

October 30, 1973

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Maria Slonina entitled "German-Speaking Peoples in Tennessee from Colonial Times to World War I: An Introduction and Bibliography." I recommend that it be accepted for nine quarter hours of credit in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in College Teaching, with a major in German.


Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:





Accepted for the Council:


Vice Chancellor for
Graduate Studies and Research

GERMAN-SPEAKING PEOPLES IN TENNESSEE FROM COLONIAL
TIMES TO WORLD WAR I: AN INTRODUCTION
AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

A Thesis
Presented to
the Graduate Council of
The University of Tennessee

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts in College Teaching

by
Maria Slonina
December 1973

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to the professors of the Department of Germanic and Slavic Languages, Dr. David Lee, Dr. Reinhold Nordsieck, Dr. John C. Osborne and Dr. Chauncey Mellor for their help, encouragement and advice on this thesis project. I would also like to thank the faculties of the English, History and Archeology Departments for their interest in this project.

I am also deeply indebted to the personnel of the Chattanooga, Lawrenceburg, Knoxville, Memphis, and Nashville Public Libraries, the State Library and Archives, Nashville, as well as the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati, Ohio. My most sincere thanks go also to Carlson Brewer of the Knoxville News Sentinel, Robert Johnson of the Memphis Press-Scimitar and the Chattanooga News-Free Press for publishing short articles about my work and enlisting the aid of their readers. Their appeal was most fruitful.

Special thanks are also due Jesse C. Mills, Technical Librarian, TVA, Knoxville; Professor Karl J. R. Arndt, Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts; Dr. Sam Smith, Hermitage, Tennessee; Bob Rauchle, Franklin, Tennessee; and Rev. Harvey Huntley, Greene County Lutheran Parish,

Greeneville, Tennessee, for their invaluable help, interest and contributions.

I am also very grateful to all those persons who have contacted me either by mail or telephone or who have co-operated with me while I was researching their particular community. I especially would like to thank Gretna C. Ausmus, Johnson City; Fred M. Benderman, East Ridge; Gladys Ricker Bowland, Greeneville; David E. Clayton, Collegedale; Margaret Coppinger, Beersheba Springs; Earl Cox, Greeneville; Harvey Dickey, Milan; Suellen Earl, Greeneville; Margaret Feldhaus, Lawrenceburg; Paul M. Fink, Jonesboro; Bob Harvey, Memphis and Shelby County Archives, Memphis; Rev. Kenneth F. Haskell, Immanuel Lutheran Church, Greeneville; A. G. Heins, Jr., Knoxville; Sue K. Hicks, Madisonville; Mr. James Myers, TVA, Knoxville; Rev. Robert P. Nerger, St. Paul Lutheran Church, Wartburg; Glenna K. Ott, Wartburg; Robert Pegram, Memphis; Lillian Peters, Knoxville; Lee D. Price, Lenoir City; Margaret Ragesdale, Knoxville; Dr. Allison von Slagle, The University of Tennessee, Chattanooga; Harry U. Scruggs, Memphis; Cleo Stämpfli, Grütli; E. R. Walker III, Newport; Mrs. Warren West, Knoxville; Kate Wichser, Grütli; and Waldo Zimmermann, Memphis, Tennessee.

I would also like to thank the personnel of The University of Tennessee Graduate Library and in particular Mr. Robert Bassett, Head, Reference Librarian.

ABSTRACT

This project on the German-speaking peoples in Tennessee from Colonial times to the First World War consists of three chapters and an appendix. The introduction discusses the purpose of the bibliography, its methodology, some problems encountered in research, and finally the many avenues of investigation, such as immigration history, Indian history and genealogy, which an individual would have to pursue if he wished to treat the subject thoroughly. A brief history of the Germans in Tennessee, which will provide a frame of reference for the bibliographical entries, follows. Chapter IV, the bibliography proper, includes primary sources, both published and unpublished, and all secondary materials which I could find related to the subject.

My work began with a preliminary bibliographical research and discussions of the topic with scholars from various disciplines. It soon became apparent that much more material exists than individual scholars are aware of. Articles and theses have appeared on certain German settlements, such as Grütli and Wartburg, and communities, such as those in Nashville and Memphis, but these studies offer no comprehensive view of German settlement and many communities have yet to be examined.

Primary materials on the Germans in Tennessee are available, but these are scattered in various locations both inside and outside the state. I attempted to locate them in different ways. State archives, libraries, and special collections possess valuable documents, each, however, being unaware of what exactly the other has. I have visited libraries and archives in Knoxville, Nashville, Memphis and Chattanooga, and wherever possible, I will include the location of the sources which I list in the bibliography.

Direct descendants of the original colonists or interested persons are also in possession of documents. Newspapers were most helpful in publishing short articles about my project and these established contacts which otherwise would not have been possible. Some individuals are willing to permit examination of the materials in their possession, but are unwilling to part with their valuables. This necessitated trips to one-time German communities and direct contact with these persons.

I also wrote numerous letters to libraries, churches, archives, organizations and individuals for the purpose of obtaining information on their holdings and their knowledge of the Germans in the state. Many letters have been answered. Unfortunately, others did not respond who, I have good reason to believe, may be in possession of materials pertinent to this project.

The bibliography does not purport to be all-inclusive. However, it does contain all the information which I was able to obtain within a limited period of time and all the bibliographical items which I examined personally or came across in works dealing with Germans in the state.

A comprehensive study of the German-speaking peoples in Tennessee is long overdue. The longer such an investigation is delayed, the greater the chances are that more materials will be lost or destroyed due to ignorance or carelessness. Many of the studies which have been done on the Germans in the state suffer because the authors could not read German, could not decipher the documents at hand and were not aware of related disciplines which could have provided them with valuable information. This master's thesis points out the limited areas which deserve further attention and provides the tools which would facilitate the production of a more comprehensive work.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SECTION	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. HISTORY OF THE GERMAN-SPEAKING PEOPLES IN	
TENNESSEE.	14
The Immigration of Germans to the United	
States and Tennessee	14
Germans in Tennessee Prior to 1800	16
1800-1820.	25
1820-1840.	29
1840-1860.	32
1860-1880.	49
1880-1900.	65
1900-World War I	72
III. SUMMARY.	77
IV. BIBLIOGRAPHY	79
Unpublished Primary.	80
Individuals and families	80
Public and church records.	83
Published Primary.	85
Reports, speeches and public documents . . .	85
Church records and reports	86
Descriptions of travels and life in	
Tennessee.	87

SECTION	PAGE
German-American newspapers published in	
Tennessee.	91
Individual authors	93
Secondary.	105
General bibliographies and guides.	105
Genealogies.	108
Individual biographies	109
Culture.	111
Immigration.	113
History.	116
History--Tennessee	120
Industry and Agriculture	131
Printing	133
Politics	136
Religion	138
APPENDIXES	146
Appendix A	147
Appendix B	149
Appendix C	155
VITA	156

I. INTRODUCTION

The prevailing opinion among historians and scholars concerning the German-speaking peoples in Tennessee is that their number was so minimal as to have had no, or, at best, very little influence on Tennessee's historical, political, economic, cultural and social development. This conclusion is based more on theory than on sound knowledge and can be explained by the fact that no comprehensive survey of the Germans in Tennessee has ever been undertaken, and none, to the writer's knowledge, is in progress. Some individual studies of German settlements have been made, as for example those of the Memphis and Nashville communities and of the Wartburg and Grütli colonies, but there are many other German settlements which have never been the subject of scholarly investigation.

