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## Die Deutschen in Kalifornien: Germans in Urban California, 1850-1860

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*DIE DEUTSCHEN IN KALIFORNIEN:*  
GERMANS IN URBAN CALIFORNIA, 1850-1860

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment  
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## ABSTRACT

*Die Deutschen in Kalifornien:*  
Germans in Urban California, 1850-1860

by

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German immigrants came to San Francisco, Sacramento and Marysville, urban northern California, seeking a better life than they had in the Germanic states of central Europe. Some came directly from Germany but some made an intermediate stop during their journey in Europe or the United States. In all three cities, they created an ethnic community where they practiced the social, economic and cultural traditions from their homeland, including *Vereinswesen* (associational life) and *Gemütlichkeit* (celebration of the joy of life), led by their ethnically based association, the *Turnverein*. They interacted with the mainstream Anglo-Americans through associations and celebratory events to create political stability and economic success, and they influenced the native-born to adopt some of the German traditions to create a Californian culture unique to the West. Rather than assimilate, they created a dual identity of German-Californian to adapt to their new home. This study rediscovers the active Germany communities in the three urban California cities neglected in earlier histories of the gold rush.

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## CHAPTER I

### Introduction

Johann Bickel, after his long journey from Billigheim, Germany, arrived in San Francisco in 1852 and, anxious to start looking for gold, embarked on a steamer bound for Sacramento:

Here I stayed in the dark hold for the simple reason that I had no money for the passage to Sacramento, which would have cost me six dollars. Neither could I ask any of the passengers for money, as they were just as poor as I. Suddenly . . . [Meier and his wife] both gave me one dollar each as a present which, contrary to my principles, I accepted. . . . I went into the Captain's room. He was a kind-hearted man. He asked me for my ticket and, when he heard that I had none and that the two dollars which I showed him was all the money I had, he gave me the ticket.<sup>1</sup>

Bickel's experience was the same as many of the Germans who immigrated to urban California in the mid-nineteenth century. He felt comfortable turning to his countrymen for aid, and they quickly helped him. He also received assistance from sympathetic Anglo-Americans. His journal reveals that he formed partnerships with Anglos to accomplish his goal, to send money back to Germany. He, his daughter Barbara, and the other Germans who immigrated to urban California during and after the gold rush found

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<sup>1</sup>Emilie Dohrmann Cosgrove and Carole Jane Cosgrove, eds., *California Potpourri, 1852-1936*. (Los Angeles: Jeffries Banknote, 1996), 39.

cities and their residents that were just beginning to cope with many problems created by the tremendous and instant increase in population.<sup>2</sup>

The gold rush brought thousands of newcomers from the United States and the world to urban California, some to quickly find riches and return home and others to stay and help Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco develop and grow. The three cities were the major transshipment centers for the northern mines during the gold rush era. Marysville, the third largest, Sacramento, the second largest, and San Francisco, the largest, were the major supply transshipment depots created by the waterways of the Sacramento, Yuba and Feather rivers. San Francisco was the major entry port for the gold seekers and the supplies needed to support them.<sup>3</sup> Regardless of the difference in size among the three cities, they all faced the challenges of finding order and culture in the face of the disorder that rapid growth brought.

During the 1850s, Germans worked together with the Anglo residents of Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco to bring urban stability out of the chaos and create a new civic culture. The Anglos were not suspicious of the German newcomers and did not feel threatened by their activities because they were familiar with their German cultural traditions and because most immigrants were middle-class or skilled craftsmen able to earn a living.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, the Germans retained their “Germanness” by creating their own loosely-bound ethnic community in which they

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<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 44. The term “Germans” indicates those immigrants who indicated as birth origin Germany or political entities located in Germanic, Central Europe as well as those who were active in associations requiring members to speak German. The term “Anglo” refers to Americans and those from other European countries who were settling in urban California.

<sup>3</sup>Eugene P. Moehring, *Urbanism and Empire in the Far West, 1840-1890* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2004), 5.

<sup>4</sup>In 1860, in Marysville, 6 percent of the German population was laborers or unemployed equaled 6 percent, in Sacramento, 10 percent and in San Francisco 12 percent. See Tables 10, 11 and 12 in Chapter V.

practiced the German cultural traditions rooted in the “fatherland.” They settled not in tightly bound enclaves as in eastern American cities but intermingled and interacted with their Anglo neighbors. While conducting business, they sought customers among their fellow Germans and all the residents of the city. Practicing their culture of *Vereinswesen* (associational life), they created clubs that answered their needs but also joined with the Anglos in their associations working for the benefit and culture of the city. They taught their Anglo neighbors the importance of adding *Gemütlichkeit* (joy of living) into their daily lives. They were an integral part of society of Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco and their influence essential in the development of the culture of these three cities.<sup>5</sup>

My interest in Germans in California began when I found the journal of my ancestor, Johann Bickel, and the letters from his daughter, Barbara. Like so many others, he came to California from Germany to search for gold, and during his stay, he sent for his daughter, Barbara, to join him. His narration about his experiences during his journey reveals an optimistic immigrant, successful in his interactions with his countrymen and Anglos alike. Barbara also retained her “Germanness,” interacting mostly with other Germans, but, although she was homesick and wished to return home, she married and lived in Sacramento until 1866.<sup>6</sup> My research about Sacramento and later about

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<sup>5</sup>This study begins when the wave of immigrants was well under way and could be documented in the 1850 Federal Census. It concludes in 1860 because the beginning of the Civil curtailed immigration from Germany. It is limited to the early formative years of the cities’ history.

<sup>6</sup>Cosgrove and Cosgrove, *Potpourri*. 1-90. Sacramento’s Index of Marriages lists “George Drake m. B. Beckel by [Thomas] Conger.” “Men’s Ledger B,” *The Index of Marriages, Sacramento County, 1856*, 133. Conger was a long-time resident attorney in Sacramento and is listed in the 1856 Sacramento Directory. Samuel Colville, *Sacramento Directory for the year Commencing May, 1856* (San Francisco: Monson, Valentine and Co., 1856), 32. Barbara died in childbirth December 26, 1866. Family tradition tells that, faced with the prospect of poverty when her husband lost everything in a flood at Cache Creek, she aborted her fourth pregnancy alone and by herself, the complications from which resulted in her death. Cosgrove and Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 89. *Sacramento Daily Bee*, December 29, 1866.

Marysville found in both cities a thriving German community faithful to their roots that still interacted with their Anglo neighbors.”<sup>7</sup> Comparing them with those in San Francisco reveals that Germans were active and greatly influential in all three cities.

Germans were a significant, powerful, important group that does not emerge in many histories of the West.<sup>8</sup> Because there was neither intense conflict nor prejudice between the Germans and their Anglo neighbors, they did not draw the attention of historians. As a result, studies of ethnic groups in the West do not identify Germans as a coherent ethnic or cultural group. Some historians assumed that the Germans shed their “Germanness” and peacefully assimilated into the dominant Euro-American culture. Other scholars focus on the early years of the gold rush and the role of the three cities in the developing urban landscape as transportation centers and suppliers to a multitude of gold rush miners, but they mention the Germans only parenthetically. Popular gold-rush historian J. S. Holliday, for example, does acknowledge their presence in San Francisco and in the gold mining towns during the period, but he does not discuss their influence and impact.<sup>9</sup> Historians writing the classic works of the west do not address the cultural

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<sup>7</sup>Carole Cosgrove Terry, “*Die Deutschen Einwanderer in Sacramento: German Immigrants in Sacramento, 1850-1859.*” (master’s thesis, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, 2000) ProQuest (1399907); “*Die Deutschen von Marysville, The Germans of Marysville, 1850-1860.*” *Psi Sigma Journal*, (2003): <http://patpsisigma.wordpress.com>

<sup>8</sup>Historians have extensively studied the Germans in the eastern and mid-western United States. Kathleen Neils Conzen, for example, writing about the upper mid-west, argues that Germans there did not view assimilation as acceptable and they strongly defended their use of the German language in their homes. Kathleen Neils Conzen. “German-Americans and the Invention of Ethnicity,” in *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History*, Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, ed., vol. 1 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 139.

<sup>9</sup>In *The World Rushed In*, Holliday superimposes many accounts of both the Argonauts and their families “back home” upon the letters and journals of William Swain, creating a detailed, comprehensive study of the years 1848-1851. J. S. Holliday, *The World Rushed In: The California Gold Rush Experience* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981), 17-20. In *Rush for Riches*, he looks at the influence of the gold rush on California and “exposes unapologetic rapaciousness of this golden era.” Holliday, *Rush for Riches: Gold Fever and the Making of California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), viii. Barbara Berglund, *Making San Francisco American: Cultural Frontiers in the urban West, 1846-1906* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2007), 9. Robert Henry Billigmeier, *Americans from Germany: A Study in Cultural Diversity* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1974), 35, 102. Marcus Lee

and economic influence of Germans on the west. Ray Allen Billington discusses the Germans in Pennsylvania but not in California, and his anthology co-authored with Martin Ridge lists numerous immigrants to California during the gold rush, but neglects the Germans. Richard White in his 1991 anthology only briefly mentions German miners when they fought in Virginia City or demonstrated in the labor movement in early twentieth century San Francisco. Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher only acknowledge one German neighborhood in San Francisco.<sup>10</sup> Numerous historians in the twentieth century represent Germans as an immigrant group that blended into the “melting pot” American ideal. Doris Wright in 1950, for example, insisted that the European-born newcomers in San Francisco assimilated quickly into the dominant Anglo-American culture. When Peter Conolly-Smith recognizes the Germans as a distinct ethnic group, he maintains that because their position as immigrants was more exalted than others such as the Irish or Italian, their eventual decline in influence was due to growing prejudices becoming more extreme.<sup>11</sup>

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Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860: A History of the Continuing Settlement of the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), 12, 228. George Henderson and Thompson Olasiji, *Migrants, Immigrants and Slaves: Racial and Ethnic Groups in America* (New York: University Press of America, Inc., 1955), 99. John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 196. Ann Loftis, *California – There the Twain Did Meet* (New York: McMillan Publishing Col., Inc., 1973), 130-132. Wright, “Cosmopolitan California,” Part 2, 74.

<sup>10</sup>Ray Allen Billington, *America’s Frontier Heritage*, 6th ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), 56-9. \_\_\_\_\_, and Martin Ridge, *Western Expansion: A History of the American Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), 233. Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher, *The American West: A new interpretive history* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 422. Richard White, *It’s Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A New History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 88, 454.

<sup>11</sup>Peter Conolly-Smith, *Translating America: an Immigrant Press Visualizes American Popular Culture, 1895-1918* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Books, 2004), 10. Doris Marion Wright, “The Making of Cosmopolitan California: An Analysis of Immigration, 1848-1870,” *California Historical Society Quarterly* Part 1 XIX:4 (December 1940): 323-343, Part 2 in *Ibid.*, XX:1 (January, 1941): 65-79; Part 2, 69. Other authors include Conzen, “Phantom Landscapes of Colonization: Germans in the making of Pluralist America,” in *The German-American Encounter: Conflict and Cooperation between Two Cultures, 1800-2000*, Frank Trommler and Elliot Shore, eds. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001), 10. Barbara Lang, “Immigration in German-American Literature, 1850-1900,” *Yearbook of German-American*

At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, Americans' attitudes about the Germans changed from high regard and esteem to suspicion because of growing anti-German sentiments and prejudices. Historians Trommler and Shore explain: "World War I eradicated the German-Americans as a distinct cultural and ethnic group [that was] . . . pushed into a political, ethnic, and cultural limbo from which they were able to emerge by reneging their traditions and identities."<sup>12</sup> Although there were anti-foreign prejudices in the 1850s as evidenced by the growth of the Know Nothing political party, those prejudices diminished when the Americans witnessed the Germans' patriotism when they volunteered and served in the Civil War. In the late nineteenth century when a new wave of German immigrants came to America, they competed with the native-born Americans, shutting them out of the labor market. The long hours Germans worked in menial tasks, unhealthy factories, and living in overcrowded, miserable tenements persuaded them to join the growing labor unions and participate in anti-management strikes. During World War I, when patriotism replaced isolationism, Germans were regarded with suspicion and prejudice. Native-born Americans changed the names of their towns and condoned the violence against German-Americans that erupted across the country. With the American entry into World War I, there were bans on German-composed music, vandalism, the renaming of people, towns and even foods -- sauerkraut became liberty cabbage, for example.<sup>13</sup>

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*Studies*, 22 (1987), 48. Doris Muscatine, *Old San Francisco: The Biography of a City from the Early Days to the Earthquake* (New York: Putnam, 1975), 113. Walter Nugent, *Into the West: The Story of its People* (New York: Vintage Books, 1999), 49. Klaus Wust and Heinz Moos, *Three Hundred Years of German Immigrants in North America, 1683-1983* (Baltimore: Heinz Moos Pub. Co., 1983), 111.

<sup>12</sup> Frank Trommler, and Elliott Shore, eds., *The German-American Encounter*, 113.

<sup>13</sup> John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigration in Urban America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 15. Conzen, "Germans in America," in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, Stephen Thernstrom, ed. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1981), 411, 422. Julius Drachsler, "Anti-German Feeling in America – World War I – 1917," in *The*

Combined with governmental dictates, this hysteria caused Germans to downplay their public displays of their traditional culture, disband ethnic societies and cease publishing German language papers. The number of school children studying the German language dropped 96 percent in 1922 from those learning the language in 1859. In 1920, the prohibition movement turned public opinion against German brewers and German beer gardens.<sup>14</sup> In San Francisco, Barbara Bickel Drücke's descendants recall that even at home, the family banned the use of the German language in public and removed German language pages from various anthologies. The family was obliged to quell rumors that the family was supporting the German war effort. While historians writing before World War I recognized some of the Germans' contributions to the development of California, histories written after that war routinely omit any mention of the Germans as a distinct, cultural group.<sup>15</sup>

My study invites the reader to rethink how the complexity of contemporary definitions of ethnicity and nationality impact studies of immigrants, both in the past and today. The new western historians are studying previously undocumented groups, Euro-America, Asian and Hispanic, who settled in California before and after the discovery of

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*Germans in America*. Howard B. Furer, comp. and ed. (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1973), 133. Furer, *Germans in America*, 56, 61-2, 68, 72-3. Ann Galicich, *The German Americans* (New York: Chelsea House, 1989), 78-87. Higham, *Strangers*, 195-6. Stanley Nadel, *Little Germany, Ethnicity, Religion and Class in New York City. 1845-1880* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 65-6, 70-1.

<sup>14</sup>Jürgen Eichhoff, "The German Language in America," in *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred History*, Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, ed., vol. 1 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 230. Peter Uwe Hohendahl, ed., *German Studies in the United States: A Historical Handbook*. (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 2003), 11. Jeffrey R. Sammons, "The Constituencies of Academics and the Priorities of Germanists," in Hohendahl, *German Studies*, 58.

<sup>15</sup>Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olsson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1955*. (London: Verso, 1983), 8. Conzen, "Germans in America," 406. Helen Dohrmann Van Blair, interview with the author, April 6, 1998. Robert Dohrmann, interviews with the author, September 18, 1998 and July 17, 1999. Rachel Davis DuBois and Emma Scheweppe, ed., *The Germans in American Life* (New York: Thomas Nelsons and Sons, 1936), 7. Frederick C. Luebke, *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), xii.

gold. They sometimes focus on the violent and prejudicial interactions among them and between them and the native-born such as the conflicts between the Chinese and Anglo-Americans in San Francisco and Hispanics and Anglos in the southern mines. For example, both John Boessenecker in *Gold Dust and Gunsmoke: Tales of Gold Rush Outlaws, Gunfighters, Lawmen and Vigilantes* and Susan Lee Johnson in *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* portray the violent behavior of the native-born miners towards the “foreigners” in the camps. My research did not uncover any overt prejudicial actions by Germans towards Hispanics or Chinese in any of the three cities. A story by German-born Francis Borneman illustrates how the Germans in the mid-nineteenth century did not experience that prejudice in the mine fields. He was visited by a “Committee” of three miners from Missouri while gold digging who declared that no foreigners were allow in the diggings. He replied in English, told them he was German, and the committee agreed he could continue his work. He was not perceived as a “foreigner” by the Anglos.<sup>16</sup>

Because of the Germans’ acceptance by the Anglo majority, they are rarely mentioned in the current histories about Marysville and Sacramento. Stories of Marysville, for example, describe how its location at the confluence of the Yuba and Feather rivers was a major transportation staging area for miners, yet even those writers did not acknowledge the influence of the German settlers in the city.<sup>17</sup> In San Francisco,

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<sup>16</sup>John Boessenecker, *Gold Dust and Gunsmoke: Tales of Gold Rush Outlaws, Gunfighters, Lawmen and Vigilantes* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1999. Francis George Borneman, *Autobiography and Reminiscences*, Society of California Pioneers Collection. <http://www.oac.calif.org>. 24. Susan Lee Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2000)

<sup>17</sup>See William Henry Chamberlain, *History of Yuba County, California, with illustrations descriptive of its scenery, residences, public buildings, fine blocks and manufactories* (Oakland: Thompson & West, 1879); Peter J. Delay, *History of Yuba and Sutter Counties: with biographical sketches of the leading men and women of the counties who have been identified with their growth and development from*



however, they fare better. Because it was the largest city in California at that time and because of its explosive growth, its early history has been well documented and the some refer to the contributions of the German immigrants. For example, Hubert Howe Bancroft does mention Germans in his histories of California. Peter Randolph Decker studied the business practices of San Francisco's merchants, the native- and foreign-born, and their social mobility, but he examines the entire merchant group as a whole. He does not explain the individual experiences of the German merchants, and he eliminated the German skilled craftsmen who also immigrated to California from his study. Roger W. Lotchin in his study of San Francisco asserts that the Germans tended to congregate together in the early 1850s and offers some insights into their history, but he does not tell how the Germans and Anglos worked together. Furthermore, his work does not extend beyond 1856. Gunther Barth studies the urbanization of San Francisco and acknowledges the presence of diverse groups, but he does not mention Germans.<sup>18</sup>

The focus on the important role of diverse ethnic groups in the development of the West, inspired by Patricia Limerick's 1997 book *The Legacy of Conquest*, helped recover the role played by immigrants in urban California. When historians began dissecting San Francisco's history, they presented innovative studies of heretofore ignored aspects of

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*the early days to the present* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Co., 1924); Sister M. Benilda Desmond, O.P., "The History of the City of Marysville, California 1852-1859" (Ph.D diss., Catholic University of America, Washington D.C., June, 1962); and Earl Ramey, "The Beginnings of Marysville," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Part 1, XIV:3 (September, 1935), 195-229; *Ibid.*, Part 2, XIV:4 (December, 1935), 375-407; *Ibid.*, Part 3, XV:1 (March, 1936), 21-57.

<sup>18</sup>Barth only quotes from an 1854 German immigrant guide. Gunther Barth, *Instant Cities: Urbanization and the Rise of San Francisco and Denver* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 5. Hubert Howe Bancroft, "History of California" vol. 23, 222; "California Inter Pocula," vol. 35, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft* (San Francisco: The History Company. 1888), 266. Peter Randolph Decker. *Fortunes and Failures: White-Collar Mobility in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 60. Roger W. Lotchin, *San Francisco 1846-1856: From Hamlet to City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 106, 114, 133-4.

everyday life. Some make reference to the Germans' influence in the city. Barbara Berglund incorporates some foreign cultural influences, but her picture of the German

**Table 1.** Germans in Urban California

	Marysville/ Yuba Co*	Sacramento City County**	San Francisco
1850			
Germans	485	418	NA
Total Population	4,749	6,830	
Percentage	9.53%	12.66%	
1852			
Germans	565	868	1,634
Total Population	4,500	12,589	13,785
Percentage	6.99%	6.89%	11.85%
1860			
Germans	681	1,634	9,550
Total Population	4,740	13,785	56,828
Percentage	14.36%	11.85%	16.81%

*Sources:* U. S. Censuses, 1850, 1852, 1860

\*In 1850, figures available only for Yuba County.

\*\*In 1852, figures available only for Sacramento County.

cultural activities needs to be expanded. Bradford Luckingham looks at the numerous associations in San Francisco, but he doesn't explain how the German societies interacted with the dominant Anglo population. Henry Miller Madden is an exception, but his

studies concentrate on Germans arriving in California prior to the gold rush.<sup>19</sup> In the early twenty-first century, historians H. W. Brands, James Delgado, Philip Ethington, Kevin Starr, and Edith Sparks all present studies representing the diversity of the ethnic make-up of San Francisco, but they do not study Germans as a distinct group.<sup>20</sup>

Although their numbers grew over the decade, Germans in San Francisco, Sacramento and Marysville were still a relatively small percentage of the population. In 1860, they represented only 17 percent of the population in San Francisco, 11.9 percent in Sacramento and 14.4% in Marysville. Any resistance the native-born had was largely subtle and hidden because they did not feel threatened or resent the Germans' presence, enabling the Germans to directly influence the development of the cities. The Germans' influence and direction was much greater than the small size of their group suggests. Indeed, articles in the contemporary newspapers often congratulate the Germans on their efforts to help bring order during this period of turmoil.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Henry Miller Madden collected over 175 German-language books, and published and lectured about his findings. A. Wayne Colver, "Henry Miller Madden, 1912-1982" in *Californien: Henry Madden and the German Travelers in America*. Michael Gorman, ed. (Fresno: California State University Press, 1991) 14.

<sup>20</sup>Berglund, *San Francisco*. H. W. Brands, *The Age of Gold: The California Gold Rush and the New American Dream* (New York: Doubleday, 2002). James P. Delgado, *Gold Rush Port: The Maritime Archaeology of San Francisco's Waterfront* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009). Philip J. Ethington, *The Public City: The Political Construction of Urban Life in San Francisco, 1850-1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004). Andrew C. Isenberg, *Mining California: An Ecological History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2005), 11-2. Bradford Franklin Luckingham, "Associational Life on the Urban Frontier: San Francisco, 1848-1856." (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Davis, 1968) ProQuest (6900858); "Benevolence in Emergent San Francisco: A Note on Immigrant Life in the urban Far West," *Southern California Quarterly*. 55:4 (Winter 1973). Edith Sparks, *Capital Intentions: Female Proprietors in San Francisco, 1850-1920* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006). Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream: 1850-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973); *California: A History* (New York: Modern Library, 2005). Margaret Walsh. "Women's Place on the American Frontier," *Journal of American Studies*. 29:2 (1995): 250.

<sup>21</sup>Joseph C. G. Kennedy. *Population of the United States in 1860*. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 30-2. Specific examples are: *Daily Alta California*, March 18, 1853; May 20, 1853; May 6, 1855; January 7, 1857; September 20, 1858; August 30, 1859; December 1, 1860. *Evening Bulletin*, February 19, 1856; July 25, 1857. *San Francisco Herald*, August 14, 1854; April 22, 1855; April 22, 1855; April 25, 1856; August 26, 1859; July 23, 1860.

With the new emphasis on ethnic histories, some historians studied the history of the Jews in California and San Francisco and how they influenced the urban development of the state.<sup>22</sup> They found an ethnic community that encompassed Jews from the American East, both native- and foreign-born, as well as Jews from England, Prussia and Poland and from the German-speaking states of Central Europe. The Germans were also a very important segment of the population of nineteenth century urban California, and the Germans of that day self-defined themselves “German” primarily because of their cultural and social connections rather than because of religious beliefs. Zionism and its emphasis on “Jewishness” rather than “Germanness” developed in the late nineteenth century.<sup>23</sup> In San Francisco in the 1850s, the Jewish community itself split along ethnic and liturgical lines, creating the Emanuel-El congregation with many German celebrants and the Sherith Israel congregation with many celebrants from Poland and England, but also some from Germany. This conflict between Poles and Germans, orthodox and more liberal, dated back at least two generations. Historians also found that many Jews preferred to ignore their Polish roots and emphasize their similarity to the German

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<sup>22</sup>The following authors build on the legacy of Michael M. Zarchin’s 1952 study. Jeanne E. Abrams, *Jewish Women Pioneering the Frontier Trail: A History in the American West* (New York: New York University Press, 2006). Ellen Eisenberg, Ava F. Kahn and William Toll, *Jews of the Pacific Coast: Reinventing Community on America’s Edge* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009). Ava F. Kahn, ed., *Jewish Voices of the California Gold Rush: A Documentary History, 1849-1880* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2002). Kahn, ed., *Jewish Life in the American West: Perspectives on Migration, Settlement and Community* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002). Moses Rischin and John Livingston, eds., *Jews of the American West* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991). Fred Rosenbaum, *Cosmopolitans: A Social and Cultural History of the Jews of the San Francisco Bay Area* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009). Michael M. Zarchin, *Glimpses of Jewish Life in San Francisco: History of San Francisco Jewry* (Berkeley: Willis E. Berg, 1952).

<sup>23</sup>William M. Kramer and Norton B. Stern, “The Turnverein: A German Experience for Western Jewry,” *Western States Jewish History* 16:3 (1984): 227. Habit Lavsky, *Before Catastrophe: The Distinctive Path of German Zionism* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1996), 11, 13, 15. Jehuda Reinharz, *Fatherland or Promised Land: The Dilemma of the German Jew, 1893-1914* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1975), 100. Rischin and Livingston, *Jews of the West*, 22. Fred Rosenbaum, “Zionism versus Anti-Zionism: The State of Israel Comes to San Francisco,” in Rischin and Livingston, *Jews of the West*, 119.

heritage. The German Jews said of themselves that they were more German than Jewish, celebrated the German culture, took pilgrimages to Germany seeking wives, and emphasized their Germanic origins.<sup>24</sup> Both in San Francisco and in communities across America, German Gentile associations such as the *Turnvereine* welcomed Jews as members as a way of increasing their membership and support for their group, and, in turn, Jews found these a means to assimilate. Other than in religion, the German Jews celebrated their “Germanness,” the same culture as the German Gentiles celebrated, throughout most of the nineteenth century.<sup>25</sup> Thus, by looking through a nineteenth century lens, my study of the German immigrants in urban California needs to include the Jews from German states in order to present a complete picture of the three cities’ ethnic community.

The most prominent German in early Californian history is German-Swiss John August Sutter, whose controversial character has disproportionately shaped our understanding of Germans in this period. Sutter arrived in 1839 in the Sacramento Valley and created his agriculturally based colony, New Helvetia, and provided needed

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<sup>24</sup>Abrams, *Jewish Women*, 14. Eisenberg, Kahn and Toll, *Jews of the Pacific Coast*, 26-7. Rosenbaum, *Cosmopolitans*, 2-3. Victor Wolfgang von Hagen, *The Germanic People in America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), 324, 371. Kramer and Stern offer an interesting example of the transformation of non-German Jews to Germans in San Francisco. Jacob and Louis Levenson from the Polish city of Posen came in the early 1850s. Their sisters arrived in 1855 and were taken to the local *Turnverein* for social activities. One of them, Helen (later Mrs. Joseph S. Newmark) wrote that “my brothers had a nice circle of friends, mostly cultured people, Germans.” Another example is David Korn in Sacramento. He was president of the *Turnverein* at the time of the Lincoln Association and signed the memorial statement of the association as did Jacob Reuff and Conrad Weil. Kramer and Stern, “Turnverein,” 227-8.

<sup>25</sup>The word “*Turnverein*” literally means “to do gymnastic exercise” and was the appellation used for the fraternal associations formed by Germans across the United States. Robert Knight Barney, “Forty-Eighters and the Rise of the Turnverein Movement in America” in *Ethnicity and Sport in North American History and Culture*, George Eisen and David K. Wiggins, eds. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1994), 20. Kramer and Stern, “Turnverein,” 227. Thomas H. Thompson and Albert August West, *History of Sacramento County, California, with Illustrations* (1880), Reprinted with a forward by Allan R Ottley (Berkeley: Howell-North, 1960), 177. Carl F. Wittke, *The Germans in America* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1967), 17.

services to those pre-gold-rush overland pioneers seeking new homes in Oregon and California. Early histories depict Sutter as a benevolent dictator, flawed but well meaning. New western historians disagree. Kenneth Owens compiled an anthology of essays that label him as self-destructive and criticize him for his exploitation of the native Indian labor and the natural resources of the valley. The most recent work is Albert L. Hurtado's biography, *John Sutter: A Life on the North American Frontier* published in 2006. He attempts to portray Sutter as a complete person, both his strengths and failings, to find reasons or justifications for his explorations and colonization of the Sacramento area and his decline after the discovery of gold.<sup>26</sup> Sutter dominates histories of the Sacramento Valley, but he does not represent the German immigrants who flood the area after 1849.

Histories today do not study the Germans as an ethnic group socially, economically and culturally and how they were instrumental in developing the growth of the cities. When the Germans formed and cultivated their clubs and associations, they sought to perpetuate the cultural practices they brought from their homeland. At the same time, they did not stand aloof from the disruptions brought on by the gold-rush-driven population explosions in Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco. The Germans, whether Jewish or Gentile, did not leave their particular cultural heritage behind and "quickly assimilate into the post Gold Rush society." Instead, they evolved into new "German-Californians" looking to conquer the problems of the early 1850s and

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<sup>26</sup>Albert L. Hurtado. *John Sutter: A Life on the American Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), xiii. Owen's work is based on a series of lectures given at California State University, Sacramento, and includes essays by Iris H. W. Engstrand, Albert L. Hurtado, Howard Lamar, Patricia Nelson Limerick and Richard White. Owens also includes an analysis of General Sutter's Diary. Kenneth N Owens, ed. *John Sutter and a Wider West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).

to create new, viable municipalities.<sup>27</sup> They joined with their Anglo neighbors, both individually and through Anglo-based associations, to develop stability in the cities and a new, distinctive culture in their new homes.

My search of censuses, city directories, and contemporary accounts uncovered small, strong communities of Germans in all three cities. Ethnicity, language and cultural affinity rather than political or national origin determined membership in this group. Often, the newcomers defined themselves as “German,” ignoring the political boundaries of the principalities that eventually formed the nation of Germany in 1871. In 1850, federal and state census-takers combined immigrants from the individual political states as “German” rather than indicate a particular area. In 1860, census-takers indicated some immigrants’ birth origin as Austria, Baden, Bavaria, Hesse, Prussia, and Württemberg but combined these with immigrants from “Germany” into one category, stating that 21,646 born in these central European entities lived that year in California. Some immigrants had already begun to call themselves German when arriving in California. Both Johann Bickel and Barbara Drüke, while asking the birth place of the countrymen they met, always identified themselves and others as German throughout their documents. San Franciscans, when recording their “Reminiscences” for the California Society of Pioneers, often referred to themselves as German, relating to their cultural identity rather than birth place. For example, Francis Borneman who was born in Hanover and Rudolph Jordan who was born in Halle both label themselves, “German.” These German newcomers joined with others from the central European states with whom they related

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<sup>27</sup>George Henderson and Thompson Olatiji, *Migrants, Immigrants and Slaves: Racial and Ethnic Groups in America* (New York: University Press of America, Inc., 1955), 99. Ann Loftis, *California – There the Twain Did Meet* (New York: McMillan Publishing Col., Inc., 1973), 130-132. Wright, “Cosmopolitan California,” Part 2, 74.

linguistically and culturally, creating a loosely bound community where all enjoyed the German *Vereinswesen* (associational life).<sup>28</sup> Over the decade, these Germans developed into a more formal kinship where its members commercially and socially supported and encouraged each other, but the boundaries remained fluid, not static.

Besides documenting the existence of these German-based communities, the contemporary sources also revealed the efforts of its members to adapt to their new home. While they adopted some of the cultural and economic practices of their new homeland, they retained many aspects of their traditional cultural and social activities. Many Germans came with a desire to set up a permanent business and residence in California, recognizing the economic opportunities contingent with the gold mining.<sup>29</sup> Like other Argonauts, some passed through these cities on their way to the gold fields, but a small nucleus returned to become permanent residents, and they in turn welcomed newcomers to California. San Francisco, in particular, is an example of this tremendous “inflow” and “outgo,” but towards the end of the decade, research shows that many Germans recognized the economic opportunities there and established a permanent residence. At the same time, the Germans interacted with the dominant Anglo-Americans, joining them as fellow citizens to bring order and culture to their city. By identifying individual German-born immigrants who arrived, resided in or left these three

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<sup>28</sup>Borneman, *Autobiography*, 19. Cosgrove and Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 6, 16, 21, 41-2, 57. J. D. B. DeBrow, *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850*, vol. 3 (Washington DC: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853), 13. DuBois and Schweppe, *American Life*, 17. Rudolph Jordan, *Autobiography and Reminiscences*, Society of California Pioneers Collection. <http://www.oac.calif.org>. 47. Jürgen Eichhoff, “The German Language in America.” in Trommler and McVeith, *Three-Hundred-Year History*, 224. Joseph C. B. Kennedy. *Population 1860*, 621. Anglo-Americans adopted the label “German” or “German-American” for those from the central European Germanic states, combining them into one immigrant group which they praised for Germans’ perceived characteristics of industry and intelligence. Billigmeier, *Americans from Germany*, 57, 65, 102.

<sup>29</sup>Bodnar, *The Transplanted*, 172. Conzen, “Phantom Landscapes,” 11. Josiah Flynt, “The German and the German American,” *The Atlantic Monthly*. 78:469 (November, 1896): 656, 660. Muscatine, *Old San Francisco*, 113.



cities during the 1850s, one discovers how these newcomers created a balance between their traditional culture and the Anglo-American importations in their new community.<sup>30</sup>

Pioneers looking for quick profits came from many backgrounds, ethnic and racial, and the inter-relationships, and the actions and reactions of all of them constitute the State's history. When modern writers concentrate on conflict and struggle, they overlook those foreign-born newcomers who the native-born did not perceive as threatening – the Germans in these urban centers fall into this category. They never formed a static ghetto or “German quarter” such as those in the eastern and mid-western United States. The Germans who came to urban California settled into loosely organized neighborhoods, actively participated in the city's businesses, and initiated change in the dominant Anglo-American based culture.

A vital part of urban California's total population, these Germans formed residential communities or neighborhoods that allowed them to sustain their cultural ties with their “fatherland.” They emphasized *Vereinswesen* (associational life) and neighborhood, *Gemütlichkeit* (joyful and communal celebration), and intellectual and physical excellence whether they arrived directly from Europe or by way of German-American communities in the United States. The leaders of their newly formed *Turnvereine* and other social clubs planned and staged cultural events that expanded the practice of these customs and ideals. Socially, economically and culturally, the Germans in California never severed their ties with other German-Americans or German-Europeans and remained part of a larger imagined community that extended beyond

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<sup>30</sup> This study begins when the wave of immigrants was well under way and could be documented in the 1850 Federal Census and includes the traumas in San Francisco, Sacramento and Marysville faced after the discovery of gold. It concludes with the year 1860 when the Civil War interrupted German immigration and before the impact of the trans-continental railroad that was completed in 1863.

California. Benedict Anderson articulated this concept to describe groups with a cultural and/or ethnic affinity whose members were not bound by political or borders, emphasizing that the spirit of nationalism that crossed these borders and bound similar peoples together. By adapting this concept to the cities of urban California, I discovered that the Germans were also a part of a larger imagined community of Germans in the United States and the fatherland in Europe, and they maintained a strong interest in their compatriots. Besides preserving their culture, the Germans in each city looked to the national *Turnverein* for guidance when organizing their own fraternal organization and often included other Northern Californian *Turnvereine* in their celebrations.<sup>31</sup> Despite their first priority of gathering and helping their German neighbors, they were an active part of the total citizenry in California, acting, interacting and reacting with the Anglo majority Anglos in a search for order in the chaos caused by the cities' explosive growth. As they were adapting to their new home, they worked with the fellow citizens of urban California to solve the problems of their new home but they never ceased being "German."

Because the populations of Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco were largely composed of unattached men, the social, economic and cultural patterns occurring there differed somewhat from those identified by historians in German communities in other parts of the United States. In the East and Midwest, the cities with a larger German population such as New York and Milwaukee had enclaves with clearly defined neighborhoods with strict boundaries, many replicating neighborhoods in the "fatherland" where the German language and customs predominated over the Anglo-American. Some

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<sup>31</sup>Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, Verso, 1983), 6-7, 14. 19.

Argonauts, both native and foreign-born, came to El Dorado with no intention of staying. They looked for gold and planned to return home with their newfound fortunes as soon as possible and never considered interacting with the Anglos or assimilating into the dominant culture. On the other hand, during the 1850s, the number of Germans who stayed in California increased, and their experiences exemplify three well-known theories of immigration settlement and involvement. Oscar Handlin in *The Uprooted* described the typical immigrant as an isolated individual living in a cultural crisis because he had been uprooted from what he had known in their old country and was thrust into unfamiliar surroundings. John Bodnar, on the other hand, discovered that immigrants created their own enclaves and communities where the immigrants created their own world, filled with the cultural practices they brought with them, while adjusting to their new homes. Walter Kamphoefner, Wolfgang Helbich, and Ulrike Sommer describe letters and communications from newcomers to families and friends back home as a strong impetus for Europeans to immigrate – chain migration.<sup>32</sup> The tremendous, rapid growth in the cities’ population induced a particular combination of these experiences in the creation of California’s German community.

Many newcomers visiting the new cities of California merely stopped on their journey and, like many tourists might, were overwhelmed by the tumultuous, “sinful,” unsettled, and chaotic society they found. Floods, fires, violence, and a lack of stable government captured the attention of contemporary writers in the 1850s who often

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<sup>32</sup>Immigrant historian Marcus Lee Hansen discussed the origins of the nineteenth century emigration, arguing that it was predominantly rural. He notes that California drew immigrants but that most ultimately left for their homes. Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration*, 5, 277, 288. Bodnar, *Transplanted*, xvii, 15, 142, 148, 205. Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1951) 4, 6, 11, 62. Walter D. Kamphoefner, Wolfgang Helbich and Ulrike Sommer, *News from the Land of Freedom: German Immigrants Write Home*, trans. Susan Carter Vogel (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 9, 28-9.

neglected the later developments of urban California. These chroniclers paid little attention to the occupations of “butchering, baking bread . . . teaming and packing goods to the mines” in which many Germans were involved.<sup>33</sup> They acknowledged the presence of the German associations but not the impact that they had in the cultural development of California’s cities. Later historians looked at segments of the German community and its accomplishments, but they did not examine the Germans as a social, economic and cultural whole. My study looks at this group as a separate entity within the general populations of San Francisco, Sacramento and Marysville.

To find and identify the individual German-born immigrants who came to urban California, I gathered statistical data from the available Federal Censuses of 1850 and 1860, the State Census of 1852, and the City Directories published between 1851 and 1860.<sup>34</sup> These documents record available information about ethnic groups, and contemporary newspaper accounts of activities members of the German communities supplement these statistics. Marysville had one newspaper in the 1850s and Sacramento two, but San Francisco had many. I chose the three leading papers, the *Alta California*, the *Evening Bulletin*, and the *San Francisco Herald* as primary resources. Unfortunately, only two issues of the German language *California Staats-Zeitung* from the 1850s still exist, and the copies of other early German language newspapers have disappeared. Biographies and reminiscences of German “pioneer settlers” included in the works

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<sup>33</sup>John F. Morse, “History of Sacramento,” in *Sacramento Directory for the year, 1853-1854*. (Sacramento: Samuel Colville, 1853), 9. Thompson and West, *Sacramento County*, iii-v.

<sup>34</sup>The 1850 Federal Census for San Francisco was lost at sea and the 1852 census for the city is in very poor condition and filled with duplications. Although the information may be flawed, it still provides a window into San Francisco and Marysville at that time. See Chapter 2 for details about the use of these resources. Alan P. Bowman, *Index to the 1850 Census of the State of California* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1972). Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, ix-x. Dennis E. Harris, “The California Census of 1852: A Note of Caution and Encouragement, *The Pacific Historian*, 2:1 (Spring, 1984).

written prior to 1905 and from the Society of California Pioneers helped augment the statistics. Because nineteenth-century travelers of all backgrounds were anxious to record their experiences in diaries and letters, they left many documents written in the 1850s describing urban California, its economy and culture. Information from secondary resources, historic and modern, help “flesh out” the statistics to provide a human insight into the German immigrants.

This study is divided into an Introduction, five chapters and a conclusion. The second chapter, “Resources and Methodology,” discusses the sources I used, some of the problems I encountered, and the assumptions I made to solve them. The third chapter, “A Tale of Three Cities,” offers a brief history of all three cities as context for understanding the Germans’ experiences in each city. Germans as well as the other inhabitants of Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco were dramatically affected by the fires, floods and social upheavals of these years.

Chapter Four, “*Die Einwanderer en Kalifornien: Patterns of German Immigration*,” discusses the impetus driving the Germans’ decision to immigrate, both the “push” from their homeland and the “pull” of the gold rush. It finds that the size of the three cities influenced the Germans’ settlement patterns. Marysville had a closer-knit neighborhood where Germans could walk to communicate with each other whereas Sacramento’s neighborhood was more dispersed, and Germans lived in every district of San Francisco. Like their Anglo-American counterparts, many newcomers came first to San Francisco, then to Sacramento and Marysville, and then immediately left for the northern gold fields. Some, however, stayed in these cities in the early 1850s and were

joined by others who returned to stay after their gold mining adventures rather than returning to their former homes.

“A Most Valuable and Industrious Class of Men: German Entrepreneurs and the Commercial Development of Urban California,” Chapter Five, examines the occupations and commercial enterprises of German merchants and artisans who engaged in many of the same occupations they did in their homeland while encouraging and loaning money to each other as well as newcomers. The Germans’ success was based on attracting customers not only from within the confines of their own enclave but also from the Anglo-American community. It is interesting how German newcomers could seek help from their countrymen and quickly get it which resulted in a relatively low percentage of unemployed laborers. “*Vereinswesen und Gemütlichkeit: Leisure and Culture in a New Setting*,” Chapter Six, describes how the Germans continued to practice their culture of *Vereinswesen* and *Gemütlichkeit* by creating their own clubs and celebrations while joining with the Anglos to influence theirs.

By uncovering and exploring the German communities in San Francisco, Sacramento and Marysville, this study introduces a new perspective on the Germans immigrants’ experiences. In each city, the Germans created a community where newcomers could identify and comfortably interact with fellow countrymen; thereby retaining their cultural heritage while adapting to their new home. Looking at the reasons for their immigration and settlement patterns, their work ethic, and their leisure lifestyle demonstrates how their culture and ethnicity survived and thrived in the gold rush years and the second half of the nineteenth century. This study challenges the theories of instant assimilation argued by some historians and re-examines the urban history of

California's gold rush. Although being somewhat "hidden" by size and lack of attention, the role German immigrants played in the growth of California challenges the early perception that the State's population was a cultural monolith that quickly and easily absorbed the diverse traditions of all who arrived. German immigrants and their sub-culture brought a sense of stability and neighborhood that helped the urban Californians conquer the chaos of the gold rush.

## CHAPTER II

### Resources and Methodology

Identifying individual Germans and tracking their residence, employment and cultural activities was the key to resurrecting the history of the entire ethnic group. To find these individuals in mid-nineteenth century records of California presented challenges of language and documentation. Census takers and information gatherers were inconsistent in their treatment of the German names. The Germans themselves gave conflicting answers because they did not understand the questioner; for example, “Where are you from?” could be interpreted a number of different ways. The records that do exist are often damaged and illegible. In the city directories, a valuable resource, there was no overall standard for the editors dictating how or what information they should use. Records of the German institutions of the period are exceedingly scarce and, since many of those organizations no longer exist, have disappeared. These challenges required atypical methods to create workable data bases to find the ethnic communities. Despite the gaps and inconsistencies in the information available, one discovers a cadre of Germans instrumental in the cultural and economic venues of all three cities, some of whom believed in the future of these cities and stayed in their new homes most of these years, aiding in the municipalities’ growth and progress.

City directories, the United State census records, newspapers, histories and biographies help find the German-born individuals who constituted the ethnic group. My



first step was identifying the Germans in the Federal and State censuses of 1850, 1852 and 1860 and then cross checking the names in the city directories and other resources available for the 1850s. For the years prior to 1852, for example, the directories for all three cities are most incomplete. After finding each German-born man, woman or child, documenting his or her arrival, departure, occupation, marital status, length of residence and previous abode, I classified them into “family units” consisting of either a single individual or a head of household including a spouse and any children. In all three cities, unmarried men may have boarded with families, but they are treated as a unit, regardless of where they lived. The results are “master charts” listing 6,839 German family units in San Francisco, 1,629 units in Sacramento and 1,242 in Marysville who lived at least one year in those cities.<sup>1</sup>

Deciphering the hand-written scripts and spelling in the records is always a problem. In the German-language records from the mid-nineteenth century, printers used a script called *fraktur* with characters totally different than their English counterparts. In the English records, the information gatherers and printers did not use the German “*umlaut*” so the names with the *ü*, *ö*, or *ä* were often misspelled or replaced with the *ue*, *oe* and *ae*. For example, in Sacramento, George Drücke’s name appears as Drake in the D.A. R. transcription of the 1852 Census and in Sacramento’s marriage records. In San Francisco, long-time hotelier J. Lutgens name appears as both Lutgens, Luetgens and Leutgens in the 1860 census and various city directories; however, one could assume his name would actually be spelled Lütgens. He may have “anglicized” his name as many German-born did. Germans totally changed their names, for example, Schwarz became

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<sup>1</sup>For an example of these charts, please see Terry, “*Die Deutschen Einwanderer in Sacramento*, 125-191.

Black, Schmidt into Smith, Zimmermann into Carpenter. Deciphering the handwritten Census records of 1850, 1852 and 1860 was a major challenge, and I may have mislabeled names because of illegibility. Historian Alan Bowman notes that the common letter “u” or ü in German names could be transcribed as “v, “, “a”, “ee”, “n”, or “u” in the 1850 Federal Census, and this certainly is the case for the Censuses of 1852 and 1860 as well. Using his guidelines created for the 1850 census does diminish the problem when working with the 1852 and 1860 censuses. In the various city directories and contemporary newspapers, misspellings were common as well. Despite the presence of German-American John S. Hittell on the staff of San Francisco’s *Alta California* and German-born Christian Gerberding one of the publishers of the *Evening Bulletin* in San Francisco, German-born names often appeared spelled various ways – Rudolph Herold, a prominent musician, for example, appears as Herr Herald, E. Herold, Herr Herrold, or R. Herold in the publications. A letter to the editors of the *Alta* from Wm. Rabe in 1859 asks the paper to republish the names of the officers at a meeting held with the correct spelling.<sup>2</sup> A classic example of a misspelling and mislabeling is the references to Jacob Binninger of Sacramento. Jacob arrived in California before 1850 and is referred to as James Binninger in histories written in 1913 and 1925, as Jacob Benninger from Germany in the Census of 1850 (Bowman lists him as Bininger), J. Binninger in 1851,

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<sup>2</sup>An example in San Francisco is Mr. Moeller. He was born Carl Ludwig von Meistelberger in Prussia and assumed the name Moeller when he came to the United States. *Alta California*, September 15, 1856. *Alta California*, September 22; 1855, October 28, 1855; February 15, 1856; April 10, 1857; January 11, 1858; January 24, 1858; February 5, 1858; April 3, 1858. Bowman, *Index to the 1850 Census*, x. DuBois and Schweppe, *The Germans*, 19. *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*. Microfilm (Reel 9 “California, Sacramento County,” Reel 13-4 “California, San Francisco,” Reel 18 “California, Yuba County.” HA 261.5 1860 C45). *Evening Bulletin*, March 25, 1856; February 10, 1858; August 17, 1859. Haller, *Distinguished German-Americans*, (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1995) 13. *San Francisco Herald*, February 14, 1855; February 15; 1856; May 23, 1858. Another example is Bernard Tober who was involved in an accident in 1856. The various newspaper accounts list him as B. Toby, Bernard Tober, B. Tobey, and Mr. Tobler. *Alta California*, May 6, 1856; June 26, 1856. *Bulletin*, May 6, 1856; May 12, 1856.

Jacob Bennuger in the DAR transcription of the Census of 1852, Jacob Bininger from Wisconsin in the Sacramento 1853 Directory, Jacob Binninger, German, in the 1855 Directory, Jacob Binninger in 1856, J. Bininger in 1857, Jacob Binninger, German, in 1858, and finally, Jacob Benninger from Illinois in the Sacramento 1860 Directory.<sup>3</sup>

Misspellings were not the only problems using the city directories for all three cities. The directories in Sacramento and Marysville listed a country of origin for all their entries, but San Francisco's did not. To solve the problem I traced back and forth all the German-born listed in the 1852 and 1860 censuses to the city directories for the years 1850 to 1859. Although those Germans who came and went between 1853 and 1859 could not be recorded, the 6,839 listed in the data base include a number who used San Francisco as a "base" for their explorations. Some examples are bookkeeper Charles Osmer, who lived in San Francisco in 1854, then 1856 and 7, and then again in 1859. Musician Henry Kull (or Knull) lived in San Francisco in 1853, 1855, and then became a more permanent resident from 1857 through 1860. The three artists and brothers in the Nahl family, Charles, Arthur and Adolphus, all lived in San Francisco in 1853, and Charles and Arthur, after an absence in 1855, resumed residence continuously from 1856

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<sup>3</sup>*Seventh Census of the United States:1850* Microfilm (Reel 3 "California, Sacramento County." Reel 4 "California, Yuba County." HA 261.5 1850 C45). 176. Bowman, *Index to the Census*, 341. Daughters of the American Revolution, "County of Sacramento County," *California Census of 1852* vol. 5, (n.p., 1935), 211. Colville, *Sacramento Directory for the Year 1853-1854* (Sacramento: Samuel Colville, 1853); *Sacramento Directory for the Year Commencing August 1, 1855* (Sacramento: James Anthony & Co., 1855); *Sacramento Directory, 1856*. Horace J. Culver, *The Sacramento City Directory, January 1, 1851* (Sacramento City: Transcript Press, 1851). D. S. Cutter & Co., *Sacramento City Directory, for the year A. D. 1860* (Sacramento: H. S. Crocker & Co., 1859). I. N. Irwin, *Sacramento Directory and Gazetteer, for the years 1857 and 1858* (San Francisco, S. D. Valentine & Son, 1857). L. S. Taylor, *Taylor's Sacramento Directory, for the Year Commencing October, 1858* (Sacramento, H. S. Crocker & Co., 1858). William Willis, *History of Sacramento, California* (Los Angeles; Historic Record Co., 1913), 382.

through 1860. Adolphus, however, resided in San Francisco again only in 1856, leaving in 1857 to return again in 1859.<sup>4</sup>

Another problem with the directories of all three cities is that the editors made specific choices as to who would be included. It was unlikely that the population of Germans in Sacramento fell to a level of 167 in 1853 from 662 in 1852. We do not know what criteria the editors used but there seems to be a bias to exclude blue-collar workers from their lists. The books were commercially based, often a more-or-less profitable sideline for printers. Whether there was a monetary charge to be included is unknown, but the plethora of advertisements would suggest that merchants paid for this exposure. If they charged a fee for listing or mandated advertising, the laborer or worker at the low end of the economic scale might not have seen the value of a listing if they planned to be in one of the cities only a short time and thus would choose to be excluded. They would not be interested in the advertising or commercial benefit of a listing in a directory. Germans of “lesser” occupations who did not require heavy equipment or capital investment to operate may also not see value in a listing, and since they were more mobile than merchants and “came and went” in and out of the cities, especially San Francisco, they would be missed by the editors. Example are San Francisco’s barman George Johnson listed only in 1852, 1854 and 1856-7, and bookkeeper Sam Tetlow listed in 1852, 1856, and again in 1858 and 1859. Sacramentan bookkeeper John G. Koch is

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<sup>4</sup>Samuel Colville, *San Francisco Directory commencing October 1856* (San Francisco: Monwon, Valentine & Co., 1958). Harris, Bogardus and Lebatt, *San Francisco Directory for the year commencing October, 1856* (San Francisco: Whitton, Towne & Co., 1856). Henry G. Langley, *The San Francisco Directory for the year 1858* (San Francisco: S. D. Valentine & Sons, 1858); *The San Francisco Directory for the year 1859* (San Francisco: S. D. Valentine & Sons, 1859); *The San Francisco Directory for the year commencing July, 1860* (San Francisco: Valentine & Co., 1860). LeCount and Strong, *The San Francisco City Directory for 1854* (San Francisco: San Francisco Herald Office, 1854). James M. Parker, *The San Francisco Directory for 1852-53* (San Francisco: James M. Parker, 1852). Charles Nahl is listed in the 1855 Sacramento Directory. Colville, *1855 Sacramento Directory*.

listed in 1854, then again in 1856 and 1857, and returns in 1859. In Marysville, dishwasher Henry Barman was listed in 1852 and 1853, and then was absent until 1859. That could explain why the number of laborers and sailors and miners listed in the various directories is so small. In his history of Yuba County, W. T. Ellis noted that in 1853, publishers of that year's directory had great difficulty gathering pertinent information.<sup>5</sup>

Another problem is that the directories were not issued on a strict twelve-month basis; that is, the time intervals between them were not always a year. James M Parker's San Francisco Directory states it is for the years 1852 and 1853; therefore, the information would reflect 1853. The Sacramento directory for 1854 is missing, and *the Sacramento City Directory, for the year A.D. 1860*, despite its title, had a publication date and thus information for 1859. The directory for Marysville for 1859 is missing. Since potential customers for the 1858 Marysville directory had to purchase the volume, perhaps publishers were wary of creating a directory the following year. To solve this, I used the directory of 1860 for Marysville to complete my survey of that city, supposing that those listed represented a fairly accurate picture of the city's inhabitants in 1859.<sup>6</sup>

Although providing valuable information, the directories of Sacramento were inconsistent when indicating marital status and "nativity." (Since the Marysville and San Francisco directories did not list either category, that information was available only

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<sup>5</sup>Peter Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 285, n15. W. T. Ellis, *My Seventy-Two Years in the Romantic County of Yuba* (Eugene: University of Oregon, 1939) 22.

<sup>6</sup>Walter Kamphoefner extensively and successfully used city directories in his *The Westfalians*, but he confessed that the omission of age and nativity such as in San Francisco's also caused him problems. He noted that the books were more or less sideline publications for printers and not official, but that the editors were interested in presenting as accurate information as possible for commercial reasons. In the more settled areas of the American mid-west, Kamphoefner's area of study, the population did not turn over as rapidly as in gold-rush urban California, leading one to dispute the publishers' claim of accuracy. Kamphofner, Helbich and Sommer, *News*, 41.

through the United States Census and newspaper articles.) For example, the editors of the 1856 Directory indicate in their key entitled “Abbreviations” they used the symbols “m” or “mrd” for married, “s” for single, and “c” or “chd” for children, but many of the entries do not indicate the person’s married or unmarried state. One cannot assume that those who did not choose to give a designation to editors of City Directories were single - - Johann Bickel had a wife and children in Germany and George Drüke was married in Sacramento in 1856, but neither had a designation of “m” or “s” next to their name. According to that same key, the editors adopted widely used abbreviations of States and Countries to indicate the “nativity” of an individual, but they were inconsistent in their application.<sup>7</sup> We do not know if the editors asked “Where were you born?” or “Where did you live before coming to California?” The different phraseology would elicit different answers. Thus, as noted in the case of Jacob Binninger, a German-born immigrant might be listed from Wisconsin when, in fact, he was born in Germany. Despite the inconsistencies, the directories of all three cities helped trace the movements of the Germans in San Francisco, Sacramento and Marysville.

Although problems using the United Censuses for 1850, 1852 and 1860 abounded, they provided a “beginning” and an “end” to the decade when looking to identify the German born and generating comparative statistics. Although San Francisco’s 1850 census was lost at sea, contemporary newspapers help to fill in valuable information. The figures recorded by the census takers for all three cities are notorious for their unreliability and flaws. Added to Alan Bowman’s cautions about the 1850 census are Dennis Harris’ concerns about the 1852 census. He confirms that the original census takers that year repeated names thus duplicating listings. Because of the

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<sup>7</sup>Colville, *Sacramento Directory*, 1856, 1, 41. Irwin, *Sacramento Directory*, 1857, 8.

tremendous turnover of population in all three cities and the frequent residents' relocation within the cities, particularly in 1850 and 1852, the census takers could mistakenly list someone as many as five times. In addition, the well-meaning transcribers for the Daughters of the American Revolution's compilation may have misread the script, leading to suspicions about their accuracy. Recording and alphabetizing the names of the German-born on the censuses revealed that, even allowing for penmanship problems many of the duplications could be eliminated. Some may remain if spelling was misread, but the identifications do expose important population patterns.<sup>8</sup>

The conditions under which the censuses were stored, for 1850 and 1852 in particular, present another major problem for any historian. The pages themselves for both years are torn, show water damage and what appears to be fire damage. Newly elected German-born City Recorder Gustavus Beckh complained in San Francisco in 1857 of a leak in the roof of his office. The chaos during San Francisco's fire of 1906 could also have led to damaging the few written sources.<sup>9</sup> The 1860 census did contain one statistic which helped place the Germans in California. It listed the birthplace and year of the residents' children, so one could "place" the Germans in the cities. Despite these inconsistencies, cross-referencing the entries in the census with those in the city directories reveals the settlement patterns of Germans who came, who left, and who stayed to help build the infrastructure of the three booming metropolises.

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<sup>8</sup>Bowman, *Index to the 1850 Census*, x. D.A.R., "County of Sacramento," 256. Harris, "California Census," 60. Thor Severson, *Sacramento: An Illustrated History: 1839 to 1874, from Sutter's Fort to Capital City* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1973) 89. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, ix-x.

<sup>9</sup>The San Francisco 1850 Census was lost at sea. Donald Dale Jackson, *Gold Dust* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), 315. Michelle Elizabeth Jolly, "Inventing the city: Gender and Politics of Every Day Life in Gold Rush San Francisco: 1848-1869" (PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 1988) ProQuest (9915066), 101. *Bulletin*, October 6, 1857.

