March 1865," transcript of letter in Meier, J.A., Hayden File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona. "Recorder's Office Yuma, Book B of Mines, La Paz District, No. 33," 22, copy in Leinbach, F., Hayden File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona.

term “Germanness” was primarily their language. On the basis of their language, German Jewish immigrants in the United States were often labeled German by Americans, a label that most German Jewish immigrants proudly accepted — a label that was then denied for so long in their native home. On the basis of this shared language, gentile German and German Jewish immigrants in Arizona together created a German identity. Not only did the German language create a meaningful content of Germanness for these immigrants, it also bridged gaps and animosity amongst German Jewish immigrants. As historians Rudolph Glanz and Avraham Barkai demonstrated, for most of the nineteenth century, German Jews did not constitute one single group with one single identity. They distinguish at least two separate groups with different characteristics: southern German and Prussian Jews. The former, coming from Bavaria, Baden and Wuerttemberg commonly referred to themselves as *Bayern* and they derogatorily termed Prussian Jews as *Hinter Berliner*. In the United States, as immigrants, these groups bridged their regional differences on the basis of the two characteristics they shared - Jewishness and the German language.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Nadel, “Jewish Race and German Soul,” 9; and Glanz, “Cultural Milieu,” 231. Cohen, Encounter with Emancipation, 58. “Louis Wollenberg, Union Village, New York, to Aaron Wollenberg, Germany, 1 February 1859,” translation of letter in H.&F. Rochlin Paper, 1850-1990, Box 3, Special Collection, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona. Avraham Barkai, “Sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte der deutschen Judenheit,” Jahrbuch des Instituts für deutsche Geschichte (Tel-Aviv, Israel) 11 (1982): 237-260, 239; and Rudolph Glanz, “The ‘Bayer’ and the ‘Pollack’ in America,” in Studies in Judaica Americana, Rudolph Glanz, 187-202 (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1970), 189.



During their early settlement, German Jews and gentile German immigrants in Arizona lived in an environment that did not threaten their individual ethnic and religious identity. If any change in their ethnic behavior was visible, it would be in acculturation to the existing Hispanic culture in the region. German Jewish immigrants unlike their gentile counterparts had less frequent economic relations with the local society. Their ties extended beyond the regional context and made these connections less important. Nevertheless, merchants like Nathan Appel or Albert Steinfeld had frequent relations with local Hispanic merchants and did business in Mexico, a major market for Arizonan merchants.<sup>15</sup>

Where acculturation to Hispanic society becomes most apparent is in the realm of personal relationships. Some of the early German Jewish pioneers intermarried into Hispanic families. Among these German Jews who intermarried were Solomon Barth, Nathan Appel, Alexander Levin and Abraham Frank. Their marriages either served to consolidate economic and social ties to the regional society or reflected the absence of any non-Hispanic eligible marriage partners. Nathan B. Appel married Victoria Torres in 1852, and Barth married Refugia Landavazo, the daughter of Francisco and Clarita (Sanchez) Landavazo, prominent Catholic New Mexicans. German Jewish brewing entrepreneur Alexander Levin was joined in union with Zenona Molina who

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<sup>15</sup> "N.B. Appel an Old Pioneer of New Mexico and Arizona Now 65 Years of Age," copy in "Appel Nathan Benjamin," Southwest Index, Special Collection, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona. Daily Bulletin 21 March 1877, 3:1; and Biographical Record, 127.

hailed from an influential and prominent Mexican family in Sonora. Another German Jewish pioneer who intermarried into a local Hispanic family was David Balsz. He married Louisa Redondo, the daughter of his partner. Intermarriage with local Hispanic spouses resulted for some German Jewish pioneers in the conversion to the Catholic faith of their spouses. Alexander Levin as well as David Balsz are examples of these conversions to Catholicism.<sup>16</sup>

In contrast to their gentile German counterparts many German Jewish pioneers remained in the territory and established permanent homes. Transience depended on economic success. Pioneers who found prosperity were more likely to stay in the region. Due to their occupational fields, many German Jewish pioneers achieved a higher rate of success than their gentile compatriots, who depended on success in mining. German Jewish pioneers who remained in the territory, with German Jewish newcomers and other German immigrants, participated actively in the formation of a new regional society. In this process, they developed an affinity to the locale in which they lived and adopted a distinct German Arizonan Jewish identity.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Lamb, "Arizona," 302. Chanin, *Cholent*, 7. "Appel, Benjamin," Biographical File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona. "Barth, Solomon," H.&F. Rochlin Papers, 1850-1990, Box 1, Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona. Harriet Rochlin and Fred Rochlin, *Pioneer Jews: A New Life in the Far West* (Los Angeles: Rosebud Books, 1984), 87. "Genealogical Sketch, Levin Family," Box 6, 1689, Rochlin Collection of Western Jewish History, Special Collections, University of California, Los Angeles; and *Arizona Citizen* 3 October 1891, 3:1. *Arizona Daily Star* 28 March 1904, 5:3. In the second generation the families of Alexander Levin and Frederick Ronstadt united in marriage. Among the prominent decedents of this family union is contemporary pop-star Linda Ronstadt.

<sup>17</sup> For population stability and transiency rates, see Chapter 2.

German Jewish immigrants were instrumental in the development of Arizona's economy. They worked in a variety of fields, but German Jewish merchants provided by far the largest impetus to the evolution of a mercantile economy in the region. With their expertise and economic ties beyond regional boundaries, they expanded their businesses into all corners of the territory with the close cooperation of other German and Arizonan merchants. They provided Arizona with an economic infrastructure that proved to be pivotal in the territory's future economic development. At the same time, their economic success propelled many of them into the higher echelons of Arizona society where they became influential promoters of Germanness and Jewishness in the territory.<sup>18</sup>

During the 1870s and 1880s, Louis Wollenberg emerged as one of the most important economic figures in the Prescott area. Building on the foundations laid by earlier German Jewish pioneer merchants, Hyman Mannasse, F.H. Wunderlich, and Aaron Wertheimer, Wollenberg created a substantial enterprise. Like many other German Jewish, and for that matter Arizona merchants, Wollenberg's economic success rested to a large degree on the acquisition of federal contracts for supplying military troops stationed in the territory and providing provisions for near-by Indian Reservations. Wollenberg created much of his revenue through the contracts he had with Fort Whipple and for the Yavapai Reservation on the Verde River. The brothers Adolph and

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<sup>18</sup> Sheridan, Arizona, 106.

Benjamin Schuster emerged as the leading merchants in Northern Arizona. In the early 1880s, they created a general store in Holbrook and expanded their business later in cooperation with another brother, Max, to Flagstaff. Abraham Frank, who had originally established himself in La Paz in 1867, became the most influential merchandising figure in Yuma following his relocation in 1883.<sup>19</sup>

The importance of German Jewish merchants in the development of specific regions is exemplified by the history of Gustav Becker. Becker came to Arizona in 1876 to join his brother Julius at Springerville in the far eastern part of the territory. The brothers opened a small merchandising store which quickly grew into a larger enterprise, named Becker Brothers and later renamed Becker Commercial Company in 1893. Gustav Becker built a far-reaching merchandising enterprise with extensive interests throughout Arizona and into New Mexico, establishing one of the most successful commercial firms in Arizona. From the beginning the small business of the Becker brothers carried the financial burden of the area. They provided local farmers and ranchers, who were in dire need of financial assistance, not only with their products but also the capital with which they could develop their enterprises. As merchants, bankers, and providers of charitable relief, Gustav Becker and his brother were

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<sup>19</sup> Charles M. Wollenberg, "Recollections of Arizona, 1876-1891," Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly 15 (1982): 31-39; Lamb, "Arizona," 64; and Chanin, Cholent, 218, 225. Lamb, "Arizona," 47-48.

the essential figures in the development and maintenance of Springerville and surrounding area.<sup>20</sup>

Much of the German Jewish mercantile success rested upon their cooperation and the utilization of networks that German Jewish families had created across the United States. In 1873, Isadore Solomon, a Prussian-born Jew, migrated together with his wife Anna Freudenthal to New Mexico where he found employment at the business of Anna's brothers and cousins. In 1867, Solomon relocated to Clifton and cooperated with Anna's first cousin, Henry Lesinsky. A contract to supply charcoal for Lesinsky's mining operation provided Solomon with the basis for the establishment of a mercantile business in the little village of Pueblo Viejo, which was renamed Solomonville in 1879. Tying into the Lesinsky-Freudenthal network, Solomon and his business flourished. In addition to his mercantile undertakings, he established a large farm and the crops he harvested fed four U.S. Army forts. For more than twenty-five years, Solomon was the principal supplier for the United States Army stationed in the southeastern section of Arizona territory.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Farish, Arizona, vol. 6, 288. "Biography," Becker Papers, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona. "Radio Broadcast, Winslow Radio Station, Holbrook, Arizona, Summer 1953," transcript in Becker Papers, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona.