There is a considerable amount of primary material on the Germans in Tennessee, but not all of it is readily accessible. Documents and manuscripts are scattered throughout the state and the country. Many items are in the hands of private individuals who are unaware of their value, but who would be willing to make them available to scholars if only they would be contacted. As time progresses, the survival of these uncataloged materials becomes more questionable, and those people who had first-hand or even second-hand knowledge

of the German colonies in Tennessee become fewer and fewer. For these reasons it is highly desirable that some comprehensive study be undertaken in the near future, before even more sources of information are irretrievably lost to us.

The purpose of this paper is to create a basis upon which a more comprehensive investigation might be founded. The period covered here is from Colonial times to the First World War. As the title of this study indicates, not only Germans, but all German-speaking peoples will be considered. Thus the word German is used in two senses: in the narrow sense it indicates people from present day Germany (East and West) and in a broader sense it refers to the German linguistic community and includes the Swiss, the Austrians, the German-Jews, German-born Americans who have accepted American citizenship, American-born descendants of German immigrants who have maintained some ethno cultural ties with their heritage, and the "Dutch," insofar as this term does not indicate persons born in the Netherlands but represents a mispronunciation by the Americans of the German designation for German--Deutsch. The context will make it clear in any given instance whether the larger or smaller group is meant.

This study consists of an introduction which identifies some of the problems encountered in research and describes major areas of investigation which would have to be considered if a more comprehensive work were undertaken. A brief

history of the German-speaking peoples follows. The sketch seeks to provide a frame of reference for the bibliographical entries and to stimulate interest which eventually would lead to further research and investigation in this almost unexplored field. It must be noted that this historical survey is based on secondary literature which has been written on this topic. I have not rechecked the primary sources. Because documentation in local histories is often sketchy, such a check would be mandatory for anyone undertaking a more detailed investigation.

The bibliography proper lists published and unpublished primary sources as well as secondary materials. A special effort has been made to discover and locate the German-American newspapers published in Tennessee. There is also a separate section devoted to German writers from Tennessee and German authors who depict Tennessee in their works. The bibliography, however, is not all-inclusive. Limitations of time and difficulties in locating and obtaining some material prevented it from being so. All the bibliographical items which I have examined and which discuss either in length or in passing the Germans in Tennessee are included in this work. Items which have not been examined by me personally but which were included by others in bibliographies or footnotes are also listed.

A study of the German immigrant in Tennessee naturally

leads the researcher into related areas and these in turn reveal a whole new spectrum of resource materials. It is beyond the scope of this project to list all reference works or guides from the related areas, but examples of materials which are applicable have been cited. For example, no attempt has been made to include all the works dealing with Germans in the United States although these may contain relevant information on the Germans in Tennessee. Since many Germans came from other states to Tennessee, works dealing with these states, too, may shed more light on the German immigrant in Tennessee. But only selected works of this type are included since it was impossible to examine all pertinent publications and reach a conclusion on their value to the subject. An attempt is made in the introduction to at least identify some of the paths which the researcher would have to follow.

The information which was necessary for the bibliography was obtained by several different methods. I visited public libraries in Memphis, Nashville, Chattanooga, Knoxville and Johnson City. In addition, several trips were undertaken to the State Library and Archives in Nashville. Letters of inquiry were written to various institutions in and out of the state which, it was thought, might have further information. These included university and public libraries, archives, historical societies and German clubs. Communications

were established with several Lutheran churches, some of which are the original churches founded by the early German settlers. These are a very valuable source of information since most of the Lutherans who settled in Tennessee were German. Church records dating back to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and minutes of religious club meetings are in some cases still available. By means of articles in local newspapers, letters, telephone calls and personal visits, other documents in private hands were also brought to light. However, many letters sent out to institutions and individuals at various times during the duration of the study remain unanswered at the present time. Some did not respond who in all probability are in possession of materials pertinent to the project.

A very interesting and most rewarding part of this study were the visits to communities which at one time were predominantly German, like Wartburg, Grütli and the St. James Community in Greene County. Interviews and discussions with persons of German descent whose ancestors settled in Tennessee or with persons possessing knowledge in this area, particularly those involved in genealogical pursuits, were also fruitful.

During the course of my investigation it became clear that there were two pre-requisites which must be met to ensure the success of a truly comprehensive investigation of

the German-speaking peoples in Tennessee. First, the researcher must have an interest in history, especially local history, and he must possess the necessary training in the German language and be able to decipher the German script which was used for handwritten documents until the 1930's in Germany. Most local historians lack the knowledge of the German language and are, therefore, hindered in their attempts to do justice to the German ethnic group in the state. One or two persons who knew no German did in fact complete studies on the Germans in their area, hoping that their interest would spark those better trained in the language than they were. For the most part, however, historians have left it up to the students of German language and culture to tell the story of the part played by the Germans in the development of America and the individual states. But those scholars competent in German usually are neither trained nor interested in local history. The prevalent feeling in German departments is that international literature and not local culture is their proper purview. And so the complete story of the Germans in the state of Tennessee remains untold.

One difficulty which is intrinsic to such a field of study is the arduousness of obtaining information since much of it is scattered throughout the state and out of state and is, therefore, not easily accessible. Some information is available only by word of mouth, and these sources could not

be included in this bibliography. Valuable information is also in the hands of private individuals who sometimes are unwilling to co-operate. The search for primary materials often entails the investigation of mountainous and rural communities. Personal knowledge of the vicinity or a local guide is almost a pre-requisite for the success of such work.

As has been previously mentioned, the pursuit of the story of the Germans in Tennessee entails investigation in many related areas which perhaps are not immediately apparent. The immigration of the Germans to Tennessee was not a peculiar phenomenon but rather a part of a general movement which took place between the Old World and the New. The history of Europe and the United States will have a direct bearing on the history of the Germans in Tennessee. The history of Tennessee also must be taken into account for the Germans became an integral part of political, economic and social life of the state. And the history of the neighboring states, especially Virginia and North Carolina, cannot be neglected. Indian history, too, is important to the study of the German immigrant: prior to the middle of the eighteenth century the entire domain belonged to the Indians. German missionaries were among the earliest to come in contact with the Indians trying to convert them to Christianity and German explorers and traders interacted with them. Diaries, reports and accounts are available recounting the interaction

between these Germans and the Indians of the vicinity. It was not until 1836 that all Indian lands became the legal possession of the United States government and the Indians were driven from the state. German settlers, however, established permanent residencies in Tennessee prior to this date and, therefore, came in contact with various Indian tribes.