Another problem with the Censuses is the shifting boundaries of cities and counties. For San Francisco, since the county and city boundaries were the same, statistics for 1852 and 1860 could easily be compared, but the lack of a 1850 census and the lack of “nativity” in the 1850 and 1851 directories make it most difficult to include the two early years. Sacramento’s city population figures are recorded in the Censuses of 1850 and 1860, but the 1852 census recorded only the county of Sacramento rather than breaking out the city’s figures. Marysville as a town was not incorporated until 1851; therefore the figures for 1850 are for Yuba County. The California legislature changed Yuba county’s borders three times between 1850 and 1851. Originally formed in February of 1850, the county’s phenomenal population growth necessitated the exclusion of Nevada County in April of 1851 and Sierra Country in 1852. Furthermore, the 1852 census did not record residents by city or town in the newly formed Yuba County.<sup>10</sup> To overcome the difficulties on obtaining statistics about the Germans residing in the three cities, findings are presented as percentages of the total units in each. When viewing the differences in numerical totals, the true significance of the newcomers and their contributions becomes clouded. Listing the statistics as percentages overcomes this.

Contemporary newspapers are vital in discovering the German-born in all three cities, their activities, their business pursuits, as well as their identities. Generally, they concentrated on travel reports, personal experiences, and descriptions of national holidays. In San Francisco during this period, residents could read one of the over 132 published between 1847 and 1858. San Francisco had more published newspapers than

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<sup>10</sup>*U. S. Census 1850, 1860. California Census 1852. Chamberlin, Yuba County, 44-5. Daughters of the American Revolution, “California Census of 1852, “County of Yuba” vol. 12. (n.p., 1935).*



London and a per-capita circulation greater than New York, but the quality of the papers was circumspect. They sometimes became vehicles where the editors were more

**TABLE 2.** German-Language Newspapers in San Francisco

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<i>Abend Post</i> – 1859-1903
<i>Abend Zeitung</i> – 1854 only
<i>California Cronik</i> – 1852-1879
<i>California Demokrat</i> - 1853-1944
<i>California Staats-Zeitung</i> – 1852-3; 1857-1918
<i>California Volkskalender</i> - 1858
<i>Criticus</i> – 1855 only
<i>Der Deutscher Republikaner</i> – 1856 only
<i>Deutsche Frauen-Zeitung</i> – 1853-?
<i>Deutscher Demokrat</i> - 1855 only
<i>Freie Press</i> - 1853-1854
Hebrew Observer (English and German) – 1856-1887
<i>San Francisco Journal</i> – 1855-1858
<i>Turn-Zeitung</i> - 1855 - ?

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*Source:* Thomas L. Broadbent, “German Language Press in California: Record of a German Immigration,” *Journal of the West* X:4 (October, 1971) 637-661. Edward C. Kemble, *A History of California Newspapers* (Los Gatos CA: The Talisman Press, 1962) 272-296. Carl F. Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), 234, 273.

interested in disseminating their own viewpoint rather than report the news. Germans who could read only in their native language could subscribed to one of fourteen published over the years. By 1858, only six remained as many were short-lived, including a number of German-language publications. In 1859, the *Alta California* had a circulation of 18,000, the *Evening Bulletin* 9,000, and the weekly *California Democrat* 1,500. In 1860, the Anglo newspaper *San Francisco Herald* listed the *German Demokrat*, the *Chronik*, and the *Der Republicaner* still in circulation.<sup>11</sup> Three that proved

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<sup>11</sup>Kemble, *California Newspapers*, 130, 272-296. (*The Daily Alta California*, *The San Francisco Herald*, *The Evening Bulletin*). Frank Bailey Millard, *History of the San Francisco Bay Region* (Chicago: American Historical Society, Inc., 1924), 231. Henry Miller Madden, “California for Hungarian Readers: Letters of János Xántus, 1857 and 1859,” *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XVII:2 (June, 1949), 135. Muscatine, *Old San Francisco*, 158. The *San Francisco Herald* also listed the *Demokratische Press*

invaluable resources are the *Alta California*, the *Evening Bulletin* and the *San Francisco Herald*, all daily newspapers, because consecutive copies from the first date of their publication gave a continual picture of society, and the Germans. Matching the names mentioned in advertisements or news articles confirmed the identity of the Germans listed in the censuses and directories. The newspapers listed Germans heavily involved in German-based associations such as the German Benevolent Society, the *Turnvereine*, singing societies, and fraternal associations. Although some individuals in these societies are not listed necessarily in directories, the prerequisite of the German language to belong to these groups indicates most were probably originally from the German states. All three newspapers frequently reported items about individuals who were not necessarily leaders in German or Anglo society, particularly their deaths.<sup>12</sup>

Some of the German-language newspapers were published until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century such as the *California Staats-Zeitung*, and the *California Democrat*; therefore, some later editions of the papers do exist today. Unfortunately, of the German language newspapers published in the 1850s, only two issues of the *California Staats-Zeitung* still exist, July, 1852, and September, 1853. Their translations reveal that they mirrored San Francisco's English-language newspapers of the day, including repeating the news and articles; thus, the information regarding both San Francisco and the German communities

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in circulation, but it was not listed under that title in Broadbent's summary. *San Francisco Herald*, August 27, 1860.

<sup>12</sup>For example, in 1856, the *Alta California* reported items on January 22, 1856; April 29, 1856; May 6, 1856; September 15, 1856; November 1, 1856; and November 19, 1856. The *Bulletin* in 1858 items listed here, plus at least fifteen advertisements seeking female German household help: February 9, 1858; February 19, 1858; March 3, 1858; March 22, 1858; April 14, 1858; May 20, 1848; May 28, 1858; June 4, 1858; June 18, 1858; July 8, 1858; July 14, 1858; July 15, 1858; August 20, 1858; August 28, 1858; September 2, 1858; October 19, 1858; October 21, 1858; October 27, 1858; November 11, 1858; November 23, 1858. The *San Francisco Herald* in 1859 published items on January 17, 1859; January 18, 1859; January 22, 1859; March 10, 1859; April 2, 1859; May 2, 1859; May 19, 1859; May 23, 1859; June 3, 1859; June 5, 1859; June 15, 1859; June 16, 1859; June 29, 1859; July 3, 1858; August 21, 1859; July 31, 1859; August 21, 1859; August 26, 1859; August 31, 1859; September 2, 1859; October 3, 1859; October 15, 1859; October 18, 1859; December 2, 1859; December 13, 1859.

would be most useful to those who did not read English.<sup>13</sup> One can discern some advertisers, for example, who are not listed in the Anglo newspapers. Fortunately, the Anglo newspapers do report the numerous activities of the Germans, socially and economically, and the *Evening Bulletin* in particular often translates editorial and articles from the German-language papers as well as the responses the articles engenders.<sup>14</sup>

Neither Sacramento nor Marysville had the number of newspapers available as in San Francisco, including German-language editions; however, both cities had a number of dailies, twenty-five in Sacramento and five in Marysville. In Sacramento, two major papers were published consecutively during the 1850s making them valuable resources. The *Sacramento Daily Union* was published from 1851 to 1859 and was supplemented by the *Sacramento Daily Bee* from 1857 to 1859. Both papers reported activities of the *Turnverein* and other German-centered events plus their involvement in Anglo celebrations such as the Fourth of July parades and Christmas celebrations. In Marysville, four historic newspapers still exist and are available for research but with staggered publication dates: *The Marysville Herald* from August 1850 to July 1851 and again from December 1855 to December 1857; the *Daily California Express* from June

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<sup>13</sup>The *California Staats-Zeitung* was the first German daily newspaper on the Pacific. *Alta California*, May 7, 1853. *Staats-Zeitung*, July 3, 1852; September 20, 1853. The 1906 earthquake and fire that destroyed many of San Francisco's vital records could also have destroyed some early German-language editions. During the 1850s, the demise of some papers was due to the scarcity of newsprint, the difficulty in using the German (Gothic) type, and a lack of subscriptions. Some lasted only a few weeks such as the *Deutscher Demokrat* founded during the campaign of 1855. Others were absorbed over the years; for example, the *Freie Press*, the *Abend Post*, and the *California Chronik* were all absorbed by the *California Democrat*. Broadbent, *German-Language Press*, 637-8. Andrew F. Rolle, *California: A Histor*, 2 ed. (New York: Thomas Y Crowell Company, 1969), 395. Wagner, Maria, "The Representation of America in German Newspapers Before and During the Civil War, In Trommler and McVeigh, ed., *America and the Germans*, 323.

<sup>14</sup> Some examples appear in the *Alta California*, May 10, 1855; June 4, 1855, in the *Bulletin*, August 27, 1857; January 26, 1858; May 22, 1858; January 21, 1859; June 30, 1859, and in the *San Francisco Herald*, June 2, 1855; September 14, 1855; June 6, 1856; July 9, 1856; July 26, 1856, and June 17, 1857.

1858 to December 1859; and the *Daily National Democrat* from August 1858 to December 1859. The Germans' many activities, including those of the *Turnverein* and *Liederkrantz* (singing society) were reported most often in the *Daily California Express* but, by 1859, both papers did acknowledge German-based happenings in San Francisco and as far as away Cincinnati.<sup>15</sup>

Histories, biographies and reminiscences, both contemporary and modern, are helpful in the case of all three cities, but to varying extents. In the case of San Francisco, many of the early stories concentrate on the tumultuous beginnings of the city – the many fires that decimated the downtown area, the travels to and from the gold mining regions, and the two vigilante committee actions, one in 1851 and one in 1856. Hubert Howe Bancroft writes extensively about the growth of the city, but mentions Germans only generally, basically acknowledging their presence but not their influence. Other contemporary historians concentrate on how quickly the city grew, but, again, rarely acknowledge the role the Germans played in its development.<sup>16</sup> When recalling their days in San Francisco, German pioneers generally concentrate on their travels to and from the city and their economic endeavors, rarely divulging how they interacted socially or culturally with their Anglo neighbors.<sup>17</sup> Some histories written after the introduction

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<sup>15</sup>Information from Sacramento's early years is from The *Placer Times* published in 1849 and the *Sacramento Transcript* from 1850-1851. The *Sacramento Daily Union* and the *Bee* continued publication well beyond the 1850s into the twentieth century. Some of the many citations include *Bee*, October 1, 1857; October 8, 1859; *Union*, February 16, 1855; May 10, 1856; July 10, 1857; July 6, 1859. Desmond, "Marysville," 47. *Daily California Express*, May 13, 1859; May 21 1859.

<sup>16</sup>For example John Palmer and Eliza Farnham only mention German newspapers, and Neville does not acknowledge the Germans at all. Eliza Farnham, *California In-doors and out: or how we farm, mine and live generally in the Golden State* (New York: Dix, Edwards & Co., 1956), 279. Amelia Ransome Neville, *The Fantastic City* (New York: Arno Press, 1975). John Williamson Palmer, *Pioneer Days in San Francisco* (Golden, CO: Outbooks, 1986), 30. Bancroft, "California Inter Pocula," 26, *History of California*, 222.

<sup>17</sup>Fritz Boehmer, *Autobiography and Reminiscences*, Society of California Pioneers Collection. <http://www.oag.calif.org>. 141-169. Edgar Briggs, *Autobiography and Reminiscences*, *Ibid.* 37-42. George

of “new western history” in the 1960s and beyond with an emphasis on heretofore unstudied racial and ethnic groups do recognize the Germans living in San Francisco and elude to their contributions, but others do not.<sup>18</sup>

Because Marysville was envisioned merely as a trans-shipment center for miners and supplies moving on to the northern Sierra Nevada gold fields, contemporary historians concentrate on how the city grew from an inland port to the third largest city in California. William Chamberlin, Sister Desmond, Peter Delay and Earl Ramey write extensively about Marysville’s history, but do not acknowledge the influence of the German settlers. In modern histories of California such as those written by J. S. Holiday and Malcolm Rohrbaugh, they give fleeting mention of Marysville as a packing or trans-shipment center.<sup>19</sup>

Sacramento and the Germans living there attracted the attention of a number of historians writing before 1900, but a close study of their works reveal problems of repetition and editorial selection of information. Lewis Byington’s history follows closely those written by Theodore H. Hittell. When Davis published his first history in 1889, Bancroft noted that he had a “tendency to eulogize everybody.” Dr. John Morse’ chronicle of Sacramento included in the directories of 1850 through 1852 often repeated the material word-for-word. Reed’s 1925 chapter on “Floods” duplicates that written by Willis in 1913, again word-for-word, and both relied on quotations from Morse.

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Albrecht Ferdinand Küner, *Autobiography and Reminiscences*, *Ibid.*, 57-62. Henry Beauchampe Russ, *Ibid.*, 104-115.

<sup>18</sup>Two that do give recognition to the Germans are Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 13, 81-87, 115, 224. Lotchin, *San Francisco*, 108, 111, 114, 122. Rolle, *A History*, 395. Some that do not are Barth, *Instant Cities*; Brands, *The Age of Gold*; Delgado, *Gold Rush Port*; White, *Misfortune*.

<sup>19</sup>Chamberlain, *Yuba County*. Desmond, *Marysville*. Holiday, *Rush for Riches; World Rushed In*. Malcolm Rohrbaugh, *Days of Gold: The California Gold Rush and the American Nation*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997). Earl Ramey, “The Beginnings of Marysville,” *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Part 1, XIV:3 (September, 1935): 195-220; *Ibid.*, Part 2, XIV:4 (December, 1935):375-407; and *Ibid.*, Part 3, XV:1 (March, 1936): 21-57.

Thompson and West in 1880 study is incomplete, excluding any analysis of the merchandising, hotel and restaurant-gambling sectors of Sacramento's economy, sectors where Germans were particularly active. Early historians such as Morse rallied against the morality of the gambling industry rather than recognize its economic importance. Gambling was also anathema for biographers such as Davis , often omitting a subject's past association with saloons.<sup>20</sup>

Despite these inconsistencies and duplications in the early histories of Sacramento, the Sacramento *Turnverein* is still very active in the city and its library is a repository for the associations' early records and the Germans' history there. McCoy's translation of Sacramento's *Turnverein* minutes from its founding in 1854 to 1859 gives an inside view of the Germans attitudes and actions. Unfortunately, the *Turnverein* in Marysville, founded in 1856, disbanded in 1918, and none of their records still exist. The San Francisco *Turnverein*, was founded in 1852, merged with the San Francisco Gymnastic Club in 1860, eventually disbanded in 1940. A singing branch of the *Turnverein*, the *Eintracht*, founded in 1857, disbanded in 1905. Eric Pumroy and Katja Rampelmann could find only two existing *Turnverein* records: a print at the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies in Philadelphia and a seventy-fifth anniversary Diamond Jubilee program from 1927 at Indiana University – Purdue. Fortunately, many of the

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<sup>20</sup>William Heath Davis' history was first published in 1889, in 1929 with editions, and finally the last edition in 1967 with editorial comments. William Heath Davis, *Seventy-Five Years in California: Recollections and remarks by one who visited these shores in 1831, and again in 1833, and except when absent on business was a resident from 1838 until the end of a long life in 1909* (San Francisco: John Howell – Books, 1967), iv. Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* vol. II (San Francisco: Pacific Press Publishing House, 1885), *Ibid.* vol. III (San Francisco: N. H. Stone & Co., 1897). Morse, *History of Sacramento*, 1-40. Walter G. Reed, ed., *The History of Sacramento County California with Biographical Sketches of the Leading Men and Women of the County Who have Been Identified with Its Growth and Development from the Early Days to the present.* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Company, 1925), 135-138. Willis, *Sacramento*, 105-110.

mid-nineteenth century events of both the Marysville and San Francisco *Turnvereine* are reported in the cities' daily Anglo newspapers – an incomplete record but one that indicates how active their members were. In San Francisco, the *Allgemeine Duetsche Unterstutzungs* (German Benevolent Society), founded in 1852, is still very active, and their early history is available in both German and English. Visits to the regional libraries -- the University of California Berkeley's Bancroft library, the California Historical Society and the Marysville Public Library – failed to uncover additional original records of the *Turnvereine* and singing/musical societies in either San Francisco or Marysville. There are other German based organizations in the San Francisco Bay area today, but most of them were formed in the late nineteenth century, well after the 1850s decade.<sup>21</sup>

It was my family's histories and the discovery of the Bickel and Drüke papers and letters from the 1850s that inspired my thesis, *Die Deutschen Einwanderer*, a study of the German experience in Sacramento. They represent examples of the “neither so great nor so grand and not even very brave” pioneers who came to search for gold but who eventually became contributing residents.<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, documents like these are in

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<sup>21</sup>The Sacramento *Turnverein*'s collection includes minutes of the society from 1854 to 1974. They are translated into English as early as 1903 and are available in German as well until 1938. Most of the other records are in English, a valuable repository. One can speculate that the Marysville *Turnverein* disbanded as a result of World War I prejudice. Heinrich Kaufman, *Sixty Years of the German General Benevolent Society of San Francisco (1854 – 1914)*. (San Francisco: German Benevolent Society, 1914). Eric L. Pumroy and Katja Rampelmann, *Research Guide to the Turner Movement in the United States* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 78, 80-1, 291-2. Eugene Römer, *Allgemeine Deutsche Unterstutzungs – Gesellschaft von San Francisco, Ca: Geschichtliche Mittheilungen seit ihrer Gründuying am ten Januar gesammelt und zusammengestellt*. (San Francisco Co., 1894)., 1996), 78, 80-1, 291-2.

<sup>22</sup>According to family traditions, Johan Bickel, author of the journal, presented its pages to Louisa Drüke Plagemann, his granddaughter, when she traveled from San Francisco to her ancestral home in Germany in 1898. Louisa divided the letters between Emilie, her daughter, and Robert, her son, years later. After Robert's death, his widow destroyed his allotment, assuming they were of no interest. Bickel's Journal abruptly ends in 1855, a sharp departure from his meticulous record keeping. One can conjecture that she also destroyed the last half of Bickels' journal since the translator, Herman J. Weber, noted that some of the remaining sheets were loose and easily misplaced. In 1966, my mother and I published the

short supply, if not destroyed, hidden in the attics of the pioneers' descendants. . The reasons for the lack of extant public information rest in perceptions about the German's assimilation into the dominant Anglo society. Some historians insisted that the European-born newcomers assimilated quickly into the dominant Anglo-American culture, a belief that may have lead others to discount the contributions the Germans made. Historians believe Germans and their contributions were ignored due to the strong anti-German prejudices developing in the late nineteenth century and culminating in World War One. It was during this period that many German-language newspapers ceased publication.<sup>23</sup> Historian Andrew Rolle states: "The paucity of records, together with the lack of systemic research into foreign influences in the American West, has caused the racial homogeneity of the population to be exaggerated."<sup>24</sup> Looking into the directories, censuses and contemporary newspapers of San Francisco, Sacramento and Marysville, will correct this neglect of the Germans.

Contrasting and studying the history of the Germans of San Francisco, Sacramento and Marysville could only be complete by tracing and identifying the individuals in each city and then relating them to newspaper articles and directories. Presenting the information already gained about Sacramento and Marysville in conjunction with that of San Francisco gives a full and complete picture of the Germans' involvement in urban California. The statistics in percentage form will show how they developed and evolved not only their own German-language institutions but that of their

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journal and letters in an anthology of family papers entitled *California Potpourri* and donated the original letters and journal to the California Historical Society for safekeeping.

<sup>23</sup>Broadbent, "German-Language Press," 637. Rolle, *A History*, 395. Doris Wright, for example, states "Once in California, the Germans were readily assimilated into the population." Wright, "Cosmopolitan California," Part 2, 69.

<sup>24</sup>Rolle, *A History*, 396.



Anglo-dominated new homes as well. Despite the problems inherent their use, the directories and censuses, supplemented with accounts from contemporary newspapers and histories, provided a tool that to track the German-born geographically across California or back to their homes as well as over the ensuing years of the State's history.

## CHAPTER III

### A Tale of Three Cities

Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco all had their beginnings before the discovery of gold in 1848 brought thousands to California. Their strategic locations helped their explosive population growth. Marysville, located at the confluence of the Yuba and Feather rivers, became a staging area for miners to trans-ship freight by mule or wagon train from the river routes to the northern Sierra Nevada mines. Sacramento, at the intersection of the American and Sacramento rivers, provided dockage for schooners and river boats transshipping supplies and goods to travel by water to and from San Francisco. San Francisco had its deep water ports that allowed ocean-going vessels to safely load and unload their goods onto steamers and boats to sail up the inland waters towards the mines. In the 1850s, citizens of these cities worked to build modern docks and pave roads to eliminate the chaotic conditions resulting from the sudden increase in population affecting the pre-gold rush, small and almost sleepy settlements of the early 1840s. Visitors in the 1850s reported that the three areas suffered from rough, primitive conditions. Natural catastrophes such as floods, disease, destructive fires, and political paralysis affected these three cities in the early 1850s to contribute to an instability that was not resolved until the end of the decade.<sup>1</sup> A brief picture of all three

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<sup>1</sup>Carl Abbott, *How Cities Won the West: Four Centuries of Urban Change in Western North America* (Albuquerque: University of Mexico Press, 2008), 58. Moehring, *Urbanism*, 4-6. Isenberg, *Mining California*, 55. Robert Phelps, "All hands have gone down town: Urban Places in Gold Rush

cities, the problems their citizens faced, and the involvement of their German neighbors provides a framework in which to study the settlement patterns, economic activities and cultural practices of the German newcomers and their influence on the development of their new homes.

Marysville began as a ranching community in the early 1840s settled by German-born Charles W. Flügge and Theodor Cordua on land grants from John Sutter and the Mexican government. Originally named *Neu Mecklenberg*, Cordua began a freight and passenger transportation system by riverboat from the town, the beginnings of shipping organizations that eventually served the northern mines. In 1848, gold lured developers to the area, and by late 1849, *Neu Mecklenberg* had grown from a town with only two adobe structures into a tent city with three adobe buildings and a zinc house (made of sheet metal) imported from San Francisco. In January of 1850, the citizens adopted the name Marysville for the city in honor of developer Charles Couvillaud's wife Mary Murphy, a survivor of the ill-fated Donner party and the city's only female resident. During the decade, miners, businessmen and freight traveled to Marysville by steamer or paddle wheeler on the river system; then pack mules or wagon trains transshipped goods to the mines, stagecoaches transporting the men. River captains could anchor boats with a draft as shallow as ten inches at Marysville's docks, allowing shipping via the Northern Californian river system as far north as possible before necessarily turning to overland

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California," *California History* LXXIX:2 (Summer, 2000): 113 Peter Randolph Delay, *History of Yuba and Sutter Counties: with biographical sketches of the leading men and women of the counties who have been identified with their growth and development from the early days to the present* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Co., 1924), 43. Although major earthquakes occurred in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in San Francisco, and Soule warns of the danger after shocks occurred in 1829 and 1839, surveying the three local newspapers does not unearth any reports of any major quakes nor damage. Frank Soule, John H. Gihon, MD, and James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco: containing a Summary of the History of the First Discovery Settlement, Progress and Present Condition of California, and a Complete History of All the Important Events Connected With its Great City: to which are added, Biographical memoirs of Some Prominent Citizens* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1854/55), 165.

routes. Each miner consumed at least a pound of supplies daily and as many as 1,000 mules and loads totaling 100 tons could leave Marysville in a single day. Shipping not only gold but also agricultural products from the surrounding hinterland increased Marysville's economic base over the decade.<sup>2</sup> The residents' optimistic outlook for their city is apparent in this promotional description written in 1850:

You will see the go-head-iveness of the Yankee nation. In one fortnight's time, \$25,000 worth of lots at \$250 each were sold. In 10 days . . . 17 houses and stores were put up, and what was before a ranch – a collection of Indian huts and a corral for cattle – became a right smart little city.<sup>3</sup>

When it was incorporated in February of 1851, Marysville's town plaza was surrounded by wood frame buildings and a sophisticated boat landing on the river next to its business district. Newcomers poured into the city, and by April, they had already built 150 houses of all types, including fifteen to twenty zinc houses and five to ten wooden buildings. Gambling halls and saloons lined the main streets serving a permanent population of 500 to 600 as well as nearly 1,000 transients. The city boosters' commitment to growth never waned, and, in 1858, they persuaded California's farmers to hold the State Fair in Marysville, a nod to the region's developing agricultural economy.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Flugge left after three months apparently after arguments with Cordua. Ramey lists the numerous and extensive land title exchanges among Cordua and the developers including Theodore Sicard, Michael Nye, Charles Couvillaud and J. M. Ramirez. Bancroft, "California Inter Pocula," 610; *History*, 463-4. Chamberlain *Yuba County*, x, 34-41. Delay, *Yuba and Sutter Counties*, 43-4, 134. Desmond, "Marysville," 12, 16, 18, 30. *Memorial and Biographical History of Northern California, Illustrated* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1891), 274, 282-3. Ramey, "Marysville," Part 1, 198, 203, 206-214, 224; Part 2, 382.

<sup>3</sup> Franklin A. Buck letter written February 12, 1850, quoted in Holiday, *World Rushed In*, 365.

<sup>4</sup> Bancroft, "California Inter Pocula," 623. Thomas D. Clark, *Gold Rush Diary: Being the Journal of Elisha Perkins on the Overland Trail in the Spring and Summer of 1849* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1967), 184. Desmond, "Marysville," 93, 95-6. Erwin Gudde, *California Gold Camps: A geographical and Historical dictionary of camps, towns and localities where gold was found and mined; wayside stations and trading centers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 327. Holliday, *World Rushed In*, 355. Kenneth S. Moore, Jr. "Fate of the California Gold Rush Miner" (Master's Thesis, California State University at Sacramento, 1970), 25, 38. Rohrbough, *Days of Gold*, 226. Marlene Smith-

Like its counterparts elsewhere in northern California, Sacramento experienced explosive growth in the 1850s, with newcomers creating an instant town of shacks, tents and a few substantial buildings. Following his arrival in August 1839, John Sutter built his New Helvetia, an economic center of farming, milling, fishing, vineyards, tanning, hunting and trapping. He established a fort near his ferry-and-launch system across the Sacramento River and his town of Suttersville three miles down river on high ground. After the discovery of gold, businessmen ignored Suttersville and began establishing their stores in and around the fort, recognizing the economic opportunities of the trans-shipment port. Through duplicity and conspiracy in early 1849, two merchants, Peter Burnett and Sam Brannan, purchased lots along the waterfront, creating the site of Sacramento City. Storekeepers moved from Sutter's land to Sacramento and so many people joined them that on February 27, 1850, California's first legislature incorporated it as a city. Like Marysville, living conditions were extremely difficult. Most of the early buildings were tents, and those made of wooden planks were mostly one-story commercial establishments as well as saloons and gambling houses. Filth and horse manure covered the streets, and water sprinkled during the summer stirred up thick swarms of flies, creating a smelly mess.<sup>5</sup> Artist J. D. Borthwick described Sacramento as

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Baranzini, "Out of the Shadows: Louise Clappe's Life and Early California Writing," *California History* XVIII:4 (Winter 1999/2000), 248.

<sup>5</sup>Bancroft, "California Inter Pocula," 607; *History*, 14, 447. Clark, *Gold Rush Diary*, 145. Julian Dana, *The Sacramento, River of Gold* (St. Clair Shores, MI: Scholarly Press, 1971), 126. William Henry Ellison, *A Self-Governing Dominion, California 1849-1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950), 66. Erwin G. Gudde, *German Pioneers in Early California* (San Francisco: R. & E. Associates, 1970), 11, 17, 23. Holliday, *Rush for Riches*, 188. Donald Dale Jackson, *Gold Dust*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), 8. Paula Mitchell Marks, *Precious Dust: The America Gold Rush Era, 1848-1900* (New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1994), 186. *Memorial*, 174, 194-5. Morse, *History of Sacramento*, 41. Charles Ross Park, MD, *Dreams to Dust: A Diary of the California Gold Rush, 1849-1850* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 100. *Sacramento Transcript*, October 23, 1850. Thor Severson, *Sacramento: an Illustrated History: 1839 to 1874, from Sutter's Fort to Capital City* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1973), 51. Johann August Sutter, "General Sutter's Diary, in *John Sutter and a Wider West*, ed. Kenneth Owens (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 2, 5, 9.

“a maze of wagons, coaches, rearing horses, grooms attempting to restrain them, drivers swearing at each other as they locked wheels and passengers were struggling to board.”<sup>6</sup>

Despite fires, a major flood and a cholera epidemic in early 1850, the citizens and residents steadily improved Sacramento’s infrastructure and business environment. Stiff competition among the companies transporting goods on the river quickly shortened the travel time and lowered freight prices while also adding shallower-draft steamers to sail upriver to Marysville. When the waning of the gold rush cut river traffic in 1856, Sacramento businessmen promoted the first railroad in California from Sacramento to Folsom. The city streets were initially covered with wooden planks, but, because the iron wheels of the heavy freighters splintered them, they replaced them with cobblestones. By 1855, the streets were illuminated with gas lamps. The destruction of the tents and wooden buildings by fire stimulated the construction of brick structures, and by 1854, of the nearly 2,500 rebuilt edifices, builders had substituted fireproof materials in 500 structures. Recognizing the ongoing threat of floods, levees were raised and buildings hoisted by as much as four feet to prevent water damage. In the 1850s, promoters and business encouraged development of the city’s agricultural hinterland to produce large shipments of food to supplement gold. Their belief in the future of their city was their successful effort to wrest the state capital from Vallejo, Benicia and other contenders.<sup>7</sup>

The roots of San Francisco, or Yerba Buena as it was called until 1847, lay deep in the eighteenth century. After the overthrow of the Spanish by the Mexicans, the

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<sup>6</sup>.R. E. Mather, Borthwick’s California: Gold Rush Panorama,” *Californians* 10:4 (1994): 21.

<sup>7</sup>Bancroft, *History*, 457-9. Dana, *River of Gold*, 135. Ellison, *Self-Governing Dominion*, 66. Holliday, *Rush for Riches*, 189,194; *World Rushed In*, 354. Oscar Lewis, *Sutter’s Fort: Gateway to the Gold Fields* (Englewood Cliffs, NY: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), 2067. Lotchin, *San Francisco*, 129. June Oxford, *The Capital That Couldn’t Stay Put: The Complete Book of California’s Capitals* (San Jose, CA: Smith McKay, 1983), 29, 33, 47, 60-2. Thompson and West, *Sacramento County*, 61-2. Major J. W. Wooldridge, *History of Sacramento Valley, California* (Chicago: Pioneer Historical Publishing Co., 1931), 113-4.

mission system decayed, and immigrants began to arrive in the area to take advantage of the port for trading. At the end of the Mexican-American war in 1848 when the territory of California was ceded by Mexico, San Francisco was a good-sized community of 12,000 to 15,000 whites. Arriving both by ship and overland caravans, a contemporary historian described the immigrants as the “young, strong and adventurous, the idle, dissipated, reckless, sanguine youths ... [who] broke through ties of home, friends and country, and perhaps of civilization itself.”<sup>8</sup> Hubert H. Bancroft echoed this description, stating that many of the early arrivals were single, young men looking for adventure, “the toiling farmer, who mortgage loomed above the growing family, the briefless lawyer, the starving student, the quack, the idler, the harlot, the gambler, the hen-pecked husband, the disgraced.”<sup>9</sup> Foreign accents could be heard as 53% of the population was foreign-born versus native-born of 47 percent. With the city’s population increasing from 36,000 in 1852 to 57,000 in 1860, its infrastructure could hardly be completed. In 1850, a little over 36,000 arrived via ocean-going vessels, but the “early steamers carried away almost as many passengers as it brought,” moving them towards the gold mines.<sup>10</sup>

In early 1850, those arriving in San Francisco were confronted with a town of saloons, hotels, restaurants and stores. Physically, the city contained a few old adobe buildings, but most were built of wood and canvas. Streets were filled with heaps and patches of filth, mud and stagnant water, impassable when it rained. A visitor reported that even by 1853, streets were unclean and dark and were filled with debris of old cloths

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<sup>8</sup>Soulé, Gihon and Nisbet, *Annals*, 134.

<sup>9</sup>Bancroft, *History*, 118.

<sup>10</sup>Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 24. *California Census 1852*. Farnham, *California In-doors and Out*, 285-6. Daughters of the American Revolution, “County of San Francisco,” *California Census of 1852*, vol. 7-8, (N.P., 1935). Hittell, vol 3, 44. Glenna Mathews, “Forging a Cosmopolitan Civic Culture: The Regional Identity of San Francisco and Northern California,” in *Many Wests: Place, Culture and Regional Identity*, David M. Wrobel and Michael C. Steiner, ed. (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1997), 216. *US Census 1860*.

and rags, crockery, boots, bottles, boxes, dead dogs and cats and rats and filth before doorways. Because the population was constantly moving in and out of the city, disorder was the byword of the day and described not only the physical conditions but also governmental institutions. The government was makeshift at best. Initially, the immigrants were not looking to build a city, treating San Francisco as a “bivouac” rather than a community. Without a competent police force, courts or infrastructure, the most pressing problems in the early 1850s concerned the safety of the citizens and property.<sup>11</sup>

Although some complained about the lack of overall urban planning, residents began implementing improvements so that, by 1854, San Francisco began to evolve into a permanent metropolis. The planning and paving of the streets begun in 1850 were largely completed, and coal gas lit many of the thoroughfares. Public transportation by omnibus began that year, and in 1856, water was available to residents by way of a flume built from a lake beyond the hills. Because of the major fires in the early years, ruins were replaced with massive, strong-looking, utilitarian structures, but these began to give way to buildings of a more elegant style. After political and economic upheavals, the city by 1860 had a stable government, numerous fire companies, a favorable economic outlook and building boom, resulting in a spirit of optimism about its future as a connection between the cities and towns of the California frontier to the outside world.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Barth, *Instant Cities*, ix, 129. Lewis Francis Byington, *The History of San Francisco* vol 1 San Francisco: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1931), 199. Ida Pfeiffer, *A Lady's Visit to California, 1853* (Oakland: Biobooks, 1950), 12. Robert Phelps, “All Hands,” 116, 135. Soulé, Gihon and Nisbet, *Annals*, 46, 74, 79, 83, 128, 130, 157, 241, 245-8.

<sup>12</sup>Julie Cooley Altrocchi, “A Paradox Town: San Francisco in 1851,” *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XVIII:1 March, 1939): 33. Malcolm E. Barker, comp. and ed., *San Francisco Memoirs, 1835-1851: Eye witness accounts of the birth of a city.* (San Francisco: Londonborn publications, 1994), 43. Bancroft, *History*, 265. Brands, *Age of Gold*, 247. Byington, *History*, 276, 286. Colville, *San Francisco Directory, 1856*, xxx. Farnham, *California*, 285. Henry Miller Madden, *California as Seen by German Travelers: An address to the Associates of Stanford University Libraries*, March 2, 1980, 21-3. Robert Phelps, “All Hands,” 116, 135. Soulé, Gihon and Nisbet, *Annals*, 46, 74, 79, 83, 128, 130, 157, 241, 245-8.



Floods were disasters caused by natural forces rather than man-made, and both Sacramento and Marysville, situated on major rivers, were both affected in the early 1850s. Located at the merger of two major rivers, Marysville experienced major floods twice, once during the same time in 1852 as the major flood in Sacramento, and then another in 1860. The summer and fall of 1852 were extremely dry as no appreciable rain fell from late March through November first. Then, in two months, 36 inches of rain fell in eight weeks, inundating the city. On December 9, 1860, a flood hit Marysville in the evening, and by the following morning, a steamboat made its way through the city rescuing citizens from the upper stories of buildings or rooftops. The flood waters resulted not only from the rain but because hydraulic mining had begun upriver in the early 1850s, the waters the miners directed onto the hills and valleys to washout the gold diverted river beds and created “slickens,” sands and gravel, that gradually raised river bottoms. The flood alerted the city’s businessmen and politicians to the enormity of the problem and they planned to raise the levees around the town. Despite the flooding along the rivers and in Marysville’s hinterland, shipping continued with agricultural products eventually substituting for diminishing supplies of gold.<sup>13</sup>

Like Marysville, Sacramento was located where two major rivers combined into one, and old timers warned that the rivers rose every spring when the winter snows melted and would sometimes flood the city. A major flood occurred in the early 1850s when an unexpected massive wall of water hit on January 8, 1850, turning the city into a

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<sup>13</sup>A. C. W. Bethel, “The Golden Skein: California’s Gold Rush Transportation Network,” *California History* LXXVII:4 (Winter 1998-1999), 258. Chamberlain, *Yuba County*, 2. Dana, *River of Gold*, 145-6, 152, 183. Desmond, *Marysville*, 8, 9, 102, 105, 133. Isenberg, *Mining California*, 68-73. Moore, “Gold Rush Miner,” 38. Ramey, “Marysville,” Part 3, 51. Sarah Royce, “A Lady at the Montgomery House,” in *San Francisco Memoirs, 1835-1851*, Malcolm E. Barker, ed., 232. Mary Smith, *Mary S. D. Smith letters: 1853-1854*, Manuscript, Vault 58 (San Francisco: California Historical Society).

vast lake for ten days. The waters reached the tops of the many one-storey buildings, flooded the primitive hospital established the prior summer, and forced the first theater organized in California, the Eagle, to close. The deluging waters rose so quickly that many residents drowned in their beds. Sarah Royce was caught up in the flood and her diaries give a first hand description about the disaster. She reported that the city's fathers believed "the sloo" would keep the flood waters away from the downtown, but the waters rose steadily, forcing her to ride in a boat to a little room above the waters. Looking around, she and the others in the house serving as their shelter looked around and could see nothing but water. Eventually, the flood reached the first floor of her refuge. Unable to get to San Francisco by steamer on the flooded river, she was "imprisoned" for a week. When she was finally rescued and could get to San Francisco, there were no rooms available so she had to share with strangers, and only public housing was available for meals. Merchants including Jacob Binninger, William Pfeiffer and Louis Geisse saw their goods floating off downstream. But the inhabitants were quick to restore their business and the downtown area. When another flood threatened in March, 1850, the rebuilt levees held the losses down. In January of 1852, the second massive flood left the city in a "wretched condition" with waters converting streets into canals and covering one-story houses to their roofs. Merchants removed their goods to the upper stories of the downtown buildings and conducted business "as usual" with customers coming and leaving by boat. Again, the citizens quickly rebuilt their city, improving their levees so that when a flood struck on New Year's Day in 1853 two feet higher than the 1850 level, the damage was minimal. Historians Thompson and West declared that for nearly eight years afterward, Sacramento was free from this scourge.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Pioneer Bernard J. Reid accurately foretold of the massive flood that came in December 1849-

In the autumn of 1850, another “natural” catastrophe hit California-- the infectious disease cholera. A pandemic raged around the world from 1839 to 1856, spurred by the primitive treatment of sewage prevalent during those years. It struck the United States in 1848 and quickly spread west by wagon train and ocean-going vessels. San Francisco was only slightly affected, probably because so many of the transient population did not linger there but headed upriver. By the time the immigrants arrived in Sacramento, many were already suffering from the scurvy, diarrhea and dysentery they contracted during their long overland or sea voyage. In addition to being in poor health, many people disembarked from river steamers penniless and were reduced to living in poor tent shelters amidst the filth and squalor on the city’s streets. As prominent Sacramentan physician Dr. John Morse reported, “only one in 100 arrived in the county with money enough to buy him a decent outfit for the mines.”<sup>15</sup> Transmitted by sewage-tainted drinking water, the disease ran rampant after arriving in Sacramento on the same steamship that brought news of California’s statehood on October 20, 1850. Panic gripped the city as people of all classes were vulnerable to infection. Businesses closed, and roads and levees were crowded with residents fleeing the disease. All of the city’s courageous doctors stayed behind to minister to the sick, and seventeen were struck down. Other volunteers remained to help including the future governor of California,

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January 1850. Mary McDougall Gordon, ed. *Overland to California with the Pioneer Line: The Gold Rush Diary of Bernard J. Reid* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987) 149-50. Jennifer David Adkison, ed. *Across the Plains: Sarah Royce’s Western Narrative* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009), 81-8. Bancroft, *History*, 244. Isenberg, *Mining California*, 58. Mather, “California,” 21. Morse, “History of Sacramento,” 19. Neville, *Fantastic City*, 98. Oxford, *Capital*, 62. Park, *Dreams*, 101. Reed, *Sacramento County*, 74, 105, 106. Rohrbough, *Days of Gold*, 282. Royce, “Montgomery House,” 232-237. Severson, *Sacramento*, 72. Franklin Street, *California in 1850, Compared with What It Was in 1848, with a Glimpse at Its Future Destiny* (Cincinnati: R. E. Edwards & Co., 1851), 20. Thompson and West, *Sacramento County*, 66-69. Willis, *Sacramento*, 103.

<sup>15</sup>Morse, *History of Sacramento*, 13. Michael Roth, “Cholera, Community and Public Health in Gold Rush Sacramento and San Francisco,” *Pacific Historical Review* 66:4 (November, 1997): 530. Soulé, Gihon and Nisbet, *Annals*, 305. Street, *California*, 12.

John Bigler, armed with a lump of gum camphor he believed would ward off the germs. Due to a lack of records, estimates of how many died vary, but historians agree that approximately 15 percent of the population perished in the six-week epidemic.<sup>16</sup> Morse marveled at the perseverance of his fellow citizens after the epidemic:

But those who supposed that Sacramento and Sacramentans could be so easily crushed had not learned their character. The very moment that morality began an obvious retreat from the premises, that moment, those who survived their flight returned.<sup>17</sup>

Located a distance upriver, Marysville reported only a few cases of cholera, perhaps because the disease had run its course in Sacramento.

Fire was a constant threat in all three cities, exacerbated by the lack of fire companies and equipment. In 1851, two large fires destroyed Marysville's entire business district including the offices of its newspaper, the *Marysville Herald*, and residents feared the entire city would be burned over. Three separate fires in 1854 demolished a major part of downtown, and the one in July raised 200 buildings including the Presbyterian Church, St. Charles Hotel, the theater and courthouse. The destruction prompted the city to form the Mutual Engine Company, and others were organized throughout the decade. Membership rosters of a number of the companies included Germans, valued because many had been actively involved in volunteer firefighting in

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<sup>16</sup>Most later histories of the epidemic are based on Dr. Morse's graphic descriptions. Morse, *History of Sacramento*, 13, 35-37. This was during the third pandemic that lasted from 1839 to 1856. Cholera reached the United States previously during the second pandemic of 1827 to 1935. John Aberth, *Plagues in World History* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), 102. Hon. Winford J. Davis, *Illustrated History of Sacramento County: containing a history of Sacramento County from the earliest period of its occupancy to the present time, together with glimpses of its prospective future* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1890), 130. William Heath Davis, *Seventy-five Years*, 305. *Memorial*, 201. Millard, *San Francisco Bay Region*, 168. Michael Roth, "Cholera, Community and Public Health in Gold Rush Sacramento and San Francisco," *Pacific Historical Review* 66:4 (November, 1997), 529-30, 536, 543. Soulé, Gihon and Nisbet, *Annals*, 305. Street, *California*, 12. Willis, *Sacramento*, 79.

<sup>17</sup>Morse, *History*, 37.

Midwestern cities. Seven were officers of the various companies in 1856, ten by 1858. Jacob Levy served as second assistant chief of the Municipal Fire Department in 1857-58, and J. P. Welsh was Chief Engineer from 1858-1860.<sup>18</sup>

Sacramento faced its first conflagration in March of 1850 that destroyed eight to ten buildings. The following November, fire destroyed four hotels, a store and saloon with losses amounting to \$45,000. The city enjoyed a two year respite until November 2, 1852, when a fire burned seven-eighths of the city with losses estimated at \$6,000,000, leaving inhabitants virtually homeless and fortunes wiped out. The *Daily Union* reported: "That terrible destroyer which has heretofore laid [sic] in ashes every important in the State has at last visited our fair 'City of the Plains,' and in a few brief hours swept almost every vestige of it from existence."<sup>19</sup> Rev. J. A. Benton wrote: "All their earnings [were] swept off in a single night by a force they could not resist."<sup>20</sup> On July 13, 1854, a second general fire destroyed twelve city blocks located in the heart of the commercial district, perhaps not as extensive as in 1852 but just as costly in damage. Sacramento's residents were constantly threatened by small fires throughout the decade. In 1856, Barbara Drücke's household had been endangered by one only three houses away; therefore, they quickly evacuated their home, afraid that the wooden construction of the buildings around them might cause theirs to ignite. They were saved when "good old No. One Fire Engine Company came" quickly and put the fire out, but she became ill from

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<sup>18</sup>G. Amy and Mix Smith, *Marysville Directory for the year commencing June 1858* (Marysville: Daily News Book and Job Office, 1858), 88. G. Amy and O., *Marysville Directory for the year commencing November 1, 1856* (San Francisco: Commercial Book and Job Steam Printing Establishment, 1856), 117. Chamberlin, *Yuba County*, 66-67. Howard B. Furer, ed., *The Germans in America: 1606-1970* (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1973), 33. Ramey, "Marysville," Part 3, 54. Smith, Letters. Smith-Baranzini, "Shadows," 256. Soulé, Gihon and Nisbet, *Annals*, 407.

<sup>19</sup>Quoted in Severson, *Sacramento*, 106.

<sup>20</sup>J. A. Benton, *California Pilgrim: A Series of Lectures*, (Sacramento: Solomon Alter, 1853), 188-90.

fear and fright. Her friends, the Haucks, had lost everything only four weeks earlier, and Lui Brant, another friend, lost everything in a blaze. Sacramento's residents had addressed the threat of fire by establishing the first fire fighting organization in the State of California in February of 1850. Several more were added in 1851 so that ten companies, both volunteer and city-operated, were formed and operating efficiently by 1859.<sup>21</sup>

In San Francisco, the six "great" fires and a number of smaller ones in the early part of the decade made residents constantly nervous and vigilant. With a limited water supply, men in lookout stations watched night and day to sound the alarm of fire, and the citizens dreaded the sound of fire-bell ringing. As one contemporary noted, "The sound of the fire-bell would cause everyman to rush to his house and get ready for the defense of his property."<sup>22</sup> When they heard the fire bells, people attending performances in the theater would rush out. When the calls "all over" or "all out" sounded, the audience would return and the performance would proceed until the next bell sounded, sometimes just ten minutes later. The first occurred on Christmas Eve of 1849 at 6:09 in the morning and spread rapidly, destroying 50 buildings with over \$1,000,000 in damage. The burned area was the most populous area and valuable property in San Francisco. It was stopped only by pulling down or blowing up houses on the edges of the blaze. Rebuilding was accomplished within a few weeks, with buildings in wood and canvas.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Cosgrove and Cosgrove, *California Potpourri*, 76. Cutter, *Directory 1860*, xi-xii. Holliday, *Rush for Riches*, 193. Charles Park, *Dreams*, 101. Rohrbough, *Days of Gold*, 282. Severson, *Sacramento*, 73, 106-7. Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, *Annals*, 407. Thompson and West, *Sacramento County*, 76. San Francisco experienced a brief economic boom after this fire, supplying Sacramento with building supplies. Lotchin, *San Francisco*, 57.

<sup>22</sup>Frank Marryat, "A Changed Town," in *San Francisco Memoirs, 1835-1851*, Barker, ed., 244.

<sup>23</sup>Barker, *San Francisco Memoirs, 1835-1851*, 46. Byington, *History*, 200. Théophile de Rutté, "Christmas Inferno," in *San Francisco Memoirs, 1835-1851*, 270-3. Lotchin, *San Francisco*, 174-5. Neville, *Fantastic City*, 64. Palmer, *Pioneer Days*, 31. Soulé, Gihon and Nisbet, *Annals*, 241.

The second fire on May 4, 1850 in roughly the same district as the 1849 disaster caused \$4,000,000 in damage. Beginning at 3:00 in the morning, the blaze swept through and destroyed nearly every building. Incendiaries and gunpowder that were used to prevent the spread of the blaze only fed the flames. Although foreign merchants like Germans B. Schloss and S. Jacobs suffered losses, they commenced rebuilding that day often while the embers of the fire were still warm. A resident reported: “While even one extremity of the old tenement was still blazing, people [were] planning the nature of the new erection, and clearing away the embers and rubbish from the other scarcely extinguished end [of the tenement.]”<sup>24</sup> By July the burned district was entirely rebuilt, just in time for the third major fire.<sup>25</sup>

A major blaze began in the “Sacramento bakery” on June 14, 1850, and accounted for \$5,000,000 in losses. German born merchants who suffered included Herman, Jacoby & Co., Specker & Baucher, Weiss & Pearce, Rosenbaum & Schalter, and Weilman & Groener. George Küner managed to save his engraving tools before losing his store and residence to the flames. The citizens had attempted to form volunteer fire companies, but they proved ineffective against the conflagration. Citizens began rebuilding again in wood, providing fuel for the fourth great fire that broke out only approximately 90 days later. Another fire erupted on September 17, 1850, in the Philadelphia House Hotel, and 150 homes mainly of wood and of one story were lost, including Simon Jacob’s store. George Küner was burned out again when it broke out few doors away, and afterwards,

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<sup>24</sup>Soulé, Gihon and Nisbet quoted in Brands, *Age of Gold*, 255.

<sup>25</sup>*Alta California*, May 6, 1850. Byington, *History*, 200. Colville, *San Francisco Directory, 1856*, xix. Benjamin Dore, “The Journal of Benjamin Dore: One of the Argonauts,” *California Historical Society Quarterly* 11:2 (September, 1923): 115. Edward H. Hotchkiss, “The California Letters of Edward Hotchkiss,” *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XIX:3 (September, 1940), 96. Palmer, *Pioneer*, 31. Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, *Annals*, 274-5, 367.

he was forced to rent a shanty until stone buildings became available. Two other fires occurred in the following three months, the second on December sweeping through warehouses, but damage was not as extensive as the early fires and citizens did not consider them “great” fires.<sup>26</sup>

On the year’s anniversary of the second “great” fire, a blaze erupted on May 3 and 4, 1851, that was the most horrendous and destructive up to that time. “In fact, almost the whole city [was destroyed], leaving a little rim on the outside like the tire of a wheel – the wheel itself being gone.”<sup>27</sup> A strong wind blew leaving firemen helpless, and people frantically ran around the city trying to save their most valuable possessions such as documents and jewelry. In ten hours, this fifth “great” fire destroyed 2,000 buildings, eighteen square blocks with portions of five others, the entire business district including all the newspapers except the *California Alta*, and the only hotel considered “suitable” for women. Contemporaries described it as a roaring furnace. Losses amounted to \$12,000,000, and victims included merchants Leon Greenbaum, E. M. Berg, Ed and Joseph Adelsdorfer, Joseph Rosenthal, Julius Negbaum, carpenter Jacob Meyer and grocer Herman Wohler.<sup>28</sup>

After the previous blazes, many buildings, particularly commercial ones, were equipped with “fireproof” iron doors and shutters and were considered “safe.” The iron doors did not work, however, because as the heat from the burning woodwork inside the buildings increased in the interior, the iron doors expanded so that they could not be opened, nearly trapping those inside. Fire burst out of the windows and the building was

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<sup>26</sup> *Alta California*, June 15, 1850; ,June 17, 1850, September 18, 1850. Byington, *History*, 201-2. Küner, *Autobiography*, 61. Palmer, *Pioneers*, 31. Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, *Annals*, 277, 290, 299.

<sup>27</sup>William Health Davis, *Seventy-Five Years*, 175.

<sup>28</sup>*Alta California*, May 7, 1852. Byington, *History*, 202. Lotchin, *San Francisco*, 174-5. Palmer, *Pioneer*, 31. Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, 329



quickly consumed, making a mock of the term “fire proof.” Residents as far away as Monterey reported seeing a glow from the inferno. Residents started rebuilding immediately. New ordinances were passed requiring more brick walls and substantial structures constructed with more fireproof building materials. More fire companies were formed. Thirty-two merchants put their goods into the old “hulks” of the abandoned ships in the harbor and conducted business in these “store ships” until 1854 when more fireproof brick buildings were built.<sup>29</sup>

Shouts of “fire” resounded on June 22, 1852, when the sixth “great” conflagration broke out. Again it swept through the downtown and citizens hurried away, feeling there was no time to lose because “in a moment one may be caught.”<sup>30</sup> It burned over much of the same area as the “great fire” of May 4, 1851, destroying fourteen blocks, four or five churches, old buildings and landmarks from the Yerba Buena years, an old adobe custom house, the old city hotel built in 1848 and, this time, the *California Alta*. The blaze also destroyed the city hospital so injuries had to be treated in the open air. The community staggered under losses of \$3,000,000 to \$4,000,000, and German merchants C. Hoch, W. Langerman, L. Rheinstein, R. Josephs, H. Mandelbaum, C. Levy, Andrew Kohler, J. Behrens and L. Benjamin were among reported to have lost their establishments.

Benjamin Dore commented: “It was a hard blow for commerce and industry. The city

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<sup>29</sup> Barker, *San Francisco Memoirs*, 46-7. Byington, *History*, 202-4, 207. Colville, *San Francisco Directory 1856*, xxii. William Heath Davis, *Seventy Five Years*, 175. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 45. Amy Sophia Greenberg, “Cause for Alarm: The Volunteer Fire Department in the Nineteenth Century (PhD. Diss. Harvard University, 1995) ProQuest (9538920), 22. Hittell, *History*, vol. III, 353,355, 360. Dorothy Harriet Huggins, intro., “San Francisco City’ from The Elite Directory of 1879,” *California Historical Society Quarterly* XIX:3 (September, 1940), 22. Küner, *Autobiography*, 61. Frank Marryat, “The Trouble with Iron Houses,” in Barker, *San Francisco Memoirs*, 176. Albert Bernard de Russailh, “A City in Ruins,” in *Ibid.*, 283, 286. Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, 329, 346.

<sup>30</sup>Dore, “Journal,” 287.

seemed dead, and there appeared to be no hope that its former prosperity would return.”<sup>31</sup> Losses from the six fires totaled more than \$20,000,000. On November 9, 1852, another blaze destroyed thirty-two buildings after one and one-half hours, but citizens felt it was nothing like the “great” fires. It took all of these conflagrations to finally convince the businessmen that bricks and mortar were needed to replace wood and canvas. By 1859, the volunteer firemen had become more efficient, and the flames were quickly extinguished, although sometimes in their enthusiasm, they caused more water damage than the fire. Using foreign trained artisans including German Victor Hoffman, San Franciscans rebuilt their city so that by 1856, the past seemed more like a fable than a reality. Their optimism for the future is reflected in the engraving of a phoenix rising from the flames on its first city seal adopted on November 4, 1852.<sup>32</sup>

In the political arena, all three cities experienced problems developing a stable government as, Hinton R. Helper complained, “all were rushing madly, after their own fortunes,”<sup>33</sup> In the early part of the decade, people were unconcerned about civic affairs,

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<sup>31</sup>Dore, “Journal,” 288. The *Alta California* editorialized that the two fires made it difficult to celebrate the Fourth of July. *Alta California*, July 6, 1851.

<sup>32</sup>*Alta California*, June 23, 1852; June 24, 1852; June 25, 1852; June 28, 1852. Barker, *San Francisco Memoirs*, 49. Byington, *History*, 274. Colville, *San Francisco Directory, 1856*, xxiv. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 44. Farnham, *California In-doors and Out*, 276-7. Lotchin, *San Francisco*, 175. Palmer, *Pioneer*, 17-8. De Russailh, “City in Ruins,” 287. Louis Laurent Simonin, “Luxury and Decay,” in *More San Francisco Memoirs, 1852-1899* (San Francisco: Londonborn Productions, 1996), 115. Soulé, Gihon and Nisbet, *Annals*, 344-6, 407. John P. Young, *San Francisco: A History of the Pacific Coast Metropolis* (San Francisco: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1912), 142.

<sup>33</sup>Hinton R. Helper, *The Land of Gold: Reality vs. Fiction 1855* (Baltimore: H. Taylor, 1855) 243. Helper traveled around the Cape Horn to California in 1851, returning home in 1854. As his adventure was most unprofitable, he constantly grumbled in his letters home. During one three-month period, he worked at one mine and earned only ninety-three cents. His adventure ultimately turned profitable when he wrote *Land of Gold*, his harsh criticism of the gold rush and its participants. John Baur. “Californians Elsewhere” *The Golden State’s Nineteenth-Century Citizens At Large*, *Southern California Quarterly*, LXVI:2 Summer, 1984): 97.

acting “all for themselves.”<sup>34</sup> The enormity of the struggle for stability was directly related to the size of the population in each city with Marysville, the smallest, experiencing the fewest difficulties, but San Francisco twice had to turn to vigilante committees to restore law and order. At first, the German newcomers as a whole did not get politically involved in the creation of the governmental infrastructure of new homes. Many had a traditional belief that a career in politics led to personal corruption, and they preferred to remain farmers, craftsmen or merchants. Furthermore, some lacked the ready command of the English language necessary to communicate with both native- and foreign-born constituents. Coming from a background of European states, principalities and duchies, they were unfamiliar with the workings of a republic, but they learned how they could influence its institutions as the decade progressed. A review of some of the particular political disturbances experienced in Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco demonstrates that the number of residents in each not only dictated the magnitude of their battles to create order but also the extent to which the German newcomers participated in those struggles.

One political development in Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco which historically could have negatively affected their German citizenry was the rise of the Know-Nothing party in California in the mid 1850s. Unlike the often bloody anti-foreign demonstrations by the party’s adherents in other parts of the United States, in California, the hostility towards European-born foreigners seemed to be based on greed and jealousy over the profits they were making in the mines rather than their birth origin. Although operating behind the scenes in the State as early as 1851, the Know Nothing Party came

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<sup>34</sup>Quoted in Holiday, *World Rushed In*, 369-70. Ellison also complained that, throughout the decade, the people of California, as result of either own efforts or the operation of historical forces, were people unto themselves. Ellison, *Self-Governing Dominion*, vii.

to power in the mid-1850s identifying itself as a reform movement against political corruption rather than anti-Catholic or anti-foreign-born. The xenophobic attitudes among the white residents of San Francisco were not as prevalent as in the east. The party softened its nativist stance, but some followers still argued against foreign-born involvement in politics. As in other parts of the United States, the Know Nothing party's success in California was brief – it was summarily defeated in 1857 because it failed to institute any reforms, and its constituents believed its leadership was interested only in individual gain. Furthermore, support for the party with its nativist stance fell because of the high percentage of foreign-born and Catholic voters, particularly Irish and German, living in the state.<sup>35</sup>

In Marysville, after organizing in the summer of 1854, the Know Nothing Party came to power in 1855 when a member of the party, the editor of the *Marysville Herald* James Allen, was elected mayor. He had constantly voiced the party's position in his editorials against the European "pauper emigrants" arriving in Marysville and supporting a law to prevent non-residents from voting. During this time, the Germans' many activities, including those of the *Turnverein* and *Liederkrantz*, appeared in the Democrat-based *Daily California Express*, the *Herald's* competitor. Marysville's Democratic party was in such disarray that the *Journal's* editor pleaded with party members to organize to defeat "the evil combination of Whigs and Know Nothings."<sup>36</sup> By the following year, Democrats and the anti-Know Nothings combined to overthrow the regime and elected

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<sup>35</sup>Conzen, "Germans in America, 421. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 26. DuBois and Schweppe, *The Germans*, 172. Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, vol. 2 (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1909), 123-4. Furer, *Germans*, 42, 45. Peyton Hurt, "The Rise and Fall of the 'Know Nothings' in California, *Quarterly of the California Historical Society*, Part 1, IX:1 (March, 1930): 26; *Ibid.*, Part 2, IX:2 (June 3, 1930): 109, 118-9. *Memorial*, 427. Rolle, *History*, 318-22.

