KNOCHE, Carl Heinz, 1932-
THE GERMAN IMMIGRANT PRESS IN MILWAUKEE.
[Portions of Text in German].

The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1969
History, general

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan

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1970
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The greater portion of the material used in this study was obtained at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, the Milwaukee Historical Society and the Milwaukee Public Library. To these Libraries I express my appreciation.

Unfortunately I cannot express my gratitude to the late Professor Dieter Cunz. With his untimely death I lost both a friend and counsellor. Professor Cunz was the author of The Maryland Germans, numerous articles on German immigrants and was an authority in the area of German-American studies. He was interested in this paper from its inception to its completion and offered invaluable suggestions and constructive criticisms, mixed with generous doses of encouragement in time of need. Without his help and guidance this study could not have been completed.

I have also incurred a special debt of gratitude to Professor Wolfgang Fleischhauer, who generously offered to accept the responsibilities of this work in the final stages of preparation. For this gesture, which was truly "beyond the call of duty" I express my sincerest thanks.
TO MY PARENTS

CHARLOTTE

AND

IN FOND MEMORY OF

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VITA

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FIELDS OF STUDY


Studies in Language and Philology

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INTRODUCTION

Although Milwaukee had a sizable German community from the early 1840's until the time of World War I, very few of the twelve or more histories of the city devote more than a few lines to the German-American settlers. Rudolf Koss' history, simply titled Milwaukee, deserves special mention, if only because it is the first history of the city written specifically for the German; Koss weaves a lengthy but fascinating sketch of the Milwaukee area pre-history, the beginnings of the settlement and the progressive development of industry and culture until the year 1855.¹ Other historians have also written about this period, but none describes so well the formation and atmosphere of the early German community. Wilhelm Hense-Jensen's Wisconsin's Deutsch-Amerikaner is a two volume work dealing with the more comprehensive topic of German immigration to Wisconsin, although considerable space is given to the Milwaukee Germans.² Both Koss and Hense-Jensen are invaluable sources of

¹Rudolph A. Koss, Milwaukee (Milwaukee: Schnellpressendruck des 'Herold,' 1871).
to give bibliographies. Even more regrettable, both histories are useful only to the reader of German.  

Bayrd Still's **Milwaukee**,  

Both works were either partially or completely translated, but the translated editions have apparently been lost.

which is probably the most informative work on the city, is the only English language history to provide at least a partial picture of the German community.  

In his **Four Wisconsin Counties** Joseph Schafer includes the Germans in his discussions of selected topics such as the agricultural, political and educational histories of Ozaukee, Milwaukee, Racine and Kenosha Counties.

A number of monographs on topics related to the German-Americans in Milwaukee have been presented in the **Milwaukee Historical Messenger** and in **The Wisconsin Magazine of History**, the latter being somewhat more scholarly.

For a broader understanding of the German-American immigration a few comprehensive studies are indispensable: **The German Element in the United States** by Albert Bernhardt Faust, John A. Hawgood's **The Tragedy of German-America**, **American Immigration** by Maldwyn Allen Jones, and the extensive work of Carl Wittke under several titles.
In the course of their research all or most of the above named historians have made frequent use of the foreign language newspaper files. Since the newspaper is one of the most useful documents in studying the history of a city and its inhabitants, it is surprising that so very little research has been done to present a better picture of the German language papers and their role in the immigrant society. Although Carl Wittke has presented an excellent review in his *The German Language Press in America*, the very broad extent of his study limits its usefulness with regard to the history of a particular locale.7 Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson have provided the


historian with an invaluable catalog titled *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals*, which is comprehensive and includes all the salient facts about the various German publications in the United States.8

8Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers*
Hereafter and throughout this work will be referred to simply as
Arndt-Olson.

But, as any catalog, it fails to clarify the function and goal of
a publication as related to its success or failure within a
community.

It is the goal of this dissertation to present at least a
beginning in the history of the Milwaukee German language papers.
Two previous attempts in this direction have already been made.
William Lichte did extensive research during the late 1930’s with
the Milwaukee papers but was unable to finish the project. His files
and a sketchy, inconclusive, unpublished manuscript titled "History of
the German Newspapers in Milwaukee" are located in the State
Historical Society Archives in Madison, Wisconsin. In 1951 Albert

9William Lichte, "History of the German Newspapers in Milwaukee,"
State Historical Society--Archives Division, Federal Historical
Records Survey 1936-1942, Series No. 27/4/1; Vol.H.R.S. #70 No. 35.
The pages in this manuscript are not numbered.

Strobl, presently librarian at the Milwaukee Public Library, submitted
a thesis to the Graduate Library at the University of Illinois titled
"German Newspaper Publishing in Milwaukee." Unfortunately, it seems

10Albert Strobl, "German Newspaper Publishing in Milwaukee"
(unpublished Master's thesis, Graduate Library School, University
of Illinois, 1951).

that little research was done with the newspaper files themselves;
the work is rather sketchy and occasionally inaccurate.

Because of the inaccuracies or inadequacies of the previous
attempts, it was thought desirable to present a more detailed history of the German language press in Milwaukee and to provide some meaning and life for the cataloged facts. In order to do this it was necessary to search through the files of the publications and newspapers to determine whether editorial or special articles were presented to the reader of the day which provided him with some knowledge of the paper's history. Such items were indeed found and in many cases provided hitherto unknown facts, either about that specific paper, or, just as often, about its competitors. Wherever applicable, factual data were either corrected or updated. In particular, an effort was made to provide information on why a paper came into being and why it failed, whether a paper was related to another publication either by ownership or ideological program and whether the particular paper had success in maintaining its original policy or ideal. When possible some information on the editors and owners was included, as well as the function of the paper within the German speaking community. Unfortunately there will be shortcomings here too, since for many publications only a small number of files are available, while for others no files have been found at all. In some instances it was necessary to make use of the files of the English language Milwaukee Sentinel, which existed throughout the entire history of the German community and tended to keep a wary eye focused on its German contemporaries.

The major divisions within the work are chronological and these are subdivided according to ownership or political-religious ideology, whichever seemed most employable.
Various writers on German-American immigration have indicated the tendency of the German to be attracted to a territory only after the wildest aspects of the frontier had already been tamed and at a time when the area was ready for statehood. Certainly this was true in Wisconsin where even the earliest immigrant settlers found the land relatively safe and surveyed. Although the chronicles of Milwaukee indicate that a small number of persons with German names were living in southeastern Wisconsin as early as 1835 and 1836, they cannot be considered as immigrants since most of them were either second generation Germans or they had already lived for some time in various cities in the eastern part of the United States. In spirit and temperament they differed little from their Yankee neighbors, who were also attracted to this new frontier after the Black Hawk War of 1832. The war, which had relieved the Indians of their claims in southern Wisconsin, brought the territory to the attention of the public in the east and inspired the publication of numerous books and pamphlets which described, and often exaggerated, its wild beauty and economic potential. Pioneer settlers and land speculators alike were lured to the area where the government was making large sections of land available, much of it selling for $1.25 or less per acre. The region was easily accessible by means of the Great Lakes and a few
enterprising speculators turned their energy to establishing Milwaukee as the connecting point between Lake Michigan and the interior.¹

¹Still, pp. 7-15.

The settlement of the area near the mouth of the Milwaukee River, which was eventually considered as "Deutsch-Athen" by many German-Americans, was already well underway when the first German immigrants arrived. In 1838 the Indians, who had lived in the region for generations, were transported to areas west of the Mississippi. Solomon Juneau, a French-Canadian, who had lived among the Indians since 1818 as a representative of the American Fur Company, joined Morgan L. Martin in planning a townsite centered around Juneau's cabin as early as 1833. The area considered for the townsite was located north of the mouth of the river and between the river and the lake.

A more aggressive speculator, Byron Kilbourn, arrived in 1834 and chose the west side of the river as a more natural location for a future city because it offered limitless expansion to the west, while George H. Walker had similar plans for the area south of the Menomonee River. Although the three speculators and town planners cooperated in pressing for the survey and sale of lands, each of them became highly competitive in the attempts to draw settlers to his own area. Three separate communities arose in an atmosphere of hostility and even violence, but the most fruitful result of the competition was an enormous effort by each party toward improving the attractiveness of the land by draining marshes, laying streets and advertising in the
eastern states. The 1837 depression however, cut short the anticipated sale of more city land and it became obvious that it was economically unsound to continue expansion of the town at a rate which was disproportionate to the development of the agricultural hinterland. The cost of maintaining separate villages hastened consolidation but did little to end the sectional rivalry.²

²Still, pp. 7-38. Further discussions of the separate villages may be found in a series of articles by Louise Kellogg, "Beginnings of Milwaukee," The Wisconsin Magazine of History, I (1918), 257-265, 413-430; II (1919), 30-40, 189-208, 314-326, 397-412. Koss, pp. 174-183, offers some interesting details on the rivalry and feuding between the separate villages. The result of this early rivalry is still evident in modern Milwaukee and can be seen most clearly in the layout of the streets. Streets on the east side are not parallel to those on the west side of the river, and all of the older bridges crossing the Milwaukee River had to be set at an angle.

Native American farmers from New York, Pennsylvania and New England began arriving as early as 1835, some four years before the arrival of the first Germans, and carefully chose their farmsites with respect to soil and location. In general they preferred the open lake shore lands where they could immediately commence one crop wheat farming and still be within a few miles of markets and shipping ports. The counties south of Milwaukee, namely Kenosha and Racine, contained most of the open lands and when these were settled, farms had to be carved out of the wooded areas to the west and north of Milwaukee.

Expansion into the wooded areas was in progress when the first group of German immigrants, some eight hundred Lutherans, who had fled religious persecution in Germany, arrived at the mouth of the
Milwaukee River in 1839. They found a small and active settlement with a distinct Yankee atmosphere, but very little available farm land in the immediate vicinity. They proceeded some miles to the north, into what is now Ozaukee County, purchased some inexpensive land and soon built a church in which they could exercise their new found freedom, and established a community which they called Freistadt. ³


The lack of choice farm lands near Milwaukee by 1839 is indicative of the rapid expansion and consequent prosperity of the land business which took place immediately after the depression. Milwaukee was now an established community and very much interested in the growth and improvement of its facilities. In the adjacent rural areas numerous new roads were opening still more lands to settlement. It was fortunate that Wisconsin had attained such a relative degree of civilization at a time when conditions in Europe, and especially in Germany, inspired many a family to consider emigration. The availability of good land within reasonable distances of markets, a favorable climate and other natural resources similar to those in Germany, assured Wisconsin of a sizable influx of Germans.

The number of religious refugees who followed the Old Lutherans of 1839 was actually quite small. Almost exclusively they were members of the Protestant Church from Pommern and Brandenburg. The suppression of dissenters which had followed the formation of the
United Church of Prussia under Friedrich Wilhelm III diminished somewhat when Friedrich Wilhelm IV succeeded his father in 1840.  

By royal decree of September 27, 1817 the King had forcefully created a common Protestant Church, "die Altpreussische Union," which united Lutherans and Reformed. Some of the Lutherans, also referred to as the Altlutheraner, resisted this shotgun union so stubbornly that they preferred emigration to union.

Those Old Lutherans who did come to Wisconsin in 1843 and 1845 did so because of continuing internal differences within the Church. Most of these had been successful farmers in Germany and hence, brought with them sufficient funds to purchase more expensive farmlands, in some instances, the improved farms of westward moving Yankees.

By far the most important cause of emigration however, was economic hardship in the farming areas of Germany. Poor harvests or the uneconomical character of farm holdings due to extensive subdivision among heirs caused many families of the Rhineland, Saxony, Prussia and Bavaria to seek their fortunes in America. Usually a family would emigrate alone, although any number of families might travel together in the hope that they would resettle near each other.

Occasionally the emigrant was already informed of Wisconsin's environment before he left his native village. Scores of brochures, books and pamphlets were written by German travelers and were distributed abroad. Private "America Letters" to relatives and open letters to newspapers in Germany described the conditions in the state.
and encouraged potential emigrants to think seriously about coming to Wisconsin. Quite often such letters assumed that the good advice would be followed and hence, included valuable information on the best methods and routes of travel as well as tips on purchasing suitable property. A letter from a successful friend or relative was perhaps the most persuasive vehicle of propaganda, especially if some money was included to help defray the expenses of the trip.6


Land speculators and travel companies were equally interested in the immigrant and stationed agents in New York and in European port cities to distribute information and to persuade the undecided that they should make their new homes in Wisconsin. Similar efforts were made by the state itself when, in 1852, the State Legislature provided for an official Commissioner of Immigration. In addition to aiding and directing as many immigrants to Wisconsin as possible, the duties of the commissioner included protecting the new arrival against exploitation and robbery. For several years the commission was quite successful, but during an epidemic of American malignant fever in 1855, the office was abruptly discontinued. It was reestablished in 1867 under the name State Board of Immigration.7

7Kate Asaphine Everest, "How Wisconsin came by its Large German
The favorable combination of attractive conditions in Wisconsin, the economic or religious hardship in Germany and the extensive advertising resulted in a massive migration during the 1840's and 1850's. Those immigrants added their numbers to the continuing stream of Yankee farmers and together they reshaped a wilderness into tillable acreage. Between 1840 and 1850 alone, the population of Wisconsin swelled from 30,945 to 305,391 and Milwaukee grew from 1,712 residents to 20,061. Although the Irish contributed a larger number of immigrants to the United States from 1819 to 1855, the Germans, as land seekers, were more quickly attracted to Wisconsin and soon outnumbered all other immigrant groups. In 1850 they numbered about 38,000, or about twelve and one-half percent, and by 1860 there were some 124,000 Germans in the state, or almost sixteen percent of the total population, while there were only about 50,000 Irish.

So great was the influx of the new settlers that by 1847 most of the good lands within one hundred miles of Milwaukee were already sold. Since Wisconsin's greatest natural resource during this period was
land, it attracted primarily people with agricultural interests, and it is in this industry that the early German immigrants made their greatest and most lasting contribution to the state. Although the role of the early Yankee farmer should not be underestimated, it is clear that the German farmer significantly influenced Wisconsin's farming history. The Yankee, who had probably given up an unproductive farm in the east, was caught up in the westward expansion of his country. He was interested in reaping a profit in the first year and when his crops failed due to soil depletion or he suffered some other misfortune, he did not hesitate to sell out again and to move to the apparently inexhaustible prairie country still farther west. In contrast, the German was happy to own a smaller piece of land which he could gradually improve and enlarge and was further willing to sacrifice fast profit for slow but steady progress and permanency. Instead of planting only wheat, he preferred to diversify and to rotate his crops. At least during these early years he farmed in order to fill the family larder and sold only the surplus. Because he considered the newly purchased land as his permanent home, the immigrant was inclined to develop fully whatever property he had. He pulled out stumps, fertilized the acreage and had a high regard for his livestock, which he kept fenced and sheltered, while the Yankee was content to plow a crooked furrow around a stump and allowed his animals to roam where they pleased. When a Yankee farmer moved west, his property was often acquired by a successful German, and within a few decades the German immigrant farmer was cultivating a sizable portion of the state's agricultural
While the Yankee remained the progressive and the innovator, supplying the crops which the market demanded and eventually transforming Wisconsin to a dairy state, it was the German conservatism that inspired an interest in gaining maximum efficiency from the farm in such things as maintaining soil fertility and breeding profitable herds. These basic traits of establishing a permanent home and taking the rough edge off the American way of life characterized the German immigrant during the remainder of the century.

The budding village of Milwaukee also profited from the influx of as many as 1400 immigrants per week; growth and prosperity soon commenced at a pace, which was even greater than the fondest dreams of the founding fathers. Among the many Germans who remained in Milwaukee were professionals, businessmen and laborers, who either could not afford to purchase land or were not interested in farming. They did however, possess the talent and skill to avail themselves of the many new opportunities which the developing town offered, and to contribute in many areas to its continued growth. Since the environment of early Milwaukee was completely Yankee, and success in business and social life depended exclusively on contact with native Americans, it was vital that the immigrant acquire a mastery of English. The rapidity with which the urban settlers learned English and became Americanized depended largely on the number and intimacy of

---

contacts with the native element. During the first years of Milwaukee's settlement by Germans, these contacts were necessary and the prevailing conditions and customs were readily accepted. Within a few years however, so many Germans had arrived that these conditions changed markedly. No longer was it necessary for each immigrant to face the strange and seemingly hostile environment alone and it became possible to work, live and associate only with Germans. Beginning as small neighborhood groups, the German settlers soon formed an ethnic community within the urban surrounding, where the familiar language and customs could be maintained.

By the middle 1840's it was already evident that such a German community was forming in Milwaukee and during the following years it grew in size and scope. Within its geographic boundaries only German was spoken and its streets were lined with German businesses and stores, schools and theaters. Numerous organizations were formed at an early date solely to satisfy the cultural and social needs of the immigrant community.\(^{11}\) In order to maintain religious practices, both the Lutheran and Catholic Churches fostered the use of German and for many years supported schools in which German was the language of instruction. The immigrant arriving a few years later could presumably spend the rest of his life in the community without learning English or having contact with native Americans. He shopped at German stores with quaint signs reading "English spoken here," sent his children to German schools, read German language papers, saw

\(^{11}\)Still, pp. 115-125.
Goethe and Schiller performed on the local stages and spent a few leisure hours with friends at one of the many beer gardens.

Although the typical immigrant might be relatively isolated, it is unlikely that he could, or that he wanted to, remain immune to the many Americanizing influences which found their way into the German community through such factors as dress, politics and even his German newspaper. To be assimilated into the culture and life of the new country was the natural desire of most German immigrants. Whatever their hopes may have been, only a few regarded their journey to America as a journey into temporary exile; perhaps it was mainly the large number of immigrants itself that caused the greatest obstacle to rapid and easy assimilation. It cannot be denied that the individualist, who wanted to become American as quickly as possible and was willing to face the problems alone, might have succeeded in much the same way that the earliest arrivals did. But the majority of those who arrived in Milwaukee after 1840-1841 tended to stay for some time with their countrymen who had come before them and had provided the nucleus of the German settlement. Here the newly arrived immigrant could feel at ease and could slowly learn about conditions and opportunities in the area. Certainly the German community isolated the newcomer from his new country and thereby retarded the process of assimilation, but it also provided a haven for him during the hardest years of adjustment, when the ways of the new world were not yet fully accepted nor the life of the old world fully rejected.

In spite of its highly developed character, there is no evidence
that the Milwaukee German community was greatly influenced by any of the societies of the 1830's and 1840's which actively attempted to organize and establish enclaves of German culture in the United States. These "New Germanies" were to be ideal German states where the best of German law and culture would be maintained and where immigrants could live isolated from America and without severing the ties with Germany. In Missouri and Texas these idealistic schemes of patriotic German intellectuals met with varying degrees of failure. The German community in Milwaukee existed for almost eighty years and it preserved and nurtured the German heritage at least as well as any "New Germany" might have.12

12 Hawgood in his The Tragedy of German-America presents an analysis of the "New Germany" concept and devotes one chapter to Wisconsin, pp. 201-224.

Although the preservation of the German language and customs was an essential factor in the community, there was no attempt to create here a complete cultural stockade against Americanizing influences. On the contrary, it was expected, ideally at least, that the Germans would preserve the best of their original heritage, and in addition, learn the ways of their new country. Dislike of certain American customs which seemed to threaten the immigrant's personal liberty, such as temperance and the puritanical observance of the Sabbath, as well as political matters, which threatened the immigrant's rights, tended to diminish the will to cooperate and to participate in American life and thus fostered a greater unity within the German community.
In the process of Americanization, acclimatization and acculturation, no factor was of greater importance than the German-American press. The newspapers and periodicals which made up the foreign language press reflect the rise, prosperity and eventual demise of the community, in short it presented a picture of the community's life with its hopes, fears, prejudices and contributions. These papers served as a bridge between the old and the new world; on the one hand they helped to preserve the cultural ties to the native country and at the same time endeavored to reveal to the immigrant, and to interpret for him, the political, social and economic pattern and way of life in America. These goals were, over a longer period of time, obviously incompatible. It was inevitable that the immigrant, or at least his children, would slowly acclimatize and to begin to think of himself as an American. In the process he would also tend to value less the cultural heritage which had helped him through the first difficult years in America. In the same way the newspapers served as Americanizing agents and when they had fulfilled that function they rapidly lost their usefulness.
PART I. PRE-CIVIL WAR PERIOD

I. EARLY DEMOCRATIC PRESS

Wisconsin Banner

The steady stream of settlers to the Territory of Wisconsin during the late 1830's soon increased the number of residents to a number large enough that statehood could be seriously considered. Governor Henry Dodge had already urged the legislature to order a popular vote on the issue as early as 1839, and four times between 1840 and 1844 such a vote received a negative answer. All of these referendums were taken while James D. Doty, a Whig, was governor, whereas the majority in the territory was Democratic. With the second inauguration of Dodge as governor in May 1845, the harmony within the territorial government was restored and an 1846 referendum showed that there was now a six to one majority in favor of statehood.\(^1\)


The previous negative responses of the voters was primarily due to the important matter of debts and taxes. As long as Wisconsin remained a territory, the expenses of governing the territory were paid from the federal treasury. More important in the present context however, was the question of suffrage raised by the Whigs.
Since they tended to be nativistic and wished to withhold voting rights from the immigrants, it was only natural that the Germans and other foreign born moved toward the Democratic Party. Various meetings were held to cope with the Whig sentiments and a meeting held at the Milwaukee Court House on December 22, 1843 resulted in the drafting of a petition to the legislature in order to demand equality. The legislature recognized the validity of the claim and refused to distinguish between the native born Americans who had come from other states and the foreign born who had given up their former homelands. It was therefore decided that any white male who was twenty-one years of age and who had lived in the territory for at least three months could vote in the decision of statehood, and after an additional three months residency he could vote for delegates to draw up a constitution.2

2Koss, p. 150.

The local Whig newspaper, the Milwaukee Sentinel, made its position and views on the subject quite clear, and against its bitter comments the Germans had no ready weapon. Thus it was with great anticipation and joy that the Germans of the city greeted Moritz Schöffler's decision to begin a newspaper in their language, and one which would present and reflect their own ideas. Schöffler had had previous printing experience in Germany and had recently arrived from Jefferson City, Missouri, where he had edited and published the West Chronik for about one year.3
Through the special efforts of Dr. Franz Hübenschmann, one of the most active figures in the early German community, a sum of $170 was collected to put Schöffler and his new enterprise into business. On September 7, 1844 the first weekly edition of the *Wisconsin Banner* was published. The *Sentinel* welcomed the new arrival by writing that the *Banner* would furnish a 'feast of reason' to those who are fond of munching Dutch jaw-breakers. Mr. Schoeffler is a man of good attainments, and when he takes down those piratical looking names flying at the mast head of the *Banner*, and runs up a flag with correct principles inscribed thereon, we shall wish him an abundant success.

Those "piratical looking names" were those of James K. Polk and George M. Dallas, the Democratic candidates for President and Vice-President, strong opponents of the Whigs and Know-Nothings. By hoisting their names the *Banner* clearly espoused the principles of the Democratic Party and on March 29, 1845 the *Banner* proudly presented to its readers the full translated text of President Polk's inaugural address. No doubt the election of James K. Polk aided in the early success of the paper. It published its weekly issues for more than two years before its opposition was able to found a competing paper.

The earliest available edition of the *Wisconsin Banner* is dated March 15, 1845. It was a weekly, published on Saturday from the
Hereafter the paper will be referred to as the **Banner** except where such brevity might be a source of doubt.

newspaper office located in the Hustis Brick-Block on West Water Street and it was delivered at a price of two dollars per year. Its four pages were divided into four columns and, as a measure of its early success, five of the sixteen columns were taken up with advertisements. A list of agents who forwarded the paper to its readers indicates that its circulation ranged from as far north as Manitowoc to as far south as Racine and Burlington.

The April 19, 1845 issue is the last one to use the spelling "Wisconsin;" thereafter the accepted form "Wisconsin" was used in the name of the paper and in its articles. On September 5, 1846 an additional change was made in the format of the first page; under the title was added, "Mit Immergleicher Liebe Wellet Alle Und Krönet Ihr Erblühen!" the beginning letters of which spell "Milwaukie."

Although this "motto" was removed after about three years, the spelling "Milwaukie" was retained by the paper even into the 1870's so that the **Sentinel** was prompted to criticize it as the only journal in the city to use the primitive spelling.

In 1846 the **Banner** added a literary supplement called **Familian-Bibliothek**, but this publication was suspended a few months
later in 1847 when all the attention was focused on the Constitutional Convention and the "Extra's" dealing with the political issues became more important than a supplement designed for leisure reading.  

8Koss, p. 250.

Prior to the introduction of the Familien-Bibliothek, Schöffler had tried to satisfy his readers by presenting short stories and novelettes. In two successive issues, for example, H. Zschokke's Der zerbrochene Krug appeared on page one.  

9Banner, July 26 and August 2, 1845.

In the earliest days of the Banner Schöffler was assisted in publishing by Fr. Rauch, who was later to be the first publisher of the Volksfreund. Although Schöffler alone owned, published and edited the paper, those who had helped contribute financially to its beginning, especially Dr. Hübschmann, felt a certain right and duty to help direct the political voice of the paper. Schöffler accepted the suggestions, but what he printed was usually only his own opinion.  

10Koss, pp. 158, 168.

In October 1846, shortly after the vote fell in favor of statehood, the first Constitutional Convention met in Madison. Dr. Hübschmann, later a Milwaukee alderman, was the only delegate from Milwaukee representing the interests of the Germans. While serving with the Convention in Madison, Dr. Hübschmann kept the Banner
informed of the proceedings. Every issue of the paper from October 17, 1846 to December 12, 1846 contains at least one letter from him describing briefly the problems of the Convention as well as the viewpoints of other delegates. Early in 1847 the Banner printed several "Extra Beilagen" which brought to the readers a translation of the first Constitution of Wisconsin.11

11The Sentinel, which opposed the first constitution, apparently claimed that no translated text of this document was as yet available. The Banner responded to this on February 27, 1847 by indicating that it had been publishing supplements for the previous four weeks. These supplements with the translated text are no longer available.

The Banner supported the first constitution from the time it was made public until it was rejected on April 6, 1847 in a general election. The paper favored the liberal suffrage provision as well as the section which did not allow banking in the new state. These were the two main points of contention, disputed so hotly that the feuding even influenced the beer drinking in Milwaukee. Those in favor of the constitution drank only beer from the Best Brewery, while those against it bought only "Neukirch" beer, both of local origin.12

12Koss, p. 237.

Of the main points of conflict, the refusal to allow banks was undoubtedly more important. The Democrats and many Germans sought to protect the citizens from the banking evils to which some of them had already fallen prey, while the Whigs and the so called Bank-Democrats, or "Softs," saw the danger to business enterprises in Wisconsin if banks were to be constitutionally forbidden. The Banner however, did
not view the bank issue as one of great importance. It was certain that those objecting to the Constitution were basically nativistic and were using the bank issue as a ruse to cover their censure of the suffrage provision. Readers were admonished to consider the issues carefully and were warned that failure of this constitution might result in a long delay before another acceptable law could be drafted, thereby further delaying the time when Wisconsin could enter the Union.

It was during this time that the English language newspaper, the Sentinel, began publishing a German language paper to present the Whig opinion. On February 20, 1847 the Banner announced the appearance of its new competitor, Der Volksfreund. The statement was careful to point out that Friedrich Rauch, formerly with the Banner, had nothing to do with the political color of the paper, and merely performed the publishing. But it went on to mock the Volksfreund for its attempt to be a Democratic paper with Whig principles.13 This original impression of the Volksfreund was retained, even after the paper passed into new hands and became a staunch supporter of the Democratic Party. The strife which began because each paper supported a different cause continued through the years, even though they later agreed on most political issues and supported the same candidates.

A second Constitutional Convention convened on November 29, 1847. The constitution which was now drafted was accepted in March 1848 and two months later, in May 1848, Wisconsin was admitted to the Union. At this second convention Moritz Schöffler represented the Milwaukee
Germans in Madison. While Schöffler attended to his duties at the
convention, he temporarily gave up his editorship of the Banner to
Ernst Priege. Priege, an attorney in Milwaukee, served as the
Banner's Madison correspondent after Schöffler resumed editing the
paper.14

14Koss, pp. 257, 266, 338. On p. 338 Koss seems to have erred
by stating that Hermann Kemper had previously been interim editor.
There is no evidence for this and it is likely that Koss meant Priege
instead of Kemper. Arndt-Olsen, p. 672 is also unclear about
Priege's tenure and indicates his editorship from 1847-1850. The
Issues of the Banner from August 28, 1847 to September 15, 1849 are
not available.

In the three years since the Banner was first published, the
population of Milwaukee had more than doubled. From 6,400 residents
in 1844 the city had grown to 14,061. Perhaps because of this
increase, and certainly in order to counter the growing popularity of
its liberal Democratic competitor, Der Volksfreund, the Banner was
changed to a semi-weekly on September 11, 1847 and appeared on
Wednesday and Saturday.15 In January 1850 the Banner became the
first German language daily newspaper in Milwaukee.16 Both the daily

15Koss, pp. 161, 250.

16January 12, 1850 seems to be the beginning date; the earliest
available issue of the daily Banner is dated March 11, 1850 and it
is issue No. 49.

and the weekly, now appearing only on Wednesday, carried the same
title, Wisconsin Banner, and the phrase, "Mit Immergleicher Liebe
Weilet Alle Und Krünet Ihr Erblühren," which had formerly appeared
under the title, was now replaced with "Eine demokratische Zeitung für Stadt und Land." The daily edition was further identified as the earliest available edition of the semi-weekly, September 15, 1849 already shows this new phrase.

"Tägliche Stadt-Ausgabe" for the first several months but was renamed Das Tägliche Banner in October 1852. The daily carried a large amount of advertising, approximately twelve of its twenty columns, while the weekly filled only about six out of twenty-four columns with advertising.

When Schöffler returned from the second Constitutional Convention early in 1848, he again took over the editorship of his paper and then continued in that capacity until the end of 1850. At this time he again gave up the position because he had been elected as the local Register of Deeds. On January 1, 1851 Dr. Aigner accepted the editor's position and guided the paper for about six months until July 1851. Aigner directed the paper with dignity and avoided the personal animosities which so often created ill feelings between the papers. Later in the year Dr. Aigner was named to the board of directors of the State University and in the fall of 1853 he left Milwaukee to become co-editor of the Demokrat in New York.
F. W. Orban, a schoolteacher who had previously worked on the staff of the Banner, followed Aigner and edited the paper from July to November 1851. When Orban left the Banner he edited the Independent Volkshalle in the last month of its existence in December 1851, and the following year was one of the directors of the "Verein Freier Männer." 

On November 20, 1851 the Milwaukee Sentinel carried a notice that August Krüer, formerly of the New York Staatszeitung, was to succeed F. W. Orban as editor of the Banner. Krüer became a valuable asset to the paper because he was less doctrinaire than many of the contemporary editors and did justice to both political friends and enemies, both of which read his well written articles. Krüer remained editor until the beginning of 1854 when he moved to Madison where he had been appointed State Librarian by the Governor. In addition he took over the editorship of the ultrademocratic Wisconsin Staatszeitung sometime in 1854 in Madison.
carried an article by Krüer on January 11, 1854 in which he stated that he became editor on November 16, 1851 and left the paper on January 3, 1854. His name appears for the last time on the January 4, 1854 issue and no editor is listed after this date. On April 12, 1855 the Banner und Volksfreund printed Friedrich Fratny’s obituary which had appeared in the Wisconsin Staatszeitung and was written by August Krüer. Koss claims that Krüer retired from the Banner at the end of 1853, while Arndt-Olson, p. 672, is uncertain and writes December 1852?

For a period of one month in October 1853, just prior to his going to Madison, Krüer made an extended trip through Wisconsin on an anti-temperance, anti-Maine Law campaign. He kept his readers informed of his travels by means of letters which are printed under "Editorielle Correspondenzen" in the October issues of the weekly Banner. While he was away Christian Essellen, owner and editor of the scientific publication Atlantis, edited the paper. Some of Essellen’s readers were apparently chagrined that he had contributed his efforts to the Banner and on May 3, 1854, in a letter to the paper, he attempted to deal with the criticism.

After Krüer left there seems to have been no steady editor until F. W. Orban returned in April 1855. For a little over a year
Schöffler was apparently assisted by Christian Essellen and Heinrich Loose. 27

27 Arndt-Olson, p. 672. Koss, p. 448.

This interim period must have been a disturbing one for Schöffler and his readers, especially after Krüer had so ably edited the paper for some years in support of the Democratic Party. Essellen and Loose could not have been particularly devoted to the Democratic cause. Essellen was one of the representatives of the Milwaukee Germans at the founding of the Wisconsin Republican Party in Madison on July 13, 1854, while Heinrich Loose, who contributed mainly articles regarding Oriental topics of interest, was also editor of the Socialist paper Arbeiter. 28 It was only after the formation of the Republican Party that the Banner again reached an equilibrium and took a stand against the new political party.

During the election year 1852 the paper supported the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, Franklin Pierce. A timely anecdote helped to emphasize its loyalty:

Whig: "Who is Frank Pierce?"
Democrat: "Did you not ask in '44--who is James K. Polk? We Polk-ed you then, and we'll Pierce you now." 29

29 Das Tägliche Banner, June 12, 1852.

Two years later, in 1854, President Pierce was praised for maintaining
peace inside as well as outside of the United States.

It was thus with considerable irritation that both Banner and Volksfreund viewed the arrival during the year 1854 of Bernhard Domschke. Domschke, who had until now worked with Karl Heinzen in Louisville, Kentucky, immediately called for the support of the new Republican Party and claimed that the "Democratic Church" was worn out and useless, and that the election of President Pierce had been "eine grosse Thorheit." To this the Banner responded by criticizing Domschke as one who did not want to get to know the real character of German-Americans and referred to him as a "Freeso ill Jesuit."

Die Freesoillers selbst sind ja auch nur vorweise, treulose Kinder der Demokratie, die ihrer Mutter entlaufen sind... Herr Domschke streut nichts nutzigen Saamen auf Felsen.

Schöffler's optimism was not far from the truth; three Republican newspapers in German were subsequently established by Domschke and all of them failed.

In 1847 men of Domschke's idealism had been supported by the Banner. The paper had published accounts of the occurrences in Europe and praised the efforts of the revolutionaries. There had
even been advertisements published asking for donations to aid Karl Heinzen's endeavors to prepare "Flugblätter" to be sent to Germany for inspiring the revolution.\textsuperscript{32} But a revolution to attain democracy in Europe was one thing, utilizing a frustrated idealism to revolutionize democracy in the United States was quite a different matter. As a staunch defender of the Democratic Party, the \textit{Banner} could not tolerate the organization of the Republican Party, which attracted so many of the Forty-eighters. Criticism was leveled at all those who joined, whether they were Forty-eighters or had belonged to any one of the other political entities which helped to form the new party.

Statements regarding the various elements in the Republican Party of 1854 are among the most vociferous to be found in the \textit{Banner}'s history. All the political foes, Free Soilers, Whigs, Temperance supporters and nativists had joined forces to form a powerful and dangerous alliance. This anti-Democratic coalition, so the \textit{Banner} claimed, was luring support by engendering a humanitarian feeling. Their support of the anti-slavery issue only concealed their nativistic goals. Readers were warned not to support the new party merely on the grounds that it was anti-slavery.\textsuperscript{33} The

\textsuperscript{32} \textit{Banner}, January 23, 1847. More precise information regarding the paper's views on the 1848 revolution in Germany is impossible to obtain since the issues between September 6, 1847 and September 15, 1849 are not available.

\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Banner}, May 10, 1854; July 19, 1854.
Banner was also anti-slavery, but it never voiced its objections to the evil very strongly. Perhaps this was because it believed that many of those who called for containment or abolition, however sincere, did not do so entirely for the benefit of setting men free. There was a deep-seated mistrust of anyone who tended to view the nativist issue as one of secondary importance.

It is interesting to note that in March 1854 an attempt was made in Milwaukee to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act. Joshua Glover, a negro slave who had escaped his master B. S. Garland in St. Louis County, Missouri in 1852, was caught near Racine, Wisconsin and brought to the Milwaukee jail. The citizens of Milwaukee were duly aroused and after one day planning, contrived the means to forcibly free Glover and to help him escape to Canada. Although the Banner devoted about one and half columns to the incident, it did not reflect the indignation of the city, but rather unemotionally presented the facts, further expressing the hope that this would be the first and last dealing the city would have with the Slave Act. Both Schöffler and Fratny of the Volksfreund however, in spite of their cool appraisal of the incident, directly involved themselves and helped to form the committee to aid Glover. This brief encounter with the evils of slavery did not, as one might expect, awaken a more positive stand on overcoming the injustice.\(^{34}\)

\(^{34}\)Banner, March 15, 1854. Koss, p. 444. Koss relates the entire incident and describes the efforts of the citizens to circumvent the law.

The supporters of the temperance movement also rallied to the
cry of anti-slavery. From its earliest days the Banner, with the rest of the German community, had opposed temperance and as early as 1850 the paper had stated that the enjoyment of or the opposition to alcohol should be an issue of individual freedom and not an issue of law. In September and October 1853 there was a flurry of articles concerning the Maine Liquor Law. When the "Temperance Watchmen" and the "Sons of Temperance" tried to introduce this law in Wisconsin, the Banner referred to the attempts as "diesen Humbug" and "ekelhafte Temperenz-Narrheiten." The people of the state were to be careful to elect men who had the welfare of the citizens at heart and would not throw away the state's money "um ihre wahnsinnigen Ideen durchzufechten und Ketten der Knechtschaft für das Volk zu schmieden." The paper also cautioned against deception and reminded its readers that Free Soilers and Abolitionists had been the strongest supporters of the temperance movement, and that apparently these groups believed that by eliminating alcohol they would simultaneously eliminate slavery.

The Banner's attitude toward the Know-Nothings, many of whom eventually joined the Republican Party, was much the same as that displayed toward the other political movements, except that it was not quite as vehement. It warned especially the German Catholics to remain alert against the nativistic, anti-Catholic tendencies of
the Know-Nothings, or as the Banner called them, "Dummköpfe." The hope was expressed that if the immigrants joined those Americans who also opposed this group, it might soon collapse just as the Whig Party had.\footnote{Banner, May 10, 1854.} The Know-Nothing, or American Party, actually existed only a short time and did not significantly change the status of the immigrant.

Beginning May 1851, Rudolf Wendte became associated with Moritz Schöffler as part owner and publisher of the Banner. Hereafter the publisher was listed as "Schöffler und Wendte." It is not known whether Wendte actually wrote for the paper, although the obituary which appeared in the Sentinel on January 19, 1857 states that he had been one of the proprietors and editors of the Banner und Volksfreund. Not much is known of Wendte beyond this. On January 14, 1857 he placed an ad in the Banner und Volksfreund in which he reports that he had become too ill to continue any work in the business and wished to sell his share in it. The following day he died at the age of thirty-eight.\footnote{Banner und Volksfreund, January 16, 1857.} His name continued to appear with Schöffler's as co-publisher for several more months after that.

Two years prior to Wendte's death Schöffler had purchased the Volksfreund from Frederick Fratny as he lay on his deathbed. The daily and weekly editions of both papers were then combined under the name Banner und Volksfreund.
The prospect of a second German language newspaper was already rumored in 1846. The owners of the Whig Sentinel, Duane Wilson and Rufus King, felt it necessary to establish a paper with which they could reach the German speaking population of the city in order to counter the Democratic voice of the Wisconsin Banner, especially in the forthcoming questions regarding statehood and the State Constitution. On February 12, 1847 the Sentinel carried a brief article referring to the proposed paper which was to carry the title Der Volksfreund. Because of a lack of various materials the publication had to be delayed for about one week. The purpose of the new paper was to provide an "organ through which they (the German speaking population) may have an opportunity of learning the principles of both the great leading parties of our country."

As a "sales gimmick" the Volksfreund was offered to readers for a few weeks on a trial basis, and nothing would be charged if they did not then subscribe.

The first issues of the Volksfreund were published weekly by Friedrich Rauch, who had also helped Moritz Schöffler in the early days of the Banner. The exact date on which the paper was first published is not known, but it seems likely that it was on or about February 20, 1847. At this time the Volksfreund was a supplement
Koss, p. 158. Arndt-Olson, p. 694, suggests Feb. 1, 1847, but considering the Sentinel's comment on February 12, 1847 this cannot be correct. Further, the Banner, on February 20, 1847, wrote that it had just received the first issue of the Volksfreund.

to the Sentinel since it was printed by the Sentinel whose editors wrote the paper, which was then translated into German by Lindwurm and Hermann Kemper. The Banner on February 20, 1847 claimed that

all three, Lindwurm, Kemper and Rauch worked on the paper but did not necessarily agree with the Whig viewpoint which was expressed.

Within a few weeks the Sentinel concluded that this was not a satisfactory arrangement and Mr. Wilson, on a trip to New York, hired Friedrich Fratny as editor. Fratny, a born Pole who had come to

the United States in 1842, settled first in Boston and later in New York. He quickly discovered that the idea of a German language democratic Whig paper "reiner Unsinn sei und sein Bestreben ging deshalb dahin, den Volksfreund unabhängig zu machen." In a very short time and with the aid of Dr. Wunderly, Fratny was able to
buy the paper from Wilson and King.\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{45}Dr. Wunderly, along with Christian Esselen, represented the Milwaukee Germans in 1854 at the founding of the Republican Party in Madison, Wisconsin. Refer also to Koss, pp. 250, 448.

The earliest available edition of the \textit{Volksfreund} is also the first issue which Fratny published as owner and editor. It is dated July 15, 1847 and is issue No. 21. Although Fratny did not introduce himself in this issue to his readers, as might be expected, he does state on October 7, 1848 that he acquired the paper as of issue No. 21.