Immigration history, too, is pertinent to the study of the German element in the state. Works dealing specifically with this subject matter should be consulted. This entails reading not only studies on the Germans in the United States and works on immigration patterns but also primary research with immigration documents, such as passport applications, ship passenger lists, original "grants" or approvals of emigration and records of entry at the different ports.

Besides the immigration records, a variety of other private, public and institutional records are available. Private records include family bibles, correspondence, memoirs, diaries, unrecorded deeds and wills, diplomas, certificates and testimonials. Public records include census reports, records of all branches of the military, a registration of American citizens abroad, tax receipts, local and probate court records and city directories. Archival material in Europe, especially in Germany, would also shed light on the Germans in Tennessee since a significant number came directly

from Europe to the state. Emigrants had to get permission to leave their country so one must locate the original hometown of the immigrant Germans in Tennessee and then continue the research there.

Institutional records include church records both in America and in Europe. Besides the usual entries found in church records, many churches in Germany recorded the names, dates and destination of their emigrating church members. Tennessee birth, baptismal, marriage and death records are a valuable source of information as to the number and nationality of immigrants in a specific community. Other institutional records are cemetery records and inscriptions, records of educational institutions, societies and fraternal organizations.

Church history, too, is essential to the study of the Germans in Tennessee. Many German immigrants came to the United States and to Tennessee for religious reasons and so most of them were church affiliated. A special emphasis must be placed on the Lutheran Church, particularly when dealing with the settlements established in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries because most of the Lutheran churches organized during this time were German.

Most of the early German settlers were also farmers. Agricultural history, therefore, plays an important role in the study of the Germans in Tennessee. During the period

under discussion here, i.e. the Colonial times to World War I, most of Tennessee was rural. The German settlers could easily implement the knowledge they brought with them and engage in an occupation with which they were already familiar.

Another related area important to the study of any ethnic group are printed genealogies and the tools of genealogical research. One of the major problems in pursuing the movement of Germans in Tennessee is the sometimes almost impossible task of recognizing Germans by their family names. Many German family names were either changed slightly, for whatever reason, or else they were translated into their American counterpart, e.g. "Österly became Easterly. It also must be remembered that the Germans, although they tended to stick together, were not an isolated community completely cut off from other ethnic communities, from the "Americans" whose families had been in the country for generations and who had either involuntarily or consciously abandoned the identity with their European homeland, or from the real natives to the American soil--the Indians. There were many intermarriages, and as a result persons with "English," "Scotch," "Irish" or even "Indian" names may be of German ancestry. For example, Magdalene Bible is a direct descendent of Sarah Branner (originally Brenner) and a fifth

generation of Casper Branner.¹ This fact is not immediately apparent from her surname. In searching through the manuscript collections of libraries and archives, one must be alert for papers under non-German names which still might be pertinent to the subject. Members of genealogical societies as well as private individuals are involved in tracing and determining their family tree. A list of these individuals is also not readily available, but once contacted they are helpful and co-operative.

German articles, notes and announcements may also be found in local English language newspapers since German communities often used the services of English language newspapers whenever they did not have a newspaper of their own. The "natives" were also very interested in the newcomers, the foreigners, who were settling among them and reported their successes and failures. These English language newspapers, therefore, are a very tedious but valuable source of information on the German activities in the state. Searching through them entails hours of investigation since no guides to or abstracts of local newspapers exist.

Discrepancies and contradictions were discovered in the course of the research. Because this is not meant to be a

¹John Casper Branner⁵⁴⁴³, Casper Branner of Virginia and His Descendents (Stanford University, Cal.: By the author, 1913), p. vi.

history of the Germans in Tennessee these inaccuracies were not delved into in detail nor were they researched and resolved. For example, there are conflicting opinions as to the presence of German settlers in Tennessee. Some hold that a very small percent of the population, even the foreign population, was German. Mr. Jesse Mills, the technical librarian at the TVA office in Knoxville, speculates, however, that 40-60 percent of the foreign population in East Tennessee was of German origin in the first half of the nineteenth century.² Mr. Earl Cox of Greeneville adds that in Greene County alone one-third to one-fourth of the present population is of German descent.³

An even greater point of controversy is the numerical presence of the Germans in Tennessee in relation to the Scotch-Irish. Claims have been made that the Scotch-Irish overwhelmingly outnumbered the Germans and that Tennessee is "Scotch-Irish territory." Some researchers question this claim. They maintain that there were almost as many German immigrants in the state as there were Scotch-Irish and that during several decades the Germans even outnumbered numerically every other ethnic group in Tennessee.

²Personal interview, Jesse Mills, Knoxville, Tennessee.

³Telephone conversation, Earl Cox, Greeneville, Tennessee.

Another area of contention is the role the Germans played in contributing to the development of the state and their part in the cultural, social, religious, economic, historical and political growth of Tennessee. Some historians and scholars seem to think that the German role was minimal while others recognize the influence the Germans had on every aspect of life in Tennessee especially in the social, cultural and agricultural areas.

These various claims raise the unsolved problem of how to measure the influence one group exerts on another: What standards are applicable in trying to determine the strength with which one ethnic group affects the daily life of the community around it, and what criteria could be set in analyzing the ethnic identity of any foreign-speaking group? These questions must be taken into consideration if the study of the Germans in Tennessee and their influence on the community around them is to be fair, complete and accurate.

II. HISTORY OF THE GERMAN-SPEAKING PEOPLES IN TENNESSEE

The Immigration of Germans to the United States and Tennessee

The history of the Germans in Tennessee is closely related to the religious, economic and political history of Europe. Many Germans came to the New World because they were dissatisfied with the situation in their home country. Religious intolerance of various majority groups forced the minorities to seek freedom of worship across the ocean.¹ The migration included Catholics, Protestants and non-Christians. Political instability and upheaval produced many refugees who were either forced to flee the country or who chose to leave hoping to find a government and a political system they could tolerate.

Many Europeans with friends or relatives in America received letters with exaggerated, glamorous reports of the New Land and urged those who stayed behind to join them in the new country where the resources and opportunities were limitless. Land speculators, railroad and ship companies, and manufacturers who were searching for cheap labor often advertised in Europe, painting a very attractive, but sometimes

¹John Bowman White, "The German Christians in Tennessee and Western North Carolina Prior to 1800" (unpublished B. D. thesis, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, 1932), p. 82ff.

very false picture of America. Many Europeans, the Germans among them, easily fell prey to these opportunists who thoughtlessly made promises which they had no intention of keeping. Many of the immigrants, unwittingly trusting their countrymen, were disillusioned when they finally did arrive at their point of destination in the United States. And these, in turn, not wanting to admit defeat or hardship to their friends and relations still in Europe, sent back reports of success, wealth, freedom and limitless opportunity.