<sup>21</sup> Elizabeth Lantin Ramenofsky, "Isadore and Anna Solomon of Arizona," Western States Jewish History 17 (1985): 122-128, 122-125. James M. Patton, History of Clifton (Clifton, AZ: Greenlee County Chamber of Commerce, 1977), 99. Arizona Bulletin, Graham County, Arizona Territory (Solomonville, Arizona: Bulletin Publishing Co., 1897), microfilm, 5. Fierman, "Zeckendorfs," 387-414; and Lamb, "Arizona," 106-109.

German Jewish Arizonan merchants also cooperated with gentile German immigrants in the territory. It appears that these German immigrants benefitted economically from the connection to extended German Jewish mercantile networks. Gustav Hoff did business with Aaron Goldsmith and was employed at Louis Zeckendorf and Company. William Ohnesorgen, another German Arizonan pioneer, found employment with Lesinsky's business outlet in Tucson and had business relations with the Zeckendorf corporation in Tombstone. The businesses of Zeckendorf, Lesinsky, Solomon, Becker, Wollenberg and others also promoted the sale and distribution of goods that German artisans produced in the territory — a circumstance that could be interpreted as an expression of ethnic solidarity between gentile and Jewish German Arizonans.<sup>22</sup>

Beyond merchandising, German Arizonan Jews operated in a variety of economic fields in the territory. Originally setting out to profit from trading with miners and mining companies, some German Arizonan Jews got involved in mining themselves. The families of Isadore Solomon, Henry Lesinsky and Phoebus Freudenthal were responsible for the systematic development of the copper fields in eastern Arizona. Led by Henry Lesinsky, who was named "the father of Arizona's copper mining industry" these families developed the

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<sup>22</sup> Biographical Record, 152. "Reminiscences of William Ohnesorgen, 22 October 1929," typewritten manuscript, copy in "Ohnesorgen, William," Biographical File, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona; and Arizona Mining Index 27 February 1886, 3:3.

Longfellow mine and in the process created the southeastern mining town of Clifton.<sup>23</sup>

Other German Arizonan Jews attempted to reap economic benefits from their involvement in the hotel business. Emil Ganz, who arrived in Prescott in 1874 and relocated to Phoenix in 1878, became the proprietor of the renowned Bank Exchange Hotel. In connection with the hotel Ganz operated a restaurant which, among other things, featured typical German cuisine. As hotelier and restaurateur, Ganz rose to prominence in Phoenix's society and economy. He invested his profits in a variety of other enterprises. He opened a wholesale liquor and tobacco store, invested in Phoenix's first street car system, ran an insurance agency, and with the capital generated by those businesses became one of Phoenix's foremost bankers and president of the National Bank. Other German Jewish Arizonan hoteliers were Isidor Goldtree and Isadore Neustadter, who managed Tucson's famous Ondorff Hotel, and on a smaller scale Benjamin Lindenbaum operated a hotel and lodging house on Montezuma Street in Prescott.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Stocker, Jewish Roots, 16. Chanin, Cholent, 77. William R. Ridway, Solomon, Emigrant from Germany, Builds Small Empire in Gila Valley," typewritten manuscript, H.&F. Rochlin Papers, 1850-1990, Box 3, Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona. Patton, Clifton, 11-14.

<sup>24</sup> Biographical Record, 222. Blaine P. Lamb, "Frontiersmen in Broadcloth: Jews in Early Phoenix, 1870-1920," Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly 25 (1992): 3-21, 8. Lamb, "Arizona," 251-254. "Arizona State Inventory of Historic Places, Yavapai County, #114," copy in DB 14, YHF 114, Sharlott Hall Museum, Prescott, Arizona.; Arizona Weekly Journal Miner 14 May 1890, 3:1; and Arizona Journal Miner 3 August 1894, 1:3.

Some German Jewish immigrants in Arizona fulfilled their dreams of land ownership from which they were so long excluded in Germany. David Balsz, who came to the Arizona territory in the late 1870s, together with his Mexican partner Pedro Redondo, established a ranch in Maricopa County. Balsz's cattle enterprise grew quickly and he was able to acquire several contracts to supply the San Carlos and Colorado River Indian Reservations. Balsz expanded his agricultural venture by ranging a large herd of sheep and creating an orchard with apricots and peaches. Balsz was not content with raising cattle and sheep but engaged in marketing his own product. He created a wholesale butcher and beef business in Phoenix, and in typical German tradition, opened a restaurant adjacent to his butcher shop in which the usual German meals would be offered. Other German Arizonan Jews engaged in agriculture and acquired land ownership as an extension of their mercantile businesses. Isadore Solomon involved himself in cattle and horse-raising at Solomonville. Hugo Donau, for many years general manager of Albert Steinfeld and Company and director of the Consolidated Bank, ran a ranch that was situated thirty-five miles south of Tucson.<sup>25</sup>

Few German Jewish immigrants operated in the territory as skilled craftsmen. By far the most important of those German Jewish artisans was Alexander Levin. In his role as brewer and brewing entrepreneur he was

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<sup>25</sup> Arizona Sentinel 11 January 1879, 2:1,2; Phoenix Herald 19 March 1879, 3:1; 20 August 1879, 3:1; and 4 November 1881, 1:2; Phoenix Herald 7 May 1880, 1:3; Weekly Phoenix Herald 15 November 1883, 4:2; and Weekly Yuma Sun 20 June 1902, 1:1. Lamb, "Arizona," 183. "Donau, Hugo," Arizona Reference Files, SJA004, Box 3, Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona; and Biographical Record, 505.



essential in the promotion of German lifestyle, drink, and food. Levin was born in Bahn, Prussia in March 1834. After immigrating to the United States, Levin made his way to La Paz from California in 1863 and was probably accompanied by his brothers Henry and Louis, who later resided at Nogales.<sup>26</sup>

After operating a brewing business in La Paz for several years, Levin moved his business to Tucson in 1869. There, in cooperation with fellow German Jew Joseph Goldtree, he established the Pioneer Brewery. During the 1870s Levin's brewing enterprise grew. He created the Park Brewery and Levin's Park, a combination of amusement park and beer garden, with a restaurant and a variety of entertainments. In 1878, Levin constructed on the grounds of the Park, Park Hall, which became Tucson's first formal theater and opera house. In his enterprise Levin employed many German immigrants and promoted the German way of life.<sup>27</sup>

For several years German immigrant brewer Columbus Glassmann managed the Park for Levin. The business employed many German bartenders who would serve typical salted pretzels (*Bretzen*) for free with the beer in an attempt to increase the thirst of the customers. The Park Brewery advertised "choice German lunches" with one of the favorites being "herring and potato salad." The walls of the brewery depicted "the most beautiful [...]landscapes on the Rhine." During festivities at the Park, German music frequently was played

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<sup>26</sup> "Genealogical Sketch, Levin Family."

<sup>27</sup> "Genealogical Sketch, Levin Family;" Lamb, "Arizona," 250; and Chanin, Cholent, 113. Lamb, "Arizona," 251.

for the entertainment of the customers. The program for the 1879 May Day celebration at the park featured almost exclusively the work of German composers. During the July Fourth celebration in 1877, Levin delivered an address in the German language to the many German and German Jewish immigrants who had gathered at the park.<sup>28</sup>

Levin's institution provided many German immigrants who lived in Tucson with a venue where they could gather, socialize, and communicate in their native language. Beyond the fulfillment of those basic needs, the park operation also provided facilities for the German attempts to institutionalize ethnicity. In 1880, Levin erected on the park grounds a *Turnhalle* (gymnasium). This facility was used by the newly founded Tucson *Turnverein* for its gatherings and physical activities. Into the 1880s, the park remained a popular gathering ground for German Arizonans and Tucsonans. Its operation became so profitable that Levin adopted the practice of leasing out his business. In consecutive order, he leased the grounds to German immigrants, Bayer and Schwartz, Dorn, William Sholderer, Ernst Hartmann, Jacob Martin, and finally Henry Weick.<sup>29</sup>

The gradual demise of Levin's Park and that of its owner was caused by the increasing influx of bottled beer from the East. Much of Levin's success,

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<sup>28</sup> Shelby. Meyer, "There Is Beer In This Town." The Journal of Arizona History 24 (1983): 29-54, 37. Weekly Arizonan 21 May 1870, 3:2. Arizona Sentinel 15 March 1879, 4:5. Lamb, "Arizona," 250. Weekly Arizonan 5 March 1870, 3:2. Arizona Citizen 2 May 1879, 3:4,5. Arizona Citizen 30 June 1877, 3:2.