The paper was a four page, four column weekly, appearing on Thursday at a price of one dollar per year, paid in advance. This competitive price was soon changed to equal that of the \textit{Banner}, which had been delivered for two dollars per year since 1845. At a later date there appeared an advertisement indicating that the owner of the \textit{Volksfreund} would be willing to accept Tiro wood in payment for the paper.\textsuperscript{46} During Fratny's ownership the \textit{Volksfreund} attained a reasonable financial success but never became a lucrative enterprise, and Fratny occasionally complained of the difficulty in sustaining two competing German language papers in Milwaukee.\textsuperscript{47} For added income the \textit{Volksfreund} did contract printing even though it did not at first possess a printing press and had to send out its forms to a printer.\textsuperscript{48}
In his first editorial on July 15, 1847 Fratny promised to pursue truth, to fight against the militaristic Caesar who ruled Europe, to aid Germans in getting involved in the problems and efforts of their new country, and to inform them of occurrences in their former fatherland. While such a statement is not in itself unusual for a German language paper of that day, it was the first of many declarations by Fratny in defense of his paper. Since the Volksfreund was begun under the auspices of the Whig Sentinel, it was hard for Fratny to convince many Germans, and especially the Banner, that the paper no longer reflected those views. He, in turn, believed that the Banner was reactionary and during the months of September and October a number of articles were written to repudiate the Banner's inferences that Fratny was hiding behind a Democratic name to further Whig beliefs. Beginning on November 25, 1847 the paper appeared as Der Volksfreund "Ein unabhängiges demokratisches Blatt." The fact that both the Banner and the Volksfreund generally agreed on basic political issues seems not to have diminished their hostile feelings for one another. The feud soon produced petty squabbles about typing mistakes and smeared lines. With a sarcasm
that was to get him involved in many other hostilities, Fratny invited "Grossmütterchen" Schöffler not to worry about being put out of business and to continue defending Democratic candidates, while he, in his Volksfreund, would defend the principles of democracy. Fratny was never a polite or discreet writer and always sought targets for his merciless criticism, a factor which no doubt helped him to gain popularity for his paper among the working people.\textsuperscript{51}

\textsuperscript{51}Volksfreund, November 25, 1847. Koss, p. 270.

On March 1, 1849 Ernst Herzberg, who had previously published the Nordstern in Cedarburg, Wisconsin, joined Fratny as co-publisher. At the same time the two papers were merged and published weekly under the name Der Volksfreund.\textsuperscript{52} Apparently Herzberg also served as co-editor since on April 10, 1855 he wrote an open letter to Bernhard Domschke castigating him for having criticized Fratny for articles which he (Herzberg) had written. This is the only editorial assistance that Fratny had. Herzberg remained with Fratny until 1854 when the partnership was dissolved, leaving Fratny as sole proprietor.\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{52}Volksfreund, March 1, 1849. As of March 1, 1849 "Herzberg & Fratny" are shown as printer and publisher. Arndt-Olson incorrectly shows the date as March 1, 1850.

\textsuperscript{53}Sentinel, April 14, 1854. Koss, pp. 285, 448.

In 1849 another addition was made to the headline in the form of a Jeffersonian statement in translation: "Ich habe an Gottes
Altar jeder Form der Tyrannie des menschlichen Geistes ewige
Feindschaft geschworen.\(^{54}\) Publication of a daily began on

\(^{54}\)Volksfreund, April 12, 1849. The statement appeared
directly under the title of the paper.

February 11, 1850. Three daily English language newspapers and the
Banner, which had begun daily publication in the previous month, were
already in existence, which made the competition for the daily
Volksfreund extremely difficult. The weekly, since increased to six
columns, was continued under the name \(\text{Der wöchentliche Volksfreund}\)
while the daily was named the \(\text{Möglicher Volksfreund}\).\(^{55}\) It was a

\(^{55}\)The weekly editions of the Volksfreund are not available
for dates after February 13, 1850.

four page four column paper with pages one and four being used
entirely for advertisements. Most of the news items on pages two and
three deal with local, state and national events and only a few short
European communications. A short story or poem was often included
on page three.

In their announcement of the daily, the editors reaffirmed their
goals:

\[\text{Der Ton und die politische Farbe unseres Blattes werden}\]
\[\text{die nämlichen bleiben, wie bisher--Vertheidigung}\]
\[\text{demokratischer Grundsätze und Massregeln, freimüthiges}\]
\[\text{Bekämpfen bestehender Übel und Missbrüche jeder Art,}\]
\[\text{und Erörterung und Durchführung menschenfreundlicher}\]
\[\text{Reformen in und durch die demokratische Partei, werden}\]
\[\text{auch ferner ein des Volksfreunds würdiges Strebeziel}\]
\[\text{bleiben.}\]

\[\ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \]

\[\text{Fortschritt der demokratischen Partei... ohne Rücksicht}\]
While the Banner attracted the conservative elements of the Democratic Party and the Volksfreund the liberal, the actual political views of the Volksfreund were not as liberal as might be expected. Fratny believed that the salvation of the Union would be accomplished by a victory of the old Democratic Party over the Whigs. In 1849 he considered the principles of the Democratic and Free Soil Parties to be Jeffersonian, and was never too sure of the differences between them. The Banner always opposed any friendship between the two parties. On the other hand, Fratny never openly condemned slavery nor did he lend support to the Free Soil movement. This lack of support and political ambiguity was a symptom of the time and helped elect President Taylor, whom Fratny cynically called "der grosse, zweite Washington." In 1852 the paper strongly supported Franklin Pierce with a goodly share of scornful comment about the Whig candidate, General Winfield Scott. During the summer of 1854 Fratny met a formidable opponent in Bernhard Domschke, newly arrived
in Milwaukee to spread the teachings of the Republican Party. After an initial speech by Domschke, Fratny challenged him to a debate but unfortunately he was already too ill to effectively counter Domschke's fresh aggressiveness.60

60 Refer to Korsar, Journal and Atlas in the following section.

On temperance, a topic closely allied to politics during the 1850's, the Volksfreund took as firm a stand as might be expected of a German language paper of that time. Fratny seems not to have associated temperance with a nativist zeal to undermine the immigrant's rights as Schöffler did. His obvious distrust of them however, can be seen in an article in 1852 in which he describes the destruction of a new building by fire in downtown Milwaukee. The "Musik Verein" lost almost all of its possessions in the fire because it had stored its instruments there after practice. No cause of the fire was known, but Fratny surmised that since the "Temperenz Fanatiker" had recently held meetings in that building, "da konnte es nicht fehlen, dass daselbst bedeutende Haufen von Brennstoff abgelagert worden."61 The paper made an interesting innovation in 1852 by printing a number of articles dealing with temperance, and more particularly with the Maine Liquor Law, in English. This was no doubt done so as to present Fratny's non-German speaking friends (or enemies) with his views on that topic.

On the occasion of having received a one dollar bill issued by
the new Hemenway's Bank of Deposit and Exchange, Fratny launched a vitriolic attack on banking. As Democrat he was "ein abgesagter Feind jedes Papiergeldes und jeder Bankspekulation." The focus of his attack was not so much the bank which had issued the bill, but rather the much more successful Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company of Alexander Mitchell, which was issuing deposit certificates to be used as currency, thereby circumventing the law. As if to emphasize the illegality of the business, Mitchell was described as "ein Schotte und brittischer Untertan von Geburt." Some months

62 Volksfreund, August 30, 1849.

later the Hemenway Bank failed to open its doors for business, ostensibly because Mr. Hemenway was "very sick." The doors were never reopened while the Mitchell enterprise enjoyed, and is still enjoying, a long and prosperous life.

63 Mälischer Volksfreund, February 13, 14, 15, 1850. It should be noted that at the same time that Fratny was criticizing, his paper carried an advertisement for the Milwaukee Savings Bank of Samuel Marshall and Charles Ilsley. This is one of the prominent banks in the city today.

When Mathilda Franziska Anneke sought to establish a German women's paper in Milwaukee, the Deutsche Frauen Zeitung, it was Fratny who made it possible. He advertised for its acceptance, supplied the necessary materials and printed the first issues.

64 Volksfreund, February 24, 1852; March 7, 1852. Koss, p. 382. The Deutsche Frauen Zeitung will be discussed in a later section.
Against several other journalists Fratny's feelings were quite different. Rösler von Oels, who directed the Volkshalle and later the Stimme der Wahrheit was told:

Ihr ganzes Geschrei bis, Hr. Rösler, ist das Geklatsch einer alten Waschfrau, und ihre 'rumors' von denen Sie schwützen, existieren nur in Ihrer eigenen fieberhaften Einbildung. Eine Säge und Axe oder irgend eine andere nützliche Beschäftigung würde Ihnen und Ihrer Familie besser zu Nutzen kommen.65

65Wglcher Volksfreund, February 21, 1852. The Volkshalle and the Stimme der Wahrheit will be discussed in a later section.

Nor did Fratny hesitate to frivolously joke about an eye ailment from which von Oels was suffering. All previous conflicts were mere rehearsals however, to the crusade against the Seebote and its ageing editor Amand de St. Vincent, also referred to as "Sanctus Vincentius" or "Heilige Vincent" by Fratny. Within a month after the first issue of the Seebote appeared, he was calling it "Saubote" for its reactionary and monarchistic leanings and for slander of the revolutionary patriot Louis Kossuth, while at the same time claiming to be in favor of democratic Republicanism.66 The Seebote in its early days always seemed to favor just those issues which would stir the emotions of those who thought differently, and its success was largely dependent on the fact that it was the only Catholic sponsored paper in the city. Ironically, one of its best customers must have been Fratny himself, reading the paper thoroughly in order to find

66Koss, p. 341. The Seebote will also be discussed separately. Unfortunately the early editions of the Seebote are not available.
items to criticize and cynically analyse. During the first half of 1852 almost every edition of the *Volksfreund* contains either an article or sarcastic epistle with the *Seebote* as the topic. In several issues in March and April 1852 Fratny attempted to force his opponent to step into public view and to clearly state his ideals. The articles are introduced by means of a ridiculous picture: St. Vincent as a Jesuit with a halo sitting backwards on a jackass and holding its tail, while an armed soldier leads the animal with the reins. Then the following:

Vier Fragen, gestellt an den ✠✠✠ Seeboten

1. Warum sind die Fürsten Europa's gesetzlich?
2. War vor der Revolution in Amerika der König von England gesetzlicher Fürst der Colonien?
3. Und wenn er es war, wie hatten die Amerikaner ein Recht, eine Republik zu gründen?
4. Und wenn sie ein Recht hatten, warum hat nicht jedes andere Volk ein Recht dasselbe zu thun?

Und kann er diese vier Fragen nicht lösen, So ist er die längste Zeit Bot' hier gewesen, So lass ich ihn führen zu Esel durch's Land, Verkehrt statt des Zaumes den Schwanz in der Hand.67

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67 *Täglicher Volksfreund*, March 25, 1852. It is not possible to evaluate the *Seebote*'s reaction to the challenge because issues of that period are not available.

Apparently the *Seebote* was not long in answering because on April 5, 1852 Fratny ridicules the response of that paper, objecting to the *Seebote*'s claim that the present European revolutions were not of a religious nature, but irreligious and so they could not be compared in any way to the American revolution. According to available sources, the *Seebote* used similar weapons and often used a vocabulary
not at all consistent with its Catholic sponsorship.\textsuperscript{68}

\textsuperscript{68}Koss, p. 351.

By 1854 Fratny's illness had robbed him of much strength and energy, so much so that he not only ceased his feud with the Sebota but was even on friendly terms with it. But the will to fight for his ideals remained to the end, even to the point of mustering his last resources to battle a new foe, the Republican Forty-eighter, Bernhard Domschke.

On April 4, 1855 Fratny sold his \textit{Volksfreund} to Moritz Schöffler and Rudolf Wendte for $5,500 and they combined it with their \textit{Banner} to form the \textit{Banner und Volksfreund}. Fratny died on April 5, 1855.\textsuperscript{69}

\textsuperscript{69}Sentinel, April 4, 1855. Koss, p. 449.

\textit{Banner und Volksfreund: Stadt und Land}

When Schöffler and Wendte purchased Fratny's paper, they merged both the daily and weekly editions with their own papers to form the \textit{Banner und Volksfreund} "Vereinigte Tägliche Stadt-Ausgabe," and the \textit{Wisconsin Banner und Volksfreund} "Vereinigtes Demokratisches Wochenblatt."\textsuperscript{70} The numbering of the \textit{Banner} was continued and

\textsuperscript{70}Hereafter \textit{Banner und Volksfreund} will be used to indicate the daily edition and \textit{Wisconsin Banner und Volksfreund} to indicate the weekly.

thus the April 10, 1855 issue of the combined daily was Jahrgang 11,
Nr. 2510, and the April 18, 1855 issue of the combined weekly was Jahrgang 11, Nr. 32. At the time of the merger there were seven dailies published in Milwaukee, three of them in German, with a total circulation of about 6,000, nine weeklies with a circulation of 15,000, and five tri-weeklies with a circulation of 2,500.\textsuperscript{71}

\textit{Sentinel}, April 10, 1855.

Both the daily and weekly editions of the new \textit{Banner und Volksfreund} were edited by F. W. Orban who had served briefly as interim editor of the \textit{Banner} in 1851. Although the editor is not listed in the paper, various sources claim that Orban continued in the editorship until his death on November 8, 1870.\textsuperscript{72} It is not known whether Schöffler also served as editor during this period, but Hermann Kemper and Wilhelm Vette were on the editorial staff in 1855. The Schöffler-Wendte partnership was abruptly ended by the sudden death of Wendte on January 15, 1857 and Schöffler then continued alone as publisher for a number of years.\textsuperscript{73}

\textsuperscript{71}Kemper had formerly worked for the \textit{Sentinel} to help begin the \textit{Volksfreund}. Wilhelm Vette, according to the \textit{Sentinel} of August 7, 1855, had been with the \textit{Michigan Democrat} and was later assistant editor of the \textit{Banner und Volksfreund}. See the \textit{Sentinel}, September 30, 1878.
Beginning with the first issue of the *Wisconsin Banner und Volksfreund* the "Novellen-Chronik" was added, conveniently placed in the lower right hand corner of page three and the lower left corner of page four, so that it could easily be cut out and later bound. The section was dedicated to "dem Muslichen Lesezirkel" and contained stories of both German and English origin. Later it also appeared in the daily edition under the same title.  

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74 *Banner und Volksfreund*, January 1857.

The combined paper continued the staunch Democratic leanings of both its predecessors and carried numerous articles against the Know-Nothing and temperance movements. In early 1858 there was renewed interest in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and the paper advocated statehood for Kansas. It expressed the feeling that the renewed agitation was merely a ruse so that the Republican Party could cause trouble in the coming 1860 elections. The Lecompton Constitution, drafted by the Free Staters in order to bring Kansas into the Union quickly, was considered a scandalous necessity. The *Banner und Volksfreund* maintained that Kansas should be granted statehood and should be given the opportunity to solve its own problems.  

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75 *Banner und Volksfreund*, January 8, 1858.

During the years of the Civil War the *Banner und Volksfreund* kept its readers up to date on the news of the day. Although the paper was opposed to secession, its sentiments against the administration were echoed in the news reports until the end of the
war. This criticism is already evident in the accounts of the first battle of Bull Run, one of the earliest battles of the war. After the good news of the victory, came the horrible accounts of the slaughter, and Generals McDowell and Patterson were blamed for having allowed Johnston and Beauregard to unite their forces. But the greatest blame was heaped on the higher administrative authorities.

Hier ist jetzt das Resultat der infamstren Corruption und Spitzbüberei und der eseihafsten Advokaten-Generalschaft--der Beweis der Unfähigkeit aller der 'grossen Mütter,' die an der Spitze der Regierung stehen.\textsuperscript{76}

\textsuperscript{76}  \textit{Banner und Volksfreund}, July 23, 1861.

This attitude was typical of many who criticized the outbreak of the war and did not indicate that the paper was unpatriotic. On the contrary, it carried many ads encouraging volunteers to join special units of the army. "Deutsche Freiwillige," "Freiwillige für Sigel's Brigade (Franz Sigel)," "Freiwillige für das neunte (Deutsche) Regiment" were the headlines on some of the more commonly seen ads. In 1861 Fritz Anneke wrote from Zürich that he was returning to the United States and the paper published his request that artillery units be organized.\textsuperscript{77}

\textsuperscript{77}  \textit{Banner und Volksfreund}, September 26, 1861. No issues of the paper are available from December 1862 until February 1879, except for a one page special edition on April 18, 1865 at the time of President Lincoln's assassination.

The \textit{Banner und Volksfreund} also helped to attract more immigrants by printing and selling form letters which could be sent to Germany
to inspire friends or relatives to also come to Wisconsin. The ad was titled, "An Alle, welche Etwas für die Einwanderung nach Wisconsin thun wollen...Ein gedruckter brief für Deutschland."  

78 Banner und Volksfreund, December 25, 1861.

After July 2, 1861 there seems to have been a Sunday edition published under the same name as the daily. There was however, no Monday issue of the paper then. The only noticeable difference of the Sunday edition is the lack of advertisements on page one.  

79 It cannot be determined whether this paper was renamed to Sonntagsblatt des Banner und Volksfreund in November 1874.

In May 1869 the Sentinel carried a brief notice that Paul A. Grossman, city editor of the Banner und Volksfreund, had retired from the staff of the paper and that Hans Haertung, formerly with the Herold, would take his place. Frederich Doerr succeeded Haertung about one year later when Haertung accepted an appointment as a teacher of German in the Plankinton School.  

80 Sentinel, May 3, 1869. Very little is known of these men and they probably did not play an important part in the history of the paper. The Sentinel rendered the following spellings of the name: Haerting (May 3, 1869), Haertung (May 10. 1869), Haertling (June 14, 1870).

Moritz Schöffler, still an active member of the Democratic Central Committee in 1872, retired as publisher of the Banner und Volksfreund in September 1874, thirty years after he had begun the first German language newspaper in Milwaukee, the Wiskonsin Banner
on September 7, 1844. He died one year later on December 29, 1875, after having lead an active public life in the young Milwaukee community. He had always been a staunch Democrat, was a member of the second Constitutional Convention of Wisconsin in November 1847, a founding member of both the Hermannsöhne and the Bund freier Männer, and was the city's Register of Deeds in 1850-1851.81

81 Sentinell, March 5, 1872. Der Deutsche Pionier (Cincinnati, 1875), VII, pp. 451-453. Schöffler's obituary was placed in Der Seebote on January 3, 1876. The Hermannsöhne established a Milwaukee Lodge in 1848. It was one of several secret organizations which combined a philosophy of free thought and rationalism with a program of life and health insurance. Refer to Koss, p. 277. The Bund freier Männer will be discussed in the section on Der Humanist.

After Schöffler's retirement the publication of the paper was taken over by the Banner und Volksfreund Printing Company.82 The

82 The Sentinel of October 26, 1874 carried a confusing notice which claimed that one "Mr. John C. Becker has withdrawn from the presidency of the Banner und Volksfreund Printing Company and the Mr. Peter Beckler will be his successor." No other information concerning this account has been found. If Mr. Becker, or Mr. Beckler directed the company, he must have done so for a very short interim period before Bernhard Leidersdorf took over the presidency.

directors of the new company were listed as: Bernhard Leidersdorf, president; Otto Zweitsuch, vice-president; William H. Jacobs, treasurer and Karl Kron, secretary.83 Kron, who had served as

83 Sentinel, August 3, 4, 1876. It can be assumed that these men were the original officers of the Banner und Volksfreund Printing Company since the Sentinel carried a notice on April 18, 1876 to the effect that the company was about to sue P. V. Deuster and the Seebote for accusing "the present (1876) managers of the Banner und Volksfreund with crookedness in securing the interest of the late M. Schoeffler."
associate editor in 1873, apparently became the leading figure of
of the new company, and was credited with strengthening its position
among its competitors.\textsuperscript{84} Karl Kunz, formerly editor of the Seebote,

\textsuperscript{84}Sentinel, October 25, 1873. Hense-Jensen, p. 379, lists
the members of a local committee to which Karl Kron, as editor of
the Banner und Volksfreund, was a representative. See also the
Sentinel of February 18, 1875.

was appointed editor in November 1874.\textsuperscript{85}

\textsuperscript{85}Sentinel, November 3, 1874.

Kron's efforts to renew the Banner und Volksfreund were
successful for a short time and then the paper again slipped into
a decline. Circulation between 1870 and 1880 dropped from 6,000
to 3,000. During the same period the Herold and the Germania were
rapidly gaining popularity and it is most likely that many former
subscribers of the Banner und Volksfreund now found a greater appeal
in the more liberal Republican papers. The Sentinel presented the
following criticism of the paper on May 26, 1873:

The editor of the Banner has not become as thoroughly
naturalized as the majority of the readers of his paper.
When cornered he cries 'nativism' instead of 'pecavi' [sic].
His editorials from time to time, display more of the
spirit of German nativism than do those of the rankest
Know-Nothing journal in the land. But the readers of the
Banner are so accustomed to this dodge, that they pass
the matter in silence if not in disgust.

On another occasion the Germania expressed its opinion with

Die Banner und Volksfreund von heute Morgen bekritteil
in einer kleinen Notiz in seiner bekannten hMHzischen
und boshafte Weise die in der gestrigen Nummer unseres
Blattes gebrachten Andeutungen Über VerShnderungen die
vorgeschriebene einigen unserer deutschen Morgenblätter
In August 1875 the Banner und Volksfreund Printing Company began publication of a bellettristic supplement, the Stadt und Land. "Wochenschrift für das Volk, zur Unterhaltung und Belehrung," was the subtitle carried on the supplement which contained a variety of interesting articles as "Meine erste Reise nach Green Bay," by Hermann Kemper, "Amerikanisches Thierleben--Die Klapperschlange," by Josef Baldauf, as well as such typical stories as "Eisenbahn Novellette--Der Ring der Madame," and "Ein Heirathsgeschäft."  

Stadt und Land was continued by the Printing Company until it sold its holdings to the Freie Presse Printing Company in 1880.  

On August 7, 1877 Henry Baetz and B. H. Gueterbock bought out William H. Jacobs and Bernhard Leidersdorf and through this purchase gained controlling interest in the company. Baetz acted as the
president until May 1, 1879 when, due to other business arrangements, he found it necessary to resign from the positions of president, business manager and treasurer of the company. Gueterbock, the vice-president and editor, then managed the business until April 1880. Meanwhile Dr. Bernhard Mueller, formerly with the Clevelander

90Banner und Volksfreund, May 6, 1879. Gueterbock's name appears in the paper for the last time on April 22, 1880.

Anzeiger, joined the paper in August 1878 as associate editor and Dr. Wilhelm Vette, who had earlier worked for the paper, rejoined the staff as assistant editor about one month later.91

91Sentinel, August 26, 1878; September 30, 1878. Arndt-Olson, p. 459, writes Miller instead of Mueller.

Until 1880 the Banner und Volksfreund continued to adhere to the Democratic Party in the Schöffler tradition. On November 6, 1879, in an editorial against the Herald, the paper vowed, "Nach wie vor wird das Banner für die alten, wahren Prinzipien der demokratischen Partei eintreten und nach Kräften das seine dazu beitragen, denselben zum Siege zu verhelfen." On May 11, 1880 however, all the publications of the Banner und Volksfreund Printing Company were sold to the Freie Presse Printing Company. During the next few years the paper lost its identity as a democratic organ and followed the Republican policies of its new owners. It must have shocked faithful Banner und Volksfreund readers to find their paper printing, "die demokratischen Reaktionäre suchen das Volk
zu betreiben.\textsuperscript{92}

\textsuperscript{92}Banner und Volksfreund, July 22, 1880. During the early months of 1880, the Banner und Volksfreund Company found itself in extreme financial difficulty. Bernhard Leidersdorf, former president of the company had initiated a suit against the company on a money demand. (Sentinel, December 8, 1879). Apparently B. H. Gueterbock, who had bought Leidersdorf's share in the company, then commenced a suit for damages of $12,000 against Leidersdorf, but withdrew his charge prior to May 5, 1880 when the company holdings were put up for sale by Sheriff Van Vechten. (Sentinel, April 18, 1880). On May 7, 1880 the Sentinel announced that the Banner had been sold on a judgement for $5,229 to Gustav C. Trumpff. By May 12 Trumpff had sold the establishment to A. A. L. Smith, an attorney representing the interests of the Freie Presse Publishing Company, for an estimated $9,000 to $10,000. One month earlier, on April 9, the Sentinel had reported that the prominent Republicans of the city wished to gain control of the paper. They were obviously successful through the employment of A. A. L. Smith. The Freie Presse Printing Company (formerly the Freie Presse Publishing Company) was immediately formed and the two dailies were merged under the title Milwaukeeer Freie Presse "Früher Banner und Volksfreund." The paper was now a morning Republican organ of the city. Former subscribers and friends of the Banner und Volksfreund opposed the sale but were unsuccessful in their suit to regain the paper since it was found that all the transactions had been legally negotiated and carried out. (Freie Presse, May 19, 1880). Gueterbock immediately left Milwaukee and briefly held a position on the Chicagoer Freie Presse and then moved to Newark, N. J., where he served as the local editor of the Deutsche Zeitung. (Sentinel, May 14, July 8, 1880).

At the time of the sale the daily edition of the Banner und Volksfreund was merged with the daily Freie Presse and the combined daily was then called Milwaukeeer Freie Presse "Früher Banner und Volksfreund" and used the numbering of the Banner und Volksfreund. Only the weekly Banner und Volksfreund retained its former title. The Sonntagsblatt des Banner und Volksfreund was changed to the Sonntagsblatt der Freie Presse and the supplement Stadt und Land was continued under its original title. Herman Sigel of the Freie Presse apparently took over the editorship of all the papers.
The paper remained in the hands of the Freie Presse Printing Company until April 1, 1885. At that time the weekly *Banner und Volksfreund* and the *Stadt und Land* were purchased by the newly formed *Banner und Volksfreund Company* with G. E. Weiss as its president. Publication began on April 8, 1885 and under the new ownership the paper returned to the Democratic fold. Soon it was lashing out against the Republicans which it called "Temperenzler... republikanisch und temperenzlich ist in Wisconsin eins und dasselbe." But on the whole, the paper was now much less oriented toward politics than formerly and tended to be somewhat more instructional and informational. Each issue contained a number of pictures and short biographies of outstanding men, not only of Wisconsin and the United States, but also of Europe.

By January 1893 the paper was being published twice-weekly. It was no longer one of the leading Milwaukee papers and probably offered very little competition to such giants as the *Germania*, *Herold*, or *Seebote*. To encourage early payment of subscription fees, such items as pictures, cookbooks, novels, maps and even briar pipes were offered as premiums.
Shortly after the paper became the property of the Banner and Volksfreund Company, the firm moved into the offices of the P. V. Ruester & Company, owners of the Seebote. It is not known what relationship existed between these papers until October 16, 1895, when the P. V. Ruester Company announced that it had bought the Banner und Volksfreund\textsuperscript{96}. It is possible that the Ruester Company purchased the paper in 1885 and preferred to publish it under a separate name. The Excelsior of April 9, 1885 is the only contemporary source to indicate that this might have been the case; all other sources indicate that it was purchased by the Banner und Volksfreund Company\textsuperscript{97}.

The Excelsior will be discussed in a separate section. The Banner und Volksfreund was continued for many more years under this title and publisher. In later years it, and other Seebote properties, passed into the hands of the Columbia Publishing Company\textsuperscript{98}.

This will be discussed in the separate sections on Der Seebote and the Columbia.
Corsar

In opposition to the democratic German newspapers in Milwaukee, Bernhard Domschke founded three strongly abolitionist Republican papers during the 1850's. The German community of that period was however, so firmly democratic that Domschke's efforts must be described as a history of failure. The number of Germans who appreciated Domschke's journalistic gift and at the same time opposed the weak anti-slavery stand taken by the existing press was too small to provide an adequate number of subscribers. All of the Republican papers founded by Domschke suffered a precarious and short existence.

A well known Forty-eighter, Bernhard Domschke was born near Dresden, Germany in 1823 and received his education at the University of Leipzig. As editor of a newspaper in Saxony, he became involved in the revolutionary movement which swept through Germany in 1848, fled his native country and arrived in New York in 1850. Shortly after his arrival, Domschke is said to have written an article on "Freedom" and submitted it to the Deutsche Schnellpost, and influential German paper in New York, edited by Karl Heinzen.¹

"Jomschke" seems to be the accepted spelling of the name although some sources, as the contemporary Flug-Blätter and J. J. Schlicher, "Bernhard Jomscheke," The Wisconsin Magazine of History, XXIX (1946), 319-322, 435-456, write "Domschcke."

Jomschke did not remain in New York very long; he soon went to Boston and became the assistant editor of the Neu-England Zeitung and also served as a speaker for the Freie Gemeinde, a Freethinker organization dedicated to liberal social and rationalistic belief. In 1853 he joined Karl Heinzen in Louisville, Kentucky to assist in editing Der Herold des Westens. The two men immediately launched a vigorous anti-slavery campaign. Since Kentucky was a slave state, these attacks were not taken lightly and within months their efforts were abruptly ended when their office was set afire and the paper, with all its equipment as well as all of Jomschke's personal property, was lost.²

²Schlicher, p. 324.

Although Heinzen commenced the publication of a new paper, der Pioneer, within a month, Jomschke, now penniless, decided to move on. Already in 1852 a group of radicals in Milwaukee had requested Jomschke, on Heinzen's recommendation, to come to that city in order to edit an independent Freethinker paper, no satisfactory agreement had been reached at that time. After the disaster in Louisville however, Milwaukee probably appeared to offer the best chance of success as well as presenting a considerable challenge.³

³Koss, p. 362.
After some months delay, and only a few weeks after the founding of the Wisconsin Republican Party, Jomschke arrived in Milwaukee. He introduced himself to the German community on Sunday, August 6, 1854 with a public speech entitled, "wie demokratische Kirche und die neue politische Zeitströmung." In the talk Jomschke clearly expressed his political views by attacking the Democratic Party as being outdated, unserviceable and ripe for condemnation. The address caused ample excitement in the city and in response Friedrich Fratny of the Volksfreund challenged Jomschke to a formal debate. Unfortunately Fratny was already seriously ill and could hardly be heard. In contrast Jomschke's voice was strong and his arguments clear and well executed, so much so that Moritz Schöffler of the Banner felt it necessary to conclude the meeting by expressing his belief that all these attempts to sway the local Germans from the Democratic Party were in vain and that the political ideas of Germans from other states would not be accepted in Wisconsin.

Ultimately Schöffler reached a larger audience for he continued his attacks on Jomschke in his paper. Jomschke of course, had no means...
of retaliating.

Some members of the newly formed Republican Party were convinced that in Domschke they had found the man who could present the views of the party publicly. Since it was not possible to bring one of the existing German daily newspapers into the Republican camp, a new paper had to be established. Material assistance was furnished by Rufus King of the Sentinel, who some years earlier had also tried to establish the Volksfreund as a Whig organ. King, together with a few other interested men, saw to it that Domschke received a press and the other necessary equipment, including quarters from which he could publish.®

®Koss, p. 450. The location of these quarters was 210 E. Water Street, above the Germania Bank.

On October 7, 1854 the first weekly issue of the Corsar was published, directed by Domschke with editorial assistance from L. Wittig, who had also worked with Heinzen and Domschke in Louisville.® Neither the Banner nor the Volksfreund paid much attention to the new competitor and in a letter to the editor, one reader of the Sentinel wrote,

...one would believe that Banner and Volksfreund would now be happy that Domschke is starting a paper so that they could prove that they are superior and more skillful in polemics and politics...but neither paper has responded to the Corsar--perhaps following Falstaff's words, 'discretion is the better part of valor.'®

®Schlicher, p. 327.
The lack of response on the part of the Banner, and the few feeble attempts eventually produced by the ailing Fratny, did not prevent Uomschke from carrying on the feud. Of all the German papers in the city at the time, the Corsar was directed with the most imagination and intellectual wit. Uomschke occasionally ridiculed his opponents and on one occasion satirized the editors of the Banner, Volksfreund and Seebote in blank verse. The respective editors are represented as meeting stealthily at night on the heights overlooking Lake Michigan, wearing buffalo hides, in order to confirm a solemn contract. Their conclave is reminiscent of the assembly of Swiss patriots on the Ruetli in Friedrich Schiller's Wilhelm Tell. The three editors display their trust in one another, declaring that they are all democratic blood brothers and only appear to be enemies in the eyes of the public. They swear an oath which climaxes in the following unintentionally comical verses:

Wir wollen sein ein einig Volk von Brüdern,  
In keiner Noth uns trennen und Gefahr---  
Wir wollen Herr'n sein in der Stadt Milwaukee  
Eher den Tod als Concurrenz hier dulden.  
Wir wollen trau'n auf unser gutes Recht  
Und uns nicht scheuen vor Corsarenwaffen!11

11Since no copies of the Corsar are available, these verses had to be taken from Koss, pp. 451-454.
paper would expose the trickery of "the demagogues who assume to lead and control the German electors of this State." It appealed to the friends of the Republican Party to aid in gaining a wide circulation for the new paper. One year later another article was printed praising Jomschke for his efforts in promoting the Republican cause, and an appeal was included that interested persons should try to win new subscribers for the paper.\(^\text{12}\)

\(^\text{12}\)Sentinel, September 29, 1855. This article was originally written by Sherman M. Booth, anti-slavery editor of the Milwaukee Free Democrat, an English language paper, and reprinted in the Sentinel.

Not all the readers of the Corsar subscribed to the paper because of its political views; some were interested in the paper because of its excellent esthetic criticisms of the theater and music productions.

In spite of Jomschke's talent and the liberal support and praise from his friends, it was clear that the Corsar was failing, and on or about January 1, 1856 publication of the paper was suspended.\(^\text{13}\)

\(^\text{13}\)Koss, p. 455.

After only fourteen months Jomschke had failed in his venture to establish a Republican paper in German; perhaps he failed because he was independent enough to choose his own way against the overwhelming opposition of the other German language newspapers and the majority of the German readers. But Jomschke suffered another malady so often found among the idealist Forty-eighers, namely, an acute lack of business sense and the inability to accept the newspaper as an investment and business enterprise. For the
Forty-eighther the paper was a means of expressing his views and all too often, as in Vomschke's case, the suffering and impoverished editor could not understand why readers preferred the lukewarm rubbish of other existing papers to their perceptive and critical writings. The chances of success were limited even further by the insistence that newspaper space was too precious to be cluttered up with small local news items which, although they interested the reader, tended to be provincial. Neither did they draw much interest from the business community because they refused to allot even a portion of the paper to advertisements and hence, lost the revenue which might have aided in keeping their publications alive.

Journal

Undaunted by the failure of his weekly Corsar, Vomschke, with the aid of Carl Spangenberg, immediately began anew and within a week or two commenced publication of a daily German Republican paper titled the Milwaukee Journal.14 The existence of the Journal was threatened from the beginning due to the greater expense of publishing a daily and it is believed that the paper existed only from early January until early March 1856. As nearly as can be determined it followed the same political course as its predecessor, and failed for the same reasons.

14 Koss, pp. 455-456. No copies of the Journal are extant and almost nothing is known about the paper. Arndt-Olson, p. 685, suggests that the paper began in 1854?, which is certainly in error.
On or about April 1, 1856, only a few weeks after Domschke had failed for a second time with the Journal, he began publication of the third Republican newspaper, a weekly which he titled Atlas, and in its name he apparently sought a sort of talisman. The first

issue of the Atlas contained an article by Domschke titled "Zehn Wochen Elend" in which he bitterly describes the short existence of the Journal. He had begun the paper with almost no resources and when it failed it had left him with many debts. The failure of the Journal he attributed to the materialism and political naïveté of the Milwaukee Germans, whom he refers to as slaves of the corrupt party leaders. Milwaukee was considered a barren field in which his ideas would not be accepted and could not thrive. Ironically,

Moritz Schöffler had used a similar metaphor when he prophesied that Domschke would ultimately fail to sway the Milwaukee Germans.

In the operation of the new paper Domschke was assisted by
Ur. Guenther, Ur. Kossak and Robert Glatz. \(^{17}\) Uomschke was a far


better writer and politician than a businessman, and perhaps to divert an immediate failure of the Atlas he engaged A. Cramer as business manager. How long Cramer served in this capacity is not known, but he was succeeded by M. Otterberg, under whose management the paper rapidly declined and finally ceased publication in April 1861. \(^{18}\)

\(^{18}\)Koss, p. 456. Arndt-Olson, p. 672. The paper is not listed in the \textit{Milwaukee City Directory} of 1861 nor thereafter.

Throughout his endeavors Uomschke continued to find support for his cause in his first benefactor, the \textit{Sentinel}. On June 27, 1856 the \textit{Sentinel} carried a brief note indicating that the "able and fearless" editor of the \textit{Atlas} had made arrangements to issue his paper twice a week during the coming election campaign, beginning on July 15, 1856 at a price of seven copies for $5.00. Five months later, on November 18, 1856, a similar article encouraged the \textit{Atlas} to change from tri-weekly to daily publication. Uomschke wisely chose not to follow the advice and it was fully two more years before the \textit{Atlas} changed to a daily. The \textit{Sentinel} was often inclined to praise Uomschke and to express the hope that the paper might soon find a greater acceptance among the German reading public.
The small measure of success that Domschke did have with the Atlas was probably due to the very slow but steady movement of a minority of Germans into the Republican camp. All of Domschke's papers presented a strongly anti-slavery Republican point of view, although Domschke stated that he supported the party because of its principles and for no other reason. Should the party fail to live up to its ideals, then he would retain his independence and be true to his own principles and disavow the Republican Party. He did not hesitate, along with several other German Republican editors in other parts of the state, to criticize certain corrupt Republican politicians in the State Legislature.19

19 Schlicher, p. 442.

Domschke was one of the few immigrants who, like Carl Schurz, became almost fully Americanized in a very short time. He was as interested in the American scene as any native born journalist or politician and he ridiculed the efforts of "Die Deutsche Partei," a movement begun in New York to bring together the immigrants of German birth in order to counter the nativistic tendencies which were prevalent during the middle 1850's. Such German nativism he claimed, was not only useless and narrow minded, but would further increase the attacks against the immigrants.20

20 Schlicher, pp. 442-443.

When the Atlas was appointed to do the state printing in 1858, Domschke acquired the funds necessary to print the paper in expanded
and improved form so that it might be appealing to the voter, businessman and general reader. Publication of a daily edition was begun on November 29, 1858 and in the first issue was included a note indicating that Fritz Anneke was about to join the editorial staff, and that Carl Schurz, editor of the Watertown Volkszeitung, would be a contributor. In April 1861 the Atlas had to cease publication. Although it survived considerably longer than its predecessors, it had also failed to win enough friends to support it.21 Domschke

21Schlicher, pp. 439-442.

was in debt and with the failure of the Atlas his career as a publisher was ended. Several months after the collapse of the paper, Domschke became the editor of the newly established Herold. Although the Herold was oriented toward the Republican Party and the Freethinkers in its early years, it cannot really be considered as a successor to the Atlas since ownership and direction of the new paper were in the hands of W. W. Coleman; Domschke served as editor of the Herold until the beginning of the Civil War, took a leave of absence and served in the Union Army.22

22The Herold, and Domschke's role with that paper, are discussed in a separate section.
III. EARLY INDEPENDENT PRESS

Der Humanist

In addition to the newspapers that advocated one of the political parties, there were a number of other publications which were either politically independent or tended to serve the special interests of a rather limited minority of German readers. As Forty-eighter journals they all tended to some degree to foster the concepts of rationalism and free thought. Most of them enjoyed only a very brief existence.

Unlike many of his anti-clerical contemporaries, Eduard Schroeter left Germany as a religious exile. He had studied theology at the universities of Jena and Göttingen, but was stricken from the list of candidates for the ministry because of his liberal religious views.¹


After his arrival in the United States on July 11, 1850, he remained in New York for more than a year. In August 1851 Schroeter moved to Milwaukee, where he formed a "Freie Gemeinde" or Free Congregation, to which he was elected speaker on August 17, 1851.²
Since the function of the Free Congregation was humanistic enlightenment, the speaker's duties required him to give lectures on a variety of subjects including religion, socialism and politics. To facilitate his responsibilities as a speaker, Schroeter immediately began preparations for the publication of a paper to serve as the instrument of the Free Congregation.\(^3\)

On September 21, 1851 the first issue of the new weekly made its appearance under the name _Der Humanist_; it was an eight page paper appearing on Sunday at a cost of one dollar per year.\(^4\)

Because the paper remained aloof from the politics of the day and favored no particular political party, it was not considered as a competitor and readily gained the support of both the _Banner_ and the _Volksfreund_. It is likely that the _Banner_'s press was used to print the early issues of the _Humanist_.\(^5\)

\(^2\)Koss, p. 336.

\(^3\)Schlicher, p. 176.

\(^4\)Hereafter the paper will be referred to simply as _Humanist_. The first available issue is dated December 14, 1851 and is I. Jahrgang, Nr. 13. The II. Jahrgang begins on September 19, 1852. The page numbering is continuous and each volume (Jahrgang) has a total of 416 pages.

\(^5\)Schlicher, p. 187. Koss, p. 383 claims that the wood press which Moritz Schöffler of the _Banner_ had purchased from George Schipper, who had previously published the short-lived _Milwaukeeen_, was bought by one Julius Dremmel in order to print the _Humanist_.

\(^6\)Hinrichs, p. 185.
It is not until January 9, 1853 however, that the Humanist makes special mention of the fact that it had not had its own press until that time.

For several months the paper was published at a deficit and on December 14, 1851 it was announced that a stock company was being formed for the purpose of supporting and continuing the publication of the Humanist. Shares were sold for five dollars; the conditions which appeared in the paper on December 14, 1851, stipulated that Schroeter should remain as editor.