From the sixteenth century on, the Germans were among the immigrants who landed on America's soil. During the first century following their arrival, most of the immigrants settled in the Northeast since further migration was difficult, dangerous and expensive. The country was largely unexplored and unsettled and the Indians still inhabited and dominated the frontier. As more and more land was taken from the Indians, the settlers began to move westward into Pennsylvania and Ohio. Others sought their fortunes in the South, primarily in Virginia and the Carolinas. (In the eighteenth century the eastern-most portions of what is now Kentucky and Tennessee were settled in part by German immigrants who came either directly from Germany or who originally came from the Northeast, or whose ancestors came from there.)

Another flow of immigrants entered the country in the eighteenth century via the southeastern coast. They landed

in the Carolinas, Georgia and Florida. Some settled in these states, while others migrated west and northwest, some penetrating into Tennessee. The Mississippi River provided another means of entry in the eighteenth century for explorers and settlers of the Tennessee country and was important in the development of West Tennessee.

Germans in Tennessee Prior to 1800

The survey of the Germans in Tennessee cannot be divorced from the history of the state--its frontiers, its settlement, its inclusion and development in the Union and its involvement with the Confederacy. The territory which is now the state of Tennessee was originally occupied by two groups of Indians--the Muskogean and the Iroquoian. The early explorers and hunters in this area encountered the Cherokee Indians, one of the nations of the Iroquoian, in the central and eastern parts of the state. The Cherokees claimed this region as their hunting ground. West Tennessee, on the other hand, was the domain of the Chickasaw, a branch of the Muskogean tribe. These two nations dominated the Tennessee territory although there were other smaller tribes which sometimes challenged their superiority.

The white man generally entered the territory and settled in an area which appealed to him. He often did not even attempt to bargain for the land or try to buy it from its owners. Because the white man disregarded the "rights"

and claims of these natives, this led to wars and bloodshed. Indian raids continued intermittently for many years. The settlers suffered heavily in terms of their physical possessions as well as mentally. Many settlers, too, lost their lives and sometimes entire families were completely exterminated.

The white man, however, continued to encroach on Indian territory and thought little of it. As he pushed further and further west, the Indians resisted, but to no avail. The white settlers obtained possession of the lands by force, by treaty or by trickery and established permanent settlements there. Compensations were often made by the white man and peace treaties were signed, but these were broken, if not by one side then by the other.

In 1796 the territory became the state of Tennessee, although much of the land was still legally in the hands of the Indians and portions belonged to North Carolina. Not till 1836 did the United States and the Indians ratify the Treaty of New Echota by which all Cherokee land east of the Mississippi was ceded to the United States for \$5,000,000. In addition, the government was to give the Cherokee 15,000,000 acres of land in the Indian territory. And finally, to ensure their move to Indian reservations, a supplementary treaty was made in March of 1836 by which the United States agreed to pay the Indians an additional \$1,000,000, and the Cherokee

were to leave Tennessee within two years. The Chickasaws, occupying West Tennessee, had met the same fate in 1818 when the Jackson Purchase was made by the United States government, and the Chickasaws were deprived of the last of their lands. As a result of these transactions, and primarily because the white man had superior weapons, he prevailed and Tennessee lands became the legal property of the United States.

Contrary to common belief, the relations between the Indians and the white man were not necessarily always hostile. The white man was often wholeheartedly welcomed by the Indian tribes. Some frontiersmen, finding the Indian way of life attractive, settled permanently in their town, took part in the activities of the village and even married Indian women. Traders were welcome, and by the beginning of the eighteenth century the English traders were well established in the Tennessee territory.² Besides the hunters and traders, men from many other walks of life found their way into the unexplored wilderness. The Germans were among them. (Christian Priber,) a German Utopian reformer and an alleged agent for the French, appeared among the Overhill Cherokee in 1736.³ In the 1750's (John Debrahm,) a German

²Tennessee: A Guide to the State, American Guide Series (New York: Hastings House, Publishers, 1939), p. 36.

³There is some doubt as to whether or not Priber really was an agent for the French government. Priber

engineer working on the construction of Fort Loudoun, drew up many maps of the area which are still in existence.⁴

(Missionaries) too, were among the first Germans to push into the territory. (In 1752-53 representatives of the Herrnhuter movement)-or the Moravian church as it is called in this country--determined that they would bring the gospel south to the Indians of North Carolina, Virginia and Tennessee. Accounts of their attempts and adventures have been recorded in diaries and reports.⁵ Besides the Moravians, other dissenters sought out the South and Tennessee prior to the 1800's. Among them were the Mennonites, Quakers, Dunkers and the Lutherans.⁶ Not all, but many of these were Germans.

Although the Tennessee territory was being explored and settled during the first half of the eighteenth century,

apparently considered both the English and the French "as interlopers." He urged the Cherokees to play off the French against the English since they had a near monopoly of their trade. Some authors are of the opinion that Priber's chief aim was to create a communistic federation of all the Southern Indians as a "model for a republic which might later be set up in France." Stanley J. Folmsbee, History of Tennessee (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1960), I, 58.

⁴James R. Montgomery, "The Nomenclature of the Upper Tennessee River," East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, 28 (1956), 47.

⁵Samuel Cole Williams, Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1540-1800 (Johnson City, Tenn.: The Watauga Press, 1928), p. 245.

⁶White, "German Christians in Tennessee," pp. 6-7.

the first actual "settlement" in the state which is now Tennessee is considered by historians to be the Watauga Settlement. It was begun in 1769 when William Bean built his cabin on Boone's Creek near the Watauga River and several families from North Carolina joined him.⁷ However, explorers, traders and settlers of every nationality were already to be found throughout the Tennessee lands.

The desire to explore and to seek adventure took many Europeans beyond the boundaries of the original settlements. Among the early German frontiersmen were names like George Jäger, Michael Stoner (Steiner), Caspar Manskar, Isaac and Abram Hite, and John and Abraham Bowman.⁸ This list is by no means complete since nationalities of the frontiersmen are not always recognizable by their names, and the early records that are available do not necessarily identify the persons by their national origin. Some of these men encouraged their countrymen to come to the state and thus German settlements were started. For example, in the fall of 1799 Kasper (Caspar) Mansker led in a number of families and settled at Bledsoe's Lick and Masco's Lick. He also discovered two salt licks about 300 yards apart near

⁷Tennessee: A Guide to the State, p. 45.

⁸Lucy Forney Bittinger, The Germans in Colonial Times (Philadelphia & London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1901), p. 277.

Goodlettsville which is just north of Nashville.⁹ At about this time, i.e. the late 1770's and early 1780's, Germans were also moving into Davidson County in Middle Tennessee. Davidson County constituted the present-day Dickson, Montgomery, Robertson, Houston, and parts of Hickman, Humphries and Stewart Counties.¹⁰

In comparison to the other immigrant groups, the Germans were moving in large numbers into the Tennessee territory. (As many Germans as Scotch-Irish came to Kentucky and Tennessee following the end of the Revolution.¹¹) They settled in groups, as is the tendency of people of similar national origin who emigrate to another country. This gave them greater security as well as a feeling of belonging and prevented them from becoming overwhelmed by a new language, strange customs and unfamiliar environment.* The 1790 census shows that approximately 3 percent of the Tennessee population was German and about the same percentage was Scotch-Irish.¹²)* The first official land grant of Tennessee soil by

⁹Phyllis Elizabeth Hahn, "German Settlers in Nashville, Tennessee" (unpublished M. A. thesis, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, 1935), pp. 17, 19.