<sup>36</sup>Quoted in Hurt, "Know Nothings," Part 1, 34.

Levi Hite as mayor. The *Herald* eventually turned to support the Republican party and, like elsewhere in California, slavery rather than Americanism became the predominant issue.<sup>37</sup>

In 1854, Sacramento, as in Marysville, the Know-Nothing party, was a considerable political force. After its 1855 convention selected its candidates for municipal office, Sacramento's voters believed that the Know-Nothing nominees were the most likely candidates to be elected. One newspaper reported that the Democrats had given up all hope, and the only opposition to the Know-Nothings would be the Whigs. The foreign-born organized an anti-Know Nothing group, but at its convention, the speakers emphasized that the Whigs and Know Nothings had apparently joined forces. Although there were some additional meetings by the foreign-born, they were ultimately ineffective in creating any opposition and the Know-Nothings won an easy victory. Like in Marysville, they remained in power in Sacramento for only one year.<sup>38</sup>

In San Francisco, the Know-Nothing party organized in late May of 1854, supported by citizens who were anxious to turn to anything to eliminate the corrupt and dishonest politicians. The California Democrats were fighting among themselves and split the party, creating three separate tickets, and the Whigs hoped to benefit by this split. The Know-Nothing Citizen's Party portrayed itself as a reform party, interested in electing honest representatives concerned solely in the desires of the people. They even proposed German-born Lucien Hermann as its candidate for mayor, but his name was withdrawn because he was a Roman Catholic. His nomination verifies that San Francisco's Know Nothings were less concerned about his German roots than his

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<sup>37</sup>Desmond, "Marysville," 44, 46-47. Hurt, "Know Nothings," Part 1, 33; *Ibid*, Part 2, 109, 119.

<sup>38</sup>Hurt, "Know Nothings," Part 1, 34-6.

religious ones. The Know-Nothings triumphed over its opposition and were victorious in the municipal election of September of 1854. In 1855, two German-language newspapers quarreled over support of the new party: The *German Journal* supporting the Know Nothings and the *German Democrat* the Democrats. At a meeting of 350 German citizens, the leaders D. Precht, Otto Esche, and Julius Wise were unable to control the acrimonious debate punctuated by cheers and cat-calls. The *Herald* reported that the controversy lasted several days. Perhaps because of this vocal opposition together with the Anglo and German citizens' disillusionment over the lack of reform, the Know-Nothings did not hold office for a full year, swept from office within two months after they had won victories in Sacramento and Marysville.<sup>39</sup>

Despite losses in the local elections in 1855, the Know Nothings won enough victories to control the California legislature. Unorganized and undisciplined and putting individual gain before their promised reform measures, the Party was a disappointment in office. The local elections of 1856 swept them out of office with the election of the entire slate of Democrats. In San Francisco, before disbanding, the Vigilance Committee nominated candidates for the People's party, underscoring its goal of political reform and an end to corruption. In the elections of 1857, the competing political parties across the state were the Democrats, Republicans and People's party and the Know Nothings party declined and lost favor with the citizenry.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>Before reporting the June quarrel, The *San Francisco Herald* reprinted an article from the German-language *German Democrat* denouncing the Know Nothings. *San Francisco Herald*, May 9, 1855. Ethington, *The Public City*, 113. Hurt, "Know Nothings," Part 1, 25-28,. Lawrence Kinnard, *History of the Greater San Francisco Bay Region* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1966), 511. *San Francisco Herald*, June 2, 1855; June 3, 1855; June 6, 1855.

<sup>40</sup>Hurt, "Know Nothings," Part 2, 110-111, 115-6. Millard, *San Francisco Bay Region*, 171.

Other than their brief romance with the Know-Nothings, Marysville's political development was fairly uneventful. Despite being California's third largest city in the 1850s, its population remained small in relation to that of Sacramento and San Francisco. By the time of its incorporation in the spring of 1851, however, Marysville had built up a business district and town plaza while increasing its transshipment business of supplies and gold from the northern mines. Like the others, the city grew remarkably fast with the number of its residents increasing from an estimated 1,500 in 1850 to 4,740 in the census of 1860, but the number of permanent residents was still small enough that neighbors could rely on personal visitations to discuss issues or arguments among them. Although founded in August of 1850, Marysville's newspaper, the *Herald*, reported one problem that year that related to chaos in the city's judicial court. A dispute begun on June 7 when attorney Steven Field, after defending John Sutter, objected to a ruling by District Judge William R. Turner.<sup>41</sup> Rather than resorting to a duel as was common in California at that time, the two men chose to slander each other in the *Herald*. In December, they managed to settle their differences peacefully. By the end of the decade, individuals from the German community became involved in Marysville's political structure. In 1858, G. W. Aubry was elected Alderman, and the following year, John Hoesch was elected his successor perhaps due to the *Daily California Express*' active solicitation of Marysville's Germans. Peter Decker, a German-American prominent

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<sup>41</sup>Reports of the conflict are colored by the various authors' prejudices about one or the other combatants, resulting in unclear, contradictory accounts.

businessman and philanthropist was elected mayor in 1858. His many activities and support of the *Turnverein* indicated he was still faithful to his German roots.<sup>42</sup>

Efforts by the Anglo politicians in Marysville in 1851 to ban trade and amusements on Sundays were certainly not well received by the city's Germans. In April of 1851, city officials passed "blue laws" closing all stores, barrooms and gambling parlors on Sunday to "promote better observance of the Sabbath." Germans involved in business enterprises typically owned by their compatriots such as bars, breweries and hotels certainly would have been affected. The ordinance was short-lived, however. As packers arrived in town the first Sunday and had to leave on Monday, they demanded that the merchant-suppliers and entertainment venues be reopened. Despite the law, Marysville's businessmen acceded to them and opened their doors, and the gambling parlors "closed their doors" but with patrons inside. The law was repealed a week later.<sup>43</sup> With its smaller population, issues, like the Field-Turner argument, could be solved face-to-face, resulting in a smooth path to political stability.

Sacramento's path to political stability was also relatively even, but early in the decade, there were a few detours. In August of 1850, the "Squatters' Riots" erupted when landholders and squatters argued over their approximately 800 claims involving over fourteen million acres of land. The settlers, or squatters, did not recognize the Mexican land titles of John Sutter and others and saw the land as empty and theirs for the taking. After unfavorable court decisions, they initiated an armed confrontation where the sheriff and tax assessor died and mayor Bigler injured. These newcomers were struggling

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<sup>42</sup>Bancroft, "California Inter Pocula," 623. Chamberlin, *Yuba County*, 43, 54. *Daily California Express*, March 22, 1848; March 21, 1859. Desmond, "Marysville," 16-7. *Memorial*, 427. Ramey, "Marysville," Part 1, 224. Taylor, *Sacramento Directory*, xv. *U. S. Census, 1860*.

<sup>43</sup>Bancroft, *History*, 464, Desmond, "Marysville," 30. Ramey, "Marysville," Part 3, 24.



against the merchant class who had originally established the city. Because the founders controlled its economic and political forces, the demonstrators held them responsible for the excessive prices charged in their business establishments. The “Pro Law and Order” establishment won the struggle, and the squatters reverted to legal procedures to back their claims. The protest, however, led to an erosion of the merchants’ power allowing for the rise of a mid-level class of merchants and professionals. German hoteliers, shopkeepers and individual craftsmen such as Charles Heinrich, John Laufkotter, George Meyer and Louis Sloss who immigrated to Sacramento during this period belonged to this emerging class of residents. Another brief disturbance occurred in 1851, when, influenced by that year’s San Francisco Vigilance Committee, Sacramentans briefly turned to vigilantism. After the mayor had pardoned a prisoner, 213 citizens recaptured and lynched him. Although they demanded his resignation, the mayor remained in office, and the committee dissolved soon after.<sup>44</sup> By 1854, many of the city’s major problems had been solved; therefore, when the first Roman Catholic bishop arrived that year, he reported Sacramento as “one of the prettiest and most enterprising cities in the Union.”<sup>45</sup>

In San Francisco, if the great and smaller fires were not enough to give the citizens a sense of insecurity, the lack of a strong municipal government to fight the disorder created by the huge transient population only added to their discomfort. The

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<sup>44</sup>Colville, *Sacramento Directory 1856*, 70. Davis, *History*, 138. Mark A. Eifler, “Who Shall Rule the Crossroads” Power and Place in Early Gold Rush Sacramento,” paper presented at Symposium entitled “Power and Place in the North American West,” Seattle, WA (November, 1994), 5, 7, 10, 13. David Goodman, *Gold Seeking: Victoria and California in the 1850s* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 142. Donald Dale Jackson, *Gold Dust*, 292-4. *Memorial*, 202-3. Morse, “History,” 26-7. Reed, *Sacramento County*, 81-3. Severson, *Sacramento*, 76, 93, 119.

<sup>45</sup>Although Breault visited in 1854, the Roman Catholic Church was not organized in Sacramento until 1857. Steven M. Avella, *Sacramento and the Catholic Church: Shaping a Capital City* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2008), 115. William Breault, S. J., *The Miner was a Bishop: Pioneer Years of Patrick Manoque, California-Nevada, 1854-1895*. (Rancho Cordova, CA: Landmark Enterprises, 1988), 5.

increasingly large population over the decade provided the fuel for the mob violence that produced the Vigilance Committees of 1851 and 1856. The citizens distrusted the politicians to deal with the criminals who were threatening them with hostility. For example, they thought that city's officials were spendthrifts and lacked moral character and integrity when making financial decisions. San Franciscans demanded charter revisions on May 1, 1850, April 15, 1851 and March 28, 1855 to include curb the politicians' extravagant expenditures and institute political reform. After the Vigilante Committee's actions in 1856, the citizens finally approved the Consolidation Act in 1856 merging San Francisco's city and county into one body, giving a promise of a stable municipal structure.<sup>46</sup> Although there were interruptions by the 1859 Terry-Broderick dual and arguments over slavery, the city's government was generally managed for the rest of the decade.

The formation of San Francisco's Vigilance Committee of 1851 had its roots in 1849. Lawless inhabitants had bonded together into a gang called the "Hounds" who roamed unchallenged creating havoc throughout the city. That summer, a volunteer force of citizens took matters into their own hands and threatened the trouble makers so that many fled the city. The decline of the gang of Hounds left room in 1851 for the rise of another gang of criminals mainly from Australia, the "Sydney Ducks." These thugs traveled freely across the city without any fear of arrest or punishment, intimidating and terrorizing innocent citizens. Many believed that they were responsible for starting the 1850 and 1851 fires. When two suspects in a robbery and attempted murder were

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<sup>46</sup>Byington, *History*, 209-10. Clark, *Gold Rush Diary*, 576. Farnham, *California In-doors and Out*, 479. Hurt, "Know Nothings," Part 2, 108. Millard, *San Francisco Bay Region*, 171. Pfeiffer, *Lady's Visit*, 16. Lotchin, *San Francisco*, 140. Pioneer California Journalist [James O'Meara], *The Vigilance Committee of 1856* (San Francisco: James H. Barry, Publisher, 1890) 16. Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, *Annals*, 272.

acquitted, 700 citizens formed the Committee of Vigilance of 1851 and took action against this criminal element. They had no faith in the court system because judges were known to take bribes. Committee members felt their actions were purely in self defense. Contemporaries asserted that members of the Committee represented the best part of the city's residents, many from the middle and upper classes, including Germans J. Seligman, J. H. Fisher, Theodore Kuhlman, Samuel Marx and Julius Schultz. Between June 12 and August 21, 1851, they conducted four public hangings, including the two who had been acquitted, but there was no public criticism. Even the mayor and governor were silent. The Committee disbanded in August, and San Franciscans felt the proceedings were not only warranted but successful. Many of the Sydney Ducks fled the city, and the number of robberies, thefts and assaults dropped.<sup>47</sup> As one historian observed, "Had the Courts been what they should have been, it never would have existed."<sup>48</sup>

Peace prevailed in San Francisco for only three years. In 1854 a wave of crime again swept the city before cresting in 1856. The leaders of the municipal government were corrupt, involved with stuffing the ballot boxes and patronage. At the same time, self-proclaimed reformers were not serious about cleaning up the old political parties or establish a new one that could correct the situation. Many citizens paid little attention to municipal affairs avoiding voting and jury duty because many felt San Francisco was not their permanent home. The judiciary was much superior to that of 1851, but the jury system was still plagued with flagrant tampering. (The Know Nothing People's party

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<sup>47</sup>*Alta California*, June 13, 1851; July 7, 1851. Brands, *Age of Gold*, 261-2. Byington, *History*, 214-223. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 106. Ethington, *The Public City*, 125. Farnham, *California In-doors and out*, 319. Lotchin, *San Francisco*, 192-3. Palmer, *Pioneer*, 25-6. Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, *Annals*, 226.

<sup>48</sup>Colville, *San Francisco Directory, 1856*, xxii. The Germans played an active role in maintaining law and order in California's cities just as they did in Detroit and other urban centers in the east and midwest. See John C. Schneider, *Detroit and the Problem of Order, 1830-1880: A Geography of Crime, Riot and Policing* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980).

that had declared it was able to reform the governmental institutions had been voted out of office the prior year.) By 1856, the more respectable independent citizens were ready to address the problem as they were becoming indignant at the level of corruption and the impotence of both state and local officials, and they began to genuinely desire a clean government. But a spark was needed to ignite the citizenry.<sup>49</sup>

The assassination of James King of William by James Casey on May 14, 1856, galvanized the citizens to form the Vigilance Committee of 1856 to correct “evils that could no longer be borne.”<sup>50</sup> King had been publishing editorials in his newspaper, the *Evening Bulletin*, highly critical of the officials in the municipal government he saw as corrupt. The next day, citizens reverted to mob action and by May 19, created a committee headquartered in a building on Front and Sacramento Streets, complete with a “fort” made of gunny bags and cannons that faced out in every direction. Eventually, 8,000 residents joined the committee, including every militia company in San Francisco (except those who were mere “gentlemen’s sporting companies.”) Most volunteers were from the upper and middle class, basically those who owned property in the city. The public considered the leadership of the committee, some of whom had served on the Committee of 1851, honorable and reputable, especially because only about six of the executive committee had histories of ballot stuffing or other fraud. The first group numbered only 100 and were known only by number and assembled in the *Turnverein* Hall on Bush Street. Eventually, they grouped the membership into companies of 100, including J. Seligman, William Meyers, J. C. F. Behrens, Frank Baker, W. H. F. Hoffman, Jonas Alders, S. Gutte, and S. Meyerbock among others. At King’s funeral,

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<sup>49</sup> Byington, *History*, 199, 255. William Heath Davis, *Seventy-five Years*, 305. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 126-7. Hittell, *History*, vol. III, 60. Lotchin, *San Francisco*, 194, 5.

<sup>50</sup> Colville, *San Francisco Directory, 1856*, xxviii.

members of three German associations joined the procession, and members of the *Turnverein* marched in full regalia and contributed music with muffled instruments.<sup>51</sup>

The reported purpose of the Committee was to look for officials caught up in election frauds, looting of the city treasury, and corruptive practices. The leadership justified their existence by explaining that the situation was so intolerable and that the legal authorities were so incompetent that their dealings were basically against politicians, not citizens. Neither they nor the public saw themselves as a wild lynch mob. The few critics against the movement banded together into the Law and Order party, stating that they were opposed to violence. The *San Francisco Herald* was the sole newspaper that supported the critics, but the degree of public support for the Committee was strong enough that the papers' advertisers immediately withdrew their ads, forcing it to dramatically reduce its size and number of pages. Not all members of the German community supported the Committee and published letters to newspaper editors "apologizing" for those Germans who joined the movement. By August, the Committee felt its mission had been accomplished and disbanded on the eighteenth, celebrating its conclusion during a city-wide holiday with a grand parade and review of 3,000 men. They dismantled their headquarters but retained the gunny sack "garrison," throwing it open to the public as a museum. Members of the Committee nominated candidates for the People's Party which successfully led the city for many years.<sup>52</sup> Josiah Royce

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<sup>51</sup>At the synagogue for Emanu-El, Rev H. Bien preached during divine services in memory of King. *Alta California*, May 25, 1856. Committee member German Charles Schmidt was wounded in June trying to arrest a criminal. *Bulletin*, June 19, 1856. Members also listed in *Annals*, Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, *Annals*, 547. *Alta California*, May 23, 1856. *Bulletin*, May 23, 1856. Phil B. Bekeart, "Corrections and Addenda to the Article on the Vigilance Committee of San Francisco in 1856 by Thomas L. Kaynor," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, VII:4 (Winter, 1939), 366. Mary Jane Megquier, "It Looks Very Much Like War," in *More San Francisco Memoirs, 1852-1899*, Malcolm E. Barker, ed., 95.

<sup>52</sup>*Alta California*, May 15, 1856; May 23, 1856; August 12, 1856; August 18, 1856; August 19, 1856. *Bulletin*, May 16, 1856; May 22, 1856; May 23, 1856. Byington, *History*, 255-9, 263-9, 273.

offered this analysis: “What it accomplished was not the direct destruction of a criminal class, but the conversion of honest men to sensible and devout patriotism.”<sup>53</sup>

The duel between David S. Terry and David C. Broderick disrupted the political scene in San Francisco in September of 1859. Terry had had a brush with violence before in 1856 when he wounded a member of the Committee of Violence. When the victim Hopkins recovered, the Committee released Terry but insisted he resign his judgeship. Broderick had dominated the state’s Democratic machine between 1850 and 1856, but by 1859, he and Senator William M. Gwin were bitterly fighting for political control of the city’s electorate. Broderick loudly insulted Terry, a supporter of Gwin and a candidate for re-election as chief justice of the state Supreme Court. Terry challenged Broderick and the ensuing duel resulted in Broderick’s death. Citizens were appalled by the violence, and on September 17, gathered to mourn. Even the German community postponed their planned requiem in honor of Alexander von Humboldt an hour so their members could attend the funeral procession. As a result, San Francisco banned all further duels.<sup>54</sup>

Although Germans did not enter politics as a livelihood, they did not stand aside when issues arose that directly involved in San Francisco. They clearly responded to the issues of the “German Dancing Girls,” the Sunday “blue laws,” and their support of the

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Colville, *San Francisco Directory, 1856*, xxvii. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 129. Farnham, *California In-Doors and Out*, 479. Greenberg, “Alarm,” 90. *San Francisco Herald*, May 16, 1856; July 9, 1856; July 11, 1856; July 14, 1856. Kinnard, *Greater San Francisco*, 511. Lotchin, *San Francisco*, 194, 234, 270. Neville, *Fantastic City*, 34, 90. Pioneer California Journalist, *Vigilance Committee of 1856*, 16-18, 56. Rolle, *History*, 256.

<sup>53</sup>Quoted in Byington, *History*, 269.

<sup>54</sup>*Alta California*, September 17, 1859. Byington, *History*, 282. Colville, *San Francisco Directory, 1856*, xxvii. William Heath Davis, *History*, 308-0. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 129. Ellison, *Self-Governing Dominion*, vii. Kinnard, *Greater San Francisco*, 510, 2. Lotchin, *San Francisco*, 217. Pioneer California Journalist, *Vigilance Committee of 1856*, 39. *San Francisco Herald*, September 17, 1859.

city's two major political parties at the end of the decade. The Dancing Girls concern came to light when San Francisco's newspapers' editorials condemned the "peonage of the flesh" practice of young German women working as dancers in the "dance cellars" or as street musicians. German parents, pushed by miserable conditions at home, sent their daughters to San Francisco to live and earn their upkeep. They were healthy-looking girls from sixteen to twenty-five years old, hired under contract to receive shelter, food and clothing and a salary of \$250 per year. Generally, they conducted themselves in an orderly fashion, remaining "virtuous;" although not all German unmarried girls in San Francisco worked as dancing girls. The censuses of 1852 and 1856 list a number of single German-born girls with the occupation as "Servant" living in the homes of both German and Anglo upper-and middle-class citizens, and the city's newspapers regularly published advertisements looking for German housemaids. The *Alta California* in 1857 called on the city's citizens to remedy the situation, declaring that these dancing girls should not be subjected to cruelty. The issue came more to the forefront with the arrest in July of 1859 of a man and wife who had supposedly robbed two dancers who, after working for them for four months, wanted to return home. In August, leaders of the German community, led by Dr. Loehr, editor of the *German Democrat*, met and resolved to use all legal remedies to end this practice. In the *Turnverein* Hall, A. J. Beckh, J. C. Schaffer, C. Bickel, Dr. Regensburger and C. A. Uhrig called a meeting where they called on all Germans to suppress "hiring, importation and selling of the so-called German Dancing Girls." By December of 1859, authorities in Germany enacted restrictions to prevent the exportation of the girls. In February of 1860, State Assemblyman John C. Schimdt introduced a bill that if girls under seventeen years of age

worked in the dance cellars or as street musicians, their employers would be fined and liable for three months in jail. The bill passed. Thus the Germans organized and successfully the state lawmakers to correct exploitation of their young women.<sup>55</sup>

By the end of the 1850s and despite the People's Party's 1856 political victories in San Francisco, the Germans were strongly divided about supporting it, instead choosing to back the Democrats. The Anglo newspapers reported one public demonstration of this split. In 1857, leaders of the city's Democratic party, Dr. Regensburger, Kellersburger and Dr. Loehr, argued at a meeting of Germans against the People's party because of its roots in the Know Nothing's nativism and xenophobia. The *Staats Zeitung* called for support of the Democratic ticket, but its editors realistically declared that most Germans would vote for the People's ticket. On August 6, the *German Democrat* negatively described the People's Party: "Here it speaks 'Vigilance,' there 'Law and Order,' but it thinks only of office." "We do not intend . . . a reproach to the Germans who are on the ticket . . . There are honest men among them. But we are bitterly opposed to the system."<sup>56</sup> Eventually, like their countrymen across the nation, San Francisco's Germans supported the Republican Party. The German Republican Club including H. Seligman, and J. Regensburger sponsored a German-language newspaper published in August of 1860, *Der Republikaner*. Beginning with only thirty members in

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<sup>55</sup>*Alta California*, October 19, 1857; August 12, 1859; August 14, 1859; August 15, 1859; December 16, 1859. Donald A. DeBats, "German and Irish Political Engagement: The Politics of Cultural Diversity in an Industrial Age," in *German-American Immigration and Ethnicity in Comparative Perspective*, Wolfgang Helbich and Walter D. Kamphoefner, ed. (Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, 2004), 173. Faust, *German Element*, 123-4. Jon Gjerde, "Prescriptions and Perceptions of Labor and Family among Ethnic Groups in the Nineteenth-Century Middle West," in *German-American Immigration*, Helbich and Kamphoefner, ed., 133. Joseph Henry Jackson, *Anybody's Gold: The Story of California's Mining Towns* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1941) 171. *Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Assembly of California, at the . . . session of the Legislature, 1860*. (Google ebook) <http://www.books.google.com/books>. *San Francisco Herald*, July 31, 1859; August 15, 1859; February 1, 1860; February 16, 1860; February 17, 1860.

<sup>56</sup>Quoted in the *Bulletin*, August 6, 1857.



July, the group organized and grew to such an extent that members filled the meeting hall to overflowing in August. The People's Party still governed the city, but the German opposition had not declined.<sup>57</sup>

In 1858, enactment of Sunday "blue laws" in San Francisco also spurred German citizens to political action. In June, the *San Francisco Herald* reported that the law required that no person should open for business on the Christian Sabbath, Sunday. It applied to hotel-keepers, innkeepers, tavern restaurants, boarding houses, livery stables, druggists and butchers, all occupations where Germans were heavily involved. A letter from H. Bien published in the German newspapers and reprinted in the *Bulletin* called for the law to be defeated because it constituted religious persecution and illegal prosecution. The two Anglo and German associations of liquor and beer dealers and brewers met and decided to join forces against the legislation, forming a committee that included Adam Meyer and J. P. Schultz. Germans Schneck, Schuppert, Meyer and Lowenstein were active members of the new organization. The police vigorously enforced the law and arrested forty violators, principally liquor dealers. Henry Millemann, proprietor of the popular weekend get-away the Volk's Garden, was arrested on June 20, 1858, and fined \$150. To circumvent the law, he declared that the next week, he would hold a camp meeting complete with hymns, psalms, spiritual songs and preaching by a pastor of one of the German churches in town. He drew an immense crowd who enjoyed the day so much that many of his employees were kept very busy filling orders for refreshments, including 300 gallons of lager beer. To further test the law, German-born Mr. Kinzen kept his cigar stand open one Sunday in June, planning to donate his profits to the

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<sup>57</sup>*Alta California*, August 2, 1860; August 3, 1860; August 7, 1860; August 9, 1860; August 17, 1860. Byington, *History*, 273. *Bulletin*, August 4, 1857; August 5, 1857; August 6, 1857. Hurt, "Know Nothings," Part 1, 48; Part 2, 106,111. *San Francisco Herald*, August 6, 1857; July 20, 1860.

German Benevolent Society to support the German hospital. He was arrested, and the judge ruled that, although the charity would benefit, the law was to end all trade on Sunday. In late June, saloons, retail stores, public gardens and places of amusement remained open, and all San Franciscans freely patronized the establishments. Eventually, the State Supreme held hearings on the law and declared it unconstitutional.<sup>58</sup> Again, the Germans responded to a law that threatened their enterprises and joined with their Anglo neighbors to end it.

The explosive population growth of all three cities, sparked by the discovery of gold on John Sutter's land, transformed Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco into important cities in the 1850s. Simultaneously, disease, flood, fire and political instability posed threat to their development. Marysville's residents faced the fewest problems in developing their city's political system. Sacramento weathered its cholera epidemic, floods and fire and was able to form a stable municipal government after suppressing the 1850 "Squatter riots." Surviving the disastrous fires and political unrest, San Francisco's huge, constantly changing population made it the largest city in the State. Reports in all three cities' newspapers indicate that individual Germans were ready to join with their Anglo neighbors to overcome the problems and create viable systems to important to the stability and development of their new homelands.

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<sup>58</sup>*Alta California*, June 3, 1858; June 9, 1858; June 18, 1858; June 21, 1858; June 26, 1858, June 28, 1858. *Bulletin*, May 21, 1858; June 10, 1858; June 18, 1858. "The Pioneer Theater," in *The German Theater in San Francisco*, Lawrence Estaban, ed., vol. 9 (San Francisco: Works Projects Administration, 1939), 117a. *San Francisco Herald*, June 6, 1858; June 9, 1858; June 11, 1858; June 20, 1858; June 21, 1858.

## CHAPTER IV

### *Die Einwanderer in Kalifornien: Patterns of German Immigration*

In the mid-nineteenth century, Germans were faced with economic, social and political hardships and saw no way out. That predicament “pushed” them into immigrating to America. At the same time, the Germans’ perception of opportunities whether by finding gold or lucrative employment “pulled” them to the West and California.<sup>1</sup> Middle- and lower class Germans came to America to retain, regain or perhaps to increase a secure economic status. During the 1850s, 977,072 travelers emigrated from Germany, facilitated by a rapidly expanding railroad and steamship operating systems in Europe and across the Atlantic. By the end of 1855, they were the second largest group of newcomers in the United States behind Great Britain and Ireland. German authors and letter writers publicized the discovery of gold in California, attracting many who came and went from the cities of San Francisco, Sacramento and Marysville. Towards the end of the decade, many stayed and created a German community in these cities. Tracing these German immigrants by name reveals patterns of settlement that duplicate, somewhat, those in other American cities. During the 1850s, however, the dynamics of the fast-growing populations in urban California changed these

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<sup>1</sup>“Push” and “pull” are terms connected with the Laws of Migration originally articulated by E. G. Ravenstein. “Push refers to those forces existing in the place of origin that encourage or impel persons to emigrate. . . Pull refers to those attractive forces emanating from the migrants’ goal that draws migrants.” Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1991) 17.

patterns into a different, Western blueprint. The settlement patterns the Germans chose as they arrived in the cities of San Francisco, Sacramento and Marysville illustrate three major theories of immigrant experience in America, Oscar Handlin's alienated, isolated individuals, Bodnar's culturally-bound enclaves, and Kamphoefner's chain migrations, but the unprecedented California gold rush and the resultant explosive growth created a notable modification of these theories.<sup>2</sup>

In the Germanic States in Central Europe, conditions for those living there had deteriorated before the discovery of gold in 1848, pushing middle- and lower-class citizens as early as the mid 1840s to consider immigration an escape. In the southwest, traditions regarding inheritance dictated that upon the death of a farmer, his lands were divided equally among his sons, resulting in individual farms too small to support a family. Crop failures in 1846, like the potato famine in Ireland, caused great hardship in rural areas of the Germanic states. The wine vintages in 1850, 1851, and 1854 were among the four worst years in the nineteenth century, and those in the intervening two years were below average. These agricultural disasters, coupled with the high grain prices in the area drove, many to leave and come to America, including baker Johann Bickel. In the northwest, industrialization and foreign competition contributed to the

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<sup>2</sup>*The San Francisco Herald* reported the increase in the number of Germans in the United States from 1850 to 1860 as 1,874,104 after adjusting for immigration and a "natural increase by surplus of births." *San Francisco Herald*, August 24, 1860. Bodnar, *The Transplanted*, xvii. William J. Bromwell, *History of Immigration to the United States* (New York: Redfield [Publishers], 1856; Reprint New York: Arno Press, Inc., 1969), 18. Brian J. Godfrey, *Neighborhoods in Transition: The Making of San Francisco's Ethnic and Non-conformist Communities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 60. Erwin Gustav Gudde, trans. and ed., "Edward Visser's First Visit to California," *California Historical Quarterly* XIX:3 (September 1940): 193. Gudde, *German Pioneers*, 7-8, 22. Charles R. Haller, *The ABC's of German-American Migration: Annotated Guide to German-American Migration Records* (Ashville, NC: Money Tree Imprints, 2000), 30. Hammond, "German Interests," 23-4, 29, 50-1, 57-8. Handlin, *The Uprooted*, 4. Walter D. Kamphoefner, *The Westfalians: From Germany to Missouri* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987) 71; \_\_\_\_\_, Helbich and Sommer, *News*, 10.

decline of cottage industries, particularly in the linen weaving industry. Rural and village craftsmen were displaced from their homes. Many immigrants sold their properties to provide funds for their journey. In addition, some bureaucracies of the twenty-six separate Germanic states were imposing new and complex rules on artisans that prohibited journeymen from joining craft guilds which restricted their ability to live in their hometowns. Seeking employment in their skills pushed many to emigrate.<sup>3</sup>

Although these two geographical areas accounted for the majority of immigrants, after 1853, some came from the northeastern areas of Germany where undivided large estates, due to laws of primogeniture, were handed down to eldest sons, leaving younger brothers without agricultural livelihood. Many of the siblings were without property and unmarried and often without skills, but, as the price of crossing the Atlantic fell they still managed to make the journey. As a rule, the truly poverty-stricken immigrants did not emigrate because the redemptionist system of the 1820s system where one could work off a passage either on board or in America disappeared. The large increase in population occurring in Europe during the nineteenth century and the decline in economic buying power during the 1850s only increased these hardships so that coming to America seemed the only solution to the inhabitants' depressed conditions.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Mack Walker details many of the new restrictions, some of which resulted from the failed revolutions of 1848. Mack Walker, *German Home Towns: Community, State and General Estate, 1846-1871* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1971), 151-4, 388, 392-404. Robert Henry Billigmeier, *Americans from Germany: A Study in Cultural Diversity* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1974), 69. David Blackbourn, *History of Germany 1870-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publications, 2003), 135-9, 145-9. Bodnar, *The Transplanted*, 15. Barney, "Forty-Eighters," 28. Conzen, "Germans in America," 410. Furer, *Germans*, 30, 40, 42, 48. Henderson and Olasiji, *Migrants, Immigrants and Slaves*, 109. Kamphoefner, *Westfalians*, 29, 38; \_\_\_\_\_, Helbich, and Sommer, *News*, 2. Nadel, *Little Germany*, 17-89, 110. Nugent, *Into the West*, 62. von Hagen, *Germanic People*, 319. Wittke, *Germans in America*, 6, 11.

<sup>4</sup>Steerage passage was offered to fill ships sailing west to America to fill the space taken by tobacco, cotton, rich and whale oil sailing east from America to Europe. Günter Moltmann, "The Pattern of German Emigration to the United States in the Nineteenth Century," in *America and the Germans*, Trommler and McVeigh, ed., 18-9. Klaus J. Bade, "German Emigration to the United States and

Politically, the failed revolutions of 1848 also “pushed” refugees to the United States to escape persecution, become exiles, and start life anew. The conscription decrees issued in the German duchies immediately after the revolution caused young men to leave to escape the draft into the army. There was a conviction among many that Germany was a bad place to be. All of these factors set off a wave of immigration of about a quarter of a million in 1854 that was the highest rate ever experienced in Germany as well as in America.<sup>5</sup>

“Like no other place, gold caused the world to rush to California in the mid-nineteenth century.”<sup>6</sup> Immediate riches were not the only reason Germans chose to come to California. Historian Walter Nugent succinctly articulates five incentives for migration that pulled newcomers, including Germans, to California. The first, which would certainly apply to the land-poor Germans, was a search for land to cultivate. The second, relating to gold, was the quest for and discovery of a valuable resource, subsequently exploiting it for its value. The third, applying to those Germans from political repression, was looking for an escape and better quality of life. The fourth was seeking newfound wealth to take back home or to send to family and friends to improve conditions in their homeland. Bickel’s search for gold and the money he sent home is an example of this incentive. The fifth, migrating to improve themselves and their families,

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Continental Immigration to Germany in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” *Central European History* XIII:4 (December, 1980): 358, 360-1. Bodnar, *Transplanted*, 6, 15, 31. Agnes Bretting, “Organizing German Immigration: The Role of State Authorities in Germany and the United States,” in *America and the Germans*, 32. Dr. Monica Clyde, “Germans and the California Dream,” paper presented at St. Mary’s College of California (January, 2009), 4. Holliday, *Rush to Riches*, 83. Kamphoefner, *Westfalians*, 27, 38; \_\_\_\_\_, Helbich, and Sommer, *News*, 2-3. Nugent, *Into the West*, 62. Mack Walker, *Germany and the Emigration: 1816-1885* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), 15-6, 152,157. Wust and Moos, *Three Hundred Years*, 40.

<sup>5</sup>Some descendants of early German pioneers claim their forefathers left for “political reasons,” but historians believe they were avoiding conscription. Dr. Monica Clyde, interview with the author, October 27, 2009. Walker, *Germany and the Emigration*, 153-5.

<sup>6</sup>Thomas J. Osborne, “Pacific Eldorado: Rethinking Greater California’s Past,” *California History* 87:1 (Spring, 2009):31.

materially or spiritually, was the major motivation for many of the German newcomers. Because many German immigrants were comfortable in urban settings, they would have contemplated settling in the three largest cities in California, San Francisco, Sacramento and Marysville.<sup>7</sup> All these reasons were underscored by the reports Germans heard from friends and family and from German-language publications of fellow travelers' successes.

Letters sent back to both the German and American cities and towns enclaves from those who had already arrived in California were major incentives pulling newcomers to seek gold or economic opportunity. Who could resist the pull when a letter like the following from August Blümmer written in April 23, 1849:

I am sure you have read in the public papers about the immense gold mines that have been discovered in California in the last 1 ½ years, namely on the Sacramento River and the small tributaries, where gold sand stretches along the banks – and many miles into the interior, and can be washed clean easily and without much work. Fact is: that in people in one day have washed from 30 to 300 dollars and even 500 dollars of gold sand. Now there's a genuine mass migration from the United States to there.<sup>8</sup>

Another letter, written by Dr. Schwarz, exclaimed: “Here nature is everywhere so productive, so lavish with her eternal creative power ... one can lead a very comfortable life by only a moderate amount of work.”<sup>9</sup>

Because writing home was a well-established tradition in the nineteenth century, contemporaries noted that, despite the vast distances between family and friends “back home,” the veritable flood of paper between them only strengthened the bonds and

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<sup>7</sup>In 1850, only 8 percent of the total American population lived in the cities, but almost 30 percent of all German-Americans lived in the eight largest cities in the United States. Kamphoefner, Helbich and Sommer, *News*, 10. Nugent, *Into the West*, 4-5.

<sup>8</sup>Quoted in Kamphoefner, Helbich and Sommer, *News*, 111.

<sup>9</sup>Quoted in Clyde, “California Dream,” 6.

familial ties. Because recipients felt that accounts from relatives and acquaintances were the only trustworthy ones for the “common man,” these missives were a major factor in convincing people to leave. When an immigrant was asked if a friend or family member should follow; however, he rarely gave a straight answer. Instead, he listed many arguments for and against leaving and offered objective criteria for the friend’s decision. Unlike Blümmer, some writers were cautious to avoid criticism for painting too rosy a picture of his new home if the friend decided to join him; however, many newcomers described pleasant experiences in their letter more often than their disappointments.<sup>10</sup> Other writers, however, were quite candid in stating that “If a man is in any business that he can make a living, tell him never to think of coming here.”<sup>11</sup> The Bickel papers provide examples of both types: in her letters, Barbara Drüke is candid in revealing her disappointment with California while Johann Bickel’s letters are positive, even to the point of asking his two daughters to join him.<sup>12</sup> The wealth of information the Germans received from friends and family in America and California made their trip anything but a trip into the unknown.

Publications in Germany extolling the virtues of settling in California appeared several years before 1848. Numerous guides and handbooks with their idealistic portrayals of California influenced many Germans to consider the area as a potential profitable final destination. Letters written by Edward Visher to his family about his

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<sup>10</sup>Bancroft, “California Inter Pocula,” 235. Conzen, “Germans, 410. DuBois and Schweppe, *Germans*, 54. George Peter Hammond, “German Interests in California before 1850,” (master’s thesis, University of California at Berkeley, 1921, Reprinted San Francisco: R. & E. Associates, 1971), 58. Kamphoefner, *Westfalians*, 7, 9; \_\_\_\_\_, Helbich and Sommer, *News*, 28-9. Von Hagen, *Germanic People*, 328. Wittke, *Germans in America*, 8, 11.

<sup>11</sup>Georgia Willis Read, ed. *A Pioneer of 1850: George Willis Read, 1819-1880*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1927) , 123.

<sup>12</sup>Cosgrove and Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 47, 57-8, 60.



journey in California in 1852 appeared in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in Munich in 1846 and reprinted in the San Francisco's *California Cronik* later. In 1847, famous and revered explorer, Alexander von Humboldt, who had never set foot in California, co-authored a widely read essay, "Intendancy of New California," published in German, English, French and Spanish. Heinrich Künzel enthusiastically wrote the first German-language pamphlet guiding travelers to California in 1848, *Ober Californien Eine Geographische Schilderung Für den Zweck Deutscher Auswanderung und Ansiedelung*, which he based on Frémont's letters describing John Sutter. He included drawings by Sutter of the ground plan of New Helvetia and Sacramento River and listed Germans who had already settled in Sacramento Valley or who were employed by him at the Fort. Sutter's exploits were also well publicized by an article in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* in 1848 describing his large grant of fertile land from the Mexican government. Other numerous books described the attempts to "Germanize" areas of California. Refugees from the 1848 Revolutions, for example, were looking to establish a "new Germany" away from the political shackles at home. Gottfried Duden, after living in Missouri for three years, returned to Germany in 1829 and wrote glorious descriptions, guiding many refugees, or "Latin Farmers," to settle there. A plan centered on Pennsylvania ended in failure, and one for Texas ended with the State's admission to the Union; therefore, California became an important location in which to try again. In 1847 Germans attempted to start a German colony south of San Francisco, but the discovery of gold overshadowed these efforts as it had for John Sutter's attempts to start New Helvetia.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Hammond notes that the article in *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* is almost entirely based on early Californian Alfred Robinson's work, *Life in California*. Hammond, "German Interests," 70-74. Künzel's pamphlet was published in Darmstadt in 1848. *Ibid.*, 26. Erwin Gustav Gudde, "Edward Visher's First Visit," 193. Gudde, *German Pioneers*, 7-8, 22. Hammond, "German Interests," 23-4, 29, 50-

After the news of the discovery of gold was revealed in 1849, numerous books and articles appeared describing the overland and oversea routes to the mining country. Bruno Schmölder's *Neuer Pracktischer Wegweiser für Auswander nach Nord America* was published in three parts in 1849 and included 120 pages dedicated to California. He believed that the West offered the best opportunities for Germans.<sup>14</sup> A Bremen guidebook circulated in 1849, *Rathgeber für auswanderer nach Californien*, included instructions on how to raise funds through stock companies, outlined the most popular oversea route from Bremen around Cape Hope, and included an encouraging letter from Friedrich Heyermann, Sutter's physician. The same year, J. Hoppe, one of Sutter's first settlers, published *Californiens Gegenwart Und Zunkunft* in Berlin to give Germans *his* correct view of California and counteract some earlier accounts he labeled as pretentious and superficial. Carl Meyer placed a picture of Sutter's Fort on the cover of his *Nach dem Sacramento*. Friedrich Wilhelm Christian Gerstächer first came to California in 1849 during his trip around the world and subsequently wrote approximately 150 enormously popular books on travel, adventure stories and novels. He contributed an article in an 1849 issue of the *California Herald* describing his travels and later expanded it into a 1852 pamphlet, *Kaliforniens Gold*. An 1856 publication included his descriptions of San Francisco, Sacramento in Volume 2, "Reissen," and in chapters entitled *Skissen aus Californien*. As late as 1858, Julius Fröbel published *Aus Amerika* in Leipzig, and the

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1, 57-8. Gary F. Kurtz, *The California Gold Rush: A descriptive bibliography of books and pamphlets covering the year s 1848-1853* (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1997), 398. Henry Miller Madden, "German Travelers," 19; *German Travelers in California* (San Francisco: The Roxburghe Club of California, 1958), 12. LaVern J. Rippley, *The German Americans* (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1976), 48. Richard T. Stillson, *Spreading the Word: A History of Information on the California Gold Rush* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 49, 196. David Wrobel, "Global West, America Frontier," *Pacific Historical Review* no. 781 (February, 2009), 5.

<sup>14</sup>George Hammond called this "the most pretentious of the [German] guides relating to California." The California portion of the manuscript was translated into English in 1848, and then back into German in 1849. Kurtz, *Gold Rush*, 573, 576. Rippley, *German Americans*, 48.

*Daily Alta California* quoted his enthusiastic and encouraging remarks about San Francisco and California. For those Germans already living in the United States but still understanding their birth language, they would have access to a large number of German newspapers published in the United States to learn about the potential quick riches in California – the number rose from 70 to almost 140 between 1848 and 1852.<sup>15</sup> “The trek to America was anything but a leap in the dark,” Walter Kamphoefner explained.<sup>16</sup>

Once a German made the decision to come to America and California, he or she faced a journey that could be simple, but more often proved very difficult. First, one had to leave his home to reach a port city on the Atlantic Ocean. By the 1850s, the trip from cities and towns in Germany to the major ports of Bremen, Hamburg and La Have was relatively easy, facilitated by newly constructed railroads and the use of steamboats on the Rhine. Promoted by their municipal governments, Bremen and Hamburg were major debarkation ports. From 1846 to 1851, 43 percent of the German emigrants left Bremen and Hamburg and of those, 84 percent went to America. Some passengers such as Barbara Drüke preferred leaving Europe from the port La Havre. Her letter home there mentions both the steamer and railroad as alternate transportation routes, but she chose the railroad in order to have a traveling companion. She does not mention any problems along the way to the port.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, approximately 1,000 book-length travel accounts were published which emphasized the benefits of traveling to the West. David Wrobel, “The World in the West, the West in the World,” *Montana, the Magazine of Western History* 58:1 (Spring, 2008): 25. *Alta California*, October 7, 1858. *California Herald*, December 26, 1849. John Walton Caughey, *Gold is the Cornerstone* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), 53. Friedrich Gerstäcker, *Scenes of life in California*, trans. George Cosgrave (San Francisco: J. Howell, 1942), viii, ix. Hammond, “German Interests,” 26, 31, 39-40, 51. Kamphoefner, Helbich, and Sommer, *News*, 22. Kurtz, *Gold Rush*, 282-3. Madden, *German Travelers*, 15. Severson, *Sacramento*, 47. Wittke, *The German-Language Press*, 262-3. Wrobel, “Global West,” 6.

<sup>16</sup>Kamphoefner, *Westfalians*, 5.

<sup>17</sup>Cosgrove and Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 53-4.

While crossing the Atlantic and continuing on the Pacific Ocean to California, travelers often met with numerous problems on their journeys. The two recommended routes were crossing the Isthmus of Panama or around Cape Horn. The overland routes from the East Coast or New Orleans across the United States involved long trails, mountains and deserts, and hostile Indians; therefore immigrants generally chose to travel by sea. Speed was important to the Argonauts; therefore, despite the fact that the longer route around the Horn was much safer, many preferred the route across the Isthmus of Panama. But that trip was not without problems. Bickel, for example, originally planned to go to California by way of Panama, perhaps influenced by descriptions of the journey: “Seated by an open window, face fanned by the motion of the train, and armed with a pitcher or pail of iced water, the ride is indeed charming.”<sup>18</sup> Charging \$25 for the forty-seven mile ride, the Panama Railroad was begun in 1849 but was not completed until 1855. When he learned that yellow fever had broken out and that there was no guarantee of a ship on the other side to take him to San Francisco, he elected to go around the Horn. Like other immigrants, he was cheated by a dishonest captain and wound up travelling to Savannah, Liberia, Rio de Janeiro, and Valparaiso, before arriving in San Francisco a year after leaving New Orleans. Along the way, it was his expertise as a baker that enabled him to work at his various unplanned stops to earn enough funds to continue his journey.<sup>19</sup>

Other German immigrants attest to the difficulty of the long trip. Jacob Gundlach wrote in his diary that his journey lasted one year to reach California from his home in Lohr and that “I would neither wish any human being the same fate nor such a long

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<sup>18</sup>Quoted in Caughey, *Cornerstone*, 73.

<sup>19</sup>Bretting, “German Immigration,” 25. Caughey, *Cornerstone*, 73, 77. Cosgrove and Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 3, 204-5. Hammond, “German Interests,” 58.

trip.”<sup>20</sup> George Küner also landed in Rio when his ship sprung a leak. After going around the Horn, he was delayed a week in Valparaiso, but his trip took only six months, rather than one year for Bickel and Gundlach. Louis Lask clerked in New Orleans for four years, but when he left, he was delayed six weeks in Panama. Barbara Drüke testified that the trip across the Isthmus was not easy. She had travelled to La Havre, then to New York and then arrived in Panama in 1854, a year before the railroad was completed. She talked about riding astride like men on donkeys and at some junctures on the trail, and they had to tramp through the jungle with foliage up to their waist. Others reported smallpox, cholera and heavy rains during crossings in the late 1840s, plus murderous muleteers, high jackings and alligator infested waters during the late 40s, but better guides helped facilitate the passage by 1855.<sup>21</sup>

In the 1850s, migration chains often led through port cities of New York, Philadelphia, and New Orleans on the way to the midwest and California. Generally, the Germans preferred traveling and settling along waterways and rivers. Before the Civil War, the port of New York was the beginning of the long journey to the upper midwest and states such as Wisconsin, facilitated by the Erie Canal. By 1856, New York led in the number of newcomers, surpassing Philadelphia, but other popular ports included Baltimore, New Orleans and Charleston. From New Orleans, the typical travel pattern was up the Mississippi River to St. Louis and then into Missouri, Illinois and Ohio, looking for farmlands and previously established German settlements in which to settle.

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<sup>20</sup>Quoted in Clyde, “California Dream,” 9.

<sup>21</sup>Unfortunately, the letter Barbara wrote with the details of the trip is lost; however, her descendants remember her stories of yellow fever, anxieties over camping, and the deaths of a number of her party. Cosgrove and Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 56-77. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 19. Hittell, *History*, vol. III, 246. George Albrecht Ferdinand Küner, *Autobiography and Reminiscences*, Society of California Pioneers Collection, vol. 8, San Francisco. <http://www.oac.calif.org>. 57. Louis Lask, *Ibid.*, 66.

**Table 3.** Germans' Previous Residences in the United States (by percentages)

	San Francisco	Sacramento County	Yuba County		San Francisco	Sacramento County	Yuba County
<i>East</i>				<i>Midwest</i>			
New York	29.32	18.08	29.35	Missouri	4.28	20.65	9.55
Pennsylvania	4.45	5.71	5.65	Ohio	1.82	6.94	3.36
Massachusetts	2.47	3.07	2.12	Illinois	0.63	7.40	5.30
New Jersey	0.27		0.52	Wisconsin	0.21	2.46	2.30
3 or less*	0.32	0.31	0.52	Michigan	0.10	0.76	0.17
<i>Total East</i>	36.83	27.17	38.16	Iowa	0.10	3.69	1.06
				Indiana	0.32		1.06
<i>South</i>				<i>Total Midwest</i>	7.46	41.90	22.80
Louisiana	13.20	9.40	8.21				
Maryland	2.52	1.23	0.52	<i>Summary</i>			
South Carolina	1.87	0.76	0.70	United States:			
Alabama	0.81	0.76	1.06	<i>East</i>	36.83	27.17	38.16
Mississippi	0.64	0.62	1.06	<i>South</i>	20.54	16.47	13.29
Tennessee	0.43	0.46	0.17	<i>Midwest</i>	7.46	41.90	22.80
North Carolina	0.37		0.52	<i>Texas</i>	1.50	1.51	1.06
Kentucky	0.27	1.86			66.33	87.05	75.31
Virginia	0.27	0.62	0.35	<i>Foreign</i>	33.67	12.95	24.69
3 or less*	0.16	0.76	0.70	<i>Total</i>	100.00	100.00	100.00
	20.54	16.47	13.29				
<i>West</i>							
Texas	0.97	0.91	1.06				
California	0.37	0.15					
3 or less*	0.16	0.45					
<i>Total West</i>	1.50	1.51	1.06				

\*Others three or less: *East*: San Francisco: Connecticut - 3, Delaware, Maine, Vermont - 1 each. Sacramento Co.: New Hampshire, Rhode Island - 1 each. Yuba Co.: Connecticut, Rhode Island, Vermont - 1 each. *South*: San Francisco: Georgia - 3. Sacramento Co.: Georgia- 3, Florida, Yuba Co.: Georgia - 3, Florida - 1. *West*: San Francisco: Washington - 3. Sacramento Co.: Oregon - 3 Note: Neither Sacramento City nor Marysville are listed separately from their counties.

Source: 1852 Census

As many as two-thirds of the Germans arriving in St. Louis from 1848 to 1855, for example, had come by way of New Orleans, with the remaining one-third from the East Coast. By the 1850s, Germans lived in all these port cities and often formed societies to aid those following them.<sup>22</sup>

Rural farmers from Germany, after first stopping in the cities, moved into the countryside, often forming their own towns in the center of German-owned farms. Many, however, stayed in the cities on the East Coast and Midwest. These newcomers by 1850 constituted 26 percent of the total foreign-born American population and were more highly urbanized than those coming in the eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. In 1850, only 5 percent of the total population of the United States lived in cities, but almost 30 percent of all German-Americans lived in the eight largest cities and included families as well as unmarried men. Some chose to settle in Pennsylvania, the long-time center of German-born Americans, New York's *Kleindeutschland*, or New Orleans' growing German neighborhood. Urban locations such as Milwaukee and Cincinnati were attractive to the newcomers because the American-born elites were less numerous and the Germans had more opportunities to use their artisan and craft skills than in the newly industrializing east. The largest percentage of German settlers was in Wisconsin. Its largest city, Milwaukee, had a foreign-born population of 64 percent by 1850, and of

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<sup>22</sup>Bettina F. Cothran, "The Reception of Goethe in Charleston before the Civil War," *Southern Atlantic Review*, 59:1 (January, 1994): 89. Joseph Garonzik, "The Racial and Ethnic Make-up of Baltimore Neighborhoods, 1850-70," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 71:3 (Fall, 1976): 394, 397. Haller, *The ABC's*, 13, 15, 17-8. Leslie Ann Kawaguchi, "The Making of Philadelphia's German-America: Ethnic Group and Community Development, 1830-1883," (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1983). ProQuest (8326737), 3. Reinhard Kondert, "The New Orleans German Society, 1846-1928," *In Their Own Words* 3:2 (1986): 59. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *Ohio's German Heritage* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, Inc., 2002), 8. Louis Voss, D.D., *History of the German Society of New Orleans, With an Introduction Giving a Synopsis of the History of the Germans in the United States, with Special Reference to those in Louisiana* (New Orleans: Sendaker Printing Service, Inc., 1927), 62.

these, two-thirds were German. The city was thoroughly “Germanized.” The predominant language spoken on the streets was German, the beverages of bock and lager

**Table 4.** Germans Previous Residences in Foreign Countries (by percentages)

	San Francisco	Sacramento County	Yuba County				
FOREIGN							
<i>Europe</i>							
Germany	21.01	9.63	18.26	<i>Summary</i>			
England	2.85	0.76	0.35	United States:			
France	0.75	0.45	0.88	<i>East</i>	36.83	27.17	38.16
Belgium	0.27			<i>South</i>	20.54	16.47	13.29
Holland	0.54			<i>Midwest</i>	7.46	41.90	22.80
Spain	0.10			<i>Texas</i>	1.50	1.51	1.06
Switzerland	0.49		1.23		66.33	87.05	75.31
3 or less*	0.30	0.15	0.17	<i>Foreign</i>	33.67	12.95	24.69
<i>Total Europe</i>	26.31	10.99	20.89	<i>Total</i>	100.00	100.00	100.00
<i>South America</i>							
<i>Central America</i>	2.08	0.76	1.06				
<i>Mexico</i>	1.40	0.15					
<i>West Indies</i>	1.40	0.45	0.52				
	0.97	0.15	1.70				
<i>Australia</i>							
<i>South Pacific</i>	1.24	0.15	0.35				
<i>Asia</i>	0.10						
	0.16	0.15					
<i>Canada</i>		0.15	0.17				
<i>Total Foreign</i>	33.66	12.95	24.69				

*Europe:* San Francisco: Spain - 2, Denmark, Portugal, Russia, Trieste - 1 ea.  
Sacramento Co.: Austria - 1. Yuba Co.: Sweden - 1.

Note: Neither Sacramento City nor Marysville are listed separately from their counties.

Source: California Census, 1852.



beers and *Maiwein* advertised throughout the city were associated with the German culture, and the immigrants formed ethnically bound fraternal associations for neighborhood support. In Ohio, the number of Germans was so large that, in 1817, the state legislature authorized the printing of state laws and the constitution in German. Cincinnati became a major destination for Germans, and by 1850 they constituted 30 percent of the city's population. Milwaukee, St Louis and Cincinnati constituted a "German triangle" because of the high concentration of immigrants from the "fatherland." In New York City, the Germans formed a ghetto, *Kleindeutschland*, where, as in Milwaukee, English was rarely heard. Germans supported businesses, schools, churches, a library, a *Volkstheater*, and a number of beer saloons. Cities attracted young, single men, willing to live in boarding houses or hotels to keep their expenses low. When the news of the discovery of gold in California was broadcast across the United States, both rural and urban Germans were intrigued by the possibility of instant riches or of economic prospects in new businesses. Because Sacramento, Marysville and Stockton were founded by Germans, newcomers could expect to find countrymen who practiced the traditions of the "fatherland" and who would help them find both employment and friendships.<sup>23</sup>

Most German-born immigrants did not travel directly to urban California. Based on answers they gave to the 1852 census takers, Tables 3 and 4, Germans' Prior

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<sup>23</sup>Billigheimer, *Americans*, 51, 61. Bodnar, *Transplanted*, 172. Charles W. Bryan, Jr., "From Marthasville to Marysville in 1850," *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, 19:2 (St. Louis: The Society, 1963): 115-6. Peter Randolph Decker, "Social Mobility on the Urban Frontier: The San Francisco Merchants, 1850-1880, (Ph.D. Diss., Columbia University, 1974), ProQuest (9507490), 65. Faust, *German Element*, vol. 2, 439, 466. Furer, *Germans*, 38-9, 44. Gudde, *German Pioneers*, 7, 16, 22. Hammond, "German Interests," 24, 26-7, 31. Kamphoefner, *Westfalians*, 5-6, 77-79, 81, 84; \_\_\_\_\_, Helbich and Sommer, *News*, 12, 16. Theodore Mueller, "Milwaukee's German Cultural Heritage," *Milwaukee History* 10:3 (1987): 108. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *Ohio*, 9, 12, 13. Trautmann, Frederick, ed., and trans, "Wisconsin Through a German's Eyes in 1855: The Travels of Johann George Kohl," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 67:4 (1984):263. Wittke, *Germans in America*, 9.