A number of speakers of Free Congregations in other communities contributed articles. Letters were sent by Bernhard Domschke, speaker of the Boston, Massachusetts Congregation, who later came to Milwaukee to found a series of Republican German language papers.\(^6\)

\(^6\) Humanist, February 15, 1852.

Gustav Grahl sent articles from New Haven, Connecticut until February 1852, when he apparently moved to Milwaukee.\(^7\) Grahl and

\(^7\) Articles appearing in the Humanist by Grahl seem to be written from Milwaukee after March 14, 1852.

Carl Jürr, speaker of the Sauk City, Wisconsin Congregation, contributed considerable effort to the early success of the Humanist.\(^8\)

\(^8\) Humanist, January 9, 1853.

The Humanist was sub-titled "Ein Organ für die Freien Gemeinden und Freien Schulen, die Pflegerinnen der humanität," and set as its goal the eradication of ignorance and the betterment of mankind.
Under the sub-title each issue carried the following statement:

Vorurtheile entspringen aus Unwissenheit und dem Mangel an Nachdenken; dieselben sind die Grundlagen, auf welchen despotische Systeme gebaut worden sind; und es ist das Meisterstück der Kunst bei einem Tyrannen, wenn er die Wummheit bei einer Nation verlängert, um deren Knechtschaft und seine eigene Herrschaft zu verlängern.

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As in any paper with a religious or communal background, considerable space was devoted to the news and goings-on in its own and in neighboring communities. Articles concerning the formal religions and their clergy tended to be highly critical. Most particularly its ire was aroused by the *Seebote*, the local paper supported at that time by the Catholic Church. The *Seebote*, usually referred to as the "Saubote" or "Volksbetrüger," was considered to be "ein schmutziges Pfaffenblatt." Amand de St. Vincent, editor of the *Seebote*, was strongly taken to task because of his praise of the church which demanded "unbedingte Unterwerfung der Laien. Der Laie muss blind glauben,...ohne zu prüfen."10

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10 *Humanist*, March 7, 1852.

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The *Humanist* clearly expressed its own position in an article dealing with the Bible as the law for the Jews in the "Old World." Man has since progressed into a "New World" where he neither has nor needs holy writings which serve him as a book of laws.
Der Menschengeist ist selbstständig, er erkennt durch sich selbst, was er zu wissen nötig hat; der Menschengeist hat kein erborgtes Licht, wie der Mond, sondern ein ursprüngliches Licht, wie die Sonne. In diesem selbststeigen Lichte sehen wir Alles, mit dem Lichte unserer eigenen Vernunft untersuchen wir Alles, was in, an und um uns ist. So werden wir unserer Stellung in der Welt uns bewusst und der Pflichten und Rechte in solcher Stellung.11

In the fall of 1852 Eduard Schroeter visited a number of Free Congregational communities throughout Wisconsin. In his absence Gustav Grahl served as editor. His name appears with Schroeter's as co-director from September 19, 1852 until October 31, 1852.

During this short period Grahl aroused a certain amount of opposition because of a narrow-mindedness which ran counter to the tenets of the paper and its readers. He admonished his fellow humanists to unite more firmly and if possible to support only those businesses held by other humanists.12 He considered it unworthy, for example, for a humanist to buy books from either the Czech Naprstek or the Catholic Ott.13 On November 7, 1852 Grahl published an explanatory letter indicating that he was resigning in order to avoid any further conflict which might arise due to his personal views. It is clear that his disagreement was not with Schroeter, since he continued to

1HUMANIST, December 14, 1851.

12HUMANIST, October 31, 1852.

13Koss, p. 367. Vojta Naprstek was also publisher and editor of the Flug-Blätter, which will be discussed in a separate section.
help with the publication of the Humanist for several more months.\footnote{14}

\begin{quote}
14 Schroeter thanked both Grahl and Dürr for their help during the previous year in the January 9, 1853 issue of the Humanist.
\end{quote}

A few months later the Humanist bade Grahl farewell and wished him and his partner Ludwig Reinholdt success in their new enterprise as publishers of the Phoenix aus Nordwesten in Sheboygan, Wisconsin.\footnote{15}

\begin{quote}
15 Humanist, May 15, 1853.
\end{quote}

Carl Dürr continued to work with Schroeter; beginning February 13, 1853 his name was added to Schroeter's as co-director of the paper. On May 22, 1853 Heinrich Loose joined the staff of the Humanist and his name was added to that of Schroeter and Dürr.\footnote{16} In an open

\begin{quote}
16 The paper now read, "Redigirt von E. Schroeter und H. Loose--Mitbearbeitet von C. Dürr.
\end{quote}

letter in his paper Schroeter had welcomed Loose to the United States on September 12, 1852. For some months Loose then resided in Williamsburg, New York from where he occasionally sent letters to the Humanist. He arrived in Milwaukee in early May, 1853.\footnote{17}

\begin{quote}
17 Humanist, January 2, 1853; May 15, 1853.
\end{quote}

Although the Humanist was well directed and did not suffer the attacks of competitors, it was nonetheless destined to live only a brief life. Some subscribers were lost because of Gustav Grahl, but his action did not materially cause the demise of the paper. A few other circumstances which had a longer and more definite effect
must be mentioned. During the brief period that Schroeter was away from Milwaukee and Grahl was editing the Humanist, the Hochwächter in Cincinnati, Ohio, edited and published by Friedrich Hassaurek, exhorted the Free Congregation of Milwaukee that it was actually copying the evils of clericalism by paying its speakers. Hassaurek claimed that the paid speakers and clergy were leeches which consumed but did not produce. Grahl and Schroeter opposed Hassaurek's ideas, as did Loose until other circumstances caused him to speak out against payment of the speakers.

When Grahl resigned a meeting was held by the stock company and Moritz Schöffler, who was a member of the board, suggested that since the paper was now self supporting, it should be turned over completely to Schroeter. Schöffler included several conditions which were designed to prevent the Humanist from becoming in any way competitive with his Banner or Fratny's Volksfreund. These conditions were: 1) the Humanist was to be considered only as a Milwaukee paper; 2) it was not to quarrel with any of the Democratic papers of the city; 3) it was to refrain from discussing any political questions of the day. A fine of three hundred dollars would be imposed for violations of these conditions. In order that Schroeter and his paper might not be so dependent upon Schöffler and his printing equipment, the "Frauenverein" collected sufficient funds to purchase
a press. On January 9, 1853 the Humanist announced that henceforth it would be printed on its own press. The acquisition of the press may have been a gallant display of independence, but it lost the good will and support of the other newspapers which had until then encouraged it.

On January 30, 1853 the Humanist appeared in a new and larger format and with the addition of advertisements on the last page. The circulation at this time was indicated at eleven hundred, which included Wisconsin and other states, while only a few months earlier the claimed circulation had been only seven hundred fifty.20

During the summer of 1853 a new group was forming in Milwaukee which hoped to fulfill the needs of many dissidents of the Free Congregation. This was the "Verein freier Männer," a union of the liberal organizations of the city and state. At a meeting in July 1853 Dr. Aigner, formerly with the Banner, read a "Declaration of Independence" which proclaimed that the group was throwing off the spiritual tyranny which the priests of all religious sects had exercised over them.21 This was of course, also a proclamation against the Free Congregation with its paid speakers. On September 4, 1853 Heinrich Loose reversed his former position and now agreed that speakers should not be paid. On October 1, 1853 Loose, who had since replaced Schroeter as speaker in Milwaukee, merged his
congregation with the "Verein freier Männer" to form the "Bund freier Menschen," which they also referred to as the Freemen's League.  

22 *Humanist*, October 9, 1853. Koss, p. 400 claims that this merger took place on September 4, 1853.

The new union dissolved the significant differences between the two groups and the regular Sunday meetings continued with various persons lecturing or debating without pay. It was now also proposed that the *Humanist* should be made the official organ for the new group, but this move was voted down by Schöffler and Fratny.  

23 Schlicher, p. 313.

Several months prior to these events Schroeter had become seriously ill and at that time he had accepted the invitation to be the speaker for the Free Congregation in Sauk City, Wisconsin, the congregation which Carl Dürr had established. Schroeter left Milwaukee in June 1853 intending to continue his partnership with Loose in the *Humanist*, with Dürr as assistant editor. This was the arrangement as it appeared on the paper until its last issues. Schroeter however, contributed only a few letters to the paper and it is doubtful that he did any editorial work on the paper after he left the city. He remained as speaker in Sauk City until his retirement in 1885 and he died in that city on April 22, 1888.  

Loose tried hard to continue the publication of the *Humanist* but apparently a significant number of his subscribers were in arrears in their payments of subscription dues. In several issues he pleads that the subscription dues should be brought up to date.25


In addition to these external difficulties, Loose had a tendency to write articles on rather esoteric topics or to delve into great detail on matters which did not greatly interest the common man. One article which ran for several issues was titled "Jie Partei des freien Geistes im Mittelalter," while another read "Brahma, Wischnu, Schiwa; aus dem indischen Alterthum."26

26 *Humanist*, July 10, 1853, September 18, 1853.

The October 16, 1853 issue was probably the last of the *Humanist*. On this date Loose announced that the paper would discontinue publication for several months until the unpaid subscriptions had been collected; the tactic was apparently unsuccessful and the paper was not revived.27

27 Koss, p. 457 claims that the paper ceased publication early in 1854, but there is no evidence that it continued beyond 1853.
Der Arbeiter

Several months after the failure of the Humanist, a committee was formed with the purpose of publishing a paper as the organ of the radical socialists. Heinrich Loose, formerly editor of the Humanist, seems to have been the editor of this new publication, Der Arbeiter, "Ein Wochenblatt zur Belehrung, Unterhaltung und Bildung." It appeared for the first time on May 21, 1854.28

28Koss, p. 456. Only one issue of Der Arbeiter has been found and it states, "Herausgegeben und redigirt von einer Gesellschaft Arbeiter." An article appearing in this issue titled "Ein Wort an die Arbeiter" is merely signed "K".

In an article titled "Unser Program" the paper claimed that it was not interested in political parties and intended to serve only the worker. The paper did not exist very long in spite of idealistic slogans as:

Wient's dem sozialen Interesse der Menschheit, oder nur selbstsUchtigen, persönlichen oder Klasseninteressen? Wir streben danach, uns als Menschen durch Belehrung und Unterhaltung zu bilden.
Nieder mit allem Humbug! Empor mit aller Wahrheit!

Unfortunately no other information has been found on Der Arbeiter.29

29Arndt-Olson, p. 671 is uncertain about the dates of the paper and indicates 1855?-?. Even the contemporary Sentinel, usually so informative, gives no evidence of the paper's existence.

Die Atlantis

Probably the most intellectual journal to be printed in
Milwaukee during the pre-Civil War period was *Die Atlantis*.

Christian Essellen, the publisher and editor, found it extremely difficult to keep the journal alive and it never provided him with enough revenue to continue its publication merely on its subscription dues. The *Atlantis* was therefore, a pet project of Essellen's which he had to finance out of his own pocket. In order to provide himself with a means of livelihood, he moved from city to city in search of employment as editor of established newspapers.

Christian Essellen was born in Westphalia in 1823, studied at several German universities, was involved in various activities with radical groups, fled to Strassburg and Switzerland, and came to the United States in 1852. He temporarily settled in Detroit, Michigan and there he began the weekly publication of *Die Atlantis* in May 1853.  

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30 Wittke, German Language Press, p. 113. Various sources write either "Essellen" or "Esselen;" *Die Atlantis* always writes "Essellen." His excellent education, law at Freiburg, philosophy at Heidelberg and medicine at Berlin, provided Essellen with the background to publish this excellent scientific journal. Wittke claims that Essellen lost his job as editor of the *Michigan Journal* because of his radical views. Since he lived in Detroit only until 1853 this seems unlikely. Furthermore, Arndt-Olson, p. 213 claims that the *Michigan Journal* did not begin publication until April 15, 1855. On page 320 Arndt-Olson mentions that Essellen briefly worked on the *Michigan Volksblatt*, but this is not indicated under the information on the *Michigan Volksblatt* on p. 214.

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*Die Atlantis* did not prosper in Detroit and in September 1853 Essellen moved to Milwaukee where he served as editor of the *Wisconsin Banner* for a short time in October 1853, substituting for August Krüer.  

31 At that time Essellen also went into partnership
with Heinrich Harpke, a well-to-do farmer who had the finances necessary to continue the publication of *Die Atlantis*. The first issue to be printed in Milwaukee was delayed however, until January 1854; when it did appear as the first scientific periodical to be printed in Milwaukee, it had been changed to a monthly. The new sub-title "Eine Monatschrift für Wissenschaft, Politik und Poesie" indicated a wide range of possible topics.

Concerning the content of *Die Atlantis*, Essellen wrote,

> Der Raum der Monatshefte erlaubt uns Aufsätze aus den verschiedensten Gebieten der Wissenschaft, Erzählungen, Charakterbildungen, Kritiken und Übersichten über die Tagesereignisse, Besprechungen über die neuesten Literaturprodukte, der technischen Erfindungen u.s.w. zu geben, so dass das Publikum in jeder Nummer ein Bild des Lebens nach allen Richtungen hin, wie es sich vor den Augen des denkenden Menschen entwickelt, erhält.

Typical of the topics discussed in *Die Atlantis* were such titles as "Das Amerikanische Schulsystem," "Die Zukunft der Philosophie," "Was ist Bildung?," "Communismus," and "Utopianismus."

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31 *Wisconsin Banner*, September 28, 1853.  

32 *Die Atlantis*, February 15, 1854. With the first issue in January 1854, a new series was begun; hence, neue Folge Band I, Heft 1 is also alte Folge Band III, Nr. 53-56.  

33 *Die Atlantis*, February 15, 1854.  

34 *Die Atlantis*, January 1854, pp. 20, 56; April 1855, pp. 272, 254; May 1855, p. 331.
In addition, Essellen provided news of the various German organizations, poetry and brief discussions of German-American literature, and occasionally a work by Friedrich Münch, who wrote under the pen name "Far West."

Essellen tried hard to make the Atlantis a truly intellectual journal. Even the Sentinel gave recognition to his efforts by printing excerpted articles from the New York Tribune and Putnam's Monthly which praised the excellent political and scientific writings.

In spite of his efforts however, die Atlantis never gained a large circulation and its existence remained insecure. Koss wrote,

> Der einzige Vorwurf, den man seiner Atlantis machen konnte, war der haufig etwas zu doctrinaire Ton derselben, das oft zu stark In-die-Bruecke-Gehen des Philosophirens Uber abstracte Themata.\(^{35}\)

\(^{35}\) Sentinel, April 28, 1854; June 7, 1854. Koss, p. 425.

Although the esoteric character of the journal limited the number of subscribers, the publication might have gained a reasonable success if these few had paid their subscriptions.\(^{36}\) In almost every issue of the publication Essellen urged his readers to send him the subscription fees. Because he never had adequate funds to support himself, Essellen worked as assistant or temporary editor on a number of papers in order to earn enough money to continue his own publication. But the need to constantly change location made it even more difficult for the readers to send him their payments.

\(^{36}\)Arndt-Olson, p. 320 estimates that the maximum number of subscribers was twelve hundred in 1856.
The hope that the partnership between Essellen and Harpke could bring success to the *Atlantis* was short-lived. After only two issues in January and February 1854 the partnership was dissolved and no further editions were printed in Milwaukee.\(^{37}\) The next *Atlantis* appeared in June 1854 and was printed in the offices of the *Illinois Staatszeitung*; it is possible that at least one more *Atlantis* was printed in Chicago by the *Illinois Staatszeitung*.\(^{38}\) Although Essellen wrote that he hoped to arrive in Dubuque, Iowa in October 1854 to work with Mr. Stuber on the *Iowa Zeitung* and to publish the November issue of *Die Atlantis* from there, the journal was again delayed until January 1855 and was then printed in Cleveland, Ohio.\(^{39}\)

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\(^{37}\) *Die Atlantis*, June 1854, p. 160. In an article titled "Auflösung der Partnerschaft" Essellen wrote that the partnership had been dissolved on March 24, 1854. He apparently then left Milwaukee and briefly returned to Detroit since on May 3, 1854 he wrote a letter to the *Banner* from there, which was in response to criticism leveled at him for his work on the staff of that paper.

\(^{38}\) *Die Atlantis*, June 1854, p. 161. In July 1854 Essellen served with Dr. Wunderly as a Milwaukee delegate to the Republican Convention held in Madison. In the February 1855 issue of *Atlantis* (p. 80), Essellen wrote that in 1854 he had published four issues of his journal. The Wisconsin Historical Society however, has only three issues for that year and they are dated January, February and June 1854; there is no further evidence that a fourth issue was actually printed in that year.

\(^{39}\) *Die Atlantis*, June 1854, p. 319. If Essellen did go to Dubuque, he stayed only a very short time and no *Atlantis* was printed there. See also Arndt-Olson, p. 139 under *Iowa Staatszeitung*.

After January 1855 the *Atlantis* appeared only at irregular intervals.
While in Cleveland Essellen worked as co-editor of the \emph{Wächter am Erie} with August Thieme and Jakob Müller, and claimed to have aided in the establishment of the American Liberal.\footnote{Die Atlantis, April 1855, p. 318. Heinrich Arnim Rattermann, "Christian Essellen," \emph{Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter}, XII (1912), p. 438. Rattermann mentions the Ohio Liberal, an English language paper, and claims that Essellen worked on it together with John H. Klippart.} In May 1855 Essellen wrote that he was very optimistic about the future of his publication because he had recently acquired a considerable number of new subscribers. Within a few months however, he included a short note in the Atlantis which indicated that he had left Cleveland and returned to Detroit. For some months he then worked on the Michigan Volksblatt; Atlantis issues from January to April 1856 are datelined in Detroit.\footnote{Rattermann, p. 439 claims that the Michigan Volksblatt was sold and that Essellen refused to follow the Democratic Party policies of the new owners. In the September 1855 issue of Die Atlantis Essellen wrote that he had left Cleveland. It is likely that Wittke, \emph{German Language Press}, p. 113, was referring to the Michigan Volksblatt and the year 1855 rather than the Michigan Journal and 1853.} In April 1856 Essellen moved from Detroit to Buffalo, New York where he then edited the political section of the Buffalo Telegraph; the Telegraph was owned by Philipp Heinrich Bender and Henry B. Miller. Essellen explained that he had to move from one paper to another and that it was difficult to find interested newspaper publishers who were willing to print his Atlantis.\footnote{The publishers of the Buffalo Telegraph apparently did...}
help Essellen to continue his journal. Essellen remained in Buffalo for more than two years, but in August 1858 he moved again, this time to New York City, because editing the Buffalo Telegraph demanded so much time that he had little left to devote to the Atlantis.

Only a few more issues of the Atlantis were published after the move to New York City and the December 1858 issue was the last to be printed. Poverty and the lack of success conflicting with the strong desire to publish the Atlantis may have driven Essellen to drink; eventually he became mentally disturbed. Wittke quotes the New Yorker Staatszeitung of May 19, 1859, which wrote that Essellen was a man "who experienced the sufferings that all men with high ideals have to endure." Christian Essellen was still a young man of thirty-six when he died in the hospital on Wards Island in the night of May 14-15, 1859.
On March 31, 1852 the *deutsche Frauen Zeitung* announced the first monthly issue of the *Deutsche Frauen Zeitung*. Mathilde Franziska Anneke was the publisher and editor of the new paper. Unlike many of the later women's publications which tended to be basically recreational, the *Frauen Zeitung* sought to raise the intellectual level of women and to interest them in political matters. Mrs. Anneke was a leader in the woman suffrage movement; photographs of her indicate that she possessed both a strong and dynamic, almost masculine, personality. She had come to the United States with her husband Fritz Anneke in 1849. Prior to that they had lived in Köln and there, in 1848, had published the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung*, later renaming it *Frauenzeitung*. Success with this venture was much hampered however, by censorship and the paper soon failed.\(^{46}\)

\(^{46}\)Jora Edinger, "A Feminist Forty-Eighter," *American German Review*, VIII, v, p. 18. See also Zucker, *Forty-eighers*, pp. 272-273. Unfortunately no copies of the *Frauen Zeitung* are available and none of the secondary sources indicate what the content of the paper might have been.

Publication of the first several issues was done on the presses and with the equipment of the *Volksfreund*; without Fratny's aid the paper could not have been printed. After several issues had appeared, Moritz Schöffler of the *Banner* made his press available and
the remaining few issues to be published in Milwaukee were printed by that office. In keeping with her desire to see women working and sharing equally with men, Mrs. Anneke hired women as typesetters. The German printers objected to this action however, and on May 18, 1852 the men held a meeting to oust the women from the printing shop.47

47Koss, p. 382.

Because the Deutsche Frauen Zeitung was intended as a national publication to help women throughout the United States, Mrs. Anneke toured the eastern part of the country during the summer of 1852 in an attempt to advertise her journal and to raise sufficient funds to purchase her own press and equipment. The September 1852 issue was the last to be published in Milwaukee. The Annekes then moved to New York, where the paper was continued for some time as a monthly and was later changed to a weekly.48 Perhaps the move to New York was necessary for the survival of the paper since it apparently was not well received in Milwaukee.

48Arndt-Olson, p. 675.

Less than a year after they had moved to New York, the Annekes moved to Jersey City, New Jersey, and in late 1853 moved again to Newark, New Jersey. The Frauen Zeitung was continued throughout this period until it failed in 1854. The Annekes then returned to Europe for some years and at the commencement of the Civil War in 1861 Fritz Anneke returned to the United States in order to serve
with the Union forces. Mrs. Anneke spent the intervening years in Zürich, Switzerland. In 1865 she also returned to the United States, founded a girls school in Milwaukee and died in that city in 1884.49


Volkshalle

In 1851 the printing press on which V. Kohlmann had printed the Wisconsin-Bote in Racine, Wisconsin, was brought to Milwaukee and set up in Weisman's New Brick Block on West Water Street. On May 27, 1851 it printed the first edition of a new tri-weekly German language paper called the Volkshalle. The new enterprise was sponsored by the "Greulich & Härter" establishment, published by V. Kohlmann and Chr. J. Brüg and edited by J. Baur.50

50No copies of this paper are available. "Greulich & Härter" was advertised as a general store in the Täglicher Volksfreund, February 11, 1850. August Greulich was also one of the owners of the Seebote a few years later. The full names of these gentlemen cannot be established since sources identify them by initial only.

The Sentinel, always responsive toward potentially anti-democratic papers, advertised the new arrival in several of its own issues and was certain that the Volkshalle would "supply a want long felt here of a good German paper, which would address itself to the reason and not to the prejudices of its readers."51 In another issue the
Sentinel claimed that the Volkshalle would be
dedicated to the wants of the time...go hand in hand with
the spirit of rational advancement towards the perfection
of civil political institutions...and will belong to no
party or sect, political or religious. \(^\text{52}\)

Under Baur's editorial guidance however, the paper was not truly
a neutral paper; the Watertown Register accused it of being rather
one-sidedly Whig with strong support from the Sentinel. \(^\text{53}\)

Volksfreund was especially annoyed with the newcomer and Fratny and
Baur were involved in a personal polemic for some months. Baur,
like Fratny, tended toward a rustic and colorful style which drew
attention and probably helped increase the circulation of the paper.

Baur laid great stock in the fact that the Volkshalle was
included in Karl Heinzen's list of recommended German-American
newspapers. Koss writes,

\(\text{Die Volkshalle liebkugelte viel mit Karl Heinzen in}
\text{New York und schrieb auch stets 'teutsch'; doch nur}
\text{wie er räuspert und wie er spuckt, hatte Baur dem}
\text{Heinzen abeguckt; im übrigen war schwer eine}
\text{Ähnlichkeit Beider zu entdecken.}\) \(^\text{54}\)

Such recommendations by Heinzen and the Sentinel probably helped
somewhat to keep the paper alive; more important however, was the financial gain which the paper received when it was contracted to print the official news of the city for the German population. But even this aid was insufficient to provide the necessary stability and after barely five months of existence, in October 1851, the Volkshalle was sold to a stock company headed by Hermann Kemper, Thomas Lorenzen, Wilhelm Finkler, Dr. Lüning and Dr. Wunderly.\(^{55}\)

\(^{55}\)Koss, p. 340.

Baur returned to Racine, where the following year, in May 1852, he joined Kohlmann in publishing the Democrat. This venture failed after only three issues, but another attempt was made a few years later in Oshkosh, Wisconsin; this new paper was named the Anzeiger des Nordens. Brög remained in Milwaukee and returned to his tobacco store business, enlarging it to include a confectionary and beer hall "Zum Rehbock."\(^{56}\)

\(^{56}\)Koss, pp. 340, 384. Arndt-Olson, p. 702, does not list the Democrat, but does list another publication Der National Democrat, edited and published by Christian Lohmann and Gustav Grahl.

The new owners of the Volkshalle declared the paper to be politically independent, free from association with any of the existing parties, opposed to slavery but strongly in favor of land reform and sound banking. The new editor, Rösler von Oels, considerably improved the quality of the paper but even this failed to win more than a mild response from the German reading public.

Koss writes, "die Zahl der selbstdenkenden und gebildeten Deutschen
war noch eine verschwindend kleine." 57

57 Koss, p. 341.

Gustav Adolph Rösler von Oels was born October 31, 1818 in Görlitz, Silesia, served as a secondary school teacher in Oels, and was a leader of the liberals at the Frankfurt Assembly in 1848. 58

58 Different sources write either Rössler, Rössler or Roesler.

After the political reversal he was captured in Stuttgart and imprisoned in Hohenasberg, from which he was freed by his wife and friends. He then fled to Switzerland and in 1850 came to the United States. In New York he established a German school, but the lack of financial support soon turned his efforts into failure. He arrived in Milwaukee in 1851 and took over the editorship of the Volkshalle; by then the paper was already in such a state of distress that von Oels was unable to revive it. 59


While the Banner quietly accepted the existence of the faltering paper, Fratny vigorously took up the attack and displayed a hostility, especially toward von Oels, which continued even after the Volkshalle had ceased publication. 60

60 Volksfreund, February 21, 1852.
The stock company retained the paper for only two months, and in December von Oels became the sole owner. Sometime in November the company probably introduced a daily Volks-Halle. An excerpt taken from the Commercial and reprinted in the Sentinel on October 31, 1851 indicates that at that time the Volks-Halle was still a tri-weekly. An item in the December 29, 1851 issue of the Sentinel discloses that the daily Volks-Halle would be discontinued; due to lack of resources only the weekly could be published. It is doubtful however, that it was able to appear regularly as a weekly during the last month of 1851.

An illness deprived von Oels of the necessary energy to direct the paper and F. W. Orban acted as editor during December 1851. By January 1852 the Volks-Halle had ceased publication. The materials and equipment were sold to a Catholic association which shortly thereafter began the publication of the Seebote.

Stimme der Wahrheit

Shortly after the Volks-Halle ceased publication, Rohsler von Oels
formed a German Whigclub. At that time there was no German language paper in Milwaukee which openly supported the Whig presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Winfield Scott and William A. Graham. The Seebote, the newest German paper in the city, was known to favor the Whigs but it hesitated to openly declare itself as a supporter of the Whig Party. It was decided that von Oels, with support from the Sentinel, should publish a campaign paper, the Stimme der Wahrheit. From the beginning it was planned that the Stimme der Wahrheit was to serve as a Whig organ only for the duration of the election campaign; the final issue would be the one announcing the election results. Stimme der Wahrheit was printed and sold in the offices of the Seebote.64 The first issue, which was "full of zeal for the good cause," appeared on August 10, 1852. According to the ads in the Sentinel it sold for a rather expensive seventy-five cents per copy, ten for six dollars, twenty for twelve and fifty for twenty dollars.65

64Koss, p. 361. No copies of the Stimme der Wahrheit are available.

65Sentinel, August 11, 1852.

The Volksfreund soon responded to the new challenge, claiming that the new Whig paper went like hot cakes because they were being given away free.66 Fratny continued to harass von Oels and his

66Täglicher Volksfreund, August 18, 1852.
publication; he sarcastically compared the "Wahrheit" which he found in the Stimme der Wahrheit to the "Vernunft" policy of the Seebote; according to Fratny's considerations, the latter paper was directed by vicious reactionaries.67

67Täglicher Volksfreund, August 12, 14, 1852.

The end of the campaign indicated how little the Stimme der Wahrheit had influenced the strongly democratic Milwaukee vote. The Whigs suffered a tremendous defeat and even the second ward, home of the Seebote, voted the democratic ticket.68

68Koss, p. 363.

On the advice of a close friend, William H. Seward, later Secretary of State under Abraham Lincoln, Rösler von Oels left Milwaukee and resettled in Quincy, Illinois. For several years he edited the Quincy Tribune as an organ of the Whig Party; he died in Quincy in 1855.69

69Wisconsin Banner, November 16, 1853. See also Wilhelm Steinwedell, "Gustav Adolph Rösler," Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter, II (1902), p. 39; also see Heinrich Bornmann, "Das Zeitungswesen in Quincy," Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter, VI (1906).

Milwaukee Flug-Blätter

As early as 1850 Milwaukeeans had access to the bookstore and loan library of Vojta Naprstek, a Bohemian immigrant.70 In 1852
Naprstek acquired a number of radical and Freethinker books, and to advertise their sale he had some handbills printed and posted in conspicuous locations. Since these handbills were quite sensational, they quickly caught the public eye. At the head of his list of books Naprstek had placed an article taken from the Boston Investigator titled, "Astronomie und die Bibel oder Galilei vor dem Jesuitengericht." This first handbill appeared either in late May or early June 1852, and, although it was intended only as an advertisement, it is considered as the first issue of the Flug-Blätter. A second handbill soon followed and a third was printed on June 26, 1852. The popularity of these three issues prompted Naprstek to change the format of the fourth issue from a one page flyer to a two page leaflet. With the fifth issue the Flug-Blätter began a regular weekly publication appearing on Saturdays.

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70Advertisement in the Thällicher Volksfreund, July 1, 1850.
Another advertisement in the Banner und Volksfreund of April 11, 1855 indicated that Naprstek's bookstore contained over 2500 books.

71Koss, p. 354. The article was translated for Naprstek by Peter Engelmann, one of the leading educators in early Milwaukee.

72Koss, p. 355. Arndt-Olson, p. 679, indicates that weekly publication did not begin until the second year, but this contradicts the sub-title which appeared even on early Flug-Blätter, "Ein Wochenblatt für Ernst und Scherz." An ad in Der Humanist of January 30, 1853 also indicates it as a weekly. Within the publication itself the title is spelled variously as "Flug-Blaetter," "Flug-Blätter" or "Flugblätter."
The publication was now called the **Milwaukee Flug-Blätter**, directed by Vojta Naprstek with assistance from Peter Engelmann.\(^\text{73}\)

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G. Aigner and others. Christian Weber did the excellent woodcuts, which are humorous even to the modern eye.

Although the paper was not an organ of the Freethinkers, it did express many of their views, particularly with regard to religion.

On April 1, 1854 Naprstek wrote in an editorial,

*Die Tendenz der Flugblätter bleibt auch für diesen neuen Band unverändert dieselbe. Wir werden fortfahren, dem Humbug, der mit Kirchen und Religionen getrieben wird, mit ernsten Aufsätzen entgegenzuarbeiten, und mit der Geissel der Satyre und des Spottes, begleitet von zahlreichen Illustrationen, werden wir unbarmherzig gegen die Anmassungen, Betrügereien und den Blödsinn der Priester, die sich mit einer namenlosen Frechheit in unserer Republik, zu Felde ziehen.*

Many other publications frequently attacked religious institutions, but only one other publication, the *Lucifer* of Michael Biron, which appeared in the 1880's directed itself so completely to an anti-clerical program. It is not surprising that the *Flug-Blätter* vigorously attacked the recently founded Catholic *Seebote*. A bitter feud followed in which neither party relied very much on clear argumentation, and, as was typical in that era, name calling was the preferred weapon. The *Seebote* often gave its opinion on the "Fluch-blätter" while Naprstek delighted in calling the Rev. Joseph Salzmann, one of the editors of the *Seebote*, "Salzschwamm."\(^\text{74}\)

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\(^{74}\)Flug-Blätter, March 19, 1853. A note must be included here
regarding the numbering and dating of the Flug-Biitter. The extant
copy of Band I, numbers 1-26 at the Wisconsin Historical Society is
actually the second printing and is dated 1854, although of course,
the first printing appeared in 1852. However, the available copy
of Band I does not carry dates and is not in the original format but
is rather a collection of the articles which appeared in the
original 1852 printing. Commencing with Band II the copies of the
original papers are extant. A needless and careless error in the
binding of the collection adds to the confusion. The issues in
Band III and Band IV are arranged in inverted order in groups of
fives. Thus the entire collection is bound as follows:

Band I numbers 1-26 (in journal form and not dated).
Band II numbers 27-52 (in correct order).
Band III numbers 77, 73, 74, 75, 76, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72,
63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62,
53, 54, 55, 56, 57,
(number 53 is dated September 17, 1853 and
number 77 is dated March 4, 1854; number 78
is missing and there is almost a one month gap
until number 79, which is dated April 1, 1854).
Band IV numbers 109, 110, 111, 112, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108,
99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98,
89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88,
79, 80, 81, 82, 83,
(number 112 is dated November 25, 1854).

second volume of the Flug-Biitter was even dedicated to Jr. Salzmann;
the picture which accompanies the dedication clearly indicates that
this gesture was planned only to antagonize Salzmann and the Church.
The Rev. Salzmann is shown with other members of the clergy standing
on railroad tracks and attempting to stop an onrushing locomotive,
symbol of scientific and intellectual progress. Ironically the
Flug-Biitter contained very little which could be called scientific
and intellectual; its tendency was always toward the humorous and
ridiculous. Even though each issue carried various articles which
lampooned the Church and its clergy, the most hostile criticism was
in the form of jokes and cartoons. The woodcuts of Christian Weber
contributed greatly to the effectiveness and popularity of the paper.
On June 8, 1853 Naprstek informed his readers that he would cease publication of the Flug-Blätter for a short time while he traveled to various parts of the United States in the interests of the paper. After an absence of three months Naprstek resumed the publication on September 17, 1853. Before leaving Naprstek had assured his readers that the Flug-Blätter had a long life expectancy: "Der Stoff den die Flugblätter bearbeiten, ist so lang unerschöpflich, so lange noch Christentum und Pfaffenthum bestehen werden."  

75 Flug-Blätter, June 8, 1853.

Early in 1854 the Flug-Blätter became the topic of heated debate in the State Senate, where Senator McGarry, an Irish Catholic, demanded that the unchristian publication should be denied mailing privileges. Representative Worthington presented a similar argument in the State House. These efforts however, did little damage to the paper and in fact, aided it by bringing it before the public eye.  

76 There is a one month gap between Band III number 77 and number 79; whether this was as a result of the legal process in Madison cannot be determined.

During the first two years the Flug-Blätter were printed by the Volksfreund of Fratny and Herzberg.  

77 Indicated on the flyleaf for Band III.

On April 22, 1854 Naprstek informed his readers that the next issue of the paper would be printed on his own press. It was probably necessary for him to
acquire his own press at this time because, due to popular demand, Naprstek was in the process of reprinting the entire first volume of the Flug-Blätter. After some delays the second edition of Band I was completed, but apparently it was completed at a considerable financial loss.78

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78 Flug-Blätter, November 25, 1854. Only Band I was reprinted in a second edition.

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On November 25, 1854 Naprstek announced that he was transferring the Flug-Blätter to New York: "es ist (ein) viel günstigeres Terrain für die Herausgabe eines illustrierten Blattes." Christian Weber, his engraver had decided to leave Milwaukee and settle in New York, "und dieser Grund allein wäre schon hinreichend." Perhaps Naprstek already knew that this would be the last issue of his publication when he chose a biblical excerpt as his closing message: "Über ein Kleines werdet Ihr mich nicht sehen, und abermals Über ein Kleines werdet Ihr mich wiederssehen."79 The Flug-Blätter did not reappear in New York; Naprstek remained in the United States a few more years, returned once more to Milwaukee and accompanied Dr. Hübschmann on a trip to Minnesota as an Indian Agent, and then returned to his native Bohemia.80

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80 Koss, p. 458. The New York Flugblatt listed in Arndt-Olson, p. 359, was not related to the Flug-Blätter.
The Grad Aus probably began publication late in 1856 as a weekly; it was at first published by the Endres Brothers but by 1858 the paper was both a daily and weekly and published by W. Endres and H. Orff. The Sentinel on January 15, 1858, indicated that the daily edition of the Grad Aus had been revived after a short suspension and was now appearing in a new and improved form. One brief sentence in this article perhaps gives some insight into the caliber of the paper. The Sentinel wrote, "(The Grad Aus)...is conducted with spirit and ability, and offers an excellent advertising medium to our merchants and business men." There is no mention of support or disapproval on the basis of political views, a point which the Sentinel seldom failed to omit.

The first editor of the paper seems to have been Otto Ruppius; the Banner und Volksfreund reported on January 22, 1857 that Ruppius was both editor and co-publisher, but that he would leave the Grad Aus to take over the editorship of the Sonntagsblatt der New Yorker Staatszeitung. Dr. A. Schubert, who followed Ruppius as

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81 Milwaukee City Directory, 1857, 1858. No files of this paper are available. The exact spelling of the paper's name is not known since various sources spell it differently:

- Banner und Volksfreund January 22, 1857 Grad'aus
- Banner und Volksfreund February 23, 1858 Gradaus
- Sentinel October 12, 1857 Grad Aus
- Arndt-Olson p. 683 Gradaus

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82 Arndt-Olson, p. 399, lists Ruppius as the editor of the Staats-Zeitung und Herold during 1856-1857.
editor, remained with the paper only a short time. He was succeeded by Ernst Anton Zündt, who had previously published the *Green Bay Post* in Green Bay, Wisconsin.\(^{83}\) After only a short stay in New York


Otto Ruppius apparently returned to Milwaukee to his former duties with the *Grad Aus*; it is not known how long Zündt stayed with the paper but the *Sentinel* of December 4, 1858 indicated that Ruppius would retain editorial charge although ownership of the paper had recently been transferred to a Mr. Albert Aade. In this article the *Grad Aus* is referred to as a Democratic paper. The paper changed hands again in June 1859 when it was purchased by Ernst Herzberg, formerly co-publisher of the *Volksfreund*. Herzberg was apparently assisted in editing the paper by Wilhelm Vette, formerly of the *Banner*. August Krüer, who had also been with the *Banner*, joined the editorial staff of the *Grad Aus* in March 1859. The paper was not listed in the 1859 *Milwaukee City Directory* or thereafter.\(^{84}\)

\(^{84}\) *Sentinel*, March 29, 1859. The *Sentinel* of June 22, 1859 mentions that the name of the *Grad Aus* was being changed to the *Free Democrat*. This seems to be an error since the *Free Democrat* was mentioned by the *Sentinel* as early as September 17, 1850 and the *Sentinel* itself purchased the paper on January 28, 1862.
Despite this being an actual Sheboygan, Wisconsin paper, it is listed in the Milwaukee City Directory from 1860 to 1862 as a tri-weekly issued by August Grahl. Der Humanist of May 15, 1853 announced that the paper had just been issued in Sheboygan as "Ein Organ der demokratischen Fortschritts Partei" by Gustav Grahl and Ludwig Reinholdt. The paper also appeared in Oshkosh.

Obviously the City Directory is in error regarding Grahl's name; Gustav Grahl served on the editorial staff of the Humanist in Milwaukee in 1852. The name of the paper is variously given:
- Arndt-Olson under Sheboygan (p. 706) Der Phönix des Nordwesten
- Arndt-Olson under Oshkosh (p. 700) Phönix
- Der Humanist, May 15, 1853
- Der Phönix aus Nordwesten

Because of these differences the contemporary source was chosen as being correct. In his discussion of this paper Lichte (no page number) adds another curious aspect by stating that the Phönix was begun by Grahl in West Bend, Wisconsin. No evidence of this has been found.

Wisconsin, but no further evidence has been uncovered to determine whether the Phönix was ever actually published in Milwaukee; since Grahl had numerous friends in Milwaukee, it is possible that copies were sent to that city and may even have had some regular subscribers there.
IV. THE UEUSTER PRESS

Der Seebote

When the Volkshalle discontinued publication at the end of 1851, a group of Catholic men, probably headed by the Reverend Joseph Salzmann, purchased the press and materials of that paper. Their purpose was to provide an organ for the German Catholics of the city to counter the rationalistic, anti-religious and especially anti-Catholic tendencies of both the Banner and the Volksfreund. On January 28, 1852 the Sentinel carried a notice that it had just received the first issue of the Seebote, edited by Amand de St. Vincent.¹

¹The title of the paper was variously spelled: See-bote, See-Bote and later uniformly Seebote. To avoid unnecessary confusion the paper will be referred to as the Seebote except in those instances where a further title change is to be indicated. No early copies of the paper are available and there is considerable confusion regarding the first months of the publication. While some sources claim that the Seebote was begun in 1851, it seems most likely that it began in January 1852. Refer to Sentinel, January 28, 1852; Hense-Jensen, p. 94; Koss, p. 390. The Sentinel claimed that it was published by Hoffman and Company while Arndt-Olson lists the Reverend Salzmann; the Volksfreund, February 18, 1852 indicates Amand de St. Vincent as both editor and publisher. It seems most likely that Reverend Salzmann was involved in the founding of the paper, helped to procure the necessary funds and contributed some articles. An industrious man, Reverend Salzmann was often assailed in the other local publications and especially in the Flug-Bulletin. He is credited with the founding of St. Francis Seminary in a Milwaukee suburb.
The ambitious venture of publishing both a daily and weekly issue soon became too expensive for the meager funds at hand and the paper was taken over by August Greulich, Philipp L. Rickert and Nikolas Paul.\(^2\) By this time the new paper was already involved in feuds with the Volksfreund, Der Humanist and the Flug-blüter, the latter founded a short time after the Seebote for the purpose of arousing anti-Catholic sentiment. It is quite clear that the vituperative nature of the editor Amand de St. Vincent appealed to the readers and annoyed the opposition. St. Vincent was already an elderly man and ultra-conservative in his thinking. Although his religious and political views aroused the passions of the Freethinkers, his ability as a music and cultural critic was regarded by friend and foe alike. As with many of the papers of that era, the Seebote wished to express a particular opinion and seemingly cared little whether it appealed to popular taste.