¹⁰Robert Corlew, "Some Aspects of Slavery in Dickson County," Tennessee Historical Quarterly, 10 (1951), 225.

¹¹Sister Mary de Lourdes Gohmann, Political Nativism in Tennessee to 1860 (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1938), p. 39.

¹²This figure, according to Dr. Folmsbee, underestimates the number of non-English people in Tennessee. The

North Carolina (Tennessee belonged to North Carolina until 1796, when it became a state) was made in 1782 to a German, Cornelius Bowman, in the amount of one hundred acres.¹³

After its admission into the Union as a state on June 1, 1796, Tennessee was settled rapidly. "Home-seekers poured in from the Carolinas, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and even New England."¹⁴ The Shenandoah Valley in Virginia was rapidly becoming overpopulated and as a result the lands were scarce and the prices were very high. This was one of the reasons which led many to search farther south, where the land was still abundant and inexpensive. A lack of religious liberty in the Valley also forced many families to take up their belongings and re-settle elsewhere.* Many found this freedom and opportunity in the Sullivan, Washington, Carter and Hawkins Counties of East Tennessee.) They settled primarily in East Tennessee since this region was the first to be explored and settled.

actual census figures for the Tennessee territory proper were lost, and the estimated figures were based on the proportions existing in North Carolina in 1790. These figures were: 83 percent English, 11.2 percent Scotch (Scotch-Irish), 3 percent German or Dutch, 2.3 percent Irish, and 0.3 percent French. Folmsbee, History of Tennessee, I, 221. Stephen B. Weeks, "Tennessee: A Discussion of its Population and Lines of Immigration," Tennessee Historical Magazine, 2 (1916), 246-49.

¹³White, "German Christians in Tennessee," p. 57.

¹⁴Tennessee: A Guide to the State, p. 48.

After a wagon road had been opened, there were no great obstacles to overcome in moving into the valleys of upper East Tennessee. Many came into the state by what was called the Good Spur route, passing through western parts of Virginia and down the Holston Valley into East Tennessee. Others came across Stone and Yellow Mountains of the Allegheny range; and still others by way of Flour Gap and the lower counties of Virginia.¹⁵ The valley lands filled rapidly. (Most of the settlers were farmers.) The land was suitable for farming although the surface was often broken into hills and mountains. The soil was generally fertile and never suffered from drought since it was situated between two ranges of mountains which were covered with a dense growth of virgin timber. The region always remained rural although there was some industrialization at a later period.

The Germans in East Tennessee were not confined to one locality. This is brought out in records of marriage issued in some of the East Tennessee counties and in the land grant records which are available.¹⁶ At the beginning of the Revolution the Dunkers, who were primarily German, were moving from Pennsylvania into Virginia and on into Tennessee. By 1794 they were in Knox County.* The Knoxville Gazette of

¹⁵William Flinn Rogers, "Life in East Tennessee Near End of Eighteenth Century," East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, 1 (1929), 27-28.

¹⁶White, "German Christians in Tennessee," p. 73.

April 10, 1794, mentions the taking of the scalp of a Dunker by an Indian.¹⁷

In 1797, one year after Tennessee became a state, (Rev. Charles Z. H. Smidth, a German minister of the Reformed Church, founded the congregation at Cove Creek, Greene County.) The first church members were Pennsylvania Dutch Germans who had migrated from Alsace Lorraine to Holland and from there to America. From Pennsylvania they migrated through Maryland and the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia and finally down into East Tennessee.

German families were settled near Dandridge in Jefferson County by 1799.¹⁸ It was not, however, until the turn of the century that they organized congregations and built churches. (Germans of the St. James Community,) for example, were active in the 1790's, but they did not officially organize a parish until 1811. This is also true of other congregations in Tennessee.

Although the Germans came and usually lived in groups and retained many of their customs and traditions, especially the cultural heritage of their homeland, they did not isolate themselves from the community in which they settled. During

¹⁷White, "German Christians in Tennessee," p. 74.

¹⁸John Casper Branner, Casper Branner of Virginia and His Descendents (Stanford University, Cal.: By the author, 1913), p. 90.

this early period there is no evidence that they formed their own clubs and organizations. The church alone became the center around which the social activities of the settlers were organized. This is often the only indication as to the presence and the number of German families in a vicinity. It must, however, be remembered that not all the Germans professed the same religion, and some did not belong to the organized church for various reasons. The church records are, therefore, an inaccurate indication as to the exact number of German families who settled in a particular area at any given time. Records were not always scrupulously kept and many have been destroyed or lost over the years.

(1800-1820)

Although not all the Germans who came to Tennessee in the early nineteenth century were Lutheran, most of them were. The Germans who came brought their religion with them and when they were a sufficient number, plans were laid for the organization and the building of a Lutheran church. It is safe to assume that during this period any reference to the Lutherans or to their church is applicable to the study of the Germans, since all Lutherans were Germans with few exceptions.

Shortly after 1800 the Shofner Lutheran Church was

founded by the Reverend William Jenkins.¹⁹ This church is located near Shelbyville in Middle Tennessee. Reports of Lutheran missionaries of the North Carolina Synod indicate that there were congregations in East Tennessee which needed ministers. During his trips Rev. R. J. Miller found some German congregations in Sullivan County in the charge of the Rev. Smith. The Rev. Jacob Scherer went on a missionary tour with a Mr. Göbel to Kentucky and Tennessee, and their reports, too, support the claim that Lutherans were settled throughout the state in the early decades of the nineteenth century.²⁰

German Lutheran churches were established at Sinking Springs in 1801.²¹ Anderson County, too, was a site of a German colony. The Germans probably purchased their land from John Leib, the original owner of the land in (Burrville), a settlement about twenty miles northwest of Knoxville, which in 1809 became known as Clinton. Among the first settlers were John Clodfelter, George Baumgartner and John Leinert.²²

The St. James community in Greene County was founded in the early 1800's by (Charles Z. H. Schmidt), who had previously organized the Cove Creek Church in 1797. Under his

¹⁹Folmsbee, History of Tennessee, I, 421.

²⁰Gohmann, Political Nativism in Tennessee, p. 39.

²¹Personal interview, Rev. Harvey Huntley, St. James Community, Greene County, Tennessee.

²²Gohmann, Political Nativism in Tennessee, p. 39.

leadership the St. James Church was received into the Lutheran Synod of North Carolina on September 24, 1811, and this date marks the official establishment of the parish. The original name of the church was the German "St. Jacobus Kirche." Some years later it was changed to its present form, St. James Church.²³

Another settlement in Greene County was at Blue Springs (Mosheim) just northwest of Greeneville. The community was organized in the eighteenth century, but it was not till 1811 that the German Lutherans erected a church. The name Blue Springs was used because the community was situated near a refreshing spring that provided water for the first settlers.²⁴

In the same year, 1811, several Lutheran churches were organized in Knoxville. Miller on Millertown Pike and Zion Lutheran Church on Dick Ford Lane were founded in order to serve the German Lutherans of Knoxville and vicinity.²⁵ The congregations were getting more numerous and larger, and in 1812 nine congregations in Sullivan, Washington, Greene, Knox and Blount Counties were admitted to the North

²³"A Brief History of St. James Evangelical Lutheran Church, Greene County, Greeneville, Tennessee," prepared for general distribution at the one-hundred-fiftieth anniversary held at the church on Sunday, December 10, 1961.