Residences in the United States and Europe, list the places they stopped on their journeys. The first wave of Germans to California came from nearby geographical areas in the United States, and most arrived with the idea of quickly finding gold and returning home.<sup>24</sup> Over the decade, however, more and more the number of German immigrants came from Europe or the United States to start businesses. As Table 4 illustrates, in 1852, only 33.67 percent of the Germans travelled directly from Europe to San Francisco 12.95 percent to Sacramento County, and 24.69 percent to Yuba County (Neither Sacramento City nor Marysville were listed as a separate community in that Census.). The remainder stopped first in the United States, the East, South or Midwest. Language problems and how the census taker described “residence” could affect the listings. They may not have asked how long the immigrants stayed in each place; therefore, a stopover of just a few days could be recorded the same as a stay of a few years. Despite this problem, the totals listed for each stop-over still indicate the itinerary the immigrants chose. It is not surprising that so many indicated they came directly from Germany. Those indicating other European countries probably stayed a few days in England or France, for example, before embarking on their journey. The same may be true for those from other foreign areas as only a few declaring them as residence. It is impossible to determine whether the immigrants, always listed as born in Germany, actually lived in these exotic destinations for some period of time or were there for only a day or two.

The figures in Table 3 show that the vast majority of immigrants arriving in San Francisco, Sacramento and Marysville stopped over or lived in one of the United States. The large number declaring New York or Louisiana or Missouri as a prior residence are

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<sup>24</sup>Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 23-25.

likely because the entry ports of New York City and New Orleans and the transshipment center of St. Louis where they switched from boat to wagon are in those states.

Immigrants would stop there, if not for a day or two, to gather more financial resources for the trip west. Barbara Bickel, for example, stayed two weeks in New York, recovering from her illnesses and borrowing money to continue. Several successful San Franciscans and residents of Marysville also stopped there before traveling on to establish successful businesses in the West.<sup>25</sup> Despite the large numbers of Germans in New York's *Kleindeutschland*, many were lured by the discovery gold and its attendant business opportunities, hoping to escape the hardships of unemployment caused depressions and the horrible housing conditions. They learned of and took advantage of the transportation networks developing to California. Those declaring the State of New York as a prior residence could include newcomers from Buffalo with its well developed German neighborhood, 43 percent of the population in 1855, because the newcomers encountered caustic relationships with their Anglo neighbors. In the South, both Baltimore and Charleston had German neighborhoods, and the temptation of gold does not seem to have influenced many to leave there.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>San Francisco's grocers John and Henry Pforr, dry goods merchant Henry Newstadler, tobacco merchant, George Hobe, restaurateur Jacob Oberneur and entrepreneur Christian Russ are all examples. Marysville's billiard table maker Nicholas Schaub, and hotelier John Kohlman are more examples. *California Census, 1852*. DAR, "San Francisco." A. W. Morgan & Co., *San Francisco Directory, September 1852* (San Francisco: F. Bonnard, 1852). Colville, *San Francisco Directory, 1856*. Harris, Bogardus & Lebatt, *1856*. Langley, *1858; 1859; 1860*. LeCount and Strong, *1854*. Parker, *1852-3*. *U. S. Census, 1860*.

<sup>26</sup>The Buffalo Commercial Advisor describes the enclave as "little American as the duchy of Hesse Cassel," inhabited by "the most worthless pauper in Europe . . . reeking with filth and ignorant as swine." Quoted in Andrew P. Vox, "Bonds of Community: Buffalo's German Element, 1853-1871," *New York History* 66:2 (1985): 144. Cosgrove and Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 54-5. Jay P. Dolan, *The Immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966), 32-5. Nadel, *Little Germany*, 63. Vox, "Buffalo," 142, 4, 148-51.

The fact that New Orleans was a major port city could account for the high number calling Louisiana a former residence, but it did have a large, influential German enclave numbering 10 percent of the city's population in 1850. Its German Society of New Orleans was very active, helping as many as 240,000 immigrants during its history. There was conflict within the group over slavery when educated Germans arrived during the 50s which may have persuaded the Germans to come to California. The relatively higher numbers from the state of Missouri document Germans traveling via the river port of St. Louis as well as those who had settled earlier there during the 1830s or 40s. St. Louis was an inland transshipment port for immigrants going to the Midwestern states such as Ohio and Illinois in the 1840s, but it could also have been a departure port for those coming to California via the Mississippi River or overland wagon trains. Duden's book praising Missouri plus his published letters in the *Missouri Statesman* attracted the unprepared and unskilled Latin Farmers who, after unsuccessfully attempting to settle, were tempted to come to California.<sup>27</sup> The German-born travelling on these routes, if they stopped in St. Louis, could have indicated Missouri as a prior residence. Because the 1852 census included all of Sacramento County, farmers cultivating the fertile Sacramento Valley could have inflated these numbers, adding to those such as tobacconist Benjamin Schloss who merely stopped briefly in St. Louis or other Missouri towns. Again, these declarations may not be as firm as they appear. For example, where would Johan Bickel have declared – Liberia, Georgia, Brazil or Valparaiso? The

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<sup>27</sup> Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 23-5. DuBois and Schweppe, *Germans*, 54-5. Garonzik, "Baltimore," 394, 396-8. Kondert, "New Orleans," 67. Arthur H. Moehlenbrock, "The German Drama on the Charleston Stage," *Furman University Bulletin*, no. 1 (1954): 32. Voss, "New Orleans," 74.

**Table 5.** Length of Residences

		Family Units	1 Year	2 Years	3 or more Years
<b>San Francisco</b>					
	1852	2,014	1,595	134	285
Percent of the total			79.2%	6.6%	14.2%
		1,749	413	534	802
Percent of the total			23.6%	30.5%	45.6%
<b>Sacramento*</b>					
	1852	662	552	35	75
Percent of the total			83.4%	5.2%	11.3%
		373	166	61	146
Percent of the total			33.4%	16.4%	39.1%
<b>Marysville**</b>					
	1852	565	540	12	13
Percent of the total			95.6%	2.2%	2.3%
		412	276	38	98
Percent of the total			67.1%	9.2%	23.7%

*Sources: 1852 California Census, City Directories 1852 - 1860.*

\*1852 figures includes Sacramento County

\*\*1859 figures from 1860 directory dated 1859.

important fact is that the majority of German-born resided either briefly or longer in the United States, perhaps already learning English to facilitate their enterprises in urban California.

Over the decade, not only did the number of Germans immigrating to urban California increase, but those who stayed longer than one year increased as well. The

percentage of Germans comprising San Francisco's total population in San Francisco doubled from 1852 (8.5 percent) to 1860 (16.8 percent). Sacramento's German population grew less quickly, but by 1860 it was large enough (11.9 percent) to have an impact on the city's development. Similarly in Marysville, the German population by 1860 (11.4 percent) was large enough to be factor in the city's growth. Tracking the family units between 1852 and 1859 reveals why the Germans were so influential in the three cities. Table 5, Length of Residence, demonstrates that in all three cities the number of family units that stayed three or more years exploded by 1859 and that many of the time residents were still living there in 1859.<sup>28</sup> In San Francisco, 564 of the 830 family units who had resided there three or more years stayed for three consecutive years, and most were still there in 1859. In Sacramento, most of the 146 family units who resided three or more years lived there in consecutive years, and most were still there in 1859. In Marysville, of the 98 three year residents, only 36 were there consecutively and still there in 1859. Table 5 also shows how, in the early years of the decade, most of the residents were there only one year: San Francisco, 79.2 percent Sacramento, 83.4 percent and Marysville, 95.6 percent. This is not surprising because many of those who came to find their fortunes in the early years of the decade did not linger in the cities but went immediately to the gold fields and many of these left California after one, or at the most two, years and returned home.

Johann Bickel is one example. He arrived in San Francisco, went on to Sacramento, then left to go back to Germany after a few years. Other examples include D. D. Demarest who went from Sacramento to Marysville to reunite with friends where

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<sup>28</sup>A single, unattached resident, a married couple, a married couple with children, or a single head of household that includes children such as a widow or widower constitute a family unit.

they went on to the gold fields. Prominent artist, Charles Nahl arrived in California and Sacramento in 1852, but he returned to San Francisco to join his brothers Adolph and Arthur and his mother after the 1852 Sacramento fire destroyed his work. The son of a Lutheran pastor who became famous for his later excavations of ancient Troy, Henrich Schleimann, became ill while searching for gold and came to Sacramento in 1851 to open a bank which ultimately failed. An example of a German immigrant who truly took time to settle down is Fritz Boehmer who started in San Francisco, went gold mining outside Stockton, returned to San Francisco, ventured to Marysville, came back to San Francisco, went to Sacramento, then ranched in the San Francisco bay area, and then returned to San Francisco where he married. He finally settled in Colombia in 1859. Future sugar monopolist Claus Spreckles started in San Francisco but then travelled to Marysville to look for economic opportunities.<sup>29</sup> By tracking the German immigrants by name, one finds at least seventy-six who moved freely between San Francisco, Sacramento and Marysville. But the important finding is the increase in each city of long-term, permanent German residents, proof of their long term commitment to their new homes. These newcomers would be anxious to create stability and livability and would want to work with their Anglo neighbors to achieve these goals.

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<sup>29</sup>Nahl's well-known paintings about gold rush California were based on his prospecting experiences. His most famous, "Sunday Morning in the Mines" was painted in 1872. He and his brother designed the California Bear Flag. Caughey, *Cornerstone*, 283. John E. Baur, "Californians Elsewhere: The Golden State's Nineteenth-Century Citizens at Large, *Southern California Quarterly* LXVI:2 (Summer, 1984): 98. James Harvey Berner, "A History of Lutheran Churches in Sacramento, 1851-1925." (master's thesis, California State University at Sacramento, 1967), 1. Boehmer, *Autobiography*, 141-169. *California Census 1852*. Colville, *San Francisco 1856*. Cosgrove and Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 40-1. DAR, "Sacramento." Gudde, *German Pioneers*, 16. Harris, Bogardus and LeBatt, *1856*. Langley, *1858; 1859; 1860*. LeCount and Strong, *1854*. Parker, *1852-3*. Robert Phelps, "All Hands," 115. Severson, *Sacramento*, 160. Von Hagen, *Germanic People*, 307.

This desire for an infrastructure contributing to a stable home and workplace grew with the increasing number of German families in urban California. Table 6, Marriage Statistics, shows the increase in number of families, both with and without children. The

**TABLE 6.** Marriage Statistics

	Individuals	Unmarried	Married	Married with Child	Single Parent with Child
<b>San Francisco</b>					
1852	2,020	1,837 91.5%	66 3.3%	102 5.1%	15 0.1%
1859	4,831	3,201 66.4%	429 8.8%	1113 23.0%	88 1.8%
<b>Sacramento City/Co.</b>					
1852	662	587 88.7%	75 11.3%	0 0	0 0
1860	993	700 70.5%	57 5.7%	223 22.5%	13 1.3%
<b>Marysville/Yuba Co.</b>					
1852	565	539 95.4%	18 3.2%	8 3.2%	0 0.0%
1860	412	293 71.2%	25 6.1%	86 20.8%	8 1.9%

*Sources: 1852 State Census, 1860 Federal Census, 1852 and 1860 City Directories.*

Note: The figures for 1852 are for Sacramento County, 1860 for Sacramento City.

single parent families were often widows or widowers who lost their partners during their stay in San Francisco, Sacramento or Marysville and elected to stay. Single men still



constituted a majority in all three cities, but many of the married families, with and without children, are among those who stayed at least three years in their new homes. In Marysville in 1860, for example, hatter Louis Feder, assayer Henry Harris, and musician Fred Grambss all had families with children. Many German San Franciscans settled there with families for three or more years, including brewer Hugh Schenk, engraver Albert Küner, musician Joseph Smith, and restaurateur John Landsburger. Those who elected to stay and raise families in these three Californian cities rather than return home to Germany or the United States were part of the German communities that helped provide stability and growth.<sup>30</sup> Illustrations of Oscar Handlin's isolated individual in a crisis, Bodnar's ethnically center enclave, and Walter Kamphoefner's immigrants following previously arrived family members in a chain migration were common in California, but sometimes the behavior of the Germans gave these premises a slight California deviation.

Oscar Handlin's isolated individual living in a cultural crisis could easily describe the large number of transient, unmarried Germans living in all three cities. Farmers from America's Midwest had been "pushed" to California by frustrations they found with unfamiliar farming practices, geography and water-borne diseases. Many arrived with high expectations but found mining profits difficult to obtain and achieve when the mines petered out and farming in California was hard due to lack of rain and available irrigation, leading them to feel isolated and alone. They would want to return back home to familiarity and companionship. August Blümmer, who wrote such an enthusiastic letter home, had left his wife and children in Missouri, died in California and was buried

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<sup>30</sup>Amy and O., 1856; \_\_\_\_\_, and Smith, 1859. *California Census, 1852*. Colville, *Marysville Directory for the Year Commencing November 1, 1855* (San Francisco: Monson & Valentine, 1855).; *San Francisco, 1856*. DAR, "Marysville." C. P. Hale and Fred Emory, *Marysville City Directory: August, 1853* (Marysville: Marysville Herald Office, 1853). Langley, 1858; 1859; 1860. *United States Census, 1860*.

in an unknown grave by a fellow German. His brother, Carl, wrote that August left nothing behind; therefore, no one would ever know if he had in fact discovered the gold he sought. Barbara Drüke's letters are filled with wistful wishes to return home and see her mother and sisters.<sup>31</sup> When the immigrants, not only German but all newcomers, sought, treasured and coveted letters from families back home, demonstrating their sense of isolation. The U.S. Post Office was unprepared for the fast growth of California's population, and confusion reigned in all three cities. Letters could be lost in transit or even misaddressed. Barbara, for example, experienced long bouts of homesickness when letters from home were incorrectly addressed in care of Mr. Henry rather than Charles Heinrich and held up in the confusion at the Post Office. The *Placer Times* complained that "the 'Regular Mail' is a regular humbug, is stuck in the mud half the time, and might as well be the other half . . . We understand that the Postmaster cannot afford to employ clerks." In Sacramento, the mail center was opened twelve hours a day but lines stretched around the block. Some waited all night until windows opened the next day. The *California Alta* printed long lists of addressees in San Francisco who had not picked up their mail, yet the newspaper also complained about the delays at the post office. The German-language paper, the *Staats-Zeitung*, printed lists of addressees hoping to aid Germans get news from home. When the Pony Express arrived in San Francisco, the joyous reception the residents gave it staged testifies how isolated the Californians and San Franciscans felt.<sup>32</sup> An editorial in the *Marysville Herald* in 1850 attests to Handlin's description of the newcomers:

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<sup>31</sup>Cosgrove and Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 61. Handlin, *The Uprooted*, 4, 6, 11, 62. Kamphoefner, Helbich, and Sommer, *News*, 112.

<sup>32</sup>Because both issues of the extant *Staats-Zeitung* have long lists of names, it is acceptable to assume other issues did as well, following the example of the Anglo newspapers. *Staats-Zeitung*, 1852,

But here has been different [than in any other country]. Large cities have sprung into existence almost in a day. It has been an emigration of individuals, not of families. . . Their hearts have been left at left at home . . . They have considered that this is but a temporary stopping place for them, they have not all been called upon to do anything for California but all for themselves.<sup>33</sup>

One could believe that the majority of German and other immigrants might have continued with this negativity, but looking at how many Germans stayed and settled in San Francisco, Sacramento and Marysville and where they resided indicates that they chose to live in neighborhoods where they could enjoy fellowship while celebrating their culture.

Bodnar stated that immigrants from all foreign countries created neighborhoods based on culture, ideology and orientation and that newcomers preferred to live close to those of the same ethnic group, constituting a closely-bound neighborhood complete with associations and cultural centers. Rather than Bodnar's closely knit enclave, the term "neighborhood" in this study defines not a closed society but a sense of place, an area recognized by both inhabitants and outsiders as distinctly "German." It can be based on residence but also can be spatially clustered or dispersed throughout a city. Boundaries may not be static, and the neighborhood would seldom be exclusively German, though German may have predominated. A "community" is an overall area in a city of those who share customs and language. Boundaries of these communities are not necessarily sharp and defined, and members don't necessarily live close together – it is language that binds them together. Its members would travel from the various areas of the city to

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1853. Abbott, *Cities Won the West*, 27. Cosgrove and Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 61, 72-3. Holliday, *World Rushed In*, 310-11. Marks, *Precious Dust*, 312. *San Francisco Herald*, April 13, 1860.

<sup>33</sup>Quoted in Holliday, *World Rushed In*, 369.

enjoy companionship and traditions, some from distances from an ethnic neighborhood.<sup>34</sup> In urban California, the Germans had a tendency to seek out fellow newcomers when looking for a home, but they never created a closely bounded neighborhood, or enclave, such as those found in the cities of the northeast and Midwest where the German culture was most visible. The cities in California grew incredibly fast, over only a few years; therefore, there was not an opportunity to create a *Kleindeutschland* such as that in New York City, or strongly identifiable neighborhoods such as in Buffalo, Cincinnati or Milwaukee. In Milwaukee, for example, since the Germans were approximately 43 percent of the city's population, there was less pressure for newcomers to interact with Anglo neighbors.<sup>35</sup>

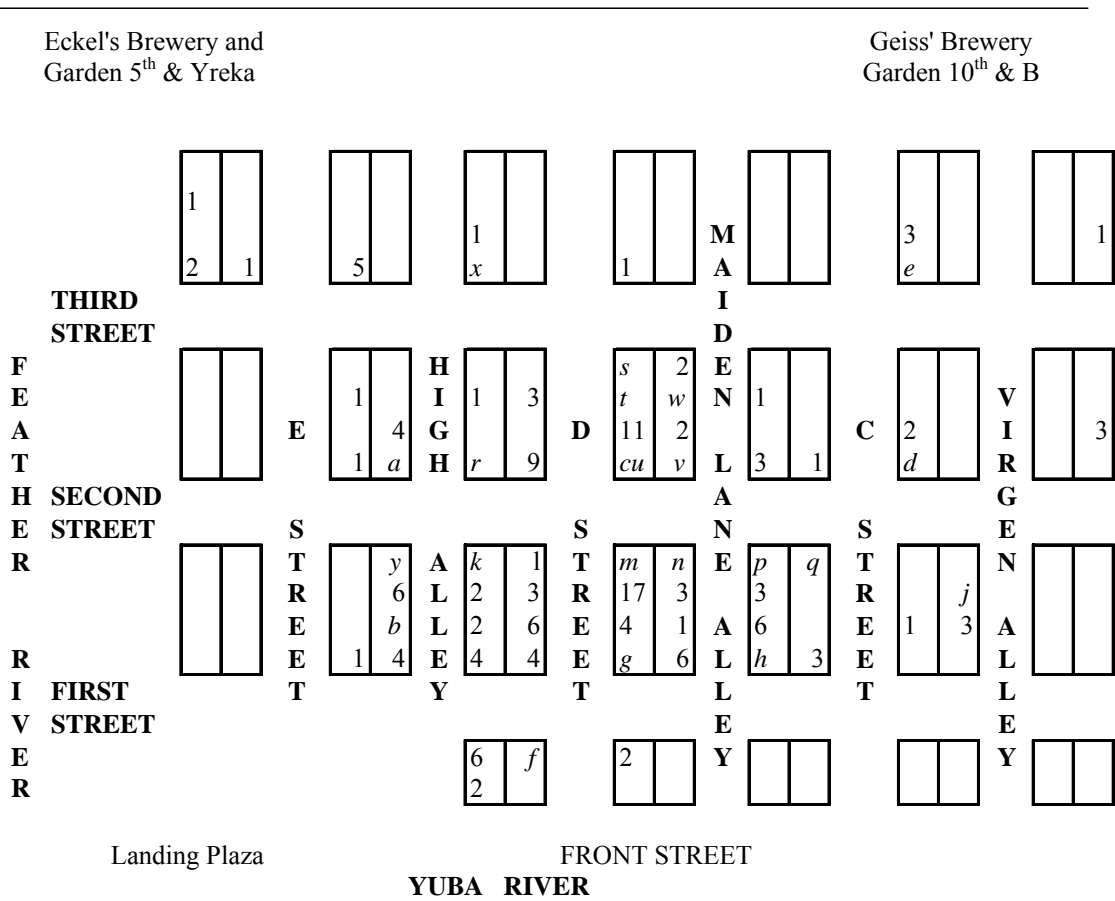
Ethnic communities in urban California and other American enclaves continued the cultural traditions and rituals the newcomers brought from their "fatherland." In a sense, they were part of an imagined community that extended into all three cities and beyond into the eastern United States and beyond that into Germany. Benedict Anderson articulated this concept to describe groups with a cultural and/or ethnic affinity where members were not bound by political borders, emphasizing that the spirit of nationalism crossed these borders and bound similar peoples together. When reviewing the Censuses and newspaper articles over the decade, one finds that the immigrants increasingly called themselves "German" even though the country did not exist as a political entity until

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<sup>34</sup>Brian Godfrey's concept of neighborhood and Manning's of community are used here. Godfrey, *Neighborhoods*, 24-6. Francis Manning, *Migration in World History* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 3-4. Berquest explains that Germans generally went beyond being an ethnic group to being a community where unity is only symbolic. James M. Berquist, "German Communities in America Cities: An Interpretation of the Nineteenth-Century Experience," *Journal of Ethnic History* 4:1 (1984): 16.

<sup>35</sup>Bodnar, *Transplanted*, xvii, 15, 142, 172, 205. Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, 5-7, 156; "Phantom Landscapes," 11. Dolan, *Immigrant Church*, 20-1, 37. Theodore Mueller, "Milwaukee's German Cultural Heritage," *Milwaukee History* 10:3 (1987), 98. Nadel, *Little Germany*, 4, 13, 37. Trautmann, "Wisconsin," 23. Vox, "Buffalo, 141.

**Table 7. Settlement Patterns in Marysville**



Key:

- a St. Charles Hotel (formerly German)*
- b William Tell House*
- c Western House*
- d Philadelphia House*
- e United States Hotel*
- f D'Artney's Saloon*
- g Phoenix Saloon*
- h Marble Piller Saloon*
- j Armer's Restaurant*
- k City Bar*
- m Oregon City Bar*
- n Tremont Saloon*
- p Fremont Saloon*
- q Glassen's Saloon*
- r Mechanics' Exchange*
- s Theater Saloon*
- t Pioneer Liquors*
- u Empire Saloon*
- v Town Talk Saloon*
- w Keller's Liquors*
- x Spring House*
- y Young America Saloon*
- Z Turner Hall*

Source: Wescott and Watson, Official Map of the City of Marysville, 1856. 1856 Marysville City Directory.

1871. Faced with regional linguist Germanic dialects, plus the problem of communicating with the Anglo majority in English, the newcomers would be forced to

use *hoch deutsch*, the common form of the German language generally universally understood.<sup>36</sup> Because the German newcomers in Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco still prominently practiced the traditions of their homeland and clung somewhat to their birth language, the ethnic communities extended across the cities of Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco, into California and beyond, but the neighborhoods and communities developed differently in each.

Marysville, the third largest city in urban California, had a population smaller than Sacramento (4,740 in 1860 compared to 13,785) and much smaller than San Francisco (56,826) and this influenced their pattern of settlement. By tracking individual Germans and their addresses in the 1856 City Directory, one finds that they clustered together within a few blocks around the main business area as shown in Table 7, but they did not dominate the area and integrated with their Anglo neighbors. According to the 1856 map of Marysville, a block was divided into four units facing the street, but each block could contain one- or two-room business establishments or multi-stored brick buildings. The number in each block specifies the number of Germans living inside. Not surprisingly, the main business district surrounded by E, First, C and Third Streets had a high concentration of German newcomers. The italicized letters show the location of the German owned and/or operated hotels, saloons or restaurants in the area, and these catered to both Germans and Anglos.<sup>37</sup> Most of Marysville's inhabitants, Anglo and

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<sup>36</sup>Anderson, *Imagined, Communities*, 6-7, 14, 19, 84, 138, 184. Alon Confino looks at Germany and the growth of the national cultural image of *Heimat*. His concept of collective memory can also be applied to the mid-nineteenth century Germans in California as they define themselves culturally as "German," ignoring political birth origin. Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 8-10, 97-8

<sup>37</sup>The year 1856 was the beginning of a more settled population in both Marysville and Sacramento; thus, it is a good example of how the Germans settled. N. Wescott and W. S. Watson, comp. *The Official Map of the City of Marysville, California* (San Francisco: Britton & Rey, 1856). Amy and O., 1856, 11-20.

German, were single men; therefore, many probably lived at their place of business in order to be close to their customers. Germans could easily visit the twenty-three hotels and saloons operated by their countrymen where they could join their fellow newcomers socially, communicating in the “mother tongue” and enjoy rituals and customs brought from the fatherland. The eight blocks were not an enclave such as one finds in older cities because they were not exclusively German, but a loosely formed residential neighborhood. The Germans’ living and socializing within easy walking distance from one another would create a sense of belonging together as a community while still interacting with Anglo neighbors.

In Sacramento, the Germans tended to gather, as Bodnar postulated, in a neighborly fashion along the main business street, choosing like those in Marysville to live near their place of business. The 1856 Directory lists the addresses of those born in Germany as well as that of the German owned businesses. Again, tracking these residents and establishments provides a visual picture of the pattern of settlement. In Table 8, each city block or square has the number of the German residents inside that block. Addresses were sometimes indefinite, but the general location of the Germans’ homes is reasonably accurate. German businesses and residents clustered in the business district along J and K, the main thoroughfare, but they extended out to the northwest section of town. That year, eight German-operated hotels were close to another between 205 and 306 on J streets. In 1853, five of them, plus one close to the docks, were all operated by Germans and could have been recommended in letters or directions given to family members or friends back home. Barbara Drüke stayed at the U. S. Hotel on J Street operated by family friend John Hauck for her first stay in Sacramento on the

strength of just such a recommendation.<sup>38</sup> Although both Germans and Anglos lived in the hotels, the owners actively solicited German newcomers which could account for the

**Table 9.** Settlement Patterns in Sacramento in 1856

STREETS																	
	Front	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
																	A
S																	B
A									2								C
C								1									D
R										1							E
A						1	4				1						F
M						2	2				1	**					G
E						1		2	1		1	1					H
N		7	1	6	4			2	2								I
T		13	14	20	6	15	17	7*	5	16	11	9	8	2	3		J
O	MAIN BUSINESS STREET																
	2	8	5	7	6	13	1	6	1	3#	2	1	1	1		1	K
R		1	2	5	2	3		4	2	1	3	1		1			L
I			3		6		1	1	1	1		1	1				M
V	4	2	1	3	4			6	1	1							N
E			2	2	2											1	O
R					2												P
																	Q

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

Source: 1856 Sacramento City Directory

<sup>38</sup>Colville lists the hotel addresses as: Sierra Nevada, 252 J Street; St. Louis, 255 J Street; Wm. Tell House, 256 J Street; Kossuth, 266 J Street, Fr. Rhine House, 268 J Street; U. S. Hotel, 272 J Street (there were two; the other was at 43 Front Street); Globe, 291 J Street; Illinois, 297 J Street; and National, 306-308 J Street (again there were two; the other was at 14 K Street). Colville, *Sacramento, 1856*. Colville, 1853, 107-8. Cosgrove and Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 58.



high number of Germans among their guests. Johann Bickel recounts:

On April 11th, 1853, at two o'clock in the morning, we arrived in Sacramento. As soon as our ship had made fast, porters came from the various hotels to get our patronage. A strapping young German fellow, who heard that I had much influence with the passengers, induced me to go with him to his hotel. Most of the travelers followed me to this house where we were well received and splendidly taken care of.<sup>39</sup>

With these aggressive businessmen, whether hotel operators or others looking to attract both German and Anglo customers, newcomers looking for the comfort of those of like backgrounds tended to gather in Sacramento's neighborhoods – the sense of place is there but much less defined than in Marysville. Their community is more diffused and spread throughout the city.

Because the San Francisco city directories did not include birth origins, one cannot create a similar graphic for 1856. One could list only those who were additionally listed in the 1852 or 1860 census and none others, presenting a skewed picture. In order to provide a more complete listing of Germans, the figures in Table 9, German Residences in San Francisco by 1860 Voting district, are based on those listed as the census takers recorded the residents, by the Election Districts. The table shows the percentage of German-born living in each district, together with the location of the major German-based institutions. District 7, bounded by Market, DuPont (also known as Grant Avenue), and Pine Streets contained the financial district as well as portions of the major north-south streets of Montgomery, Sansome, and Battery where they intersect with Market. In addition to Pine Street boundary, it contains portions of other major east-west streets of Bush, Sutter, Geary and Sutter. It was the major commercial area of San

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<sup>39</sup>Cosgrove and Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 40.

Francisco, and it is not surprising that the highest percentage of Germans, 30.41 percent lived there. Both contemporaries and later historians remark that the Germans congregated in large numbers at the end of Montgomery Street to be near their businesses, the same as in Sacramento and Marysville.<sup>40</sup>

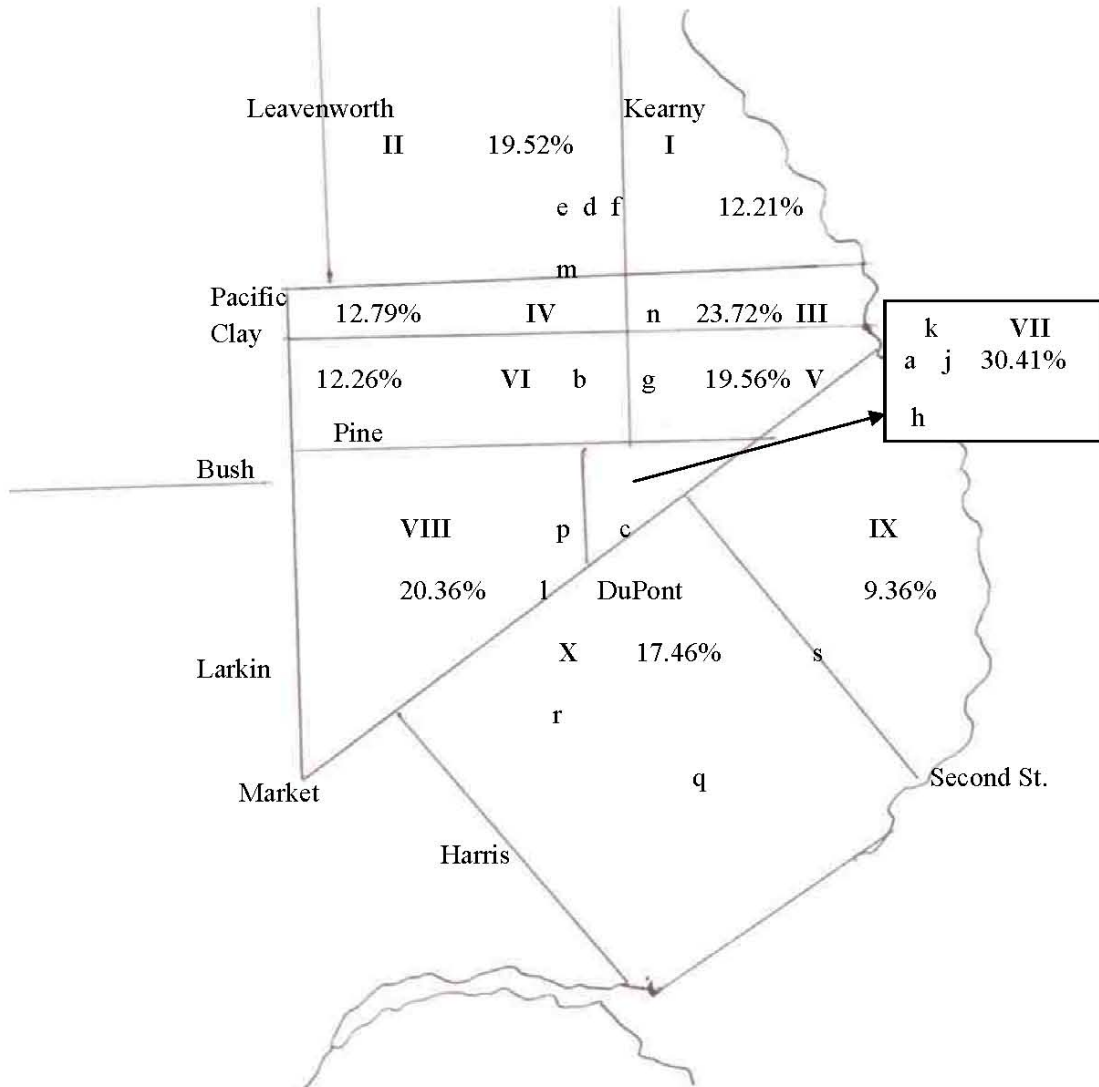
But the census figures for District 7 reveal that merchants constituted a part of the population, but that artisans and laborers lived there also. They included shoemaker John Schulz, Carpenter D. Clement, and Tailor George Brema and their families as well as laborer Cornelius Stein, to mention on a few. Some German men were married to women from other countries: Henry Myers' wife was Irish, C. Bogassen's was Swedish, and John Korb's was from New York. In some boarding houses may have been entirely German, but residents from other countries, particularly Ireland, and from the United States lived in them. An unusual proprietor was widow Louisa Walters who had a child and operated a boarding house in the District and her guests were multi-national. Three important German institutions were located in District 7: St. Boniface Church (the German Roman Catholic Church) and the headquarters of the San Francisco *Turnverein* and the German Club. Also, there was the odd Fellows Hall where all the local lodges met, the one German lodge and all the Anglo lodges. The District certainly did not constitute a German neighborhood such as those in Sacramento or Marysville as 70 percent of those working or living there were not German, but it could be considered the center of the German community which spread out over the entire city.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Lotchin explains how the retail and wholesale merchants and the middle class packed together downtown to be close to the wharves at the end of Montgomery street where water wells were available and warehouses were built on piles in the water to avoid fees. Lotchin, *San Francisco*, 15-19. *Alta California*, June 6, 1858. Bancroft, *History*, 186-9. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 205.

<sup>41</sup> Langley, 1860. Muscatine, *Old San Francisco*, 112-3. *United States Census*, 1860.

**Table 7.** Percentage of German Residents in Francisco 1860 Voting Districts



Source: 1860 Census, 1859 and 1860 San Francisco City Directories

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| a. St. Boniface Church (Sutter between Montgomery and Kearny)          | h. San Francisco Turnverein (140 Kearny)                   |
| b. German Evangelical Church (Stockton and Sacramento)                 | j. German Club (136 Montgomery)                            |
| c. German Methodist Church (Pine and Dupont)                           | k. Odd Fellows Hall (Kearny and Bush)                      |
| d. German M. E. Church (Broadway between Stockton and Powell)          | l. Harmonic Society (270 Stockton)                         |
| e. Congregation Emanu-El (Broadway between Powell and Mason)           | m. German Glee Club (Broadway between Stockton and Dupont) |
| f. Congregation Sherith Israel (Stockton between Broadway and Vallejo) | n. Mason Lodge (Kearny and Washington)                     |
| g. Turnverein Society (California and Kearny)                          | p. Turnverein Hall (Bush at Stockton)                      |
|  | q. German Hospital (Brannan near Third)                    |
|  | r. Russ Gardens (Sixth and Harrison)                       |
|  | s. Volks Garden (Second and Folsom)                        |

Adjacent to District 7, District 8 contained 20.36 percent Germans, not a majority but a relatively high percentage. It contained the *Turnverein* Hall which served as an assembly hall for many of the German associations. Members of the *Turnverein*, for example, would gather to conduct torchlight parades before their annual *Maifest* celebrations or to parade from the Hall to the Russ Gardens in District 10 for an outdoor festival and dance. The Anglo associations also used the Turnverein Hall for assemblies and performances. Indeed, the editors of the *Herald* recorded the proprietors' remodeling and efforts to solve the problem of the steep hill on Bush Street leading up to Stockton. The singing society, the Harmonic Society, which included a number of Germans in their membership, also headquartered in District 8 and used the Hall for a number of their performances, but other German institutions were scattered around the city.<sup>42</sup>

Although St. Boniface was in District 7, the other religious institutions were located away from that center. The two Jewish synagogues, Congregation Emanu-El and Congregation Sherith Israel were both located in District 2, quite a distance from the merchant area of District 7. Both the congregations were established early in the city's history, in 1850, and over the decade became a magnet for the wealthier German Jewish merchants as well as Jewish artisans and craftsmen. They chose to live away from the hustle and bustle of the mercantile district where many conducted their business.<sup>43</sup> The

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<sup>42</sup>Meetings held in the *Turnverein* Hall included the first session of the Vigilance Committee of 1856. Byington, *History*, 259. *Herald*, July 28, 1855; August 7, 1855.

<sup>43</sup>Bavarian Germans dominated in the Emanu-El congregation and Polish, Russians and English in Sherith Israel congregation. Assuming membership in the congregations' affiliated benevolent societies documented temple membership, a number of Germans moved to Sherith Isreal, including Louis Cohn, L. Crambach, A. Silversmith, S. T. Meyer, Henry and Jesse Seligmann, and H. J. Labatt. S. Sonenthal joined Emanu-el's benevolent society in 1854 but changed to Sherith Israel's in 1855. *Alta California*, March 11, 1954. Eisenberg, *Jews of the Pacific Coast*, 39. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 82. Mark L.

Protestant German churches were spread around the city. The German Evangelical Church was in District 6, the German Methodist Church on the border of District 10, and the German M. E. Church close to the Jewish synagogues in District 2. The fact that the religious institutions were scattered throughout the city rather than being clustered where the highest percentage of Germans lived in District 7 confirms that the ethnic community extended beyond a definition of exclusive residential neighborhood.

In his study of the merchant class of San Francisco, Peter Decker argues that the foreign-born, including the Germans, did not segregate themselves significantly in any one district out of proportion to the native born. The population figures in the voting districts in 1860 only underscore that all classes of Germans lived all over the area, creating a city-wide community. This is confirmed by the far-flung locations of other important German institutions. The *Turnverein* Society, one of the most active of the ethnically based associations, was headquartered in District 5 at California and Kearny, adjacent to District 7 but beyond walking distance. The San Francisco *Turnverein*, a sister society, was located on Kearny close to Market Street in District 7. Both were extremely active in planning social events, gymnastic exhibitions, and meetings for the German community, but were located beyond walking distance from each other. The German Glee Club, another musical association, was located in District 2, close to the Jewish synagogues and the German M. E. Church in District 2, again far from District 7. A most important institution, the German Hospital built by the German Benevolent Society, was located quite a distance from District 7 at Brannon near Third in District 10. The major outdoor entertainment centers for the Germans, Russ Gardens and the Volks

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Gerstle, *Memoirs*, Manuscript, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Luckingham, "Benevolence," 440. Rosenbaum, *Cosmopolitans*, 15-6. Zarchin, *Jewish Life*, 60-1, 153.

Gardens, were almost in the “suburbs” in Districts 9 and 10. All of the districts except two had at least a 10 percent population of Germans. The exceptions were northwestern District 12 with 7.49 percent and the southeastern District 9 with 9.96 percent. The community of Germans, those who could feel fellowship with others from the “fatherland,” extended beyond any neighborhood of place as one would likely find another German-speaking San Franciscan living close by. A visitor in 1854 listed the foreign enclaves he saw, Spanish, French, Italian and Chinese, but, reflecting the diffusion of the Germans across the city, did not discover any German “quarter.”<sup>44</sup>

Some of this diffusion can be explained by Walter Kamphoefner’s theory of chain migration. After researching connections between settlements in Missouri and the Germanic state of Westphalia, he discovered that families’ and individuals’ letters sent home encouraged friends and neighbors to join them in their new homes. Entire families and communities left Germany to locations previously identified by one or two individuals as areas appropriate for settlement. The census figures and biographies of newcomers to urban California show that the same migration pattern occurred in the 1850s. By 1860 in all three cities, families of parents, siblings and children lived together with members arriving separately over the decade. Examples in San Francisco include the Wegener, Stadfeldt, and Myrisch families. In the mid 1850s, Otto Wegener was joined by his brother Richard. In 1858, C. H. Stadfeldt joined his brother Jacob who first arrived in 1854. Ernest Mayrisch lived in San Francisco in 1855, was joined by family

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<sup>44</sup>When Peter Decker was studying the residential patterns of the Germans of San Francisco, he concentrated mainly on the merchants and did not include the “blue collar” artisans and laborers. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, vii-viii. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 205. Charles Warren Stoddard, “Foreign Quarters,” in *More San Francisco Memoirs, 1852-1899*, Malcolm E. Barker, ed., 67. Simonin commented that the foreign immigrants are mixed with the Anglos and are distinguished only by “type” or language. Louis Laurent Simonin, “Luxury and Decay,” in *Ibid.*, 108.

members Adolph and Gustave in 1858 and by his mother, Ann, in 1860. Fritz Boehmer who first came to San Francisco in 1849 was eventually joined by his sister and brother. Brothers August and Albert Mack came to California from Germany in 1849, but August went back to Germany in 1853 and returned later to rejoin his brother. The journal and letters for Johann Bickel and his daughter Barbara provide a detailed example of chain migration. Bickel, after arriving in Sacramento, sent for his daughter to join him in 1854 and she, eventually, was joined by her sister Katherine. Other examples in Sacramento include Frank X. Ebner who arrived in 1855, joining his brother Charles, a saloon and hotel proprietor.<sup>45</sup> The “chains” between the newcomers and families back home were strong, aided by the numerous letters and publications written by Germans living in California.

The news of the discovery of gold in California encouraged Germans living in Europe under adverse conditions to come to California where they were instrumental in developing the three largest cities of San Francisco, Sacramento and Marysville. Although geographical mobility was high during the 1850s, early in the decade the appearance of full-fledged cities with well-equipped stores eliminated some of the causes of the transience. Once there, Germans founded and supported their fellow countrymen through memberships in like associations, religious institutions and social activities. The size of each city and the number of Germans living there influenced their settlement patterns with the smallest, Marysville, having a tighter-knit neighborhood of homes than San Francisco, the largest. The German community, defined by cultural and language

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<sup>45</sup>Boehmer, *Autobiography*, 153, 156, 162. Cosgrove and Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 54-5, 85. Harris, Bogardus & Lebatt, *1856*. Kamphoefner, *Westfalians*, 11; \_\_\_\_\_, Helbich and Sommers, *News*, 9. LeCount and Strong, *1854*. Langley, *1858; 1860*. John August Mack and Albert Christian Mack, *Autobiography and Reminiscences*, Society of California Pioneers Collection. <http://www.oac.calif.org>. 70-1, 73.

ties rather than place of residence, spread across all three, allowing the Germans to interact both with each other and with their Anglo fellow citizens. Through their cultural activities and their business endeavors, they could influence the development of California's cities and create a cosmopolitan image and atmosphere that was unlike others in the United States.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Daniel Conford, "'We all live more like brutes than humans,' Labor and Capital in the Gold Rush," *California History* LXXVII:4 (Winter, 1998), 91. Matthews, "Civic Culture," 216.



## CHAPTER V

### “A Most Valuable and industrious Class of Men:” German Entrepreneurs and the Commercial Development of Urban California.

Gold -- its discovery, its extraction, and its shipment -- drove the economy of urban California in the 1850s. Its discovery brought thousands to the town sites of Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco who never would have dreamed of making a journey of sometimes thousands of miles to a place of which they had just learned. The immigrants included many German merchants and artisans who, either immediately venturing towards the mines in search of instant riches or forsaking the adventure of prospecting to begin a business, were integral to the development and growth of the urban Californian cities. The mining of gold commandeered the resources of newcomers, physical labor, supplies and moneys, almost to the point of exhaustion. The Germans' resourcefulness and links to family and friends in the United States and the fatherland helped them create establishments that supported the miners in Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco. Gold's shipment demanded the development of new and extensive transportation systems from the remote locations of its mines in the northern Sierra Nevada to the port of San Francisco. Germans' determination and creativity helped build businesses that, over the decade, led to the economic growth and stability of the region.

The enormous fluctuations in the amount of gold mined and shipped caused wild cycles of boom and bust that affected all three cities. San Francisco was the center of the Northern California economy, and, for example, when the depression brought on by the glut of goods in its markets hit in the early 1850s, its economic colonies of Sacramento and Marysville also suffered. California's largest city, in turn, was the economic colony of the Eastern establishment since decisions its bankers and merchants located there had a direct effect on its western outpost. Four major cycles hit urban California. The boom period from the late 1840s until January of 1850 was triggered by the enormous amounts of gold mined and shipped and necessary supporting supplies, resulting in escalating costs of goods and services. A recession followed from February of 1850 to April of 1852 due to the glut of goods in the cities' markets and the refusal of eastern banks to provide necessary credit to California's businesses. Ships dumped unsalable tobacco and barrels of beef and other containers and merchandise in the mud in the harbor that eventually would become foundations for buildings. One major problem was the lack of communication between merchants in California and the suppliers in the east. Shippers disregarded the requests from California often basing their shipments on rumor and not on actual demand. One immigrant reported that San Francisco's markets were so overstocked with merchandise that goods were sold at auction at less than their cost. He found ready-made clothing cheaper there than in New York. In early 1852, San Francisco's merchants "dumped" their surplus goods in Sacramento. This glut, plus the city's officials drawing exorbitant salaries and banks closing their doors, forced the city of Sacramento to issue a large bond issue to remain solvent. This financial uncertainty

accounts for the number of German's small and large enterprises in Sacramento falling, and they would not rise again until 1856.<sup>1</sup>

In the later spring of 1852 when the surpluses began to disappear, new scarcities caused prices to climb again, creating another boom to December of 1853, and San Francisco's harbor was crowded with as many as 451 ships. Provisions were expensive again, but it was not the era of quick fortunes for speculators and merchants as it had been earlier in the decade. By the end of 1853, the boom ended because gold recoverable by panning played out and expensive equipment was needed. Many unsuccessful miners changed their occupations or left the cities to return home. Demands for goods decreased throughout urban California, and in San Francisco, newly built, fireproof buildings stood empty. Again, primitive communications with Eastern and European shippers led to a surplus of imported goods. Real estate speculators had gambled on increasing property values, but the market collapsed wiping out fortunes. Borrowers were paying interest rates as high as 3 percent a month, sometimes 10 percent. When San Francisco-based banks Adams and Company and Page, Bacon & Co. in 1855 could not answer a call for loans, they closed, causing havoc. Wells Fargo managed to survive, but could pay their depositors only 37 cents on the dollar. Hundreds of business failed, prices collapsed and the ranks of the unemployed rose. Bancroft estimated that of the merchants operating in 1849, not one in ten was in business in 1855. The 1852 California Census listed 1,438

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<sup>1</sup> A visitor discovered that at low tide, he could reach one wreck in the harbor by foot "gone to her grave in the sea that lapped her timbers as they lay a-rotting under the rocks. Stoddard, "Á Day of Discovery," in *More San Francisco Memoirs*, Malcolm E. Barker, ed., 73. Abbott, *Cities Won the West*, 77. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 34, 36-7; "Social Mobility," 58. Charles Caldwell Dobie, *San Francisco: A Pageant* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1934), 111. Hittell, *History*, vol. II, 720. Lotchin, *San Francisco*, 77. Marryat, "A Changed Town," in *San Francisco Memoires, 1835-1851*, Malcolm E. Barker, ed., 244. William Robbins, *Colony and Empire: The Capitalist Transformation of the American West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994), 170. Soulé. Gihon, and Nisbet, *Annals*, 367. Terry, "Sacramento," 26-7.

German enterprises operating in San Francisco, but the following year, the 1853 Directory listed only 475. In 1852, the Panic of 1857 in the East only prolonged the depression, but the merchants organized a Mechanics Institute Fair that year to help bring back a recovery. The managers emphasized a theme of progress featuring agricultural and manufacturing products and added good music and dancing under the leadership of German musicians to attract San Franciscans. It was so successful it became an annual event<sup>2</sup>

Seasonal fluctuations plagued the inland cities as well as San Francisco. Trade was strong in the spring when miners returned to the Sierra Nevada after the winter snows and rains and waters rose in the streams. Summertime with its dry months hampered the supply routes, but trade increased in the fall when merchants were anxious to dispose of goods before the winter weather closed the mines and miners would migrate back to San Francisco looking for work. When the extraction and transporting of gold declined over the decade, German and Anglo businessmen looked to expand their interests beyond supplying the mining industry. By the end of the decade, Marysville and Sacramento began developing the shipping of their hinterland's agricultural product, and San Francisco began to expand its manufacturing sector.<sup>3</sup> The cities' residents looked to the new economic foundations of their cities to bring about a recovery and a more stable economic future.

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<sup>2</sup>The numbers may be somewhat inaccurate because the editors' choices for the 1853 directory were arbitrary, but the difference validates Bancroft's claim. *California Census, 1852*. DAR, "San Francisco." Parker, *1852-53*. Brands called the recession the most serious calamity in San Francisco since the great fires. Brands, *Age of Gold*, 350. Berglund, *San Francisco*, 138. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 34, 36-7; "Social Mobility," 59. Muscatine, *Old San Francisco*, 183. Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, 355, 413, 519. Young, *San Francisco*, 321.

<sup>3</sup>Caughey, *Cornerstone*, 219. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 37, 91; "Social Mobility," 58. Holliday, *Rush for Riches*, 190; *World Rushed In*, 316. Lotchin, *San Francisco*, 49-50, 57-8. Muscatine, *Old San Francisco*, 105. Thompson and West, *Sacramento County*, 50, 131, 134, 5.

Several business practices merchants and entrepreneurs used during the 1850s exacerbated the economic downturns. Eastern bankers and traders were reluctant to lend money as they perceived investments in Western cities speculative and risky. Entrepreneurs looking to start a venture in California had to deplete their own life savings or turn to family and friends for funds; therefore, when businesses or real estate investments failed, insolvencies were widespread. The complicated method of documenting valuable cargoes such as gold bullion shipped from San Francisco made tracking the shipments frustrating and confusing. The shipping company would issue three supporting documents for each money transaction going east. One set of documents went via an ocean going vessel that went around Cape Horn, a second set went via ship and land across the Isthmus of Panama, and a third sent via stage coach across the country. Since only the first one to arrive would be honored and the others considered void, difficulties occurred.<sup>4</sup>

Another practice involved financing the shipping of goods to San Francisco. Suppliers in the East created a joint partnership, and investors purchased minimum shares with an average investment of \$500, some as low as \$200, to cover the cost of the cargo. After a three- to four-month journey around the Horn, the merchants or clerks who accompanied the shipments sold the ship and cargo hopefully at a profit when it reached its destination. Again, when the markets were glutted with an over abundance of goods, many felt the losses because many businesses were conducted through partnerships between individuals in the East and in California. When the businesses were in trouble, the partnerships were dissolved with one partner keeping the assets to pay the debts.

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<sup>4</sup>Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 15-18; "Social Mobility," 11. Muscatine, *Old San Francisco*, 121.

Sometimes when a store in New York failed, one partner would ultimately receive the San Francisco branch. The complicated practices made surviving the business cycle fluctuations more difficult, but the German merchants generally had an advantage. They usually arrived with some funds, either their own or from family, and did not speculate during the real estate boom and did not have to rely on bankers in the east.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the economic and seasonal fluctuations, the population explosions in all three cities provided many opportunities for the Germans to establish businesses catering to their neighbors' comforts and necessities. When they chose an occupation, they generally chose those with which they were most familiar such as woodworking, baking, brewing and cigar making, skills they acquired in Germany. They realized that, in order to succeed, the German communities in urban California alone would not support their businesses as they might in New York's *Kleindeutschland* or in Milwaukee. They needed to attract Anglo residents in order to succeed, but they still offered their fellow Germans the goods and services directly related to their own cultural practices such as German beer saloons and locations for weekend outings. A picture of how the Germans combined the demands of the German and Anglo residents emerges by tracing the individuals who lived in Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco. The findings for each city are listed in the three Appendices and summarized into categories in the Tables 10, 11 and 12 below showing the sizes of the Germans' enterprises. The number of Germans within each city influenced whether they worked in smaller enterprises rather than larger ones, but within these categories, they chose to work in fields traditionally associated with Germans. When the newcomers had sufficient capital using funds they

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<sup>5</sup>Billigmeier, *Americans*, 49, 69, 79. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 14-5, 91; "Social Mobility," 11, 65. William Issel, and Robert W. Cherny, *San Francisco: politics, power and urban development* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 16.

either brought with them or earned in the mines, many Germans invested in larger enterprises of merchandising, hotel-keeping, restaurants, and butchering, while others worked as individual bakers, carpenters, and leatherworkers of all kinds. The Germans were three times more likely to be “merchants” than those in the cities’ overall population. The success of the merchants, craftsmen and artisans in all three cities is underscored when discovering that only a small percentage of the Germans listed in the city directories self-identified themselves as laborers or did not declare any occupations; thus may have been unemployed. The reporting may be eschewed during the years between the California Census of 1852 and the Federal Census of 1860 because the publishers of the City Directories leaned towards listing the more well-known residents and potential advertisers, but the overall trend in each city seems constant. In all three cities, the Germans helped each other not only finding employment but moving up the social ladder from clerk to merchant.<sup>6</sup>

In California’s third largest city in the 1850s, Marysville, the 1860 Federal Census and city directories for 1853, 1855, 1856 and 1860 provide enough information to discover what occupations the Germans chose. The nearly 5,000 Anglos and Germans living there were busy supporting a trans-shipment system whereby supplies could be offloaded from docks at the end of B Street and packed on the backs of mules or on wagons to be carried to the small mining towns north. A trip along the road from Sacramento took only four hours and twenty-five minutes and supplemented the river trade; however, traveling by shallow bottomed boat to Marysville was the logical choice

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<sup>6</sup>Billigmeier, *Americans*, 49, 69. Conzen, “Germans,” 413; *Immigrant Milwaukee*, 5-6, 115. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 81; “Social Mobility,” 11, 65. Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-1863* (Port Washington, NY: Ira J. Friedman, Inc., 1949), 99. Faust, *German Element*, 74. Furer, *Germans*, 127. Holliday, *World Rushed In.*, 396. Lotchin, *San Francisco*, 131. Nadel, *Little Germany*, 1, 85-6. Sparks, *Capital Intentions*, 49. Wittke, *Germans in America*, 11.

for shippers because the roads directly from Sacramento to the mines were through lands that rains turned into marshy bogs. Most Germans, rather than become directly involved as teamsters in the transportation system, worked as merchants and craftsmen supporting that system. The figures in Table 10, Size of German Enterprises in Marysville, and in Appendix One, Exhibits One through Four, give both an overview and specifics on the Germans' economic activities.<sup>7</sup>

In Marysville, Germans generally chose occupations outside the transportation industry. By 1860, only 11 percent, were involved in packing as blacksmiths, wheelwrights and teamsters, a number that grew from under 4 percent in 1853. The support businesses over the years drew almost 90 percent of the Germans' attention. The number of larger enterprises such as hotels and restaurants, clothing and dry goods stores, baking and butchering, were always popular, although the percentage fell from 1853 to 1860 perhaps reflecting an increase in reporting the numbers of laborers and unemployed resulting from the prior years' depression. The recorders for Federal Census were more likely to include these categories because the editors of the city directories were primarily interested in listing and promoting successful business enterprises. The restaurant and other leisure industries represented 16 percent of the Germans' occupations in 1853, but they fell to 14 percent to 1860, reflecting the decrease in larger enterprises during that

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<sup>7</sup>In Tables, 10, 11 and 12, in addition to laborers, clerks and unknown categories, occupations are divided into smaller and larger enterprises. Smaller enterprises are those that may not require a large investment of capital to operate or where one could work in his home. Larger enterprises may require an investment in a factory, building, equipment or inventory. A tailor, for example, could operate in his home or a small shop whereas establishing a clothing store would require space and inventory. Sources for Marysville are the Marysville City Directories and Federal Census of 1860, See Appendix 1. Amy and Smith, *1858*; Amy and O., 1856. Colville, *Marysville, 1855*. Bancroft, "California Inter Pocula," 327, 329; *History*, 463. Bethel, "The Golden Skein," 259. Dana, *River of Gold*, 223. Delay, *Yuba and Sutter Counties*, 81. Desmond, *Marysville*, 5, 35, 37. Gudde, *California Gold Camps*, 209. Hale and Emory, *1853*. James Mason Hutchings, "Packing in the Mountains of California," *American West* 2:3 (1965), 94. J. Wesley Jones, "Jones' Pantoscope of California," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, VI:3 (September, 1927), 242. *United States Census, 1860*.



**TABLE 10: Size of Enterprises in Marysville**

by family units

Year	Small Enterprises		Large Enterprises		Clerks		Laborers		Unknown		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1853	21	26.6	47	59.5	5	6.3	1	1.3	5	6.3	79	100
1855	56	31.4	4	52.7	19	10.7	2	1.2	7	3.9	178	100
1856	53	27.8	116	60.7	14	7.3	0	0	8	4.2	191	100
1860	180	44.0	185	45.2	21	5.1	15	3.7	8	2.0	409	100

*Source: Appendix 1, Germans' Occupations in Marysville*

Note: Small Enterprises are individuals or enterprises that can operate out of a home. Large Enterprises require a greater capital investment.

period from 59.5 percent to 45.2 percent. The number of merchants also fell from 29 percent to 15 percent during that time. The growth of individual enterprises, those not requiring large capital investments, rose from 26.6 percent to 44 percent, reflecting the rise of longer-term German residents in the city. The number of skilled tailors, shoemakers and carpenters remained steady at approximately 12 percent of Marysville's occupations, from seven to forty-six. Reflecting the change in the city's economy, the number of servants rose from none recorded in 1853 to fourteen in 1860, again reflecting the new prosperity in the economy. The number of musicians rose steadily over the years, an indication of the increased interest in cultural pursuits in the city by both Germans and Anglos. Farming and gardening were never the occupation of choice within the city, growing from one in 1853 to eight in 1860, despite the change in the

major economic pursuits of the city from the shipments of gold and supplies to agriculture.<sup>8</sup>

Many individual German entrepreneurs came and stayed to help Marysville grow over the years, and recognizing their particular efforts underscores the commitment they made to the city's future. Among the numerous merchants, the Hochstatder Brothers and Hudson & Eilerman were prominent sellers of dry-goods, and Jacob Levy established his clothing store in 1853 and operated until the end of the decade. Answering the demand from both Germans and Anglos, John Keller began his liquor business in 1850 operated until 1860, and Isaac Glazier opened his "Cigar Store" in 1852. Historian Earl Ramey reports that the most popular hotel was the United States Hotel, built by German A B. Cook in 1850 and managed by German John Smith in 1852. Tanning was important for creating leather for harnesses, and Drake and Spindler began their Pioneer Tannery in 1852, joined by Heitman and Hoelscher's Feather River Tannery in 1858. Max Armer advertised "Crackers for the Million" for sale to appeal to all. Among the individual entrepreneurs were tailor L. Keser and hatter Louis Feder who both arrived in 1853 were still operating in 1860. Besides tanning, the firm of Aubrey and Bender used their woodworking skills to make sashes and doors for the town's construction industry, and tanners August Rost and F. Terrstegge worked to help supply the heavy industrial tools demanded by the hydraulic mining at the end of the decade.<sup>9</sup> Marysville's Germans were an integral part of the city's economy.