In seinem Programm erklärte der Seebote, dass er sich zu keiner politischen Partei bekenne, sich aber mehr zu demokratischen als zu whiggistischen Grundsätzen hinneige; nur innerhalb der katholischen Kirche könne er eine Consequenz finden, nach der er vergebens sonstwo gesucht habe; Übrigens sei er ein treuer Republikaner.

Einigermassen verwundert nahm das deutsche Publicum diese Bekenntnisse einer schönen Seele auf, deren Republikanismus dem Absolutismus huldigte und deren demokritisches Fortschreiten innerhalb einer den Fortschritt hemmenden Kirche geschehen sollte. Es zeigte sich der 'treue demokratische Republikanismus' in seiner wahren Gestalt durch Vertheidigung einzelner der verhasstesten Whigprincipien, durch Lobpreisung aller
möglichen despotischen Massregeln, hier sowohl wie
drüben, durch Verlumung der ehrenwerthesten Patrioten,
insbesondere Kossuth's und Kinkel's....³

³Koss, pp. 350, 372. Koss' views as a Freethinker no doubt
color his description here. In spite of his opinions, his history
of early Milwaukee is a most reliable source of information.

Following the slanderous remarks against Kossuth and Kinkel, local
Germans of different persuasion quickly formed a committee for the
purpose of condemning and silencing the Seebote. They claimed that
the paper had "openly declared itself against each free revolution
of public and social acts...and opposes the efforts of martyrs and
champions in the European struggle for liberty." It was decided
that the Seebote had no other object than to introduce "tyranny and
the ruling of priests (Pfaffen)" and that everyone, including the
editors of the other German language papers, should oppose these
fiendish efforts and "guard our liberty against its enemies."⁴

⁴Articles to this effect were published in the Banner and
Volksfreund and appeared translated in the Sentinel on March 1, 1852.

These views may be somewhat exaggerated but there can be no
doubt that the Seebote generally seemed to support the unpopular
cause. In 1861 there was another flurry of activity against the
paper. Someone even distributed handbills with the intention of
inciting mob action against the Seebote because of its sentiments on
abolition and the war.⁵ The Sentinel opposed the potential violence

⁵Sentinel, August 9, 1861.
but accused the Seebote of misrepresenting the Union's goals and thereby discouraged volunteers from joining the military service.

It was also claimed that the Seebote could not influence the intellectual German because he was an independent thinker and the paper therefore, had to direct its arguments at the non-thinking lower classes. In response, the Seebote stated that it had never published sentiments other than those endorsed by the "Northern Democracy." As the war continued to Seebote became ever more

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6Sentinel, August 21, 23, 1861.

hostile toward the administration and "Mr. Lincoln's War." The September 14, 1864 issue of the paper presented a horrible sketch of Lincoln on page one captioned "So sieht ein Tyrann aus!" The accompanying article accused Lincoln of causing all the suffering during the last four years. It claimed that Lincoln's soul was as black as the abolitionist party, that all operations which he directed had ended in disaster and "der Mann der für Lincoln stimmt, ist ein Verräter...Lincoln ist ein Verräter und Mörder." If Lincoln should be re-elected "dann vertrauen wir, dass irgend eine kühne Hand sein Herz mit dem Dolche zum allgemeinen Besten durchstossen werde." George McClellan, the Democratic candidate for the presidency, was looked on as the hero of the day. Throughout the period of the war the Seebote continued to express the fear that the abolition of the slaves would flood the labor market and thereby deprive the immigrant of his greatest chance of success.
Refer also to Frank L. Klement, "Deuster as a Democratic Dissenter during the Civil War: A Case Study of a Copperhead," Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy, LV (1966), pp. 21-38.

In spite of its vociferous attitude however, the Seebote gained a sizable circulation. Its early appeal as a Catholic organ continued even after changes in ownership and denials that the paper was written only for Catholic readers. August Greulich, Philipp Rickert and Nikolas Paul maintained the Seebote as a Catholic organ from 1852 until 1856 when Peter Victor Deuster bought out the interests of Rickert and Paul. Deuster and Greulich published the paper together until January 1860. Greulich then sold his share of the business to Deuster, who remained sole owner until 1879.

Except for a few scattered issues the files of the Seebote prior to 1863 are not extant. From 1863 to 1865 the files exist for periods of several months. Very little is known of either Rickert or Paul. Greulich was born in Baden in 1813, came to the United States and to Detroit in 1834 and to Milwaukee in 1840. After he retired as part owner of the Seebote he acquired a partnership in a wholesale wine and liquor business from 1860 to 1893. He was also a member of the State Assembly in 1848 and 1856 and served as State Senator for the term 1857-1858; he died in Milwaukee on January 3, 1893. Lichte writes, "On January 7, 1857 August Greulich, Philipp Rickert and Peter V. Deuster, doing business as August Greulich and Company, organized as publishers of the Seebote. Six months later, on June 3, 1857, the weekly issue of the Seebote announced the withdrawal of A. Greulich from the organization. The following issue, June 10, 1857, consequently published by Philipp Rickert and P. V. Deuster, (carried an article) dated June 6, already brought an announcement by Philipp Rickert of the disposal of his interests in the Seebote to P. V. Deuster." According to the Sentinel of June 3, 1857, the Seebote announced Greulich's withdrawal on May 29, 1857 and it seems most likely that this was only a temporary change. In the same article the Sentinel.
asks whether Greulich is merely trying to "avoid inhibition of the City Charter against any Alderman being interested in any job or contract for the City...." At the time the Seebote was contracted to do the official city printing. Later, on October 4, 1858, the Sentinel mentions Greulich as one of the proprietors and editors of the Seebote.

P. V. Jeuster was born on February 13, 1831 in Aachen and came to the United States and to Milwaukee with his parents in July 1847. After working on his father's farm for several months, he sought employment in the print shop of Moritz Schöffler, owner of the Banner. Here he learned the rudiments of the newspaper business and remained with Schöffler for about four years. For several months during 1852 he published his first paper, Der Hausfreund, a weekly family journal printed on the presses of the Seebote. ¹⁰ Jeuster then worked in the offices of the Seebote until November 1854 and then moved to Port Washington to edit the Port Washington Zeitung, a democratic weekly published by Adolph Heidkamp. At the same time he served as deputy postmaster, deputy clerk of the circuit court and notary public. In 1856 he made plans to begin a newspaper in Green Bay, Wisconsin but preferred to take advantage of gaining a partnership in the Seebote. During the next few years Jeuster gained a controlling interest in the paper and became its sole owner in 1860. In 1862 he entered politics and was elected as a member of

¹⁰ Milwaukee Germania Abendpost, December 31, 1904. It is stated here that Der Hausfreund first appeared on October 23, 1852 and Koss, p. 385, indicates that the journal existed for only a few months. Apparently Jeuster discontinued the journal when he moved to Port Washington, Wisconsin but revived it when he returned as one of the owners of the Seebote. Der Hausfreund will be mentioned again later.
the State Assembly. In 1870 he was a member of the State Senate, from 1880 to 1886 a Representative to the United States Congress, and in 1887 he was appointed by President Cleveland to a special commission dealing with the distribution of Indian lands. Deuster completed his political career in 1898 after serving as the United States Consul in Krefeld, Germany for two years.  

11 Milwaukee Germania Abendpost, December 31, 1904; Sentinel, January 1, 1905; Ver Seebote, January 3, 1905.

From the time that Deuster became one of the publishers, the Seebote began seeking a wider appeal and no longer considered itself solely as a voice of Catholic thought, although announcements for the Church and items which were of interest only to Catholics continued to appear. Deuster also exercised increasing control of the editorial policy of the paper; the editorial department was headed by a managing editor under Deuster's supervision.  

12 Deuster's name always appeared in the paper although names of the editors were usually not listed.

St. Vincent resigned the editorship in 1854 when he became totally blind. He was succeeded by F. J. Felsecker until 1855, August Knorr until 1857 and Christian Ott until 1868.  

13 The Seebote of March 4, 1854 has an editorial signed Dr. F. and a brief article in the April 4, 1854 issue, which wishes Fratny of the Volksfreund a speedy recovery from his illness, is signed F. J. Felsecker. See also Koss, p. 449. Christian Ott is mentioned as editor of the Seebote in the Sentinel of August 14, 1862. According to an advertisement in the Täglicher Volksfreund of April 11, 1850 Christian Ott maintained a German bookstore in the city.
position until November 3, 1874 when he resigned in order to accept
the editorship of the Banner und Volksfreund, and he was in turn
followed by Dr. Emil Knotser until 1887. During the following

14 Sentinel, September 25, 1874. Kunz announced his resignation
in September but did not leave until about November 3, 1874. On
November 16, 1874 the Sentinel carried a notice that Mr. Wenborne,
until now the night editor of the Herald, had joined the editorial
staff of the Seebote. The Sentinel of December 19, 1880 wrote that
Dr. Knotser "treats local topics in a very humorous vein in
his assumed personality as a 'Sunday Afternoon Bummer.'" It is not
known exactly when Knotser commenced editing the Seebote since he
was editor of the daily Columbia until it ceased in May 1875. See
the separate section on the Columbia.

years the paper was edited by Georg Meyer and Ernst Wilhelm Pieper
and eventually by Deuster's oldest son Oscar V. Deuster, who
apparently took over as managing editor in 1892.

In August 1879 Julius Muehle and Michael Kraus were admitted to
a partnership with P. V. Deuster to form P. V. Deuster & Company,
the name under which the Seebote was published for the next ten
years. The name of the company was slightly changed on July 23,

15 Sentinel, August 9, 1879. It is not known how long Kraus
remained in the partnership but certainly until November 16, 1882
when Kraus and Deuster founded the English language Daily Journal.
The paper prospers today under the name Milwaukee Journal. Deuster
sold his share in the Journal after only twenty-six days, on
December 11, 1882. See Will C. Conrad, Kathleen F. Wilson, and
Dale Wilson, The Milwaukee Journal (The First Eighty Years) (Madison:

1890 to the P. V. Deuster Company and this name appeared in the
Seebote until May 28, 1913. 16

16 Der Seebote und der Sonntagsbote, May 28, 1913; Sentinel, May 2,
1898. Stock was owned by P. V. Deuster, Oscar V. Deuster, Hugo Deuster and Julius Muehle. Muehle sold his interest to the Deusters on March 10, 1896. Perhaps this subtle change in the publishing name indicated complete ownership under the Deuster name.

The P. V. Deuster name as publisher was reserved to the Seebote although it is clear that Mr. Deuster, and later his sons, also operated the Banner und Volksfreund Company. In 1885, shortly after the Banner und Volksfreund Company was formed and had purchased the Banner und Volksfreund from the Freie Presse Company, the paper was moved into the offices of the P. V. Deuster & Company at 96 Mason Street. The Excelsior of April 9, 1885 is the only contemporary source to carry a notice which indicates that the Banner und Volksfreund became the property of P. V. Deuster & Company at that time. It is not until October 16, 1895, when all the local papers published special anniversary editions to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the city, that the Seebote lays claim to owning the Banner und Volksfreund. In that issue of the Seebote one of the earliest editions of the Wisconsin Banner by Moritz Schöffler, dated January 3, 1846, was reproduced. It was also indicated that the Seebote had purchased the Banner und Volksfreund and was still publishing it as a weekly.

This article does not indicate when the purchase was made, but it should be noted that G. E. Weiss appears as president of the
Banner und Volksfreund Company until at least January 3, 1893.

Although the main title of this October 16, 1895 issue is *Der Seebote*, the upper left hand corner shows *Der Seebote--und--Banner und Volksfreund, Vereinigte Tageblätter*, while the upper right corner shows *Seebote--und--Telephon*. Previous changes in the title of the paper were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January 27, 1852 to March 5, 1854</td>
<td><em>Der See-Bote</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 6, 1854 to January 1862</td>
<td><em>Der Tägliche See-Bote</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1862 to May 1866</td>
<td><em>Der Wochentliche See-Bote</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 28, 1866 to December 1875</td>
<td><em>Täglicher Milwaukee See-Bote</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 13, 1875 and after</td>
<td><em>Milwaukee See-Bote</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Der Seebote</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since at this time and for many years thereafter, the *Banner und Volksfreund* always listed its publisher as the Banner und Volksfreund Company, it must be concluded that the Jeuster firm preferred not to publish this paper under its own name.

Several years later, on May 3, 1898, *Der Seebote* again remained silent regarding the sale of its daily edition to the Herold Company and merely informed its readers that the daily would be discontinued. Both the *Milwaukee Herold und Seebote* and the *Sentinel* of May 2, 1898 however, provided the details of the purchase. According to their reports the daily *Seebote* and the Sunday *Telephon* had been purchased by the Herold Company and the former subscribers of that paper would now receive the combined daily *Milwaukee Herold und Seebote*. The sale further included an agreement that the P. V. Jeuster Company would not engage in the publication of a daily, but would continue the weekly and semi-weekly *Seebote* and the *Banner und Volksfreund* as before. At the time Dr. Oscar Jeuster is indicated as editor and Hugo Jeuster as business manager of both the *Banner und Volksfreund* and the *Seebote*.19 Each of these papers was now continued under its
In the obituary of P. V. Jeuster on January 3, 1905 the officers of the company are listed as P. V. Jeuster, president; Oscar Deuster, vice-president; Hugo Jeuster, secretary-treasurer. The terms "weekly" and "semi-weekly" as used by the Seebote here merely meant that a subscriber of the semi-weekly received both the Wednesday and Friday editions, while the weekly subscriber received only the Wednesday edition and hence, did not receive whatever supplements were issued with the weekend edition.

On March 11, 1906 the Friday issues of both papers changed to a Sunday edition titled *Der Sonntagsbote*. During its first

The March 11, 1906 edition of *Der Sonntagsbote* is numbered Jahrgang 1, Nr.1. The next issue on March 18, 1906 is Jahrgang 62, Nr. 22 and March 25, 1906 is Jahrgang 62, Nr. 3. Thereafter the numbering is uniform and Jahrgang 62 traces its origin to 1844, the beginning date of the *Wisconsin Banner*.

months the paper did not list the publisher or editor and therefore could conveniently be sent to the subscribers of each of the weeklies. In November of the same year the titles of each paper were slightly changed and the respective publisher was then indicated also in the *Sonntagsbote*.21

The weekly editions were now titled *Der Seebote* (in large print) und *der Sonntagsbote* (in small print), or *Wisconsin Banner und Volksfreund* (in large print) und *der Sonntagsbote* (in small print). The Sunday editions reversed the titles: *Der Sonntagsbote** und ... etc. The first issue of this compound title for *Der Seebote* was November 28, and for the *Banner und Volksfreund* was November 21, 1906.

For a period of at least twenty years the *Seebote*, published by the P. V. Jeuster Company, the *Banner und Volksfreund* by the
Banner und Volksfreund Company, and the Columbia by the Columbia Publishing Company were all published from the address at 96 Mason Street, and with the same business telephone number. It seems likely that it was not until early 1913 that the Columbia Publishing Company gained possession of the Sonntagsbote, the Banner und Volksfreund and the Seebote. With the exception of the Banner

22 Again the newspaper files are of very little help. The advertisements of the Columbia Publishing Company first appeared in the Banner und Volksfreund on March 5, 1913; all three publishing companies moved from 96 Mason Street to 35 Martin Street at the beginning of May 1913. After May 28, 1913 no publisher is listed in either the Seebote or in the Banner und Volksfreund. Without further notice the Banner und Volksfreund was discontinued after October 15, 1913; beginning August 31, 1922 the Wednesday edition was titled Columbia and the Saturday edition Seebote. Lichte, under both Seebote and Columbia however, claims that the Columbia acquired the Seebote as early as 1901 and that the P. V. Ueuster Company amended its articles of incorporation on November 8, 1906 voiding its publishing authorization.

and Volksfreund, which was discontinued after October 15, 1913, these papers were published as before until September 20, 1922. After this date the papers were printed in Winona, Minnesota. For a time they were published there by the Columbia Publishing Company but were eventually transferred to the holdings of the National Weeklies.

23 The papers were datelined "Winona and Milwaukee" and for some time the Columbia Publishing Company continued to maintain an office in Milwaukee.
In addition to the *Seebote*, and later the *Banner und Volksfreund*, P. V. Deuster published a number of other papers. When he purchased the ownership of the *Seebote* he added a literary section to the paper titled *Hausfreund*, "Familien-Blatt zum Milwaukee See-Boten."

Although this was not a separate publication, it was so located in the paper that it could be easily cut out, bound and saved. The section of the paper retained the title until May 26, 1866 when a new series was begun under the name *Hausblätter*.\(^{24}\) On the same day, perhaps to celebrate the acquisition of new print and the subsequent better appearance of the paper, the title of the daily was changed to *Milwaukee See-Bote*.

A few years later the *Milwaukeeer Katholische Zeitung* was offered as a bi-weekly premium to readers who were paying the *Seebote* subscription dues in advance. Although the paper was sent free to *Seebote* subscribers on the first and fifteenth of the month beginning on March 1, 1873, it seems also to have had a subscription of its own. The paper was devoted to the interests of the St. Emilianus Orphan Asylum and within a week after its first appearance the
Sentinel reported that one hundred and three dollars received from subscriptions had already been donated to the orphanage by the publishers. The Milwaukeeer Katholische Zeitung was advertised

Sentinel, March 8, 1873. The Milwaukeeer Katholische Zeitung was advertised as early as January 13, 1873 in the Seebote and the beginning date of March 1, 1873 was announced in the February 17, 1873 issue. The Sentinel of March 3, 1873 indicates the publisher as the German Catholic Printing Company which had been incorporated two years earlier. On July 4, 1873 the Sentinel again comments that the Seebote was "working the Katholische Zeitung up to a fine circulation." It cannot be determined whether the Seebote actually owned the German Catholic Printing Company, nor if there is any relation to the German Catholic Printing Society which commenced publication of the Columbia in January 1873.

in the Seebote until October 12, 1875 but it is not known how long it survived after that.

The Milwaukee City Directory lists the paper until 1889 and indicates that it was published by the P. V. Deuster Company.

Late in 1884 the weekly literary Am Hauslichen Herd was added as a supplement to the Friday semi-weekly edition of the Seebote and it continued to appear until at least 1898. The Telephon

Der Seebote, January 1, 1885; January 1, 1895. Lichte claims that it appeared until at least 1898 and Arndt-Olson, p. 669, suggests 1889.

was a Sunday edition of the daily Seebote from 1886 until these two papers were purchased by the Herold Publishing Company in May 1898.

Milwaukee Herold und Seebote, May 2, 1898; Sentinel, May 2, 1898. Both sources indicate that the Telephon was included in the purchase, which refutes Lichte's claim that the Telephon was retained by Deuster and renamed immediately after the sale to Sonntagsbote.
It was not until March 11, 1906 that the Sonntagsbote made its appearance and the Seebote was changed from semi-weekly to weekly publication at the same time.\(^{29}\)

\(^{29}\)After the sale of the daily Seebote to the Herold Company, the semi-weekly had been continued. Refer also to separate sections on the Herold and the Columbia.
PART II. POST-CIVIL WAR PERIOD

V. THE HEROLD PRESS

Der Herold

After his arrival in Milwaukee Bernhard Jomschke made three unsuccessful attempts to establish German language papers which favored the policies of the Republican Party. The Corsar had a tenuous existence of fourteen months, the Journal lasted only ten weeks and the Atlas collapsed after five years. During the pre-Civil War years the Milwaukee Germans were strongly Democratic and their favorite papers were the Banner und Volksfreund, and to a lesser degree, Der Seebote. Jomschke's failures however, were largely due to a lack of business acumen; within several months after the collapse of the Atlas a group of German Republicans headed by William Werner Coleman founded Der Herold and employed Jomschke as its editor.1 Although the Milwaukee Herold anniversary edition

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1Sentinel, September 23, 1861. Milwaukee Herold, January 1, 1921. The earliest available copy of Der Herold is a weekly dated September 19, 1863, Band 2, Nr. 52. William Werner Coleman generally wrote his name W. W. Coleman; the family name was no doubt, an Americanization of Kohlmann. The Banner und Volksfreund of April 24, 1880 carried the obituary of Werner Kohlmann, W. W. Coleman's father. Some sources have claimed that the Herold is the successor to the Atlas. The claim is valid only when considering the continuity of ideology, but it is not true in terms of ownership.
of January 1, 1921 gave credit to Domschke as "der eigentliche Gründer unseres Blattes," it was W. W. Coleman who was the business head of the enterprise from the very beginning. Moreover, it is doubtful that after three failures Domschke would have had sufficient funds for still another paper.

Unlike Domschke, who had come to the United States because of his political convictions, Coleman immigrated with his parents when he was only fifteen years old. He gained experience in the business world by working as a clerk in the printing establishment of Silas Chapman, advanced to a position in the printing agency of George Mather and Sons, and was later employed in the paper mill of Noonan and McNab. Thus, in spite of the fact that the editorial policy of Der Herold was directed by Domschke's Forty-eighter and Freethinker views, the paper had a better chance for survival because Coleman regarded it as both a political organ and as a business venture.

Der Herold commenced publication as a daily and weekly on September 21, 1861 and within a short time a Sonntagsblatt des Herold was issued as a free supplement. During the war years the Sonntagsblatt appeared bi-weekly due to the high price of paper, but it continued to bring items of literary interest to the reader until the regular Sunday publication Volks-Magazin was introduced in 1872.

3 Der Herold, September 19, 1863. Sentinel, July 8, 1872.
Domschke edited these papers until August 1862 when he and most of the other employees of *Der Herold* joined the Union Army. Most sources claim that the mass enlistment into the 26th Wisconsin Regiment, which was composed entirely of Germans, was indicative of the men's patriotism. It is well known that the Forty-eighters were, on the whole, deeply committed to the ideals of human freedom and abolition, and therefore volunteered for military duty much more readily than the majority of other German immigrants. Nonetheless, the suspicion has been raised, that *Der Herold* was in financial difficulty and that this was a contributing factor in the resignation of so many members of *Der Herold*'s staff.\(^4\)

\(^4\)Schlicher, Bernhard Domschke, p. 452.

During the war years the daily edition of the paper was suspended and Ludwig Seybold served as editor of the weekly.\(^5\) Like other radical Republican papers, the *Herold* at first supported John Fremont as the presidential nominee:

*Mit Lincoln oder McClellan wird die Union zu Grunde gehen...* Also ans Werk, ihr Radikalen! Diejenigen, denen es Ernst um die Rettung der Union und der Freiheit ist, müssen für die Wahl Fremonts arbeiten.\(^6\)

\(^6\)Der Herold, June 11, 1864.

When it became clear that Fremont was not in favor of confiscating southern property and would not implement other drastic measures,
the paper wrote,

Von Lincoln und seiner Umgebung müssen wir uns mit Ekel und Verachtung abwenden, mit Fremont können wir unter diesen Umständen keine Gemeinschaft haben, denn wir sind radikal und wollen radikal bleiben.\footnote{Der Herold, June 25, 1864.}

Jomschke had meanwhile attained the rank of captain, was captured at the battle of Gettysburg and transferred to various prisons including the notorious Libby building at Richmond. When he returned to Milwaukee on March 29, 1865 his health had been ruined from exposure and starvation. Later that year W. W. Coleman published Jomschke's war memories under the title \textit{Zwanzig Monate in Kriegs-Gefangenschaft.} In spite of his illness Jomschke returned to the editorial position on June 3, 1865. The daily edition was resumed and Jomschke remained as editor, at least in name, until his death in 1869. During the last two years of his life he was an invalid and it is not known how much he contributed to the paper.\footnote{Der Herold, February 10, 1866. Bernhard Jomschke, \textit{Zwanzig Monate in Kriegs-Gefangenschaft} (Milwaukee: W. W. Coleman, 1866).}

When Jomschke returned to the editor's chair, Ludwig Seybold resigned and it was expected that he would accept the editorship of the \textit{Louisville Volksblatt.}

When Jomschke died on May 5, 1869 Coleman initiated a change in the editorial policy by catering less to the Freethinker Republicans and by providing reading material acceptable to a larger number of readers. He wanted to make \textit{Der Herold} good enough so that no
German speaking businessman or other reader who wanted only one paper
would have occasion to drop the Herold in favor of an English
language paper. The change alienated many of the former Jomschke

10Sixty Years of Service (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Herold, 1921),
p. 11.

followers and a few years later, in 1872, they established for
themselves a separate paper, the Milwaukee Freidenker. 11

11Refer to the separate section on the Milwaukee Freidenker.

For ten years after the death of Jomschke, Karl J. Palme served
as editor-in-chief, guided by the ideas of his friend Carl Schurz,
whom Palme considered to be the representative German-American.
Palme was born in 1817 in Schleswig-Holstein, had studied law in
Germany and come to the United States in 1854. After settling in
Watertown, Wisconsin he joined Carl Schurz in establishing the
Watertown Volkszeitung, and in later years acted as State Librarian
and also edited the St. Louis Tägliche Volkszeitung. In 1879 Carl
Schurz, then a member of President Hayes' Cabinet, secured Palme a
position in the Treasury Department. He resigned the editorship
of the Herold but died shortly thereafter on September 8, 1879 in
East Pepperall, Massachusetts before he had assumed his new
responsibilities. 12

12Sentinel, September 9, 1879. Lyman C. Draper, "Wisconsin
Necrology--1879," Wisconsin Historical Collections, IX (1880),
p. 438.
During Palme's tenure as editor-in-chief a number of lesser known figures were also connected with the staff of the Herald.

Hans Haertung resigned from his position as city editor just prior to Domschke's death and went to the staff of the Banner und Volksfreund to fill Paul A. Grossman's position. On November 16, 1874, the Sentinel announced that Mr. Wenborne had left the Herold to join the Seebote and that his position was being filled by Wm. L. Schmidt, former teacher of German at the Franklin School. Mr. Wenborne later edited and published the Chicagoer Handels-Zeitung.

Dr. Wilhelm Vette, at times also connected to the staff of the Banner und Volksfreund, served as city editor from November 1875 to June 1876 and was succeeded by a Mr. Piper. Apparently Piper was associated with the paper for only a short time since the Sentinel of November 27, 1877 carried a notice that Mr. Meinrad Mainhardt, who had been city editor for some time, was leaving the Herold to assume editorial control of the Chicagoer Handels-Zeitung, and that Dr. Joerflinger was to succeed him. Another notice in the Sentinel on May 14, 1880 indicated that Otto Raeber was leaving the staff of the
the Herold in order to take charge of the St. Paul Volkszeitung and that O. Bartling, lately of the Chicago Freie Presse, would fill his vacancy.

It is not known who immediately followed Karl J. Palme as editor-in-chief. Perhaps Dr. Senner served in this capacity for some time prior to January 1885 and was followed by C. F. Bauer and Jr. Wyl. In 1886 Coleman gained the services of Otto Luedicke

and Gustav Haas. It is likely that Luedicke was soon appointed editor-in-chief, a position which he retained until his sudden death in June 1912. Haas remained with the Herold until 1895 and then joined the editorial staff of George Brumder's Germania.

In spite of the large turnover of editors, and the above listing does not claim to be complete, the editorial policy of the Herold remained fairly consistent over the years. This may be attributed to W. W. Coleman, who gained an increasing control and finally ownership of the paper. In the earliest days of the Herold Coleman had been secretary to the group of German Republicans who owned the paper. By 1863 Coleman's name appears as the publisher and from this time until after his death in 1888 the name W. W. Coleman is predominantly indicated as either publisher or owner, while the names of the editors after Domschke are not listed.
In 1866 Coleman organized the German Printing Company and the company is shown as owner and Coleman as publisher of the paper until 1875 when Coleman gained controlling interest and changed its name to The Herold Company. At the time of his death his eldest son Edgar W. Coleman became publisher and in July 1894 the company was reorganized as a corporation, still under the name of The Herold Company, with members of the Coleman family being the principal stockholders.19

After October 5, 1895 The Herold Company is shown as publisher of the paper with Edgar W. Coleman as president, H. H. Coleman, vice-president, and H. A. Coleman as secretary-treasurer.20 The sons of W. W. Coleman directed the editorial policy of the Herold in much the same manner that their father had. In comparison, George Brumder, owner of the Germania, appointed the well qualified Georg Krippen as editor-in-chief. Krippen then assumed full editorial responsibility for some twenty-four years. Der Herold and the Germania were

18Only scattered issues of the Herold are available for the years up to the middle 1870's.


20This change is also indicated in the Acker und Gartenbau Zeitung, a Herold supplement, where Edgar W. Coleman is listed as publisher until October 5, 1895. The Coleman family preferred the use of initials; Lichte reveals the names as Edgar W., Harrison H., and Halbert A. Coleman.
competitive and extremely successful papers during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Greater circulation for the Herold was assured by becoming a member of the Associated Press in about 1870. As the first German language paper in the mid-west to gain this franchise, Der Herold could provide its readers with up to date news direct from the wires and not copied from the local English language papers. In addition, Coleman reached an even larger reading public through his many supplementary papers, especially the Acker- und Gartenbau Zeitung, the Kinderpost and the Jugendpost. It has already been mentioned

These supplements will be discussed in the following section.

that the Sonntagsblatt des Herold was issued as a free supplement to the Sunday Herold. On July 8, 1872 the Sonntagsblatt was replaced by the Volks-Magazin, "Für Unterhaltung und Belehrung... Sonntags-Ausgabe des Herold." The paper included items of a scientific or technical nature but so written as to be interesting to the general public, and literary pieces as Conrad F. Meyer's die Versuchung des Pescara and Theodor Storm's Der Schimmelreiter.22

Sentinel, July 8, 1872. Der Herold, January 23, 1876. Volks-Magazin, November 10, 1887, June 17, 1888. Issues of the Volks-Magazin dated 1886 to 1888 have a column on page four titled "Bunte Blätter--Kleines Feuilleton des Herold." Apparently there is no relation to the children's publication Bunte Blätter published by the Northwestern Publishing House. The latter publication is discussed in a separate section under denominational papers.

A supplement titled Wegweiser für Frohsinn, Heiterkeit und Lebenslust
was included with the Volks-Magazin. The Volks-Magazin was

Only one copy of the Wegweiser für Frohsinn has been located. It is dated January 23, 1876 and is Jahrgang 3, Nr. 23. The issue is on microfilm and so badly out of focus that it cannot be read. It is not known how long the supplement existed but it was probably published beginning in September 1873.

discontinued after March 17, 1889 and thereafter the Sunday edition carried the same title as the daily Herold.

Thereafter the daily was called "Tageblatt" and the Sunday edition "Sonntagsblatt."

In the early part of 1886 the Herold was the subject of a boycott by several unions. The Schreiner-Union No. 16 and the Typographie No. 10 published their own paper titled Boycott "Post."

The only existing copy of this paper is dated March 6, 1886 and, although it claimed a weekly appearance at the rate of 10,000 copies, it is not known how long the sheet actually lasted. The reasons for the boycott were listed as: 1) general abuse of the working man by the Herold; 2) the Herold had mocked the workers who were striking at the Sanger, Rockwell and Company (a local business establishment); 3) Coleman had refused to allow his typesetters to join the union and was forcing them to sign a statement that they would not do so in the future.

With the title Boycott "Post" the union was doubtlessly trying to mock Coleman's Jugendpost and Kinderpost publications. The general tone of the time reached its climax a month later with the Chicago Haymarket Riot on May 4, and on the following day in Milwaukee with the Bay View Riot. This is further discussed in the separate section on the Milwaukee'r Arbeiter Zeitung.
After the death of W. W. Coleman The Herold Company was owned and managed by his three sons. On May 2, 1898 the company bought the daily Seebote and its Sunday Telephon from the P. V. Deuster Company. The dailies were merged to form the Milwaukee Herold und Seebote, which was then issued daily and Sunday. According to the terms of the sale, the subscribers of the former daily Seebote were added to the subscription lists of the Herold and would hereafter receive the new combined daily. It was also part of the agreement that the P. V. Deuster Company would not be involved in daily publication but would continue the weekly and semi-weekly Seebote and the Sanner und Volksfreund.26

26Milwaukee Herold und Seebote, May 2, 1898. Sentinel, May 2, 1898. Refer also to the separate section on the Seebote. Arndt-Olson, p. 690, is in error by claiming that the daily Seebote existed to 1899. Since the Herold was already issuing a Sunday edition, there was no need to continue the Telephon.

At the turn of the century there were only two large popular German language dailies in the city, the Milwaukee Herold und Seebote and the Milwaukee Germania Abendpost, with the latter having a slightly larger circulation. Political differences between the two papers had all but vanished and it was becoming increasingly difficult for the two companies to sustain their respective dailies in competition with each other. Beginning January 1, 1906 the dailies of both companies were therefore merged and published jointly by the Germania-Herold Association with Wm. C. Brumder as president, H. H. Coleman as vice-president, George F. Brumder as treasurer, and these together with George Brumder and Edgar W. Coleman were the
directors of the new company. Although the papers were now published by the same concern, each retained its original name and staff. The Milwaukee Germania Abendpost continued as the evening edition with Emil von Schleinitz as editor and the Milwaukee Herold und Seebote was the morning edition edited by Otto Luedicka.\textsuperscript{27}

\textsuperscript{27}Milwaukee Herold, December 31, 1905, January 1, 1906, January 1, 1921. The further history of the combined papers will be discussed in a separate section under Germania-Herold Association which follows the section on the Germania.

These papers survived another twenty years but even without competition these last years proved to be more difficult than the previous forty. As the immigration figures declined so did the prospective number of potential readers. The immigrants who had lived in the United States for some years were becoming accustomed to its ways and, even if they did not feel themselves completely assimilated, their interest in Germany faded with each passing year. The German language papers, which for many years had served as a bridge between the old and new world, lost much of their usefulness and attractiveness; many immigrants relied more on the English papers to keep abreast with the news. The circulation of the German language papers already began to decline in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The days when an idealistic editor would continue publication in spite of bad circulation ended with the Civil War; since those days the newspaper business had become a business just as any other, and, more often than not, economics played a larger role in determining the policy of a paper then
the conscious effort to propagate a particular program. As the economic situation worsened most of the papers merged or sold their equipment and subscriber lists, often to former competitors. World War I provided a momentary renewal of interest in the German language press but the post-war period very quickly brought an end to almost all the papers which had existed until then. The dailies, and in many cases even the weeklies, lost circulation so rapidly that many simply ceased publication. Only a few papers which had been considered as supplements in earlier days and provided items of interest in special areas found it possible to continue.

Nordwestliche Acker- und Gartenbau Zeitung

For a number of years the Herold carried a weekly column titled "Über Acker und Gartenbau" but the increasing demand for tips on gardening and animal husbandry warranted a separate publication. The first issue of the Nordwestliche Acker- und Gartenbau Zeitung appeared in January 1870 as an eight page monthly bearing the subtitle "Ein Journal für Landwirtschaft, Obstbau, Blumenzucht und Bienenzucht und den Familienkreis." The paper was published by W. W. Coleman and edited by Rudolf Koss.28 The first issues were

28Rudolf Koss also wrote the history of Milwaukee which has been referred to in this paper. His name appears on the Acker- und Gartenbau Zeitung only for the first issue and regularly after 1873. Although the first issue of the paper is dated January 1870 the paper always wrote "gegründet 1869."

sent as free supplements to paid subscribers of the Herold and the
paper advertised that readers could now receive the weekly Herold, the Sonntagsblatt and the Acker- und Gartenbau Zeitung for three dollars per year. In 1870 the supplement claimed a circulation of 12,000 and in 1873 the Sentinel indicated that this had increased to 20,000.  

29 Nordwestliche Acker- und Gartenbau Zeitung, January 1870. Sentinel, March 31, 1873. After January 1879 the "Nordwestliche" was no longer included in the title.

As the title indicates, the primary interest of the paper consisted in giving practical aids and tips to the farmer and the back-yard gardner. In addition the supplement also provided some leisure reading with poems, stories and items of general interest and a column "für das Familienleben." A section, Die Hausfrau, which was added in the 1890's, was later expanded into a separate publication titled Die Deutsche Hausfrau.

Die Deutsche Hausfrau was a monthly journal after September 1904 and included items of household, fashion and literary interest for women. It was edited by H. H. Coleman and published by The Herold Company until 1905 and thereafter under the name Hausfrau Publishing Company, which later changed its name to Columbia Art Works.

Rudolf Koss remained editor of the Acker- und Gartenbau Zeitung until December 1891 and he was succeeded by Anton G. Veith. In

30 Acker- und Gartenbau Zeitung, December 15, 1891. Koss died two years later and his obituary is in the Abend Post of January 19, 1894.
its early years the paper had done well enough to change it to a semi-monthly in January 1879 and then to a weekly in May 1894. In May 1894 the publication also absorbed *Ver Landwirth*, which had previously appeared in St. Louis, Missouri since May 1889. Its former editor and publisher Waldemar Wernich joined Veith as co-editor until February 1, 1896. After that date Wernich again edited the paper alone until at least 1907.31 Although W. W. Coleman

31 *Acker- und Gartenbau Zeitung*, May 19, 1894; February 1, 1896. Arndt-Olson, pp. 261, 667. Copies of the paper for the years 1904 to 1911 could not be located. During this period and probably prior to May 1907 the paper also absorbed *Deutsche Farmer*, which had been published in Chicago since 1888.

died in 1888, his name continued to appear on the Herold publications as publisher until October 5, 1895. The Herold Company continued the Acker- und Gartenbau Zeitung until June 2, 1917.32

32 Lichte believes that in either 1917 or 1918 Brumder of the Germania-Herold Association merged the Acker- und Gartenbau Zeitung of the Herold Company with the Haus und Bauernfreund of the Germania Publishing Company. These two companies had continued to publish their weeklies and supplements separately after their dailies merged in 1906. No further evidence has been found to verify Lichte's claim.

*Kindera*; *Jugendpost*; *A. B. C. Post*; *Lehrerpost*

In order that the children of German speaking parents might learn and maintain the German language, W. W. Coleman began weekly publication of the *Kindera* on January 14, 1883.33 The periodical
was intended for youthful readers between the ages of six and
sixteen and contained illustrations, poems, songs, writing exercises,
lessons in drawing and a column titled "Plaudereien des 'Kinderpost-
Mannes'" which was probably written by Coleman himself. A variety
of stories and articles were regularly signed by Onkel Wilhelm,
Onkel Joseph, Onkel Albert, or Tante Emma. The Kinderpost soon
reached the sizable circulation of 150,000 and was used in schools
throughout the mid-west. The success of the Kinderpost encouraged
Coleman to begin the Jugendpost on September 27, 1884. This was
also a weekly but intended for the more advanced readers and
contained literary selections such as Goethe's Ver getreue Eckart,
Gellert's Ver Prozess, Longfellow's Was Geheimniss der See (translated
into German) as well as many items of historical and scientific
content. Within a few months, perhaps in December 1884, a third
publication was added for the very young who were just beginning to
read. This was titled the A. B. C. Post and was issued as a supplement to the Kinderpost and the Jugendpost.\(^{36}\)

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\(^{36}\)Herold, December 15, 1884. Kinderpost, December 28, 1884.

Coleman also published the Lehrerpost after January 1884 as a monthly; apparently it was not a pedagogical journal but rather served the purpose of furthering the German language among the youth in school. It is possible that the Lehrerpost became the official organ of the German-American Teacher Association after the Freidenker refused to publish its Erziehungsblätter for that group after April 1889.\(^{37}\)

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\(^{37}\)Grebner, p. 436. No copies of the Lehrerpost or of the A. B. C. Post have been found; copies of the Kinderpost and the Jugendpost are available only from 1883 to 1888. For the Erziehungsblätter refer to the separate section on the Milwaukee Freidenker.

It is not known how long each of the publications was printed; it is doubtful that they existed at the turn of the century. The disappearance of such publications as these, which were printed with obvious intent to preserve the German language, indicates the waning of interest in German culture and the preservation of the German community.\(^{38}\)

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\(^{38}\)Arndt-Olson suggests the following dates as terminal; Lehrerpost 1891?, p. 687; Jugendpost 1895, p. 686; Kinderpost and A. B. C. Post 1906?, pp. 686, 688. Files of the Milwaukee Herold, October 1895 show the Jugendpost as p. 39 of that publication.
Fortschritt der Zeit;
Deutsch-Amerikanische Gewerbe- und Industrie-Zeitung

W. W. Coleman probably began monthly publication of the Fortschritt der Zeit on February 22, 1875. Rudolf Koss, who also

39 Both Lichte and Arndt-Olson, p. 679, indicate 1871 as a possible beginning date. The July 10, 1884 issue of Fortschritt der Zeit is numbered Jahrgang 13, which would verify this supposition. However, the 1871 date might also refer to the beginning date of the Deutsch-Amerikanische Gewerbe- und Industrie-Zeitung, which began in New York and Newark, N. J. in February 1872. See also Arndt-Olson, p. 350. The Milwaukee paper absorbed the New York paper in 1877.

edited the Acker- und Gartenbau Zeitung was the editor of the industrial journal which carried the subtitle "Kunst, Gewerbe, Industrie, Naturwissenschaften, Länderei- und Volkerkunde." Early in 1877 Coleman bought a similar paper, the Deutsch-Amerikanische Gewerbe- und Industrie-Zeitung, which had appeared in New York since 1872. Thereafter these two appeared as one paper in both Milwaukee and New York. C. Eurich, former owner of the Industrie-Zeitung assisted Koss in editing the paper until 1878 when A. waul, former editor of the Industrie-Zeitung succeeded him; waul assisted Koss for about one year.40

40 Acker- und Gartenbau Zeitung, May 1, 1877. Arndt-Olson, pp. 351, 675.

The paper was continued until June 15, 1891. Perhaps the Herold Company, which took over the Coleman publications after his death, felt that there was no longer a need for a German language journal of limited industrial interest.41
It is found advertised in the Acker- und Gartenbau Zeitung for the last time on July 1, 1891.