<sup>29</sup> Arizona Daily Star 15 April 1880, 1:5. Meyer, "Beer," 46. Arizona Mining Index 27 February 1886, 3:3.

and that of other German brewers in the territory, relied upon the sale of their domestically produced lager beer. During the 1870s, larger eastern breweries, like Anheuser Busch in Saint Louis, successfully applied the process of pasteurization to bottled beer. After initially marketing their products regionally, they expanded on a national scale, and with the arrival of the railroad to Arizona in 1880, bottled beer increasingly flowed into the territory. At the end of the 1880s, Alexander Levin and his Park, like the enterprises of many other German brewers, had been forced out of business. German immigrants in Tucson not only lost a popular entertainment facility but the home for the *Turnverein* and *Gesangsverein*.<sup>30</sup>

The majority of German Jewish merchants, mining entrepreneurs, agriculturalists, and artisans achieved substantial success in their business ventures. Their achievements rested to a large degree on their cooperation with each other, with fellow non-German Jews, German immigrants, and Hispanics. For many German Arizonan Jews economic success resulted in social recognition and elevated many into the higher strata of Arizona's society. Contemporaries praised them not only for their business success but also for their tireless work for the betterment of society. Hugo Donau was described as "a tireless worker in projects of civic betterment." Joseph and Therese Ferrin became highly respected members of Tucson society who participated in all phases of the city's social life. Gustav Becker, president of the Valley Bank,

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<sup>30</sup> Meyer, "Beer," 48.

was praised in the highest tones as a man of honor whose spirit and activity uplifted Arizonan society.<sup>31</sup>

Social status of German Jewish Arizonans was also reflected in their frequent membership in Arizona's social institutions. Many German Jews volunteered for and helped organize fire departments in the various communities in which they resided. Many pioneers, who had made the transition to Arizonans, such as Therese and Joseph Ferrin, Nathan B. Appel, and Solomon Barth, were members and active participants in the Pioneer Society. Like gentile Germans, German Jews participated actively in a variety of Masonic Lodges in the territory. Jacob Mansfeld organized Masonic Lodge #4 in his home in Tucson. Leo Goldschmidt, with some of his fellow German Jews and gentile German Phoenicians, was a member of Phoenix's Masonic Order. In an attempt to promote cultural life in the territory, some young Jewish Arizonan men were on the forefront of organizing literary societies in Tucson, Phoenix, and Prescott. German Jewish membership and activities in these and other Arizonan social institutions, reflected the respected position that they had achieved and their willingness to apply their energies and efforts to promote the interests of their respective Arizonan communities.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> "Donau, Hugo," Reference Files, SJA004. "Ferrin Joseph and Therese," Biographical File, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona. Levi S. Udall, "In Memoriam of Honorable Gustav Becker, Springerville, 5 May 1940," 1, typewritten manuscript, copy in Becker Papers, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, Arizona.

<sup>32</sup> Lamb, "Arizona," 266. "Ferrin, Joseph and Therese." Lamb, "Frontiersmen in Broadcloth," 10-11. Chanin, Cholent, 132. Biographical Record, 677. Lamb, "Arizona," 261-262.

Some historians accuse German American Jews, like German Americans in general, of lacking political aspirations and activity. At times this alleged lack of German Jewish political activity is explained by the circumstance that German Jews had been completely excluded from political participation in their old homes for a large part of the nineteenth century. This assumption of political apathy only holds true if one defines politics in a narrow sense as "big national politics." None of the German Jews residing in Arizona aspired to a federal political position, but an analysis of the activities of German Arizonan Jews reveals that they were highly politically active and interested in a regional context. They participated fully and extensively in the political life of the territory. As their gentile counterparts they neither promoted a German American or a German Jewish political agenda. In their political convictions and activities, they promoted their interests and the interest of their communities in a regional context. German Arizonan Jews expressed their political opinions, voted in elections, held membership in political parties, and ran in elections for a variety of local offices and often were elected. With relatively small numbers in the territory, German Jews were actually over-representation in territorial and local political offices.<sup>33</sup>

German Arizonan Jews were involved on all levels of territorial politics. Early on, German Jewish pioneer Nathan B. Appel was a member of a committee that proposed a resolution which asked for the separation of Arizona

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<sup>33</sup> For the stereotypical depiction of German immigrants as "unpolitical," which also applies to German Jewish immigrants, see the discussion in Chapter 5.

from New Mexico and the organization of a separate Territory of Arizona. After the establishment of Arizona Territory in 1863, many German Jewish Arizonans served in the two houses of Arizona's legislature. The first German Jew to be elected to such a position was Nathan B. Appel. He represented Tubac in the first territorial House of Representatives and joined his fellow lawmakers at the territorial capital of Prescott for the first meeting of this new political body in 1864.<sup>34</sup>

William Zeckendorf was one of the most influential political figures in the territory. For many years he served as the chairman of the Pima County Democratic party and headed many committees that promoted the development of the railroad development and southern Arizona's infrastructure. He was elected as a nominee of the Democratic party to the House of Representatives in 1872 and served in its Eight Assembly. Hyman Goldberg, a German Jewish co-founder of Phoenix, served in the territorial legislature during 1875. In 1881, Democratic Representative Solomon Barth from Apache County and Republican Representative Louis Wollenberg, as a member of the Yavapai County delegation, served together in the Eleventh Legislative Assembly of Arizona. Wollenberg served in the Lower House from 1881 to 1883 and, during his tenure, served on the Committee of Ways and Means. Solomon Barth served the territorial legislature a second time in 1897 as a member of the Upper House of the Nineteenth Territorial Legislature at the new capital of

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<sup>34</sup> Arizonian 18 August 1859, 1:2; and Rochlin, Pioneer Jews, 11.

Phoenix. During the same session, German Jewish merchant Aaron Goldberg from Phoenix, served in the legislature and assumed chairmanship of the House Education Committee. Two additional German Jews who represented their communities in the territorial government were Issac Lyons and Abraham Frank, who represented Yuma in the Fourteenth and Sixteenth Assembly in 1887 and 1891.<sup>35</sup>

Political activity of German Arizonan Jews was not limited to the territorial level. Several of them played integral roles in the creation of new counties in Arizona. In 1879, Solomon Barth lobbied successfully in front of the State Legislature to create Apache County by separating it from Yavapai County. Personal and community interests led Isadore Solomon to promote the creation of Graham County in 1890, and after the creation of this new political entity, was elected County Treasurer.<sup>36</sup>

German Arizonan Jews also ran for the highest political positions in the communities in which they resided and, at times, were elected to mayoral positions. Abraham Frank served his community as mayor in 1890. Charles M. Strauss was elected Mayor of Tucson in January 1882 and served in this position until August 1884. He was later succeeded in this office by two gentile German Arizonans, Harry Buehman and Gustav Hoff, who held this position

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<sup>35</sup> Rochlin, Pioneer Jews, 57. Stocker, Jewish Roots, 29-30. "Barth, Solomon," H.&F. Rochlin Papers, 1850-1990, Box 1, Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona. Wollenberg, "Recollections," 34. Lamb, "Arizona," 282-283.

<sup>36</sup> Lamb, "Arizona," 285. Greenwood, "Sol Barth," 370. Ramenofsky, "Solomon of Arizona," 126-127.

from 1895 to 1898 and 1898 to 1899. The city of Phoenix was also served by two German Arizonan Jews in the capacity of mayor. After working for several years with fellow German Arizonan merchant Aaron Goldberg in the City Council, Emil Ganz was elected by Phoenix voters as mayor in May 1885, guiding the city through the terrible fire of 1885. He was re-elected to the position in the following year. Ganz was succeeded in this office by Leonard Meyer who had previously served as a treasurer in the city government. Another long-time German Arizonan Jewish mayor was Abraham H. Emmanuel. First elected in 1896, he served as mayor in Tombstone for four years, until the turn of the century.<sup>37</sup>

German Jewish Arizonans were over-represented in territorial political offices. Their political success is a reflection of the economic stature and the social status that they had acquired. It also illustrates that they had developed a close connection to the locale in which they lived and that they were willing to apply their time, energy, and, occasionally, financial resources to the promotion of the interests of their chosen new homes. In turn, their political activities and contributions often increased the respect they received from their fellow citizens and added to their standing in Arizona's society. In their assessment of the political participation of German Jews historians are often blinded by the absence of a specific German American Jewish political agenda, which they

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<sup>37</sup> Rochlin, Pioneer Jews, 158-159; and Weekly Yuma Sun 4 December 1903, 1:3. Norton B. Stern, "The Tombstone, Arizona Jewish Saga," Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly 19 (1987): 217-230, 227. Chanin, Cholent, 104. Lamb, "Arizona," 286-290.



interpret as a sign of lacking political interest. German Jews did not pursue such an agenda because issues relating to it did not exist in the region and in their political activities they displayed their Arizonan character and identity. German Arizonan Jews were very much political, not as Germans or Jews, but as Arizonans, who tried to promote their own interests and the ones of their respective communities in a territorial context.

While German Arizonan Jews integrated in a new regional society and actively promoted the interests of their communities, they were confronted with growing assimilationist pressures that arose from the influx of larger numbers of Euro-American settlers beginning in the middle of the 1870s and specifically after the arrival of the railroad in 1880. In this situation, German and German Jewish Arizonans display an urge to preserve Germanness as part of their regional identity. They tried to create this piece of their identity as a tool that would facilitate and accommodate their placement in the regional society. German immigrants in Arizona developed a self-conscious identity as German Arizonans and German Arizonan Jews. Membership in this sub-society was supposed to work for the mutual benefit of its members. The creation of this identity evolved on two different levels: publically, German and German Jewish immigrants tried to establish German ethnic institutions, and privately, through marital and friendship ties, attempted to preserve their specific ethnic heritage.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> For population growth and the changing ethnic make-up in Arizona, see tables 2.2. and 2.3. For growing assimilationist pressures in the region, see Chapter 5, and for a discussion of ethnic institution building as a defense against these pressures, see Conzen, Immigrant Milwaukee, 154.