²⁴Suellen Earl, "It's 'Mos-hime,' Not 'Mos-sheem,'" Greeneville Sun, September 5, 1970.

²⁵Personal interview, Rev. Harvey Huntley.

Carolina Synod. Subsequently, petitions for ministers were received from Sevier, Franklin, Lincoln and Bedford Counties.²⁶ The Lutherans were so numerous that even before 1820 plans were laid for a Lutheran seminary on a small scale in Greene County. This was done under the supervision of Henkel and Bell, two prominent German Lutherans in Tennessee. The attempt, however, was not very successful, and the seminary ceased to exist by the time the Lutheran seminary at Lexington, South Carolina, was established in 1834.²⁷

Following the conclusion of the War of 1812, the American continent was much more accessible to the immigrants, and German immigration to the United States increased substantially. Another cause for the increased emigration from Europe and from German territory were the efforts to remap Europe as it was before the Napoleonic Wars and the reaction of some Europeans to this attempt.²⁸

²⁶Hahn, "German Settlers in Nashville," pp. 20-21.

²⁷Albert Bernhardt Faust, The German Element in the United States (Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1909), p. 389.

²⁸Bob Cyrus Rauchle, "Social and Cultural Contributions of the German Population in Memphis, Tennessee, 1848-1880" (unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1964), p. 2.

1820-1840

As the immigration of the Germans to the United States increased, so also did the number of Germans who came to Tennessee. This is evidenced by the fact that in 1820 the Tennessee Lutherans broke away from the North Carolina Synod and formed an independent body. The organizational meeting for the establishment of the Evangelical German Lutheran Tennessee Synod was held on July 17, 1820, at Solomon's Church, which previously had been known as the Cove Creek Church.²⁹ This meeting marks the first time that the name "Solomon" was used to refer to this particular church.³⁰ The convention was organized by two sons of Paul Henkel, an author and preacher in Virginia and an early missionary in the state.

The third convention of the Synod was held at St. James Church on October 21, 1822, where the spiritual welfare of Negro slaves was an issue. The Synod resolved that "slavery . . . is to be regarded as a great evil in our land" and advised "every minister to admonish every master to treat his (slaves) properly, and to exercise his Christian duties toward them."³¹ Apparently the Germans did own slaves,

²⁹Charles Willis Cassell, History of the Lutheran Church in Virginia and East Tennessee (Strasburg, Va.: Shenandoah Publishing House, Inc., 1930), p. 272.

³⁰Goldene Fillers Burgner, "Solomon Lutheran Church to Celebrate 175th Anniversary Sunday," Greeneville Sun, October 19, 1972, p. 11.

³¹"Brief History of St. James Evangelical Lutheran Church," p. 2.

although they seemed to have shown considerable concern about their well-being. At these Tennessee Synod conventions the German language was used almost exclusively at first. But very soon English was introduced and by the 1840's English was the dominant language. *

A Lutheran church was organized in 1820 in Vonore, Monroe County, Tennessee, about fifteen miles southwest of Maryville.³² In 1840 the Oak Grove Lutheran Church was founded in Bristol, Sullivan County.³³ These are only some of the Lutheran churches which were established throughout the eastern region. As the need arose others were built in the counties of East Tennessee, where the Germans still seemed to concentrate during these two decades.

German settlers were in Shelby County, in West Tennessee, by the late 1820's. The 1830 census reported 30 Germans in the Memphis city limits and business was flourishing in the nearby settlement of Germantown.³⁴ A German colonization society was active in 1833 which sought to encourage German emigrants to come and settle in Tennessee in order to preserve German manners, customs and language.³⁵

³²Personal interview, Rev. Harvey Huntley.

³³Personal interview, Rev. Harvey Huntley.

³⁴Ellen Davids-Rodgers, The Romance of the Episcopal Church in West Tennessee, 1832-1964 (Memphis: The Plantation Press, 1964), p. 84.

³⁵Gohmann, Political Nativism in Tennessee, p. 40.

One of the deterring factors was an epidemic of the Asiatic Cholera. The disease was first identified in Canada. It spread to the United States and reached Tennessee in 1832, with Knoxville the most severely stricken city. The mortality rate was from 40-60 percent.³⁶ After the first epidemic subsided, it was not until 1873 that another was reported, but it was much more severe than the first. The whole state of Tennessee was hard hit--from Jonesboro and Chattanooga to Nashville and Memphis. The mortality rate was very high, and many moved permanently out of the state.

The epidemic of 1832 was not the only thing which discouraged immigrants. } Tennessee was not industrialized, nor did it offer much opportunity for skilled laborers. } The South on the whole was "chary of invitations to foreigners."³⁷ The slavery issue also discouraged some from migrating to the South. The Germans, as a group, did not disapprove of slavery, but those who did avoided the states where slavery was prominent, and Southerners, for their part, usually formed a solid front when challenged by the newcomers' antipathy to their "peculiar institution."³⁸ This attitude

³⁶Charlotte Crutcher, "Asiatic Cholera in Jonesboro, 1873," Tennessee Historical Quarterly, Summer, 1972, pp. 74-75.

³⁷Gohmann, Political Nativism in Tennessee, p. 41.

³⁸Robert R. Russel, "Economic Aspects of Southern

caused much ill feeling and misunderstanding on both sides.

1840-1860

The period from 1840 to 1860 saw a great surge in the foreign population in comparison with the previous decades. The German and Scotch-Irish came in large numbers. The number and the influence of the Scotch-Irish in Tennessee has been often overemphasized.³⁹ Studies show that during the 1850's as many Germans as Scotch-Irish came to the state, and in the late 1850's and the early 1860's the number of Germans who came to the South and to Tennessee was apparently greater than that of any other ethnic group.⁴⁰ The influence of the Scotch-Irish in politics and economics was greater than that of the Germans and therefore the assumption often is made that they surpassed the Germans numerically.⁴¹ { But the Germans had a much greater influence on the agriculture, farming and cultural life of the communities in which they settled than any other single group. } * The German Tennesseans who were living off the land were by far

Sectionalism, 1840-1861" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1922), p. 220.

³⁹Samuel Cole Williams, Beginnings of West Tennessee in the Land of the Chikasaws (Johnson City: The Watauga Press, 1930), p. 269.

⁴⁰Gohmann, Political Nativism in Tennessee, p. 42. Rauchle, "Contributions of German Population in Memphis," pp. 4-5.