Im Familien-Kreise

Im Familien-Kreise "Ein Unterhaltungsblatt," was published by W. W. Coleman as a bi-weekly from 1877 to 1895 and after that it was continued by The Herold Company until 1905. Dr. Max Joerflinger was the editor from 1877 to 1882. It cannot be determined whether this publication was identical to the column which appeared in the Wegweiser für Frohsinn, Heiterkeit und Lebenslust and later was expanded to a several page section in the Milwaukee Herold und Seebote. The content of Im Familien-Kreise was literary and included poems, novels and a humorous "Milwaukee Deutsch" column by a fictitious Philipp Sauerampfer.

Basar-Zeitung

In addition to other supplements The Herold Company also issued a Basar-Zeitung. The supplement was apparently published only for a few days during the period of the bazaar and only in the years

Arndt-Olson, p. 685. Lichte. A subtitle of Im Familien-Kreise is indicated as "Belletristische Beilage zum Zeitgeist." Der Zeitgeist was a Milwaukee Jewish paper appearing in the 1880's but no relationship between these two papers has been discovered. Der Zeitgeist will be discussed separately.
1916, 1921 and 1925. The bazaar was held by the local Germans for the purpose of gaining funds to aid the war injured and for the relief of the poor and sickly in Germany and Austria. The supplement kept the readers up to date on the success of the bazaar and the various activities which were being sponsored.\textsuperscript{44}

\textsuperscript{44}The Basar-Zeitung is mentioned here only because sources list it as a Milwaukee publication. The March 6, 1916 edition is Nr. 5, the April 23, 1921 is Nr. 8 and the April 15, 1925 issue is Jahrgang 64, Nr. 211. Obviously these numbers do not clarify how long the paper existed nor how often it was actually printed. However, the 1925 edition states that it is the third and last Basar-Zeitung; it can be assumed that a paper as specialized as this one, and one having only a periodic interest, was published only at the time of the bazaar.
VI. THE GERMANIA PRESS

Germania

By 1873 the politically oriented newspapers were already well established in Milwaukee. For many years the Banner und Volksfreund and Der Seebote had voiced the arguments of the Democratic Party and Der Herold was gaining more and more support as the Republican organ. Apparently these papers filled the needs of the German reading public during the war and post-war years; since 1856 and the beginning of Jomschke's Atlas only two new papers had been founded, namely Der Herold in 1861 and the Milwaukee Freidenker in 1872.\(^1\) The 1870's and 1880's witnessed a high point in the German community as the German language and culture were consciously fostered; there was also a great increase in newspaper publishing, initiated by the Free-thinkers with the founding of the Milwaukee Freidenker. Within a year the Catholic Columbia made its appearance and shortly thereafter the Protestant Germania.

Since the existing papers did not satisfy the needs of many residents, a group of local Protestant pastors and laymen united to form the German Protestant Printing Association in 1873 for the

\(^1\)The Milwaukee Freidenker will be discussed in a following section.
purpose of publishing a newspaper. *Wisconsin Journal* was the title decided on for the new publication, but shortly before the first issue appeared the name was changed to *Germania*, the name under which the paper thrived for many years until the American nationalistic fervor viewed such titles as unpatriotic during World War I. The weekly *Germania* first appeared on June 18, 1873 and on page one the aims of the publication were stated:

1) that the *Germania* would not be a church paper (Kirchenblatt) but would nevertheless further Christian living (positives Christenthum);

2) that the *Germania*, although a political paper, would not be in the service of any political party and that it would follow truth and justice in all issues rather than be blinded through the colored glasses of a particular political belief;

3) that the *Germania* would strive to preserve the German language;

4) that the *Germania* considered itself as a part of the United States and hoped to contribute to the welfare of the nation and the community.

While most of these aims were not unique to the *Germania*, the claim to political independence was something new in Milwaukee. The *Germania* was not seeking partisan subscribers and could now feel free to express its own views. As a rule the paper did follow an independent policy, although its longtime editor Georg Koppen tended
toward the Republican Party. It was Georg Köppen

welcher in dem Blatte die eigenen Republikanischen
Ideen niederlegte und die Masse der protestantischen
Stimmgeber dauernd in das Republikanische Lager führte.
Eine gewisse Neigung in dieser Richtung war bei ihnen
immer vorhanden gewesen. Schon die Opposition gegen
die meist Demokratischen Katholiken hatte hierzu
beigetragen. Es bedurfte nur der Husseren Anregung
eines geistig hervorragenden Mannes, der--dieser Neigung
entgegenkommend--den dem Einzelnen unklar vorschwebenden
Gedanken scharfen Ausdruck zu geben wusste, und der
politische Umschwung der Leser war vollzogen.³

³Hense-Jensen, II, p. 79.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century it was generally
ture that the Catholics remained faithful to the Democratic Party
because of the anti-Catholic feelings of the nativists within the
Republican Party; the Protestants, being less affected by these
prejudices, were inclined to become Republicans, while the third
group, the Freethinkers, remained independent or leaned heavily
toward socialism.

Georg Köppen, the name assumed by Graf Georg von Hüseler when
he came to the United States in 1870, first took up residence in
New York where he contributed to the New York Volksfreund. He came
to Milwaukee in time to edit the first issue of the Germania.⁴

⁴Germania, January 26, 1897. Sentinel, June 7, 1873. The
Sentinel made several errors in spelling Köppen's name: George F.
Koeppler on June 11, 1873 and Mr. G. Koepper on June 15, 1873.

The circulation of 5000 subscribers within the first few months
indicates the Germania's early success.⁵ After only two months of
publishing the Directors of the Association held a meeting to consider
the possibility of issuing a daily edition. Apparently enthusiasm
was high at the prospect of the new venture for there were several
false notices regarding the beginning date. There were some delays

but on November 8, 1873 the Germania wrote,

So tritt nun am heutigen Tage die Germania auch in
ihrer Eigenschaft als tägliches Local-Blatt zum ersten
Male unter die Augen einer grossen Anzahl von Lesern.

The daily was issued as an evening paper to avoid a direct
competition with the morning Herald. No Sunday edition was
published. On November 24, 1873 the format of the paper was changed
and the excessive advertising (four columns of advertising
surrounding two columns of news on page one) removed from page one in
favor of national and international news and a section titled
"Telegraph" was added; this section indicated various telegrams
received and printed elsewhere in the paper. The rest of the paper
appeared to be very much like the English language newspapers of the
time with local, state, national and international news, advertising,
a garden section, the stock market report, items of cultural or general interest and the popular serialized novel or story. The tendency to provide the reader with a wide variety of news had already been an integral part of the Banner und Volksfreund, the Herold and the Seebote; it was a characteristic trait of all the successful newspapers of the late nineteenth century to avoid a hard line political program which might alienate any large group of potential readers.

When Wm. Kellner resigned as business manager of the Germania on January 6, 1874, Georg Köppen added these duties to his main function as editor of the paper. Kellner did however, remain with the paper as one of its directors.8

8 Germania, January 6, 1874.

Due to financial difficulties the German Protestant Printing Association found it impossible to continue publication. Early rumors which suggested that the daily would be suspended proved to be false.9 On September 8, 1874 the Association sold the entire enterprise to the Germania Publishing Company which was owned by George Brumder, C. Eissfeldt and Gustav Wollaeger, with Brumder probably having the controlling interest.10 Brumder's business

9 Sentinel, April 16, 1874. The rumor was denied on April 18.

10 Germania, September 7, 1874. Brumder always maintained a controlling interest in the company. He was sole owner from June 1884 December 27, 1888, when the company was incorporated by George Brumder, August Ross and Gustav Herrscher. Until 1906
Brumder's name appears as the sole owner of the Germania Publishing Company.

ability put the paper on a solid footing and eventually made it one of the most successful papers in Milwaukee.

George Brumder was born in Breuschwickersheim near Strassburg on May 24, 1839. He arrived in the United States in 1857 and moved directly to Milwaukee. In 1862 he opened a book store and catered to German Protestants; during the next years the business was expanded into a printing house called Verlag der George Brumder'schen Buchhandlung. He published items as *Volksschul-Lesebuch* which included a history of the United States, geography, and biographies of famous men. In addition he published a semi-monthly periodical *Familienfreund* which was described as "ein Unterhaltungsblatt für Alt und Jung in christlichen Familien." It is not known whether his printing facilities were used to print the *Germania* while it was owned by the German Protestant Printing Association.


12 *Germania*, January 12, 1874. The *Familienfreund* was probably begun in 1871 since the *Germania* here indicates that it was now entering into the fourth year of publication and was edited by W. Streissguth.

13 This possibility is suggested by Lichte but with no further proof. The *Germania* during this period carried separate ads for the "George Brumder Buch- und Schreibmaterialien Handlung" and the "Buch- und Accidenz- Druckerei der Germania" with the former located at 306 W. Water and the latter at 280 W. Water. It is possible that the two locations were directly next to one another.
Under the new ownership of the Germania Publishing Company the daily was continued until August 11, 1878.\textsuperscript{14} Probably the major reason for discontinuing the daily was the existence of six other dailies in the city; at the time the daily Germania did not have a large circulation and the company decided that it could not afford the expense of competition. Instead, all of its finances and efforts were put into the weekly, which then rapidly increased in popularity and circulation so that during the 1890's and early 1900's the Germania was the strongest weekly in the area and was also sent to readers in various parts of the United States.\textsuperscript{15} On October 9, 1889

\textsuperscript{14}Germania, August 11, 1878.

\textsuperscript{15}Sixty Years of Service, p. 8. According to the circulation figures the Germania weekly increased from about 8000 in 1875 to 108,000 in 1911.

The paper announced that it had changed to a semi-weekly to reflect the increased circulation, and the Germania proudly described itself as "das am meisten verbreitete deutsche Wochenblatt in Amerika."\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{16}The semi-weekly appeared as follows: Monday and Thursday issues for mailing, Tuesday and Friday issues for the local residents. The "Zweite halbwochentliche Ausgabe" had with it the Haus und Bauernfreund as a supplement.

During this same period the provisions of the Bennett Law were publicized, a law which had been furtively passed without debate or complete knowledge of its content. The new state law required, among other stipulations, that all children had to attend schools in
their residential district and that reading, writing, arithmetic and United States History must be taught in English. The German parochial schools and the German language press felt their existence was being threatened. The strongest argument against the law was based on infringement on parental rights regarding the education of their children. In addition it was claimed that if the state could control what was to be taught in private schools it would logically make the next step and control what could not be taught, namely German and religion. The parochial schools were, in effect, being offered two unacceptable alternatives: either give up all instruction in non-English courses or extend the number of school hours. This was the one major issue of the late nineteenth century which united Lutheran and Catholic Germans.

In the political arena the Democrats opposed the Bennett Law and demanded its repeal. Since a large number of German Catholics were supporters of the Democratic Party, their decision regarding the coming elections was clear. The Lutheran population however, was stunned to discover that the Republican Party was advocating the law, or, at the very most, was making vague proposals about minor amendments. Because the Republicans would not make a clear statement against the law, many of its supporters voted Democratic in the gubernatorial elections in 1890 and the pro-Bennett Law Governor William J. Hoard was replaced by George W. Peck. The Bennett Law was repealed as promised; the election also proved that the German element was able to swing an election since four years later the Democrats were unseated in favor of the traditional
Republican ticket.

The Bennett Law Campaign also signalled the end of the Freethinker and Turner Society influence. During the campaign they had sided with the pro-Bennett Republicans, not because they favored the law, but because they were basically anti-religious and not in favor of parochial schools. They could no longer convincingly claim that they were the chief protectors of the German language and of German culture. The socialist paper Milwaukee'r Arbeiter Zeitung also supported the law and this publication as well as the Freidenker and the Amerikanische Turnzeitung lost a certain appeal and popularity. The parochial schools, especially the Lutheran schools, continued to teach at least certain courses in German until the time of the first World War; until that time the language was taught on a regular basis in most of the public schools.17


Except for the Freidenker, Amerikanische Turnzeitung and the Milwaukee'r Arbeiter Zeitung, the German language press united in the struggle against the Bennett Law. As a result of the entire campaign there was a new interest in the German language and in the German publications. The Germania resumed publication of its daily on about September 15, 1891.18 The company now had the strength to

18Issues of the daily for this period are not available but the numbering on later copies indicate that this is the most likely date.
The daily began with a new numbering in 1891, while the numbering of the semi-weekly was not affected.

maintain a daily and on May 3, 1897 it purchased the Abend Post Publishing Company from Paul Bechtner. The weekly Nordwestliche

Sentinel, May 4, 1897. Lichte erroneously claims September 15, 1897. It is possible however, that Brumder did not merge the papers until some months after the sale. The Sentinel of May 4, 1897 noted that the Abend Post "will continue in its present quarters without change in business department or editorial staff." The earliest available files after Brumder's purchase are dated September 1897 and these files verify the titles as they are given here.

Post of the Abend Post Company was discontinued because Germania's own weekly had a much larger circulation. The Sonntagspost was changed to Germania und Sonntags-Post and this was the first Sunday edition ever published by the Germania Publishing Company. The two dailies were amalgamated under the name Germania und Abend Post and the new paper was issued in the evening in order to reach a larger number of readers of the working class who had time to read the paper in the evening but not in the morning. The title of the united paper was retained until November 4, 1901 when it was changed to Milwaukee Germania Abendpost.

The masthead title however, read Germania Abendpost. Probably the Sunday edition was changed at the same time to Milwaukee Germania Sonntagspost.

It is not known who edited the daily paper but it may have been Georg Köppen until January 1895 when Gustav Haas, who had previously been on the editorial staff of the Herold, was hired by Brumder as managing editor. Haas, aided by Dr. Oehler, apparently retained
this position until Emil von Schleinitz took over as editor-in-chief on January 1, 1898. The weekly however, was edited by Köppen until his sudden death in January 1897. After that date until September 19, 1899, when Dr. H. Dümling is indicated as editor, no editor is listed. 22

22Germania, September 19, 1899. Milwaukee Herald, January 1, 1921. The Germania und Sonntags-Post and later the Germania Sonntagspost did not list an editor either. Dr. Dümling may have edited the Rundschau in St. Louis, Missouri, a paper acquired by Brumder in 1902.

On January 1, 1906 the two largest daily German language papers in Milwaukee merged. The Milwaukee Germania Abendpost and the Milwaukee Herald und Seebote each retained their respective titles except that Seebote was no longer used by the Herald. Each paper continued as before with the Milwaukee Herald as the morning and the Milwaukee Germania Abendpost as the evening paper. Both however, were published by the Germania-Herald Association which was the result of the union of the Herald Company and the Germania Publishing Company, operating from the Germania Building. The officers of the Germania-Herald Association were Wm. C. Brumder, president, H. H. Coleman, vice-president, Geo. F. Brumder, treasurer; these, together with Geo. Brumder and Edgar W. Coleman were the directors. 23 At the

23Milwaukee Herald und Seebote, December 29, 1905. Milwaukee Herald, December 31, 1905. The Germania Publishing Company began publishing from the Germania Building on May 3, 1897. The building is today known as the Brumder Building and stands at the intersection of West Wells Street, West Water and Second Street.

time of the merger Emil von Schleinitz was editor of the
Germania-Abendpost and Otto Luedicke edited the Herold-Seebote; each editor continued with his staff for his respective paper after the merger. The Germania Sonntagspost was adopted as the Sunday edition for both dailies, but, because some of the Herold readers resented having a Germania delivered to their door, the title was soon changed to Milwaukee Sonntagspost. The weekly editions were not influenced by the merger and each company continued its own weekly publication.24

24 The continuation of these papers will be discussed in the following section under Germania-Herold Association.

Der Hausfreund; Der Haus- und Bauernfreund

During its first several months of publication the Germania regularly carried a column titled "Landschaftliches" which contained tips for the farmer and the gardner. Since a sufficient number of subscribers either lived in the nearby rural areas or were backyard farmers, the Germania began publication of Der Hausfreund on November 12, 1873.25 The paper was available as a separate subscription or in combination with the weekly Germania; in addition
to some literary items, it contained many columns of practical hints related to the home, dressmaking, preserving and gardening. It is evident that there was a demand for such a paper since *Der Hausfreund* was able to exist and prosper at the same time that the competitive *Herold* published its *Acker- und Gartenbau-Zeitung*, and to increase its circulation from 78,000 in 1888 to 102,000 in 1905.26

26 *Der Haus und Bauernfreund*, October 25, 1888; December 22, 1905.

From the beginning and throughout its history *Der Hausfreund* was edited by a fictitious Hans Buschbauer, a name generally associated with Franz Hoffmann. It is not known who served as Hans Buschbauer before Franz Hoffmann, who assumed the pen name after he moved to Jefferson, Wisconsin 1875. Hoffmann had come to the United States in 1839 and after an interesting and varied career in Chicago, he moved to a farm in Jefferson. From this rural setting he served the *Germania* as its farm editor until about 1903.27


Although *Der Hausfreund* was probably not intended as a farm paper in its early years, more and more articles of purely rural interest were included. To reflect this change in the paper's policy the title was changed on June 4, 1884 to *Der Haus- und Bauernfreund*, "Zeitschrift für den häuslichen Kreis, für Ackerbau, Viehzucht, Gartenbau, Bienenzucht, u. s. w." Articles such as "Vom Überwintern der Bienen" and "Schweinezucht und Schweinemast"
were regularly included.\textsuperscript{28}

\textsuperscript{28}Ueber Haus- und Bauernfreund, October 25, 1888.

On May 11, 1904 the Haus- und Bauernfreund absorbed the Haus und Hof which the Germania had acquired when it purchased the Rundschau of Chicago. The Haus- und Bauernfreund was continued as a publication of the Germania Publishing Company until October 1918. At that time the weekly Germania and Herold merged to form the Milwaukee America and after that date the Haus- und Bauernfreund was mailed with the Friday edition of the new combined weekly. In November 1924 both of these papers were transferred to the National Weeklies in Winona, Minnesota; the Haus- und Bauernfreund was merged with the National Farmer of Winona and the Deutsch-Amerikanischer Farmer, formerly of Lincoln, Nebraska. After the transfer and merger the Haus- und Bauernfreund was issued on Friday and the Milwaukee America on Tuesday.\textsuperscript{29} The Haus- und Bauernfreund was continued in Winona by

\textsuperscript{29}Milwaukee America, November 25, 1924.

the National Weeklies until April 17, 1939.\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{30}Arndt-Olson, pp. 235, 683. The Milwaukee America will be discussed in the section on the Germania-Herold Association.

\textsuperscript{Die Rundschau; Haus und Hof}

It is not known exactly when the Brumder establishment acquired
The paper was originally published by Louis Lange since July 6, 1880 in St. Louis, Missouri, and during the years just prior to Brumder's ownership it was published by the Rundschau Publishing Company. Brumder retained both the name of the paper and the publisher and extended the subtitle to read: "Nachrichten aus der Heimat und Fremde. Eine amerikanische politische Wochenzeitung für lutherische Christen." Dr. Umling, editor of the Germania weekly probably edited the Rundschau after it came to Milwaukee. In 1924 the Rundschau, along with the other Brumder publications was turned over to the National Weeklies of Winona, Minnesota.

Jie Rundschau also had a farm supplement titled Haus und Hof, which Brumder also acquired in 1902. He continued it as a supplement until May 11, 1904; the Haus und Hof was then absorbed by the Germania's own Haus- und Bauernfreund.31

31Apparently Louis Lange was both editor and publisher of Jie Rundschau during its first years. The paper was also issued in St. Louis from 1880 to at least 1895 and in Chicago from 1880 to 1902. Lichte indicates that the paper was datelined in Chicago and Milwaukee after September 10, 1902. Dr. Umling was attached to the paper in St. Louis and edited the Rundschau for several years in Milwaukee; he was succeeded by M. Schultz, 1915-1916; Albert W. Schultz, 1920-1923; and Carl Eichstaedt, 1934-1937 in Winona. See also Arndt-Olson, pp. 82, 263, 690. Lichte states that the editor was not listed in the paper and since files of both Jie Rundschau and the Haus und Hof are not available, the date could not be verified.
Deutsche Warte; Erholungsstunden

George Brumder's Germania Publishing Company purchased the Deutsche Warte and its literary supplement Erholungsstunden early in 1885. The date line indicated that the paper continued to appear in Chicago and it was not until October 1898 that the Germania Building in Milwaukee was given as the business address. Agricultural and household interests seem to have been the areas of greatest importance to the paper and it was apparently edited by Brumder with the aid of Gustav A. Zimmermann and Franz Hoffmann (Hans Buschbauer). The Deutsche Warte was changed to a semi-weekly at the same time as the Germania, on October 15, 1889, and was published until late 1914. The Erholungsstunden was discontinued somewhat earlier, probably in 1906.

Deutsches Volksblatt

In 1880 the Germania Publishing Company purchased the Deutsches Volksblatt, formerly of Buffalo, N. Y., and retained it as a weekly until October 1889 when, like the Germania, it was changed to a
semi-weekly. By 1902 the contents of the Deutsches Volksblatt were almost identical to those of the Germania and therefore the title was discontinued and subscribers were sent the semi-weekly Germania instead.\(^{34}\)

\(^{34}\)Arndt-Olson, p. 676. Lichte. No files of this paper have been found.
by the turn of the century the demand for large competitive
daily German language newspapers was already diminishing. The
younger generation was seldom interested in reading news items in
German which they could just as easily read in the local English
language papers. In addition, of course, the younger people saw
America with its language and culture as their home and had little
if any emotional attachment to the former homeland of their fathers.
The existing German language papers were more and more in competition
not only with the other German language papers but also with the
English language press, since by this time the papers in both
languages were practically identical and presented almost exactly
the same content. Because modern machines were necessary to remain
competitive, the cost of newspaper production was constantly rising.
In this struggle for survival the number of foreign language papers
was decreasing year by year. In some instances publishing companies
simply closed shop, in other cases the larger and more powerful
bought the weaker establishment in order to eliminate competition
and to enlarge subscriber lists.

For these reasons also, the Germania-Herold Association was
formed toward the end of 1905 by a merger of the daily editions of the Germania Publishing Company of George Brumder and The Herold Company owned by the Coleman family. The controlling interest in the corporation was held by the Brumder family while the Coleman's retained a smaller share. Although the papers were now published by the same concern after January 1, 1906, each paper retained its original name and staff. Thus, the Milwaukee Germania Abendpost remained the evening edition with Emil von Schleinitz as editor while the Milwaukee Herold served as the morning edition with Otto Luedicke as editor. The weeklies were not influenced by the merger but the Germania Sonntagspost was adopted as the Sunday edition of both dailies. Because many Herold readers objected to the title however, the Sunday was soon changed to the Milwaukee Sonntagspost.

It is perhaps indicative of the German reader's changing attitude toward his newspaper, that in 1906 he complained about the title of his Sunday paper, yet only a few years later, on January 1, 1913 he accepted the joint titles on his daily paper. The new titles were Germania-Herold Morgenblatt and Germania-Herold Abendblatt. These titles were retained until the end of May 1918 when the war fever necessitated the removal of a name which sounded as unpatriotic as "Germania." Both dailies were renamed Milwaukee Herold and soon after that the publisher's name was changed to the Union Press Company.¹

¹On May 27, 1918 the title of the Abendblatt was changed and on June 3, 1918 the same change took place in the title of the Morgenblatt. Both papers retained in fine print "bisher Germania-Herold Abendblatt" or "Morgenblatt" respectively until March 1, 1919.
Lichte provides the following details on the Union Press Company. On December 7, 1905 the Union Press Company was incorporated for $300,000 by the Brumder and Coleman families, with the Brumders having a controlling interest. The company commenced publishing the Germania-Abendpost and the Herold-Seebote as dailies, and the Milwaukee Sonntagspost as the Sunday edition on January 1, 1906 under the name Germania-Herold Association. On February 23, 1909 the articles of incorporation were amended to change the corporate name to Germania-Herold Association. On May 2, 1918 the articles were again amended to change the corporate name back to Union Press Company and business was conducted from that date under the name Milwaukee Herold Company. The company ceased publishing the morning edition on December 31, 1925 and the evening edition on October 1, 1932. The Union Press was dissolved on August 1, 1938.

Like most other German language papers of the era, the Germania-Herold dailies opposed United States involvement in the European war.

\[\text{Das Volk will wirklich und wahrhaftig keinen Krieg, und eine Volksabstimmung würde das Überwältigend beweisen. Wir sind stolz darauf, eine Regierung des Volkes, durch das Volk und für das Volk zu haben. Wie kann das Volk gegen seinen Willen in einen Krieg geschickt werden, wenn der Wille des Volkes höchsten Gesetz ist?}^2\]

\[^2\text{Germania-Herold Morgenblatt, February 16, 1917.}\]

The papers requested readers to send cards and telegrams to Congress and to voice their anti-war sentiments. At the same time readers were instructed regarding the Constitutional authority of their representatives to declare war, and that the nation would have to accept whatever decision was ultimately made.\(^3\) The papers protested that the circumstances did not warrant a war which could only be detrimental to the country's interest and that the British control of the cable service allowed only propaganda items to filter into
and influence the United States' views on the war. This pro-German attitude was often misconstrued by native militants as an anti-Americanism. Because of the large German element in Milwaukee, the war hysteria did not reach the feverish pitch that it did in some other areas; the Milwaukee Journal, an English language paper, did keep a close eye on the Germania-Herald during the early war years and on October 14, 1916 revealed its suspicions that the German paper was making strong propaganda for Germany's cause. Although the English language press railed against the Kaiser, there was actually very little open criticism against persons of German descent. Perhaps the very patriotic Journal felt that it was duty bound to show the nation that Milwaukee's heart was in the right place even though it did not protest Germany's actions as vehemently as other cities. Nonetheless, changes did take place; German language theater came to an end as did the teaching of German in the grade schools, names that were too obviously German were Americanized and, as elsewhere in the country, "Bismarcks" became "American beauties" and "Sauerkraut" became "liberty cabbage."  

4Still, pp. 461-463.

The Germania-Herald argues until April 6, 1917 that the United States should remain neutral and that involvement in the war would be unwise and unnecessary. Although disappointed, the paper accepted the declaration of war, promptly printed the "Star Spangled Banner" in English and German on page one and soon began advertising Liberty Bonds. 5 It cannot be denied of course, that these papers
felt some embarrassment in the public eye and now tried to prove their loyalty rather than disavowing their previous arguments. The following letter was submitted and printed in the Germania-Herold Abendblatt on April 6, 1917 and clearly expresses the personal views of many patriotic German-Americans of the time.

> Was auch kommen mag, stets wird es uns ein tröstliches Bewusstsein bleiben, dass wir zu denen gehörten, die das furchtbare Unglück zu verhüten suchten.

Wir haben das Haupt nicht zu senken. Denn wir haben nichts getan, dessen wir uns zu schämen hätten. Wir können auch auf das deutsche Blut, das in unseren Adern fließt und auf all das Gute und Schöne, welches das deutsche Volk der Welt gegeben hat, genau so stolz sein wie früher.


During the late months of the war the pressure to prove patriotism through the purchase of Liberty Bonds caused the paper to use large sections of page one for their advertisement, with the result that the Milwaukee Herold now seemed to be as militant as the most anti-German English language papers.
Wir werden weitere Bonds kaufen von der vierten
Freiheitsanleihe unserer Regierung

Erstens: Damit Friede werde auf Erde, ein dauernder Friede.

Zweitens: Damit die Menschheit dieses Ideal so bald,
so schnell als möglich erreiche, denn es ist
nur erreichbar, nachdem Amerika aus dem
Weltkampfe als Sieger hervorgegangen und die
Freiheit der Völker dadurch gewährleistet ist.

Drittens: Damit "Regierung des Volkes durch das Volk
für das Volk" nicht von der Erde verschwinde,
sondern allen Nationen gesichert werde.6

6 Milwaukee Sonntagspost, September 29, 1918.

Wer Freiheits Anleihe kauft, kämpft ebenfalls für das Land.
Leihen Unkel Sam: er ist sicher und zahlt gute Zinsen.
Der Weg zum Frieden ist mit Freiheits-Bonds gepflastert.7

7 These slogans appeared on page one of the Milwaukee Herold Abendblatt, October 9, 12, 16, 1918.

The very fact that the paper was written in German presented
the greatest problems and the Milwaukee Herold, just as other German
language papers of the period, occasionally wrote about the
necessity of the foreign language press. Many immigrants had been
too old to learn a new language and now, more than ever, it was
important that they be informed about the war as well as the reasons
why the United States "In den Krieg gezwungen wurde." Moreover,
some of the people who had fled Germany for political or military
reasons now had members of their families in the military service
and they could not be denied the right to know what was happening.8
The sudden increase in the circulation during the war years was not the beginning of a new and prosperous era for the German language press as many publishers expected. After 1919 the morning edition of the Milwaukee Herold became the mail issue for the out of town subscribers but it was discontinued after December 31, 1925. The city edition of the daily was continued several more years until October 2, 1932, when the Union Press Company ceased publication of the Milwaukee Herold and transferred the Milwaukee Sonntagspost to the National Weeklies in Winona, Minnesota.

The National Weeklies was a newspaper enterprise established for the purpose of publishing weekly German language newspapers. Controlling interest in the firm was held by the Brumder family from about 1922 to 1934. For many years already, the weeklies had been printed primarily for rural areas. Winona was located somewhat nearer to the center of the farming areas of the mid-west than Milwaukee.

It is not known who edited the Milwaukee Sonntagspost during these years but it may have been Gustav Haas, who edited both the daily and the weekly. The Milwaukee Sonntagspost illustrates the difficulty of trying to trace the history of a particular paper back to its origin, especially if the paper has changed hands a number of times, the name altered and the numbering sequence changed. For example: It is known that the Banner und Volksfreund had a Sunday supplement by July 2, 1861 and its numbering dates its beginning in 1844 when the Wiskonsin Banner was first published by Moritz Schöffler. On November 2, 1874 the Sentinel announced a new publication titled Sonntagsblatt des Banner und Volksfreund. This title was retained until, under a new publisher, the paper was renamed to Sonntagsblatt Milwaukee Freie Presse and later changed to Sonntagsblatt der Milwaukee Freien Presse, but with continuation of the original numbering, and a statement that this paper was the former publication
of the **Banner und Volksfreund**. When Paul Bechtner took over the **Freie Presse** in June 1890 he changed the name of the Freie Presse to Abend Post and apparently changed the Sonntagsblatt der Freien to Sonntags Post, but dated the papers according to the beginning date of the Freie Presse, i.e. 1880. When the **Germania** purchased the Abend Post in 1897, it gained the Sonntags Post as its first Sunday paper and promptly changed the name to Germania und Sonntags Post, but numbered the paper from the beginning date of the Germania daily in 1891. Within a short time the title was changed to Milwaukee Germania Sonntagspost. After the merger in January 1906 of the Germania-Abendpost and the Herold-Seebote, the title was again changed to Milwaukee Sonntagspost and it served as the Sunday edition to both dailies.

From the time of the merger of the dailies on January 1, 1906 until the demise of the Union Press Company, the Brumder family retained the controlling interest of these publications. When George Brumder died on May 9, 1910 his son William C. Brumder was managing the enterprise.11 Otto Luedicke continued as editor of

11**Germania**, May 10, 1910. Officers of the Germania-Herold Association now were: Wm. C. Brumder, Georg F. Brumder, Hermann O. Brumder. No members of the Coleman family are listed but is clear that they still shared in the ownership since the Milwaukee Herold, in its statement of ownership dated April 3, 1919, lists H. H. Coleman, E. W. Coleman and C. Coleman in addition to Geo. F. Brumder and Hermann O. Brumder.

the morning **Milwaukee Herold** until his death on June 21, 1912 and apparently Emil von Schleinitz stepped in as editor-in-chief of both dailies.12 Schleinitz, who had joined the **Germania** on January 1, 1898 as editor-in-chief of the daily, guided the papers during the

12**Milwaukee Germania Abendpost**, June 21, 1912. Otto Luedicke was born in 1843 in Berlin and came to the United States in 1867. For some years he was a journalist with the Pittsburg Freiheitsfreund and later, in the same city, with the Volksblatt. He arrived in Milwaukee in 1886.
difficult pre-war years. In April 1917, when the United States entered into the war, he took a leave of absence for reasons of health. Except for a few contributions to the paper he never returned to the editor's chair. His successor was Gustav Haas,

13Milwaukee Herold, June 28, 1920; January 1, 1921. Emil von Schleinitz was born in Aachen on February 19, 1858, attended the University of Marburg and entered into a military career. He came to the United States in 1882 and worked as a journalist in Belleville, Illinois, then in St. Paul, Minnesota on the Volkszeitung. Later he aided W. Kaufmann in editing the Clevelander Anzeiger. In 1887 and 1888 Schleinitz edited and published the Toledo Freie Presse and for some years served as editor-in-chief of the Louisville Anzeiger. He came to Milwaukee at the beginning of 1898 and died in June 1920.

who had come from the Clevelander Anzeiger in 1886 to join the staff of the Herold but accepted a position as managing editor of the daily Germania in January 1895. He had assisted Schleinitz these many years and now edited the Milwaukee Herold during its last fifteen years until October 2, 1932.14

14Milwaukee Herold, January 1, 1921; October 2, 1932.

The weekly and semi-weekly editions of the Germania and Herold were not influenced by the January 1906 merger of the dailies. At this time the weeklies were intended primarily for the rural areas where the isolation of the residents tended to keep the German language alive longer than in the city where daily contact with English caused a more rapid integration and a quicker acceptance of English language papers. In October 1918 the Germania and Herold weeklies were amalgamated under the name Milwaukee America and
continued to thrive until it was transferred to the National Weeklies in Winona, Minnesota at the end of 1924. The patriotic sounding title for the new paper gave no clue that this was a German language paper and was chosen to avoid the political overtones of its former name *Germania* and also to avoid confusing the name with the daily *Milwaukee Herold*. Until the time of this merger in 1918 the *Germania* weekly was apparently edited by Dr. Umling. It is not known who edited the *Herold* weekly during these same years but it may have been either Emil von Schleinitz or Wm. C. Brumder. Gustav Haas, editor of the combined dailies since May 1917, probably also edited the *Milwaukee America* from its first issue until its transfer to Winona. From Winona the *Milwaukee America* was issued on Tuesday with the *Haus- und Bauernfreund* serving as the Friday edition.15

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15*Milwaukee America*, October 1, 1918; November 25, 1924. Lichtle claims that the paper was transferred to the National Weeklies on December 25, 1924, but copies of the paper are available during that period only until November 1924. The first issue of the *Milwaukee America* listed the publisher as the Germania Publishing Company; thereafter the publisher is not indicated but it may have been continued by the Union Press in order to avoid using the name *Germania*. A supporting fact for this is the notice in the January 1, 1921 issue of the *Milwaukee Herold*, which indicated that Gustav Haas was editor of both the daily and the weekly. Dr. Umling, the previous editor, probably began as editor of the *Germania* semi-weekly in 1895. No editor is listed in the *Milwaukee America*. It, as well as the dailies, was published from the Brumder (formerly Germania) Building.
When Michael Biron established the Milwaukee Freidenker on April 1, 1872 it became the first Milwaukee paper to be published in the interests of the Freethinkers since the collapse of Der Humanist in 1853. During the interval, members of the "Freie Gemeinde" had to subscribe to publications from other cities.\footnote{In his Lucifer of January 1889 (pp. 1-2) Biron mentions the following competitors to his early Milwaukee Freidenker: Blätter für Freies Religions Leben by Friedrich Schünemann-Pott in Philadelphia; Der Pionier by Karl Heinzen of Boston (this paper later merged with Der Freidenker); Menschentum by Fritz Schütz in Philadelphia; Der Freidenker by Dr. Friedrich Leiss in New York; Der Fortschritt by Philipp Rappaport in Cincinnati; Die Freie Kanzel of Springfield and the St. Louis Freidenker of St. Louis, both by Dr. A. Schabehorn.}

The Herold had appealed to the group for the few years that it was edited by Bernhard Domschke, but after his death in 1869 the direction of the paper was guided by W. W. Coleman, owner and publisher; Coleman sought to make the Herold palatable to a larger number of readers and his more conservative ideas alienated many of the Freethinkers. The Milwaukee Freidenker, "Zeitschrift für freies Menschenthum," began as a bi-monthly appearing on the first and fifteenth of each
month. It rapidly gained sufficient circulation to warrant the purchase of a printing press and the change to weekly publication took place on January 5, 1873. Thereafter the paper appeared on Sundays and carried the subtitle, "Sonntags-Blatt für freies Menschenthum."  

Milwaukee Freidenker, October 1, 1872; January 5, 1873. The paper had previously been printed by John J. Laubenhelmer at 325 Chestnut Street. After November 1, 1872 it was printed by the "Druckerei des Milwaukee Freidenkers" at Fifth and Galena. Arndt-Olson, p. 680, erroneously claims March 30, 1873 as the beginning date of the weekly. Apparently there must have been some delay in acquiring the equipment since the Sentinel on October 24, 1872 indicated that the weekly edition of the Milwaukee Freidenker was to begin early in November 1872.

Michael Biron, who identified himself as "Sprecher der freien Gemeinde in Milwaukee, früher römisch-katholischer Priester," was an ex-Jesuit, disillusioned with the Catholic Church and excommunicated in 1864. He came to the United States after suffering continual harassment from the Austrian authorities both for his beliefs and for his efforts in publishing a paper in Graz, also titled Freidenker. His role as a former priest strongly influenced his writing both in the Milwaukee Freidenker and in his subsequent publications.

Milwaukee Freidenker, April 1, 1872.

See especially Biron's Lucifer-Arminia, which will be discussed in a separate section.

In its earliest days the Milwaukee Freidenker was not a
newspaper in the accepted meaning of the word, but rather a
periodical filled with articles on Biron's experiences as a priest,
a few scientific items, and some reading selections for entertainment.
Because its main purpose was to be the organ of the "Freie Gemeinde"
it was naturally hostile to organized religion and was especially
opposed to the Catholic Church.

Der Freidenker, ausgehend von dem Grundsatz, dass es
des Menschen erste Pflicht sei, sich allem offen zu
widersetzen, was er für falsch hält, kündete nämlich
gleich von vorneherein allem Lug und Trug...(das) unter
der Firma eines 'Gottes' und unter dem Schutz der
Herren von 'Gottesgnaden' (steht)...einen unversöhnlichen
Kampf an. Er verneint allen und jeden Autoritätsglauben.5

5 Milwaukee Freidenker, April 1, 1872.

The publication differed from other anti-religious periodicals by
also concerning itself with the problems of the workingman.
Although it was not a socialist workingman's paper as the later
Arbeiter Zeitung and Vorwärts, the socialist tendency is nonetheless
evident.

Der Freidenker will positiv für das reine Menschenthum,
für das Wohl und Heil der vielfach noch so sehr bedrückten,
in geistigem und leiblichem Blend hinschmachtenden
Menschheit arbeiten...

...für die Befreiung der Arbeit von der erdrückenden
Übermacht des Geldsackes...für die Gleichberechtigung
aller Glieder der menschlichen Gesellschaft.6

6 Milwaukee Freidenker, April 1, 1872.

On April 27, 1873 Gustav F. Schnitzler joined Biron as a
business partner but Biron retained the editorial management himself.7
Milwaukee Freidenker, April 27, 1872. Arndt-Olson, p. 680, is probably in error by referring to Schnitzler as associate editor.

Schnitzler had already been the business manager of Biron's printing shop for some months, and when he withdrew from the partnership on March 1, 1874, his position in the business was taken by Joseph Brucker, who had occasionally contributed articles to the paper.

As a result of this new partnership the name of the paper was changed to Biron und Brucker's Sonntags-Blatt "Freiheit, Bildung und Wohlstand für Alle! ... Vormals Milwaukee Freidenker." The paper first appeared under this new title on April 5, 1874. In an editorial the owners wrote that the paper was now so well known that its purpose no longer had to be expressed through the title. In addition, there were a number of other papers in the United States called Freidenker, and Biron and Brucker did not wish to be associated with them. The paper became the official organ of the "Bund freier Gemeinden von Nordamerika" in August 1874.

Milwaukee Freidenker, March 29, 1874. Biron und Brucker's Sonntags-Blatt, August 9, 1874.
The Biron-Brucker partnership was dissolved in less than a year; Brucker's claim that Biron left the business due to illness seems rather doubtful in view of an announcement a few days later which indicated that Biron had joined the editorial staff of the Banner und Volksfreund. At a later date Biron also commented in his Lucifer that he had left the Freidenker because of unpleasant circumstances, that the paper had gotten into incompetent hands and was then changed into an organ "des einseitigen Heinzen'schen Radikalismus," which in turn had caused a drop in the subscriptions, and that the paper was later saved from destruction only because it was taken over by a stock company.

After Biron left the partnership in December 1874, Brucker changed the name of the publication to its original title Freidenker and continued as editor and publisher for the next two years. Various members of the "Freie Gemeinde" and friends aided him by contributing articles and Brucker specifically thanked a number of them in his last editorial on November 5, 1876. The paper also printed a variety of articles by Karl Heinzen, favored Heinzen's
views, and in January 1876 absorbed Hermann Sigel's _Der Freigeist_, formerly of Boston.¹⁴ The socialistic tendency became even stronger

¹⁴Freidenker, January 9, 1876. After this date the Freidenker was sent to former Freigeist subscribers. Arndt-Olson, pp. 202-203, makes no mention of this purchase, and erroneously wrote Siegel rather than Sigel. The tendency toward the "einsitzigen Heinzen'schen Radikalismus" alienated enough subscribers that it was only with difficulty that Dürflinger was able to rescue the paper. For Hermann Sigel see separate sections on _Der Socialist_ and Milwaukee _Freie Presse_.

during Brucker's ownership and on November 15, 1875, while still possessing and directing the Freidenker, he established a new and separate publication called _Der Socialist_.