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<sup>8</sup>See details in Appendix 1, page 225.

<sup>9</sup>*California Census, 1852*. Chamberlain, *Yuba County*, 69-78. Colville, *Marysville, 1855*. Conzen, "Germans," 421. DAR, "Yuba." Delay, *Yuba and Sutter Counties*, 153-4. Desmond, "Marysville," 35, 37. Ramey, "Marysville," part 2, 394, 398; Part 3, 45.

The German community in Marysville, although small, also catered to industries and businesses that reflected their particular traditions and culture while, at the same time, they looked to the Anglos for success. John Rueger and George Engler established their Marysville Brewery to provide beer for the German newcomers who preferred lager to whiskey and to supply the numerous beer parlors. Since the Germans enjoyed excursions to social venues in the outdoors, Jacob Geiss' California Brewery and Garden established in 1855 and John Eckel's outdoor gardens in 1858 provided destinations for picnicking, gymnastics and sharpshooting, trips enjoyed by Anglos as well. The German residents' desire for German-language newspapers and books inspired 1853 bookstore owner Henry Wagner to advertise that he included them in his inventory. G. and O. Amy, his competitors, also advertised that they carried European journals and papers in their store. Over the decade, German speaking doctors, druggists and midwives immigrated to Marysville to serve the community. When Dr. Herzer advertised, he emphasized that he was trained in the *Deutsches Artz* of medicine, and G. Horning labeled his establishment as a "German Drug Store." Midwife Mary Young labeled herself a *Deutsch Hebamme*. German newcomers did not have to search to find countrymen that could serve them.<sup>10</sup>

When German immigrants arrived in Marysville, they could count on their forerunners to help them find employment, a practice strongly rooted in the "homeland." Individual sagas of advancement testify to the Germans' enthusiastic support of the newcomers. In the bakery industry, Max Armer hired Mack Curr in his City Bakery and

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<sup>10</sup>Colville, *Marysville, 1855*. *Daily National Democrat* (Marysville), August 13, 1858; September 26, 1858. *Express*, February 13, 1859. *Marysville Herald*, August 6, 1850; September 9, 1850; December 9, 1856.

E. Snowwhite hired L. Vegas in his. Bartender H. Hons found quick employment in L. Meyer's Mechanics' Saloon. When George Hoap arrived in 1860, he found employment as an apprentice in Christian Scholl's gun store that had been open since 1850. Some later formed their own successful businesses. In 1856 Dedrick Neiserman who began at Snowwhite's bakery eventually opened his own. Marcus Bromberger began with merchant S. Goodman in his dry goods store, and he eventually opened his own in store with his brother in 1859.<sup>11</sup> With the Germans settling in close proximity to each other in an ethnic neighborhood, tradition and economic opportunity only helped bind them together. Their small number meant that to succeed, entrepreneurs and craftsmen had to not only answer the demands of their countrymen but also interface with their Anglo neighbors, ultimately contributing to the development and growth of Marysville.

Population figures for Sacramento over the decade indicate that, despite the uncertainties of the economic climate during and following the gold rush, Germans certainly recognized the business and employment opportunities there. Their number of Germans coming to Sacramento during the decade nearly quadrupled when, at the same time, the number of total residents in Sacramento doubled. As in Marysville, the list of the individuals' occupations in Appendix Two demonstrates that they also concentrated in occupations traditionally identified with them rather than relating to the trans-shipping industry. They successfully determined that the miners coming to the area would be too occupied in the search for gold to and would need commercial traders, lodging and other supportive services. Germans established many stores or restaurants and saloons, more

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<sup>11</sup>Amy and O., 1856. Colville, *Marysville, 1855. U. S. Census, 1860.*

**Table 11: Size of Enterprises in Sacramento**

(by family unit)

Year	Small Enterprises		Large Enterprises		Clerks		Laborers		Unknown		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1850	119	33.9	145	41.5	5	1.4	37	10.5	44	12.5	350	100
1851	31	28.7	65	61.1	5	4.6	1	1.0	5	4.5	107	100
1852	281	43.0	218	32.4	23	3.5	61	9.2	79	11.9	662	100
1853	52	31.1	107	64.1	8	4.8	0	0	0	0	167	100
1855	163	63.1	87	33.6	6	2.3	2	1.9	0	0	258	100
1856	152	34.2	273	61.5	12	2.7	4	.9	3	.6	444	100
1857	91	30.3	198	65.8	6	2.0	3	.9	3	.9	301	100
1858	64	26.8	167	70.2	3	1.3	3	1.3	1	.4	238	100
1859	135	35.2	220	57.4	8	2.1	8	2.1	12	3.0	383	100
1860	422	44.2	401	40.5	55	5.5	69	6.9	26	2.6	993	100

Source: Appendix 2, *German's Occupations in Sacramento*.

Note: Small Enterprises are individuals or enterprises that can operate out of a home. Large Enterprises require a greater capital investment.

numerous than Marysville but small compared to its economic partner, San Francisco.<sup>12</sup>

Table 11, Size of German Businesses in Sacramento, 1850-1860, indicates that the number employed in smaller enterprises working in the traditional German skills such as

<sup>12</sup>Federal Census figures show the number of Germans increased from 418 to 1,681 while Sacramento's total population increased from 6,830 to 13,785. *U. S. Census 1850; 1860*. Decker, "Social Mobility," 11. Holliday, *World Rushed In*, 302-3, 396. Lotchin, *San Francisco*. 163, 266. Moore, "Gold Rush Miner," 7, 11, 25-6. David Vaught, *After the Gold Rush: Tarnished Dreams in the Sacramento Valley* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 29.

shoemakers, barbers and tailors grew over the decade, beginning at 33.9 percent in 1850 and ending at 44.2 percent. Larger enterprises such as restaurants, hotels and grocery stores, despite fluctuations over the decade, remained relatively constant at 41.5 percent in 1850 and 40.5 percent in 1860. The recorded number of laborers and unknown occupations was high in 1852 as miners unemployed by the decrease in gold production were attracted by the high wages available in Sacramento – for Germans as well as Anglos.<sup>13</sup>

As early as 1849, German pioneers had an economic impact on Sacramento. That year, two Germans founded a dry goods enterprise and named it after the ship that brought them to California, the *Lady Adams*. In 1852, they operated one of the largest stores in the city, and, because they built it in brick, their store was the only building that survived the great fire of 1852. When the original owners left Sacramento in 1858, they turned the enterprise over to fellow Germans who operated it beyond 1860. Other German pioneer businessmen included builder George Zins and soap-maker J. H. Heilmann. Zins built the first brick residence in California, and established a brewery in Sacramento with fellow German August Weber. Hoteliers included Jacob Binninger and John August Laufkotter, a former partner of John Sutter in Missouri.<sup>14</sup> These adventurous businessmen looked for opportunities in Sacramento but they also realized that they had to attract Anglos in order to succeed in their enterprises.

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<sup>13</sup>See details in Appendix 2, page 230.

<sup>14</sup>Laufkotter originally travelled with Sutter from Europe via the mid-west to Sacramento in 1849. He later published a highly critical account of Sutter. Iris H. Engstrand, "John Sutter: A Biographical Examination," in *John Sutter and a Wider West*, Kenneth N. Owens, ed., 79. Bancroft, *History*, 448. Colville, *Sacramento, 1856. Cutter, 1860. Gudde, German Pioneers*, 23. Holliday, *Rush to Riches*, 90,139; *World Rushed In*, 77. Hurtado, *John Sutter*, 343. Donald Dale Jackson, *Gold Dust*, 171. Florence Nina McCoy, *A History of the First Five Years of the Sacramento, California Turnverein, 1854-1859* (Master's Thesis, California State University at Sacramento, 1962), 59. Reed, *Sacramento County*, 59, 70. Willis, *Sacramento*, 185, 387.

Entrepreneurs operating in smaller stores or out of their homes performed vital services for the residents of Sacramento, both German and Anglo. As the population of the city grew, so did the number of tailors, shoemakers and woodworkers, occupations many Germans had practiced in eastern metropolises before being dislocated due to the growing industrialization there. Twenty two of these skilled craftsmen are listed in the 1850 Federal Census and Sacramento city directory, but their number grew to 124 by 1860, an increase of approximately 6 percent to 12.5 percent. Some of the tailors remained only one year in Sacramento, but their “places” were filled by others who arrived later in the decade. In 1850, the directories and census did not list any German doctors or druggists, but by the end of the decade, fourteen were available for their countrymen to consult. Of the five gunsmiths and locksmiths, a crucial industry in the nineteenth century, several were long term residents of the city. Household servants employed in Sacramento increased as well, including Barbara Drücke who worked as a governess who worked in the house of Charles Heinrich who had arrived in 1849 and successfully operated a grocery.<sup>15</sup>

As in Marysville, the available data recording the Germans’ occupations in the large enterprises may be somewhat misleading since the two Federal Censuses and the California Census include the number of laborers and unknown. After adjusting for those anomalies, the percentage of those occupied in the larger enterprises remains fairly constant over the decade until 1860. Within that category, hotels operated by the Germans remained at 7 percent throughout most of the decade, increasing by 1852 and 1853 probably due to miners beginning to abandon the diggings and looking for lodging.

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<sup>15</sup>Bodnar, *Transplanted*, 174-5. Colville, *Sacramento, 1856*. Cosgrove and Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 65-6. Decker, “Social Mobility,” 11.

The number of merchants steadily dropped from 35 percent to 19 percent, again reflecting a change in the economic focus in the city from mining to agriculture. Grocery stores and food processing such as bakers and butchers numbered 31 percent both at the beginning and end of the decade, but in 1852 with the rise in transient residents, the number dropped in 1852 and 1853. The hospitality industries experienced a steady growth in the 1850s. Restaurants increased from 8 percent to 15 percent, cigars and tobacco from 3 percent to 8 percent, and breweries and liquor distributors increased from 2 percent to 9 percent, fueled by the increase in the number of Germans over the decade from approximately 7 percent to 12 percent looking to enjoy their leisure time inside and outside their homes.<sup>16</sup> But statistics do not really tell how the Germans operated in Sacramento, only individual stories can. They demonstrate that, in whatever trade they chose, the Germans successfully answered the economic needs of both the Anglos and Germans in their city.

The German merchants were always alert to the changing demands of the city's residents and did not hesitate to move from one less successful venture into one with more promise. One example is R. Oppenheim who began selling cigars in 1852, changed to dry goods in 1853 and then to shot and lead in 1859. At one point, he advertised that if customers had not bought all his wares by a certain date, he would auction them off in San Francisco – everything except ten-dozen belts sold. Another example is Anton Menke moved from basket making in 1854 into cigars, and, after a few years farming in the hinterland, returned in 1859 to open a produce store. Chris Weisel started as a butcher in 1854, opened the Baltimore Market in 1857, and moved into the wholesale

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<sup>16</sup>With the adjustment, the percentage of large enterprises in 1850 was 47.3 percent, in 1852 was 57.9 percent, and in 1860 was 44.6 percent. *California Census, 1852*. DAR, "Sacramento." *U. S. Census, 1850; 1860*. These statistics are based on the Exhibits in Appendix 2, page 230.



business in 1859. John Bellmer began as a miner then came to Sacramento in 1857 to become a grocer. S. A. Levy began as a clerk at M. Marks & Co. in 1855, moved to Goodkind & Co. in 1856, and then opened his own store in 1860.<sup>17</sup> These five entrepreneurs were ready to move in and out of various occupations in order to succeed.

Germans were ready to meet the demands of all Sacramentans in “leisure” occupations with which they were traditionally identified. The brewing and liquor businesses were excellent opportunities for a number of Germans to succeed. They moved to and from the restaurant and saloon business and brewing beer and selling tobacco and cigars, always looking to increase their profits. Examples include Frank X. Ebner and his brother who assumed operations of the Sierra Nevada Brewery and simultaneously oversaw the Philadelphia Lager Beer Saloon. Also aware of the demands in a changing economy, Edward Klebitz moved from working with his countrymen Flohr and Harms in a saddle shop in 1851, to operating a bathing house in 1853, and to operating the Lager Beer Saloon. Philip Sheld followed his brother Peter to Sacramento who was working as a baker and eventually purchased the Sacramento Brewery founded by Peter Kadel in 1849. Two other brewers who began later in 1853 were Louis Keseberg, a survivor of the ill-fated Donner Party, with his Phoenix Brewery on the grounds of his restaurant and Philip Yager with his Tiger Brewery. When William Borchers discovered his product from his Union Brewery could not meet his customers’ demands, he expanded into a larger facility, the City Brewery, in 1858.<sup>18</sup> The Gruhler

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<sup>17</sup>*California Census, 1852*. DAR, “Sacramento.” Colville, *1853; 1855; Sacramento, 1856*. Cutter, *1860*. Hon. Winford J. Davis, *History*, 591, 756, 815. Irwin, *1857*. Reed, *Sacramento County*, 362. Taylor, *1858*. *U. S. Census, 1860*.

<sup>18</sup>Colville, *1853; 1855; Sacramento, 1856*. Culver, *1851*. Cutter, *1860*. Dana, *River of Gold*, 138. Hon. Winford J. Davis, *History*, 103, 138, 415, 744, 779-80. Irwin, *1857*. *Memorial*, 198. Severson, *Sacramento*, 104. Taylor, *1858*. Thompson and West, *Sacramento County*, 144.

brothers are examples of merchants involved in the leisure industry and of the chain migration common among German families in urban California. Elias and Christian Gruhler arrived in Sacramento in 1852 by wagon from Ohio and established the Columbus Brewery. Their brother, Jacob, came in 1856 and opened a saloon that, as historians reported, “became at once the habitual resort of the best element of the city, and only them, for he . . . seemed to have the faculty of attracting about him only gentlemanly and congenial spirits.”<sup>19</sup> The Anglo and German citizens benefited from the Germans’ foresight and energy in meeting the demands of their neighbors.

Manufacturing never attracted a great number of Germans in Sacramento, and the numbers fell over the decade, more producing local products in the early 1850s than later. Six manufacturers or 45 percent of the larger enterprises operated in 1850, but that fell to 2 percent or 22 in 1860. Histories of individual German businessmen illustrate the success of some who remained in the city during the decade. Jacob Knauth started his own pottery making business in 1853 when he could not find pots for plants in his Sutter Floral Gardens store. Martin Kesler saw the demand for wagons and carriages rise in 1853, so he abandoned his job in a brewery and established his own shop. The saga of C. Schindler is a particularly telling example of the Germans’ resolve to succeed. In New York before immigrating to California, he learned the sash, door and blind manufacturing trade so that in 1852, he started working in the establishment of fellow former New Yorker, Mr. Sangster. Just three months’ later in November, Sacramento’s major fire completely burned the business down, a catastrophe that happened again two years later. Schindler purchased what was left to build a new business. Four years later, a fire destroyed his factory a third time, but he used brick to rebuild and remained in business

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<sup>19</sup>Hon. Winford J. Davis, *History*, 138, 568, 703. Thompson and West, *Sacramento County*, 144.

until 1890.<sup>20</sup> These are only three of the Germans who found success by producing items demanded by Anglos and Germans alike.

The numerous reports of Germans quickly offering the newly arrived employment in their establishments are evidence of their Germans' strong tradition of helping and encouraging each other. Many who began careers in Sacramento as clerks later became successful businessmen in their own right. One example is Adam Newbaur who started as a clerk in Charles Heinrich's grocery store, but in 1859 he opened his own bakery. When newcomer Charles Vogel's employer, Matt Karcher, closed down, Newbaur followed Heinrich's example by quickly hiring Karcher. Another example is Martin Kestler who, arriving penniless in 1852, began carpentering with Julius Fiedler. Later he moved to a brewery, and eventually he opened his own wagon-making business in 1853. Jacob Madison hired newly-arrived Simon Roth who eventually partnered with John Tschumi manufacturing harnesses and saddles, and in 1953, he bought his partner out and started his own firm. John Boehm started as a clerk at the U. S. Bakery in 1858, but he partnered with George Baker in 1859 to open a grocery business. The Hamburger Brothers, major merchants in the city, hired Solomon Rothfeld as a clerk and, after three years, promoted him to bookkeeper.<sup>21</sup> These are only a few of the Germans who came to Sacramento who were directed on the path to success by their countrymen.

Five German-born women found success owning and operating hotels and boarding houses. As in San Francisco, women often partnered with others and began

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<sup>20</sup>Colville, 1853; 1855. Cutter, 1860. Hon. Winford J. Davis, *History*, 336, 740,741. Severson, *Sacramento*, 104. Taylor, 1858. Thompson and West, *Sacramento County*, 144, 146-8. Willis, *Sacramento*, 387.

<sup>21</sup>*California Census, 1852*. Colville, 1853; 1855; *Sacramento, 1856*. Cutter, 1860. DAR, "Sacramento." McCoy, "Turnverein," 148. DAR, "Sacramento." Hon. Winford J. Davis, *History*, 236, 383,743. Irwin, 1857. Lewis, *Sutter's Fort*, 207. McCoy, "Turnverein," 148. Taylor, 1858.

their enterprises borrowing money, not from institutions, but from individual lenders, often fellow Germans. In 1852, California authorized married women to transact businesses in their own name, and the foreign born, divorced, married and widowed women took advantage of this new law. Throughout the 1850s, women in urban California had exceptional opportunities for business endeavors compared with others living across the nation, and many chose to operate in the hotel industry. Keeping a boarding house or hotel was hard work. In addition to the usual tasks of cooking, cleaning and marketing on a larger scale than a family home, proprietors had to manage the interior space demanded by family members and family.<sup>22</sup>

Margaret Frink was an early arrival in Sacramento in September of 1850, and she and her husband furnished a two-story boarding house on K Street with furniture that had been shipped in pieces around the Horn. They were stricken by that year's cholera epidemic in October, but, after recovering, they leased and opened a new hotel on J Street, paying \$300 a month. Her advertisements to attract customers to her "Frink's Hotel" publicized that she supplied free milk on her dining table. After the one-year lease ended, she and her husband erected a "ready made" cottage on M and 8<sup>th</sup> Streets. She was always a believer in the future of Sacramento as she wrote in her Journal: "As the years passed on, the mushroom city of tents and rough board houses grew, in defiance

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<sup>22</sup> Gambler notes that a keeping a boarding house never equated to keeping a home, that due to spacial problems, homes could turn into metaphorical boarding houses and a boarding house could turn into a not-so-metaphorical home. She also notes that most proprietors are not listed in the directories or travelers guides, only rarely resorting to newspaper ads, which accounts for the multiple instances of boarding houses listed in the two Censuses, both ethnic and ethnic. Wendy Gambler, *The Boarding House in the Nineteenth Century America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 35, 40. Sparks, *Capital Intention*, 12, 17, 79, 97, 100.

of fires and floods, to be [the] capital of the state, and one of its most prosperous, beautiful, and wealthy cities.”<sup>23</sup>

Frink was only one of five German-born women who appear in the city directories working in Sacramento. Anna Johnson, or Mrs. Harrison Johnson, was the proprietor of the City Lunch café and later a saloon, her income supplementing that of her husband who was a Monte Dealer. Mrs. Fanny Jackson, a single mother with two children, operated the Clarendon House. After her husband passed away, Mrs. Henry Eichenmenger assumed the operation of the International Hotel. Mrs. Minna York purchased the Columbus Hall and renamed it the Vauxhall Gardens, a popular site for German gatherings. Barbara Drüke mentioned several German-born young women who came to Sacramento and who worked, as she did, as governesses or housekeepers who were not listed in the directories.<sup>24</sup> The histories of Sacramento mention the presence of prostitutes in the city, but the city directories list only these German-born women. Undoubtedly, some German dance girls migrated from San Francisco upriver to the city, but they are undocumented.

The economic success of Sacramento’s German businessmen was a result of meeting the needs and desires of both their countrymen and their Anglo neighbors. A number of Germans settled in the downtown business area of the city, but they also resided throughout the city so that interfacing with the Anglos was a key to their success. The Germans alone were not numerous enough to support their enterprises, so they were

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<sup>23</sup>Margaret A. Frink, *Journal of the Adventures of a Party of California Gold-Seekers Under the Guidance of Mr. Ledyard Frink During a Journey Across the Plains from Martinsville, Indiana, to Sacramento, California, from March 30, 1850, to September 7, 1850, From the Original Diary of the Trip Kept by Mrs. Margaret A. Frink* (Oakland? California, pref., 1897), 128. Joann Levy, *They Saw the Elephant: Women in the California Gold Rush* (Hamden, CN: Archon Books, 1990), 98-9.

<sup>24</sup>Gambler, *Boarding House*, 60. Colville, 1855; *Sacramento, 1856. Cutter, 1860. Frink, Journal*, 128. Irwin, 1857-1858. Levy, *Elephant*, 226. Taylor, 1858. *U.S. Census, 1860.*

compelled to seek Anglo and German customers. Following the example set by their countrymen in Marysville and San Francisco, they did not neglect their traditional occupations in the provisioning, lodging and leisure businesses in the city. In addition, they were always aware of the plight of newcomers and offered them encouragement and employment.

Because San Francisco was the ultimate trans-shipment point and economic center for all of Northern California, Germans, as they did in both Sacramento and Marysville, came in great numbers to avail themselves of the opportunities the metropolis afforded. They were still a minority in the city, but that the Anglos welcomed them as economic partners is illustrated by contemporary historian Frank Soulé and his co-authors comment, “the Germans, a most valuable and industrious class of men . . . were year by year arriving in large numbers.”<sup>25</sup> Even before gold was discovered, the city attracted early nineteenth century capitalists, including Germans Christian Russ who opened his jewelry store in 1848 and William Schleiden who operated as a broker, bookseller and librarian.<sup>26</sup>

The unstable gold mining business created yearly seasonal fluctuations and economic booms and busts during the 1850s that affected every San Franciscan, German and Anglo. Despite this, Germans were successful in creating profitable enterprises both as individuals and working in larger enterprises that required capital investments, helped by family, friends, and their ties to the Eastern business community. Historian Peter

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<sup>25</sup>Soulé, Gihon, and Nesbit, *Annals*, 411.

<sup>26</sup>Christian Russ’s son Henry reported that his father had joined Stevenson’s regiment in New York with his three sons and arrived in San Francisco in 1847. Rather than move into the interior of California, Christian elected to stay in San Francisco because of the size of his family, nine children. Henry Beauchampe Russ, *Autobiography*, 107. *Alta California*, July 2, 1851. Delgado, *Gold Rush Port*, 5, 52. Soulé, Gihon, and Nesbit, 5, 52.

Decker reports that over the decade, the merchants doubled their assets and lost less during the busts than their Anglo neighbors. German businessmen such J. and Henry Seligmen and clothing merchants William and Jacob Scholl, for example, shied away from investing in non-merchant speculative ventures.<sup>27</sup>

Many of the German entrepreneurs pursued their fortunes moving in and out of the city to Sacramento and Marysville, but many elected to stay permanently and by 1860 46 percent had lived there three or more years. The Register of Business Houses in 1852 lists jeweler H. L. Lewis, tobacco merchant William Langerman, upholsterer Frank Baker, and importer brothers L. M. and J. Hellman Brothers, all of whom worked in San Francisco for at least five years. Others who worked in the city over the decade include brewer and saloon owner Adam Schuppert, restaurateur John Obenauer, and merchant Julius Bandmann, who, incidentally, introduced explosives among his inventory to the city.<sup>28</sup> A list of the members of the Chamber of Commerce for 1857-8 includes importer Frederick Frank, paint and varnish merchandiser Edward Kruse, and importer Rudolph Feurenstein. The Germans' presence in the city's business associations testifies that the Anglos sought their participation in the city's economic activities.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Borneman, *Autobiography*, 19. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 85, 96-7, 257. Delgado, *Gold Rush Port*, 5, 8, 52. Jolly, "Inventing the City," 170. Soulé, Gihon, and Nesbit, 225, 254.

<sup>28</sup>In 1858, William Langerman filed for insolvency and his story shows how the cycles hurt individuals. He lost \$30,000 in the great fire of May, 1851, \$40,000 in the fire of June, 1852, \$75,000 through real estate depreciation, and \$24,000 in bad debts. He paid \$50,000 in interest since 1850 and personal and family expenses of \$75,000. According to the directories in 1859 and 1860, he was still conducting business, another testament to the Germans' perseverance. *Bulletin*, July 17, 1858. Bandeman lived in San Francisco, 1852-1855; Scuppert, 1853 – 1860; and Obenauer, 1851-1860. Abbott, *Cities Won The West*, 59. *California Census, 1852*. Colville, *San Francisco, 1856*. DAR, "San Francisco." Harris, Bogardus and Lebatt, 1856. Issel and Cherny, *San Francisco*, 16. Charles Kimball, *The San Francisco Directory (1850)* (San Francisco: Journal of Commerce Press, 1850). Langley, 1858; 1859; 1860. LeCount and Strong, 1854. Luckingham, "Associational Life," 3. Morgan, 1852. Parker, 1852-1853. *Register of First Class Business Houses in San Francisco, October, 1852* (San Francisco: F. A. Bonnard, 1852), 79, 66, 58. *Staats-Zeitung*, September 20, 1853.

<sup>29</sup>Feurenstein lived in San Francisco in 1852, 1854, and 1856 through 1859, Frederick Frank 1852-1854 and 1855 through 1850, and Edward Cruise 1853 through 1860. *California Census, 1852*. Colville,

**Table 12:** Size of Enterprises in San Francisco

(by family unit)

Year	Small Enterprises		Large Enterprises		Clerks		Laborers		Unknown		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1852	814	40.2	792	39.2	84	4.2	199	9.8	132	6.6	2,021	100
1853	66	36.8	86	49.7	6	3.4	3	1.7	15	8.5	179	100
1854	189	37.6	264	52.4	14	2.8	8	1.6	28	5.6	503	100
1855	93	40.3	105	45.5	0	0	3	1.3	30	12.9	231	100
1856	358	42.7	418	49.9	21	2.5	3	1.6	27	3.3	837	100
1857	426	42.4	487	48.5	30	3.0	27	2.7	35	3.4	1,005	100
1858	600	41.7	731	50.7	34	2.4	29	2.0	47	3.2	1,441	100
1859	754	48.3	847	34.8	68	5.2	45	5.6	41	6.1	1,765	100
1860	2,335	48.3	1,679	34.8	251	5.2	269	5.6	297	6.1	4,831	100

Source: Appendix 3, *Germans' Occupations in San Francisco*.

Note: Small Enterprises are individuals or enterprises that can operate out of a home. Large Enterprises require a greater capital investment.

Between 1852 and 1860, the number of Germans who came to San Francisco tripled, from approximately 3,000 to 9,600, outstripping the growth in the city's general population of just over half, from approximately 36,000 to 59,000. The figures in Table 12, Size of Enterprises in San Francisco, show what occupations the Germans chose,

*San Francisco, 1856.* DAR, "San Francisco." *Greater San Francisco Chamber of Commerce Records 1851-1962*, California Historical Society Collection, MS 870. Harris, Bogardus and Lebatt, 1856. Kimball, 1850. Langley, 1858; 1859; 1860. LeCount and Strong, 1854. Morgan, 1852. Parker, 1852-1853. *U. S Census, 1860.*



either as individuals or small businessmen or in occupations requiring a larger capital investment. It also shows how the percentage of Germans in each group changed over the decade. On a percentage basis, Germans who chose to work as individuals or in small businesses grew over the decade, whereas the number in larger enterprises fell. San Francisco was still recovering from the downturn that began in the early 1850s when the supply of gold shipped through the city fell and, consequently, the economic base was turning away from merchandising to manufacturing. Traditionally, Germans did not choose to work in the banking or manufacturing sectors of the economy. In 1852, S. P. Carter was the only banker recorded for that year, and by 1860, only four others were employed in that field: George Baker, Emanuel Meyer, Nicholas Luning and Henry Hentsch. In 1860, San Francisco had become the ninth largest manufacturing center in the United States and was producing commodities they previously had to import. The Union Iron Foundry, for example, prospered during the early part of the decade manufacturing iron safes and hinges needed after the numerous fires, and by the end of the decade was making machinery and pipes for the hydraulic mining and irrigation in addition to building materials. In 1860, however, only 4 percent, seventy-three Germans, were manufacturers, and they were mainly in consumer goods such as musical instruments, bedding, baskets and brooms, and foodstuffs such as sausage, macaroni and sauerkraut. The number had grown since 1852, when only seventeen or 2 percent worked in manufacturing and of these, ten produced industrial goods related to sailing or building such as sails, rope, carriages or boilers and seven produced consumer goods such as soap, mattresses or brooms. In 1860, they did dominate the billiard table and equipment

industry, reflecting their interest in meeting the leisure demands of the Anglos and Germans.<sup>30</sup>

Among the individual and smaller enterprises, over the decade, the percentage of Germans working in the traditional occupations for the skilled craftsmen, tailors, carpenters and leatherworkers, remained at 12 percent of the German workers. Over the years, tailors Marcus Alexander, John Otto, A. Bennecke and Ferdinand Weyle were only a few of the many who worked there – in both 1852 and 1860, 5 percent of the German residents chose that occupation. “Levi’s” is an internationally known product of a “tailor,” Levi Strauss, who heard the miners’ complaints about the pants and created some out of tenting material. The company he formed in 1853, Levi Strauss & Co., needed a four-story manufacturing plant by 1866 and grew into a multi-millionaire business with a sales pitch of “work clothes for gold-seekers and cowboys. The number of carpenters and cabinet makers also stayed at the same 4 percent level over the decade, and Julius Euler, Jacob Brewer, Otto Wegener, Jacob Greenbaum and brothers Fred and Jonathan Mutzenbecker were leaders working in that field. The number of leatherworkers, 2 percent, also stayed the same across the decade. Four who worked in that field, August Schumacher, Jonathan Klumpke, John Pfeiffer and Andrew Trautvetter,

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<sup>30</sup>Because the San Francisco Census was lost and the directories did not indicate birth origin, the information is based on the 1852 California Census and the 1860 Federal Census and tracing those entries back through the directories. The information may not be as extensive as that for Marysville and Sacramento, but the higher number of residents in San Francisco makes the sample viable. Abbott, *Cities Won the West*, 59. *California Census 1852*. Colville, *San Francisco, 1856*. DAR, “San Francisco.” Harris, Bogardus and Lebatt, *1856*. Kimball, *1850*. Langley, *1858; 1859; 1860*. LeCount and Strong, *1854*. Lotchin, *San Francisco*, 65. Morgan, *1852*. Parker, *1852-3*. *U.S. Census, 1860*. Charles Park, *Dreams*, 53. Young, *San Francisco*, 322

arrived in San Francisco during the early, and committed to the future of the city and stayed on to the end of the decade.<sup>31</sup>

By 1860, the city's growing prosperity could account for the increase in number of German servants, medical personnel, musicians and clergy to serve both the Germans and the Anglos. The number of teachers rose as well – none were recorded in 1852 and fifteen in 1860. The number in the medical field rose from nineteen in 1852, eleven physicians, seven druggists and a dentist, to fifty-eight in 1860 with thirty physicians, seventeen druggists, four dentists and seven nurses. This increase was due to the growing number of hospitals, especially the one for German citizens built and that supported by the German Benevolent Society. Two prominent physicians recognized by both the Anglo and German communities are Dr. Jacob Regensburger and Dr. Frederick Zeile. Regensberger arrived in San Francisco in 1850 and was extremely active in both the Anglo and German communities promoting better health care. Zeile opened the first public hospital on the Pacific Coast and advocated the spread of the use of bathtubs and the public bath to thwart epidemics. Also reflecting the growth in the German population, the number of clergy grew from one in 1852, August Albrecht, to nine in 1860, including Rabbi Dr. H. M. Bien, August Hertel at the German Methodist Church, Augustus Kellner at the German Methodist Episcopal Church, Frederick Mooshake at the German Evangelical Lutheran Church, Adolph Rahn at the German Evangelical Church, and Father Sebastian Wolf at St. Boniface Catholic Church. The percentage of musicians among the Germans remained at 2 percent, but because they had such a public

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<sup>31</sup>*California Census 1852*. Colville, *San Francisco, 1856*. DAR, "San Francisco." Haller, *Distinguished German-Americans*, 128. Harris, Bogardus and Lebatt, *1856*. Kimball, *1850*. Langley, *1858; 1859; 1860*. LeCount and Strong, *1854*. Morgan, *1852*. Irene Narell, *Our City; The Jews of San Francisco* (San Diego: Howell-North Books, 1981), 40. Parker, *1852-3*. *U.S. Census, 1860*.

persona and performed in both Anglo and German settings, several are worth listing -- Joseph Schmitz, Stephen Leach, Rudolph Herold, Henry Hertz, Henry Schmidt and August Lapfgeer.<sup>32</sup> All were active performers who founded and supported a number of musical societies in San Francisco, and the Anglo newspapers are filled with admiration for their presentations.<sup>33</sup>

The percentage of Germans working in the larger enterprises over the years remained somewhat constant, representing 39 percent in 1852 and 35 percent in 1860. During the intervening years, the percentages are higher because the editors of the directories would not report as many laborers or unemployed as the censuses takers. The Germans proclaiming themselves as general merchants decreased either because they specifically named their specialty or they just identified themselves as “merchant.” In 1852, 61 percent of family units were merchants, including commission merchants, but that number fell to 29 percent in 1860. As the number of Germans and Anglos prospered over the decade and became permanent residents, the demand for hotels dropped from 6 percent in 1852 to 2 percent in 1860. The transient population, Anglo and German, was decreasing as more families came and looked to live in permanent homes. The businesses that supported this increase in family living, food production, liquor, cigars and restaurants, all grew, food from 15 percent to 33 percent, liquor including breweries and distributors from 4 percent to 6 percent, tobacco merchants from 3 percent to 9 percent, and finally restaurants grew from 3 percent to 7 percent. As San Francisco

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<sup>32</sup>*California Census 1852*. Colville, *San Francisco, 1856*. DAR, “San Francisco.” Gutte, *German Pioneers*, 21. Harris, Bogardus and Lebatt, *1856*. Kimball, *1850*. Langley, *1858; 1859; 1860*. LeCount and Strong, *1854*. Morgan, *1852*. Parker, *1852-3*. *U.S. Census, 1860*.

<sup>33</sup>See Chapter VI for details of their work.

grew and became more settled, its residents could enjoy the relaxations that the German merchants and entrepreneurs could provide.<sup>34</sup>

Among their fellow Anglo and German businessmen, the merchants had the reputation of being the most persistent, and several exhibited that determination and operated throughout the decade, weathering the economic cycles. Naming only a few of the many that came during the early years and stayed to help the city's growth illustrates their endurance. Merchant Ed Adelsdorfer and his brother Joseph introduced Swedish matches when they opened their store in the late 1840s and were still in business in 1860. Merchant William Meyer began in 1850, operated throughout the decade and was a member of the Vigilance committees of 1851 and 1856. Edward Woolf opened his clothing store in 1851 and continued until 1858. Merchant J. Friedlander operated from 1851 to 1854 and then again in 1856 through 1859. A. Kohler arrived in 1854 and opened his toy store, but he expanded by adding musical instruments and sheet music to his inventory, aggressively advertising over the years.<sup>35</sup>

As the number of transient miners fell over the decade, so did the number of hotels gradually declined, moving from the 6 percent in 1852, to 5 percent in 1855, to 3 percent in 1858 and 1859, and finally to 2 percent in 1860. Tracing the individuals and their occupations among the Germans reveals those hotel operators who left San Francisco after only a few years. Among those listed in 1852, John Bendhauser, left after only one year, Charles Walder left after two and W. Nolting ceased operating after three.

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<sup>34</sup>Details in Appendix 3, page 240.

<sup>35</sup>*Alta California*, April 3, 1851; June, 1, 1853; March 1, 1853; January 1, 1855; March 9, 1855; August 10, 1858. *Bulletin*, January 3, 1856. *California Census, 1852*. Colville, *San Francisco, 1856*. DAR, "San Francisco." Harris, Bogardus, and Lebatt, *1856*. Kimball, *1850*. Langley, *1858; 1859; 1860*. LeCount and Strong, *1854*. Morgan, *1852*. Parker, *1852-3*. *San Francisco Herald*, January 1, 1858. *U.S. Census, 1860*.

Some worked only sporadically such as H. Lutgens who skipped a year between 1853 and 1860. Henry Regensberger was another early arrival who was as a hotel keeper in 1850 but switched to dry goods for a year in 1853. Despite the influx of newcomers into the city, the hotel business for the Germans did not seem a place for instant profits.<sup>36</sup>

In the food processing industry, butchers and bakers and grocers rose, probably due to the tripling of the German population in San Francisco. Several found time to work outside their chosen professions, such as Hermann Schroder who arrived in 1858 to open his grocer store, but still found time in 1858 to perform as a musician. Some were active in Anglo organizations, illustrating that the Germans cooperated with their Anglo neighbors in both business and social activities. Butcher Sol Meyerback was a grocer in 1851 and 1852 and again in 1856 through 1858, and he also served as a member of the Vigilance committees of 1851 and 1856. Baker John Pfeiffer arrived in 1856 and stayed until 1860, joining the Harmony lodge of the Odd Fellows. Claus Spreckels was a well-known leader in the foodstuffs industry, arriving with his brother Diedrick in 1856 when they opened in grocery store. Eventually, he formed the California Sugar Refinery, a business so large Spreckels was designated the “Sugar King” by his contemporaries.<sup>37</sup>

The number of Germans involved in the leisure industries of tobacco and liquor grew over the decade, but at a different rate. Both Anglos and Germans had enjoyed the use of cigarettes and cigars over the years; therefore, the number of stores where they could purchase tobacco products grew at a steady rate of 8 percent to 9 percent over the

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<sup>36</sup>*California Census 1852*. Colville, *San Francisco, 1856*. DAR, “San Francisco.” Harris, Bogardus, and Lebatt, 1856. Kimball, 1850. Langley, 1858; 1859; 1860. LeCount and Strong, 1854. Morgan, 1852. Parker, 1852-3. *U.S. Census, 1860*.

<sup>37</sup>*California Census 1852*. Colville, *San Francisco, 1856*. DAR, “San Francisco.” Haller, *Distinguished German-Americans*, 128. Harris, Bogardus, and Lebatt, 1856. Kimball, 1850. Langley, 1858; 1859; 1860. LeCount and Strong, 1854. Morgan, 1852. Parker, 1852-3. *U.S. Census, 1860*.

decade. As the population grew in the mid 1850s, many tobacconists started their enterprises and stayed until the end of the decade. Examples include Fred Koster who arrived in 1855, left for one year, and then returned in 1858 to stay. Others were Louis Kaplan and Joseph Frank who arrived in 1855, and Henry Falkenstein who came a year earlier, and all operated until 1860. In 1857, three German tobacconists joined their Anglo fellow businessmen in the Cigar Makers Association in 1858, another concrete example of the cooperation among the merchants of San Francisco. A famous tobacconist in San Francisco was Adolph Sutro, although he is probably more famous for the tunnel he engineered at the Comstock lode and his tenure as mayor of San Francisco in 1894.<sup>38</sup>

The liquor industry also had a jump with in the number of brewers and distributors increasing to 17 percent in 1855. One can speculate that the financial crises during that year might have had San Franciscans, German and Anglo, turning to bear and other “spirits” for solace. Business was so successful that a number of merchants remained in business until the end of the decade. Some added other merchandise than liquor to their stores, such as Jacob Esche who advertised his liquor business when he arrived in 1851, but he also carried toys in his store in 1852. Brewer Adam Meyer arrived in 1855, as did distributor Otto Kloppert, and both operated until the end of the decade. In 1856, Jacob Specht and Frederick Kraus opened up liquor stores for the next five years, and Kraus also performed as a musician in 1858. John Frohling and Charles

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<sup>38</sup>All three arrived in 1857 and stayed until the end of the decade. Langley, *1858; 1859; 1860*. Sutro is recorded as living in San Francisco in 1853 to 1860. He also partnered with dry goods merchant Louis Sloss in Sacramento. Donovan Lewis, *Pioneers*, 427. “Adolph Sutro” (1830-1889) [www.sfmuseum.org/bio/adolph.html](http://www.sfmuseum.org/bio/adolph.html). *Alta California*, November 8, 1858. Colville, *San Francisco, 1856*. Gudde, *German Pioneers*, 20. Harris, Bogardus, and Lebatt, *1856*. Kimball, *1850*. Langley, *1858; 1859; 1860*. LeCount and Strong, *1854*. Parker, *1852-3*. *U.S. Census, 1860*.

Kohler rented a business in the Montgomery block to make and store wine, the beginnings of a major wine industry. Kohler was both a business and cultural leader in the San Francisco. In addition to being a prominent and active concert violinist, in 1857, with A. S. von Schmidt and two other partners, he started the San Francisco Water Works. He incorporated the cable car system and founded and was a director of the San Francisco Insurance Company and the Germans Savings Bank Society of San Francisco.<sup>39</sup> He saw the needs of both the Germans and Anglos and acted to meet them.

The number of restaurants and saloons in San Francisco grew steadily over the decade, a function of the growing size of the German and Anglo communities. Beginning in 1852 with German restaurants and saloons represented by only 3 percent of the larger enterprises, that number grew in 1853 and 1854 to 8 percent. As the mid 1850s depression grew and the repercussions of the panic of 1857 hit the city, the number dropped so that year; therefore, restaurateurs represented only 2 percent of the larger enterprises. After that disastrous year, however, the percentage rose to 6 percent and stayed at that level. Examples of the Germans' persistence to succeed are three owners who managed to survive the downturn and were still operating in 1860, possibly to advisements carried in the *California Demokrat*, *Abend Post* and *Hebrew Observer*. Adam Schuppert opened his saloon in 1853 and hosted several meetings of German residents there, advertising to keep his customers' attention. John Landsberger arrived in

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<sup>39</sup>*Alta California*, January 15, 1851; December 16, 1853; March 9, 1855; March 11, 1854. October 17, 1856. *Bulletin*, February 16, 1858. *California Census 1852*. Colville, *San Francisco, 1856*. DAR, "San Francisco." Harris, Bogardus, and Lebatt, *1856*. Kimball, *1850*. Langley, *1858; 1859; 1860*. LeCount and Strong, *1854*. Calvin E. Mehlert, *The Edward Mehlert and Johann Nolting Families, 1854-1955* (Camp-Connell, CA: C. E. Mehlert, 2006), 5. Morgan, *1852*. Muscatine, *Old San Francisco*, 189-210. Parker, *1852-3*. *U.S. Census, 1860*.



1854, began as a coffee house, but converted to a restaurant in 1858. Henry Winkle arrived in 1857 and worked as a baker for two years, opening his restaurant in 1859.<sup>40</sup>

The tradition of German families working together is demonstrated by several businessmen who partnered with family members. J. C. Meusshoffer, a hatter, arrived in 1854, operated in San Francisco from 1856 through 1860, and apprenticed family H. Meusshoffer who arrived in 1859. Another family member, Konrad, worked in Marysville in 1858 and 1860. In San Francisco, Meusshoffer advertised in the *Staats-Zeitung* and in the *Herald* where the ad read that his products were “not the Leader of Fashion, not Emporium . . . but a practical hat.”<sup>41</sup> Two members of the Brunning family, John and Herman, Jr. opened their grocery store in 1858, were joined by their father, Herman in 1859, and were in business together until 1860. The Wormser brothers were long time San Franciscan merchants, arriving in 1850, and operated a liquor store until 1860. Fred and Jonathan Mutzenberger first came to San Francisco in 1852, left to go the mines and returned to operate as cabinet makers from 1857 to the end of the decade. Germans’ family ties did not disappear when members moved to California and they family members learned of the opportunities awaiting them, they followed in a chain migration from Germany.<sup>42</sup>

The Germans of urban California were always looking for opportunities across the state to open businesses. The borders of their community were fluid enough they felt

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<sup>40</sup>*Alta California*, June 1, 1853. *Bulletin*, April 1, 1857. *California Census, 1852*. Colville, *San Francisco, 1856*. DAR, “San Francisco.” Harris, Bogardus, and Lebatt, *1856*. *San Francisco Herald*, January 2, 1856. Kimball, *1850*. Langley, *1858; 1859; 1860*. LeCount and Strong, *1854*. Morgan, *1852*. Robert J. Park, “German Associational and Sporting life in the Greater San Francisco Bay Area, 1850-1900,” *Journal of the West* 26:1 (January, 1987), 53, 62 n31. Parker, *1852-3*. *U.S. Census, 1860*.

<sup>41</sup>*San Francisco Herald*, July 1, 1856.

<sup>42</sup>Amy and Smith *1858*. Colville, *San Francisco, 1856*. Harris, Bogardus and Lebatt, *1856*. Langley, *1858; 1859; 1860*. LeCount and Strong *1854*. *Staats-Zeitung*, September 20, 1853. *U. S. Census, 1860*.

free to move from city to city, operating businesses where they saw chances for success. Louis Lask was one who moved from place to place looking for business possibilities. He was born in Prussia in 1824 and moved to New Orleans in 1845 where he clerked for four years. He arrived in San Francisco in September of 1849, worked as a trader until September of 1850 and then moved to Sacramento to open a clothing store. He returned to Europe in 1851 where he met and married his wife and brought her home to San Francisco where he operated again as a trader. He had visited Marysville in 1856 and eventually moved there in 1857 to open a clothing store. Lask's sojourn was not unusual. Merchant Marks Goodman declared he was a merchant in Marysville in 1852, came to Sacramento later that year where he operated a dry goods store until 1859 when he moved to San Francisco to become a tobacco merchant. James Honigsberger and his brother Solomon went to Sacramento to operate a dry goods store but moved to San Francisco in 1852, where James continued in operation in the mid 1850s. Solomon and Jacob Kohlman moved their clothing business back and forth between Sacramento and San Francisco following their customers. They opened their establishment in 1850 and operated until 1852 when they moved to San Francisco. After one year, they returned to Sacramento for one year and then returned back to San Francisco in 1854.<sup>43</sup> The business men continually looked for success and were willing to move among Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco to find it.

German entrepreneurs and merchants catered to and depended on both their German and Anglo neighbors. Some advertised in just the English-language newspapers or the German-language *Staats-Zeitung*, but many they advertised both in the German-

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<sup>43</sup>*California Census, 1852.* DAR, "Marysville;" "Sacramento;" "San Francisco." Colville, *Marysville, 1853; Sacramento, 1853; 1855; San Francisco, 1856.* Langley, *1858; 1859; 1860.* Lask, *Autobiography, 66-70. U.S. Census, 1860.*

language and English-language newspapers published during the decade. Some examples of individuals who advertised only in the *Zeitung* are metal worker John IIs and engraver George Küner. August Alers was a physician but he advertised his pharmacy to his German neighbors, perhaps to attract their attention. Some merchants advertised both in the *Staats-Zeitung* and in the city's Anglo newspapers, including tobacco merchant William Langerman and jewelers L. Braverman and Lewis Brunner. Langerman also partnered with Anglo Edgar Briggs, another example of German-Anglo cooperation. William Schleiden looked for German and Anglo customers by advertising his bookstore and library in both papers often during the decade. The German advertisers in the English-language Anglo newspapers looked for customers from the entire city, such as publisher Christian O. Gerberding who advertised a rental, the wife of musician L. T. Planel her teaching talents, Julius Negbaur his book store, and L. Behrens who pointed out he spoke four languages including German.<sup>44</sup> These are only a few examples of the many advertisements the Germans placed in the Anglo newspapers during the decade, and it is unfortunate that more of the German-language papers do not exist to look at their advertising practices as well.<sup>45</sup>

The two Censuses do list German women individually living in San Francisco, often as boarding house proprietors, servants or widows. Since city directory editors rarely listed boarding houses or servants, only the Census gives any insight into their

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<sup>44</sup>*Alta California*, January 15, 1851; July 2, 1851; January 3, 1853; February 13, 1853; March 11, 1854; January 1, 1855; March 5, 1855; March 9, 1855; November 21, 1858. Briggs, *Autobiography*, 37. *Bulletin*, January 2, 1857; April 1, 1854; October 1, 1857. *Staats-Zeitung*, July 3, 1852; September 20, 1853.

<sup>45</sup>In 1856, the *Alta California* commented on the foreign signs in San Francisco and of the fifty-six listed, only six business signs were in German, and two claimed "*Hier spricht mann Deutsch*" or "*Hier wird Deutsch gesprochen.*" Four inns or restaurants were listed: *Zum Golden Adler*, *Zum Rothen Lowen*, *Kuenatler Halle*, and *Zur Stadt Frankfort*. German merchants were anxious to cater to their Anglo customers as well as to German. *Alta California*, October 16, 1856; November 11; 1856.

occupations. Running a boarding house was very hard work, but it was one of the few occupations in the male dominated 1850s that might be profitable. It was the usual housekeeping chores except on a much larger scale, and juggling space requirements for family and boarders was a challenge. A boarding house provided meals, served at a common and housekeeping services for its residents where the hotels served food and drink to passersby as well as guests. Several listed in 1860 are Elizabeth Schrup, Louisa Walters, Esther Ruckle and Silvia Ochs. Unmarried women like Catherine Hagan would have trials managing her boarders and her two sons, Benjamin and Peter, as would Adelaide Schattler with her seventeen-year-old son, Anthony. Frederika Moser and Mrs. Hannah Solomon partnered with husbands, and Hannah's was in the shoemaking business. One wonders how involved the wives of J. Lutgens, Henry Regensberger and Henry Meyer were in the day-to-day operation. Servants in 1852 were mostly were young men, but by 1860 the overwhelming majority was young women, sometimes sisters or daughters of families as well as single newcomers. The increase in servants from 2 percent in 1852 to 8 percent of the Germans' occupations reflects the rising prosperity in the city as it was coming out of the depression. Homemakers were looking and advertising for servants to take the place done by relatives who became married, and the scarcity of these workers gave them control over their wages with a threat of quitting or leaving when offered higher wages elsewhere. The Census also listed widows such as Mary Nathan and Rebecca Messing and Lena Sanzberger but their husbands do not appear in earlier directories, perhaps because they migrated to San Francisco after their husbands died in rural California. Some operated boarding houses as well – Henrietta

Nahl is listed as a proprietor and her boarders might have included her artist sons, Adolph, Arthur and Charles.<sup>46</sup>

Statistics do not tell the entire story of the German businessmen who came to San Francisco to take advantage of the gold-rush based opportunities during the decade. Unfortunately, many did not record their experiences with the California Society of Pioneers or in diaries their descendants. The histories of four Germans who lived in San Francisco during the 1850s gives a more complete picture of how the newcomers coped with the frantic conditions in San Francisco.

Jacob Gundlach, the son of a vintner and hotelman father in Bavaria, came to San Francisco with the intention of going immediately to the mines. After learning of the hazards of that occupation, he opened a store in 1851, but in the next year, he changed and opened the Bavarian Brewing Company. In 1858, he launched a new winery outside the city in the Sonoma Valley, but as he is listed in the city directors for the following years 1859 and 1860, he must have still overseen his Brewing business.<sup>47</sup>

When Francis George Borneman first came to San Francisco from Germany in 1849, he actually went to the mines on the strength of his reading about the discovery of gold in a 1848 Bremen newspaper. He returned to the San Francisco in 1850 and, while living with physician and fellow German Carl Precht, opened a store, was successful, and sold it to August Weihe, another German. He opened a new store on the first of May but

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<sup>46</sup>Ochs is listed in the Directories for 1858 and 1859 in addition to the Census. Langley, *1858; 1859. U.S. Census, 1860*. In 1858, there was a call for a General Employment Agency signed by Louis Cohn and John A. Reichert, members of the Masonic Board of Relief, the purpose of which was to aid laborers who could use its information. *Bulletin*, November 2, 1858. *Alta California*, August 1, 1853. Brands, *Age of Gold*, 213. *Bulletin*, October 1, 1857; March 28, 1859. *California, Census 1852*. Colville, *San Francisco, 1856*. DAR, "San Francisco." Gambler, *Boarding House*, 8, 35, 40, 43. Harris, Bogardus, and Lebart, *1856*. Jolly, "Inventing the City," 130, 134-5. Kimball, *1850*. Langley, *1858; 1859; 1860*. LeCount and Strong, *1854*. Morgan, *1852*. Parker, *1852-3*. *Staats-Zeitung*, July 3, 1852. *U.S. Census, 1860*.

<sup>47</sup>lyde, "California Dream," 9. Muscatine, *Old San Francisco*, 210.

was burned out in the May 4, 1850 fire. He tried again and after he opened his new store, he sold out in one day. William Schleiden, after the custom house burned, bought his lease, so Borneman rented another site on Washington Street which subsequently was burned down in June of 1851. He rented yet another store, but by January 30, 1852, he became discouraged when business went down so sold his store and moved out of the city. He returned in 1858, bought a lot of 50 varas, and turned to gardening as a career.<sup>48</sup>

George Albrecht Ferdinand Küner is example of one chose to open a business rather than go directly to the mines. Born in Germany, he apprenticed in the engraving industry, got gold fever in 1848 and sailed for the San Francisco, arriving in 1849. Like Gundlach, stayed in the city after arriving and worked as an engraver and jeweler. At first he worked in the assay office, but after he started his own business in 1849, was very successful engraving seals for all the newly created counties in the State created by statehood in 1850. He also created seals for the Masonic and Odd Fellows lodges. He was burned out twice in the great fires, but relocated in the jewelry business with two partners, one of which was fellow German L. Braverman. In 1854 he went to Europe to find a bride, return to the city where he continued in business beyond 1860 and eventually had five children.<sup>49</sup>

The story of Christian Russ and his popular outdoor entertainment venue often frequented by Germans, the Russ Gardens, spans more than the decade. After he opened his jewelry store in 1848, he noticed that some of the items brought in by potential sellers

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<sup>48</sup>August Weihe was a tobacco merchant and lived in San Francisco, 1851-2, 1854, 1856-7 and 1859. Dr. Precht lived in the city from 1852 through 1860 and was a prominent physician and active in the German Benevolent Society. Bornemann, *Autobiography*, 27-30. *California Census, 1852*. Colville, *San Francisco, 1856*. DAR, "San Francisco." Harris, Bogardus, and Lebatt, *1856*. Kimball, *1850*. Langley, *1858; 1859; 1860*. LeCount and Strong, *1854*. Morgan, *1852*. Parker, *1852-3*. *U.S. Census, 1860*.

<sup>49</sup>Küner, *Autobiography*, 57-62.

had been stolen. Disillusioned, he closed the store in 1850 and bought two 100-vara lots and built a circular pavilion over 100 feet in diameter to accommodate large excursions and festivals complete with facilities for the popular German activities as gymnastics and shooting, naming it Russ Gardens.<sup>50</sup> As a lover of German music, he would encourage the *Turnverein* to hold its *Maifeste* there beginning in 1853, and Germans popularized the park by often visiting on their weekend excursions. He courted the patrons by advertising both in the German and Anglo papers. After he passed away in 1857, Herman Mast and B. Eberhardt assumed management of the Gardens and eventually Herman Mast bought them, but the name remained the same as its founder, Christian Russ.<sup>51</sup>

In all three cities in urban California, besides supporting their own traditions, the Germans performed an invaluable contribution by importing and distributing supplies and services for the miners during and after the gold rush. Some, like Bickel, were interested in finding quick riches and returning home, but many were primarily interested in establishing successful businesses. The Germans realized that cooperating with their Anglo neighbors was a key to achieving their goal and actively sought to join with them. The Anglos, in turn, welcomed and supported the German businessmen and entrepreneurs. The size of the German communities grew faster in Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco than that of the three cities' over-all populations, and the Germans were able to assess the changing demands of the population and the cities' new

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<sup>50</sup>A vara is a unit of length approximately one yard. [www.en.wiktionary.org](http://www.en.wiktionary.org)

<sup>51</sup>Apparently the affairs of Christian Russ were complicated by family members. Charles and Elizabeth Russ sued the executors of the estate questioning the ownership of the property. The results were not reported. *Bulletin*, October 19, 1858. *Bulletin*, March 20, 1857; June 5, 1857; April 13, 1859. Gudde, *German Pioneers*, 101. Roberta J. Park, "San Franciscans at Work and at Play, 1846-1868," *Sports in the West* XXII:1 (January, 1983), 47; "Sporting Life," 54. Henry Russ, *Autobiography*, 108-9. Isabelle Saxon, *Five Years Within the Golden Gate* (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott & Co., 1868), 101. *Staats-Zeitung*, July 3, 1852; September 20, 1852.

economic focuses and create new opportunities and industries. They chose occupations that supported the German traditions of joyful celebration such as saloons, breweries and liquor distributorships, but they were also interested in the vital enterprises of foodstuffs, clothing, and hospitality so necessary for a city to grow. Realizing that they could not succeed only within their own German community, they worked with their Anglo neighbors through partnerships and advertising to make the enterprises, whether small or large, grow. The Germans helped their fellow countrymen find work and build businesses keeping as many as possible out of the number of unemployed, even giving them funds when they arrived without any money.<sup>52</sup> As the initial impetus to growth from the gold rush disappeared and as the high degree of economic disorder of the early 1850s declined, the Germans stayed to work with the Anglos to bring economic stability and development in the cities.<sup>53</sup> The economic success of many of the German individuals gave them the time and resources to become cultural and social leaders in all three cities.