⁴¹Gohmann, Political Nativism in Tennessee, p. 42.

more successful than even their native-born counterparts in the same area. Studies done on the Swiss farmers in Grütli show them to be much more prosperous and successful than their English and Scotch-Irish neighbors.

The Germans were politically active, but they worked very closely within the framework set up by the democratic system. The Germans did not produce many outstanding politicians in Tennessee. They did not vote in a block although their support and their vote often was sought out. In the area of economics they also contributed, but here, too, they worked in accord with the already established organizations.⁴²

The increase in the number of Germans who came to America in the 1840's and early 1850's was a direct result of the political situation in Europe. * Up to this time, the majority of the Germans migrating to the United States were from the working classes, and it was economic factors, primarily crop failures and overcrowding on agricultural lands, which drove them from Europe. *

The 1840's, however, produced a completely different type of immigrant. The unstable political conditions leading up to the Revolution of 1848 and the turmoil that followed produced many political refugees, many of whom sought relief in

⁴²Rauchle, "Contributions of German Population in Memphis," p. iii.

the New World. The newcomers were politicians, state officials, professors, doctors, students of every branch of learning, artists, writers and journalists, preachers, and teachers.⁴³ Many had to leave good positions as well as established jobs and hope that their skills and knowledge would be needed across the ocean and thus enable them to make a good living. For example, John Baessler, having learned carpentry in Germany, was able to secure a job as a carpenter in the New World.⁴⁴ Henry Cammerer, having learned the sheet-metal business from his father, came to America in 1850 hoping to find a better field for his work.⁴⁵ Dr. Augustin Gattinger was born in Munich where he attended the Medical School at the University of Munich. Upon his arrival in Tennessee in 1849 he continued to work as a physician and carried out scientific studies in botany becoming the first official botanist of the state of Tennessee.⁴⁶

The unfavorable conditions in Europe played a much greater role in the decision of Europeans and Germans to leave their country than the "attractive" conditions and

⁴³Hahn, "German Settlers in Nashville," pp. 11-12.

⁴⁴Hahn, "German Settlers in Nashville," pp. 60-61.

⁴⁵Hahn, "German Settlers in Nashville," pp. 68-69.

⁴⁶Hahn, "German Settlers in Nashville," pp. 74-77.

opportunities in America.⁴⁷ The decision to emigrate was a major one, and the conditions under which many immigrants came were not necessarily ideal. The hardships of travel and of transplantation to the New World were great. The journey was often long, expensive and unpleasant. The emotional attachment to family, friends and the homeland also had to be dealt with. The reports from the New World were not always glamorous, and news of swindles, fraud, disillusionment and hostility circulated among the emigrants.

Nativism was strong both in the North and in the South. Foreigners, including the Germans, often were harassed by natives sometimes leading to armed confrontations between the two groups. There was some violence in Tennessee, but Tennessee apparently exhibited less hostility to foreigners and Catholics than was the case in other states.⁴⁸ A possible explanation for this may be that Tennessee did not have such large concentrations of different ethnic groups in close proximity as could be found in many northern cities. But the Germans in Tennessee, too, were victimized by the Know-Nothing Party and often were mocked and jeered at by local newspapers. William G. ("Parson") Brownlow established the Jonesborough Whig in the 1840's. It became widely known for

⁴⁷Earl Jennings Smith, "The Free, Foreign-Born Population of Nashville in the 1850's" (unpublished M. A. thesis, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, 1968), p. 15.

⁴⁸Smith, "Free, Foreign-Born Population of Nashville," p. 146.

its anti-Catholic and anti-foreign sentiment. He was also the editor of Brownlow's Knoxville Whig which became notorious for its hostile stance to anything not American. As the Germans settled in rather significant numbers in Tennessee, they were attacked and ridiculed in many an issue of these and other newspapers since they were one of the larger "un-American" forces which threatened to "take over the government of the United States."

The reaction of the Germans to these nativist attacks was reported in the August 18, 1854 issue of the Nashville Daily Union and American. It was noted that the German people of Louisville (just south of Knoxville) were so enflamed against the nativist movement that prominent wealthy citizens had raised a million dollars and planned to increase the amount in order to turn the tide of German immigration to Canada and South America away from the North American continent.⁴⁹

Despite these anti-foreign activities and the open attacks on immigrants, attempts at colonization on a grander scale were encouraged at this time by making Tennessee more attractive to foreigners. Travel was made much easier when, by the end of the 1850's, twelve thousand miles of railroad track had been laid in Tennessee. The East Tennessee Colonization Company, also known as *Tennessee Colonization

⁴⁹Gohmann, Political Nativism in Tennessee, p. 87.

Company,⁵⁰ was officially created in 1844 as a joint venture of American and European capitalists.⁵¹ The avowed purpose of the company was the "colonization of Morgan, Scott, Fentress, and Cumberland Counties with German and Swiss immigrants."⁵² It bought extensive lands and sold them to groups of immigrants. It advertised in Germany, concentrating in Saxony, and in Switzerland.

In 1844 the economic situation in Switzerland was dismal. Manufactures had increased to gigantic proportions and so there was an over-production of machine-made goods. However, there was also a stagnation of business since the trade of Swiss articles had declined. A partial crop failure and rising prices caused great distress among the farmers and laboring classes and as a result there was much unrest and discouragement. One of the methods which the government used to meet this problem was to encourage all who cared to emigrate to do so, and the most popular country at this time was America.

⁵⁰Hobart Schofield Cooper, "German and Swiss Colonization in Morgan County, Tennessee" (unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1925), p. 21. According to Mr. Cooper the original records of this company are lost.

⁵¹Klaus G. Wust, "Wartburg: Dream and Reality of the New Germany in Tennessee," Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, 31 (1963), pp. 25-26.

⁵²Letter, Anton A. Melly to the Hon. Thomas A. R. Nelson, February 2, 1866, Seldon Nelson Papers, McClung Collections, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tenn.

When the representatives of the Tennessee Colonisationgesellschaft arrived in Switzerland they were cordially received and were given the willing co-operation of the emigration commission established by the Swiss government. On August 19, 1845, they contracted a plan by which twenty-four Swiss were to emigrate and eventually settle in Grütli, Grundy County, Tennessee. The final arrangements between the settlers and the company are still preserved in the Swiss-Austrian Archives, a translation of which is reprinted in the Tennessee: Social and Economic Laboratory.⁵³ However, it seems that this venture to organize the Grütli colony was not actually carried out at this time, and it was not until 1869 that the settlement seems to have been organized.

A more successful venture of the Tennessee Colonisationgesellschaft was the German and Swiss colony in the town* of Wartburg, Morgan County, founded in 1844-45.⁵⁴ Mr. Günther of Dresden was the first agent of the East Tennessee Colonization Company employed to direct the settlement at Wartburg and so he may be considered its real founder.⁵⁵ In 1844 the Company made arrangements under the direction of George F.

⁵³Grace Stone, "Tennessee: Social and Economic Laboratory," rpt. The Sewanee Review, 46 (1938), pp. 7-8.

⁵⁴Wust, "Wartburg: New Germany in Tennessee," p. 26.