In October 1876 Brucker made plans to move his publications to Chicago and even notified his readers that after November 1, 1876 the address of the Freidenker would be 77 Fifth Ave., Chicago.¹⁵

¹⁵Freidenker, October 22, 1876.

Apparently some problems arose and the move did not take place. However, the number of readers who were displeased with the paper had continued to grow and a group of these individuals attempted to purchase the paper before it was removed from Milwaukee. Brucker had been concentrating his efforts on _Der Socialist_ and consented to sell the Freidenker but allowed the interested parties only twenty-four hours to decide on the terms of the sale and to raise the necessary funds. They were not able to meet this deadline and one member of the group, Karl Dürflinger, purchased the paper. His name appears as publisher, and for a short time as editor, after
November 5, 1876.  

\[16\] Freidenker, November 5, 1876. Dürflinger was already known in the city as the owner of a bookstore and a bindery.

Karl Dürflinger objected strongly to the socialistic trend which the Freidenker had followed in the last years. He changed the paper considerably by omitting all articles which advocated socialism and replaced them with items dealing with the natural sciences. Moreover, he promised

den Gegnern würdig und gerecht gegenüber zu treten und sie mit der gebührenden Achtung zu behandeln, wo immer sich annehmen lässt, dass sie nach innerer Überzeugung handeln und so lange sie mit ehrlichen Waffen kämpfen.

Brucker, in his Socialist, almost immediately began criticizing the Freidenker and Dürflinger, in a rare display of temper, retaliated by describing the Socialist as a compilation of "gemütlich bei einer Tasse Kaffee geschriebenen wuthschnaubenden Hetzartikel."
The change in the Freidenker's policy was once more expressed when Dürflinger installed his own press.

Nachdem die eigene Druckerei des Freidenker vollständig, und zwar mit ganz neuer Schrift eingerichtet ist, erscheint er heute im neuen Kleide, vom letzten Reste des alten Schmutzes gesäubert.  

\[17\] Freidenker, November 5, 24, 1876; December 3, 1876.

 Shortly after he acquired the Freidenker Dürflinger also issued a monthly illustrated magazine for youth which contained, as the advertisement indicated, "Erzählungen, Biographien eder Menschen, Fabeln, Rätsel und 'Herzblüttchen's Spielwinkel.' The first
issue of the new publication Onkel Karl appeared on December 20, 1876 and was continued for only one year. However, in December 1880 a second edition was published in book form. No further information is known about the publication but it is unlikely that it appeared at any other time. Apparently W. W. Coleman was much more successful with publications for young readers several years later when he published Kinderpost and Jugendpost.

These publications are discussed in the section on Der Harold.

Although Karl Dörflinger edited the Freidenker himself during the first few months, he soon acquired the services of Carl Hermann Boppe. Boppe, formerly of the Freie Presse in Elisabeth, N. J., began editing for Dörflinger in January 1877 and remained in this capacity until his death on January 12, 1899. The arrangement, with Dörflinger as publisher and Boppe as editor, was continued until January 1, 1880. From that date until April 4, 1880 the publisher
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is listed as Jörlinger and Schmitt. A stock company was then

formed under the title Jörlinger Book and Publishing Company, with
Karl Jörlinger as president and Frederick E. Schmitt as secretary-
treasurer. The name of the company was again changed to Freidenker
Publishing Company with Andrew Keye as president and C. Hermann
Boppe as secretary; publication under this new name commenced on
January 7, 1883. The Freidenker had meanwhile absorbed Karl

Heinzen's Pionier during the first month of 1880 and thereafter the
title and issue number of the Pionier was included on page one.

The paper had also been named the official organ of the "North
American Turner Bund" in June 1880 and for many years it was the
organ of the "Freidenker von Nordamerika."  

Prior to 1879 Die Zukunft of Indianapolis, Indiana served as
the official Turner paper, but due to some disagreements between
the Turner organization and the publishers of Die Zukunft, the paper
was no longer supported by its former readers. The Freidenker,
which was owned by Karl Dörflinger at the time, began publishing a supplement titled *Turnzeitung-Beilage zum Freidenker* on December 29, 1878. Since its earliest days the *Freidenker* had carried articles concerning the Turners; many readers of the paper were members of both the "Freie Gemeinde" and the Turner organization. On January 4, 1885 the supplement was changed to a separate weekly paper under the title *Amerikanische Turnzeitung* "Turnerische Ausgabe des Freidenker" and published by the Freidenker Publishing Company. It carried the motto formerly used by the *Freidenker*, "Freiheit, Bildung und Wohltat für Alle!" and was the "Organ des Nordamerikanischen Turnerbundes.

C. Hermann Boppe, who was also editor of the *Freidenker*, edited the *Amerikanische Turnzeitung* from its first issue until September 1898 and directed the paper in much the same manner as the *Freidenker* and included many articles of scientific interest. It differed somewhat by showing only small interest in national and international news. After Boppe's death in January 1899 and until the paper ceased publication along with the *Freidenker* in October 1942 the editor, with a few exceptions, was also the editor of the *Freidenker*. 

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26 A copy dated December 29, 1878 has been located; Arndt-Olson, p. 693 indicates 1880 as the beginning date. See also Lichte.
Although Boppe was the chief editor of the Freidenker Publishing Company, he was assisted, especially with the Amerikanische Turnzeitung, by Maximilian Grossmann for about one year after May 6, 1883 and for shorter periods by Heinrich von Ende.28 The circulation of the Freidenker, when compared to that of other papers of the time, always remained relatively low, and Boppe must be credited with keeping the paper alive for so many years.

C. Hermann Boppe was born in Zug, Switzerland on June 21, 1842 and came to the United States in 1861, first settling in Newark, N. J., where he was employed as a bookkeeper at his uncle's brewery. In 1872 he entered the journalistic field by accepting a position as editor of the Newarker Post and when this paper collapsed in 1875 he took over the editorship of the Freie Presse in Elisabeth, N. J.29

After serving as editor of the Milwaukee Freidenker for many years, he suffered a nervous breakdown in September 1898 and from that date until his death on January 12, 1899 he was editor in name only.30

Heinrich Huhn, who had assisted Boppe since 1877 directed the
editorial policy during the time of Boppe's illness and then continued as chief editor until February 9, 1908. Huhn was then succeeded by Gustav Schöffli, J. Berandun, Willibald Fleck and Martin L. u. Bunge. The philosophy of the rationalistic Freethinker was

31Because the editor is not listed during these years it is difficult to establish exact dates. It seems most likely however, that Gustav Schöffli, who also edited the Amerikanische Turnzeitung, edited the Freidenker from February to July 1908 after Huhn's retirement. He was followed by J. Berandun from August 1908 to March 1910; he seems to have edited the Turnzeitung only until June 1909, after which Otto Soubron edited it from July to December 1909 and Hans Ballin from January to March 1910. Willibald Fleck then apparently took over both papers from April 1910 until February 1913. Arndt-Olson, p. 680, does not mention Fleck under Freidenker but indicates that Berandun served until 1913! From February 1913 to December 1917 Martin L. u. Bunge edited both papers. Albert Steinhauser was the last editor from December 1917 until October 25, 1942, when the paper was discontinued by the Turner Publishing Company.

no longer as popular as it had been in the mid-nineteenth century however, and the Freidenker satisfied only a dwindling number of readers. In May 1916 the paper was sold to the Turner Publishing Company and was published in Minneapolis, Minnesota for some two years and then transferred to New Ulm, Minnesota, where it continued until October 25, 1942.32

32Arndt-Olson, pp. 224, 680. See also Lichte.

In addition to the Amerikanische Turnzeitung the Freidenker Publishing Company for many years published the Erziehungsblätter, a journal dedicated to the improvement of education. The paper was begun in September 1870 in Louisville, Kentucky under the title Amerikanische Schulzeitung. It provided an organ for the National
German American Teacher's Association which was largely a Freethinker organization desiring better instructional methods and adequate salaries of teachers in their own school system. Since the philosophy of the Freethinkers rejected the necessity of religious denominations, they had to establish their own schools to provide their children with the same good German education which at that time was offered only by the parochial schools.\(^\text{33}\)

\(^{33}\text{Hense-Jensen, I, P. 139.}\)

The Amerikanische Schulzeitung was a monthly published by Henry Knoefel until August 1873.\(^\text{34}\) It was edited from the beginning by William N. Hailmann, who was also director of the German English Academy in Louisville. In August 1873 Hailmann acquired the paper from Knoefel and continued it in Louisville until he was called to Milwaukee in June 1874 to succeed Peter Engelmann as director of the Milwaukee German English Academy. He brought the Schulzeitung with him to Milwaukee and, although he remained editor, he was joined in a publishing partnership by Karl Würflinger.\(^\text{35}\) The paper was renamed Erziehungsbüttter in June 1875. When Würflinger became sole owner of the Freidenker in November 1876, he also continued the partnership with Hailmann, with respect only to the Erziehungsbüttter,
until September 1879. At that time Hailmann left the partnership and Ludwig Richard Klemm took over his editorial position until September 1880. For the following year, until September 1881, the paper was jointly edited by Klemm and Hailmann, after which Hailmann again edited alone until July 1882.  

36Arndt-Olson, pp. 669, 680. The very few extant copies of the Erziehungsblätter do not include this period and hence, these dates may not be completely accurate. Cross-reference between the Erziehungsblätter, Amerikanische Turnzeitung and the Freidenker indicate that the listing as it is given here is fairly accurate.

was published by Jürgflinger, then by the Jürgflinger Book and Publishing Company and later by its successor the Freidenker Publishing Company. Hailmann was joined by Maximilian Grossman as co-editor from August 1882 until September 1884. After this date until August 1890 Grossman, who had also aided C. Hermann Boppe with the Freidenker and the Amerikanische Turnzeitung, edited the Erziehungsblätter alone. He was then joined by his former assistant Heinrich Fick until June 1894. Fick then continued until the paper ceased publication in June 1899.

37H. H. Fick is listed as assistant editor in the July 8, 1888 issue and as "Hilfsredakteur" in the April 21, 1889 issue.

During the last years the Erziehungsblätter became simply a supplement to the Freidenker and no longer spoke for the goals of the Teacher's Association. On April 21, 1889 the company announced that it no longer wished to publish the paper as the "Organ des Deutsch-Amerikanischen Lehrerbundes" because the group had become
too radical.\textsuperscript{38}

\textsuperscript{38}\textit{Freidenker}, April 21, 1887.

Also in April 1889 a monthly illustrated supplement for juveniles was added to the \textit{Freidenker} and the \textit{Erziehungsbätter}. For several years \textit{Fur Unsere Jugend} was edited by Grossman with assistance from Heinrich Fick, then by Fick from June 1894 until November 1899 and by Dr. F. W. Jodel after that.\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{39}\textit{Fur Unsere Jugend}, January, November 1899. According to Arndt-Olson, p. 681, Jodel edited until November 1906. It cannot be determined how long the publication was continued after that date since the files are incomplete. It was included however, as page eleven of the \textit{Amerikanische Turnzeitung} for some time.

\textit{Der Socialist}
\textit{Milwaukee\textsuperscript{'r Socialist; Vorwärts}
\textit{Die rothe Laterne; Milwaukee Leuchtkugeln
\textit{Neueste Nachrichten; Der Ansiedler in Wisconsin

Michael Biron had been publishing the \textit{Freidenker} for two years when he was joined in partnership by Joseph Brucker. Together they published the \textit{Freidenker} under the title, \textit{Biron und Brucker\textquotesingle}s \textit{Sonntags-Blatt} until the partnership was dissolved in December 1874. Biron then moved to Madison, Wisconsin and later published several other papers. Brucker then continued the paper alone under its original name \textit{Freidenker} and in October 1876 sold it to Karl Bürflinger.\textsuperscript{40}

\textsuperscript{40}Refer to the sections on \textit{Lucifer}, \textit{Arminia} and \textit{Journal} which
follow. Brucker wrote a farewell address to his readers in the Freidenker on November 5, 1876. During the period 1874 to 1876 Brucker also edited the Chicago weekly Volks-Zeitung. See Arndt-Olson, p. 86.

Almost a year before he sold the Freidenker Brucker began and edited a new publication, Der Socialist. The first issue of Der Socialist appeared on November 15, 1875 as a very small four page, three column daily published by "Section I der Internationalen Arbeiter Association" and carried as its subtitle, "Unabhängiges Organ für die Interessen des Volkes."41 Within months the size of the paper enlarged and a motto added; "Keine Herren, kein Knechte--Gleiche Pflichten, gleiche Rechte."42 As the title indicates, the paper advocated progress, improvement of living conditions among the working class and the redistribution of private capital. Thus, in an era when the railroad was an infant and expanding business, Der Socialist advocated ownership of this lucrative facility by the state so that the wealth might be in the hands of the people rather than being financially profitable to only a few.43 As a labor paper it supported the programs of the Social Democrats.
Die Social-Demokratie meint etwas ganz Bestimmtes; der Arbeiter, der Kleinbürger, welcher sich unter ihre Fahne stellt, weiß, dass es sich nicht um eine vortübergehende Belebung des Handels und Verkehrs, sondern um eine totale Umgestaltung der bestehenden Produktions- und Consumptionsverhältnisse handelt. Die Arbeiter Parteien haben verschiedene Programme, die Social-Demokratie hat auf der ganzen Welt nur ein einziges, mag sie auch, um dieses durchzuführen, in verschiedenen Ländern und Staaten zu verschiedenen Übergangsmitteln greifen.44

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44Milwaukee'r Socialist, September 17, 1877.

In 1876 a supplement was published and titled "die rothe Laterne" "Humoristisch-satyrisches Organ zur Beleuchtung sozialer und politischer Schattenseiten...Unverantwortliche Redakteure: Gustav Lyser und die Nitroglycerinfabrikanten am Marktplatz." Only one copy dated January 1, 1876 (I. Jahrgang, Nr. 0) is extant and it is not known whether it was ever printed again. The supplement contained a number of jokes and anecdotes about the other German language papers of the city, and some poems against various local citizens, such as "Stoßseufzer eines Philisters," and "Ode an den Mehl-Wittig."45

45Moritz Wittig later sued Brucker for libel.

On April 30, 1876 a Sunday supplement appeared under the title Milwaukeeer Leuchtkugeln, "Ein heiteres Blatt in ernster Zeit."46

46Milwaukeeer Leuchtkugeln dated April 30, 1876 is 1. Jahrgang, Nr. 1.

The paper was delivered on Saturday with der Socialist and consisted
largely of political satires and anecdotes such as "To Columbia" which ridiculed a local Catholic German language paper. A number of sketches show ultra-conservative politicians and wealthy businessmen making absurd statements about the socialists, which brought about the desired result of glorifying the position of Der Socialist and its programs of reform. Gustav Lyser probably directed the paper and it cannot be determined whether Milwaukeeer Leuchtkugeln was continued after he resigned in November 1876.47

47Arndt-Olson, p. 687, suggests October 1, 1876?. Issues of the supplement are available only until June 4, 1876.

Brucker's acid criticisms prevented Der Socialist from gaining much success and actually lead to several libel suits and eventually to the demise of the paper. Even Gustav Lyser's contribution of the humorous supplements Die rothe Laterne and the Milwaukeeer Leuchtkugeln did little to strengthen its position as a socialist labor organ.

In March 1876 the Sentinel reported that the editor of the "tenuous" sheet, Der Socialist, had been found guilty of libel against one Moritz Wittig and fined $250.48 Within a short time the Socialist

48Sentinel, March 7, 9, 1876. The Freidenker of March 18, 1876 explains that Brucker had accused Wittig, a member of the city's board of supervisors, of buying flour at $3.25 a barrel and then selling it to the city for the purpose of distribution to the poor at a rate of $5.50 a barrel.

Printing Company was formed with Gustav Lyser as president and assistant editor. Publication of Der Socialist by the new company was begun on April 26, 1876 with Brucker continuing as editor.49
Financial problems still burdened the paper and there was talk of *Jer Socialist* being absorbed by the *Vorbote* of Chicago, but it seems that this merger did not take place. Another libel suit was brought against Brucker and Lyser by W. W. Coleman, publisher of *Der Herold* in September 1876. Both of the accused were arrested and *Jer Socialist* responded: "We are able to use strong terms according to the circumstances, and we have thereby acquired more enemies than friends, but such is our pride."  

"less terrible in wordy warfare" only during the brief intermission when Lyser was editor from about November 13 to 26, 1876.

When Gustav Lyser ended his association with the Socialist Printing Company on November 28, 1876, the paper was renamed to

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49 *Jer Socialist*, April 26, 1876; a few days later the previously mentioned *Milwaueker Leuchtkugeln* was added. Arndt-Olson, p. 691 is in error by claiming 1875 as the beginning date for the Socialist Printing Company and 1877 for the Brucker-Lyser association.

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50 *Sentinel*, July 12, 13, 25, 1876. According to Arndt-Olson, pp. 58, 86, the *Vorbote* was a weekly edition of the *Chicagoer Arbeiter Zeitung*. Although no connections between the *Socialist* and the *Vorbote* have been found it is interesting to note that the *Sentinel* of November 28, 1876 reported Lyser's resignation and speculated that he might edit "the Chicago side of the paper." Also there is no known relation between the *Socialist* of Milwaukee and the *Chicagoer Socialist* which existed from 1876 to 1879.

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51 Translation from the *Sentinel*, September 27, 1876.

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52 *Sentinel*, November 14, 27, 1876.
One year later the paper was so near to bankruptcy that friends and interested parties arranged a fair in order to raise funds to keep the paper alive. The fair was held on December 10, 1877 and the net receipts totaled $1915.60.

Another attempt to aid the struggling enterprise was the publication of the daily evening Neueste Nachrichten which began on April 22, 1878 for the purpose of bringing the latest news dispatches of the afternoon in compressed form to the local readers. It was a factual paper, carried no editorials and was available only at the publishing office for one cent. It is not known how long the Neueste Nachrichten was continued but it is listed only in the 1878 City Directory.

Brock's involvement in another libel suit in August 1878 lead to his relinquishing the editorship of the paper to Hermann Sigel.
August 19, 1878, the Sentinel reported that "the Socialist and the Socialist Printing Company are among the things of the past."\(^\text{57}\)

\(^{57}\)Arndt-Olson, p. 691 suggests May 31, 1878, the date of the last available copy of the Milwaukee's Socialist, as the last date of the publication. According to these newspaper reports, it might be reasonable to assume that Der Socialist was last published under that title between August 11 and August 17, 1878.

In place of the defunct paper Sigel issued a much smaller daily, the Vorwärts, which began circulation on August 17, 1878. Although Sigel was an excellent writer it was claimed that at times he seemed "to mistake his phial of prussic acid for his inkstand."\(^\text{58}\) He edited

\(^{58}\)Sentinel, August 19, 1878; Freidenker, August 25, 1878. It should be noted that more than a year earlier, on February 17, 1877, the Sentinel had reported that the Socialist Printing Company was about to issue a weekly named Vorwärts, but there is no further proof that it actually went to press at that time.

the paper for only a few days until the end of August 1878.\(^\text{59}\)

\(^{59}\)Sentinel, August 27, 1878. Freidenker, September 8, 1878.

It was during this period that Brucker, who apparently still retained control of the business, contacted his former partner Michael Biron in hopes of re-establishing the partnership. In his Lucifer Biron later commented on these dealings and claimed that the bankrupt Brucker tried to trick him into a new partnership by exaggerating the circulation figures of Der Socialist. Since Biron had lived in Madison for several years he was unaware of the paper's difficulties. When he arrived in Milwaukee about August 27, 1878 and took over the editorship of the Vorwärts, he soon discovered that
the paper had only about 500 subscribers. Biron stayed with the

60 *Sentinel*, August 27, 1878. Although Biron in his article in *Lucifer*, June 1888, refers to the paper as the Socialist [sic], it must have been the Vorwärts which he edited at this time.

paper only a few days, broke the contract with Brucker and returned to Madison. At the same time that Biron was editor of the

61 *Sentinel*, September 9, 1878. Thus it appears that Sigel edited *Der Socialist* only a few days prior to and after August 11, 1878. He then edited the Vorwärts from August 17, 1878 to about August 27. Biron then took over and edited until no later than September 9, 1878. No copies of the Vorwärts are extant and it is therefore necessary to construct the brief life of the paper from contemporary newspaper accounts.

Vorwärts Ernst Buhlert served as the paper's local editor and Anthony Gfrorner as the business manager.62

62 *Sentinel*, August 27, 1878. Both Buhlert and Gfroerner were also associated with the humoristic Au. See separate section on Au.

According to the contemporary newspaper accounts the ownership of the Vorwärts changed almost from week to week. The Sentinel reported on August 23, 1878 that Sheriff Sanger would auction the materials and property of *Der Socialist* on September 10, 1878. It can be assumed therefore, that until that date Brucker headed the business, since, as previously mentioned, Biron did not conclude the agreement of partnership with Brucker, nor did he purchase the paper. On September 12, 1878 the Sentinel carried the notice that "Messrs. Buhlert and Gfrorner of the Au are negotiating the purchase of the Vorwärts, the Socialist newspaper sold under the hammer by Sheriff
Sanger several days ago." A few days later, on September 20, the Sentinel reported that Sigel and Buhlert had bought the paper, although on September 16, a Mr. Rietbrock had been mentioned as the new owner. It is certain that by September 24, 1878 Richard Michaelis of the Chicagoer Freie Presse had purchased the paper for $1900 and that Sigel and Buhlert were serving as editors. 63

63 Richard Michaelis edited the Chicagoer Freie Presse from 1871 to 1905 and had previously edited die Chicago Union from 1869 to 1870, and later published the Illinois Staats-Zeitung. See also Arndt-Olson, pp. 70, 74, 85.

These changes in ownership marked the end of the Brucker paper as an organ of the Social Democrats. In a meeting shortly before September 16, 1878, the local Social Democratic Club had voiced their dissatisfaction with the paper by passing a resolution discarding the Vorwärts as their organ. On September 26, the organization held another meeting at which Paul Grottkau, later editor of the Milwaukee'r Arbeiter Zeitung, and William Mueller, chairman of the committee on the German organ of the party, reaffirmed the resolution and indicated that the Vorwärts, especially under the ownership of Michaelis, no longer supported the ideals of the Social Democrats and was in fact, thwarting the efforts of the party. 64 Michaelis, perhaps also wishing to disassociate his paper from its former affiliation, changed the name of his paper from Vorwärts to Freie Presse at the end of October 1878. 65
In 1879 he commenced the publication of the *Ansiedler in Wisconsin*, but it was issued from Milwaukee for only a short time since he soon moved to Medford, Wisconsin where the periodical was continued. *Der Ansiedler* contained articles and letters encouraging people living in Milwaukee to move and settle in the area of Medford. During the following years Brucker was associated with all the German language publications in Medford.\(^{66}\) Considering his former allegiance to the Social Democrats, it is strange to find Brucker giving speeches for the Republican Party in 1880 and also warning employers against young Germans, who demand full pay but bring neither talent nor ambition to the job.\(^{67}\)

\(^{65}\) Sentinel, October 29, 1878. Most likely it was titled *Milwaukeeer Freie Presse*. Arndt-Olson, pp. 681, 696, in error by claiming January 1879 as the end of the Vorwärts, an error probably arising from the fact that the first available issue of the *Freie Presse* is dated February 1, 1879.

\(^{66}\) Everest, *How Wisconsin came by its large German Element*, p. 333.

\(^{67}\) Banner und Volksfreund, September 30, 1880.
Milwaukee Freie Presse; Abend Post
Sonntagsblatt der Freie Presse

After Richard Michaelis acquired the Vorwärts, formerly titled Jer Socialist, late in September 1878, he continued it as a daily afternoon and weekly paper with Hermann Sigel and Ernst Buhlert as editors. The tendency of the paper was now Republican and to indicate this change in policy the Vorwärts was renamed to Milwaukee Freie Presse on October 29, 1878. Under Michaelis it became an actual news paper as opposed to the limited party organ which the paper had been while it was owned by Brucker. Despite these changes, Michaelis considered the Freie Presse as a successor to Brucker's papers and followed the numbering of Der Socialist.

Hereafter the paper will be referred to simply as Freie Presse. The first issue of the Freie Presse is dated February 1, 1879 and is Jahrgang 4, Nr. 966. It was published from the same address as the former Socialist at 454 Market Square.

Michaelis, who was still associated with the Chicagoer Freie Presse, retained the paper only until the middle of June 1879. Articles of association had been filed on April 11, 1879 by Hermann Sigel, Sigmund Cohn and Julius Vogt as the Freie Presse Publishing Company with a capital stock of $25,000. On June 26, 1879 Sigel wrote that the paper was now locally owned and that he would continue
as editor. Apparently Sigel was the principal stock holder since a short time later he appointed Julius Vogt as the "Geschäftsführer" of the Freie Presse.  

For the next fifteen years Sigel directed the course of the Freie Presse and it was largely due to his efforts that the paper was a success. Hermann Sigel was born in Schuchsnried near Wittenberg, Germany in February 1840. He arrived in the United States in 1858 and during the next few years contributed to the German language press in New York, held a professorship at Yale for two years, served as editor of several newspapers in New Haven, Connecticut, and edited and published Der Freigelst in Boston.

From Boston he moved to Oak Park, Illinois, where he taught German and held a position on the editorial staff of Michaelis' Chicagoer Freie Presse. Sigel then moved to Milwaukee in 1878 to edit Der Socialist and after it failed he stayed in the city to edit its successors, the Vorwärts, the Freie Presse and the Abend Post.

Although he favored the Republican Party, Sigel did not direct the paper as a party organ. He tried to maintain "ein freies Volksorgan" and professed that the paper had "eine socialistische Gedankengrundlage" and would use as its motto "Fortschritt, Freiheit,
The Milwaukeeer Sonntagsblatt, which Michaelis had also published, was continued by the Freie Presse Company for only about one month. When the serialized articles, novels and stories had been completed, the subscribers were advised that the paper would be discontinued and, since the Freie Presse Publishing Company was not issuing a Sunday edition at the time, they could subscribe to the Daheim, "Sonntagsausgabe der Chicago Freien Presse." 

On May 11, 1880 the entire holdings of the Banner und Volksfreund Printing Company were acquired by the Freie Presse Publishing Company. At the same time a new stock company was formed under the name Freie Presse Printing Company with Edward Aschermann as president and Hermann Sigel remaining as editor. The dailies of the two papers were merged to form the Milwaukeeer Freie Presse "Früher Banner und Volksfreund." Although the policies of the new daily were the same as those of the former Freie Presse, the paper was no longer considered as a successor to Der Socialist and the Vorwärts. In addition to indicating this change in the sub-title, the numbering of the Banner und Volksfreund was now used.
The Freie Presse, May 11, 1880, is numbered Jahrgang 5, Nr. 1347 while the next day, May 12, 1880, the Milwaukeeer Freie Presse reads Jahrgang 36, Nr. 139.

weekly Banner und Volksfreund with its belletristic supplement Stadt und Land were also acquired and both were continued under the original titles. The numbering of the Sonntagsblatt des Banner und Volksfreund was continued but under the new title, Sonntagsblatt der Freie Presse.

Sonntagsblatt der Freie Presse, May 16, 1880. This issue is Jahrgang 36, Nr. 33. Although the numbering of the Sonntagsblatt indicates that it began approximately October 1845, it is unlikely that a separate Sunday edition was printed at this early date. The Sentinel of November 2, 1874 announced the beginning of the Sonntagsblatt des Banner und Volksfreund. Files of the Banner und Volksfreund are not available for this period.

In an editorial on May 12, 1880 Sigel declared that the new paper would not compromise its policies in order to satisfy all the former subscribers of the Banner und Volksfreund, but would be "ein wahrhaft unabhängiges, republikanisches Volksorgan." A number of old Banner und Volksfreund friends found themselves without a satisfactory paper; they resented not only the change in policy but also the quick sale and subsequent use of their favorite paper's name. Legal action was initiated in an attempt to declare the Banner und Volksfreund insolvent and bankrupt. This action, it was thought, could negate the sale to the Freie Presse Printing Company and allow sufficient time for the group to obtain funds to purchase the paper for its own purposes. It was determined however, that
A. A. Smith, representing the Freie Presse Publishing Company, had legally purchased the enterprise from Gustav Trumpff.\(^79\) It was not

\(^79\)Freie Presse, May 19, 1880; July 1, 1880. The details of the legal proceedings are discussed at greater length under the Banner und Volksfreund.

until 1885 that a new Banner und Volksfreund Company was formed with G. E. Weiss as its president. This company bought and commenced publishing the weekly Banner und Volksfreund and the Stadt und Land; apparently the Sonntagsblatt was not included in the sale.\(^80\)

\(^80\)Banner und Volksfreund, April 22, 1885. The sale took place on April 1, 1885 and the April 2 issue is the last one published by the Freie Presse Printing Company. See also the separate section on the Banner und Volksfreund.

August E. Gans, who had joined the staff of the Freie Presse Printing Company in December 1884, had edited both the Freie Presse and the Banner und Volksfreund since January 1, 1885. During this same period Albert B. Roeder was secretary and "Geschäftsleiter" of the company.\(^81\)

\(^81\)Freie Presse, December 31, 1884. Banner und Volksfreund, April 22, 1885. No further information has been found about either of these men. The editors were not listed in the paper and issues of the Freie Presse are not available after March 1885.

The Freie Presse Printing Company acquired Michael Biron's Milwaukee Journal on September 17, 1881 and for the next several years the title of the paper read Milwaukee Freie Presse "Banner und Volksfreund und Milwaukee Journal."\(^82\) These secondary titles were
Richard Günther headed the Freie Presse Printing Company from 1879 to 1880; Arndt-Olson, p. 681 lists Günther as editor and publisher of the Freie Presse from July 1879 to May 1880. Both of these reports are apparently in error. Biron did not change the name of his Arbeiter Zeitung to Milwaukee Journal until June 1, 1880. The Freie Presse bought the Milwaukee Journal from Biron in September 1881 and Biron, in his Lucifer of June 1888, claims that he had sold his Journal to Richard Günther. Hence, it seems most likely that Günther was a principal stock holder for a short period in 1881. Because of Günther's extensive political career, it is unlikely that he ever served as editor. In 1877 and 1879 Günther was elected Secretary of the Treasury of Wisconsin and from 1881 to 1887 he served as the U. S. Representative of Wisconsin's Sixth District.

Both 1885, discontinued after March 29 and April 5, 1885 respectively. Both

Under Paul Bechtner's direction the Abend Post was published for almost a year by the German-American Printing Company. Sigel remained as editor and maintained the Independent Republican tradition of its predecessor. On April 23, 1891 the publishers incorporated as the Abend Post Publishing Company with a capital stock of $40,000. Bechtner served as president of the new company and Otto J. Koch was the secretary. In addition to the daily and

It seems likely that Otto J. Koch remained with the company
until 1897. The Sentinel of January 15, 1894 states that the Freie Presse was changed to Abend Post in June 1890, while Arndt-Olson, p. 668, claims January 1890. Files for this period are not available and the earliest available edition of the Abend Post is dated September 22, 1892 and is Jahrgang 15, Nr. 327, indicating that, unlike the Freie Presse which had been numbered according to the beginning date of Der Socialist, the Abend Post numbered its issues from the beginning date of the Freie Presse. The paper wrote both Abend Post and Abendpost.

the Sonntagspost, which was intended primarily as weekend recreational reading, a weekly under the title Nordwestliche Post was begun in December 1891. Very little is known of the Nordwestliche Post except that it was changed to a semi-weekly publication in January 1895 and discontinued when the Abend Post holdings were sold to George Brumder in 1897.  

85 The Sonntagspost (also written Sonntags Post) was advertised in the Abend Post on July 1, 1893. Only one copy dated June 21, 1896 has been found. Lichte erroneously refers to this paper as the Sonntags Journal. Although Arndt-Olson, p. 689, indicates the subtitle of the Nordwestliche Post as "Wochenblatt der Milwaukee'r Abendpost" this source claims that the paper was a Sunday edition. This is unlikely since the company also published the Sonntagspost. No copies of the Nordwestliche Post have been located.

The long time editor of the paper, Hermann Sigel, submitted his last article on January 11, 1894. Four days later he died and it was a great loss to the company. Sigel had directed the editorial policy of the paper along Independent Republican lines and had criticized Carl Schurz and other prominent German-American Republicans who supported the Democratic presidential candidate Grover Cleveland.  

86 Abend Post, November 4, 1892.

On November 5, 1892 Sigel had written
Wer heute noch an die guten demokratischen Aussichten glaubt, der muss wenig Einsicht besitzen...
Wer für Harrison stimmt, stimmt für das Wohl der Vereinigten Staaten, wer für Cleveland stimmt, stimmt für das Wohl des Auslandes.

Cleveland's presidential victory received the simple comment, "Wie man sich bettet, so schlaf man." If the Democrats were now to carry out their economic reforms than "gute Nacht amerikanisches Volk."87

87Abend Post, November 9, 1892.

Heinrich Jahn succeeded Sigel as editor of the paper. Although the Abend Post Publishing Company could look back on several years of success, it was finding it more and more difficult to finance the daily paper. On May 3, 1897 George Brumder purchased the company and its holdings for a speculated $12,000.88 Brumder merged the

88Sentinel, May 4, 1897.

Abend Post with his own Germania and continued the Sonntagspost. The Nordwestliche Post was not continued because the Germania was already the strongest and best known weekly. Paul Bechtner now retired from the publishing business and returned to his former livelihood of manufacturing vinegar and compressed yeast.

Arbeiter Zeitung; Milwaukee Journal

Michael Biron began his newspaper career in Milwaukee in 1872 with the publication of the Milwaukee Freidenker. He was associated
with his first paper until the end of 1874, having in the meantime gone into partnership with Joseph Brucker. Biron then sold his share of the enterprise to Brucker and moved to a rural community in Dane County near Madison, Wisconsin. Brucker continued publication of the Freidenker until the end of 1876 when he sold his holdings to Karl Dürflinger. A new publication, *Der Socialist*, which Brucker had begun in November 1875, became Brucker's chief newspaper.

When the *Socialist* faltered and Brucker was near bankruptcy in August 1878, he contacted Biron in hopes of re-establishing the former partnership. Biron, living some 117 miles from Milwaukee, was unaware of Brucker's difficulties; Brucker moreover, claimed that the *Socialist* was thriving with a circulation of about 900 for the daily and 1000 for the weekly editions. Biron came to Milwaukee and commenced work on Brucker's paper, but soon discovered that the weekly had ceased to exist and the circulation figure for the daily was closer to 500 than to 900. He did not feel obligated to honor the contract which was based on fraud, immediately broke relations with Brucker and returned to Madison.

Although another newspaper was begun in Milwaukee to take the place of *Der Socialist*, it failed to gain the support of the former *Socialist* subscribers because it did not actually follow the policies of its predecessor. Biron therefore invested $1700 of his own
money and on October 1, 1879 began daily publication of the Arbeiter Zeitung. For a time the paper was apparently successful since

91 Sentinel, October 1, 2, 1879. Lucifer, June 1888. This Arbeiter Zeitung should not be confused with Milwaukee\textsuperscript{\textregistered}Arbeiter Zeitung by Paul Grottkauf in 1886, nor with Der Arbeiter by Heinrich Loose in 1854. One copy of the paper has been found dated September 19, 1881 and is Jahrgang 3, No. 212. Arndt-Olson, p. 686, is in error regarding title changes; Der Socialist was not changed to Milwaukee Journal.

Biron enlarged and improved its appearance several times. On June 1, 1880 the paper was renamed Milwaukee Journal and it remained as the organ of the German Socialists. Throughout its brief history the

92 Sentinel, January 6, February 10, May 30, November 16, 1880. This Milwaukee Journal should not be confused with the earlier paper by Bernhard Domschke in 1856, nor with the English paper presently published in the city.

paper was supported only with Biron's own finances and without backing from the labor or socialist organizations. As strife continually eroded the structure of the socialistic workers parties and their moral support and membership declined, so did the circulation of the Milwaukee Journal. It became increasingly difficult to maintain a daily of specialized interest, yet Biron did not wish to change the tendency of the paper to make it acceptable to a larger number of readers. He therefore tried to sell the paper to the socialists for the price of his original investment but the group was unable to raise sufficient funds. He then approached the Freidenker Publishing Company with the prospect of merging the Milwaukee Journal with the Freidenker, but radicals opposed and prevented completion of the
transaction. Attempts to sell to Robert Schilling, who was then publishing the weekly National Reformer, also failed.\footnote{Richard Günther, owner of the Freie Presse, bought the paper and in the Sonntagsblatt der Milwaukeeer Freien Presse of September 18, 1881 it was announced that on the previous day the Freie Presse and Biron's Milwaukee Journal had consolidated and that the united paper would be an afternoon daily. For a short time page eight of the Freie Presse was titled Milwaukee Journal and the numbering of the Journal was retained under the title on page one until April 12, 1885.\footnote{The only extant issues of the Milwaukee Journal are on page eight of the Freie Presse. Until April 12, 1885 the title of the paper read: Milwaukee Freie Presse "Banner und Volksfreund und Milwaukee Journal."}}

\footnotetext{93}{The National Reformer will be discussed in a separate section.}

Günther, owner of the Freie Presse, bought the paper and in the Sonntagsblatt der Milwaukeeer Freien Presse of September 18, 1881 it was announced that on the previous day the Freie Presse and Biron's Milwaukee Journal had consolidated and that the united paper would be an afternoon daily. For a short time page eight of the Freie Presse was titled Milwaukee Journal and the numbering of the Journal was retained under the title on page one until April 12, 1885.\footnote{The only extant issues of the Milwaukee Journal are on page eight of the Freie Presse. Until April 12, 1885 the title of the paper read: Milwaukee Freie Presse "Banner und Volksfreund und Milwaukee Journal."}

\footnotetext{94}{After the sale to Günther, Biron was no longer connected with the Milwaukee Journal and within a few months he began the publication of an entirely new paper, the Lucifer. During the year 1881 Biron had also published and edited a Sunday edition titled Daheim, but it existed only from March 22, 1881 until June 25, 1881.\footnote{Sentinel, March 23, 1881; June 25, 1881. No other information on the Daheim has been found.}}

\footnotetext{95}{Sentinel, March 23, 1881; June 25, 1881. No other information on the Daheim has been found.}

Lucifer; Arminia

In January 1882, some few months after he had sold his Milwaukee
Journal to Richard Günther of the Freie Presse, Michael Biron began the monthly publication of *Lucifer*, "PopulMrwissenschaftliche, philosophische, belletristische und humoristische Zeitschrift für Aufklärung und Belehrung."\(^{96}\) The vignette shows Lucifer, the bringer of light, moving among a group of horrified church and state officials. Biron explained that these were the representatives of intellectual darkness, the priests, ministers, despots and capitalists; Lucifer's light is to expose them, in the hope that they may someday disappear.\(^{97}\) In the strictest sense, the publication was not a newspaper; it did not concern itself very much with contemporary news events, nor did it represent the viewpoint of a formal organization. It was instead, much like the *Flug-Blätter* of some thirty years earlier; it was a journal of editorials which criticized the evils caused by narrowmindedness.

Ich bekämpfe nämlich nicht die Religion, sondern nur die mit ihr getriebenen Missbrüche, und (es) unterscheiden sich meine Bestrebungen grade dadurch scharf von denen derjenigen Freidenker, welche die Religion überhaupt bekämpfen.\(^{98}\)

Biron described himself as "früher römisch-katholischer Priester und Hospitalpfarrer."\(^{99}\) In several issues he reprinted articles

\(^{96}\) *Lucifer*, April 1884. The earliest edition of *Lucifer* which is available is dated January 1884 and is Jahrgang 3, Heft 1.

\(^{97}\) *Lucifer*, January 1885.

\(^{98}\) *Lucifer*, February 1886.

\(^{99}\)
which had appeared in German newspapers and these shed some light on his past. In 1859 he had been "Kaplan und Direktor des bischöflichen Progymnasiums zu Herbstein," was transferred to Bechtheim bei Worms, read his last Mass in October 1863 and was excommunicated in 1864.  

Although Lucifer generally carried a few articles dealing with the natural sciences, the greater part of the journal took up questions of a religious nature. He drew heavily on his own experiences in the Church and many of the articles carry titles as, "Im Priesterseminar--Eine Erinnerung aus meiner priesterlichen Vergangenheit," or "Die Geheimnisse des Beichtstuhls."  

In July 1882, only six months after he had begun the Lucifer, Biron added another publication, the Arminia, which was the same as Lucifer in many respects and at times even identical to it. The reason for the additional publication may be found in the fact that a number of subscribers took offence to the name Lucifer. In fact,

under the name Lucifer the journal was banned in Austria, while the
Identical paper titled *Arminia* was allowed to pass through the mail. With the new title Biron drew attention to Arminius who,

*Lucifer*, June 1896.

through his defeat of the Roman provincial governor Varus in 9 A.D., became the great liberator of the Germanic tribes. Biron describes his *Arminia* as,

*ein antipapistisches Blatt und als solches ein Organ für 'alle' Reformbestrebungen auf religiösem Gebiet, namentlich für diejenigen, welche gegen den römischen Katholizismus, sowie gegen alle Missbräuche gerichtet sind, die im Namen und unter dem Deckmantel der Religion getrieben werden.*

Neben der religiösen, wird sie (*Arminia*) fortan die politischen und sozialen Fragen von radikal-freisinnigem Standpunkt aus behandeln und auch für Unterhaltungselektrüre in hinreichender Weise sorgen.

*Lucifer*, June 1896; January 1886.