During the early 1880s under unique circumstances, German Arizonan Jews actively participated in the creation of German ethnic institutions. As in other places of the United States bearers of German cultures had to admit that without the assistance of German Jewish immigrants their work would not be possible and welcomed them with open arms into their ethnic institutions. In a region like Arizona with a sparse population of German immigrants, such ethnic institutions needed a critical mass for creation and survival. Together gentile Germans and German Jews were able to create such organizations. German Jews were eager to participate in the creation of these institutions as long as the Germanness that was celebrated there was defined on the lowest common denominator of *Kultur* and shared language. Like in other regions of the United States, German Jews had no particular interest in the promotion of the ideology of “ultra soul Germans,” who attempted to build little Germanies on American soil.<sup>39</sup>

German Jews in Arizona participated in the creation of *Turnvereine* in Tucson and Tombstone not, as one historian assumes, as a means to assimilate and become German but because they were German and wanted to preserve some of their ethnic heritage in the context of a regional identity. Many of Tucson’s prominent Jews joined the *Turnverein* that was founded in

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<sup>39</sup> Glanz, “Cultural Milieu,” 205-206. William M. Kramer and Norton B. Stern, “The Turnverein: A German Experience For Western Jewry,” *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly* 16 (1984): 227-229. Nadel, “Jewish Race and German Soul,” 11. Cohen, *Encounter with Emancipation*, 60. For widespread participation of German Jews in German ethnic organization in the American West, see for example Toll, “Ethnic Middle Class,” 87; and Terry, “Sacramento,” 106.

1880 and assumed active roles in this organization. In the case of the Tombstone *Turnverein*, German Arizonan Jews were actually the ones who instigated the organization. German Jews created a *Turnverein* that was almost exclusively a German Jewish affair. There, they were the promoters of German *Kultur*, *Bildung* and language. There, they could gather in a social context, enjoy an atmosphere of *Gemütlichkeit*, converse in the German language, and in the absence of any Jewish religious institutions engage in matters of the Jewish faith. In this regard, the Tombstone *Turnverein* was not only a German institution but a genuinely Jewish one.<sup>40</sup>

No German ethnic association, not even the Tucson *Turnverein* or the Tombstone *Turnverein*, was able to function for a sustained period of time. Gentile Germans and German Jews never acquired the critical mass to sustain such organizations, even with the substantial financial support of economically powerful members of both groups. However large the psychological needs of German and German Jewish Arizonans might have been to organize and operate such associations that attempted to promote ethnic solidarity and ethnic identity, the specific circumstances required for the success of such institutions simply did not prevail in Arizona. For the same reason German immigrants never attempted to create specific German schools or German churches. At

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<sup>40</sup> Kramer, "Turnverein," 228. Chanin, *Cholent*. Will H. Robinson, "Random Recollections," 31-32, typewritten manuscript, Arizona Collection, Special Collections, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona.

least during the nineteenth century, German Jews were not in a position to create a Jewish temple or synagogue.<sup>41</sup>

German ethnic identity that German and German Jewish immigrants tried to create in Arizona manifested itself primarily in uninstitutionalized forms. Like gentile Germans, many German Jews frequented the establishments created by German brewing entrepreneurs in Prescott, Tucson, and Phoenix during the 1880s. There, together with other German Arizonans, they socialized with fellow immigrants, communicated in their native language, enjoyed some typical German food, and discussed news from the old homes over a glass of beer in a relaxed atmosphere of *Gemütlichkeit*. Yet, for the most part, the preservation and creation of Germanness as well as Jewishness took place in the private realm of the family.

The German Arizonan Jewish family played the central role in the process of identity formation. The urge to preserve Germanness and Jewishness in this context is most clearly manifested in the choice of German Jewish spouses. After the arrival of the railroad an increasing number of German Jewish immigrants in the territory married either first or second-generation Germans or German Jews. An analysis of marriage patterns reveals that in the search for an appropriate spousal partner German Arizonan Jews had a specific hierarchical preference. If possible they desired to marry a

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<sup>41</sup> The first attempt to create a Jewish organization in Arizona came in 1881, when Arizonan Jews created the Hebrew Association in Tombstone. The institution could, however, not sustain the economic demise of Tombstone in the middle of the 1880s and the resulting decline in Jewish population. See, Stern, "Arizona Jewish Saga," 225-226.

Jewish woman from Germany. If this was not possible, a non-Jewish German appeared to be next preferable. Next on the list of preferable spouses were second-generation German Jewish women and then second-generation gentile women. Least desired appeared to have been unions with non-Jewish American females, even though they would have, according to Louis Wollenberg, had some advantages: "if [I] could get an American[...]lady, it would be very profitable, the Americans having more money [but] the German girls being nicer than those here." The choice of a spousal partner was a conscious decision to preserve both Jewishness and Germanness in the identity of German Arizonan Jewish families.<sup>42</sup>

From 1880 to the first decade of the twentieth century, more than 50 percent of all married German Arizonan Jews were united with either a first or second-generation German spouse. The more affluent members of the community were able to fulfill their wish for a German Jewish spouse. On a visit back to Germany Isadore Solomon met Anna Freudenthal with whom he returned to the territory where she was also reunited with her brothers Morris and Phoebus. Joseph Ferrin, who resided in Tucson, returned to Germany in search of a German spouse. There he met his future wife Therese who was born in Frankfurt and upon their return to San Francisco married. Other examples for these patterns were Jacob Goldman who married German Jew

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<sup>42</sup> The analysis of German Jewish marriage patterns in Arizona is based on the 1880 Census, 1900 Census, and 1910 Census. "Louis Wollenberg, Arizona, to his sister, n.p., n.d.," translation of letter in H.&F. Rochlin Papers, 1850-1990, Box 3, Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona.

Sarah Fleischman, and Joseph Goldtree who was married to Lillie Marks, a Jew also born in Germany, in June 1879. In 1884, Bernhard Maier returned to his native Bavaria to seek out a spousal partner. There he met Frida Fichtelberger, a Bavarian Jew, whom he brought back to the territory and married. In 1890, northern Arizonan merchant Aaron Schuster married non-Jewish German-born immigrant Hedwig Bucholz, and Gustav Becker was united in holy matrimony with Louisa Horminghausen in 1885. Emil Ganz, the German Arizona Jewish mayor of Phoenix, married second-generation German Jew Bertha Angelman who hailed from a prominent family in New York.<sup>43</sup>

German Arizonan Jewish families became the bearers and preservers of Jewish and German ethnic identity. What tied German Jews and gentile Germans together the most was a shared language and pride in German *Kultur* and *Bildung*. *Kultur*, as the abstract concept of a shared heritage of German high culture, and *Bildung*, as a means to exploit alleged superior German education, played significant roles that tied the two communities together and filled the concept of Germanness within German Arizonan and German Arizonan Jewish identities. The closest bond rested upon the common German language, which was the major content that defined Germanness. Jacob Mansfeld, in his mercantile business in Tucson, supplied his German clientele with German books and German newspapers. Isadore Solomon was proud that

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<sup>43</sup> Stocker, *Jewish Roots*, 16. "Ferrin, Joseph and Therese," Biographical File. *Biographical Record*, 609. "Goldtree, Joseph," Arizona Reference Files, SJA004, Box, Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson. *Biographical Record*, 251; and 899. "Becker Papers." *Biographical Record*, 223.

in the town that bore his name, Solomonville, "Hebrew civic responsibility [prevailed in an atmosphere of] German *Gemütlichkeit*" in which one could communicate in the German language. Betty Ramenofsky, the granddaughter of Isadore Solomon, remembered that her grandparents spoke only German in their home. They communicated solely with their family members and German friends in the German language. Solomon in his business and private interactions with the Freudenthal and Lesinsky families communicated solely in German. As Ramenofsky recalled, basically all her German Jewish relatives communicated in German. They spoke to each other in their native language on a daily basis and corresponded with each other, whether on private or business occasions, in the German language.<sup>44</sup>

Beyond language, *Kultur*, and *Bildung*, German Jews and gentile Germans were tied together through their common immigrant experience and the many threads to their old home. Neither group severed ties to their old home and both were fond of exchanging news that they could obtain from each other. Jacob Mansfeld provided the German Jewish community as well as gentile Germans with the latest newspapers which were made available in his Pioneer News Depot in Tucson. Many of the affluent German Arizonan Jews

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<sup>44</sup> Nadel, "Jewish Race and German Soul," 9; and Glanz, "Cultural Milieu," 231." Lamb, "Arizona," 114. Harriet Rochlin, "Solomon's Territory, *Westways* April 1979, 86. "Betty Ramenofsky, interview by Harriet Rochlin, 15 June 1977," transcript, 1-3, H.&F. Rochlin Papers, 1850-1990, Box 3, Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona. Not all German Arizonan Jews shared this dedication to the German language. Louis Wollenberg expressed in a letter to his brother that he did not care for this language and he was slowly forgetting it (Louis Wollenberg, Castroville, California, to Aaron Wollenberg, n.p., 9 August 1869," translation of letter in H.&F. Rochlin Papers, 1850-1990, Box 3, Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona).