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<sup>52</sup> Johann Bickel, for example, both in San Francisco and Sacramento received aid when he arrived “penniless.” Cosgrove and Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 39-40. When Jacob Bachman arrived in San Francisco in 1849, he received coffee and pie from a “kind hearted German waiter” who refused money and gave him a cigar. Jeanne Skinner Van Norstrand, “The Diary of a ‘used miner:’ Jacob Henry Bachman,” *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXII:1 (January, 1942), 69.

<sup>53</sup>Barth, *Instant Cities*, ix. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 26, 33; “Social Mobility,” 104. Muscatine, *Old San Francisco*, 183.



## CHAPTER VI

### *Vereinswesen und Gemütlichkeit:* Celebrating Civic Life and Building cultural Institutions.

When newcomers came to Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco in the 1850s, they were often overwhelmed by the social and cultural chaos around them, so much so that many of their letters home and diaries concentrate on the cities' numerous saloons and gambling halls enticing the multitude of miners to lose their new-found riches. The authors of these documents could not look beyond the glitter and excitement to see the citizens' struggle beginning in the early 1850s to conquer the disorder and order and bring to the cities stability and culture over the decade.<sup>1</sup> The increase in fraternal and associations organized by German and Anglo citizens in all three cities was a key ingredient to bringing this change, and Germans were ready participants and were welcomed into the groups organized and dominated by the Anglos. The Germans did not abandon their own cultural ties to their homeland and continued the traditions of *Vereinswesen* (associational life) *Gemütlichkeit* or ("joy of living") and expanded their imagined community to include each other as well as other cities in the United States and the German area of central Europe. At the same time, the numerous events they planned and executed were enjoyed by their Anglo neighbors, adding a sense of

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<sup>1</sup>The depictions of the chaos and turmoil by historians and contemporary writers, and examples are in Hubert H. Bancroft, J. A. Benton, Peter Decker, Philip Ethington, Hinton Helper, J. S. Holliday, Bradford Luckingham, Frank Bailey Millard John Morse Malcolm Rohrbough, Frank Soulé, and Franklin Street. Bancroft, "California Inter Pocula, 246, 300, 305-6; *History*, 232-3. Benton, *California Pilgrim*, 175-181. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 106. Ethington, *Public City*, 5. Helper, *Land of Gold*, 151. Holliday, *World Rushed In*, 369-0. Luckington, "Associational Life," 3. Millard, *San Francisco Bay*, 140. Morse, "History of Sacramento," 6-7. Rohrbough, *Days of Gold*, 147, 149. Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, *Annals*, 225. Street, *California*, 46.

frivolity to the mainstream culture.<sup>2</sup> The differences in the cities' population determined the number and size of the fraternal and cultural organizations in each, but the influence of the Germans' institutions was strong in all three municipalities. Citizens, both German and Anglo, readily joined associations and clubs and urban California, and the Germans added *Gemütlichkeit* to their tradition of *Vereinswesen* that they brought from their homeland. They did not create a separate cultural neighborhood that stood beside the Anglos. Over the decade, the Germans' public demonstrations of their traditions and their interaction with their Anglo neighbors in the societies in Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco created a complex culture with roots in Europe as well as the United States.

A widely held belief is that the rise in social and cultural stability was the result of the increase in the number of women who immigrated to California over the decade, but historians writing today and in the nineteenth century refute that concept. New western historians argue that, because of the more charismatic picture of self-reliant pioneer, or even that the cultural history was destroyed by disasters such as the earthquake and fire in San Francisco in 1906, the role of organizations and clubs was small in the development of an organized society.<sup>3</sup> Historian Alexis de Tocqueville recognized the importance of associations, writing, "An association . . . is powerful and enlightened member of the community" and that "Americans of all ages, conditions and dispositions constantly form

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<sup>2</sup>Berglund, *San Francisco*, 1. Clark, *Gold Rush Dairy*, 576. Conzen, "Éthnicity as Festive Culture: Nineteenth Century German American on Parade," in *The Invention of Ethnicity*, Werner Sollors, ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 49-51. Faust, *German Element*, 465, 471. Roberta Park, "Private Play and Public Spectacle: Ethnic Sports and Celebrations in California, 1858-1915," *Stadion*, no. 12 (1986-7), 151.

<sup>3</sup>The fact that the number of women in Marysville increased from one in 1850, Mary Murphy Covillaud, to only 243 in 1852 out of the city's population of 4,500 could have encouraged that theory. Bancroft, "California Inter Pocula, 300, 305-6; *History*, 232-3. Barth, *Instant Cities*, 159. Berglund, *San Francisco*, xii. Berquist, *German Communities*, 10. *California Census, 1852*. DAR, "Marysville." Desmond, "Marysville," 30.

associations.”<sup>4</sup> Early California chroniclers Dr. John Morse and Frank Soulé, John Gihon and James Nisbet recognized the effect of the associations in their cities, as did the editors of the *San Francisco Herald* in 1855:

Considering the varied and conflicting interests of individuals  
Composing the community of San Francisco and in view of  
our peculiar and incongruous social elements, it may be deemed  
wonderful that so much has been accomplished for the benefit  
of mankind by our benevolent institutions.”<sup>5</sup>

Both the Anglos and Germans brought ideas of domesticity and stability, the former from the eastern United States and the latter from Europe, and translated these ideals when creating the numerous fraternal and cultural associations and fostering the growth of religious institutions. It was the influence of these organizations, scholars argue, that shortened the societal turmoil, eventually produced a degree of stability needed for growth, and a sense of community among its citizens that contributed to a growth of its cultural identity.<sup>6</sup>

The Germans formed associations in the spirit of *Vereinswesen* to preserve their cultural roots and to help the cultural and social growth of their new homes. By practicing *Gemütllichkeit* not only during the events generated by their clubs but also in every day celebrations, they demonstrated its importance for a new culture in urban California. Their “Germanness,” this philosophy of life, emphasized counterbalancing hard work and thrift with an ability to enjoy different kinds of enjoyments, but not to excess. Their public and private personality exemplified a good nature and an easing going disposition,

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<sup>4</sup>Alexis de Toquville, *Democracy in America*, vol. 1, Phillips Bradley, ed. (New York: Vintage, 1956), 114-5, 342.

<sup>5</sup>Quoted in Luckingham, “Benevolence,” 431.

<sup>6</sup>Abbott, *Cities Won the West*, 10. Barth, *Instant Cities*, 156. Berglund, *San Francisco*, 2, 9. Conzen, “Festive Culture,” 49-51. David Goodman, *Gold Seeking: Victoria and California in the 1850s* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 64-5, 89, 92, 181-4, 186. Luckingham, “Associational Life,” 104, 108; “Benevolence,” 431, 435. Morse, *History*, 2, 9, 18. Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, 304, 423, 488.

punctuated by a love of social contacts, the outdoors and good music. An integral part of their life style was the beer garden or tavern where often on Sundays both men and women could relax, enjoy visiting with their neighbors, and take pleasure in drinking German food and drink—every class of German regarded beer as a health food.<sup>7</sup> A stereotypical picture is a man with a “heavy beard, wearing a soft felt hat, loving his beer, smoking a long pipe, and sitting in a beer garden where a band or orchestra played familiar tunes of the fatherland”<sup>8</sup> The Germans’ many activities and involvement in the institutions of Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco, however, belie that image. In the area of musical appreciation, German musicians were very highly regarded in the Eastern United States, and the Anglos brought that admiration with them, actively supporting the efforts of the Germans in all three cities to introduce and present classical and popular music to their culture. Over the decade, the Anglos incorporated *Gemütlichkeit* this sense of joy and festive celebration in their own celebrations, particularly the city-wide festivities associated with the Fourth of July.<sup>9</sup> In addition, the Germans joined the Anglos in a number of the social and cultural associations so that the culture of urban California they created together was a new combination of the traditions and practices of both.

One traditional German institution, the *Turnverein*, clearly demonstrated for the Anglos the rituals and practices the newcomers brought from Europe. The club often

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<sup>7</sup>*Alta California*, May 10, 1858; July 19, 1858; October 24, 1859. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6, 18, 24. Barth, *Instant Cities*, 149. Park, “Associational Life,” 47. Wittke, *Germans in America*, 11.

<sup>8</sup>Wittke, *Germans in America*, 11.

<sup>9</sup>Roberta Park, “At Work and at Play,” 45. George von Skal, *History of German Immigration in the United States and Successful German-Americans and Their Descendants* (New York: F. T. and J. C. Smiley, 1908), 37-8. Germans brought their rich musical talents with them and changed America’s taste. German musicians usually constituted the early orchestras in Eastern cities. Of the eighty-one musicians in the Philharmonic Orchestra of New York in 1865, for example, seventy were German-born. Billingeimer, *Americans*, 100.

invited Anglos to join in their festive events, and often the Anglos participated. The *Turnvereine* (or gymnastic clubs) founded in all three urban Californian cities continued many of the objectives of the institution begun in Germany and expanded into the eastern United States. Friedrich Ludwig Jahn founded the movement in 1811 and emphasized physical and intellectual exercise and well-being. He included a political agenda of national unification as a defense against Napoleon and freedom for the middle- and low-class in Germanic Europe. When he was defeated and exiled, his disciples came to the United States and began to organize new *Turnvereine*.<sup>10</sup> In 1848, Fredrick Hecker founded the first *Turnverein* in Cincinnati, and the movement, with its strong emphasis on physical fitness through gymnastics and intellectual growth through reading and debate, spread rapidly throughout America. By 1856, twenty-six states had active clubs, and by the end of the decade, approximately 10,000 belonged to 157 *Turnvereine*. In the West by 1859, seventy-one were a part of the 390 established across the country. The associations were a critical and public expression of “Germanness” for the Anglos by maintaining its cultural character in its facilities, venues, programs and celebrations.<sup>11</sup>

The method of communicating among the national *Turnvereine* was its newspaper, the *Turn-Zeitung*, copies of which were most likely available in the bookstores of all three cities advertising German books and newspapers. It reported the

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<sup>10</sup>Barney, “Knights of Cause and Exercise: German Forty-eighters and Turnvereine in the United States during the Ante-Bellum Period.” *Canadian Journal of History of Sport*, 13:2 (1982), 62. Conzen, “Germans,” 416. Galicich, *German Americans*, 68.

<sup>11</sup>There is some controversy about the beginnings of the *Turnverein* movement. Hecker signed the *Turnverein* constitution on November 21, 1848, but some historians claim that the organization on July 25, 1848 in Louisville, Kentucky. Unfortunately, the earliest records were destroyed by fire set by Know-Nothing arsonists in January, 1858. The national headquarters for the American Turner movement today is in Louisville. Barney, “America’s First Turnverein: Commentary in Favor of Louisville, Kentucky,” *Journal of Sport History* 11:1 (Spring, 1984), 134-5, 7. Barney, “Forty-Eighters,” 19-21, 28; “Knights,” 62-3, 71. Conzen, “Festive Culture,” 49; “Germans,” 416-7. Luebke, *Germans*, 7. Henderson and Olasiji, *Migrants*, 109. Roberta Park, “Associational Life,” 49. Wittke, *Germans in America*, 8, 12.

appearance of the Know-Nothing party that inspired the Mid-western and Eastern *Turnvereine* to organize the individual groups into one *Turnbund* in order to address any reduction in the economic and political rights of foreigners through national or regional *Turnfests*, exhibitions and competitions. Social gatherings and celebrations were to be an important facet of all *Turnverein* events, but gatherings also had to include a component of political and gymnastic activities for mental and physical exercise.<sup>12</sup> In urban California, since the Know-Nothings had de-emphasized nativism in their announced political ideology, the celebrations in Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco did not include political rhetoric.<sup>13</sup> Sacramento was a specific instance when their members determined that ties to the national organization were not necessarily beneficial for the local *Turnverein*.

When the leaders of the German community in Sacramento organized a new *Turnverein* in 1854, they could follow the example of the national *Turnbund*.<sup>14</sup> The national *Turn-Zeitung* gave specific guidelines for establishing the organization. In the minutes of the organization's first meeting immediately signaled the Californian lack of concern about political action when stating their purpose:

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

No political or otherwise private purposes and interests  
shall be promoted by the Society as a Society."<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Roberta Park, "At Work and at Play," 47.

<sup>13</sup>Barney, "Forty-Eighters," 23, 28-30, 37; "Knights," 37.

<sup>14</sup>San Francisco had already established several German associations in 1853, including the *Turnverein*, singing societies, and the German newspaper *Staats-Zeitung*. *Alta California*, May 16, 1853. Historians are fortunate as the preservation of the early records Sacramento's *Turnverein* by their still active society gives detail insights into their activities. McCoy's overview is invaluable. McCoy, "Turnverein."

<sup>15</sup>McCoy, "Turnverein," 23.

San Francisco's *Turnverein* responded by sending a representative to coax the Sacramento Turners to change the stated purpose of the club to include promoting the cause of Socialism. Evidence of the Turners' dissatisfaction is the drop of membership to almost half between 1855 and 1856, and the leaders responded by creating a compromise where political discussions would be allowed only if the membership itself approved. In May, 1858, the bylaws banned all religious and political discussions at meetings. In 1859, the Sacramento Turners further demonstrated its affinity with other western societies and California by acceding to pressure from the national organization to resign from it. That same year, Sacramentans Carl Wolleb and David Korn initiated discussions about creating a Pacific *Turnbund*, a western-based association that eventually was founded in April of 1860.<sup>16</sup>

One insight into the early minutes of Sacramento's *Turnverein* may account for the lack of public information about its internal workings as well as those in the organizations in San Francisco and Marysville. The conflict in Sacramento between the local and national organizations was not reported in the Anglo newspapers. Apparently, privacy was the overall policy of the *Turnverein* dealing the media of the day. On June 20, 1854, Moses Greenebaum submitted a notice about the organization's inauguration to the Sacramento's *Daily Union* and, on June 22, an announcement of its gymnastic site. The minutes of the meeting of *Turnverein* shortly thereafter reported that the members were quite upset about the submissions and reprimanded him. As a result, future articles

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<sup>16</sup>“Turner” is a label the Anglos used to define members of the *Turnverein*.. Although not mentioned specifically, there was a state wide convention of the “*Turn-Verein* Associations of California in Stockton in October of 1860 where Sacramentans and San Franciscans are reported in attendance. Perhaps that is the Pacific *Turnverein* Wolleb and Korn advocated. *Alta California*, October 8, 1860. McCoy, “Turnverein,” 24, 26, 29, 54, 63, 88, 91, Appendix # 55. Sacramento Turn Verein, *100 Years – Sacramento Turn Verein, 1854-1954. Fest Schrift: Souvenir Album: May 15, 1854, May 23, 1954.* (Sacramento, CA: Sacramento Turn Verein, 1954), 19. *San Francisco Herald*, October 13, 1860.

about the *Turnvereine* in all three cities are basically announcements of its officers and descriptions of its celebrations and events, rather than how the organizations themselves operated.<sup>17</sup>

Although the *Turnvereine* of urban California may not have included political rhetoric on their agendas, their celebrations and parades were public statements of their national culture to be enjoyed by Germans and Anglos alike.<sup>18</sup> The newspaper accounts of the festivities in Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco planned and executed by the *Turnverein* and other German centered-associations all followed the same formula, whether the event was for only one day or more.<sup>19</sup> There were four components that directly related to the liturgy followed in the German churches in California, the United States and Germany. First was the parade or procession representing those attending entering into the celebration, the “introit,” from a central site to the festival location often in a remote, outdoor setting, in a sense, separating the celebrants from their everyday world.<sup>20</sup> The processions exposed the Germans cultural traditions practiced by their associations to urban Californians and, at the same time, invited “outsiders” to experience them, if only for a short period of time.<sup>21</sup> The festivities began with speeches and gymnastic exhibitions and, sometimes, theatrical performances often with explicit

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<sup>17</sup>McCoy, “Turnverein,” 6, 24, 26, 54. *Sacramento Union*, June 20, 1854; June 22, 1854. .

<sup>18</sup>Conzen, “Festive Culture,” 45-6, 48. Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theater in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1966), 8. Park, “Associational Life,” 55. David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: the Making of American Nationalism, 1776-1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 10, 12.

<sup>19</sup>Descriptions of some of Marysville’s *Maifests* are reported in: *Express*, May 3, 1858; April 11, 1859, and *Marysville Herald*, April 29, 1851; October 28, 1857. Other examples are the descriptions of celebrations in Sacramento recorded in its newspapers: *Bee*, October 8, 1859; October 14, 1859, and *Union*, June 19, 1855; June 22, 1855; August 30, 1856.

<sup>20</sup>The Germans claim to have introduced fire to their processions with torch lights, sometimes combining them with bands and music to honor dignitaries. Conzen, “Festive Culture,” 61.

<sup>21</sup>Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6, 14, 19. Conzen, “Festive Culture,” 58. Roberta Park, “Associational Life,” 47. Werner Sollors, “Introduction,” in *The Invention of Ethnicity*, Sollors, ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1929), xi.



messages that represented the liturgical readings from scripture and the sermon. A meal, often of German food, beer and wine, was next, representing Communion, followed by joyous celebrations with musical concerts or elaborate balls with music and dancing. At the event's end, participants processed, or recessed, or recessing, back home. In the 1850s, because a national "Germany" did not yet exist, the urban Californians employed these festivities to project a unified community with recognizable German traditions to communicate the strength of their "brotherhood" as well as tie their celebration to traditions in the homeland.<sup>22</sup> Whether it was an anniversary of one of the German societies or a celebration of an important occurrence relating to their roots, most of their festivities in Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco were attended by Germans and Anglos who enjoyed a boisterous yet regulated celebration.<sup>23</sup> These festivities were opportunities for the Germans to perpetuate their own familiar traditions and a way for them to participate in the evolving civic culture of urban California.

Not only did the Anglos and Germans celebrate together, but they also worked together to answer the needs of cities beyond Northern California. When San Franciscans learned of the yellow fever epidemic in New Orleans in 1853, both the Germans and Anglos quickly responded. The German-born and German-Americans answered the appeal from their sister society, The German Society of New Orleans, that was overwhelmed treating the victims. (A commonly held nineteenth century belief was that the Germans were particularly susceptible to the disease.) That year, over 5,500 died

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<sup>22</sup>Barney, *Turnverein*," 27. Billigmeier, *Americans*, 61. Conzen, "Festive Culture," 45, 60-1. Susan G. Davis, *Parades*, 12, 20, 61. Furer, *Germans*, 38. Roberta Park, "Associational Life," 55.

<sup>23</sup>Roberta Park argues that the *Turnvereine* in San Francisco were the best organized and most enduring of all the city's social and recreation-oriented organizations. Roberta Park, "At Work and at Play," 50. Luckingham, "Associational Life," 20. Lotchin, *San Francisco*, 112. Roberta Park, "Associational Life," 47.

in New Orleans, over 20 percent of the newcomers to that city. The Germans of San Francisco convened a committee of prominent citizens and held a benefit that featured a performance by the German Theatrical Troupe and several musical soloists. At the same time, an Anglo committee of representatives from the political Wards met to raise funds both from San Francisco and the interior cities, and the Germans welcomed the assistance from the “American fellow citizens in this benevolent enterprise.” This is a concrete example of the cooperation between the Germans and their Anglo neighbors answering a need beyond the city’s borders.<sup>24</sup>

All three urban Californian cities had a plethora of social and cultural associations, German and Anglo, but, like in the settlement patterns or business venues, the size of each municipality and its German population determined the breadth of the Germans’ involvement. Marysville, for example, could not support the same number of societies and association as San Francisco, but the Germans were still active and influential in all three cities. They followed their traditions of organizing and supporting clubs and associations designed to advance the culture of their new homes and the welfare of its citizens. Some societies were specifically designed to help their countrymen, but they often united with Anglos and their groups such as Masonic and Odd Fellows’ lodges with the same purpose. The most obvious institutions in the cultivating order in these cities were the churches, and Germans were active in founding and supporting Roman Catholic and Protestant churches as well as Jewish synagogues. The German’s influence in the music and theatrical arenas of Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco was not only through creating societies of their own and by joining Anglos

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<sup>24</sup>*Alta California*, September 23, 1853, September 24, 1853, September 25, 1853. Kondert, *New Orleans*, 65-67. Voss, *New Orleans*, 87-90.

in their efforts but also through using their individual talents to create and lead those cultural efforts during the decade. The addition of Germans into the Anglo-centered holidays such as July Fourth and California's Admission day testifies to their acceptance by the dominant cultural leaders of all three cities. The German icons of the Christmas tree and Santa Claus were gradually accepted by the Anglo San Franciscans, reflecting their growing integration into the holiday celebrations across America. The Anglos' appreciation and acceptance of the German Christmas icon, the Christmas tree, is a specific example where together, they were creating an urban Californian culture that included aspects of both the Anglo and German cultures. A more everyday example of this blending of Anglos and Germans is the funeral procession that carried the remains of a German sailor through the city in 1852. Two marchers bearing the flags of Germany and America led the parade of mourners from many countries, and the hearse was covered in national emblems of many different nations.<sup>25</sup> The Germans' celebrations in each city or state-wide, particularly those one-time events honoring Schiller and von Humboldt, are worth describing because they were a highly visible demonstration of the strength of their traditions and how the borders their imagined community stretched to include their Anglo neighbors.

Marysville's small size, both in overall population and in the German community, did not deter its citizens from founding German societies or from joining together in Anglo associations to influence the culture of the city. Its *Turnverein* presented demonstrations of how to incorporate the Germans' philosophy of *Gemütlichkeit* into their celebrations. Germans joined Anglos in the city's churches and benevolent societies

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<sup>25</sup>*Alta California*, March 26, 1852. Leigh Eric Schmidt, *The Buying and Selling of American Holidays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995) 123-4, 130-4.

in the pursuit of order. The culture of Marysville welcomed participation by the Germans and fell under their influence. Joining together in festivals and Christmas celebrations, the Anglos and Germans created a culture not unlike that in Sacramento and San Francisco.

The *Turnverein* was founded in Marysville in 1856 when merchants Bernard Barron, Charles Specht and Adam Sattler organized the city's *Turnverein* in May, 1856. and musician Martin Simonson was among the Turners, its members. The society's officers and members planned regular social gatherings including the annual *Maifest* (early May festivals) celebrations and balls, and, after 1857, when they a newly built *Turnhalle* in which to celebrate, held a "Grand Souriee" on November second. The newspaper deemed the *Maifest* held in 1859 at the Vick House in the Marysville "suburb" of Long Bar in 1859 a successful cotillion and picnic and encouraged the organizers to repeat it. In 1857 and after, Turners invited all the residents of Marysville to attend their *Turnverein* anniversary balls, and the celebration the following year was well attended and a success.<sup>26</sup>

Throughout the decade, Germans, whether members of the *Turnverein* or not, helped organize the many balls held in the city. In 1851, for example, the *Marysville Herald* proclaimed a ball organized by Jacob Reuger and Geoge Engler at their Marysville Hotel and Brewery as "a most pleasant affair" enjoyed by the whole community, German and Anglo. Turners joined with Anglos to plan balls held by the

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<sup>26</sup>Reporting of the events sponsored by the *Turnverein* is scant perhaps because some events were for members only. Further, the society's records are slim since it disbanded around 1918. Pumroy, *Research Guide*, 291. Simonson also performed in San Francisco at various concerts throughout the decade. *San Francisco Herald*, September 2, 1855. Chamberlain, *Yuba County*, 62, *Express*, May 3, 1859; May 9, 1859. *Marysville Herald*, October 8, 1857; October 28, 1857. *Democrat*, October 30, 1858; November 17, 1858; November 18, 1858.

Yuba Fire Company and the Warren Engine Company and called on the German Williams Coronet Band for the musical entertainment. German members of the Odd Fellows were among the planners of their Grand Ball in 1859. The German members of the Hebrew Benevolent Society were among the planners when the Society began holding balls in 1856. In 1859, the Society's ball provided dinner for 212 guests, fifty couples of which danced to the latest tunes. The *Democrat* also proclaimed the Gift Ball and Concert organized by music professor Fredrich Grambass a great success.<sup>27</sup> The Germans of Marysville, *Turnverein* members or not, through helping plan and execute the joyful and pleasurable entertainments for the city's citizens, Anglo and German, added *Gemütllichkeit* to the leisure activities of all its citizens.

Sharpshooting was another pastime enjoyed by nineteenth century men and the Germans were always active participants. Although there was no formal *Schützenverein* in Marysville, both Anglos and Germans could participate in one of the many daily meets held towards the end of the decade. In 1858, Zabriski's Garden, a popular retreat, held a pigeon shooting tournament, and Eckel's Garden, another resort on the other side of town, advertised daily shooting every day between December 25, 1858, and January 1, 1859. Citizens were also invited to participate at a meet held by the Sacramento rifle Club in September of 1859. The numerous notices and advertisements indicate that many of Marysville's citizens had a strong interest in the sport.<sup>28</sup>

The small size of Marysville's population did not deter them from organizing churches. Anglos and Germans supported the three Protestant churches founded in 1850,

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<sup>27</sup>*Democrat*, October 1, 1858; October 27, 1858; September 23, 1859; October 20, 1859; October 21, 1859. *Express*, April 11, 1859. January 20, 1859; December 20, 1859. *Marysville Herald*, January 3, 1851; January 10, 1851; September 2, 1856; September 24, 1857; February 5, 1858.

<sup>28</sup>*Democrat*, August 25, 1858; December 25, 1858. *Express*, September 14, 1859. Wittke, *Germans in America*.

the Congregational Church in April, the Methodist Episcopal Church in June and the Presbyterian Church in September. The following year, all three erected buildings to house their congregations. St. Joseph's Catholic Church held its first service in September of 1852. Early historians list Germans as officers in these parishes, although most early records are missing. As the number of Germans in Marysville grew, they organized additional churches but not until after the 1850s, the German Methodist Episcopal church in 1860 and the Roman Catholic Church of the Immaculate Conception in 1871.<sup>29</sup>

Germans joined their Anglo neighbors working in the fraternal and benevolent associations of Marysville for the benefit and welfare of its citizens. Although "German lodges" had not been organized, in the published directories for 1856 and 1858, several Germans were listed as officers of the city's Masonic Lodges and the Odd Fellows lodges. Because Germans were officers in the lodges, the memberships must also have included a number of Germans as "ordinary members" acting to help those who arrived in Marysville "sick, moneyless, and friendless." The religious based charitable society, the Hebrew Benevolent Society listed two Germans among its officers in 1855 and, as the Society expanded, listed six in 1857. Those affiliated with the Society were from Europe and the United States; therefore, membership was open to all of Jewish faith regardless of birthplace. The Society met on the first Sunday of the month, and announcements were regularly published in Marysville's newspapers. The paper's editors urged members and non-members alike to attend the Society's annual balls, highlights of Marysville's social

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<sup>29</sup>Chamberlain, *Yuba County*, 52-4. Ramey, "Marysville," Part 3, 41. Helen Turner Shaver, *History of the First Presbyterian Church of Marysville, 1850-1875* (Marysville: First Presbyterian Church, 1985), 44. An interesting side note is that neither Sacramento nor San Francisco established Roman Catholic Churches until later in their history.

calendar. Society member J. C. Bender was one German citizen extremely active in the city's community, as he belonged to the Odd Fellows and the *Turnverein* as well.<sup>30</sup>

When the Germans and Anglos worked for the benefit of Marysville's citizens, they did not always concern themselves with ethnic or national origin identity. The Germans sometimes emphasized their cultural affinity but they were not reluctant to combine forces with the Anglos who, in turn, welcomed their participation.

Along with their concern about the welfare of all their fellow citizens of Marysville, Germans looked to expand the culture of the town in the area of music and dance, a pursuit they followed in other American communities. German Professor Fredrich Grambss led the efforts in the musical arena, when beginning in 1851 he promoted concerts for the entire community. The *Marysville Herald* pronounced his weekly series an outstanding success. Martin Simonson performed in trios and ensembles when he stopped in Marysville during his tours of California. Grambss helped form the Marysville Choral Harmonic Society, inviting mostly Anglos, and the group entertained annually for the city. Because dancing was important to know to partake in the many balls in Marysville, Mrs. Louise Baker and her daughter, Emma, opened their Select Dancing Academy in 1857, and when Albert Peri and his wife came in 1858, they also offered lessons, and their regularly held *Dansants* were very popular.<sup>31</sup>

The Germans, however, wanted a singing society of their own, so they founded a singing society, the *Liederkrantz* in 1855, combining their love of music and club life.

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<sup>30</sup>Amy and O., 1856; \_\_\_\_\_, and Smith, 1858. Chamberlain, *Yuba County*, 56-7. *Democrat*, September 23 1859; October 20, 1859; October 21 1859. *Express*, October 18, 1859; October 20, 1859. *Marysville Herald*, October 16, 1856; September 9, 1857.

<sup>31</sup>The Anglo community gave Grambass and B. W. Arnold the title "Professor" to indicate they taught musical appreciation and performance in Germany and brought those skills with them. Conzen, "Germans," 416. *Democrat*, December 14, 1858; December 15, 1858; December 30, 1858. October 27, 1859. *Express*, February 8, 1859. *Marysville Herald*, April 26, 1851; April 29, 1851; April 3, 1857. Henderson and Olsiji, *Migrants*, 107. Wittke, *Germans in America*,

Professor B. W. Arnold was its first leader, but Professor Grambss succeeded him in 1856. They held annual *Liederkrantz* balls, beginning in 1857, usually during the Christmas holiday season, with the second on New Year's Day in 1858 and the third on December 29 that same year, and they all attracted a large fashionable audience. The newspapers labeled the fourth ball on December 28, 1859, labeled it a "superb affair."<sup>32</sup>

Over the decade, the Anglos increasingly looked to the Germans for help in planning Anglo-oriented festivals. In addition to helping arrange events such as bar-be-que-centered celebrations for July fourth, the Germans initiated and supported "public dinners" in German-owned venues when the City lacked money to fund a civic celebration. In 1859, Louis Glassen and Jacob Levy were members of the city's official committee, and they helped plan a dinner and dance at the Grove, including transportation to pick up celebrants at the major hotels in town. Other city-wide celebrations benefitted from the Germans help. The Masons' St. John's Day celebration in 1850 followed the German model with a full procession and parade with brass bands. Jacob Geiss, in 1857, sponsored an Easter ball, offering to pick up celebrants at hotels, and introduced the customs of Easter bunnies that originated in Germany. On the first Sunday in May, newspaper advertisements invited all of Marysville's citizens to celebrate *Maifest*, the traditional German holiday festival honoring springtime. Day-long picnic excursions to Long Branch were the highlight of the festivities, with dances and dining at Krause's Union Hotel and Joseph Vick's ranch. The local school, Notre Dame Academy,

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<sup>32</sup>*Democrat*, December 14, 1857. *Express*, January 4, 1858; December 29, 1859.



also sponsored a May Day Festival in 1858. The Anglos were adding the ethic of *Gemütlichkeit* to their celebration.<sup>33</sup>

Marysville's citizens incorporated the German Christmas traditions into their celebrations of the day, including Christmas trees, evergreens, the icon of Santa Claus and the custom of gift-giving to their celebration. They had all been introduced from Germany in the 1840s and 1850s and were gaining popularity across the nation. Over the decade, the editorials and advertisements in the city's newspapers document the Anglo residents' increasingly adopting these customs. In 1855, for example, the Marysville Herald promoted the custom of gift giving, and the following year, Schultz and Wilker, the German confections specifically advertised Christmas candies for sale. Merchants advertised gifts in 1857, churches were festooned with evergreens, and Christmas fairs, Sunday School exhibits, and everyone was invited to a Christmas dinner. Adam Schmidt, at his Young American Saloon, invoked the use of fire to celebrate by lighting barrels and old boxes on Christmas night. In his advertisement in 1859, merchant Henry Weil designated himself as "agent" for Santa Claus. As all over America, the Marysville's Anglos integrated the German traditions and rituals into Christmas, and the Marysville Germans' persisted in maintaining their "Germanmess" for many years. Descendents of immigrants and old-time residents today recall that the Germans continued to actively celebrate their culture with *Maifests* and *Weihnachtszeit* (Christmastime) parties.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>Conzen, "Festive Culture, 45, 59 62; "Germans," 424. *Democrat*, August 24, 1858. *Express*, May 3, 1858; April 9, 1859; April 11, 1859; April 26, 1859; May 30, 1859; July 4, 1859. Faust, *German Element*, 383. *Marysville Herald*, June 29, 1856; July 4, 1857.

<sup>34</sup>Ann Mathews Dais, a descendant of a German pioneer family, recalls her family's celebrations of *Maifest* and Christmas complete with German Traditions. Ann Mathews Dias, Interview with the author, August 20, 2001. Clyda Greely, in 1867, recalled German celebrations with German food and dancing at home and fancy dress balls in hotels decorated with evergreens. Clyda Greely, "Christmas in Marysville – Long Ago," *Sutter County Historical Society News Bulletin*, VI:3 (October, 1967), 13-20. *Democrat*, December 9, 1859. DuBois and Scheweppe, *Germans*, 70. Faust, *German Element*, 383-4.

Despite Marysville's small size and small population, Germans helped shape its culture and society, and that of the other urban Californian cities, into a way of life that, at first, was chaotic generated by the rapid influx of foreigner and Anglo alike. Over the decade, they not only instituted their own associations but joined with their Anglo neighbors to help guide theirs. In Sacramento, because of its greater number of citizens, Germans and Anglos could avail themselves of more opportunities to work in benevolent and social associations to improve the social welfare of its citizens and create cultural venues for all to enjoy.

The larger number of Germans living in California's "Second City," Sacramento, translated into a greater participation in the social and cultural lives of both the Germans and Anglos, although the largest German society, the *Turnverein*, sometimes excluded their Anglo neighbors to preserve and strengthen its own cultural traditions. Although considerably larger than Marysville, the Germans of Sacramento duplicated the social and cultural practices of their countrymen living in the smaller city. The development of Sacramento's musical culture was largely due to the Germans' leadership, and they encouraged the inculcation of their traditions in weekend, *Maifest* and Christmas celebrations.

Sacramento's *Turnverein*, founded in 1854, planned numerous activities, public and private, for the city's Germans and became the center of their social life. In 1855, anxious to solidify its ranks, the Turners selected a permanent meeting site, a uniform a seal, and an inaugural ball. They first met in a private home, but when it was destroyed by fire the same year, they rented a "*zinkhaus*" as their headquarters. The Turners kept

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*Marysville Herald*, December 24, 1855; December 14, 1856; December 18 1857; December 22, 1857; December 24, 1857; December 25, 1857; December 27, 1857. von Hagen, *Germanic People*, 326. Wittke, *Germans in America*, 11.

moving during the decade, renting a larger building in 1855 and, in 1856, erected a building on the *zinkhaus* site to accommodate its growing membership, celebrating with a *Krätzchen* (private party). In 1859, they raised sufficient funds to erect a two-story headquarters, and, when ceremoniously laying the cornerstone, the Sutter Rifle Company and Sacramento Brass band entertained. Orator David Korn emphasized that the *Turnverein* could now satisfy the needs of the Germans but they would also introduce their traditions to their Anglo neighbors. When it opened on September 5, 1859, the Turners held a grand inauguration ball on its dancing floor large enough to accommodate many “whirling” dancers.<sup>35</sup>

Uniforms and badges were importation tools of identification for nineteenth century societies, and the Turners created theirs to impress their Anglo neighbors with the solidarity of their organization. Gray trousers, jackets and hats, red neckerchiefs, and black leather belts completed the ensemble and identified members during processions when greeting out-of-town guests or in July Fourth parades. Their official seal or insignia with a sword, torch and handshake further distinguished the members, and the symbols represented bravery, liberty and friendship. Carrying German and American flags during parades signaled a desire for some collaboration with the Anglos, while their banners of blue and silver from the *Harmonie* and the gold fringed *Eintracht* symbolized their unwavering devotion to their cultural roots.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Barney, “Turnverein,” 17. *Bee*, July 5, 1859. Colville, *Sacramento, 1855*, 30. McCoy, “Turnverein,” 27-8, 60-1, 91, 95-100, 144. Bruce Pierini, “Germans: A German History of the Sacramento Area,” Sacramento Ethnic Survey (Sacramento History Center, 1983), 43. *Union*, July 28, 1854.

<sup>36</sup>*Bee*, July 2, 1859. Billigmeier, *Americans*, 84. Conzen, “Festive Culture,” 45-6, 48, 71-3. McCoy, “Turnverein,” 48-9, 62-3. *Union*, July 4, 1859; October 9, 1859; October 10, 1859.

The *Turnverein* sponsored numerous balls, *Krätzchene*, *Maifeste* and many anniversary celebrations after it was established in 1854. The first ball planned by its twenty-nine members in November of 1854 had an attendance of 120 Sacramentans and a monetary profit of \$115.00, testifying to its success.<sup>37</sup> The next year, the Turners advertised in San Francisco's *California Demokrat* and *Staats-Zeitung* which must have attracted out of town guests since 400 enjoyed a good supper, musical offerings and dancing when its membership totaled only eighty. Later in 1856, the Turners also invited guests from San Francisco, Nevada and Dutch Flat to their Christmas Eve ball, and 150 couples came and heard vocal music and enjoyed a gymnastic exhibition. The success of the *Turnverein* ball in 1859 was reported by the *Daily Union*:

The Christmas gift Ball to be held this evening at Turn-Verein [sic] Hall bids fair to exceed any festival hitherto given by the Turn-Verein, it being determined to spare no pains or expense to render it in all respects an unusually pleasant and agreeable affair.<sup>38</sup>

Germans and Anglos perceived the large public balls planned by the Turners as successful additions to their social calendars.<sup>39</sup>

Beginning in 1856, the *Turnverein* held small, intimate and private *Krätzchene* where members and guests would gather for an evening of dining, singing and dancing, paying a small nominal admission charge. Gathering at the Vauxhall Gardens, a larger affair would have a small group of musicians.<sup>40</sup> In February of 1856, Barbara Bickel attended one and wrote home to her sister:

Three weeks ago I went to the last German Ball with

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<sup>37</sup>McCoy, "Turnverein," 62-3.

<sup>38</sup>*Union*, December 26, 1859.

<sup>39</sup>McCoy, "Turnverein," 45, 76. *Union*, February 16, 1855; February 26, 1855; December 26, 1855; August 16, 1858; December 26, 1859.

<sup>40</sup>McCoy, "Turnverein," 74-5. The city's newspapers did not report details of these parties.

Mr. Drüke, a good friend of Mr. Heinrich. My ball dress was white too, [as was her sister's]. I have a dress of mull that is 'lo näck' or *décolleté*, short sleeves with a white bow in my hair – in a crown --, white boots or slippers and white kid gloves. This all looked very good.<sup>41</sup>

Her escort, George Drüke, was her future husband.

The *Maifest* celebrations planned by the *Turnverein* followed the formula of procession, gymnastic exhibitions, group singing, dining and then processing back to the city. All Sacramentans were invited to attend, and did.<sup>42</sup> A reporter from the *Daily Union* described a typical gathering:

The Sacramento Turners, on Sunday last, held a very pleasant picnic . . . in a beautiful grove of oaks. . . There were of the party, including ladies, about seventy-five persons. Aside from a bountiful supply of edibles and sustaining beverages, the party were [sic] regaled with singing and dancing – the music for the occasion being furnished by Lottheimer and Wetterman, and among other incidents to enliven the festival were a footrace between several of the ladies and a bag race . . . The party left the city for the ground in vehicles about 8 a.m., and started on their return about 5 p.m., well pleased with the trip.<sup>43</sup>

The anniversary celebrations planned by the *Turnverein* were social highlights every year, and the usual order of the day was familiar to all. The first was a two-day affair held in June of 1855. Guests included forty members of San Francisco's *Turnverein* who joined in the procession the night before. At Tivoli Gardens, both days' festivities included songfests, gymnastic exhibitions, and a shooting tournament. Dancing "with unflagging fervor until 8 o'clock" in the evening capped the first day's activities, and the second culminated with a hugely attended ball including John Sutter,

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<sup>41</sup>Cosgrove and Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 75-6.

<sup>42</sup>McCoy, "Turnverein," 13-4, 75-6.

<sup>43</sup>*Union*, May 31, 1859.

bedecked in red and blue souvenir ribbons reading "First Anniversary Festival of the Sacramento Turn Verein [sic]." Although not always open to all, subsequent celebrations were similar, always two-day affairs with gymnastics, singing and dancing and grand parades. The *Daily Union* described one as an event where "order prevailed," the music excellent, and the scene "gay and pleasing."<sup>44</sup>

Although Germans regarded sharpshooting an important activity, the size of their community was not large enough to organize a formal *Schützenverein*. The Swiss and Sacramento Rifle companies held sufficient meets for Turners to enjoy. Many were held in conjunction with balls, and both Germans and Anglos won many prizes. L. Lotthammer tried to organize one in July of 1856, but the rifles took ten months to arrive, and when long-time members left Sacramento, they took their rifles with them so newer members had none to use. After 1857, the group disbanded.<sup>45</sup>

Sharpshooting was not was not the only physical activity commonly practiced by Sacramentans. In May of 1856, perhaps in answer to the numerous gymnastic exhibitions by the Turners, the *Daily Union* promoted that sport as an avenue to good health. Fred Van Vleck, after his appointment by the city, held classes at his gymnasium for public school boys and girls. Sacramento's clerks and merchants were instrumental in organizing the first baseball club in California in 1858, and since it was such a popular

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<sup>44</sup>Colville, *Sacramento 1855*, 46. McCoy, "Turnverein," 50-51, 78, 83. Sacramento Turn Verein, *100 Years*, 17. *Union*, June 19, 1855; June 20, 1855; June 22, 1855; August 30, 1856; September 6, 1856.

<sup>45</sup>Charles Heinrich, Barbara Drüke's former employer, was a winner at the event held in 1859. McCoy, "Turnverein," 72-4. *Union*, July 1, 1853; October 1, 1857; October 27, 1857; September 20, 1859.

pastime and since so many Germans were employed as clerks and merchants, one might suppose that a number of them were players.<sup>46</sup>

Like the Turners in all three urban Californian cities, Sacramento's were always looking for opportunities to expand their German community across northern California. In 1859, they planned a three-day Grand *Turnfest* and invited their countrymen from other *Turnvereine* to join them. The celebration included processions "without music" or "by the tap of the drum" and concerts, exhibitions of gymnastics and shooting, and a grand ball when "delightful music, bright lights and sparkling eyes will give zest to the enjoyment of the dance, so that tripping feet will still be busy in the waltz when the morning star begins to fade." The *Bee* reported: "This is not a mere local affair, but is an ingathering of Turners, from all parts of the State, or on the coast . . . at which a large delegation – probably a hundred persons – will be present from San Francisco and lesser bodies from other cities and towns."<sup>47</sup> This is only one example of the numerous occasions when Germans traveled away from their homes to celebrate together.<sup>48</sup>

As evidence of the Sacramentans' pursuit of order and "civilization," they sponsored religious institutions, beginning with open-air services in April of 1849. During the decade, they organized Protestant churches of several denominations and the Congregation B'Nai Israel. Reverend J. A. Benton's First Church of Christ, the First Methodist Episcopal Church, and the First Baptist Church were all meeting by 1850, and Germans William Walther in the Methodist Episcopal and Carl Wolleb in the Baptist

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<sup>46</sup>*Bee*, October 3, 1857. Conzen, "Festive Culture," 74. McCoy "Turnverein," 94. *Union*, May 10, 1856. Natalie Vermilyea, "Krank's Delight: California Baseball, 1858-1888," *Californians*, 8:6 (1991), 33.

<sup>47</sup>*Bee*, October 8, 1859;

<sup>48</sup>*Bee*, October 9, 1859; October 11, 1859; October 14, 1859. McCoy, "Turnverein," 54. The "Master Song Fest" held in San Francisco in 1857 is another example. *Alta California*, July 27, 1857.

churches belonged to the respective congregations. In 1852, the B’Nai Israel congregation at the home of M. Hyman and subsequently founded the Hebrew Benevolent Society. The records of the German Methodist Church organized in 1856 are lost as it disbanded in 1866 due to financial problems. Germans adhering to the Lutheran faith lived in Sacramento in 1850, but they did not formally organize until 1860. Unlike in Marysville, the Protestant Germans did not form ethnically-bound churches in the 1850s, but the scant evidence that still exists indicates they joined with the Anglos for religious worship in their new home.<sup>49</sup>

City directories confirm that Sacramento’s Masons and Odd Fellows both included Germans among their members. In 1851, the first Masonic Lodge formed, and in 1853, German Sol Kohlman s belonged to the Tehama Lodge, and in 1856, two belonged to the Sacramento State Lodge and four to the Union Lodge. The Odd Fellows’ lodge El Dorado was organized in 1852 and elected Joseph S. Korn as secretary in 1856.<sup>50</sup> Although Germans in Sacramento were not numerous enough to sponsor their own lodges in either organization, their desire for order and growth led them to join the Anglo lodges where they were accepted.

Besides social and religious activities for citizens of Sacramento, the Germans were leaders in the planning of and the performing in musical events for the city. Martin

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<sup>49</sup>The Roman Catholics were served at the Irish-based St. Rose Church, and tensions between the Irish and German members festered over the years. German-speaking priests helped serve the Germans, but they did not open their new St. Francis church until 1895. According to Steven Avella, the Irish Catholic leaders treated the Sacramento Germans as “stepchildren” and offered little financial or moral support in their efforts to found a ethnic parish. Steven M. Avella, *Sacramento and the Catholic Church: Shaping a Capital City*. (Reno: University of Nevada Press), 114-116. Frank Kline Baker, *Souvenir History of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, Sacramento, California, Written for the Sixtieth Anniversary*. (Sacramento: J. M. Anderson, 1909), 36, 77, 79. Berner, “Lutheran Churches,” 2, 9. Pierini, “German History,” 66. Reed, *Sacramento County*, 107. Severson, *Sacramento*, 56, 124.

<sup>50</sup> Colville, *1853-1854; Sacramento, 1856*. Reed, *Sacramento County*, 198, 200, 202. Severson, *Sacramento*, 123. Willis, *Sacramento*, 253.



Simondson, a violin and piano soloist, played at the Empire Hotel, and A. Heyman played with the American Brass Band. Records show that two events where the Brass Band played were the balls at Knight's Landing and at the Western, and they probably performed at many more. Heyman partnered with J. P. Melchoir to form a dance studio where Sacramentans could learn the dance steps and practice at their "*soiree dansants*." At Christmas time in 1857, they offered subscription dances through newspaper advertisements. The Sacramento Union Band played for both Anglos and Germans at regular concerts at John Zwicker's Weiner Coffee Hall, Fourth of July celebrations and *Turnverein*-sponsored events, probably because of the advertisements they ran regularly in the newspapers. Concerts of choral music began in 1855 when Carl Wolleb organized a *Gesangverein* with other *Turnverein* members, calling the group *Liederkrantz* (men's chorus). They found success in Sacramento and were one of the groups that participated in the First German Musical Festival held in San Francisco in 1857. Twelve *Gesangverein* members, led by John Schwegerle, joined the two hundred member *en masse* choir that performed over the three-day festival. When Schwegerle left Sacramento after the excursion, the *Gesangverein* was inactive, and it was his return in 1859 and the new *Turnhalle* that provided space for the singers that revived the group.<sup>51</sup> The entire citizenry, Anglo and German, were welcome on Sundays to enjoy concerts at Hubbard and Zwicker's Gardens, Henry Frick's Garden, Nolan's Gardens and the Vauxhall Gardens and to make and renew acquaintances and friendships with each other.

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<sup>51</sup>On July 4, 1859, the Sacramento Brass Band earned \$500 as the main musical group at that celebration. *Union*, July 4, 1859. *Bee*, October 3, 1857; October 10, 1857; December 22, 1857; December 23, 1857; April 30, 1859; June 20, 1859. *Invitation to the Social Ball at Western Hotel, January 1855*. (N.p., 1855). McCoy, "Turnverein," 43-4. *Sacramento Transcript*, September 24, 1850. Sacramento Turn Verein, *100 Years*, 17. *Union*, July 1, 1854; July 4, 1856; August 30, 1856; July 1, 1857; July 10, 1857; July 23, 1857; July 4, 1859.

The German tradition of Christmas trees and gift-giving were adopted by the churches in Sacramento, probably encouraged by Walter at the First Methodist Episcopal and Wolleb at the First Baptist. In 1850, the editors of the *Transcript* described and explained the German tradition of Christmas trees when they promoted “keeping Christmas;” therefore, Sacramentans were familiar with the candlelit tree symbol the celebration of which was growing across the country. The *Daily Union* and *Bee* both describe Christmas tree celebrations in the Protestant churches in 1857, 1858 and 1859.<sup>52</sup> In Sacramento, the German newcomers introduced, portrayed, and demonstrated their traditions of *Vereinswesen* and *Gemütlichkeit* to their Anglo neighbors and they, in turn, not only accepted them but gradually included them in their own life styles.

As in Marysville and Sacramento, San Francisco’s Germans influenced the social and cultural lives of the citizens, encouraging them to adopt the German traditions they brought from the homeland. Tracing and documenting the many individuals who lived in San Francisco throughout the decade underscores how important they were to the city’s social and cultural growth. Implementing their *Vereinswesen*, they formed social and cultural associations to help calm the chaos of the city’s early years. Although they represented only 8.5 percent of the city’s residents in 1852, growing to approximately 17 percent by 1860, the influence of their groups and their activities far outweighed their numbers, bringing a social and cultural stability to San Francisco and contributing to the truly cosmopolitan culture of the city. Because of the plethora of so many diverse German groups, the Anglo majority did not feel threatened and Germans could operate

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<sup>52</sup>*Bee*, December 24, 1857. *Sacramento Transcript*, December 24, 1850. *Union*, December 23, 1858; December 23, 1859; December 26, 1859; December 27 1859.

freely in its public sphere.<sup>53</sup> Bancroft related this story to illustrate the cordial relationship between the two:

A German editor of San Francisco is responsible for the following, which he tells for a true story: One day a German was leisurely riding along Sansome street, near Sacramento, when he heard a pistol shot behind him, heard the wizzing of a ball, and felt it strike his hat. Turning around he saw a man with a revolver in his hand, and taking off his hat he found a bullet hole in it. 'Did you shoot at me?' he asked. 'Yes,' replied the other, 'that is my horse; it was stolen from me a short time ago.' 'You must be mistaken,' said the German, 'I have owned this horse for three years.' 'Well,' exclaimed the other, 'now that I come to look at it, I believe I am mistaken. Excuse me, sir; won't you take a drink?' The rider dismounted, tied his horse, and the two found a drinking-saloon near by. Entering it they called for their respective beverages, talked the affair over in a cool common-place manner, and parted friends.<sup>54</sup>

This narrative indicates that the Anglos did not perceive the Germans as threatening of a source of conflict but as fellow members of a community that could include both groups. The Anglos were receptive to the Germans inserting their culture of *Gemütlichkeit* when they included them in the social and cultural activities in San Francisco. The Germans were able to see themselves as a part of both communities when the Anglos celebrated in the German beer saloons and gardens and the festivities planned by the Turners. San Franciscans eagerly anticipated the many balls and benefits the Germans executed as few could sponsor large functions on their own. Through both their own German associations and those whose membership embraced all citizens, they ultimately helped to create San

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<sup>53</sup>Roberta Park noted that was little or no distinction between the Jewish and Gentile Germans among members of the associational organizations. Roberta Park, "Associational Life," 52. Barney, "Knights," 49. Barth, *Instant Cities*, 156. Luckingham, "Associational Life," 20; "Benevolence," 431. Berquist, "German Communities," 10, 15. Matthews, "Civic Culture," 216, 9.

<sup>54</sup>Bancroft, "California Inter Pocula," 266-7.

Francisco's multi-faceted society while, at the same time, persisted in practicing their own traditions and rituals born in the "fatherland."<sup>55</sup>

The Germans organized several societies for their members, including the *Deutsches* or German Club, San Francisco *Verein*, the *Turnverein*, *Schützenverein*, and the German Benevolent Society, and their numbers were sufficient to form several churches and synagogues over the decade. The Germans could join lodges of the Masons and Odd Fellows that were identified as "German" but there were members of other lodges as well. Music was the venue where Anglos and Germans consistently acted and interacted to add to the city's residents' enjoyment, but the German-language theater had an uneven history over the decade. The societies planned numerous activities where Germans could enjoy their cultural roots, but the groups also intended to teach the residents of San Francisco the importance of adding joyful celebration to their lives. The many events planned by the Germans that invited Anglo participation demonstrates how often their public "Germanness" was displayed to the entire city of San Francisco.

One of the first clubs for Germans in San Francisco was the *Deutsches* or German Society organized in December of 1850 by Dr. Wedekind. It was small – in 1858 they had only thirty members and forty the following year. According the *Alta California*, it was very exclusive and only for "wealthier Germans." The officers listed in the city directories were prominent businessmen and included city leaders Henry Schmeidell, H. Leisewitz, Edward Kruse and, of course, Dr. Wedekind. They must have had the same

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<sup>55</sup>Luckingham, "Associational Life," 7. Lotchin, *San Francisco*, 112. Saxon, *Golden Gate*, 71. Muscatine, *Old San Francisco*, 90. Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, *Annals*, 446.

media philosophy as the Sacramento *Turnverein*, because stories about their activities appear only in the newspaper in 1851 and 1853.<sup>56</sup>

The San Francisco *Verein* was organized on October 2, 1853, by Dr. J. Regensberger, Issac Landsberger and John Ills to provide “social amusement and mental cultivation” At its first meeting and ball, the guests, including many young and beautiful ladies enjoyed music from the Union Band and amateur musical associations. Their interest also extended to the literary scene as city directories for 1858 and 1859 reported that the Society had 250 members and a library containing 3,000 volumes and 30 newspapers. They apparently planned regular evening parties and exhibits for their members, sometimes at the Veranda Saloon, but the newspapers do not describe their activities other than sometimes announcing their officers and participation in anniversary celebrations. They apparently followed the same media philosophy as the *Deutsches* Society and did not widely publicize their events. The lists of officers include some Germans over the years, but as some were not German-born, it would seem to be open for any with German roots. Dr. Jacob Regensburger and Charles Kohler led the organization over the years, but the names of the officers changing over the decade is a sign of a healthy and viable association.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>*Alta California*, January 1, 1851; March 23, 1853; May 16, 1853. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 243. Langley, *1858*, 382; *1859* 442. Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, *Annals*, 477.

<sup>57</sup>The *Verein* was not incorporated until June 15, 1867. San Francisco Verein – Its By-laws and House Rules (San Francisco Verein, 1902), 7. There is sometimes confusion over the names of this club and the *Turnverein*. Bradford Luckingham, for example, noted that the “gymnastics” club in November 1851 had over 200 members. Luckingham, “Associational Life,” 33. In 1854, Officers included Dr. Regensberger and Landsberger, together with Dr. Carl Precht, Charles Kohler, Henry Moller and Carl Marwede. In 1859, the officers included druggist A. J. Bauer, merchants C. Z. Voight and Charles Kohler. In 1860, the list included Grocer Thomas Basse, Merchants L. Lowenheim, M. Grunchard, and Charles Meinecke. *Alta California*, November 12, 1853; January 18, 1854; March 11, 1854; September 7, 1854; November 13, 1854; July 7, 1859; April 6, 1860; October 4, 1860. Langley, *1858*, 382; *1859*, 447. Roberta Park, “Associational Life,” 49, 54.

The *Turnverein*, on the other hand, with its public parades and celebrations attracted the attention of Anglos in the *Alta California*, *Evening Herald*, and *Evening Bulletin*, and they kept San Franciscans up to date on their latest activities. Unlike in Sacramento, it welcomed Anglo participation, and all San Franciscans often joined the Turners in its *Maifest* and other celebrations. Smaller than the San Francisco *Verein*, it was organized in 1853 with a purpose “to maintain liberal, political and religious principles, to encourage morality, to improve health, and to cultivate music.” It may have been conceived as the public adjunct of the *Verein* because in 1859, the membership numbered only eighty members and that included its thirty-member singing group.<sup>58</sup>

The Turners’ anniversary and two-day *Maifest* celebrations always followed the usual formula where there would be a procession – sometimes one the night before with torch lights, but always in the morning of the event, gathering at a central location such as the *Turnverein* Hall, or *Turnhalle*. At Stockton and Bush, that building was a three-story brick structure that accommodated gymnastics on its first floor and balls and concerts on the second and third. Dedicated in December of 1854, it cost between \$30,000 and \$40,000 and served not only as a meeting place for the various *Vereine* in San Francisco, but as a concert hall for both the German and non-German musical groups.<sup>59</sup> In 1859, the *Alta California* described the Turners’ while they were marching as “a fine looking set of men, and their usual white parade costume seemed apropos to the season” and the

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<sup>58</sup>*Alta California*, August 1, 1854; September 17, 1859. *Bulletin*, February 10, 1856. Langley, 1859, 477. *San Francisco Herald*, August 14, 1854; July 9, 1855. Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, *Annals*, 460, 536.

<sup>59</sup>*Alta California*, July 17, 1854. Before the Hall was built, celebrations were held in Dr. Wedekind’s garden. *Alta California*, August 11, 1853. Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, *Annals*, 460. Both Germans and Anglos would have attended the Hall’s dedication because since the speeches were in German and English. Frank Soulé was “proud to be involved.” *Alta California*, December 24, 1854. Soulé also declared that “no people from Europe were more welcome than the enterprising Germans.” *San Francisco Herald*, December 24, 1854; December 26, 1854. *Alta California*, April 17, 1858.

marchers could also include members of the German military association, the California Fusiliers, and the Union Coronet Band.<sup>60</sup>

Saturday or Sunday morning, as many as 1,200 would parade through the streets of San Francisco to the festival site, the Russ Gardens, the Volks' Garden or Pacific Gardens, where between 3,000 and 4,000 Anglos and Germans would hear speeches in both German and English, feast, and then dance to music provided by the Germania Society's orchestra. In 1860, the choruses sang a special song, "The Turn-Festival" written by J. Straubenmiller especially for the event. As many as 100 or 200 couples danced at the celebrations dance until morning. Over the decade, the Turners included brewer Herman Herzer, Dr. Carl Eckel, Dr. Karl Precht, and Dr. Regensburger, merchants Charles Kohler, Issac Landsberger, and Henry Moller, and sculptor Charles Ostner, and hotelier Julius Luetgens. The German Benevolent Society received the profits from two *Maifeste*, one in 1855 and again in 1860, and from a ball in 1858 to support that Society's hospital.<sup>61</sup>

The German population was sufficient to support two *Maifest* celebrations, the second beginning in 1856 and continuing through 1859. The festivities were at one of the outlying popular venues, the Russ, Pacific or Volks Gardens. Both Anglos and Germans attended, estimated at 10,000 in 1859, and the festivities often included a theatrical performance as well as musical entertainment and dining and culminated in balls.<sup>62</sup> The

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<sup>60</sup> *Alta California*, November 12, 1859.