In spite of his claim as a Freethinker, Biron did not get on well with many Freethinkers, especially men as Karl Heinzen and Hermann Boppe of the *Freidenker*. Biron refers to them as the radicals while they called him a compromiser and apostate.

*Lucifer* is straightforward; Biron began it as a monthly publication in January 1882 and continued it as a monthly until June 1896 when the name *Lucifer* was dropped and replaced by *Arminia*. *Arminia* on the other hand, was begun in July 1882 as a weekly, continued as such for several months and was then changed to a monthly. As monthlies the papers shared certain
articles but Biron considered them as two separate papers.  

106 Lucifer, January 1884. Various issues of Lucifer during this period contain a list of contents of the Arminia and by comparison it can be seen that a number of items are identical.

Beginning January 1885 two Arminia's were printed; one identical to and the other different from the Lucifer, thereby giving his readers not only two separate papers, but also a choice of which title they preferred. A few months later, in July 1885, only one Arminia was printed as a separate paper, and from January to November 1886 it was changed to a weekly.  

107 Lucifer, January 1885; January 1886. Arndt-Olson, p. 671, is in error by claiming that Biron in the November 1885 issue of the Lucifer is advertising the publication of the September 1885 Arminia. His text reads, "Arminia Nr. 9 (vom September 1885) ist mir ausgegangen. Wer immer diese Nummer entbehren kann, würde mich durch Zusendung derselben zum Dank verpflichten."

Biron again took up residence in Milwaukee in October 1885.  

108 Milwaukee Volksblatt, October 4, 1885. Lucifer, October 1885. Biron's address was 423 E. Water St., the same address later used by the Milwaukee Arbeiter Zeitung.

When the paper was changed to a weekly in January 1886 it became the organ for "Sektion S. A. P. (Socialistische Arbeiter Partei) von Milwaukee." Its success was somewhat limited however, since a number of readers, especially those not living in Milwaukee, were dissatisfied with the local character of the paper. In the attempt
to overcome this weakness the local socialistic group voted to take over the Arminia, and in May 1886 Biron wrote that he was giving his paper to the group and thereafter he would no longer be associated with the Arminia. Biron further indicated that a publishing society was being founded and Paul Grottkauf, who had recently worked on the staff of the Arminia, would then be its editor. Contrary to these arrangements however, the newly founded publishing society decided not to continue the paper under its former name, choosing instead to call their paper the Milwaukee'r Arbeiter Zeitung. The earliest available issue of the Milwaukee'r Arbeiter Zeitung indicates that the numbering of the Arminia was retained. Biron was thus able to continue publication of his weekly Arminia until November 1886, at which time he changed it to a monthly. This new monthly was identical to the Lucifer except for the title and vignette. Unfinished articles and stories of the weekly Arminia were continued in the Sonntagsblatt der Milwaukee'r Arbeiter Zeitung.

Although Biron later served as editor of the Volkszeitung and the Wahrheit, he was not editor of the Milwaukee'r Arbeiter Zeitung as a number of sources have indicated.
In June 1887 Biron returned to his farm near Madison from where he continued the monthly publication of both *Lucifer* and *Arminia*. He renamed the paper to *Lucifer-Arminia* in July 1888, removed the vignette so that the paper now had a plain format, and added:

**Motto:** Prüftet Alles, und was gut ist, behaltet.

(1 Thess. 5,1)

Der Buchstabe tötet, der Geist macht lebendig.

(2 Kor. 3,6)

Ihr werdet die Wahrheit erkennen, und die Wahrheit wird euch frei machen.

(Joh. 8,32)

The original vignette was replaced in January 1889 and the name *Lucifer* was discontinued after June 1896.

The *Arminia* was continued until July 1906. Already in 1898 Biron had considered ceasing his publication due to poor health and old age, but many of his friends supported and encouraged him to continue as...
Although Michael Biron's Arminia had served as the organ of the "S. A. P. (Socialistische Arbeiter Partei) von Milwaukee" since it was changed to a weekly in January 1886, the socialists living outside of Milwaukee became increasingly dissatisfied with the paper because of its local flavor. As a consequence, Biron offered to give the socialist group the paper in order that they might direct it to their liking. A publishing company was formed for that purpose, but it was decided that Milwaukee'r Arbeiter Zeitung would be a more suitable title than Arminia. The paper appeared for the first time on May 4, 1886 as a four page six column weekly serving the Central Labor Union in the interests of the worker movement. At the time Biron wrote in his Lucifer of May 1886, that Paul Grottkau, who had served on the editorial staff of his Arminia for the last several weeks, would edit the new paper; Grottkau's name does not appear on
the paper however, until May 29, 1886.\footnote{There are only a few copies of the Milwaukee'r Arbeiter Zeitung available; the editor is not shown in the three existing copies dated in 1887. The first available issue of the paper is dated May 4, 1886 and is numbered Jahrgang 5, Nr. 18. Because of the numbering many sources, including Arndt-Olson, p. 671, have been lead to believe that the Milwaukee'r Arbeiter Zeitung was published since 1882. Biron's comment clearly indicates that the paper did not exist prior to May 1886 and several extrinsic facts support this view. The Milwaukee City Directory does not list the paper until 1886: Biron is listed in all sources as being the editor of this paper since 1882 and until Grottkau took it over in 1886. This would indicate the unlikely situation that Biron was publishing his own monthlies Lucifer and Arminia as well as a Milwaukee weekly while living in Madison. He lived in Madison for the entire period from 1882 to 1886! In addition, Biron himself never mentions the Milwaukee'r Arbeiter Zeitung in his own publications until 1886, and the Volksblatt of October 4, 1885, in referring to Biron, indicates that he was publisher of the Lucifer and Arminia, but no mention was made of the Milwaukee'r Arbeiter Zeitung. Although no complete explanation is available, it seems likely that Biron sold the subscriber list and the right to the numbering of the Arminia, but since the Central Labor Union preferred Arbeiter Zeitung as the title, Biron could continue the use of the name Arminia.} Note: the Milwaukee'r Arbeiter Zeitung should not be confused with Biron's earlier Arbeiter Zeitung of 1879 which was renamed to Milwaukee Journal in 1880 and was merged with the Freie Presse in 1881, nor with Der Arbeiter of 1854 by Heinrich Loose.

Very little is known of Grottkau's early life. He came to the United States in 1877 and went directly to Chicago where he soon became the editor of the socialistic Chicagoer Arbeiter Zeitung and its weekly Vorbote.\footnote{Arndt-Olson, pp. 58, 86.} He also belonged to the "Lehr und Wehr-verein," an organization which outfitted itself with weapons in order to protect workers against the police and military during strikes. In an attempt to moderate the anarchistic tendency of the socialists,
he became involved in a heated debate with Johann Most. Because he lost the debate and consequently his influence, he had to give up his editorial position with the Chicago paper. He then moved to Milwaukee and apparently joined Biron.

Prior to Grottkaus arrival in Milwaukee, Robert Schilling, head of the Knights of Labor and publisher-editor of the National Reformer, had urged workers to seek and eight hour week day under the slogan, "eight hours' work and ten hours' pay." The only force which Schilling and the Knights of Labor employed was the boycott. Grottkau, heading the Central Labor Union, was more aggressive. It was later claimed that his speech in the Milwaukee Garden aroused the workers in a manner which caused the Bay View Riot. As a result of the riot on May 5, 1886, one day after the Chicago Haymarket Riot, Grottkau was arrested and convicted of conspiracy and inciting riot. He evaded the one year sentence however, and spent only one month in jail. Because Schilling, who had sought to maintain some law and order, was not tried, a personal bitterness and political rivalry arose between the two labor leaders and hostility continually expressed itself in their respective papers.118 When Grottkau was accused of contempt of court in December 1886, he sharply criticized Schilling, who had been summoned to testify, for not leaving the city on the day of the trial, a gesture which Grottkau interpreted.

as Schilling's desire to see him convicted.119

119 Milwaukee'r Arbeiter Zeitung, December 28, 1886.
Volks-Magazin, December 12, 1886.

Despite his legal problems, Grottkauf was able to continue the paper and with the second issue changed it to a tri-weekly appearing on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. In addition the Saturday issue had a belletristic supplement called Sonntags-Unterhaltungsblatt.120

120 This supplement was also called Sonntagsblatt der Milwaukee'r Arbeiter Zeitung and it is the publication in which Biron concluded the stories which were still incomplete at the time that he ceased publication of the weekly Arminia.

While the Milwaukee'r Arbeiter Zeitung dealt mostly in labor news, there were generally also a few items of local or foreign interest as well as the ever popular serialized novel or short story. Heinrich von Kleist's Michael Kohlhaas was printed in serial form beginning December 28, 1886. Early in October 1886 the paper was changed to a daily and on January 28, 1887 the original motto "Unser Ruf erschalle: 'Gleiches Recht für Alle!'" was replaced with a sub-title, "Den Interessen des arbeitenden Volkes gewidment." Also in January 1887 a Sunday edition called the Vorwärts was added.121

121 Arndt-Olson, p. 671, is in error here by stating that the daily began in June 1886. The December 28, 1886 issue is Jahrgang 5, Nr. 152. Since the paper began on May 4, 1886 as Jahrgang 5, Nr. 18, then copy number 152 would have to appear in late October or early November. Assuming the daily to have started in June as Arndt-Olson claims, would bring the December 28 issue to about Nr. 330! No early copies of the Sunday Vorwärts are available and its beginning date can only be determined by the numbering on later issues; January 1, 1893 is numbered Jahrgang 7, Nr. 1. This Vorwärts should
not be confused with the Vorwärts which followed Der Socialist and is not related to it.

It is not known how long Grottkau actually remained with the paper. After many court proceedings he apparently left Milwaukee in 1888, first moving to Chicago and about one year later to San Francisco.122

The Freidenker of December 30, 1888 claimed that he was living in Chicago at the time. Die Wahrheit, June 11, 1898 indicated that Grottkau had moved to San Francisco in 1889 and that he had died on June 10, 1898 while on a visit to Milwaukee.

The Socialistic Publishing Society took over the Milwaukee'r Arbeiter Zeitung in July 1888 with Simon Hickler as editor. Hickler remained as editor only until December 1888 and was succeeded by Valentin Blatz from December 1888 to May 1889 and Jacob Hunger from May to December 1889.123 A weekly edition titled Die Wahrheit was added in January 1889.124

The first available issue of Die Wahrheit is dated January 7, 1893 and is Jahrgang 5, Nr. 1.

On January 1, 1890 the Socialistic Publishing Society absorbed the Täglicher Reformer of Robert Schilling, merged it with its own Milwaukee'r Arbeiter Zeitung, discontinued using either of these titles and commenced publishing a new daily called the Milwaukee Volkszeitung. Die Wahrheit and the Vorwärts were continued as the weekly and Sunday editions of the Milwaukee Volkszeitung.125
No copies of the Milwaukee Volkszeitung have been found. The merger is mentioned in Freidenker, January 12, 1890.

Jacob Hunger, who had edited the papers before the merger remained as editor for only one month until Simon Hickler again took over the editorial chair in February 1890. For the months of July and August 1891, Gustav A. Rahn served as editor. Michael Biron, Arndt-Olson, pp. 695-696. The Freidenker, January 12, 1890 mentions that Gustav Rahn would be editor of the Volkszeitung but no further proof has been found. Rahn had previously been associated with Schilling's Reformer.

also publisher and editor of Lucifer and Arminia, then edited the papers until he announced his retirement in December 1892.127

Immediately after Biron's resignation in January 1893, Victor L. Berger assumed control over the Volkszeitung papers. He changed the daily Milwaukee Volkszeitung to Wisconsin Vorwärts "und Milwaukee Volkszeitung, Arbeiterzeitung, und Täglicher Reformer; 'Eine unabhängige fortschrittliche Zeitung.'"128 The Wisconsin Vorwärts

128 Only the shortened title Wisconsin Vorwärts will be used here. The January 3, 1893 issue is Jahrgang 12, Nr. 1, indicating that Berger continued the numbering of the Milwaukee Volkszeitung which had itself followed the numbering of the Milwaukee'r Arbeiter Zeitung and the Arminia before that.

now served as the afternoon daily and was the "Offizielles Organ der American Federation of Labor sowie des Federated Trades Council von
Milwaukee." The *Vorwärts* was retained as the "Sonntagsausgabe des Wisconsin Vorwärts," and Die Wahrheit became the "Wochenausgabe des Wisconsin Vorwärts." Although these publications under Berger were strongly slanted toward the political ideas of the social democrats, they also carried adequate news coverage of international and local events as well as items of cultural interest.

The *Wisconsin Vorwärts* was discontinued after August 17, 1898; Berger wrote that he had sustained the papers largely with his own funds and could no longer afford such a financial burden. Since he did not want to sell, he discontinued the daily but enlarged *Die Wahrheit* from four to eight pages. The weekly paper then became the "Organ der Sozialdemokratischen Partei von Wisconsin." The Sunday *Vorwärts*, Berger wrote, would continue to be "eine Waffe des fortschrittlichen Proletariats, ein Propagandablatt des Sozialismus."

For many years Victor L. Berger was the leader of the Socialist Party in America. He was born in Nieder-Rehbach, Austria-Hungary in 1860 and received his education at the universities of Budapest and Vienna. After coming to the United States he worked as a cattle puncher, metal polisher and finally he turned to teaching German in Milwaukee. In 1892 he resigned his position at the Turner Normal
School in order to devote his time to publishing and editing his socialistic newspaper. Through his papers he was very influential both in spreading and making popular the ideas of socialism to the American working man. He served as the first Socialist Congressman in 1910, won again in the 1918 elections but was refused his seat in the House of Representatives because of his pro-Germany attitude toward the war. He and several others had recently been convicted of conspiracy for editorials in the Milwaukee Leader and sentenced to twenty years imprisonment. The sentence was later reversed by the Supreme Court and beginning in 1922 Berger served three more terms successively as a Socialist Representative. In an unfortunate accident he was struck by a streetcar in Milwaukee and died from the injuries received on August 7, 1929.

After the daily Wisconsin Vorwärts ceased publication in 1898, the Vorwärts and Die Wahrheit were continued, but by 1904 the content of the two papers, except for a few minor items, was almost identical. In 1906 Berger announced that he could no longer afford the financial burden of operating a paper. A corporation was formed under the name Vorwärts Publishing Company with Herman W. Bistorius as the business manager. Although this announcement was
made in June 1906, the name Vorwärts Publishing Company can be found in the paper as early as December 1905.\footnote{Vorwärts, December 30, 1905; June 23, 1906., Die Wahrheit, June 17, 1906.} Die Wahrheit was published only until June 25, 1910. On April 2, 1911 the Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Company headed by Victor L. Berger and Frederic Heath took over the publication of the Vorwärts, the last remaining German language socialist newspaper in Milwaukee. This company also published the English language socialist paper, the Milwaukee Leader.

In addition to these regular publications the Social-Democratic Publishing Company also issued a supplement during election years which was titled Die Stimme des Volkes--Voice of the People, and, as the title suggests, was printed in both English and German. Its only function was to advertise and advocate the Socialist Party. Victor L. Berger was listed as editor of the paper until October 8, 1911 although he was already a member of the House of Representatives at that time.\footnote{Vorwärts, April 2, October 8, 1911. A few issues of Die Stimme des Volkes--Voice of the People are available and are dated October 1910 and March 1918.} During these years Berger was aided in his editorial duties by Jacob Hunger, Carl Kleist and Edward Deuss. Heinrich Bartel then took the editorial responsibility on November 19, 1911 and served in that capacity for the remaining twenty-one years of the paper's existence.\footnote{}}
Bartel died in Milwaukee on June 27, 1968.

For some time before the discontinuation of the Vorwärts, the paper had been operating at a deficit. Many of the subscribers were jobless and could not afford to pay the subscription. In an article titled "Zum letzten Gang" on December 31, 1932 the editor Bartel wrote,

Die deutsche Einwanderung ist abgeschüttelt, die alten Deutschen im Lande sterben aus, ihre Kinder lesen nur englisch. Wie soll da die deutsche Presse noch gross gute Aussichten haben. Nicht anders geht es den Übrigen fremdsprachigen Zeitungen in Amerika. Da hat dann die Wirtschaftsdepression gerade noch gefehlt!

During its last years the Vorwärts was still considered a socialistic paper, although it was no longer written with the typical enthusiastic fire of reform. Local and national news, as they might be found in most weekly papers, were the chief items of interest.

The final decision to suspend the Vorwärts was probably due to the appearance of the non-socialistic Milwaukee Deutsche Zeitung, published by the former employees of the daily Herold, which had ceased publication earlier in 1932. The Social Democratic Publishing Company was engaged to print the new paper. To avoid the dangerous possibility of supporting a particular cause in the paper which they were hired to print and attacking the same cause in their own publication, the Social Democratic Publishing Company yielded to expediency and supported the Milwaukee Deutsche Zeitung, which had better financial backing and hence, a greater possibility of success. The Milwaukee Deutsche Zeitung was continued until 1950, when it
merged with the Abend Post of Chicago. During the 1930's and 1940's this paper provided the German readers of the city a news media, but unlike almost all of its predecessors, the Milwaukee Deutsche Zeitung furthered no special cause and throughout its existence remained non-political.\textsuperscript{136}

\begin{flushright}
136See also Arndt-Olson, pp. 56, 677.
\end{flushright}

\textbf{Der National Reformer; Täglicher Reformer}
\textbf{Milwaukee Volksblatt; Milwaukee Reformer}

One of the earliest labor leaders in the Milwaukee German community was Robert Schilling. Some years before Paul Grottkau arrived in Milwaukee to edit the Milwaukee'r Arbeiter Zeitung, Schilling, under the auspices of the Milwaukee Trades Assembly, founded the weekly Der National Reformer. The paper first appeared in 1880 and a Sunday edition, the Milwaukee Volksblatt, was added in January 1882 and carried the statement, "Der Mensch, nicht Geld, regiere die Welt" under the title.\textsuperscript{137}

\begin{flushright}
137Only very few scattered copies of the papers in the Reformer group are extant. The earliest available edition of Der National Reformer is dated October 8, 1886 and indicates that the weekly was begun in 1880 and the daily in 1886. Also the numbering of the December 20, 1900 issue is Jahrgang 21, Nr. 51, which indicates that January 1880 may be considered as the beginning of the paper. However, the Sentinel writes on October 12, 1880, that the "German Greenback organ Der National Reformer...has made its appearance... and is edited by Robert Schilling." No earlier mention of the Reformer has been found either in the Sentinel or in any other local German paper. Arndt-Olson, p. 690, lists the beginning as 1887?. The April 8, 1983 issue of the Milwaukee Volksblatt is
\end{flushright}
Jahrgang 2, Nr. 14. The Milwaukee City Directory of 1882 lists the paper and claims that it was a daily; no further proof of this has been found.

The few remaining issues of the papers in this group clearly show that they were concerned largely with labor news, but unlike some of the other labor papers, items of contemporary news were also included. As labor papers *Der National Reformer* and the *Milwaukee Volksblatt* often discussed the working man's right to earn a fair wage for his work and, although violence was not condoned, the paper supported the right to strike if mediation and labor talks failed. Schilling himself served as arbitrator in the strike against the Manistique Lumbering Company in Michigan. In order to circumvent a new state law which established the length of the normal working day at ten hours, the Lumbering Company tried to force its employees to sign a contract that they would work as long as the employer required. Schilling's efforts in helping to settle the strike were successful and provided proof to the readers of his papers that the Knights of Labor, which Schilling headed, could do more than merely talk about theoretical benefits.  

138 *Milwaukee Volksblatt*, September 27, 1885; May 29, 1886. Refer also to the separate section on the *Milwaukee'r Arbeiter Zeitung*, where the conflict between Schilling and Paul Grottkau, leader of the Central Labor Union, is discussed. Schilling, who had grown up in the United States and spoke both English and German fluently, was much better acquainted with the labor problems in America than such contemporaries as Joseph Brucker or Paul Grottkau.

For several years Schilling published the papers himself but in 1886 the Knights of Labor Printing Company was formed, headed
by Schilling. It is possible that the *Tmglicher Reformier* was

139 The Milwaukee Volksblatt of April 8, 1883 lists Schilling as both editor and publisher, while the November 11, 1886 issue of the same paper shows the Knights of Labor Printing Company as publisher and Schilling as editor. A more precise dating is not possible.

added at the same time that the Printing Company began publication. The subtitle "Sonntagsausgabe des Tmglicher [sic] Reformier" was added to the Milwaukee Volksblatt and for the next few years the paper was the "Officielles deutsches Organ der Ritter der Arbeit von Milwaukee."140

140 Milwaukee Volksblatt, November 11, 1886; National Reformer, October 8, 1886. Since the October 8 issue mentions the daily *Tmglicher Reformier*, it can be assumed that it began prior to that date.

In January 1890 Schilling sold the *Tmglicher Reformier* to the Socialistic Publishing Society, which amalgamated it with its own *Milwaukee'r Arbeiter Zeitung* to form a new daily, the Milwaukee Volkszeitung.141 Schilling retained the *National Reformer* as a

141 The Freidenker of January 12, 1890 claimed that Gustav Rahn had recently edited the *Tmglicher Reformier* and would be the editor of the newly formed Milwaukee Volkszeitung.

weekly and changed the Sunday Milwaukee Volksblatt to Milwaukee Reformer. Although these two papers remained essentially socialistic and continued to carry articles dealing with labor, they now became more and more like other newspapers. Large sections were devoted to national and international news, items of non-labor
interest, agricultural advice and entertainment.

During a period of several years in the 1890's Schilling also headed the Populist Party in Wisconsin. Although Schilling and Victor L. Berger, publisher of the Vorwärts papers and strong advocate of the social democrats and later leader of the Socialist Party, joined efforts in the 1894 election, the disparity of their political beliefs prevented further cooperation in their labor efforts. Moreover, a personal animosity rarely found in the late nineteenth century German-American newspapers arose between the two men. Berger accused Schilling of being "ein politischer Schwindler und Bauernführer" and an enemy of socialism because it supposedly was "contrary to human nature." "Die 'Common Ownership' der Weiber aber wäre ganz und gar nach seinem Geschmack. Das sagt er zwar nicht, aber er thut so..."143

143Die Wahrheit, August 21, October 23, 1897. Copies of the Reformer for this period are not available. Such personal feuds, although common some forty to fifty years earlier, became rare when the German-American papers no longer functioned as voices of a particular political or religious philosophy. Schilling had been involved in a similar feud some ten years earlier with Paul Grottkau.

Apparently the Sunday Milwaukee Reformer was discontinued after 1898 and the National Reformer after 1905.144 For a period of

144Arndt-Olson, p. 690. Schilling is mentioned very frequently
in Berger's *Die Wahrheit* until November 5, 1898, but not after that date.

about one year Schilling seems to have lived in Oshkosh, Wisconsin from where he published the *Oshkosh Reformer*, and then returned to Milwaukee.\(^\text{145}\)

\(^{k45}\)Arndt-Olson, p. 700, writes *Oskosh Reformer*. The few *National Reformer* issues available between May 14 and November 22, 1900 are only fragments and contain no information regarding the editor or publisher. The December 20, 1900 issue shows that the paper was printed in Milwaukee by Schilling as publisher and editor.
IX. THE RELIGIOUS PRESS

When the Seebote was established in 1852 it was the first German-language paper to be printed in Milwaukee specifically for Catholic readers. It served as the local Catholic organ until P. V. Deuster bought a part of the ownership and began influencing the policies of the paper. Under Deuster's direction the Seebote continued to bring its readers certain items of church news, but its interests were now more directed in the area of news and politics. On September 22, 1857 the Sentinel retracted an earlier statement and now denied that the Seebote was a religious paper. Apparently neither Protestant nor Catholic felt the need of a denominational paper until after the Civil War. When these papers did appear, they were generally weeklies which provided interesting reading matter for the entire family. Most of the denominational papers occasionally presented a political opinion but did not attempt to keep the reader abreast of current events; by remaining somewhat aloof from the day to day occurrences, these papers presented almost no competition for the daily newspapers. Perhaps for this reason they were able to survive even after the dailies and news weeklies had ceased because the readers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were preferring to read English language papers.
To supply a German language paper for the Catholic readers, a stock company under the title German Catholic Printing Society was formed. The Society issued the first weekly edition of the *Columbia* on January 11, 1873, edited by J. Gmeiner.\(^1\) The paper

\(^1\) The first available issue of the *Columbia* is dated January 15, 1874 and is Jahrgang 2, Nr. 2. Der deutsche Katholische Pressverein (German Catholic Printing Society) was a stock company doing business as the Columbia Publishing Company and it cannot be determined whether this company was related to the Katholische Druckgesellschaft (German Catholic Printing Company) which was publishing the *Milwaukeeer Katholische Zeitung* at the same time. On January 13, 1873, *Der Milwaukee See-Bote* carried a notice that the *Columbia*, a tri-weekly and weekly, had begun publication in Cleveland, Ohio on January 9, 1873. No clear relation between these two papers has been established. In the files of the *Columbia* the editor's name was always written J. Gmeiner, although some sources as Arndt-Olson, p. 674 and Hense-Jensen, in the index, indicate that the name was John Gmeiner.

was published with the special recommendations of Bishop Henni of Milwaukee and Bishop Heiss of La Crosse, Wisconsin.\(^2\) Church news, articles presenting the Catholic view on various subjects of religion and science, and the ever popular feuilleton were the main components of the paper. The *Columbia* usually avoided controversial topics and, except to defend its Catholic views, did not partake in journalistic duels with the other papers. "Die Columbia soll kein Streitblatt, sondern ein Wochenblatt sein, welches zu christlicher

\(^2\) Bishop John Martin Henni was Milwaukee's first Roman Catholic bishop and he played a significant role in both the development of the Church in the mid-west and the growth of the Milwaukee German community. Refer also to Peter Leo Johnson, *Crosier on the Frontier: A Life of John Martin Henni* (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1959). Albert Bartholdi (ed.), *Prominent Americans of Swiss Origin* (New York: James T. White & Co., 1932), pp. 48-49.
Within a year the stock holders decided to add a daily edition, but a number of months passed before sufficient funds were raised and a new press installed.\(^4\) On May 4, 1874 the first number of the daily Columbia made its appearance edited by Dr. E. A. Knotser and J. B. Müller. The daily edition presented a wider variety of political and local news but did not favor the views of any particular political party.\(^5\) Although the daily was ably directed it proved to be too expensive an undertaking and was discontinued after one year.\(^6\) Financial difficulties plagued the publishers for some time and in October 1875 the interested parties held a meeting to discuss means of absolving the debts. More stock was issued and a considerable number of subscriptions were quickly sold. Apparently solvency was restored.\(^7\)

\(^3\)Columbia, May 30, 1878.

\(^4\)Columbia, January 15, 1874. The Sentinel had already mentioned the possibility of a daily on December 29, 1873.

\(^5\)Germania, May 5, 1874. Copies of the daily Columbia are not available.

\(^6\)The daily was discontinued after May 1, 1875 but the Columbia makes no mention of this. Nothing more has been found on J. B. Müller; Knotser accepted a position on the staff of the Seebote.

\(^7\)Sentinel, October 27, 1875.
The weekly Columbia was continued under the editorship of the Reverend J. Gmeiner until February 1876. Gmeiner then resigned, stating that he had been editor for three years and six weeks and that he much desired to return to his priestly work.8 During the first months of publication Gmeiner had been aided by A. Wibbert, one of the founders of the German Catholic Printing Society, who also acted as the firm's business manager. When Wibbert resigned for health reasons, his responsibilities were assumed by Georg Schleyer.9 Schleyer remained as business manager until January 1877 when he left Milwaukee and settled in Chilton, Wisconsin, where he then published and edited Der Volksbote.10 Bruno Ritter was the next editor from February 24, 1876 until April 18, 1878. Ritter, who had formerly edited the Green Bay, Wisconsin Concordia, also acted as business manager after Georg Schleyer's resignation.

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8Columbia, February 10, 1876. The Sentinel of February 25, 1876 carried a notice that the Reverend Gmeiner had been placed in charge of a congregation in C ashville, Wisconsin.

9Columbia, January 29, 1874. Although Schleyer succeeded Wibbert, his name is not listed until January 28, 1875 and, from December 9, 1875 until February 10, 1876, he is listed as co-editor with the Reverend Gmeiner.

10Columbia, March 8, 1877; Sentinel, March 6, 1877. Schleyer's name appears as business manager until January 18, 1877. Although the Sentinel is an excellent source of information, it should be noted that it often misspelled German names. For example: Gmreiner on March 23, 1874, Gmenier on January 13, 1873; Schleir instead of Schleyer on February 18, 1875; Knoster and Miller instead of Knotser and Müller on May 6, 1874.
Against his wishes Ritter was relieved of the duties as editor and was succeeded by the Reverend P. Cajetan Krauthahn, previously the pastor of a congregation in Schleisingerville, Wisconsin. Krauthahn died after only two months as editor and the Reverend Leitner was called to replace him.\(^\text{11}\) It is not known how long Leitner served.

\[^\text{11}\text{Columbia, February 17, 24, 1876; February 1, 1877; April 18, 1878; May 15, 1878. Sentinel, February 18, 1876.}\] Bruno Ritter was clearly annoyed that the directors of the Columbia had decided in their January 10 meeting to relieve him of his duties without cause. Krauthahn had taken over as temporary editor when Ritter left late in April and took full responsibility of the position after May 9. His obituary appears in the July 25, 1878 issue of the Columbia. The Sentinel of July 22, 1878 mentions the Reverend Leitner as Krauthahn's successor, but no editor is shown in the Columbia from July 25, 1878 to February 19, 1880. Krauthahn's name is misspelled in almost all sources: Arndt-Olson, p. 674 writes Krauthorn, Lichte under Columbia writes Krauthron, and Strobl, p. 35, writes Krautharn. The former Schleisingerville is now called Slinger.

In this capacity since only the business manager, Alfred Steckel, is listed in the paper, and the next editor, J. M. A. Schultheis, is not indicated until February 19, 1880.\(^\text{12}\) From this time on the editor is no longer indicated but it is presumed that Schultheis remained until about 1897 when Joseph C. Hoffmann took the position.\(^\text{13}\)

\[^\text{12}\text{Alfred Steckel began as business manager on March 7, 1878.}\] \[^\text{13}\text{Columbia, February 19, 1880. The Seebote on January 1, 1885 mentions Schultheis as editor of the Columbia. Both Lichte and Arndt-Olson are unclear as to when Hoffmann joined the Columbia: the earliest mention of Hoffmann to be found in the Columbia is in an editorial comment dated August 31, 1922. Until 1893 the Columbia was published under the society name "Der deutsche Katholische Pressverein" and thereafter under the corporate name, Columbia Publishing Company.}\]
It is during Hoffman's tenure as editor that the Columbia began publishing from the same address as the Seebote and the Banner und Volksfreund at 96 Mason Street. Although there are indications that a certain relation existed between these papers, there is no evidence within them to verify, or to disprove, that they were all owned by one publishing company which preferred to operate under three separate names. Each paper lists its own publisher, yet as early as 1904 some identical items, especially novels and stories, can be found in each publication. It is not until March 1913 that the name Columbia begins to appear in the other two publications and after May 28, 1913, no publisher is listed in either the Seebote or the Banner und Volksfreund. No clear statement has been found to indicate how or when the Columbia Publishing Company acquired the papers of the P. V. Deuster Company and the Banner und Volksfreund Company.14

14Arndt-Olson, p. 691. Perhaps because the papers were published from the same address, Lichte believed that the Columbia Publishing Company gained possession of the Seebote as early as 1901.

The Banner und Volksfreund was discontinued after October 15, 1913 and beginning August 31, 1922 the Wednesday edition was titled Columbia and the Saturday edition Der Seebote, both published by the Columbia Publishing Company.15 A few weeks later, on September 20, 1922, the papers were removed to Winona, Minnesota, although Joseph Hoffmann continued to maintain an office for the company in Milwaukee.
At a later date the holdings of the Columbia Publishing Company were transferred to the National Weeklies, a Winona publishing house, which continued to supply various German language weeklies to the diminishing number of readers long after the individual publishers could no longer afford to do so.

**Excelsior; Patriot; Der Landsmann**

On September 8, 1883 the Excelsior Publishing Company began publication of the literary weekly *Excelsior* "für den Katholischen Familienkreis zur Unterhaltung und Belehrung." In the beginning the paper was not too popular, since the Columbia, with which it was competitive, was not only well established as a Catholic organ, but also offered a wider range of reading matter. A slight change took place in the paper's policy on June 5, 1884 and to meet the reader's demands, international news items such as were common in other weeklies, replaced the poetry and novels formerly found on page one. Another change on June 25, 1885 removed the international news to a different page and greater emphasis was now placed on local and state news. Nevertheless, the *Excelsior*, in presenting these news items, did not attempt to be more than a second paper in a household and did not claim to keep the reader informed of all up to date events in news and politics.

Joseph Britz, a theology student at St. Francis Seminary, was one of the founders of the paper and probably its first editor and business manager.¹⁶ After the company was incorporated on March 3,
No evidence has been found to verify Lichte's claim that Joseph Britz was the sole owner of the paper until 1886 and that it did not prosper under his direction. The first issue of the paper lists the publisher as the Excelsior Publishing Company, but it should be mentioned that the company did not incorporate until March 1886. The editors were not listed in the Excelsior and therefore their names and dates of service, with the exception of J. M. A. Schultheis, cannot be verified.

1886 Britz continued as editor for several years but Joseph Springob assumed the responsibilities of business manager. In 1888 Alfred

17 Excelsior, March 11, 1886. The officers of the company were: Henry Surges, president; Louis Bohna, vice-president; Joseph Britz, secretary; Adam Lochemes, treasurer. W. T. Lochemes, John Surges and Philipp Jung were also directors of the company. Joseph Springob must have joined the Excelsior either late in 1886 or early 1887. The Milwaukee Herold of September 27, 1918 indicates that Springob had been associated with the Excelsior for the past thirty-five years, and, as nearly as can be determined, he directed the paper until at least 1941.

Steckel, formerly with the Columbia, took over the editorship of both the Excelsior and the Patriot. The Patriot was introduced in 1888 as the Catholic paper for the La Crosse diocese, and except for its local items, which were edited by Gustav Keller, its contents were similar to those of the Excelsior. Following Steckel, J. M. A.

18 Arndt-Olson, p. 660. The Excelsior does not mention the Patriot until June 12, 1902, and then merely indicates that it was publishing the paper for the La Crosse readers. The Patriot was probably discontinued after 1917.

Schultheis, also former editor of the Columbia, joined the Excelsior staff and remained as editor until 1912. He was succeeded by Cornelius Sittard, Henry Hermann and Joseph Matt.
Cornelius Sittard edited the paper from 1912 to 1916, Henry Hermann from 1917 to 1928 and Joseph Matt from 1928 until 1946. The editorial policy during this period was apparently directed by Joseph Springob.

To accommodate the majority of its readers and to help the company out of its financial problems, Joseph Springob introduced Der Landsmann, a weekly agricultural journal, in September 1902. The new addition provided numerous items of interest to the rural reader, especially with regard to the raising of animals and crops. The editor of Der Landsmann was J. M. Sevenich.

During the years 1928 and 1929 both the Excelsior and Der Landsmann were printed by the Wanderer Printing Company of St. Paul, Minnesota and this company had the option to purchase the papers within a year. After May 3, 1928 the Excelsior was datelined in St. Paul under the editorship of Joseph Matt, but Springob remained as the business manager at a Milwaukee address. On May 2, 1929 the Excelsior and Der Wanderer were merged and published together by the Wanderer Printing Company. Apparently the company did not want Der Landsmann since it was purchased by Valentin Peter of Omaha, Nebraska at the end of 1929.

Excelsior, May 2, 1929. Arndt-Olson, pp. 231, 292, 678. See also Ruth August, "Val J. Peter, Publisher," The American-German Review, XXVII (1960), 16-18.
CMcilia

CMcilia, "Vereinsorgan des Amerikanischen CMcilien-Vereins,"]
was published since early in February 1874 to promote the
appreciation of sacred music in the Catholic Church. The monthly

21St. Cecilia, an early martyr of the Church, has long been
regarded as the patron saint of church music.

was begun in Dayton, Ohio and during its first years was published
by J. Fischer & Bro. In about 1877 it was transferred to New York,
where it was published by Fr. Pustet & Co until 1886. From the
beginning 1886 the original editor, John B. Singenberger, professor
of church music, accepted the responsibilities of both editing and
publishing. He moved the CMcilia to Milwaukee for a short time,
and then to the St. Francis Seminary in St. Francis, Wisconsin,
where he was then teaching. Singenberger maintained the periodical
until his death in May 1924. His son Otto A. Singenberger
continued the CMcilia, but in January 1925 changed it from a German
to an English language publication and changed the name to The
Caecilia. In August 1925 it was transferred to Mundelein, Illinois,
where it was continued until 1931. 22

22Arndt-Olson, pp. 98, 348, 673. See also Lichte under CMcilia.
Evangelisch-Lutherisches Gemeinde-Blatt
Kinderfreude; Bunte Blätter für die Kleinen
Lutherische Schulzeitung

The monthly Evangelisch-Lutherisches Gemeinde-Blatt was founded in Watertown, Wisconsin on September 1, 1865 as the organ of the Evangelical-Lutheran Synod of Wisconsin and the surrounding states. Very little is known of its early years but it seems likely that it was edited and published at the Northwestern College, the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Watertown, until 1871, when it appeared for the first time in the Milwaukee City Directory. At that time it was published by the Evangelical-Lutheran Synod from George Brumder's business address at 306 W. Water Street. After Brumder acquired controlling interest in the Germania, the Gemeinde-Blatt was published from the address of the Germania Publishing Company until 1891. The Wisconsin Synod then established its own concern under the name Northwestern Publishing House, which still publishes the Gemeinde-Blatt.²³

²³Files of the Gemeinde-Blatt for the early years are not available. It is most likely that Brumder, and later the Germania Publishing Company, merely served as the printers of the paper. It is not known whether the paper was at any time owned by the Germania, but it should be noted that the predecessor to the Germania Publishing Company was called the German Protestant Printing Company. The Gemeinde-Blatt is presently a monthly journal.

Local congregational news, items of theological interest, mission news and recreational reading were of primary interest in the paper; secular news were not included. Editing was done by a committee, although apparently under the direction of a managing editor.²⁴
The available files indicate either "Redigirt von der Theologischen Fakultät (1892)," "Redigirt von der Fakultät des Ev.-Luth. Theologischen Seminars zu Wauwatosa, Wisc.," (until 1887 and from then to 1954 in Milwaukee), or "Redigiert von einem Komitee," after 1954. Each issue in later years indicates one person to whom announcements and articles should be sent and it has been assumed by all sources that this is the editor.

Very little is known of the editors, and, especially for the earlier years, the dates of their tenure can only be estimated; they are as follows:

- E. Moldehnke: September 1, 1865 to 1866?
- John Bading and Gustav A. F. T. Hönecke: 1866? to August 1871?
- A. F. Ernst: September 1877 to October 1, 1880
- August Lawrence Gröbner: October 1880 to August 1887
- Eugen A. Notz: August 1887 to August 1, 1902
- Adolf Hönecke: August 1902 to January 1908
- E. Dornfeld: January 1, 1908 to December 1, 1909
- Heinrich Bergmann: December 15, 1909 to November 11, 1923
- Walter A. Hoenecke: November 25, 1923 to December 2, 1956
- H. J. Vogel: December 16, 1956 to date (December 1968)25

On August 1, 1902 the paper carried a notice that Notz had suffered a serious back injury on July 10 and could no longer carry out the duties of his position. He died as a result of the injury on February 5, 1903 and the February 15, 1903 edition contains his obituary. Arndt-Olson, p. 678, in error by claiming that Notz was editor until 1908. Hönecke died early in January 1908 and his obituary is in the January 15, 1908 edition of the Gemeinde-Blatt. Gustav A. F. T. Hönecke and Adolf Hönecke are apparently the same person. Heinrich Bergmann's obituary is in the November 23, 1923
The Northwestern Publishing House also issued an illustrated monthly magazine for school age children under the title Kinderfreude, "Illustriertes Monatsblatt der Allgemeinen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan und anderen Staaten für evangelisch-lutherische Christenkinder." The Kinderfreude was first published in January 1892 and differed from the Coleman publication Kinderpost inasmuch as it was essentially of a religious character. A picture of Christ surrounded by children met the young reader's eye on page one and various biblical stories, notes on mission activities, riddles and word puzzles were contained in each issue. By September 1907 when J. F. G. Harders, the first editor, left the publication in order to serve in the Indian missions in Arizona, the circulation had reached the sizable figure of 8,000. The Reverend C. F. Dornfeld managed the Kinderfreude for two months until the end of the year and was succeeded by the Reverend B. V. Nommensen until November 1924. Dornfeld guided the paper again for several years after 1924. It is presumed that the Kinderfreude was published at least until 1933.

Dornfeld also edited the Gemeinde-Blatt during the years
1908-1909. His name has been found written both as C. F. Dornfeld and as C. Ph. Dornfeld. Files of the Kinderfreude extend only to February 1925. Arndt-Olson, p. 686, suggests that H. Gieschen was editor during the last few years from 1929 to 1933.

In order that even the younger children might have a paper for their interests, the monthly Bunte Blätter für die Kleinen was issued after January 1896 with the subtitle, "Ein illustriertes Monatsblatt für kleine lutherische Christen." Moralistic stories and poems were presented in large print and on colorful pages to excite the beginning reader, and page one carried as a vignette the picture of children and angels playing under the protective eye of a minister and a farmer. Included was the prayer, "Lieber Gott mach mich fromm, dass ich in den Himmel komme."

The editors of the Kinderfreude also edited the Bunte Blätter. After twenty-six years of publication it was decided to discontinue the Bunte Blätter and the December 1921 issue, under the heading "Die letzte Nummer," wrote,

Aber seit einigen Jahren hat die Zahl der Leser wohl wegen der nötig gewordenen Erhöhung des Preises und auch wegen des Übergangs ins Englische so sehr abgenommen, dass die Herstellungskosten nicht mehr mit den Einnahmen bezahlt werden konnten....