frequently returned home to Germany for a variety of reasons. One purpose for such trips, as already mentioned, was the search for an appropriate marital partner. Some contemplated a permanent return to Germany, like Julius A. Meier, who expressed in several letters that he intended to return to Germany "where there [are] schools and better society than here." Jacob Goldman's brother returned to his native Bavaria in 1878 after operating a business together with his brother in Phoenix for four years. The majority of German Arizonan Jews tried to stay in touch and keep close connections to the *Heimat* through letters and occasional visits. Whenever manageable, German Arizonan Jews tried to send their children to Germany to acquire their education. Isadore Solomon sent all his children to schools in Germany for their higher education. All these ties to the old home were certainly part of the contents of Germanness in German Arizonan Jewish identity.<sup>45</sup>

Beyond these aspects, Germanness for many German Arizonan Jews, as for a majority of gentile German Arizonans, was defined on the lowest common denominator. For many, Germanness meant simply gathering in an atmosphere of *Gemütlichkeit* and playing cards with each other. The preparation and consumption of German-style foods also played an important role in this regard. In the households of the Solomon and Lesinsky families, family members regularly prepared and enjoyed German food. For some

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<sup>45</sup> Glanz, "Cultural Milieu," 216. Sonnichsen, *Tucson*, 96. "J.A. Meier, La Paz, Arizona, to E.W. Morse, San Diego, 1 August 1866," transcript of letter in "Meier, J.A.," Hayden File, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona. Meyer never put this plan to return to Germany for good into action. *Biographical Record*, 609. "Ramenofsky," interview, 2.



German Arizonan Jews, Germanness also meant to participate in the celebration of a traditional Christmas evening — not as the manifestation of a religious belief but a celebration of German tradition, a celebration of their Germanness.<sup>46</sup>

During the last three decades of the nineteenth century, German Jewish immigrants in Arizona created for themselves a German Arizonan Jewish identity. While establishing themselves and their families in a variety of economic areas, German Jewish immigrants developed an affinity to the region and started to identify themselves as Arizonans. At the same time, they also tried to preserve and create a German and a Jewish identity. A nexus between gentile German and German Jewish communities existed and the experiences of both groups paralleled each other in many ways. Accommodation and participation in a new evolving society was eased through the creation of specific regional identities which contained a German component.

This German Jewish nexus slowly dissolved during the first decade of the twentieth century and came to an end during World War I. The dwindling percentage of the German population in Arizona during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century made it clear that any attempts to institutionalize German ethnicity in Arizona were futile. In this situation, increasing nativist pressures swept the United States and also reached the remote American

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<sup>46</sup> Glanz, "Cultural Milieu," 243. "Ramenofsky," interview, 12. In the same interview Ramenofsky recalled that one member of the Solomon family, who had just arrived in the territory, was sent back home to Germany because she could not stand to live without kosher food. She explicitly states that the food served in the Solomon household was "German and not Jewish." Patton, Clifton, 99. Arizona Miner 21 December 1872.

Southwest affecting German Arizonan Jews in a dual way, as Germans and as Jews. Rising anti-Semitic pressures with the influx of large numbers of Eastern European Jews in the United States put a particular strain on German Arizonan Jews. Even though overt anti-Semitic behavior was not common in the territory, German Arizonan Jews realized the potential threat. Increasing numbers of non-German Jewish immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe who settled in Arizona provided Jews in the territory with an opportunity to create ethno-religious institutions. These institutions provided an ethnic defense against nativist pressures while at the same time providing spiritual comfort for the Jewish segment of Arizona's population. The first attempt to create a Jewish organization in the territory was already made in 1881, when German Arizonan Jews in Tombstone created the Tombstone Hebrew Association. Like the German *Turnvereine*, the Tombstone Hebrew Association was only short-lived because a critical mass of members could not be sustained. More permanent Jewish institutional structures developed slowly during the first decade of the twentieth century.<sup>47</sup>

In two of the three major urban centers of the territory, Phoenix and Tucson, Jewish organizations were founded. In 1904, the Jewish residents of Phoenix created the Phoenix Hebrew Cemetery Association. This institution would later, in 1915, evolve into the first official Jewish organization in the town,

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<sup>47</sup> For the changing ethnic make-up of Arizona's population, see table 2.3. For the slowly evolving Jewish religious structures in Arizona during the early twentieth century, see Lamb, *Arizona*, 301-325. For the Tombstone Hebrew Society, see Stern, "Arizona Jewish Saga," 225-226.

B'nai B'rith. In April 1917, Jewish women in Phoenix created the National Council of Jewish Women, the first Jewish women's organization in the territory. The foundation for the creation of a formal Jewish community in Tucson was laid in January 1910 when the Hebrew Benevolent Society was established. During the following years, this institution merged into the Temple Emanu-El.<sup>48</sup>

By the beginning of World War I the fundamental structures for the creation of Jewish communities in Arizona had been laid. With overt anti-German sentiments during World War I, the nexus between gentile and Jewish Germans dissolved completely. For decades German immigrants had used their Germanness as an asset. But now under new circumstances their Germanness became a detriment. While German Arizonans consequently consciously transformed into American Arizonans, German Arizonan Jews alike completed the final step in the transformation of their identity. German Arizonan Jews became Arizonan Jews. The severing of ties to the German ethnicity does not mean that all things German were completely lost in the life of Arizonan Jews. For decades to come, the German language was used as an integral part of communication in the privacy of their homes. Even more than sixty years after the dissolution of the German-Jewish nexus in Arizona, Betty Ramenofsky, granddaughter of Isadore Solomon, still considered German to be her mother tongue and her English was tainted with a heavy German accent.

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<sup>48</sup> Lamb, "Frontiersmen in Broadcloth," 225-226. Stocker, "Jewish Roots, 32. "Ferrin, Joseph and Therese," Biographical File. Lamb, "Frontiersmen in Broadcloth," 15. Kushner, "The Jewish Community," 14.

This is not so much a testimony to continued loyalty to Germanness but rather a confirmation that the German language was as much an integral part of Jewishness as for Germanness, and this was their strongest bond.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> "Ramenofsky, interview."

## CHAPTER 7

### CONCLUSION: THE END OF AN ERA

Since the late nineteenth century, the percentage of Germans in Arizona's population slowly declined. By 1900, German immigrants constituted only 1 percent and, in 1910, only 0.8 percent of Arizona's inhabitants. While until 1890 Germans always represented at least one-fourth of all Euro-American immigrants in the territory, this percentage declined in the twentieth century as well. By 1910, less than 10 percent of European immigrants in the territory were born in Germany. Arizona's population was growing much faster than its German-born segment. Only several hundred newcomers from Germany arrived in the region during the first decade of the twentieth century, depriving the German community of a rejuvenating ethnic energy that a larger influx would have constituted.<sup>1</sup>

Slowly the German Arizonan community lost its ethnic distinctiveness. The ethnic institutions and organizations that could have counteracted this trend did not exist and several local developments contributed to the vanishing of Germanness in German Arizonan identity. German artisans, who had been

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<sup>1</sup> For the population growth in Arizona, see Tables 2.2. and 2.3.

instrumental in creating and promoting German ethnicity, faced increasingly difficult times. The pace with which industrially produced goods flowed into the region accelerated dramatically and often local craftsmen could not compete with these products in quality or price. Consequently, business opportunities for German artisans declined and as their economic and social status diminished, their role as creators and promoters of Germanness depreciated. The dissolution of the German-Jewish nexus contributed to the loss of Germanness. Not only did the German Arizonan community lose in this process a substantial number of members, it also lost the support of the economic, social, and political power of many prominent German Arizonan Jews who put their energy and resources increasingly on the promotion of Jewish organizations.

During the early twentieth century, public displays and manifestations of German ethnic behavior almost completely vanished. German food, so intricately tied to the definition of ethnic identity, disappeared from the menu of restaurants as a market for them ceased to exist. German newspapers that were readily available in the region in the nineteenth century and provided German Arizonans not only with news from home but with topics to discuss became scarcer on the shelves of local stores. Venues in which German Arizonans could gather in an atmosphere of *Gemütlichkeit* no longer existed after the demise of the German brewing entrepreneurs in the late 1880s and early 1890s. Public places in which to celebrate and define Germanness became increasingly scarce. While loosening the ties to their German ethnic

identity, German Arizonans gradually “Americanized” — assumed the identities of American Arizonans. The preservation and celebration of Germanness became almost exclusively an affair of the private sphere.