<sup>61</sup> The *Maifest* in 1869 netted a "clear profit of \$1,369 for repairs and improvement of the hospital building." *Alta California*, May 15, 1860. *Alta California*, May 7, 1854; May 8, 1854; March 4, 1855; May 4, 1855; May 7, 1855; May 8, 1855; April 17, 1858; May 1, 1858; September 23, 1859; April 19, 1860; May 1, 1860; May 15, 1860; September 17, 1860. *Bulletin*, May 1, 1858; May 2, 1858; May 3, 1858; November 1, 1858; May 2, 1859; May 15, 1860. *San Francisco Herald*, May 4, 1855; April 25, 1858; April 29, 1858; May 3, 1858; April 26, 1859; May 2, 1859; September 27, 1859; May 7, 1860.

<sup>62</sup> *Alta California*, May 4, 1857; May 10, 1858; May 2, 1859. *Bulletin*, April 29, 1856; May 10, 1858. Roberta Park, "At Work and at Play," 46. *San Francisco Herald*, April 26, 1857.

*Alta California* gives a picturesque verbal picture of the May, 1855, typical *Maifest* sponsored by the *Turnverein*:

[the customers were] sportsmen with their long fishing rod looking whips, and coats buttoned to the chin: rose checked *fraus* sputtering away in high or low Dutch; sedate looking old German ladies, seated the bier tables, exchanging the news and sipping the universal beverage of the *faderland*; flocks of merry little children whose loud mirth was half the life of the picture . . . all laughing, joking, chattering, dancing, embracing, drinking, smoking, and bobbing around in every imaginable way that the occasion would admit of. . . Germans made up the majority of the assemblage, but we noticed the faces of hundreds of well known citizens threading the throng, and drinking "lager bier."<sup>63</sup>

Like the Turners in Sacramento, members of the San Francisco *Turnverein* invited their countrymen for celebrations such as those in 1855 and 1856 when the Sacramentans traveled to join in the celebrations and, in turn, members of San Francisco's *Turnverein* would travel up river to theirs held at the Vauxhall Gardens.<sup>64</sup>

Evidence of the Turners' personal concern over the welfare of their fellow San Franciscans is their reaction to an accident that occurred during the *Maifest* of 1856. Two men were mangled when a cannon misfired, and one man died. The association paid for all medical and funeral expenses of the deceased, buried him with honors, and raised \$500.00 for the widow. For the injured man who lost the use of his hands, the Turners initially gave him \$125.00, raising it to \$500.00 later, and then held a ball to benefit him.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>*Alta California*, May 7, 1855.

<sup>64</sup>*Alta California*, May 9, 1855; April 30, 1856; May 4, 1856. Muscatine, *Old San Francisco*, 151-2. "The May Festival of the Turnverein Association, San Francisco [1856]." Letter sheet printed by W. W. Kurtz & Col., Wide Wide West office, 162 Washington Street, San Francisco (1856). <http://www.sfmuseum.org/hist10/turnverein.html>. Roberta Park, "At Work and at Play," 47. *San Francisco Herald*, June 18, 1855; July 9, 1855; April 18, 1956; May 5, 1856. September 3, 1856; April 25, 1858.

<sup>65</sup>*Alta California*, May 7, 1856; June 26, 1856; July 23, 1856. *Bulletin*, May 13, 1856. *San Francisco Herald*, May 16, 1856.



The German community with its public celebrations was not only emotionally and physically strengthening the German culture with their countrymen in San Francisco and in urban California, but it demonstrated to the city how *Gemütlichkeit* could be included in city-wide festivals. It was stretching its community when all citizens, German and Anglos, celebrated in the Turners' festivities. The Turners welcomed the Anglos, as Mr. Crough exhorted at the dedication of the *Turnverein* Hall, Germans, "whilst they cherished feelings of veneration for their Fatherland, [they should] form a union with their American fellow-citizens and by no means entertain the idea of separating themselves from them; on the contrary they should endeavor to amalgamate with them as close as possible."<sup>66</sup> The Germans did not isolate their culture from outsiders, but welcomed them in their celebrations, inviting them to adopt their traditions to create a Californian adaptation of both Anglo and German practices.

One activity identified with the German culture that was enjoyed by Anglos and Germans alike in San Francisco was sharp shooting, and the Germans organized a *Schützenverein* as well as a military unit, the California Fusiliers. The *Alta California* reported a shooting match in early 1853 at Russ' Gardens; however, the Germans did not form the San Francisco *Schützenverein* until 1859, building on the *Schützensektion* (shooting section) of the *Turnverein* they started in August of 1857. The club held its first target shooting exhibition in 1859, and its thirty-five members processed to the event, marching through the streets in a dark uniform with a black Tyrolean hat and feather. Both Anglo and German merchants donated prizes, and the officers were Dr. J. Myerhofer, August Precht and William Reichel. The announcement of the club's bird

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<sup>66</sup>*San Francisco Herald*, December 24, 1854.

shooting meet in the *Alta California* may indicate that the club welcomed non-Germans as well as Germans at their events.<sup>67</sup>

The Anglo military units of San Francisco before the Fusiliers were formed in 1857 included some Germans on their rosters, including William Langerman in the National Lancers, William Schleiden and John Zimmerman in the Marion Rifles, and C. S. Eigenbrodt in the First California Guard. The California Fusileers' membership started small under the leadership of J. C. Schmidt, Fred Tittle, Henry Heinemann, John Mast, and J. Obernauer, but it grew to seventy-five by 1860, and San Franciscans saw them marching quite often, either alone or accompanied with their comrades in the *Schützenverein*, other military units and a military band. In 1860, members together with the *Schützenverein* held their annual two-day target practice complete with a grand parade and festival at the opening of Hayes' Park. The new Market Street Railroad had just inaugurated a branch line to the park, which could account for the 8,000 that attended the first day and 5,000 during the second, and the *Alta California* was quick to report that no disturbance had occurred. The Germans' participation with the Anglo military units in national holidays such as Washington's Birthday and Admission day and other civic celebrations signaled their acceptance by the dominant Anglos. They enthusiastically celebrated July fourth with parades, sometimes alone and sometimes with the California Guard, but always sponsored a *fest* either at Russ Gardens complete music by a brass band and the *Harmonie* musical group even when the city did not have enough funds for their own celebration.<sup>68</sup> By the fourth of July in 1860, the city was able to raise enough

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<sup>67</sup>*Alta California*, May 7, 1853; October 18, 1859; June 25, 1860. *Bulletin*, October 18, 1859. Roberta Park, "Associational Life," 60.

<sup>68</sup>In 1860, Dr. Precht was listed as an officer of the Black Hussars. *Alta California*, October 31, 1860. The holiday of July fourth was not uniformly celebrated in San Francisco. Military parades were

funds “to relieve San Francisco from the threatened disgrace of being the only city in the State that will fail to properly celebrate [the occasion.]”<sup>69</sup> The city fathers were able to raise enough to sponsor a parade of the thirteen military groups by flags, banners and streamers, including the Fusiliers, followed by orations and theater performances and the Fusiliers still held their banquet at Russ Gardens.<sup>70</sup> The *Herald* proclaimed, “Today’s celebration will be the finest seen in this city for several years – certainly since 1855.”<sup>71</sup> It would seem that the city’s Anglos, observing the festivities sponsored by the Fusileers, looked to the Germans for guidance in creating memorable Independence Day celebration and that the German traditions were not “too German” to be included.

The Fourth of July celebrations were not the only demonstrations of the participation by Germans in the Anglos’ in their civic parades. The organizers turned to the Turners and the German groups to help plan and participate in the events, recognizing that they could add cheerfulness to the occasion. Examples are the 1854 Admission Day parade, and, in 1857, the procession for the centennial for Lafayette’s birthday that included members from the *Turnverein*, the *Eintracht* and *Harmonie* singing societies and the German Benevolent Society. That same year, the Admission Day parade included members from those groups plus the California Fusileers. When the Trans Atlantic Cable was completed in 1858, the city fathers looked to the Germans to help

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commonly held, but festivals held afterwards were generally sponsored not by the city but by private groups and families. *Alta California*, January 1, 1853; June 25, 1854; July 3, 1855; July 2, 1856; July 5; 1856; July 4, 1857; July 7, 1857; February 23, 1858; April 17, 1858; January 26, 1859; October 13, 1859; February 22, 1860; June 20, 1860; July 3, 1860; July 4, 1860; August 27, 1870. *Bulletin*, June 29, 1857; July 1, 1857; January 2, 1859; February 22, 1859. Langley, 1859, 452. Roberta Park, “At Work and at Play,” 46. *San Francisco Herald*, February 6, 1855; May 20, 1855; July 7, 1856; June 11, 1860; June 28, 1858; July 5, 1858; July 7, 1858; April 27, 1859; June 7, 1860; September 3, 1860; September 3, 1860; September 5, 1860.

<sup>69</sup>*San Francisco Herald*, July 28, 1860.

<sup>70</sup>*Alta California*, July 4, 1860. *San Francisco Herald*, July 4, 1860; July 6, 1860.

<sup>71</sup>*San Francisco Herald*, July 7, 1860.

plan their massive celebration. G. W. Beckh, John Reichert, Henry Hentsch, and Rudolph Herold were asked to help plan and finance the festivities that included a procession, oration and poems and fireworks. An entire division headed by William Heisterbergh containing Turners and members of the German singing clubs and the German Benevolent Society in the parade shows the large participation of the Germans. The Fusiliers and the German fire company, the St. Francis Hook & Ladder Company also participated. With the banks and businesses closed, all San Franciscans could see how readily the city's elite accepted the German citizens into the civic culture and, when they participated in the activities, how the Germans' insistence on joyful celebration or *Gemütlichkeit* added to in their celebrations.<sup>72</sup>

Another recreational club the Germans created was their Chess Club, and their players entered tournaments and challenged the San Francisco Pioneer Chess Club. In December of 1855, the German Chess Club first challenged the Pioneers, but the results were not recorded. On February 8, 1856, the German Chess Club again challenged the Pioneers. It was "great show," according to the *Alta California*, with the German Club wining the tournament, stating "judging from the interest taken by our citizens, [we] think the taste for this intellectual game is on the increase."<sup>73</sup> Players William Schlieden and George Grotjan also entered a tournament in 1858, but again, the results were not recorded. *Vereinswesen* or club life was very important for the Germans, but they did not

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<sup>72</sup>*Alta California*, September 10, 1854; September 6, 1857; September 7, 1857; September 18, 1858; September 22, 1858; September 25, 1858. *Bulletin*, September 5, 1857; September 10, 1857; September 17, 1858; September 20, 1858; September 23, 1858; September 25, 1858. *San Francisco Herald*, September 7, 1857; September 20, 1858; September 25, 1858.

<sup>73</sup>*Alta California*, February 6, 1856.

limit their activities to only Germans-oriented associations, but participated in informal activities with Anglos where they did not have to speak German to enjoy them.<sup>74</sup>

Churches and synagogues can be tools to bring order to chaotic societies. The pastors and priests of the religious houses can inspire citizens to cultivate a stable life style and abandon turning to violence to solve their problems. They also can support the efforts of citizens to create an ordered and responsible political system. In San Francisco, however, many Germans, despite the relatively large size of their community, chose membership in their clubs and associations instead of congregations for a secular celebration of joy on Sundays. There was no religious freedom in the fatherland and the choice of religion was often dictated by the state; therefore, some Germans generally held to a personal faith, less challenged by tradition, and erecting a Church building was not as essential to them as the synagogues were to the Jews. There were still enough Germans in San Francisco, to form and support Roman Catholic and Protestant churches. Initially, as in Sacramento, Catholics could attend either St. Mary's Cathedral or St. Patrick's, but the services were rarely in German. The lack of services in their native language was not unusual for the Germans; for example, in 1846, the St. Louis archbishop sent to Germany and Austria to seek out priests for his flock. There were attempts to bring German speaking priests to San Francisco during the decade: Fr. Florian Schwenninger came in 1852 and served a year and a half. Fr. James Motter in 1854 served the Germans from St. Mary's Cathedral until 1858. In 1856, a group of layman formed a committee to raise funds for a small parish, and in 1858, they met and to select a site. They purchased Tucker's jewelry store, remodeled the building and dedicated St. Boniface in March of

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<sup>74</sup>*Alta California*, December 30, 1855; February 8, 1856; February 24 1856; March 22, 1858; March 23, 1858. Roberta Park, "Associational Life," 49.

1860 with German-born Father Sebastian Wolf as pastor.<sup>75</sup>

The Germans were more successful organizing the protestant Churches. In December of 1855, Reverend Friedrich Mooshake dedicated his German Evangelical Lutheran Church, the first German Protestant Church on the Pacific Coast. Educated at the University of Göttingen, he was a leader in democratic circles there and had to escape to the United States in 1847, arriving in San Francisco in 1849. The church held regular services and also operated a school where students would speak both German and English. In 1856, Reverend Augustus Kellner organized the German Methodist Church and in 1859, Reverend Charles Hertel served as Pastor. The Church was dedicated on February 2, 1859, and preacher M. G. Briggs reported that the church was “erected by exertions of a number of German Methodists anxious to have a house of worship in a district where many people reside. Apparently Reverend Kellner had a disagreement because he formed another church, the German M. E. Church, on February 20, 1859, and held services in a different location. Both operated a Sunday School. Reverend Adolph Rahn was pastor of the German Evangelical Church and worship services and a Sunday School were held in the Chinese Mission church. In May of 1859, church members Julius Kregenhagen, Henry Schmiedel and Charles Baum participated in laying a foundation for a church building. The San Francisco Sunday School Union in 1859 listed a Mission Street German Church (perhaps Reverend Rahn’s) with five Sunday school students and thirty-eight “scholars.” In 1860, three German churches belonged to the Union, the Mission Street, the German Methodist, and the German M. E. Churches, and they

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<sup>75</sup>Jeffrey M. Burns, *San Francisco: A History of the Archdiocese of San Francisco*, vol. 1, 1776-1884. (Strasbourg, France: Editions du Signe, 1999), 34. Conzen, “Immigrant Religion and the Public Sphere: The German Catholic Milieu in America,” in *German-America Immigration and Ethnicity in Comparative Perspective*, Helbich and Kamphoefner, eds., 76. Doerries, “German Catholics,” 82-3. Lotchin, *San Francisco*, 324. *San Francisco Herald*, March 2, 1860; April 21, 1860.

reported thirty-five, eighty-six and sixty-four students respectively. That same year, the Reverend A. H. Myers of the Lutheran Church arrived to organize a possible congregation.<sup>76</sup> The number of German Churches, six, indicates the religious divisions among Germans in the United States. The divides were strong enough to prevent any one group from dominating a community; in fact, the designation of “Lutheran” was a unit in name only as the term covered many independent synods. San Franciscan German Christians had many choices of congregations to join.

The Jewish institutions were among the first to address the needs of the many incoming unfortunates arriving during the gold rush and ongoing the lack of publicly funded relief. They founded the First Hebrew Benevolent Society, even before creating any Jewish congregations. Its founders included German S. Craner. The following year in April, the Jews formed the Sherith Israel congregation. There was an immediate dispute among the orthodox and reformed members; therefore, the same year, the more liberal members split and formed their own synagogue, Emanu-El. A number of historians have stated that the Sherith Israel members were Polish and English and Emanu-El members were Bavarian Germans, but Germans are listed as active members of the Hebrew Benevolent Society, the benevolent group attached to the Sherith Israel synagogue. The Emanu-El also created a benevolent adjunct, the Eureka Benevolent Society, and both societies were extremely active raising funds through benefits and balls.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>76</sup>*Alta California*, March 13, 1860; September 14, 1860. *Bulletin*, May 4, 1859. Clyde, “California Dream,” 7. Langley, 1858, 374; 1859, 434-55. *San Francisco Herald*, January 1, 1859; May 29, 1859; May 31, 1859; June 13, 1859.

<sup>77</sup>The services at Emanu-el were conducted in Hebrew, English and German and an exhibit at their school in 1857 featured performances in English, French and German. *Alta California*, March 9, 1857; October 8, 1859. Announcements of the Hebrew Benevolent Society’s benefits include among the officers and managers Germans A. Silversmith, Solomon Isaacs, S. Solomons, M. Kohn, Jacob Rich and Abraham

The local newspapers announced a number of the Hebrew Benevolent Society's balls, one in 1854 whose managers included Germans A. Silversmith, Solomon Isaacs and Henry Seligman where 600 attended and enjoyed the festivities. The concert that Society sponsored had a very large audience, and the *Herald* editorialized: "well did our citizens respond to the call of charity – the audience of ladies [was] so numerous as to make it necessary to set apart for them a large position of the parquette."<sup>78</sup> In 1860, the Hebrew Benevolent Society held a benefit with a performance of the new opera "Lurline," and the *Herald* hoped the house would be crowded "despite the politics." In December of 1856, they had a membership of over 200 and had distributed \$10,000 in relief. In 1855, the "most estimable Hebrew ladies" including Germans Mrs. Abraham Tandler and J. Rich formed the Ladies United Hebrew Benevolent Society and held two benefits that were reported in the newspapers, a concert by the Germania Concert featuring German musician Edward Pique and a "brilliant affair" in 1860. Both were most successful, with the 1860 event raising \$800.00.<sup>79</sup>

Over the decade and according to San Francisco's newspapers, the Eureka Benevolent Society planned numerous benefits and balls under the leadership of Dr.

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Hoffman. Henry Seligman, Morris Cohn, A. Friedlander, Sam Marks and Solomon Isaacs. *Alta California*, February 23, 1855. *Bulletin*, February 23, 1858. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*, 115. Langley, *1858*, 378-9. Luckingham, "Associational Life," 2-3, 79; "Benevolence," 440. Muscatine, *Old San Francisco*, 116. Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, 715. Michael Zarchin accounts in detail the history of the two synagogues. Zarchin, *Jewish Life*, 60.

<sup>78</sup>*Alta California*, January 16 1857. *San Francisco*, January 16, 1857.

<sup>79</sup>Apparently, a Mr. Washburn was nominated for tax collector and when he was told that the Hebrews would not support, he stated he did not desire their support. He "repented" his error, "not on account of his love for the Hebrews, but for policy's sake. Both should remember him." The *Herald* supported Nathan K. Masten for the position. *San Francisco Herald*, November 4, 1860; November 5, 1860. The theatrical benefit in 1859 had receipts of \$1,226.50, expenses of \$620.00, with a profitable balance of \$606.00. The performers were free. *Alta California*, October 13, 1859. *Alta California*, March 7, 1854; March 18, 1854; May 22, 1859; June 3, 1859; February 22, 1860; February 25, 1860. *Daily Placer Times and Transcript*, September 25, 1855; October 1, 1855. Langley, *1858*, 279. Luckingham, "Associational Life," 94; "Benevolence," 440. *San Francisco Herald*, January 5, 1857; February 25, 1860; March 7, 1860.



Jacob Regensberger and his brother Henry, August Helbing, H. W. Stein, Benjamin Schloss, Herman Simon, Augustus Wasserman, Moses Frank, H. D. Silverman, J. Greenebaum, Emanuel Newman, to name only a few of the organizers. The occasions were always highly successful and attendees enjoyed the music and dancing. In 1857, for example, they made a profit of \$1,500 on receipts of \$3,000. The ladies of the Eureka Benevolent Society, like those of the Hebrew Society, formed their own support group, *Der Israelitische Freuenverein*.<sup>80</sup> The newly formed Ladies German Benevolence Society held their ball on January 15, 1856, and the Bulletin stated: “as the ladies have made all the preparations, no doubt it will be a grand affair.”<sup>81</sup> They also presented the German play, “Der Alte Vetter,” The Old Cousin, in 1859, to raise funds. If the *Alta California* spoke for the Christian and Jewish San Franciscans, the benefits and activities of both Jewish benevolent activities were appreciated by all.<sup>82</sup> For example, it exclaimed in 1856 that the Eureka Benevolent Society “is one of the most generous and philanthropic associations in San Francisco and we hope it may be honored with a full house on the night of the ball.”<sup>83</sup>

Another very prominent and active German society whose purpose was to aid the German immigrants and care for their own countrymen was the German Benevolent Society. In 1851, the State legislature provided for a State Marine Hospital, but it was

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<sup>80</sup>*Alta California*, November 22, 1857. Some reports were in the *Alta California*, October 25, 1851; October 22, 1853; November 27, 1854; September 22, 1856; October 10, 1858; October 8, 1860.

<sup>81</sup>The *Alta California* and *Herald* also praised the ladies’ efforts. *Alta California*, January 6, 1856. *Bulletin*, January 26, 2856. *San Francisco Herald*, January 15, 1856.

<sup>82</sup>*Bulletin*, March 22, 1859. Luckingham, “Associational Life, 94; “Benevolence,” 440.

<sup>83</sup>*Alta California*, October 17, 1856. The women of San Francisco’s Christian community formed the San Francisco Ladies’ Protection and Relief Society in 1853, but their records do not show any German members in the 1850s. Rowena Beans, “Inasmuch...,” *The One Hundred-Year History of the San Francisco Ladies’ Protection and Relief Society* (San Francisco: The Society, 1953). Generally, the women’s societies concentrated on helping those of the same persuasion, the Catholics or Protestants. Jolly, “Inventing the City,” 221. Luckingham, “Associational Life, 94; “Benevolence,” 440.

not able to care for all the sick of San Francisco. In December of 1852, the Federal Government built the United States Marine Hospital, but it was primarily for seamen. In addition to these two public institutions, only a few private facilities ministered to the sick, but the care was “indifferent” and the price high. Several leaders of the German community were concerned, including Dr. Jacob Regensburger, Edward Kruse, Otto Esche, Jacob Gundlach, Charles Kohler, Willian Schleiden and Gustav Leipnitz. Leaders of the *Deutsches* Society, the *Turnverein*, the San Francisco *Sängerbund*, the Eureka Benevolent Society and the San Francisco *Verein* met and, in 1853, announced in the *Freie Presse* that, although Germans supported benevolence through the *Turnverein*, the Hebrew Benevolence Society and the odd Fellows, they needed to unite and create one association to care for their German countrymen.<sup>84</sup>

In January of 1854, German community leaders including President G. W. Beckh, Augustus Schneider, D. H. Newhaus, John Landsberger, J. C. Notting, J. Gundlach, Henry Dreschfeld, Chrisian Uhrig, Julius Lutgens and Doctors Wedekind, Hans Behr, Jacob Regensberger and J. N. Eckel announced that they had formed the German Benevolent Society and invited all German San Franciscans to join them. They also solicited members from Germans throughout the state, and, when the society gave its reports, they recognized members from the inland areas such as Sacramento and Marysville. The *Alta California* congratulated the German community and pointed out that the Association would relieve San Francisco from some of the burden of its poor

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<sup>84</sup>*Alta California*, December 24, 1853. Kaufman, *German Benevolent Society*, 9-10. Luckingham, “Associational Life,” 23; “Benevolence, 433. Römer, Eugen. *Allgemeine Deutsche Unterstützungs-Gestellschaft von San Francisco, Ca.: Geschichtliche Mittheilungen seit ihrer Gründuyng am 7ten Januar gesammelt und zusammengestellt von Eugen Römer.* (German General Benevolent Society) (San Francisco: L. Roesch Co., 1894.), 9, 11.

because the Germans would usually prefer care by their own countrymen. The Society would admit any who spoke German declaring that due to “unfortunate political conditions of the Fatherland [speaking German] resulted in a unity among men of German Extraction which was not possible at home.”<sup>85</sup>

As the Society grew over the decade, it held numerous benefits and balls to raise funds to distribute to the needy and to build a hospital. The *Alta California* reported that their balls were well attended, stating in 1859 that “those who wish to contribute to a charitable institution of high merit, attend an agreeable dancing party, or to see a fair collection of the German residents of San Francisco, cannot do better than attend this ball.”<sup>86</sup> The Society also held concerts featuring prominent musicians Rudolph Herold, Charles and Jacob Stadfeldt, August Lapfgeer as well as a “Volk’s Fest’ in 1854 and 1855, all of which were praised by the newspapers. The Turners also supported the Society when they donated the profits from the 1855 and 1860 *Maifeste* and their 1858 ball. Their members lived not only in San Francisco but also in the “interior” of California. In July of 1854, the Benevolence Society’s quarterly report listed 240 members and that the Society spent \$504.00 to help the 183 who applied for jobs or needed to return home or travel on to the mines. In April of 1858, the Society had grown to 773 members, in October of 1859, to 761 paying members including 486 San

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<sup>85</sup>Many on the Committee served as officers in 1854: President G. W. Beckh (He was president until 1859; J. J. Herrlich, Vice President; William Schleiden, Secretary; and directors Jacob Gundlach, I Landsberger, Hermann Herzer and D. Baurenfreund. Kaufman, *German Benevolent Society*, 11 The first doctors’ committee for the Society were August Alers, Ferdinand (von) Loehr, C. Precht, and Jacob Regensberger. *Ibid.*, 15. The comment about political conditions undoubtedly referred to the numerous political entities that constituted “Germany.” Roberta Park, “Associational Life,” 49. Römer, *Allegmeine*, 15, 19, 21, 25, 34. *Alta California*, December 24, 1853; January 7, 1854; January 8, 1854; January 11, 1854; January 14, 1854.

<sup>86</sup>Balls were also held in 1855, 1858 in addition to that held in 1859. *Alta California*, January 27, 1855; March 12, 1858; March 26, 1858; October 7, 1859. *San Francisco Herald*, January 27, 1855; March 7, 1855.

Franciscans, and in October of 1860, 1,176 members, including 920 San Franciscans. That year, they monetarily helped thirty women and twenty-three men, and 214 patients were treated in the four-year-old German Hospital the Society supported.<sup>87</sup>

When the Society laid the cornerstone for the new German Hospital on August 29, 1857, it had accomplished one of its major goals. The Board of Directors had authorized a search for an appropriate property earlier on June 13 and made plans for its construction and dedication. Reporting the event, the *Alta California* remarked, “This is, indeed, a benevolent undertaking, and one in which we wish the society every success.”<sup>88</sup> The 1,500 member procession to the festivities at Russ Garden included the California Fusileers, the Board of Directors of the German Benevolent Society, the physicians of the forth-coming hospital, Masonic chapters and lodges, Odd Fellows lodges, Municipal authorities, German Consuls, Band Music, the Hebrew Benevolent Society, and the Turners marching to the music of bands. When the building was completed in 1858, the committee that included Society President G. W. Beckh, Charles Duisenberg, Frederick Frank, Edward Kruse, Randolph Jordan, and J. N. Rausch reported that it cost \$17,500, \$13,000 for the building and \$4,500 for the lot. The editors of the *Alta California* praised the Society and the German population, and particularly pointed out that the German immigrants will no longer need to rely on the County for medical He made a special tour, described it in detail, and came away very impressed. Langley in his 1859 Directory

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<sup>87</sup>*Alta California*, July 4, 1854; July 8, 1854; July 29, 1854; July 16, 1855; January 24, 1858. *Bulletin*, January 19, 1858; April 13, 1858; October 17, 1860. Muscatine, *Old San Francisco*, 244. *Placer Times and Transcript*, July 16, 1855. *San Francisco Herald*, July 15, 1855; July 16, 1855; October 14, 1859.

<sup>88</sup>*Alta California*, August 31, 1857.

notes that the Society was one of the largest and most efficient charitable associations in the State.<sup>89</sup>

The German Benevolent Society served their countrymen, but there were a sufficient number of San Franciscans to support lodges of two benevolent groups that were numerous and prominent throughout the United States in the 1850s, were the Freemason lodges and the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. Germans founded their own lodges in each institution, but they belonged to lodges founded and sustained by the Anglo majority, underscoring that the Anglos and Germans worked closely together to achieve an orderly, beneficent society and meet the needs of all San Franciscans. The first German Masonic Lodge on the Pacific Coast was the Hermann Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons March 9, 1858, and officers included German-born John A. Reichert, Charles G. Stahl, William A. Krahe, Jacob F. Haennlein, John Metz and Frederick Rasche. The following year, it had twenty-eight members. Other Masonic Lodges also had German members: The Golden Gate Lodge counted Martin Hencken and Jonathan Donzelmann among its members; the Fidelity Lodge, Henry Adler, Sexias Solomons, and S. W. Rosenstock; the Golden Gate, W. Seligman, Morris Ashim and Hermann J. Hann, and the Royal Arch Chapter, J. Greenebaum and Adolphus Hollub. The Odd Fellows Harmony Lodge was its German auxiliary, and Herman Meese and A. Himmelmann were often elected as lodge leaders. Other Odd Fellow lodges elected Germans as officers: the

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<sup>89</sup>Prior to 1858, the Society opened a free clinic with 30 beds in a rented house in 1855. In 1856, it purchased a private nine-room hospital for \$500 from Dr. Regensburger. California Pacific Medical Center, "Marking Milestones in the History of Healthcare." [www.cpmc.org/about/history/timeline.html](http://www.cpmc.org/about/history/timeline.html), 1. In 1870, they also formed a women's auxiliary, the German Ladies General Benevolent Society. Doris Linnenbach, interview with the author, October 26, 2009. *Alta California*, August 25, 1857; August 31, 1857; January 3, 1858; January 4, 1858; January 9, 1858. *Bulletin*, August 24, 1857; January 2, 1858. Kaufman, *General Benevolent Society*, 14. Langley, 1858, 378-9; 1859, 441. *San Francisco Herald*, August 25, 1857, August 30, 1857; January 2, 1858.

Bay City Lodge selected L. Braverman and Nathan Bachman; the Wahalla Encampman, Conrad Gerlach, Christian Eichel and William Bitter; and the Golden Gate Encampment, Joseph Mayer. Both the Masons and the Odd Fellows held balls, sometimes at the *Turnverein* Hall. The Germans were not content to help their fellow countrymen through membership in only the German Masons or Odd Fellow Lodges, but they worked with the Anglos pursuing the growth and well being of San Francisco. Their acceptance into the Anglo institution confirms that, where the Germans were concerned, the Anglos were willing to disregard any ethnicity or national birth place when pursuing a common goal of civic improvement, that the city's welfare eclipsed the ethnic differences.<sup>90</sup>

Music, performing and listening, was essential for the Germans' *Gemütlichkeit* way of life, and in San Francisco, they predominated the field not only with performances by with the excellent German professional and amateur musicians but also by creating musical and singing groups that performed for both German and mixed audiences. Because of their commitment to *Vereinswesen* and following the musical traditions practiced by their countrymen in Germany and the United States, the Germans created both small and large orchestral and singing societies. The smaller ones were created under the umbrella of the *Turnverein* or larger orchestral clubs. Germans and Anglos performed in the larger groups, but the Anglos looked to the Germans for leadership. The German musicians and vocalists, individually and through the musical Societies, treated San Francisco to concerts, sometimes on a regular basis, and to a Grand *Sängerfeste* (musical celebration) where groups from all over California came to perform.

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<sup>90</sup>*Alta California*, February 8, 1854; May 2, 1857; December 31, 1857; April 6, 1858, May 22, 1858; January 3, 1860 April 22, 1860; December 26, 1860. *Bulletin*, December 28, 1855; May 1, 1857; January 4, 1858; April 26, 1859. Langley, 1859, 448-9. Luckingham, "Associational Life," 31; Benevolence," 31.

Furthermore, when Californians looked to purchase music and instruments, they visited German-born Andrew Kohler's store, one of two in San Francisco that supplied the state's musicians. The Germans' ideal of a musical activity where social harmony, wholesome fun, and a feeling of unity prevailed helped combat the chaos reigning in the early part of the decade.<sup>91</sup>

When reading the newspapers of San Francisco, one finds a plethora of concerts with performances by musicians who received individual praise during the 1850s. Foremost was Rudolph Herold. Born in Leipzig, he came as an accompanist in 1852 and stayed. He offered music lessons and conducted for orchestras and singing groups, German and Anglo. In addition to playing the piano, he played the organ in St. Mary's Cathedral, the First Unitarian Church and the Church of Advent. He was a driving force behind the music offered at *Maifeste* and jubilees and was instrumental in bringing the singing groups together for the *Sängerfest* in 1857. He was also a composer, and his pieces were often performed by San Francisco's orchestras. Herold was an extremely active leader in San Francisco's musical community, but the local newspapers recognized the efforts of other German musicians. Christian Andres and N. Lothian also conducted, Andres for several orchestras and Lothian for a brass band. Instrumentalists included pianist and organist Charles Stadtfeld and pianist Henry Hertz, and, when he visited San

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<sup>91</sup>The 1859 City Directory lists only four musical groups, and Germans either founded or were involved with them all. Langley, *1859*, 447. Philip V. Bothman, "Éthnic Musics/Religious Identities: Toward a Historiography of German American Sacred Music," in *Land Without Nightingales: Music in the Making of German-America*, Bothman and Otto Holzapel, ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), 127. \_\_\_\_\_ and Otto Holzapel, "The Musical Cultural of the German-Americans: Views from Different Sides of the Hyphen," in *Ibid.*, 14, 16. Alan R. Burdette, "'Ein Prosit der Gemüthlichkeit: The traditionalization process in a German-American Singing Society,'" in *Ibid.*, 235-6, 8. Hubert P. Heinen, "The Function of German Literary Heritage, in *German Culture in Texas: A Free Earth: Essays from the 1978 Southwest Symposium*, Glen E. Lich and Dona B. Reeves, ed. (Boston: Twayne publishers, 1980), 168. Roberta Park, "Associational Life," 55. Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, *Annals*, 368. Wittke, *Germans in America*, 17.

Francisco during a tour, pianist and conductor Martin Simonson performed several concerts. Charles Koppitz was an outstanding flutist and was a director of the German Philharmonic Society. The papers also recognized professional instrumentalists when they performed: violinists A. Fischer, Charles Schultz, E. Schultz; violist Auguste Helwig; clarinetist F. Bohme; horn players C. York; C. Fischer and Edward Schiffel; and Charles Werther and Auguste Helwitz whose specialties are unknown.<sup>92</sup> Individual vocalists listed in the papers were Stephen Leach, Jacob Stadtfeld and Mrs. Zander, wife of bookkeeper L. P. Zander. Amateur musicians generally were not listed except for two, druggist George Grotjan and music store owner Andrew Kohler.<sup>93</sup>

The first German musical society in San Francisco was the *Die Sanger an Stillen Meer* (Singers of the Pacific Ocean), organized by Dr. Gustavus Malech in 1850, and it initiated the tradition of Germans' forming the singing and orchestral societies that the Germans continued throughout the decade. The German orchestral societies had their roots in the small groups that played in concerts of chamber music including one called

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<sup>92</sup>When Charles Schultz was elected as foreman of the St. Francis Hook and Ladder No. 1 fire company, the *Alta California* stated "We trust that 'charley' will not let his love of romance of 'fire-dom' interfere with his music, disable his hands and not play the violin or piano." *Alta California*, November 9, 1860. Herold also introduced two previously unperformed pieces to San Francisco, "The Desert" by Felicien David in 1854 and a Mendelssohn overture in 1856. *Alta California*, June 19, 1854. *San Francisco Herald*, June 18, 1854; March 28, 1856. Hertz had a sad end. In 1859, he was arrested and tried to commit suicide. He was reduced to being a fiddler at Charley Stewart's dance house and was addicted to liquor, "formerly a man of much respectability." *Alta California*, August 31, 1859. Muscatine, *Old San Francisco*, 55-7, 9, 151-2.

<sup>93</sup>The musicians performed not only in the major theaters in San Francisco but also at the Verandah Restaurant and Adam Schuppert's Saloon. *Alta California*, December 3, 1853. When Charles Stadtfeld started his concerts at the Melodeon saloon in 1858, the *Herald* reported that "this place greatly excites the curiosity of the ladies, who being debarred, are exceedingly anxious to know what it is that so much attracts the men." *San Francisco Herald*, April 12, 1958. The dates of some of the concerts over the decade follow: *Alta California*, March 27, 1850; February 28, 1851; April 26, 1852; April 28, 1853; April 28, 1853; August 12, 1853; August 24, 1853; April 17, 1854; March 13, 1855; January 4, 1857; January 16, 1858; February 23, 1858; February 6, 1859. *Bulletin*, February 12, 1859. *Placer Times and Transcript*, July 24, 1855; December 15, 1855. *San Francisco Herald*, February 1, 1855; May 13, 1855; May 20, 1855; January 25, 1856; June 2, 1858; August 9, 1858; July 21, 1858; July 27, 1858; February 12, 1859; February 21, 1859; January 10, 1860; March 5, 1860.



the Verandah Concert society that performed at the Verandah saloon. In 1853, that ensemble evolved into the Germania Concert Society under the leadership of Herold. In the spring of 1855, the Society began an eagerly anticipated series of concerts that met on Sunday afternoons at the *Turnverein* Hall. Later that year in September, another group, the Philharmonic Society under the direction of Simonson, formed and they also performed on Sundays but at the Musical Hall. Both societies attracted large Anglo and German listeners, and those audiences highly praised their performances.<sup>94</sup>

The Germania continued their series but changed to performing on weekday evenings in 1856 “at the request of many former patrons” and because of the problems related performing at the *Turnhalle* (the *Turnverein* Hall).<sup>95</sup> San Franciscans found listening to the concerts in the Hall difficult and unrewarding, but after the *Turnverein* remodeled that year, the audiences found it much more acceptable. The *Turnhall’s* location was a major problem -- since it was situated was located on the upper portion of Bush Street up a steep hill, audiences were deterred by the muddy conditions from inclement weather. Eventually, the *Turnhalle’s* managers laid a track above the mud to encourage audiences. Later in 1856, the society moved their concerts to the Musical Hall which drew “cozy and comfortable audiences” during the winter season of January through April with public rehearsals on Thursday mornings and performances on Friday

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<sup>94</sup>There is some debate among Park and Muscatine about the date of the founding of the first Society. Park claims it was founded in October of 1851, Muscatine in 1850. Roberta Park, “Associational Life,” 49, 59. Muscatine, *Old California*, 150-1. *Alta California*, December 3, 1853; April 9, 1855; July 11, 1855. Lotchin, *San Francisco*, 228. Muscatine, *Old San Francisco*, 151. *San Francisco Herald*, April 9, 1855; July 11, 1855. September 2, 1855; September 3, 1855; October 10, 1855; October 21, 1855. “The Pioneer Theater,” 117.

<sup>95</sup>*San Francisco Herald*, January 23, 1856; February 2, 1856.

nights. Also in 1856, the Philharmonic Society resumed their concert series during the holiday season.<sup>96</sup>

In January of 1857 during a meeting at Adam Schuppter's saloon, the Germania Society and the Philharmonic Society joined to form the German Philharmonic Society, and their first concert was on Sunday, February second, at the *Turnhalle* that had been renovated a second time. The *Alta California*, the *Evening Bulletin*, and the *San Francisco Herald* were all lavish in their praise during the season, noting that "Sunday would be black without them."<sup>97</sup> Since the Germania concerts had ceased in early 1856 due to weather considerations, the newspapers were particularly glad to see a resumption of a concert series with such outstanding musicians. At one concert in May, the Germania Philharmonic treated its audience to a thirty-member orchestra with seventy vocalists. The Society's rehearsals on Saturday were just as popular as Sunday evenings and attracted large audiences.<sup>98</sup> They performed concerts on a fairly regular basis through August, and when they announced their last performance, the *Herald* hoped they would reschedule more until the rainy season "when according to popular belief Bush Street or the head of it becomes impassable."<sup>99</sup>

In October, 1857, the Germania Musical Society was again reorganized by members of the former Germania and Philharmonic Societies "who are well known to the

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<sup>96</sup>*Alta California*, December 8, 1855; February 19, 1856; March 5, 1856 November 28, 1856. *Bulletin*, March 13, 1856. *San Francisco Herald*, August 7, 1855; November 20, 1855; December 10, 1855; December 31, 1855; November 28, 1856; December 5, 1856 February 27, 1856; February 29, 1856 ;March 1, 1856; March 15, 1856; March 19, 1856.

<sup>97</sup>*San Francisco Herald*, June 8, 1857.

<sup>98</sup>A partial list of the concerts reviewed by the newspapers testifies to their regular performances: *Alta California*, May 24, 1857; May 28, 1857; May 22, 1857; June 6, 1857; July 6, 1857; August 1, 1857; August 10, 1857. *Alta California*, February 2, 1857; February 9; July 6, 1857. *Bulletin*, May 23, 1857. *San Francisco Herald*, February 8, 1857; February 15, 1857..

<sup>99</sup>*San Francisco Herald*, August 24, 1857.

public.”<sup>100</sup> They played during the autumn at the Mechanics’ Institute, presenting Grand Promenade Concerts in an informal setting every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday where audiences could stroll and chat with friends and still enjoy good music.<sup>101</sup> In November of 1860, the Germania joined with the San Francisco *Turnverein* to become a “Social Turn-Verein” and celebrated with a parade and festivities, and the *Herald* said, “we unite in wishing all sorts of kind things to the new association.”<sup>102</sup> By the end of the decade, the popularity of the orchestras seemed to be waning as singing groups accompanied by the instrumentalists were becoming more popular.

The singing society of the *Turnverein*, the *Maenner Gesang Verein* gave a concert in 1853, and the *Alta California* said, “May the Verein long flourish to be an ornament to our city and an honor to its members.”<sup>103</sup> In 1854 their presentation of the opera *Die Freischutz* was rated “Excellent.”<sup>104</sup> The newspapers recorded that they also performed at the German Benevolent Society benefit in 1855, and again at the Grand Musical in July of 1857.<sup>105</sup> Led by Jacob Gundlach, the group reorganized under the name *Eintracht* in 1857 “to cultivate vocal music and social pleasures,” and when the officers were announced in January of 1858, it would seem that the *Eintract* and *Maenner Gesang Verein* were the same.<sup>106</sup>

The *Harmonie* was a German group organized in 1854 also to cultivate and improve the musical offerings in San Francisco. President T. E. Schmidt led the group,

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<sup>100</sup>*San Francisco Herald*, October 24, 1858.

<sup>101</sup>*Alta California*, September 22, 1857; October 25, 1857. *Bulletin*, October 21, 1857; October 27, 1857; November 4, 1857. *San Francisco Herald*, October 22, 1857; October 23, 1857; October 28, 1857.

<sup>102</sup>*San Francisco Herald*, November 14, 1860.

<sup>103</sup>*Alta California*, May 20, 1853.

<sup>104</sup>*Alta California*, July 29, 1854.

<sup>105</sup>*Alta California*, July 16, 1855; July 23, 1857.

<sup>106</sup>*Bulletin*, January 6, 1858. Langley, 1858, 382.

and their organizing committees over the years included Jacob Gundlach, Christian Russ, and Henry Schmeidell. The *Herald* noted its performances were of “a zest and spirit characteristic of the free-hearted German nation.”<sup>107</sup> Their concerts were not regularly reported in the newspapers, but in 1859, they were rehearsing weekly and Joseph Schafter, M. Schmeidell, C. A. Uhrig and George W. Grotjan served as officers. Apparently, the *Harmonie* was split into two branches, one to cultivate San Francisco’s musical culture and the other to perform, as the 1859 Directory notes there were fifty-six active singers among its eighty members. In 1860, the singers took part in a “Grand Musical Soiree” at the new Musical Hall with a “monster” orchestra under the direction of Rudolph Herold, joining the Harmonic Society whose membership included both Anglos and Germans.<sup>108</sup>

The Harmonic Society was organized in 1857 “in order to properly concentrate the music talent of San Francisco,” and the first officers included Henry Schmeidel and Dr. Gustavus Malech.<sup>109</sup> The Society’s first concert was held that year in May, and admission was by subscription only by its members.<sup>110</sup> That policy was rescinded the following year, which may have helped their audiences during their springtime concerts. They often performed during the summertime for San Franciscan audiences. In 1859, among the trustees were Germans Henry Schmeidell, George Grotjan, and Charles Potter and the performing members included Stephen Leach, Rudolph Herold, Charles Stadfeldt, and C. A. Uhrig, and Mrs. Zander performed with the Anglos at concerts.

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<sup>107</sup>Muscatine, *Old San Francisco*, 151. *San Francisco Herald*, August 27, 1855.

<sup>108</sup>*Alta California*, July 31, 1860. Langley, 1858, 382. Langley, 1858, 382; 1859, 447. *San Francisco Herald*, July 31, 1860.

<sup>109</sup>*Alta California*, January 30, 1857. *Bulletin*, January 30, 1857; May 15, 1857.

<sup>110</sup>*Bulletin*, May 8, 1857.

Despite the fact that both Anglos and Germans belonged, Germans were among the leaders and decision-makers for the group.<sup>111</sup>

In October, 1859, Germans organized another singing society which had eighty members, fifty men and thirty ladies. Officers F. W. Wedekind and Rudolph Herald decided to call the group the *Cecilian Verein* and Dr. Regensburger was among its officers. When they performed in 1860, the *Alta California* praised the performance as highly successful, noting that among Germans who belonged were that community's leading businessmen and their wives. The *Cecilian Verein* stated that it hoped to give musical entertainments "probably after the style of the Philharmonic Society [seen] a few years ago."<sup>112</sup>

Like Turners in Sacramento, the Germans of San Francisco were interested in gathering their countrymen from all over the state to perform, celebrate, and to visit. In 1857 from July 23 through 27, they combined to hold the First German Musical Festival. Sponsored by San Francisco's societies the *Harmonie*, the *Turnverein* and the *Eintracht*, they invited representatives from all the German musical societies in the State to attend. The Societies of Oakland, Sacramento, Stockton, Marysville, Yreka, Valencito [sic], San Jose and Sonora all sent delegations who drilled and rehearsed for nearly six months beforehand. On July 24, a procession began the event when the California Fusileers, Turners "in neat costume," the *Eintracht* and the *Harmonie* went to the boat landing to greet the guests. The next day was a rehearsal for the "stupendous entertainment," and every seat was sold. On the July 26, the concert with a thirty-three-member orchestra and

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<sup>111</sup>*Alta California*, January 30, 1857; February 8, 1858; May 6, 1858. *Bulletin*, F January 30, 1857; May 15, 1857; February 8, 1858; August 31, 1858. Langley, 1858, 382. *San Francisco Herald*, February 8, 1858.

<sup>112</sup>*Alta California*, October 27, 1859; July 22, 1860. Langley 1859, 446.

over 200 singers came together *en masse* and gave a “monster” performance. On the July 27, the vast crowd proceeded to Russ Garden for a Pic Nic celebration followed by a ball at the *Turnverein* Hall where nearly 300 hundred couples danced until early morning. Every review in all the newspapers proclaimed the event a huge success. At that day’s oration (in German), president Dr. Beckh hoped that through song, all Germans may be united, encompassing everyone in an imaged community encompassing the entire State of California.<sup>113</sup> The praises in *Alta California* reveal not only the Anglos’ lofty assessment of the event but also the high regard in which they held the Germans:

It was, altogether, one of the most orderly, well-conducted and harmonious gatherings we have ever seen in California, and was highly credible to the managers, and to the general character of the German people, as peaceful, quiet citizens.”<sup>114</sup>

Through festivals and performances as large as the German Musical Festival, through performances of groups such as the Germania Society and *Harmonie*, and through the leadership and skills demonstrated by the German musicians in the city, the Germans, during the 1850s, helped shape and develop the musical culture and legacy of San Francisco, aided by the high esteem which the Anglos felt for their fellow citizens.

Presentations in German-language theaters in San Francisco during the 1850s were sporadic as were performances in the Anglo theaters in the city. Theaters were active in the beginning of the decade, but with the decline in the economy in the mid 1850s, the quality of the presentations in all the city’s theaters declined and minstrels and vaudevilles took their place. There were a few German-language performances recorded in the newspapers, but in 1859, the German theater revived under the leadership of

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<sup>113</sup>*Alta California*, July 15, 1857; July 22, 1857; July 23, 1857; July 24, 1857; July 25, 1857; July 26, 1857; July 27, 1857. *Bulletin*, July 18, 1857; July 20, 1857; July 21, 1857; July 22, 1857. *San Francisco Herald*, July 21, 1857; July 26, 1857; July 27, 1857. *Union*, July 10, 1857; July 23, 1857.

<sup>114</sup>*Alta California*, August 5, 1857.

impresario William Viereck, actor John Fisher and author and Jewish clergyman Dr. I. M. Bien. In 1853, the German theater offered a comedy farce and dance, and the crowd was “better than expected,” but in early July the theater closed, only to open again later that month with Viereck as manager. The opera *Der Freischultz* was offered in July of 1854, but the newspapers did not report any further productions until 1856. That year in February, a five-act tragedy was offered at the Union Theater, and a “Grand German *Vorstellung*” (grand presentation) played to a reasonable house. In 1858, the German theater adopted the American comedy “The Love Chase” which the critics liked but the Germans apparently did not.<sup>115</sup>

Theatrical activity greatly increased in 1859, with two German theaters offering productions of three German plays that were well supported by the community. One, Dr. Bien’s “Dagon and Zeboth,” drew rave reviews and was repeated again in early 1860. He also wrote a tragedy of “Samson and Delilah” that was not initially well received but received acclaim at its second performance. Two German theatrical companies performed at the Union Theater and the American Theater.<sup>116</sup> When the German groups presented the comedy “Uriel Acosta,” the *Herald* reported: “The manager has done all in his power to render it worthy the patronage of all who understand the German language.”<sup>117</sup> As the number of Germans grew in San Francisco, they were able to support their activities in their own language, a key to preserving the cultural traditions and practices they brought from the “fatherland.”

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<sup>115</sup>*Alta California*, May 16, 1853; June 5, 1853; July 3, 1853; July 8, 1853. *Bulletin*, February 13, 1856; March 25, 1856. Dobie, *A Pageant*, 247. Luckingham, “Associational Life,” 46. Madden, “Letters,” 133. Muscatine, *Old San Francisco*, 150. “The Pioneer Theater,” 108, 117b, 117c.

<sup>116</sup>*Alta California*, June 9, 1859; August 29, 1859; September 5, 1859 January 4, 1860; January 5, 1860; February 25, 1860; November 9, 1860; November 13, 1860. *Bulletin*, February 3, 1859; February 9, 1859. *San Francisco Herald*, September 15, 1859; November 9, 1860; November 16, 1860.

<sup>117</sup>*San Francisco Herald*, November 10, 1860.

In 1859, the German community observed two occasions with massive demonstrations that, again, momentarily brought all San Franciscans together under one cultural umbrella. They were the memorial tribute to Baron Alexander von Humboldt at his death and the centennial observation of the birth Frederick von Schiller. After informed of Humboldt's death on May 5, 1859, the German community began planning in June for an elaborate procession and religious rite. The committee embraced many prominent German community leaders, including Charles Kohler, Adolph Wapler, Julius Korn, Dr. William Rabe and Dr. Hans Behr who responded to a petition from sixty-six Germans to plan an observance. They planned a solemn dirge through the streets of San Francisco, culminating in a speeches and a performance of Mozart's Requiem to be held on September seventeenth at the American Theater. The *Eintracht*, *Harmonie* and Harmonic societies would be under the direction of Rudolph Herold. Although the rituals were to be on Saturday, the German Jews were reassured that they were purely religious so could be held on the Sabbath.<sup>118</sup> Unfortunately, the funeral of politician David Broderick was assassinated in September year was the same day, and the service had to be postponed an hour. The Anglos enjoyed the German musicians and their interpretation of classical music so much that *Herald* requested:

Can we not induce the ladies and gentlemen who yesterday so admirably executed the Requiem of Mozart to give us an early repetition of that sublime composition. That day happened to be unfortunately chosen and although the affair was a success in every way, numbers of our citizens who would heartily appreciate such a treat were debarred from its enjoyment. Good Mr. Herold, give us a repetition.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>118</sup>*Alta California*, June 21, 1859; June 22, 1859; June 27, 1859; September 18, 1859; September 19, 1859. *Bulletin*, June 18, 1859; June 21, 1859. *San Francisco Herald*, September 10, 1859; September 17, 1859.

<sup>119</sup>*San Francisco Herald*, September 19, 1859.



The entire city of San Francisco appreciated the leadership of the Germans in creating their musical culture.

The two-day celebration of Schiller's one-hundredth birthday in San Francisco demonstrated how the Germans incorporated a festive life style in what could have been an ordinary event.<sup>120</sup> Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller, born on November 19, 1759, in Württemberg, was a poet, philosopher, historian and playwright very highly by Germans wherever they settled. San Francisco's newspapers published biographies and synopses of his poems to educate the Anglo citizens unfamiliar with the German author's works. The procession through town included singing societies, representatives of the *Schützenverein*, both *Turnvereine*, the California Brass Band, the German Dramatic Association, and four horsemen decorated in the German colors.<sup>121</sup> The Russ Gardens was bedecked with banners from Germany, Hamburg, Switzerland, Württemberg and American flags. Over the two days, attendees heard a orations by Dr. Precht and an invited Anglo speaker, Charles Ruehl, and witnessed a performance of a German play, a concert by the Harmonic society with verses written by Dr. Wedekind sung to "God Save the King," and participate in grand balls where hundreds of citizens danced.<sup>122</sup> All the events were hugely successful, and the "whole affair was conducted with remarkably

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<sup>120</sup> The only other city to hold a celebration was in Columbia, California, on November tenth. Germans and non-Germans supported and Broadbent quotes their *Courier*: "Though far from home and father-land, these sons of Germany forget not the great and the good who have made their country what it is." This demonstrates that the Germans influence was strong in mining towns as well as in the cities. Broadbent, "The Schiller Centennial in Columbia: California Germans in a Gold-Rush Town," *American German Review* (August-September, 1963), 12-3.

<sup>121</sup>The *Stellen Meere* society is specifically mentioned, indicating that, despite not publicly announcing their events, they were active throughout the decade. *San Francisco Herald*, September 24, 1859.

<sup>122</sup>*Alta California*, October, 15, 1859; October 30, 1859; November 10, 1859; November 13, 1859; November 14, 1859. *San Francisco Herald*, November 10, 1859; November 11, 1859; November 14, 1859; November 15, 1859; November 16 1859.

good taste and judgment.”<sup>123</sup> A large number of Anglos participated in the festivities, and the *Herald's* proclamation that “Our German citizens know how to enjoy themselves, and they never fail to make a practical use of their knowledge” testifies that the Anglos recognized the Germans’ skills in organizing and executing successful festive celebrations.

Germans in San Francisco, as in Marysville and Sacramento and across the United States, were adding their *Gemütllichkeit* of festive celebration to the occasion of Christmas. During the 1840s and 1850s, Anglos were increasingly fascinated with the icons of the tree and gift giving that the Germans brought with them from the “fatherland.” The *Alta California* as early as 1850 noted that the celebration should be in the “German style.”<sup>124</sup> Christmas trees were usually presented in churches rather than in homes, and gradually over the decade, the schools and churches held celebrations centered with a tree complete with gifts and toys for the children. In 1856, the nick-nacks laden, candlelit tree at Pilgrim School was “the most unique and conspicuous feature of the festival and the one that excited the greatest curiosity.”<sup>125</sup> In 1857, the Christmas evening service at the Musical Hall featured a tree and gift distributions and the Pilgrim and German Mission Sunday schools did as well. The Pilgrim school continued including a Christmas tree during its festivities in 1858. In 1859, the Church of the Advent and Folsom Street Sunday School added trees to its celebration, and in 1860, the newspapers reported that the Mission Sunday School and Grace Church Sunday School

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<sup>123</sup>*San Francisco Herald*, November 16, 1859.

<sup>124</sup>*Alta California*, December 24, 1850.

<sup>125</sup>*Ibid.*, December 25, 1856.

joined the Pilgrim with trees and often Santa Claus joined in distributing gifts among the children.<sup>126</sup>

Holiday markets to promote gift-giving began to appear in the United States in the 1850s. In San Francisco in 1859, store owners, including Andrew Kohler, S. Rosenthal, Adolph Sutro, and William Meyer and other German merchants, advertised in the local newspapers offering special holiday items for their customers. The *Alta California* printed a special section, the Holiday Directory, that featured appropriate items for Christmas gift exchanges to guide German and Anglo readers to appropriate venues. In 1860, German Augustus Schaben with “good taste and energy” transformed the Mechanics’ Pavilion into a winter garden overflowing with flowers and evergreens where customers could attend, free, between December tenth and the twenty-ninth and stroll, purchase their Christmas and New Year’s gifts and enjoy dancing to a band, an imitation of the German Christmas market place.<sup>127</sup>

The San Franciscans’ adoption of the “German” celebration of Christmas is only one example of the German influence over the culture of the city. By freely joining in the obviously Germanic celebrations and events, and following the leadership of Germans in the musical culture of the city, they were acknowledging the strength of the “Germanness” of their neighbors while incorporating some of that playfulness and joy in

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<sup>126</sup>Articles appeared in Godey’s, Sartain’s and Peterson’s magazines in the East detailing the German traditions; therefore, the Anglos of San Francisco would have recognized the Christmas tree and Santa Claus icons. Schmidt, *Consumer Rites*, 123. The *Alta California* educated San Franciscans on the German Christmas traditions with a lengthy article. *Alta California*, December 25, 1860. *Alta California*, December 25, 1856; December 24, 1857; December 27, 1860. *Bulletin*, December 24, 1857; December 25, 1897. DuBois and Schweppe, *The Germans*, 70. Jennifer M. Russ, *German Festivals and Customs* (Oswald Wolff, 1982), 29-30. *San Francisco Herald*, December 25, 1856; December 24, 1858; December 22, 1860. Schmidt, *Consumer Rites*, 123.