Very little is known about another publication of the Evangelical-Lutheran Synod of Wisconsin titled Luthersche Schulzeitung, an educational journal which existed from February 1876 to the end of 1901. It was an organ of the Allgemeine Deutsche
Evangelisch-Lutherische Synode von Wisconsin und anderen Staaten; like the Evangelisch-Lutherisches Gemeinde-Blatt it was apparently printed by George Brumder's Germania Publishing Company at least to 1891 when the Synod established the Northwestern Publishing House. The Reverend Frederick W. A. Notz seems to have edited the journal from 1876 to 1891.  

29Arndt-Olson, p. 688. See also Lichte under Lutherische Schulzeitung and the Milwaukee City Directory. Arndt-Olson indicates the publishers as 1) the Lehrer-Verein der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin; 2) Lehrerseminar zu New Ulm (Minnesota). The Milwaukee City Directory lists the paper to 1902 and lists Brumder as publisher to 1893 (Lichte claims 1891) and the Northwestern Publishing House after that.

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Der Zeitgeist

On December 30, 1879 the Sentinel announced that Der Zeitgeist had just appeared as a semi-monthly journal for the Jewish community, "ein israelitisches Familienblatt." The periodical was edited by the Rabbis Isaac S. and Adolf Moses and Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, and was being printed by W. W. Coleman. In spite of contributions by numerous prominent Jewish writers, the paper failed to gain the necessary support and existed only until December 21, 1882.  

**Bundes Banner**

The *Bundes Banner*, organ of the National-Bund Deutscher Christlicher Jünglings-Vereine von Amerika, was actually a Chicago monthly published in Milwaukee only during 1883 and 1884. Lichte, under Denominational Press, claims that it was published and edited by H. Weihe; Arndt-Olson states that H. Weihe was the editor and J. D. Severinghaus & Co. was the publisher.³¹

³¹Arndt-Olson does not list the paper under Milwaukee but under Chicago, p. 61.

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**Der Fuehrer**

The *Milwaukee City Directory* listed this German Spiritualistic semi-monthly in 1896 as published and edited by Emil Neuhaus. No further information has been found.
Au

"Illustrirte Humoristische Zeitung" took its title from a picture printed on page one, namely, the expression of pain voiced by one clown, whose ear is being pulled by another. On January 21, 1876 the Sentinel announced that the second number of the local comic "Journal of Erheiterung" had made its appearance on the previous day.\(^1\) The paper consisted chiefly of humorous stories and illustrated jokes. The paper was apparently begun by Anthony Gfrorner and Ernst Buhlert. From about 1881 to 1895? Gfrorner edited and published the paper alone.\(^2\)

\(^1\) Only a partial copy of Au has been found and it is dated February 15, 1880 and is Jahrgang 3, Nr. 108. This would indicate, as both Lichte and Arnst-Olson, p. 672, claim, that the paper began in either 1877 or 1878. The only other explanation, in view of the Sentinel announcement on January 21, 1876, is that the Au did not appear regularly.

\(^2\) Sentinel, August 27, 1878. Lichte claims that the paper was discontinued about 1891.

Der Cherusker

This was a monthly which first appeared on January 1, 1905 and
was published by the Grand Lodge of the Order of Hermann Sons. The few available copies shed no light on its history or duration, and it is not known whether Der Cherusker was in any way related to the publication titled Der Hermanns-Sohn, another publication of this fraternal organization.\(^3\)

\(^3\)As nearly as can be determined Der Cherusker existed until about 1911.

**Deutschamerikanische Novellenzeitung**

The Deutschamerikanische Novellenzeitung was a periodical of literary interest and first appeared on December 19, 1874.\(^4\)

\(^4\)Sentinel, December 21, 1874. The title is here indicated as the Deutsch-Amerikanische Novellen-Zeitung, while the Milwaukee Seebote, on January 18, 1875, wrote Deutschamerikanische Novellenzeitung. Both Arndt-Olson, p. 689, and Lichte indicate the beginning year of this publication as 1880. The Novellen Zeitung is listed in the Milwaukee City Directory from 1880 to 1885.

A second issue was announced by the Seebote on January 18, 1875, but it cannot be determined whether it was regularly issued as a monthly. The next reference to it is found in the Milwaukee City Directory, where it is listed in 1880. The Sentinel of June 9, 1881 again mentions it as Novellen Zeitung and that it is "now as established German publication in its sixth volume."
Das Echo (Milwaukee Echo)

This weekly was edited and published by Francis W. Dahlman at 422 N. 13th Street; it is listed in the Milwaukee City Directory only during the years 1888 and 1889.

Espenhain & Bartels Milwaukee'r Zeitung

Espenhain & Bartels was the largest dry goods store in Milwaukee during the late nineteenth century. This publication was a free monthly issued by the store for the purpose of advertising. One copy has been located which indicates that it is Jahrgang 1, Nr. 4, and the date must be estimated to be about 1885. Advertisements are carried on the even numbered pages and stories on the odd numbered pages. This issue contains a chapter from Alexander Dumas' Der Graf von Monte Christo and a part of Ewald August König's novel Auf der Bahn des Verbrechens.5

5The lone copy of this publication is located at the Milwaukee County Historical Society Library.

Der Germania Reporter

Der Germania Reporter was probably established in 1896 as a weekly publication in the interests of the Germania Society. It was edited and published by August Wetzel and existed until about 1905.6
The Hermanns-Sohn was the official organ of the fraternal Hermann-Söhne and appeared as a monthly after 1875. It was published by B. Lüwenbach & Son, edited by B. Lüwenbach and later by G. Eissen. Unser Blatt was begun in 1878 and the Wisconsin Advokat in 1880 as organs of the Ancient Order of United Workmen, both published by B. Lüwenbach & Son. Apparently H. H. Zahn & Co. later published the Wisconsin Advokat.

Lichte believes that the Wisconsin Advokat existed until 1884 and Arndt-Olson, p. 696, does not mention a terminal date. Both sources however, agree that the Unser Blatt survived until either 1888 or 1889.

Der Herr Vetter

This was a humorous weekly published by the First Austro-Hungarian Publishing Company. It was listed in the Milwaukee City Directory only in 1905. It was apparently also published in Medford, Wisconsin from 1902 to 1904 by the Franz Markus & Co.
Der Kicker

Der Kicker was listed in the Milwaukee City Directory in 1895 and was apparently a humoristic weekly published at 319 N. 3rd Street; no publisher or editor is indicated for this publication.

Des Kleinhandlers Advokat

Only one copy of this publication has been found and it is dated April 29, 1899 and is Jahrgang 1, Nr. 2. It carries the motto, "Handel richtig verteilt ist ein Segen für ein Gemeinwesen; seine Monopolisierung ein Fluch." The paper was bilingual with the first two pages in German and the second two in English. A number of items deal with cheating and there is special advice that persons should not purchase certain products from the local Department Stores, since such stores do not provide adequate guarantees of their wares. No publisher, editor or address was indicated on this copy.
Kuenstler Heim

*Kuenstler Heim* was apparently a weekly dedicated to the German artists of the city and published in late 1890 and perhaps early 1891 by the Milwaukee Publishing Company and edited by E. W. Krakowitzer.\(^{11}\)

\(^{11}\) Lichte states that the first issue of *Kuenstler Heim* appeared on October 4, 1890 and that it suspended publication at the close of 1891.

A pamphlet titled *Kuenstler Heim* has been located in a private library, but it cannot be determined whether this single issue, which commemorated the opening of a local German tavern for the German artists, is related to the *Kuenstler Heim*.\(^{12}\)

\(^{12}\) The indicated *Kuenstler Heim* was a very colorful and ornate twenty page pamphlet containing a picture of the "Kneipe," a number of poems and a humorously exaggerated "Urkunde." The only names found in the issue are: Reimschmied, A. Thounaelen; Illustrationen, F. W. Heine; Urkunden Verfasser, F. Weib; Lithografirt bei Seifert & Schoeffel, Milw. Lith. & Eng. Co..

Nachrichten (Milwaukee Nachrichten)

The *Nachrichten*, also referred to as the Milwaukee Nachrichten, was established M. Ott in 1898 and was published weekly until about 1900. The periodical is listed in the *Milwaukee City Directory* only for these three years.
Oestreich-Ungarische Post

The Oestreich-Ungarische Post was also a weekly and was published by Imre Boos. It is not known whether it was related to Der Herr Vetter, which was published by the First Austro-Hungarian Publishing Company. The Oestreich-Ungarische Post was listed in the Milwaukee City Directory only in 1905.

Plattdeutsche Zeitung (Plattdeutsche Nachrichten)

The Plattdeutsche Zeitung was apparently a Chicago publication issued by Edward Cook since 1878. It is listed in the Milwaukee City Directory from 1899 to 1901 as being published at 559 N. 12th Street.\(^\text{13}\)

\(^{13}\) Arndt-Olson lists the paper under Chicago, p. 81, and under Milwaukee, p. 690. This source also states that the Plattdeutsche Nachrichten was published by the Plattdeutsche Nachrichten Company from 1897 to 1899, and that the paper may have survived until 1903.

Raphael

Raphael was probably a juvenile monthly published at 1024 Walnut Street and edited by P. or T. Schleier from about 1887 to 1889. The periodical is listed in the Milwaukee City Directory only for these years.
By the time that the first German language papers were established in Milwaukee, the German population had already swelled to several thousand. Apparently no need was felt for a paper until then, since news and gossip could easily be transmitted by word of mouth and each new arrival brought along the latest news of interest from Europe. Furthermore, the earliest settlers had, to a great degree, broken their ties with Germany and were little interested in maintaining an emotional bridge with their former fatherland. Their interest was primarily in establishing a successful life in the new world and, at least during the very earliest years, there was no conscious effort to form an exclusive German community. Nevertheless, the immigrants felt more at home with their fellow countrymen, whose customs they shared and whose language they understood. The feeling of comradeship was perhaps a stronger unifying feature of the early community than a desire to maintain the cultural heritage of Germany. The community was not, after all, homogeneous. Many of the immigrants identified themselves as Rhinelanders, Bavarians or former citizens of some other German state; usually the regional tradition was stronger than the national heritage. In addition, each immigrant brought with him his own variation of custom,
speech and prejudice. Diversity of belief and opinion continued to be an important factor in the community for the entire period of its history, although a certain degree of unity was achieved finally through an increasing interest in the German heritage and through reaction to American nativist criticism.

The first public display of the German community came in March 1843 when the Germans participated in the activities of the harbor festival by carrying a large banner with the inscription, "Die deutschen Bürger von Milwaukee." It was mainly through the efforts and the leadership of a few men like Dr. Franz Hübschmann, Dr. F. A. Lüning, Hermann HürTEL and Moritz Schöffler that the early German settlers took part in the harbor festival and other events of the city; these men also made the immigrants aware that they could not afford to isolate themselves from the American environment.

The Germans were also initiated into American politics in the early 1840's. By then it had become apparent that Whig nativism might present great opposition to the suffrage rights of immigrants in the important decision regarding statehood. Much public attention was focused on the possibility of statehood and in December 1843 the Germans joined the Irish and other foreigners in drawing up a petition which demanded equal rights. The territorial legislature, with a Democratic majority which hoped to attract still more immigrants to Wisconsin, responded favorably to the petition and determined that immigrants and the native born from other states
should hold equal suffrage rights. An Alien Law was passed which
provided that all free white male inhabitants over the age of twenty-
one, who had resided in the territory at least three months, could
vote on the question of statehood. In face of opposition however,
the residency requirement was soon changed to six months.
Nonetheless, the Alien Law opened the way to the liberal franchise
which was later included in the State Constitution.²


The efforts of the Democratic Party in behalf of the foreigner,
as well as its ideals of freedom and equality, attracted the
immigrant and assured the party of his support and loyalty for many
years to come. In the late fall of 1844 the German Democratic
Association was formed to insure solidarity of support for that
party. The Whigs, representing the wealthier and more conservative
classes, admittedly did not sympathize with the immigrant, and the
nativist element, which supported the Whig Party, feared that the new
customs of the immigrant would contaminate the traditional American
way of life. Believing that the immigrants were European rejects,
who could make no positive contribution to the American system, the
nativists tried to limit the newcomer's political power and also
attempted open opposition against certain imported customs which ran
counter to the established mores. The tendency of the immigrants
to settle together and to continue to use the language and customs
of the old world was regarded by the nativists as incompatible with
the concept of being a good American. On the other hand, the puritanical view of Sunday and the American emphasis on temperance irritated the German character and generated much friction between the two groups for many years.

The criticisms of the nativists caused a greater self-consciousness on the part of the community and exaggerated the tendency of isolation. Although the sense of unity within the community was increased, there was also a greater resistance to the natural Americanizing process since the immigrant reacted to the criticism with a diminished desire to participate and cooperate in American life. A few public minded figures in the community however, were inspired to assume leadership and it was largely through their efforts that the Germans did not completely exclude themselves from the social and political life of the city and the nation.

The average German immigrant lacked political ambition, primarily because he had not participated in the politics of Germany and because he did not know the ins and outs of American political life. Indeed, the German had to be stirred up and persuaded to be active in politics at all, and even then, matters which directly influenced his own interests, such as temperance, observance of the Sabbath laws and suffrage, moved him more than the real issues of the day. The relatively few Germans who did seek public office were always instrumental in helping to bring about a unity with the Americans because they tended to remove the barriers to assimilation and the distinctions between the native and foreign born. They were
furthermore, models and examples of the benefits available to those who did want to participate in American life; only the well adjusted and Americanized immigrant could hope to be politically successful.

For the Germans as an ethnic group the second half of the nineteenth century was a period of transition in which there was a gradual weakening of the cultural ties to Europe and an increasing sense of belonging to America. Countless immigrants became citizens of the United States, but more often than not, they remained conscious of their German heritage and, at least the members of the first generation, continued to feel themselves isolated from the mainstream of American life. Assimilation, the cultural and social process of combining the sentiments of the old world with those of the new, was neither rapid nor easy for the majority of the German immigrants, and was influenced by the attitude of the immigrant and by various forces within and outside of the community. Naturally these forces and the immigrant's attitude changed considerably in the course of time from 1844 to 1920.³


The United States Government did little in the nineteenth century to aid or instruct the immigrant and readily tolerated communities of foreigners which were expected to resolve the matter of assimilation for themselves. Although German continued to be used by many of the immigrants in the home and business as a matter of convenience, very few were interested in remaining part of a
race conscious minority. Concentration in one area made it easy to continue the old culture and language, and consequently eased the period of assimilation. But it also emphasized the foreignness of the immigrant and tended to retard the process of assimilation.

When the Wiskonsin Banner commenced publication as the first German language newspaper in Milwaukee in 1844, there was already an identifiable German community in the city. With numerous businesses, churches of various denominations and an occasional musical or theatrical performance, the Germans were beginning to make an impact on the economic, religious and cultural life. During the remainder of the nineteenth century the German community grew and prospered as it continued to absorb large numbers of immigrants and the German language press, which flourished during the same period, helped the immigrant to begin a new life in America.

Throughout its period of prosperity the press tried to give the newcomer an understanding of his new environment and, at the same time, proved to be one of the strongest preservers of the German cultural heritage. As historical documents the newspapers reflected life in the community in its most varied aspects.

Political events made it imperative that the newcomer be informed about his rights, and who his political friends and enemies were. It is therefore, not surprising that the Wiskonsin Banner immediately became a Democratic organ and that the Volksfreund, some years later, could not continue very long as a Whig organ and soon shifted its allegiance to the Democratic Party. The political views in these early papers were expressly those of the editor, who
discussed those issues which he thought were of vital importance. Since the editors felt that they had a mission to teach and to enlighten, they provided leadership in public opinion and thought. Little energy was spent in feeling the pulse of the community; the publications were guided strictly according to the tastes of the editor.

This individualistic journalism accounts for the fact that several Democratic papers could exist side by side. The desire to be influential in the community, competition, and minor differences in interpreting Democratic Party ideals inevitably led to strife between the editors. All too often the reader was completely abandoned and forgotten in the flurry of invective. Discussions which might have been meaningful and informative gave way to pedantic and petty bickering, often going far beyond ideals and beliefs and focusing on defamation of the publication or character of the rival. This may have interested the reader for a short time, but as feuds dragged on, the reader might easily have become disappointed or disgusted, and with the consequent loss of interest perhaps finally canceled his subscription.

Despite these shortcomings the early papers were American in spirit and excellent translators of the American scene. They were just as enthusiastic about American politics and the local events of the day as any American paper. Often complete translations of laws or charters were brought to the reader along with editorials and articles which clarified political issues, local customs and the duties and rights of the newcomer. In short, they provided the
immigrant with the vital information which would serve toward making him a good citizen.

In addition to their political role, the early papers provided an important link to the rest of the community by presenting a host of local news items, dispatches extracted from other papers, information on business and social functions, and advertising. In most respects these papers differed very little from their English language neighbors. To be sure, the German language papers carried many explanatory articles which no English language paper needed to print; there was also a greater selection of items referring to Germany and most of the publications provided some form of leisure reading such as poetry or the popular feuilleton. Basically these papers wanted to be American and wanted to function as Americanizing agents. If they contributed to isolation and a retardation of assimilation, which they certainly did, it was a byproduct of their function and existence rather than the intent to cultivate the German heritage on foreign soil. No great attempt was made however, to persuade the newcomer to retain and value his German culture, an aspect which rankled particularly the Forty-eigh ters.

When news of the revolution reached Milwaukee in 1848, the German community responded enthusiastically and sympathetically. Interest in Germany, which had already begun to fade, was now suddenly renewed and within a short time a "Drei-Cents Verein" was formed for the purpose of contributing financially to the revolutionary cause. As optimism in the outcome of the revolution
turned to pessimism interest shifted more and more to the fate of the political exiles, and funds were solicited for such revolutionaries as Oswald Seidensticker and Ferdinand Freiligrath.\footnote{Koss, pp. 220-222.}

Although many of the political exiles expected to remain in the United States only temporarily and planned to return to Europe "wenn's wieder los geht," most of them soon resigned themselves to remaining in this country. With the arrival of the Forty-eigheters, the German community in Milwaukee experienced some changes and modifications.

Unlike other German communities, Milwaukee was not as greatly influenced by the Forty-eigheters as might be expected. The majority of those arriving from about 1849 to 1853 were far better educated than the immigrants who had preceded them and they brought with them new ideas, greater cultural interests and educational zeal. Since they generally lacked a knowledge of English and were untalented or unsuited for work in the trades or business, they were naturally drawn to areas with strong German communities and depended on work which was closely related to the German language and culture.\footnote{Hildegard Binder Johnson, "Adjustment to the United States," The Forty-Eigheters, ed. A. E. Zucker (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), p. 49.}
Obviously the newcomers, the "Greens," still retained much closer ties to Germany than the older "Grays" generation. In Milwaukee, as in other cities, a split developed between the two groups and even though the battle lines were clearly drawn and there was much antagonism and hostility on both sides, especially in political matters, the break did not apparently jeopardize the existence of the community.7


The "Greens" criticized the earlier generation for having turned its back on Germany, for not having maintained the culture at a higher level, for its relative political disinterest, especially with regard to slavery, and the blind, seemingly naive adherence to the Democratic Party. While the criticism was, to a degree, justified, the Forty-eighters did misjudge the existing community through a failure to realize that the earlier settlers had had a different and certainly more primitive struggle for survival and had neither the time nor the interest to actively cultivate those finer aspects of culture which were so dear to the newcomers. The "Grays" naturally resented what they felt to be arrogance and unjust fault-finding, since they had preserved those elements of the old world which fitted best in the new environment.

The Forty-eighter contribution to Milwaukee was almost exclusively a process of improvement rather than supplying something which was not yet in existence in the community. Thus, in cooperation
with the older generation, the Milwaukee Musical Society was formed with an English name so as to provide a cultural bridge between the German and the native.\(^8\) The "Schulverein" amplified earlier efforts of beginning education and directed its efforts toward providing a superior instruction of German children\(^9\), while the "Turnverein," after a few false starts, assumed an important role in the community and was for many years a haven for the German language and culture.\(^{10}\)


Despite their earnest efforts to improve the intellectual level and political involvement of the average immigrant, the Forty-eighter idealism faced a formidable adversary in the Milwaukee German community. The failure to provide real leadership, with its consequent influence, is most readily observable in the field of journalism. The existing papers had been successful because they were directed as profit making enterprises. In comparison to the Forty-eighter journalists, both Schöffler and Fratny were hard headed businessmen, idealistic but not impractical, and although they expressed themselves as community leaders, they emphasized news as their primary concern and editorial opinion as secondary. During
the territorial period the ordinary immigrant would not have taken a paper nor concerned himself too much with political matters or with the wide spectrum of news which the later papers offered. When he began to reap the rewards of his labor and felt himself in some measure successful, his interests broadened beyond the narrow limitations of his own security. Buying a paper meant being better informed in numerous areas. The content of the earliest journals manifests the subscriber's desire to read a paper which would inform him of local events and would explain to him the many aspects of life in the new world. Only a limited amount of space was reserved for nostalgia and memories of the old country. Clearly the early journalists and their subscribers were interested in becoming a part of the American scene. The publications were therefore essentially and primarily instruments of assimilation.

In contrast, the Forty-eighter publications were usually idealistic editorial sheets with little space allotted to the news of the day. The emphasis on using a paper strictly as a medium to propogate personal convictions led to the early demise of these journals; the community as a whole was little interested in esoteric treatises or radical opinions which were unrelated to everyday life. As a result, the new journalists had rather short subscriber lists, made incredible sacrifices and were soon bankrupt. When they failed they tended to blame the uncultured and intransigent local populace for not supporting them rather than admitting that they had supplied an unneeded and unwanted commodity. Considering the conditions and attitudes of the existing community, it is clear that the Forty-
eighter journalist, whose knowledge of America and its language was still minimal, had very little to offer which would either satisfy or be of practical value to the reader.

The journalistic interest of the Forty-eighter was largely confined to the areas of anti-clericalism and politics and even the briefest survey of their publications will reveal a wide range of capability. Esselen's Atlantis for example, was excellently written and carried a wide assortment of articles in philosophy, religion, science, art and politics. The efforts of Esselen were laudable but unfortunately the publication was too esoteric for the time and place, and lack of interest lead to the editor's despondency and the paper's failure. On the other end of the spectrum were the Flug-Blätter, an opportunistic publication which exploited the existing anti-clerical feeling.

The anti-clerical, and especially the anti-Roman Catholic, sentiment of the Forty-eighters was shared by many American nativists, who feared that the Church would threaten political liberty.¹¹

¹¹Jones, pp. 148-150.

For some time already, both the Banner and the Volksfreund had carried occasional articles critical of the Church's growing influence in the community, and the Catholics responded by establishing the Seebote as an organ of defence and a newspaper with a Catholic viewpoint. The proclaimed goal of the rationalistic anti-clerical Forty-eighters was to free man from the superstition and blindness which was attributed to organized religion; they castigated the Church leaders
as being monarchical and corrupt and accused them of deceiving the lay believer. Eduard Schroeter provided these Freethinkers with an organ in his *Humanist*, which although well written and on a considerably higher level than the crude *Flug-Blätter*, was too limited in scope to gain more than a minimum of appeal.

A few of the Forty-eighters in journalism attempted to present the community with a new political outlook but they had little success since they always seemed to support what was unpopular in the community. Most obvious was the attempt by Bernhard Jomschke to establish a paper for the Republican Party, which can only be described as a history of failure. The older generation remained under the influence of the existing Democratic press, which believed the new party to be merely an extension of the nativist Whigs. Nativism, and the allied topics of temperance and the observance of the Sabbath, drew the greatest interest, and this in addition to the heated battles between the humanists and the clerics, served only to obscure and avoid the real national issues of the day, slavery and preservation of the Union. Although the German Democrats were anti-slavery, they hesitated to be outspoken on the issue and believed that the individual states should resolve the problem of slavery within the framework of the constitution. The Forty-eighter, who had himself fought for freedom in Europe, could not accept so lenient an attitude toward the obvious discrepancy of human slavery and constitutional democracy, and therefore aligned himself with the abolitionist element in the newly formed Republican Party. Jomschke, in spite of his well-meant and well-executed publications, was unable
to shift more than a few votes into the Republican camp. Even in
the election of 1860, when the state went to Lincoln, Milwaukee
remained Democratic by giving Douglas almost fifty-eight percent of
the vote.\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{12}Still, p. 153.

Although they failed journalistically, the Forty-eighters were
far better prepared than their predecessors to be assimilated into
the American way of life; their educational, intellectual and
revolutionary background inclined them toward an active interest in
politics, which of course, demanded a knowledge of the language and
the political situation. The idealistic goal to see the elimination
of slavery prompted men of Domschke's character to be among the first
to volunteer for the Union Army at the outbreak of the war. This
involvement and participation in the problems of the United States
was accomplished with the same valor and passion they had exhibited
in fighting for freedom in Germany more than a decade before. Older
German immigrants were less hasty about joining the army and, although
they contributed their proportional share of men, the attitude toward
the war remained very critical. The newspapers followed the events
of the war with the same interest and commentary as their English
language neighbors. All three existing German publications,
including the Republican \textit{Herold}, were dissatisfied with the
administration and its direction of the war, although only the \textit{Seebote}
can be described as a Copperhead journal.\textsuperscript{13} The \textit{Banner und Volksfreund}

was more inclined to be anti-cessation than openly anti-slavery.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{14}Unfortunately it is impossible to probe the Milwaukee German reaction to such important events as the Emancipation Proclamation or the Gettysburg Address on the basis of newspaper files; with the exception of only a few scattered issues, no copies of the three existing Civil War papers are extant.

The period from 1855 to 1870 was, without a doubt, the quietest in the history of the Milwaukee German community. The immigration figures decreased sharply after 1854 and did not reach a significant number again until 1866. The older generation was by now at home in the new country and the disruptive activities of the Forty-eighters were being funneled toward progressive action in American politics. For the majority of the Germans in the community however, nativism, which reached its maximum proportions in 1855 in Wisconsin, rather than anti-slavery activity, remained the single issue of greatest interest until the Civil War. This conflict, which involved the German immigrant in the life of the nation more than any nativistic criticism or election, served to give him the first opportunity to feel that he really was an American. It is during this period that the immigrant began to feel himself as a German-American; he had turned his back on Germany and circumstances had plunged him into American politics. But even after the war, he could not forget the
disturbing criticisms of nativism, nor could he be sure that such attacks against him as a foreigner might not occur again.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{15}Hawgood, p. 235.

Though nativism drove him to a stronger attachment to the German community, it also planted deeply in the immigrant's mind and spirit the ultimate desire to belong, to be assimilated and to be recognized as an American. Yet this latter desire was not at first evident and in fact, during the decades after the Civil War there was a much more intense interest in "Deutschum" than there had ever been before the war.

For some years after the Civil War the Germans settled down to attend to their own affairs. Businesses large and small prospered and, in general, the Germans were once again passive in regard to national issues, with the exception that they kept a weather eye open for renewed signs of nativism. New immigrants, who again began to arrive in increasing numbers, were of a completely different type than their predecessors. Most were industrial workers who wanted economic security and were little interested in political controversy. These new immigrants and the 1870 unification of Germany generated a new interest in Germany, and the feeling of pride in the old country gave rise to a greater sense of unity and nationalism within the community. For a time discussions of Bismarck's policies found as much space in the editorial columns as items of local or national importance.

More than a quarter of a century had elapsed since the first
German immigrants had begun to congregate and to form a socially and culturally separate community. This community had withstood the attacks of nativism, made significant contributions to the city and the nation, and absorbed thousands of immigrants of various beliefs and aptitudes. It had now, so to say, matured and come of age, and certain traits surfaced, which served to alter the general character of the German-American sector. Economic success and other factors were beginning to bring about a division in the social structure. In earlier days, when all the immigrants were new in the country, there had been little or no social distinction, for the factors which cause social differences had not had time to develop. The few educated or wealthy persons were in such a minority as to make their social separation from the rest of the community impossible and certainly impractical. Those distinctions which did exist, even at an early date, were not based on a concept of upper or lower strata, but rather on differing religious or political belief among people of the same social standing. They were furthermore, based primarily on beliefs or prejudices which had been brought along from the old country, while social distinctions were the result of living in America.16


Despite the contrasts within the community, especially between the religious and anti-religious groups, the early Germans appeared to present a united front to their American neighbors. Diversity within the German-American sector was never so great that it
disrupted its essential unity. In the eyes of the English speaking community, this was no doubt due to the almost unanimous support of the Democratic Party and the concerted effort of Catholic, Lutheran and Freethinker against the criticisms of nativism.

By the 1870's the German voter was no longer so completely committed to the support of the political party which had secured him his suffrage rights. Although the older generation of men like Moritz Schöffler remained faithful to the Democratic Party, along with the vast majority of Catholics, the Freethinkers and Lutherans alike, were shifting their allegiance to the Republican Party. By this time the Germans had had some experience in the politics of the United States and, as was so typical of the German-American in general, the German voter maintained a certain individuality by supporting but not committing himself totally to a particular political party. On several occasions the German Republicans shifted their vote en masse for the Democratic candidate. Also, in those few instances when nativism again reared its head, as it did in 1872 by introducing the Graham Liquor Law or in 1889-1890 with the Bennett Law, the bond between Germans showed itself to be a much stronger force than the finer differences of religion or political belief, and they joined forces to overcome the arbitrary power which threatened all of them.

In the pre-Civil War years it was generally believed within the German-American community, that a German immigrant could be both a good German and a good American. Although the average early immigrant ceased to be a German in matters of politics and became a loyal
citizen, he steadfastly insisted on his right to maintain his native language and his favorite customs to whatever degree he desired.

He saw no conflict in being German and American at the same time, and resisted nativism because it imposed on his freedom, not because it threatened his culture. The newspapers of that day reflect this spirit by focusing on America and by trying to arouse the immigrant to become a part of his new country. In succeeding years however, this tendency changed and during the last part of the century the German-Americans became more self-conscious and attention focused more on themselves. The individual was more interested in his German background and was admonished, openly and subtly, to preserve his German language and cultural heritage. There was no longer a feeling of inferiority because the immigrant's cultural background differed substantially from the prevalent American environment. On the contrary, Germanism was to be valued and preserved, not only for its own sake, but also for its edifying influence to the immigrant's children and the spiritual, moral and cultural contribution it could make to the United States. Occasionally the papers carried articles which crystallized the new atmosphere. In an article titled, "Lasst eure Kinder deutsch lernen" the Germania wrote on November 12, 1873:

Wir dürfen uns ferner nicht mehr unseres alten Vaterlandes, nicht mehr unserer Sprache schämen; wir müssen vielmehr stolz in edelern Sinne auf unsere Nationalität, auf unsere Sprache sein.
Für Alle, welche in dieses Land kommen, ist es unabweisbares Bedürfnis, die englische Sprache so schnell als möglich zu lernen, und auch die Kinder darin unterrichten zu lassen.

Although the article mentions the need to learn English, it clearly
indicates that it is necessary for practical reasons only, since many jobs advertise, "Nur solche, welche englisch und deutsch sprechen, wollen sich melden," or "Solche, die deutsch und englisch verstehen, werden bevorzugt." Another article titled, "Die Erziehung der weiblichen Jugend," concludes,

Wenn wir unser deutsches Familienleben, diesen aus der alten Heimat mitgebrachten Schatz, auch in der neuen Heimat bewahren wollen, müssen wir vor allen Dingen dafür sorgen, dass es hier nicht an deutschen Frauen fehle.\(^\text{17}\)

\(^{17}\text{Germania, November 11, 1873.}\)

The individual was no longer merely an American with German traits but a German living in America.\(^{18}\) Naturally not everyone agreed that the culture of the old world should be preserved, and the continuous desire of the immigrant to assimilate could not be completely stilled. The emphasis on things German could therefore, be successful for only a short time. The stress which was placed on preservation is in itself indicative of the natural change in the average immigrant; he was, in the eyes of the conservative, moving too rapidly away from his old world background and his quick assimilation was to be frowned on rather than applauded.

\(^{18}\text{Hawgood, pp. xvii-xviii. Hawgood places the date of the beginning of the hyphenated German-American at about 1855. Perhaps because the influence of the Forty-eighers was less in Milwaukee than in other areas, that date seems a trifle early for this city; the post-Civil War period seems to be a more likely beginning date. In general, Hawgood's periodization is correct; it is true, for instance for the German community in Baltimore, Maryland. See Dieter Cunz, The Maryland Germans (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), Chapter IX, "The German-Americans," pp. 319-394.}\)
Der Deutsche, der hier in Amerika nicht schnell genug sein Volksthum ablegen kann, legt mit dem Volksthum auch meist die guten Eigenschaften desselben ab, ohne sich dafür die guten Eigenschaften des neuen anzueignen. Er wird also ein schlechterer Bürger seiner neuen Heimat sein, als derjenige Deutsche, der an seiner guten alten Art festhält.\(^1\)^9

\(^{19}\) Germania, September 25, 1889.

The period from about 1870 to the middle 1890's marks the highpoint of interest in Germanism in Milwaukee. German language journalism thrived and there was a steady increase in the number of publications and in circulation. Again, as in earlier days, the papers reflected the atmosphere of the community. Personal journalism was, for the most part, a thing of the past. Great effort was expended in making a paper a successful enterprise and to retain customers at any cost. To this end there were fewer editorials which were controversial and hence they generally lacked spirit and in no way compared to the libelous invectives which had aroused the passion of both editor and reader only twenty or thirty years earlier. In contrast to that earlier period, when the editor expounded his own ideas and assumed that he was leading community opinion, the tendency now was to satisfy the reader. It was inevitable that such a turn should result in a loss of individuality and intellectual stimulation. More interest was placed in pure exposition of the news rather than in critical analysis. Social events, advertisements, financial and market reports and general leisure reading occupied larger segments of the papers, which were themselves expanding from four to eight, sixteen or twenty pages. Cookbooks, calendars and other items of
varying usefulness were offered as lures to encourage early payment or renewal of the subscription. While earlier publishers had constantly complained that subscriptions were not being paid, the totally business-like approach during these later years demanded that the subscription be paid before delivery. Advertising, rather than subscription money, on which the Forty-eighter journals especially depended, became the main source of income and it became commonplace to include full page ads or even advertising supplements. To keep the reader interested, supplements of various types had to be added and these included either a separate page of special interest or a separate publication such as a Sonntagsblatt with leisure reading for the entire family.

For a time most of the editorial positions were held by Forty-eighters, who were now much more conservative, and in many cases, almost fully Americanized. As their ranks grew thin, new editors had to be imported from Germany in order to bring fresh ideas and to keep up a pure journalistic style and diction; this art could not generally be expected of the second generation German-Americans.  

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20Wittke, *German Language Press*, p. 199.

The publications with the greatest overall success and influence were the newspapers which carried a balanced fare of news, editorials and other items of interest. Although all of them in their earliest days advocated a particular program or claimed that they were directing their policy toward satisfying a certain segment of the reading population, the attempt to increase circulation and at the
same time to satisfy all the readers, caused these newspapers to lose their distinguishing characteristics and to become more and more alike. They were all presenting the same news items and also competing for the same subscribers. In contrast to the newspapers, a number of separate organs, designed to cater to a particular group of readers and dealing in one specialized area of interest, continued to retain their original characteristics. Usually such publications were not competitive with the newspapers and it is likely that readers would retain such a specialized paper even after they had begun to subscribe to an English language paper. Since they served the reader in an area of particular interest, these special publications contributed greatly to the preservation of Germanism in the community.

It was inevitable that the conditions that lead to the rise and continued prosperity of the German language press would change in the course of years and would eventually lead to its demise. As long as new immigrants arrived there was a potential body of readers; as the immigration declined, as it did after the mid-1880's, and the second and third generations came of age, the use of the German language and the interest in German culture quickly diminished. Moreover, the "hier Geboren" were beginning to play an increasingly important role in American life, and even if, as a result of family background and training, they spoke English with an accent and perhaps adhered to some favorite German customs, they thought and acted like Americans; in most cases they even preferred to speak English. As the younger generations brought American customs into the home, the
Americanization of the older generations was rapidly accelerated. Customs were modified and as the blending of the old and new progressed, the German-American community lost much of its usefulness and appeal. The gaps between the immigrant and the native were greatly reduced and by the end of the century there were no more separate political organizations for the Germans and only a few social groups which still drew their membership exclusively from the German community. In 1902 Wilhelm Hense-Jensen wrote of his contemporaries:

Aber sicher ist, dass die grosse Mehrheit der Heregeborenen deutsche Zeitungen nicht liest:...und wenn nun einmal die jüngeren Mitglieder des Haushaltes nicht deutsch lesen wollen, nun gut, so hat der alte Herr auch nichts dagegen, wenn statt der deutschen die englische Zeitung in’s Haus kommt.

Die Deutschen haben aufgehört, sich als ein fremdes Element zu fühlen, und bedürfen des engeren Aneinanderschliessens zum Schutze ihrer Interessen nicht mehr, wie das in früherer Zeit manchmal der Fall gewesen ist.

Dass in absehbarer Zeit das gegenwärtige Conglomerat von eingeborenen und eingewanderten Elementen sich verschmelzen wird in einen einzigen Volkstypus mit ausgeprägtem Nationalcharakter, ist unausbleiblich.---Wer möchte es bedauern?21


German language newspaper publishers fought a losing battle against the overwhelming forces of Americanization and the resultant loss of interest in German. In the interest of survival there was a clear necessity to put aside whatever differences existed and to combine capital and circulation lists. At first the larger
companies bought out the smaller, but soon even the giants found it necessary to consolidate. The surviving paper had to supply the needs of a wide variety but a diminishing number of readers and consequently it was almost impossible to present an editorial view which would be both meaningful and acceptable to all the subscribers.

Americanisms became more frequent and it was not uncommon to find such ads as,

*Valentines!!! Bei der Box und beim Dutzend.*

*Zu verkaufen; Frame-Haus.*

*Store verlangt.*

*Verloren; Pocket-Buch.*

The German-English mixture was exploited to the fullest in a humorous, pseudo-philosophical column titled *Philipp Sauerampfers Schreibebrief,* which was carried by several Milwaukee papers.

Despite its humor, it is hard to imagine such a column existing in the 1870's or 1880's.

*Mein lieber Herr Redaktionär!*

*Wenn en Mann in Palliticks is, dann kehrt er for nicks anneres mehr. Er kriegt e ganz annere Embischen un Ennertschie un duht in einem fort figgere un figgere un duht sich in sei Brehn ausdenke, wie alles in die Kempehn duht. So is es auch in mein KMs gewese.*

---

22 *Wisconsin Banner und Volksfreund,* September 11, 1912.

The Americanization of the immigrant continued through the first and into the second decade of the twentieth century. Although the change of social attitude was rapidly taking place it could not be fully completed in a matter of a few short years. *Nostalgia,*
habit or loyalty probably prevented many German-Americans, especially those of the older generation, from breaking completely with the concepts of the old world. Hence, there were still obvious traces of the German community during the first years of World War I. The war however, rocked the German community to its foundations and marked the end of the long transitional period. Prejudice against German traits grew into a hatred of anything German, and the German-Americans themselves felt it necessary to clarify their true allegiance. The day had come when it was no longer possible to prefer German customs, or even the German language, and at the same time to profess American citizenship.

In spite of the war hysteria there was a sudden need and interest in the German language papers and for the moment it seemed that the press might flourish again. There were still many immigrants whose frail knowledge of English prevented them from reading about the events of the day in the English papers. The Germania, on May 13, 1918 ventured the opinion that if there were no German language papers in existence, the government would have to provide for the needs of the non-English speaking immigrants during this period of crisis. Almost all of the German papers carried similar items explaining the necessity of their existence.

...damit die Einwanderer ihre Umgebung verstehen lernen; sie müssen bekannt gemacht werden mit unserer Lebensweise und unseren Gebräuchen und vor allen Dingen mit unseren Gesetzen. Dies kann aber nur besorgt werden von Zeitungen, die in einer Sprache erscheinen, die sie verstehen.

The article continues to a more important point, namely the necessity to explain to the German reader, "...warum unser Land zum Eintritt
in den Krieg gezwungen wurde."

"Unser" here clearly refers to the United States. The interest in the German press was short-lived and did not extend very far beyond the days of the war. Even at the moment when business prospects seemed brightest, the press was aware that its days were numbered.

Wohl wissen wir, dass die Zeit kommen wird und muss, da die Veröffentlichung einer Zeitung in deutscher Sprache nicht mehr als Notwendigkeit zu betrachten ist. Dann, aber nicht zuvor, werden wir freiwillig unsere Feder niedrigen mit der inneren Befriedigung treu erfüllter Pflicht und einen alten Gruss in neuer Form erschallen lassen:
'Ave America, patria nostra, morituri te salutant.'

For a brief moment Americanization was retarded and German-Americans were drawn together again, as they had been in the past in order to resist nativist attacks; for that brief moment the German language press had again carried a measure of influence. But the unavoidable necessity of realizing that America was now their home, of recognizing how truly American they had become, prevented the immigrants from the continuation of German-Americanism. Only a few faint traces of the former community remained; a few, such as singing societies, the Turnverein, and the occasional church where German has been retained, have survived even
into the mid-1960's. The real need for an extensive German language press ended with the close of World War I. Immigration figures remained relatively low and hence, there was almost no influx of potential readers. The few papers which did survive for more than a few years after the war were mostly weeklies of special interest, but even their number had diminished considerably by 1930. Due to declining circulation, and perhaps a certain sense of uselessness, the daily newspapers deteriorated and lost all vitality. In the mid-1960's there is still a paper published in Milwaukee, but the Herold is a weekly with a circulation of less than 1500; the daily Milwaukee Deutsche Zeitung merged with the Chicago Abendpost in 1950 and is still published in Chicago.26

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