World War I accelerated this transition. The war marked a turning point in the history of German immigrants in the United States and Arizona. After America’s declaration of war against the German Reich in 1917, a wave of anti-German sentiment, legislation, and propaganda swept the country throwing it into hysterical “Germanophobia.” Everywhere, German American character and loyalty came under scrutiny. “Local patriot groups” investigated their activities and behavior, putting German Americans under tremendous psychological strain. In this atmosphere the pressures to assimilate, to Americanize, became overwhelming for many of them. World War I and its accompanying anti-German sentiments in the United States did not cause acculturation but accelerated processes already in progress.<sup>2</sup>

The outgrowths of anti-German sentiments did not spare the American Southwest and Arizona. Yet, open anti-German actions against individuals did not occur. Expressions of anti-German sentiment in Arizona’s news media remained generally national in scale but infrequently the targeting of local German Arizonans occurred as newspaper headlines such as “Three Germans Held for Seditious Utterances” or “German Spy Gets Away With Plans of

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<sup>2</sup> Becker, “Historische Aspekte,” 201-202. Hermann Kurthen, “Gone with the Wind?: German Language Retention in North Carolina and the United States in Comparative Perspective,” in *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, 55-83 (Lawrence: Society of German-American Studies, 1998), 58. Saul Landau, “The Bisbee Deportations: Class Conflict and Patriotism During World War I” (M.A. thesis: University of Wisconsin, 1959), 2.

Tucson Water System” reflect. Overall, the press in Arizona restated the general accusations of German Americans’ lack of loyalty and questionable character. These sentiments were amplified in the region by the statements of the two governors that guided the territory through the World War I period, Thomas Campbell and George W. P. Hunt. Frequently they expressed their disdain for German people and German culture in public. Hunt for example portrayed Germans as “child murdering, mother killing, world devastating [...]Huns.”<sup>3</sup>

On the background of the *Zimmermann Telegramm*, fears of a Mexican-German alliance and a possible invasion from the south amplified anti-German and anti-Mexican sentiment in the territory. Mexicans and Mexican-Americans actually carried the brunt of these attacks. They were considered a threat to local safety and racial discrimination against them reached new heights. At times, Mexicans and Mexican Americans were viewed as the tools of German labor leaders who would stir up unrest in the mining camps of southern and southeastern Arizona.<sup>4</sup>

What was most disheartening and had the largest impact on German Arizonans were the general attacks on German character. In American public opinion, or better in the public opinion that the media created, the basic problem

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<sup>3</sup> Paul D. Hoffman, “Minorities and Ethnics in the Arizona Press: Arizona Newspaper Portrayals during American Involvement in World War I” *Locus* 1 (1989): 69-91, 76-77. *Arizona Republican* 7 November 1917; and *Arizona Gazette* 10 September 1918 to 12 October 1918. *Arizona Daily Star* 21 July 1918.

<sup>4</sup> Landau, “Bisbee Deportations,” 6. Hoffman, “Arizona Press,” 69, 80.



rested with the very nature of the German. In an atmosphere of Germanophobia, the good, law-abiding, thrifty, and honest German became the ugly, seditious, corrupt Hun. Positive stereotypes about German character that German Arizonans used to their economic and social advantage and had internalized to create content for their Germanness turned into a negative. The stereotypes themselves did not change, but their evaluation and interpretation did.<sup>5</sup>

Positive stereotypes turned negative. German militaristic virtues, praised from the Revolutionary to the Civil War, were now reinterpreted as a sign of German *Militarismus*, the subservience of civic to military rule. The German striving for *Ruhe und Ordnung*, law and order, that was embraced by Tucsonians when Charles H. Meyer followed these ideals as Justice of the Peace became *Obrigkeithörigkeit*, the complete submission to authority. Thrift, the “German” trademark of German Arizonan merchants and artisans brought them success and earned them respect. It was transformed into the greed of the ugly German exploiter. As a result one Arizonan newspaper urged all Arizonans to pledge not to “deal with the German man...and trade with a German shop.” In addition, Arizona’s press accused Germans of financing the labor unrest that plagued southeastern Arizona during the war period, with the

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<sup>5</sup> Luebke, Bonds of Loyalty, 84.

money that they had accumulated through their greedy and dishonest business practices.<sup>6</sup>

Attacks on the German language and German food hit German Arizonans particularly hard. Arizona newspapers propagated the idea that the German language was in itself morally corrupt and that it should not be taught in Arizonan schools. For people who came from different backgrounds and were defined by the native population in terms of their language and had learned to define themselves in the same terms, this kind of attack hit the very nerve of Germanness. German food was scrutinized and many German dishes were renamed, sauerkraut became "liberty cabbage" and frankfurters became hotdogs.<sup>7</sup>

Attacks on language and food, and the reinterpretation of German stereotypes shattered the cornerstones, the essence, of which German Arizonans had built their ethnic identity. Germanness, the way they had defined it, was no longer an asset. It had become a detriment and it appeared that it was time to let go of their constructed Germanness because it had outlived its usefulness. Despite attacks on their character, language, and culture, German

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<sup>6</sup> For German militaristic virtues portrayed as a positive asset, see J.G. Rosengarten, The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1890). For Charles H. Meyer, see Chapter 5. Blade-Tribune 9 November 1918, 2:2. Bisbee Daily Review 1 July 1917, 1:2; and Landau, "Bisbee Deportations," 13.

<sup>7</sup> Tucson Daily Citizen 9 February 1918, 4:2; 17 May 1918, 6:4; 6 June 1918:3; 18 June 1918, 4:1; and 14 August 1918, 3:3. The attack on the German language in the United States did not end with the conclusion. Some of the most restrictive laws regarding instruction and use of the German language were passed in 1919 and 1921 (Luebke, New World, xvi). Hoffman, "Arizona Press," 89.

Arizonans did not publically react. Some historians assert that this kind of rampant nativism led to the vigorous reassertion of Germanness, but in the case of German Arizonans this did not hold true. Publically they shed the skin, that German ethnic identity they had created for themselves. Names were Americanized from Müller to Miller, Baumann to Bowman, and Becker to Baker. Children received typical American names and publicly displayed German behavior and utterances of the German language vanished completely.<sup>8</sup>

Whatever German Arizonans retained of their invented ethnic identity was conducted and celebrated in the privacy of their homes. Publically they severed ties to Germany. It appeared that the majority of German Arizonans made this transition and break painlessly. In reality, their loyalty never belonged to an abstract concept of German or Germany but to a concrete *Heimat*, their families, and friends. Even after World War I, these ties did not completely dissolve and German Arizonans, now American Arizonans, kept these bonds intact. In one instance of the persistence of culture, Julius Jacoby and his wife spent sixty-six years in Arizona and communicated with each other solely in the German language until Julius's death in 1955. Despite the dissolution of the German-Jewish nexus and the trauma of World War I, Betty Ramenofsky still considered German to be her mother tongue in 1977. These cases, however, appear to be the exception and not the rule.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Luebke, Bonds of Loyalty, xv. 1910 Census; and 1920 Census.

<sup>9</sup> Prescott Courier 15 December 1955, 6:4. "Ramenofsky, interview."

World War I ended an era for German immigrants in Arizona. Germans from various backgrounds and regions had probed economic opportunities in the region as German pioneers. Some developed an affinity for the region and started to identify themselves as Arizonans. At the same time, these immigrants constructed for themselves a German identity that would help to accommodate themselves in a new environment. German pioneers became German Arizonans. During the early twentieth century, circumstances became more detrimental to the maintenance of this German ethnicity they had created. The effects of World War I led to the dissolution of Germanness as part of their ethnic identity. German Arizonans had become American Arizonans. German Jewish immigrants paralleled in their experience these transitional phases. German Jewish pioneers became German Arizonan Jews and ultimately American Arizonan Jews.