<sup>127</sup>New Year’s Day was another holiday when Germans exchanged gifts and conducted festivals, but they were not publicized in San Francisco. DuBois and Schweppe, *The Germans*, 73. *Alta California*, December 19, 1859; December 21, 1859. *San Francisco Herald*, December 8, 1860 ; December 10, 1860; December 15, 1860; December 23, 1860; December 25, 1860. Schmidt, *Consumer Rites*, 150.

their own lives. The Germans stoutly maintained their own cultural heritage and responded to the needs of their countrymen looked through the *Turnverein* and other German organizations. At the same time, through the Anglo-based associations, they worked with the Anglos to create a cultural heritage that incorporated German traditions and to answer the social needs of all San Franciscans. The overwhelming number of announcements and reports of the German-planned events in San Francisco only underscores how important and influential the Anglos assessed the German influence in the cultural and social life of their city.

In all three cities of urban California, the Germans, although a minority of the population, actively practiced their traditions of *Vereinswesen* and *Gemütlichkeit* they brought from the “fatherland” to help their citizens bring order through culture to their communities. Despite the difference in their sizes, the cities of urban California, Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco, all benefited from the fact that Germans joined and supported Anglo organizations looking to create a stable and cultured society out of the disorder of the early 1850s. The Anglos held the Germans in high esteem and welcomed their participation and influence in the events, festivities and celebrations that took place during the 1850s, demonstrating that they did not perceive the Germans as a threat to their own traditions. The German-centered organizations, the *Turnvereine*, the singing societies and the benevolent associations, did not separate themselves from the communities as a whole but consistently demonstrated how they and the Anglos could jointly create a stable, ordered, cultured environment in which the cities could develop and grow. The many festivities planned by the *Turnverein*, benevolent societies and musical groups embraced audiences that included all citizens in Marysville, Sacramento

and San Francisco, expanding their German community and inviting them to join in their  
“Germanness.”

## CHAPTER VII

### Conclusion

Between 1850 and 1860, German immigrants took advantage of the opportunities available for advancement in urban California and became influential leaders in the three cities' growth and development. As they moved into each city, the Germans simultaneously celebrated their own culture through an intellectual and social community that was both separate and integrated with the cities' non-German residents. They provided vital support not only in the early part of the decade when gold became the economic mainstay of these communities but also later in the decade when manufacturing and other kinds of industry moved into new areas. In addition to the vital economic role they played, Germans brought their doctrine of *Gemütlichkeit*, a love of cultural pursuits and joyous celebration in every day life, influencing their Anglo neighbors to celebrate with them and incorporate some of those traditions into their culture. Practicing their tradition of *Vereinswesen*, Germans created societies and associations whose activities were enjoyed by society at large. Even in the small city like Marysville, they were able to organize their *Turnverein* and Choral Society. In all three cities, Germans became "German-Californians," citizens distinctive from their Anglo neighbors but not in conflict with them, by finding a compatible blend of traditional and new pursuits.

In the business world, the success of many Germans hinged on their ability to compete for both German and Anglo customers in the merchandising and service industries so vital to the growth of Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco. Many

came to establish economic enterprises that could survive the many gyrations of California's economic climate. Their education and apprenticeships in Germany and their experiences as urban workers and dwellers there honed their skills and business practices and shaped their contribution to the development of these new cities. When some came with little or no funds, those already residing in urban California helped them so that they did not become an economic or social burden on the community. The German entrepreneurs who planned to open stores and emporiums often brought funds obtained from friends and family rather than relying on the sometimes unstable financial institutions in all three cities. They were flexible enough to understand that they needed customers from all the peoples of the three cities, Anglo, German or any other ethnic group. They realized that, unlike in cities such as New York or Milwaukee with their more closely-bound enclaves, they needed to look beyond their German community to find economic success. They understood that there was money to be made beyond the gold fields. As the frenzy of the gold rush waned, they had the foresight to move into the arenas of manufacturing and agriculture as the cities moved away from processing the gold shipments.

The German communities in Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco maintained, and strengthened, their cultural and social traditions rooted in the "fatherland" under the leadership of their fraternal associations such as the *Turnvereine* and the musical societies.<sup>1</sup> They created institutions that answered the social needs of their countrymen -- newspapers, hospitals, churches -- their number and size, again, was

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<sup>1</sup> The strength of the Germans' belief in maintaining their culture is underscored by their establishing a German Catholic School at St. Boniface Church in 1861, as the "believed that a school was essential to passing on the German faith, culture and language to the next generation." Burns, *Archdiocese of San Francisco*, 35.

determined by the number of Germans living in those cities. They communicated and interacted with their countrymen in all three cities; however, they also joined with their Anglo neighbors in their fraternal and social organizations to help further the welfare of all citizens. The Germans maintained their cultural heritage of *Gemütlichkeit* in their day-to-day activities as well as the observances of important moments in the cultural history. Their love of music and singing helped all three cities develop musical institutions that lasted into the twenty-first century. The Germans' participation in city-wide parades and other public occasions informed their Anglo neighbors of their German cultural roots and, at the same time, reinforced their German heritage. They significantly influenced all living in the three cities to include in their celebration of Christmas gift giving and a Christmas tree as the center of the festivities. They extended the "borders" of their community by freely encouraging their Anglo neighbors to join in the festivities, an invitation often accepted. By the end of the decade, they still maintained their heritage or "Germanness," but they were not isolated in an ethnic enclave. They interacted with their Anglo neighbors always with the common goal of building civic culture in all three cities. In 1854, Frank Soulé and his co-authors commented:

The naturalized Germans are [a] professed and acknowledged brethren. Occasional devotion of Germans to the old Fatherland does not so fill their hearts that they become insensible to the numberless political and social blessings which they receive in their adopted country.<sup>2</sup>

Julius Korn, at the *Turnverein Maifest* in 1856, also expressed how the future of the state was interwoven with Germans' involvement when he led "three cheers for our adopted

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<sup>2</sup> Soulé, Gihon and Nisbet, *Annals*, 463.



home.”<sup>3</sup> Contemporaries recognized that the Germans were ready to join and cooperate with their Anglo neighbors but that they did not require them to give up their cultural traditions.

This study illustrates the complex reality of assimilation involving any immigrant group. Assimilation has been defined as a process through which immigrants abandon their own cultural practices in the process of becoming “American.” In the nineteenth century, Americans assumed that process, without conflict or violence, created a new culture that incorporated new foreign influences into their own. They believed that those foreigners they perceived as “desirable” would change individually to join the dominant group. The Germans in urban California did not abandon their cultural practices. Both Josiah Flynt and J. J. Lalor in the late nineteenth century stated that the Anglos accepted and admired the Germans but did not view them as assimilated. The Germans demonstrated it was possible to maintain their own culture in both public and private settings and thrive as influential civic leaders and members of the business community. The traditions Germans established in the first decade of their settlement in California lasted into the late nineteenth century. For example, San Franciscans joined the Germans in a festival of “German-America Day” held in October, 1892. In 1901, the German community erected the Goethe-Schiller monument in San Francisco’s Golden Gate Park, a material testimony to the civic importance of German culture in San Francisco.<sup>4</sup> The immigrants and their descendants were still German-Californians who celebrated

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<sup>3</sup> *Bulletin*, May 4, 1856. During the First German Musical Festival in California, the *Journal* reported the attitudes of the Germans, that the Germans were proud to be citizens, patriotic, although the bonds to the “fatherland” are not entirely severed.

<sup>4</sup> The monument is a “faithful replica of the original in the city of Weimar where Goethe and Schiller once lived.” Clyde, “California Dream,” 16. Conzen, “Invention of Ethnicity,” 133-4 138-9. DeBois and Schweppe, *The Germans*, 7. Flynt, “The German,” 663. “German-American Day” *The Morning Call*. Monday, October 10, 1892. Lalor’s comments were originally published in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1873. J. J. Lalor, “The Germans in the West” *Der Blumenbaum*. 28:2 (October – December, 2010), 86.

“Germanness” in the public and private arenas at least until anti-German prejudices began to emerge in the early twentieth century.

In San Francisco, Barbara Drüke’s descendants were established merchants and civil leaders who still practiced German traditions and rituals at the turn of the century. They stayed connected with their fellow countrymen through social contacts and memberships in the German-oriented clubs, often strengthening their Germanic ties through marriage. Barbara’s daughter, Louisa, came to San Francisco from Sacramento after her mother’s death in 1866. She met and married J. F. Plagemann who had arrived in the city in 1858. He started a liquor distributorship and, in 1899, built a large home at the corner of Page and Broderick Streets in San Francisco. Evidence of his personal “Germanness” is that he modeled his basement into an *Alt Deutscher Bier Stube* (old German beer room) decorated with German sayings, beer steins and bottle glass windows. He was active in the *Deutsche Sängerverein* which serenaded the family when the cornerstone of the new house was laid and later met once a week, often in his basement. His family celebrated Christmas “in the German way” and the family spoke German well enough that, when they traveled to Johann Bickel’s ancestral home in Billigheim in 1890, they had no trouble communicating either there or with the German crew on their steamer. Louisa was also active in the German Ladies General Benevolent Society, the women’s auxiliary of the German Benevolent Society.<sup>5</sup> Although the second generation of Barbara’s family was born in the United States, they sustained the familiar German cultural traditions and passed them on to the next generation.

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<sup>5</sup> The Federal Census of 1860 lists J. F. Plagemann as a waiter, *U.S. Census 1860*. When Plagemann’s wife died, the funeral was conducted at the San Francisco *Turnverein* Hall because J. F.’s brother was a member. Linnenbach, interview. Cosgrove and Cosgrove, *California Potpourri*, 169-182. Dohrmann, Interview.

In the second generation, Barbara's granddaughter, Emilie Plagemann, married the son of a pioneer German merchant, Frederick W. Dohrmann, Senior, who came to San Francisco in 1862 to join his brother, Adolph, who had come earlier to partner with Bernhard Nathan in a crockery store. Eventually, Dohrmann created a merchandising empire with department stores throughout California, using the family connections in Germany to purchase goods. Old-time San Franciscans remember the Dohrmann Commercial Company, and the Dohrmann and Emporium department stores. He was active in civic affairs, a founder of the Merchants' Association of San Francisco in 1894, a member of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, and a Regent of the University of California. He remained actively loyal to his German roots. His entire family, parents and children, spoke German, and he was a member of the German General Benevolent Society for more than 50 years, a Charter member of the German association *Altenheim*, and a director of the German Ladies' Benevolent Society, and a member of the *Wheeler-Gesellschaft* society at the University.<sup>6</sup> He was a German-Californian, contributing to the growth of the city in both German and non-German associations. When he died in 1914, Anglo and German San Franciscans mourned his passing. A resolution prepared by President Benjamin Ide Wheeler of the University of California and adopted by the Board of Regents reads, in part:

To the service of the common good, he gave unstintingly of painstaking toil and a ripe wisdom in counsel. When the merchants of San Francisco joined themselves together, he was their chosen leader first of all. . . Remembering the pleasant places of his own homeland and the use the city dweller makes of trees and river margins and open spaces in the city's midst, he toiled gladly to make the parks of San Francisco a people's playground and abundant sources

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<sup>6</sup> Adolph Dohrmann is listed in the 1860 census in San Francisco. *U. S. Census, 1860*. Cosgrove and Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 91-98. Linnenbach, interview.

of health, happiness and contentment.<sup>7</sup>

The many other tributes given by Germans and non-Germans alike testifies to the high esteem San Franciscans held for him.

His son, Fred W. Dohrmann, Jr., and his wife, Emilie (nee Plagemann), continued the German tradition and rituals at home while staying active in both non-German and German institutions. Dohrmann followed in his father's footsteps and continued the family mercantile business and served in both business and civic associations, including the Board of Education for San Francisco, the Chamber of Commerce and the Community Chest. Both Emilie Dohrmann and her mother-in-law, Josephine Runne Dohrmann, were active in the German Ladies General Benevolent Society. To maintain their "Germanness" at home, Fred and Emilie also insisted that their children be taught to speak, read and write German in the ancient "*fraktur*" script and, on the occasion of their parents' birthdays, compose five or six versus of German birthday poems to recite. When the family travelled to Germany in 1927, they had communicated easily with family and friends there. On Sundays, all the descendants of *grosspapa* Dohrmann often gathered at family homes, dined on German cuisine and enjoyed German-language conversations and performances by the children. At Christmastime, the entire family celebrated in the German tradition with a tree with lighted candles.<sup>8</sup> Thus, the family preserved their "Germanness" at least in private, until World War I.

Nationalism, patriotism, and anti-German sentiments had increased since the end of the nineteenth century, finally exacerbated by the German's initial support of their homeland at the beginning of World War I. Americans eventually perceived those

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<sup>7</sup> Cosgrove and Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 98.

<sup>8</sup> Dohrmann, interview. Van Blair, interview.

practicing their public or private “Germanness” as enemies regardless of any past history of cooperation and high regard. States began to eliminate German from schools’ curricula, helping to destroy the public lingual bond that held the German associations together. Clubs and institutions disappeared across the nation, including the *Turnvereine* and the various *Sängervereine* that had been so active since in the 1850s in San Francisco and Marysville. Prohibition only extended the decline in public “Germanness” when, in San Francisco, the *rathskellers*, the German restaurants and beer parlors, virtually disappeared, eliminating a symbol of their culture, the gathering to sing and drink beer. Barbara’s grandson-in-law, J. F. Plagemann, lost his livelihood as a wholesale liquor distributor when so many beer parlors and liquor stores disappeared. By the 1920s, many of public institutions that helped Germans sustain their cultural identity disappeared, making it harder to maintain these cultural practices even in private.<sup>9</sup>

In San Francisco, Barbara’s descendants, the Plagemann and Dohrmann families, felt compelled to eliminate any “Germanness” from their public activities after World War I was declared, although they continued their German-inspired private family gatherings and celebrations. To dispel any public perception of the family as “enemy,” F. W. Dohrmann, Jr., instructed his family not to use German in public. When they needed to replace the copper roof of their home, some neighbors erroneously assumed they were sending the metal to Germany to help the German war effort and the family needed to reassure them of their patriotism. Another example of the change in attitude in San Francisco was when Dohrmann’s brother, A. B. C. Dohrmann, was deemed unfit to serve as the head of the Red Cross for the Pacific Coast. Because of his name, associates

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<sup>9</sup> Fortunately, Sacramento’s *Turnverein* is still operating with an extensive research library, although many of the events they hold today are in English. Bodnar, *Transplanted*, 15. Furer, *Germans*, 56, 62. Galicich, *German Americans*, 78-87. Higham, *Strangers*, 195.

assumed he was an “enemy,” a foreign-born German, despite the fact that he had supervised the distribution of the food and aid that came to San Francisco after the 1906 earthquake. His family had hired a German refugee from the French and German war and told her to keep to the house because she spoke only German.<sup>10</sup> Despite the family’s civic involvement in the city, the new prejudices against Germans in San Francisco caused them to redefine themselves. They sought to become less German-Californian by subsuming their German heritage. In the private arena, they still clung to their “Germanness” in the early twentieth century. By World War II, however, without the support of the German institutions and the increase of anti-German attitudes, the family’s future generations lost touch with the German heritage their forefathers had celebrated in the nineteenth century.

The German citizens of San Francisco, Sacramento and Marysville in the 1850s created a legacy dedicated to the practices they brought from the fatherland strong enough to last many years. Because they simultaneously combined and interacted with their Anglo neighbors while celebrating their heritage, they moved away from being a German-born immigrant and created their new identity combining the German and dominant Anglo cultures. From the contemporary reporting in the Anglo newspapers, the citizens of Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco recognized the German-Californians’ contributions and influences and welcomed them as their cities grew from a frenzied and unruly beginning into more stable, orderly municipalities by 1860.

Historians may have assumed the Germans melded into the dominant Anglo culture because their neighbors did not perceive them and their culture as threatening. Anglos looked at the Germans and their traditions and found them positive additions to

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<sup>10</sup>Conzen, “Germans,” 423. Dohrmann, Interview. Van Blair, Interview.

society. Despite the Anglo perception of assimilation, the Germans did not abandon their “Germanness,” at least in their private lives, for a number of generations. By combining that “Germanness” into the dominant Anglo culture, they grew into German-Californians. This evolution suggests that other foreign-born immigrants from Europe, either surreptitiously and without confrontation or through conflict, also influenced and changed the cultures of Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco resulting in a new one distinctly Californian. These other immigrant groups may also have maintained their culture in privately, hidden from public view. Evaluating the story of the German-Californians invites a reassessment of the history of California to find those traditions and resurrect other immigrant groups to determine how they changed the character of the state and if they, too, kept reaffirming their roots.

This account of the German immigrants in urban California redefines the concepts of immigrant-based neighborhood and community. During and after the gold rush, the immigrant newcomers to California, whether from the various American and European cities and states, did not follow the patterns seen in other parts of the United States. They did not create or evolve into either a monolithic, Anglo-dominated, community or society into which newcomers quickly assimilated or a city with ethnically-centered residential neighborhoods whose inhabitants did not regularly interact outside their own spheres. Although some newcomers, Anglo and German, departed after only a year or two, many saw the opportunities for economic and social prosperity and elected to stay and become active citizens in their new homes. The Germans formed a cultural community rather than a closely knit residential neighborhood historians have documented in the eastern and Mid-western cities such as New York and Milwaukee.

When the German-Californians joined their Anglo neighbors socially and economically, they became an integral part of the dominant Anglo community. Anglos, when they adopted the German traditions and joined in German festivities, became aligned with the German community that extended beyond any one particular residential place. The society that the European and American newcomers created in urban California was a combination of individual, ethnically-centered but unstructured cultural communities where the German-Californians were an influential and important segment of the citizenry.

This dissertation demonstrates that German-Californians were able to adhere to the practices and traditions they brought from their homeland and be part of the civic and economic culture in these new cities. Together German-Californians and Anglo-Californians addressed the chaos of the explosive population growth in Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco and brought a social, economic and cultural stability and foundation for their future development.



## APPENDIX ONE

### GERMANS' OCCUPATIONS IN MARYSVILLE

1853, 1855, 1856, 1860

#### Key:

The listing is by “family unit” that is composed of unmarried individuals or families consisting of a head of household, spouse and any children. Although several units may live in the same dwelling, they are listed separately in this study.

“Individuals and Small Enterprises” are those that might not require a large capital investment in the nineteenth century or could operate out of a home.

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

*Sources:* 1860 Federal Census, City Directories for the years 1853, 1855, 1856 and 1860.

**Exhibit 1: Germans' Occupations in Marysville, 1853**

<u>Individuals and Small Enterprises</u>		<u>Merchants and Large Enterprises</u>	
Assayer/Banker/Pawnbroker	2	Baker	2
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	5	Blacksmith/Stable	1
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	2	Brewery	1
Clergy/Govt. Officials/Police	1	Butcher	2
		Cigar and Tobacco	1
Drayman/Teamster/Cartman	1	Clothing (Hats, Fancy)	6
Farmer	1	Dry Goods/Home Products	6
Gunsmith/Locksmith	1	Restaurants/Saloons	5
Jeweler/Engraver	1	Grocery and Produce	2
Leatherworker - Shoemaker	3	Hotel and Boarding House	8
Musician	1	Liquor and Ale Distributor	2
Tailor	2	Merchants/Importers	21
Tinsmith	1	Merchants/Undesignated	8
		<u>Mfrs - Consumer</u>	<u>3</u>
	21	Summary Large Enterprises	67
		<u>Summary of Operations</u>	<u>%</u>
		Small Enterprises	21 26.6
		Large Enterprises	47 59.5
		Clerks	5 6.3
		Laborers	1 1.3
		Unknown	5 6.3
		Total Family Units	79 100

**Exhibit 2: Germans' Occupations in Marysville, 1855**

<u>Individuals and Small Enterprises</u>		<u>Merchants and Large Enterprises</u>	
Artist/Actor/Theater	1	Baker	7
Assayer/Banker/Pawnbroker	2	Blacksmith/Stable	4
Barber	4	Brewery	11
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	5	Butcher	5
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	8	Cigar and Tobacco	6
Clergy/Govt. Officials/Police	4	Clothing (Hats, Fancy)	10
Doctor/Druggist/Midwife	1	Commission/Traders	2
Drayman/Teamster/Cartman	2	Dry Goods/Home Products	7
Farmer	1	Eating Houses/Saloon Owners	9
Gunsmith/Locksmith	3	Grocery and Produce	2
Jeweler/Engraver	1	Hotel and Boarding House	8
Leatherworker - Shoemaker	4	Liquor and Ale Distributor	2
Mechanics/Misc. Builders	2	Merchants/Importers	
Miner	4	Merchants/Miscellaneous Consumer	1
Musician	3	Merchants/Undesignated	16
Painter/Paper Hanger	1	Mfrs - Industrial	4
Peddler/Salesmen	1	Mfrs - Consumer	
Tailor	8	Total Large Enterprises	94
Tinsmith	1		
<b>Total Small Enterprises</b>	<b>56</b>		
		<u>Summary of Occupations</u>	<u>%</u>
		Small Enterprises	56 31.4
		Large Enterprises	4 52.7
		Clerks	19 10.9
		Laborers	2 1.1
		Unknown	7 3.9
			88 100.0

**Exhibit 3: Germans' Occupations in Marysville, 1856**

<u>Individuals and Small Enterprises</u>		<u>Merchants and Large Enterprises</u>	
Assayer/Banker/Pawnbroker	1	Baker	8
Barber	7	Blacksmith/Stable	3
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	8	Brewery	2
Clergy/Govt. Officials/Police	2	Butcher	8
		Cigar and Tobacco	5
Doctor/Druggist/Midwife	3	Clothing (Hats, Fancy)	10
Drayman/Teamster/Cartman	6	Dry Goods/Home Products	6
Farmer	2	Eating Houses/Saloon Owners	20
Gunsmith/Locksmith	3	Grocery and Produce	7
Jeweler/Engraver	2	Hotel and Boarding House	7
Leatherworker - Shoemaker	6	Liquor and Ale Distributor	6
Mechanics/Misc. Builders	2	Merchants/Miscellaneous Consumer	1
		Merchants/Undesignated	16
Musician	2	Mfrs - Industrial	6
Painter/Paper Hanger	1	Mfrs - Consumer	11
Tailor	8		
		<u>Total Large Enterprises</u>	<u>116</u>
<u>Total Small Enterprises</u>	<u>53</u>		

<u>Summary of Occupations</u>	<u>%</u>	
Small Enterprises	53	3.4
Large Enterprises	116	60.7
Clerks	14	7.3
Laborers	0	0.0
Unknown	8	4.2

191 75.6

**Exhibit 4: Germans' Occupations in Marysville, 1860**

<u>Individuals and Small Enterprises</u>		<u>Merchants and Large Enterprises</u>			
Assayer/Banker/Pawnbroker	5	Baker	13		
Barber	6	Baths	2		
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	25	Blacksmith/Stable	14		
Bookkeeper/Accountant	3	Brewery	4		
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	15	Butcher	9		
Clergy/Govt. Officials/Police	6	Cigar and Tobacco	7		
Doctor/Druggist/Midwife	5	Clothing (Hats, Fancy)	12		
Drayman/Teamster/Cartman	17	Dry Goods/Home Products	8		
Farmer	5	Eating Houses/Saloon Owners	24		
Gardner/Florist	3	Grocery and Produce	10		
Gunsmith/Locksmith	4	Hotel and Boarding House	12		
Jeweler/Engraver	2	Liquor and Ale Distributor	8		
Laundry	2	Merchants/Importers	1		
Leatherworker - Shoemaker	13	Merchants/Miscellaneous Consumer	1		
Mechanics/Misc. Builders	4	Merchants/Undesignated	41		
Miner	7	Mfrs - Industrial	12		
Musician	7	Mfrs - Consumer	7		
Paper Carrier/Reporter	1	Summary Large Enterprises	185		
Painter/Paper Hanger	3				
Peddler/Salesmen	7	<u>Summary of Occupations</u>			
Porter/Servant/Steward	14	Small Enterprises	180	44.0	
Tailor	19	Large Enterprises	185	45.2	
Teacher	2	Clerks	21	5.1	
Tinsmith	4	Laborers	15	3.7	
Waterman	1	Unknown	8	2.0	
			409	100.0	
Total Small Enterprises	180				

## APPENDIX TWO

### GERMANS' OCCUPATIONS IN SACRAMENTO

1850 through 1853, 1855 through 1860

**Key:**

The listing is by “family unit” that is composed of unmarried individuals or families consisting of a head of household, spouse and any children. Although several units may live in the same dwelling, they are listed separately in this study.

“Individuals and Small Enterprises” are those that might not require a large capital investment in the nineteenth century or could operate out of a home.

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

*Sources:* Federal Censuses for 1850 and 1860, California Census for 1852, City Directories for the years 1851, 1853 through 1860.

**Exhibit 1: Germans' Occupations in Sacramento, 1850**

<u>Individual and Small Enterprises</u>		<u>Merchants and Large Enterprises</u>	
Assayer/Banker/Pawnbroker	1	Baker	24
Barber	4	Blacksmith/Stable	10
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	21	Brewery	4
Brickmason	2	Butcher	12
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	8	Cigar and Tobacco	5
Drayman/Teamster/Cartman	8	Clothing (Hats, Fancy)	19
Farmer	3	Coffee/Spices	1
Gardner/Florist	2	Dry Goods/Home Products	8
Gunsmith/Locksmith	5	Eating House/Restaurant/Saloon	12
Jeweler/Engraver	2	Grocery and Produce	10
Laundry	1	Hotel and Boarding House	10
Leatherworker - Shoemaker	5	Publishers/Editors/Printers	24
Miner	23	Mfrs - Industrial	5
Musician	1	Mfrs - Consumer	1
Peddler/Salesmen	4	<u>Total Large Enterprises</u>	<u>145</u>
Porter/Servant/Steward	5		
Sailor/Mariner	9		
Tailor	12		
Tinsmith	3		
<u>Total Small Enterprises</u>	<u>119</u>	<u>Summary</u>	<u>%</u>
		Small Enterprises	119 34.1
		Large Enterprises	145 41.4
		Clerks	5 1.4
		Laborers	37 10.5
		<u>Unknown Occupation</u>	<u>44 12.6</u>
		 Total Family Units	 350 100.0

**Exhibit 2: Germans' Occupations in Sacramento, 1851**

<u>Individual and Small Enterprises</u>		<u>Merchants and Large Enterprises</u>	
Assayer/Banker/Pawnbroker	3	Baker	4
Barber	1	Blacksmith/Stable	3
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	8	Butcher	2
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	5	Cigar and Tobacco	5
Doctor/Druggist/Midwife	1	Clothing (Hats, Fancy)	16
Drayman/Teamster/Cartman	2	Coffee/Spices	1
Farmer	1	Dry Goods/Home Products	10
Gunsmith/Locksmith	3	Eating House/Restaurant/Saloon	3
Jeweler/Engraver	2	Grocery and Produce	2
Laundry	2	Hotel and Boarding House	7
Leatherworker - Shoemaker	1	Liquor and Ale Distributor	1
Sailor/Mariner	1	Merchants/Undesignated	9
Tailor	1	Mfrs - Industrial	1
<u>Total Small Enterprises</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>Mfrs - Consumer</u>	<u>1</u>
		<u>Total Large Enterprises</u>	<u>65</u>

<u>Summary</u>	<u>%</u>	
Small Enterprises	31	28.7
Large Enterprises	65	61.1
Clerks	5	4.6
Laborers	1	1.0
<u>Unknown Occupation</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4.6</u>
Total Family Units	107	100.0



**Exhibit 3: Germans' Occupations in Sacramento, 1852**

<u>Individuals and Small Enterprises</u>		<u>Merchants and Large Enterprises</u>			
Assayer/Banker/Pawnbroker	5	Baker		21	
Barber	13	Blacksmith		20	
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	23	Brewery		2	
Bookkeeper	2	Butcher		12	
Brickmason	4	Cigar and Tobacco		16	
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	27				
		Clothing (Hats, Shoes, "Fancy")		41	
Drayman/Teamster	11	Coffee and Spices		0	
Engineer/Architect	1	Commission/Trader/Broker		1	
Doctor/Druggist	10	Dry Goods and Provisions		11	
Farmer	45	Eating Houses		23	
Fisherman	3				
		Grocery and Produce		9	
Gardner	3	Hotel and Boarding House		16	
Gunsmith	6	Liquor and Ale Distributor		1	
Jeweler	9	Merchants - Undesignated		34	
Laundry/Washing	7	Mfrs - Industrial		5	
Leatherworker	18				
		<u>Mfrs - Consumer</u>		<u>6</u>	
				218	
Miner	46				
Mechanics/Misc. builders	1				
Musician	3				
Painter	2				
Porter/Servant/Steward	13				
		<u>Summary of Occupations:</u>			<u>%</u>
		Individuals and Small Enterprises	281		43.0
		Merchants and Large Enterprises	218		32.4
Seaman	2	Clerks	23		3.5
Salesman	1	Laborers	61		9.2
Tailor	16	Unknown or "none"	79		11.9
Tinsmith	4				
Upholsterer	2				
		Total Family Units	662		100
<u>Waterman</u>	<u>4</u>				
<u>Total Small Enterprises</u>	<u>281</u>				

**Exhibit 4: Germans' Occupations in Sacramento, 1853**

<u>Individual and Small Enterprises</u>		<u>Merchants and Large Enterprises</u>	
Artist/Actor/Theater	1	Baker	6
Assayer/Banker/Pawnbroker	1	Blacksmith/Stable	3
Barber	3	Butcher	2
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	1	Cigar and Tobacco	8
Bookkeeper/Accountant	2	Clothing (Hats, Fancy)	21
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	3	Coffee/Spices	1
Clergy/Govt. Officials/Police	1	Dry Goods/Home Products	13
Engineer/Architect	1	Eating House/Restaurant/Saloon	14
Doctor/Druggist/Midwife	7	Grocery and Produce	8
Drayman/Teamster/Cartman	5	Hotel and Boarding House	13
Gunsmith/Locksmith	5	Liquor and Ale Distributor	1
Jeweler/Engraver	2	Merchants/Miscellaneous Consumer	1
Leatherworker - Shoemaker	10	Merchants/Undesignated	9
Miner	2		
Musician	2	Mfrs - Industrial	4
		Mfrs - Consumer	3
Painter/Paper Hanger	2	Total Large Enterprises	107
Tinsmith	3		
Upholsterer	1		
Total Small Enterprises	52		
		<u>Summary</u>	<u>%</u>
		Small Enterprises	52 31.1
		Large Enterprises	107 64.1
		Clerks	8 4.8
		Laborers	0 0.0
		Unknown Occupation	0 0.0
		Total Family Units	167 100.0

**Exhibit 5: Germans' Occupations in Sacramento, 1855**

<u>Individuals and Small Enterprises</u>		<u>Merchants and Large Enterprises</u>			
Artist	1	Baker		17	
Architect	1	Blacksmith		7	
Banker	2	Butcher		8	
Barber	7	Cigar and Tobacco		13	
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	4	Clothing (Hats, Shoes, "Fancy")		31	
Bookkeeper	2	Coffee and Spices		1	
Brickmason	1	Dry Goods and Provisions		18	
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	5	Eating Houses		18	
Clergy/Govt. Official	1	Grocery and Produce		20	
Doctor/Druggist	6	Hotel and Boarding House		15	
Drayman/Teamster	6	Liquor and Ale Distributor		3	
Farmer	2	Manufacturing		9	
Gardner	1	<u>Undesignated Merchants</u>		<u>3</u>	
Gunsmith	5	Total Large Enterprises		163	
Jeweler	4				
Laundry/Washing	1				
Leatherworker	16				
Miner	0				
Musician	6	<u>Summary</u>			<u>%</u>
Painter	2	Individuals and Small Enterprises	87		33.6
		Merchants and Large Enterprises	163		63.1
Printer	1	Clerks	6		2.3
Tinner	4	Laborers	2		1.0
Tailor	9	Unknown Occupation	0		0.0
<u>Individuals and Small Enterprises</u>	<u>87</u>				
		Total Family Units	258		100.0

**Exhibit 6: German's Occupations in Sacramento, 1856**

<u>Individual and Small Enterprises</u>		<u>Merchants and Large Enterprises</u>	
Artist/Actor/Theater	1	Baker	28
Assayer/Banker/Pawnbroker	5	Blacksmith/Stable	19
Attorney	2	Brewery	5
Barber	12	Butcher	18
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	7	Cigar and Tobacco	22
Bookkeeper/Accountant	4	Clothing (Hats, Fancy)	44
Brickmason	2	Coffee/Spices	6
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	16	Dry Goods/Home Products	22
Clergy/Govt. Officials/Police	2	Eating House/Restaurant/Saloon	27
Engineer/Architect	2	Grocery and Produce	28
Doctor/Druggist/Midwife	5	Hotel and Boarding House	22
Drayman/Teamster/Cartman	10	Liquor and Ale Distributor	5
Gardner/Florist	3	Merchants/Undesignated	5
Gunsmith/Locksmith	6	Publishers/Editors/Printers	2
Jeweler/Engraver	5	Mfrs - Industrial	9
Laundry	6	Mfrs - Consumer	11
Leatherworker - Shoemaker	20	<u>Total Large Enterprises</u>	<u>273</u>
Mechanics/Misc. Builders	2		
Miner	1	<u>Summary</u>	<u>%</u>
Musician	6	Small Enterprises	152 34.2
Painter/Paper Hanger	3	Large Enterprises	273 61.5
Peddler/Salesmen	2	Clerks	12 2.7
Porter/Servant/Steward	1	Laborers	4 0.9
Tailor	23	<u>Unknown Occupation</u>	<u>3 0.7</u>
Tinsmith	4	Total Family Units	444 100.0
Upholsterer	2		
<u>Total Small Enterprises</u>	<u>152</u>		

**Exhibit 7: Germans' Occupations in Sacramento**

<u>Individual and Small Enterprises</u>		<u>Merchants and Large Enterprises</u>	
Artist/Actor/Theater	1	Baker	17
Assayer/Banker/Pawnbroker	1	Baths/Gymnasium	1
Attorney	1	Blacksmith/Stable	12
Barber	7	Brewery	5
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	5	Butcher	12
Bookkeeper/Accountant	4	Cigar and Tobacco	16
Brickmason	1	Clothing (Hats, Fancy)	22
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	10	Coffee/Spices	2
Clergy/Govt. Officials/Police	1	Dry Goods/Home Products	14
Doctor/Druggist/Midwife	1	Eating House/Restaurant/Saloon	29
Drayman/Teamster/Cartman	7	Grocery and Produce	28
Farmer	2	Hotel and Boarding House	19
Gardner/Florist	1	Liquor and Ale Distributor	8
Gunsmith/Locksmith	5	Merchants/Undesignated	1
Jeweler/Engraver	3	Mfrs - Industrial	5
Laundry	2	Mfrs - Consumer	7
Leatherworker - Shoemaker	16	Total Large Enterprises	198
Mechanics/Misc. Builders	1		
Musician	8		
Painter/Paper Hanger	1	Summary	%
		Small Enterprises	91 30.3
Peddler/Salesmen	1	Large Enterprises	198 65.8
Tailor	8	Clerks	6 2.0
Tinsmith	3	Laborers	3 0.9
Upholsterer	1	Unknown Occupation	3 0.9
Total Small Enterprises	91	Total Family Units	301 99.9

**Exhibit 8: Germans' Occupations in Sacramento, 1858**

<u>Individual and Small Enterprises</u>		<u>Merchants and Large Enterprises</u>	
Artist/Actor/Theater	1	Baker	13
Barber	4	Blacksmith/Stable	5
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	2	Brewery	8
Bookkeeper/Accountant	2	Butcher	4
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	8	Cigar and Tobacco	14
Doctor/Druggist/Midwife	2	Clothing (Hats, Fancy)	23
Drayman/Teamster/Cartman	7	Coffee/Spices	2
Farmer	1	Dry Goods/Home Products	10
Gardner/Florist	2	Eating House/Restaurant/Saloon	23
Gunsmith/Locksmith	5	Grocery and Produce	30
Jeweler/Engraver	2	Hotel and Boarding House	15
Laundry	1	Liquor and Ale Distributor	8
Leatherworker - Shoemaker	9	Merchants/Undesignated	2
Musician	4	Publishers/Editors/Printers	1
Painter/Paper Hanger	1	Mfrs - Industrial	5
Tailor	8	Mfrs - Consumer	4
Tinsmith	3	<u>Total Large Enterprises</u>	<u>167</u>
Upholsterer	1		
Waterman	1		
<u>Total Small Enterprises</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>Summary</u>	<u>%</u>
		Small Enterprises	64 26.8
		Large Enterprises	167 70.2
		Clerks	3 1.3
		Laborers	3 1.3
		<u>Unknown Occupation</u>	<u>1 0.4</u>
		 Total Family Units	 238 100.0

**Exhibit 9: Germans' Occupations in Sacramento, 1859**

<u>Individual and Small Enterprises</u>		<u>Merchants and Large Enterprises</u>	
Artist/Actor/Theater	1	Baker	23
Assayer/Banker/Pawnbroker	2	Blacksmith/Stable	13
Barber	8	Brewery	10
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	18	Butcher	12
Bookkeeper/Accountant	4	Cigar and Tobacco	18
Brickmason	1	Clothing (Hats, Fancy)	25
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	15	Coffee/Spices	5
Clergy/Govt. Officials/Police	3	Dry Goods/Home Products	11
Doctor/Druggist/Midwife	3	Eating House/Restaurant/Saloon	20
Drayman/Teamster/Cartman	12	Grocery and Produce	36
Farmer	3	Hotel and Boarding House	18
Gardner/Florist	1	Liquor and Ale Distributor	11
Gunsmith/Locksmith	5	Publishers/Editors/Printers	1
Jeweler/Engraver	4	Mfrs - Industrial	8
Laundry	2	Mfrs - Consumer	9
		<u>Total Large Enterprises</u>	<u>220</u>
Leatherworker - Shoemaker	20		
Miner	1		
Musician	7		
Paper Carrier/Reporter	1	<u>Summary</u>	<u>%</u>
Painter/Paper Hanger	1	Small Enterprises	135 35.3
		Large Enterprises	220 57.4
		Clerks	8 2.1
Peddler/Salesmen	2	Laborers	8 2.1
Porter/Servant/Steward	2	<u>Unknown Occupation</u>	<u>12 3.1</u>
Tailor	15		
Tinsmith	3	Total Family Units	383 100.0
Waterman	1		
<u>Total Small Enterprises</u>	<u>135</u>		

**Exhibit 10: German's Occupations in Sacramento, 1860**

<u>Individual and Small Enterprises</u>		<u>Merchants and Large Enterprises</u>	
Artist/Actor/Theater	2	Baker	43
Assayer/Banker/Pawnbroker	11	Blacksmith/Stable	21
Barber	17	Brewery	19
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	49	Butcher	45
Brickmason	34	Cigar and Tobacco	30
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	40	Clothing (Hats, Fancy)	15
Clergy/Govt. Officials/Police	3	Coffee/Spices	4
Doctor/Druggist/Midwife	14	Commission/Trader/Broker	10
Drayman/Teamster/Cartman	27	Dry Goods/Home Products	9
Farmer	31	Eating House/Restaurant/Saloon	57
Fisherman	2	Grocery and Produce	39
Gardner/Florist	9	Hotel and Boarding House	26
Gunsmith/Locksmith	5	Liquor and Ale Distributor	17
Jeweler/Engraver	10	Merchants/Undesignated	44
Laundry	5	Mfrs - Industrial	15
Leatherworker - Shoemaker	46	<u>Mfrs - Consumer</u>	<u>7</u>
Miner	16	Total Large Enterprises	401
Musician	16		
Peddler/Salesmen	14		
Porter/Servant/Steward	28		
Sailor/Mariner	17		
Tailor	38		
Tinsmith	8	Summary	%
Total Small Enterprises	442	Small Enterprises	442 44.5
		Large Enterprises	401 40.5
		Clerks	55 5.5
		Laborers	69 6.9
		Unknown Occupation	26 2.6
		Total Family Units	993 100.0



## APPENDIX THREE

### GERMANS' OCCUPATIONS IN SAN FRANCISCO

1852 through 1860

Key:

The listing is by “family unit” that is composed of unmarried individuals or families consisting of a head of household, spouse and any children. Although several units may live in the same dwelling, they are listed separately in this study.

“Individuals and Small Enterprises” are those that might not require a large capital investment in the nineteenth century or could operate out of a home.

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

*Sources:* Federal Censuses for 1860, California Census for 1852, City Directories for the years 1852 through 1860.

**Exhibit 1: Germans' Occupations in San Francisco, 1852.**

<u>Individual and Small Enterprises</u>		<u>Merchants and Large Enterprises</u>			
Artist/Actor/Theater	7	Baker		58	
Assayer/Banker/Pawnbroker	24	Baths		1	
Barber	21	Blacksmith/Stable		14	
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	51	Brewery		17	
Bookkeeper/Accountant	4	Butcher		27	
Brickmason	23	Cigar and Tobacco		31	
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	82	Clothing (Hats, Fancy)		30	
Clergy/Govt. Officials/Police	4	Coffee/Spices		2	
Doctor/Druggist/Midwife	19	Commission/Trader/Broker		189	
Enginner/Architect	2	Dry Goods/Home Products		16	
Drayman/Teamster/Cartman	6	Eating House/Restaurant/Saloon		29	
Door/Gate Keeper	11	Grocery and Produce		37	
Farmer	17	Hotel and Boarding House		48	
Fisherman	1	Liquor and Ale Distributor		16	
Gardner/Florist	16	Merchants/Importers		5	
Gunsmith/Locksmith	7	Merchants/Miscellaneous Consumer		4	
Jeweler/Engraver	24	Merchants/Undesignated		249	
Laundry	7	Publishers/Editors/Printers		2	
Leatherworker - Shoemaker	46	Mfrs - Industrial		7	
Mechanics/Misc. Builders	39	Mfrs - Consumer		10	
		Total Large Enterprises		792	
Metal Worker/Glazier	5				
Miner	3				
Musician	10	Summary			%
Paper Carrier/Reporter	2	Small Enterprises	814	40.2	
Painter/Paper Hanger	16	Large Enterprises	792	39.2	
Peddler/Salesmen	4	Clerks	84	4.2	
Porter/Servant/Steward	41	Laborers	199	9.8	
Sailor/Mariner	192	Unknown Occupation	132	6.6	
Tailor	118				
Tinsmith	5	Total Family Units	2,021	100.0	
Undertaker	7				
Waterman	3				
Total Small Enterprises	814				

**Exhibit 2: Germans' Occupations in San Francisco, 1853**

<u>Individual and Small Enterprises</u>		<u>Merchants and Large Enterprises</u>	
Artist/Actor/Theater	3	Baker	5
Assayer/Banker/Pawnbroker	2	Blacksmith/Stable	1
Attorney	1	Brewery	2
Barber	1	Cigar and Tobacco	6
Bookkeeper/Accountant	1	Clothing (Hats, Fancy)	4
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	5	Commission/Trader/Broker	7
Clergy/Govt. Officials/Police	2	Dry Goods/Home Products	8
Doctor/Druggist/Midwife	10	Eating House/Restaurant/Saloon	3
Drayman/Teamster/Cartman	1	Grocery and Produce	10
Farmer	1	Hotel and Boarding House	4
Gunsmith/Locksmith	2	Liquor and Ale Distributor	6
Jeweler/Engraver	5	Merchants/Importers	2
Laundry	1	Merchants/Miscellaneous Consumer	3
Leatherworker - Shoemaker	3	Merchants/Undesignated	24
Metal Worker/Glazier	1	Publishers/Editors/Printers	1
Musician	7	Mfrs - Industrial	1
Paper Carrier/Reporter	3	Mfrs - Consumer	2
Painter/Paper Hanger	2	<u>Total Large Enterprises</u>	<u>89</u>
Peddler/Salesmen	1		
Porter/Servant/Steward	2		
		<u>Summary</u>	<u>%</u>
Soldier	2	Small Enterprises	66 36.8
Tailor	6	Large Enterprises	89 49.7
Teacher	2	Clerks	6 3.4
Tinsmith	2	Laborers	3 1.7
<u>Total Small Enterprises</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>Unknown Occupation</u>	<u>15 8.5</u>
		Total Family Units	179 100.1

### Exhibit 3: Germans' Occupations in San Francisco, 1854

<u>Individual and Small Enterprises</u>		<u>Merchants and Large Enterprises</u>		
Artist/Actor/Theater	2	Baker	12	
Assayer/Banker/Pawnbroker	1	Baths	2	
Attorney	1	Blacksmith/Stable	8	
Barber	7	Brewery	8	
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	9	Butcher	10	
Bookkeeper/Accountant	7	Cigar and Tobacco	17	
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	14	Clothing (Hats, Fancy)	19	
Clergy/Govt. Officials/Police	7	Coffee/Spices	2	
Engineer/Architect	2	Commission/Trader/Broker	14	
Confectioner	2	Dry Goods/Home Products	22	
Doctor/Druggist/Midwife	13	Eating House/Restaurant/Saloon	19	
Drayman/Teamster/Cartman	5	Grocery and Produce	27	
Farmer	2	Hotel and Boarding House	13	
Gardner/Florist	1	Liquor and Ale Distributor	10	
Gunsmith/Locksmith	2	Merchants/Importers	6	
Jeweler/Engraver	17	Merchants/Miscellaneous Consumer	6	
Laundry	2	Merchants/Undesignated	54	
Leatherworker - Shoemaker	11	Publishers/Editors/Printers	2	
Mechanics/Misc. Builders	3	Mfrs - Industrial	8	
Metal Worker/Glazier	1	Mfrs - Consumer	5	
Miner	2	Total Large Enterprises	264	
Musician	12			
Paper Carrier/Reporter	3			
Painter/Paper Hanger	4	<u>Summary</u>		<u>%</u>
Peddler/Salesmen	6	Small Enterprises	189	37.6
Porter/Servant/Steward	7	Large Enterprises	264	52.4
Sailor/Mariner	7	Clerks	14	2.8
Tailor	28	Laborers	8	1.6
Teacher	1	Unknown Occupation	28	5.6
Tinsmith	6	Total Family Units	503	100.0
Upholsterer	3			
Waterman	1			
<u>Total Small Enterprises</u>	<u>189</u>			

**Exhibit 4: Germans' Occupations in San Francisco, 1855**

<u>Individual and Small Enterprises</u>		<u>Merchants and Large Enterprises</u>	
Artist/Actor/Theater	3	Baker	6
Assayer/Banker/Pawnbroker	1	Blacksmith/Stable	2
Barber	4	Brewery	9
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	3	Butcher	1
Bookkeeper/Accountant	4	Cigar and Tobacco	4
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	4	Clothing (Hats, Fancy)	7
Clergy/Govt. Officials/Police	5	Commission/Trader/Broker	4
Doctor/Druggist/Midwife	6	Dry Goods/Home Products	10
Farmer	4	Eating House/Restaurant/Saloon	9
Gunsmith/Locksmith	1	Grocery and Produce	16
Jeweler/Engraver	12	Hotel and Boarding House	5
Laundry	1	Liquor and Ale Distributor	9
Leatherworker - Shoemaker	2	Merchants/Importers	3
Mechanics/Misc. Builders	1	Merchants/Miscellaneous Consumer	2
Metal Worker/Glazier	1	Merchants/Undesignated	14
Musician	18	Publishers/Editors/Printers	1
Paper Carrier/Reporter	1	Mfrs - Industrial	2
Painter/Paper Hanger	3	Mfrs - Consumer	1
Peddler/Salesmen	3	Total Large Enterprises	105
Porter/Servant/Steward	2		
Sailor/Mariner	1		
Tailor	8		
Teacher	2	Summary	%
Tinsmith	1	Small Enterprises	93 40.3
Upholsterer	1	Large Enterprises	105 45.5
		Clerks	0 0.0
Waterman	1	Laborers	3 1.3
<u>Total Small Enterprises</u>	<u>93</u>	<u>Unknown Occupation</u>	<u>30 12.9</u>
		Total Family Units	231 100.0

**Exhibit 5: Germans' Occupations in San Francisco, 1856**

<u>Individual and Small Enterprises</u>		<u>Merchants and Large Enterprises</u>			
Artist/Actor/Theater	6	Baker		10	
Assayer/Banker/Pawnbroker	9	Baths		1	
Barber	10	Blacksmith/Stable		7	
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	16	Brewery		11	
Bookkeeper/Accountant	11	Butcher		14	
Brickmason	2	Cigar and Tobacco		32	
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	32	Clothing (Hats, Fancy)		36	
Clergy/Govt. Officials/Police	6	Coffee/Spices		1	
Engineer/Architect	3	Commission/Trader/Broker		26	
Doctor/Druggist/Midwife	29	Dry Goods/Home Products		53	
Drayman/Teamster/Cartman	14	Eating House/Restaurant/Saloon		22	
Farmer	2	Grocery and Produce		56	
Gardner/Florist	3	Hotel and Boarding House		26	
Gunsmith/Locksmith	7	Liquor and Ale Distributor		11	
Jeweler/Engraver	24	Merchants/Importers		11	
Laundry	6	Merchants/Miscellaneous Consumer		8	
Leatherworker - Shoemaker	21	Merchants/Undesignated		66	
Mechanics/Misc. Builders	3	Publishers/Editors/Printers		8	
Metal Worker/Glazier	8	Mfrs - Industrial		9	
Miner	1	Mfrs - Consumer		10	
		<u>Total Large Enterprises</u>		<u>418</u>	
Musician	12				
Paper Carrier/Reporter	3				
Painter/Paper Hanger	7	<u>Summary</u>			<u>%</u>
Porter/Servant/Steward	6	Small Enterprises	358	42.7	
Sailor/Mariner	8	Large Enterprises	418	49.9	
Tailor	80	Clerks	21	2.5	
Teacher	5	Laborers	13	1.6	
Tinsmith	15	Unknown Occupation	27	3.3	
Undertaker	1				
Upholsterer	6	<u>Total Family Units</u>	<u>837</u>	<u>100.0</u>	
Waterman	2				
<u>Total Small Enterprises</u>	<u>358</u>				

**Exhibit 6: Germans' Occupations in San Francisco, 1857**

<u>Individual and Small Enterprises</u>		<u>Merchants and Large Enterprises</u>			
Artist/Actor/Theater	5	Baker		26	
Assayer/Banker/Pawnbroker	7	Baths		1	
Barber	18	Blacksmith/Stable		9	
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	29	Brewery		14	
Bookkeeper/Accountant	18	Butcher		16	
Brickmason	6	Cigar and Tobacco		15	
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	39	Clothing (Hats, Fancy)		69	
Clergy/Govt. Officials/Police	9	Commission/Trader/Broker		30	
Engineer/Architect	6	Dry Goods/Home Products		59	
		Eating House/Restaurant/Saloon		12	
Doctor/Druggist/Midwife	27				
Drayman/Teamster/Cartman	17	Grocery and Produce		85	
Door/Gate Keeper	2	Hotel and Boarding House		11	
Farmer	3	Liquor and Ale Distributor		24	
Gardner/Florist	3	Merchants/Importers		12	
Gunsmith/Locksmith	4	Merchants/Miscellaneous Consumer		4	
Jeweler/Engraver	27	Merchants/Undesignated		67	
Laundry	6	Publishers/Editors/Printers		7	
Leatherworker - Shoemaker	26	Mfrs - Industrial		13	
Mechanics/Misc. Builders	13	Mfrs - Consumer		13	
Metal Worker/Glazier	10	Total Large Enterprises		487	
Miner	2				
Musician	31				
Paper Carrier/Reporter	4				
Painter/Paper Hanger	11				
Peddler/Salesmen	10	Summary			%
Porter/Servant/Steward	10	Small Enterprises	426		42.4
Sailor/Mariner	8	Large Enterprises	487		48.5
Tailor	49	Clerks	30		3.0
Teacher	5	Laborers	27		2.7
		Unknown Occupation	35		3.4
Tinsmith	11				
Upholsterer	9	Total Family Units	1,005		100.0
Waterman	1				
Total Small Enterprises	426				

**Exhibit 7: Germans' Occupations in San Francisco, 1858**

<u>Individual and Small Enterprises</u>		<u>Merchants and Large Enterprises</u>			
Artist/Actor/Theater	8	Baker/Confectioner	32		
Assayer/Banker/Pawnbroker	13	Baths	5		
Barber	16	Blacksmith/Stable	13		
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	35	Brewery	21		
Bookkeeper/Accountant	26	Butcher	38		
Brickmason	9	Cigar and Tobacco	64		
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	57	Clothing (Hats, Fancy)	85		
Clergy/Govt. Officials/Police	16	Coffee/Spices	2		
Engineer/Architect	7	Commission/Trader/Broker	27		
Doctor/Druggist/Midwife	33	Dry Goods/Home Products	76		
Drayman/Teamster/Cartman	26	Eating House/Restaurant/Saloon	47		
Door/Gate Keeper	3	Grocery and Produce	125		
Farmer	11	Hotel and Boarding House	23		
Gardner/Florist	8	Liquor and Ale Distributor	30		
Gunsmith/Locksmith	8	Merchants/Importers	12		
Jeweler/Engraver	36	Merchants/Miscellaneous Consumer	5		
Laundry	10	Merchants/Undesignated	76		
Leatherworker - Shoemaker	38	Publishers/Editors/Printers	11		
Mechanics/Misc. Builders	21	Mfrs - Industrial	15		
Metal Worker/Glazier	19	Mfrs - Consumer	24		
Miner	5	Total Large Enterprises	731		
Musician	33				
Paper Carrier/Reporter	3				
Painter/Paper Hanger	11				
Peddler/Salesmen	10	Summary			%
Porter/Servant/Steward	15	Small Enterprises	600	41.7	
Sailor/Mariner	10	Large Enterprises	731	50.7	
Tailor	69	Clerks	34	2.4	
Teacher	10	Laborers	29	2.0	
Tinsmith	20	Unknown Occupation	47	3.2	
Undertaker	2	Total Family Units	1,441	100.0	
Upholsterer	9				
Waterman	3				
Total Small Enterprises	600				



**Exhibit 8: Germans' Occupations in San Francisco, 1859.**

<u>Individual and Small Enterprises</u>		<u>Merchants and Large Enterprises</u>			
Artist/Actor/Theater	11	Baker/Confectioner	44		
Assayer/Banker/Pawnbroker	13	Baths	2		
Barber	25	Blacksmith/Stable	15		
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	40	Brewery	26		
Bookkeeper/Accountant	34	Butcher	60		
Brickmason	15	Cigar and Tobacco	81		
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	67	Clothing (Hats, Fancy)	96		
Clergy/Govt. Officials/Police	17	Coffee/Spices	3		
Doctor/Druggist/Midwife	35	Commission/Trader/Broker	22		
Enginner/Architect	9	Dry Goods/Home Products	75		
Drayman/Teamster/Cartman	31	Eating House/Restaurant/Saloon	50		
Door/Gate Keeper	3	Grocery and Produce	130		
Farmer	8	Hotel and Boarding House	30		
Fisherman	2	Liquor and Ale Distributor	35		
Gardner/Florist	10	Merchants/Importers	98		
Gunsmith/Locksmith	9	Merchants/Miscellaneous Consumer	1		
Jeweler/Engraver	42	Merchants/Undesignated	29		
Laundry	9	Publishers/Editors/Printers	15		
Leatherworker - Shoemaker	64	Mfrs - Industrial	19		
Mechanics/Misc. Builders	10	Mfrs - Consumer	26		
		<u>Total Large Enterprises</u>	<u>857</u>		
Metal Worker/Glazier	26				
Miner	7				
Musician	41				
Paper Carrier/Reporter	5	<u>Summary</u>		<u>%</u>	
Painter/Paper Hanger	10	Small Enterprises	754	48.3	
Peddler/Salesmen	35	Large Enterprises	857	34.8	
Porter/Servant/Steward	25	Clerks	68	5.2	
Sailor/Marine/Soldier	25	Laborers	45	5.6	
Tailor	73	<u>Unknown Occupation</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>6.1</u>	
Teacher	9				
Tinsmith	22	Total Family Units	1,765	100.0	
Undertaker	1				
Upholsterer	17				
<u>Waterman</u>	<u>4</u>				
Total Small Enterprises	754				

**Exhibit 9: Germans' Occupations in San Francisco, 1860**

<u>Individual and Small Enterprises</u>		<u>Merchants and Large Enterprises</u>	
Artist/Actor/Theater	21	Baker	124
Assayer/Banker/Pawnbroker	12	Baths	4
Barber	75	Blacksmith/Stable	41
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	217	Brewery	60
Bookkeeper/Accountant	63	Butcher	129
Brickmason	30	Cigar and Tobacco	156
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	197	Clothing (Hats, Fancy)	125
Clergy/Govt. Officials/Police	23	Coffee/Spices	7
Doctor/Druggist/Midwife	58	Commission/Trader/Broker	52
Enginner/Architect	17	Dry Goods/Home Products	99
Drayman/Teamster/Cartman	92	Eating House/Restaurant/Saloon	115
Door/Gate Keeper	6	Grocery and Produce	310
Farmer	45	Hotel and Boarding House	50
Fisherman	4	Liquor and Ale Distributor	54
Gardner/Florist	26	Merchants/Importers	180
Gunsmith/Locksmith	19	Merchants/Miscellaneous Consumer	8
Jeweler/Engraver	82	Merchants/Undesignated	28
Laundry	33	Publishers/Editors/Printers	64
Leatherworker - Shoemaker	162	Mfrs - Industrial	63
Mechanics/Misc. Builders	59	Mfrs - Consumer	10
		<u>Total Large Enterprises</u>	<u>1679</u>
Metal Worker/Glazier	52		
Miner	75		
Musician	83	<u>Summary</u>	<u>%</u>
Paper Carrier/Reporter	11	Small Enterprises	2,335 48.3
Painter/Paper Hanger	11	Large Enterprises	1,679 34.8
Peddler/Salesmen	79	Clerks	251 5.2
Porter/Servant/Steward	243	Laborers	269 5.6
Sailor/Mariner	201	<u>Unknown Occupation</u>	<u>297 6.1</u>
Soldier	22		
Tailor	225	Total Family Units	4,831 100.0
Teacher	15		
Tinsmith	35		
Undertaker	2		
Upholsterer	27		
Waterman	13		
<u>Total Small Enterprises</u>	<u>2,335</u>		

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