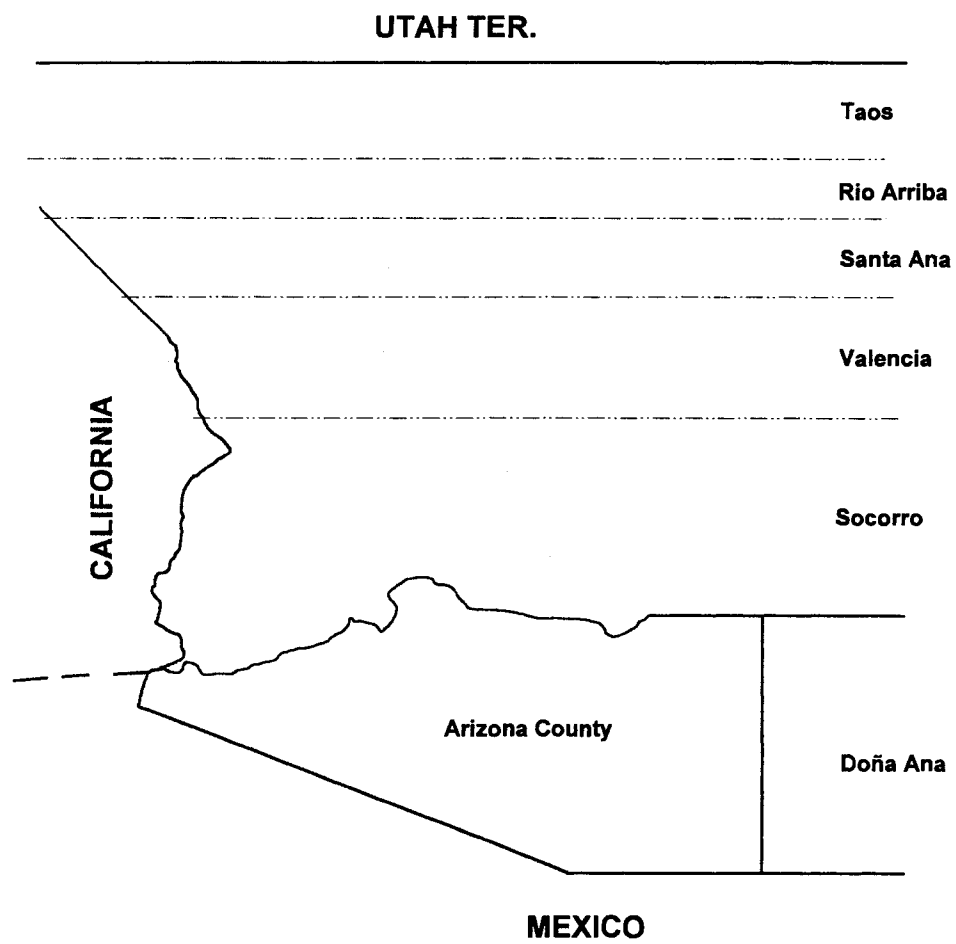
After more than sixty years a cycle through which individuals with a particular regional Old World identity made the transition to a regional New World identity was complete. *Bayern, Badener, Württemberger, Rheinländer,* and *Preussen* used Germanness to help them accommodate in a new environment. When their constructed Germanness became a detriment they sloughed it off and became American Arizonans. In the decades to come, these American Arizonans, together with others who shared the attribute "American," tried to fill "Americanness" with an invented content that would best accommodate their needs. Their primary loyalty rested with the region. First

and foremost, they had become Arizonans — Old World localism had been transplanted to the American Southwest.

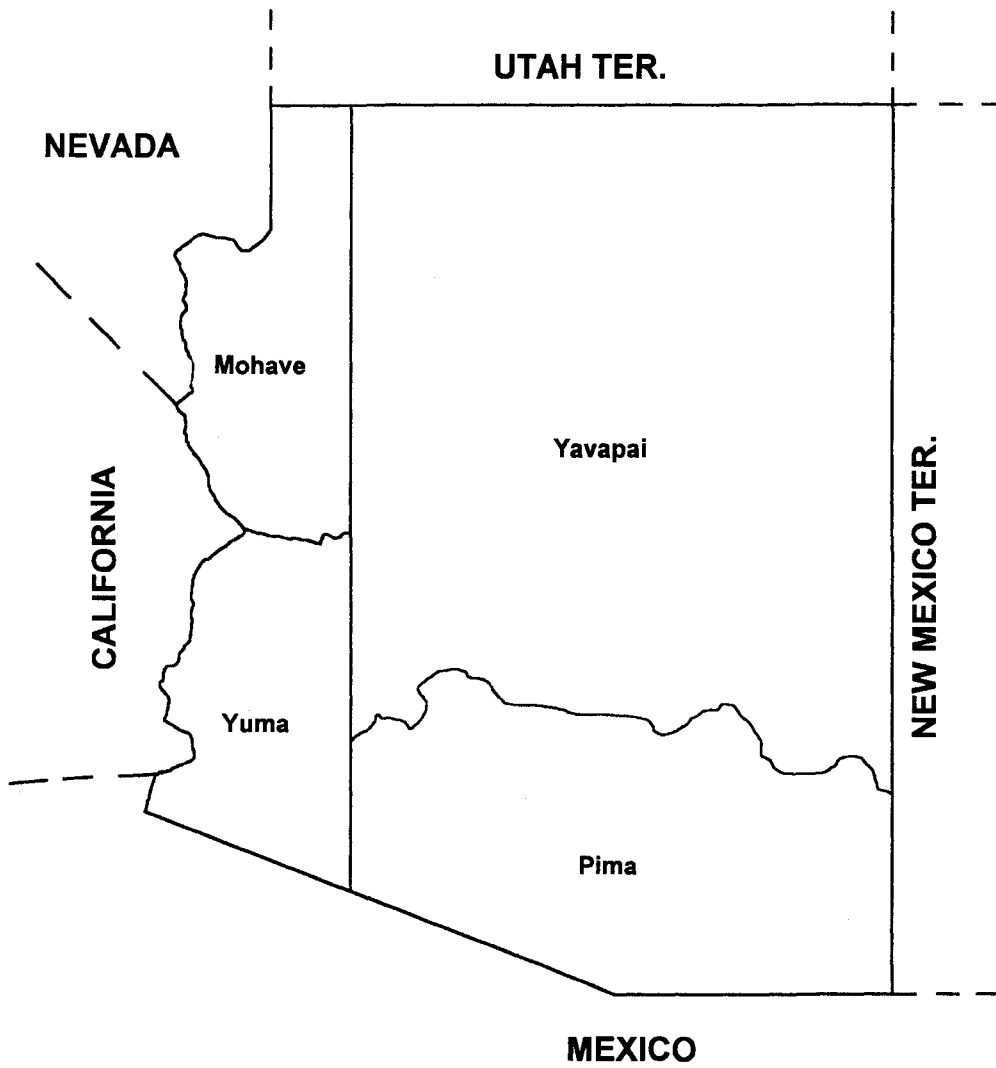
## APPENDIX

### ARIZONA COUNTY MAPS , 1860-1910

Map 1  
Arizona Counties, 1860

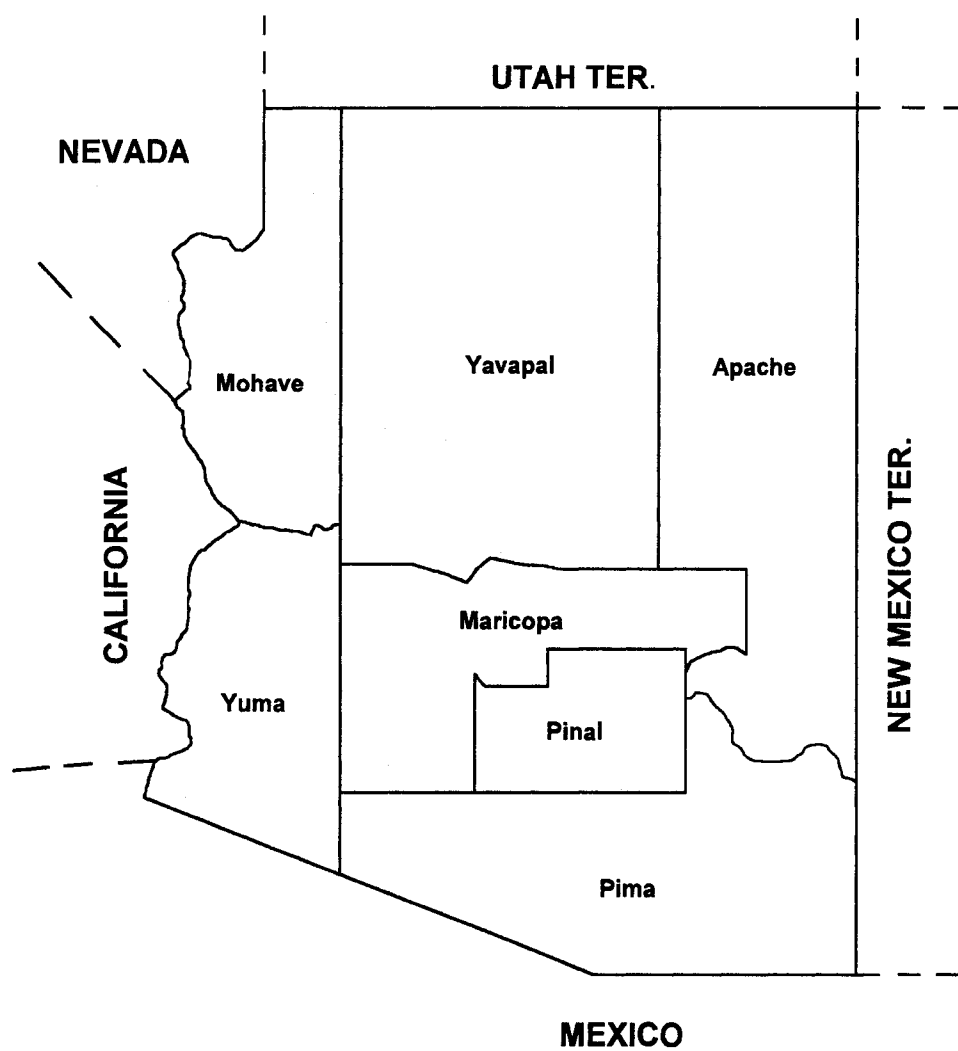


Map 2  
Arizona Counties, 1870

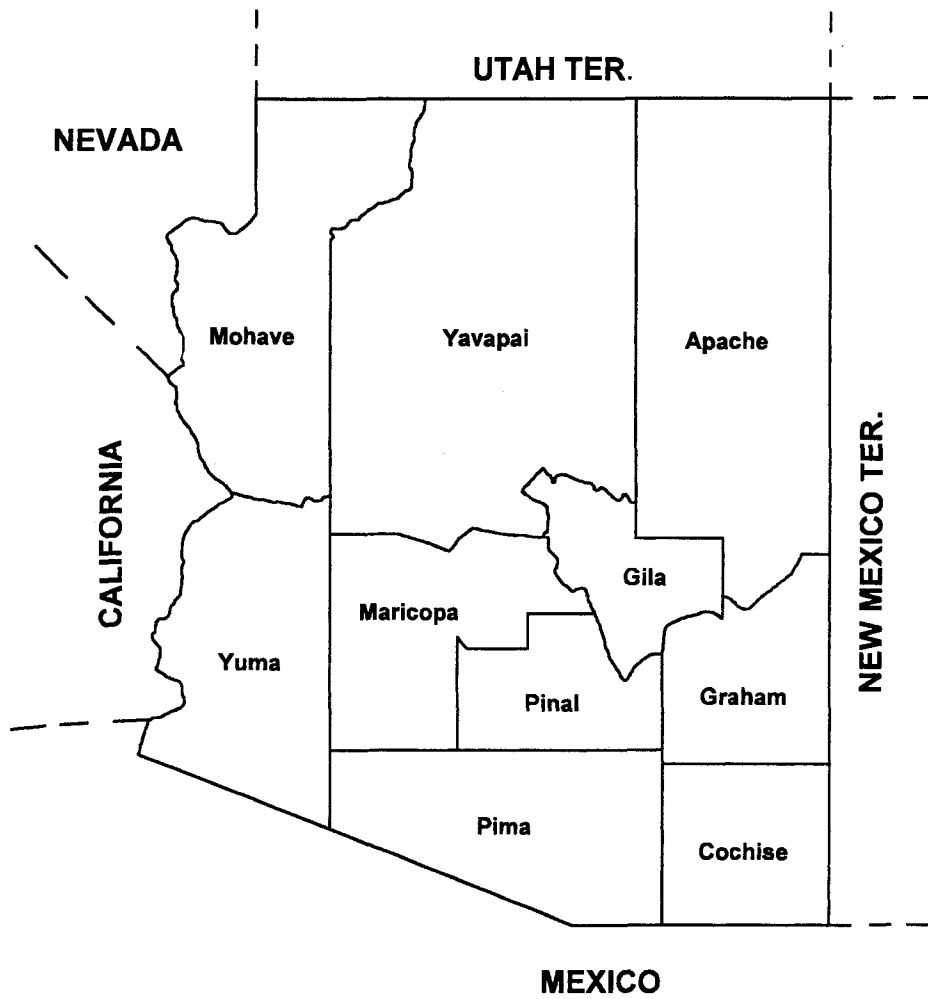




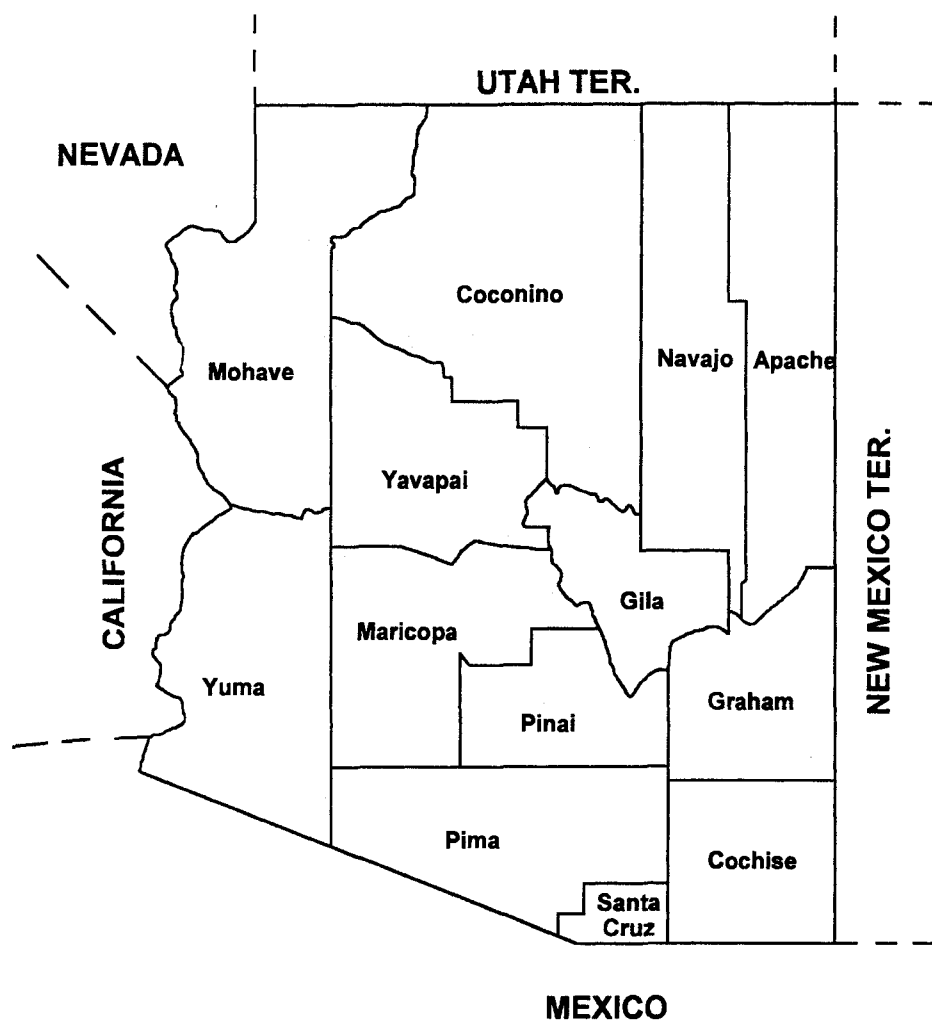
Map 3  
Arizona Counties, 1880



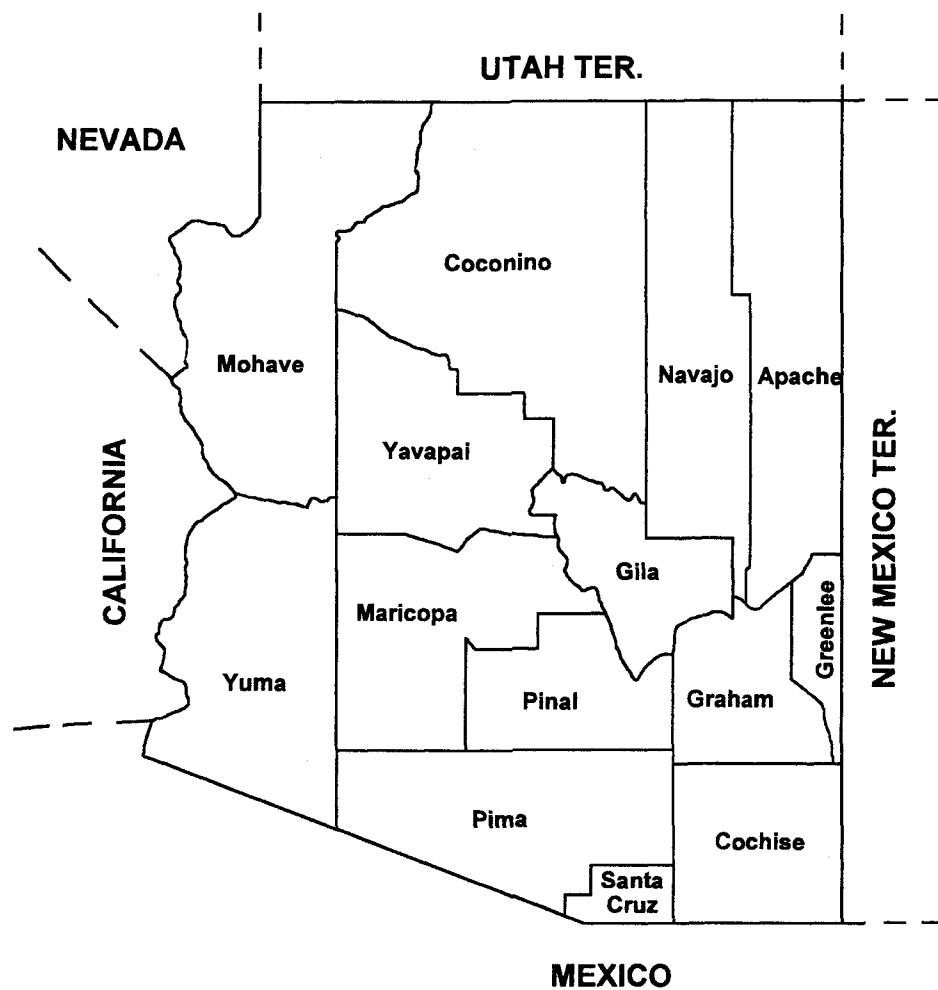
Map 4  
Arizona Counties, 1890



Map 5  
Arizona Counties, 1900



Map 6  
Arizona Counties, 1910



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