⁵⁵Johann Gottlieb Häcker, "Bericht aus und über Amerika gegeben nach eigener Anschauung in den Jahren 1848 und 1849 und veröffentlicht für Auswanderer" (Leipzig, 1849), trans. Richard B. O'Connell, Mississippi Valley Collection Bulletin, 3-4 (Fall, 1970 and Spring, 1971), 58.

Gerding to purchase approximately 200,000 acres of land and to establish a German and Swiss settlement in Morgan County.⁵⁶

The first reference to the immigrants at Wartburg is in the July 3, 1945 Nashville Whig newspaper. This report was subsequent to their trip up the Mississippi and Cumberland Rivers to Nashville. The Whig states:

Fifty immigrants arrived at this place yesterday on their way to the German settlement in Morgan County. Others to the number of eight hundred or a thousand will follow as soon as the necessary preparations can be made for their reception. The immigrants are far superior to the general run of that description of persons. They have been selected with great care, and none but individuals with good character and habits will be permitted to join the colony. We learn from the intelligent agent of the colony, that it is intended to make the situation of those immigrants entirely comfortable. They are of a character, in fact, which entitles them to kind and respectful attention on the part of their employers.⁵⁷

When the immigrants arrived they found the colony virtually a wilderness. The appropriated lands were scattered throughout several counties.* The center of the settlement was made on one of the largest tracts located at the southwest end of Bird Mountain on a minor plateau between Crooked Fork Creek and Emory Rivers. This area, and in turn the entire settlement, was called "Wartburg" in memory of the

⁵⁶Häcker, "Bericht aus und über Amerika," p. 6.

⁵⁷Cooper, "German and Swiss in Morgan County," pp. 22-23. Faust, German Element in the United States, p. 27.

mountain fortress in Thuringia where the fugitive Martin Luther made his famous translation of the Bible.⁵⁸

In the following years immigrants continued to come in large numbers. By 1849 the colony consisted of 475 members. Many of these colonists who came were led to expect much more than they actually found. Wartburg was described as a "cradle of civilization," a "paradise of North America," the climate as being most suitable and the opportunity for mining, manufacturing and farming as being excellent.⁵⁹ It was not until the second year of the colony's existence that streets and buildings were constructed and the colony began to assume some aspects of habitability.

The colonists were faced with internal as well as external problems and difficulties.⁶⁰ The East Tennessee Colonization Company was displeased with Günther's work and so he was forced to resign and to flee to Kingsport. The religious rift between the Lutherans and the Reformed involved the entire colony as well as the clergy and the leaders of the Company.

Other obstacles were the "anti-Wartburg" campaign

⁵⁸Wust, "Wartburg: New Germany in Tennessee," p. 28.

⁵⁹Wust, "Wartburg: New Germany in Tennessee," p. 28.

⁶⁰For a more detailed analysis of the colony's establishment and survival see: Cooper, "German and Swiss in Morgan County" and Wust, "Wartburg: New Germany in Tennessee."

launched by the German Society of New York, a rival group, involved in colonizing the Midwest; the refusal of Saxon authorities to lend financial aid to emigrants, thus preventing a group of 760 persons from leaving Annaberg for Wartburg; the xenophobic attitude of the Legislature; the crop failures, and the restlessness and impatience of the settlers themselves with their situation.⁶¹

Between the years 1848-1885 settlers continued to come to Wartburg, but there was no longer an organized effort to bring large groups of immigrants to the site of the colony. The colony was successful in the sense that it achieved permanence, but its growth was very disappointing in contrast to its very promising beginning. In 1848 the colony consisted of 475 settlers, while in 1920 the population of Wartburg numbered only 500. Many unemployed colonists sought jobs in neighboring towns and cities where they eventually moved with their families. The mounting hardships caused some to seek relief outside of the colony, and the disorganization and conflicts forced others to seek refuge in other parts of Tennessee. Intermarriages and the urging of friends and relatives in other colonies also helped to deplete Wartburg of its settlers. The town was gradually loosing its "German" flavor. Non-German families

⁶¹Wust, "Wartburg: New Germany in Tennessee," pp. 44-45.

began to move in and when in 1910 the German language was replaced by the English language in St. Paul's Church, the former "German and Swiss" colony became a part of Tennessee's history and its ethnic heritage unknown even to some residents of the town.

Wartburg was one of the first and most extensive organized attempts to bring German-speaking people into Tennessee. Marcus Lee Hansen suggests that its failure probably had a negative influence on further German colonization in Tennessee and deterred many from choosing Tennessee as a place to settle.⁶²

Several other attempts were made to organize German communities, but they had either minimal success or were total failures. Very little information is available about them and about the degree to which they were successful. On November 27, 1847, George F. Gerding, a promoter of the Wartburg settlement, sold 10,000 acres of land to a German from Saxony, Gottfried E. Schulze. The land was on the waters of the Obed River and Crab Orchard Creek and was intended specifically for the establishment of another colony in Morgan County. There are no records as to its fate except that the land was re-sold to Jean Bapiste Letorery on June 12, 1853.⁶³

⁶²Marcus Lee Hansen, The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860; A History of the Continuing Settlement of the United States (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940), p. 301.

⁶³Cooper, "German and Swiss in Morgan County," p. 42.

Another attempt at colonization in Morgan County was made in the early 1850's. Johann Gottlieb Häcker of Chemnitz came to Tennessee in December of 1848 to investigate the area for possible colonization sites. He arrived at Wartburg in December and remained till the following April. He found the vicinity suitable and wrote "Bericht aus und über Amerika gegeben nach eigener Anschauung in den Jahren 1848 und 1849 und veröffentlicht für Auswanderer" in which he painstakingly described the economic, agricultural and social advantages of Tennessee and the Wartburg colony.⁶⁴ He determined to establish two cities in the Wartburg vicinity: "New Chemnitz," which was to be on the right bank of the big Emory River, seven miles east of Wartburg, and "Marienberg," which was to be eleven miles south of New Chemnitz. His efforts were in vain, not because of a lack of German and Swiss immigrants to the United States, but rather because Tennessee (and the South) lost in the competition to attract large numbers of immigrants.

Further east in Greene County, the long established St. James and Solomon parishes were flourishing. The communities were growing and the inhabitants sought land further and further away from the churches. To meet the needs of these parishoners, the Salem Lutheran Church was organized in 1845 by Rev. A. J. Fox. It was located several miles southwest

⁶⁴Häcker, "Bericht aus und über Amerika."

of the St. James and Solomon Churches near Parrottsville in Cocke County. Prior to the organization, services were held in the home of Michael Ottinger, near where the Salem Church was erected.⁶⁵ Three German Lutheran churches were located in such a close proximity of each other, thus attesting to the large concentration of Germans in East Tennessee.

Besides Wartburg there were no other large-scale colonization attempts in East Tennessee, nor in any other part of the state prior to the Civil War. * Instead, German immigrants clustered mainly around and in larger cities like Memphis and Nashville. * Germantown (just east of Memphis) was incorporated on December 28, 1841, by an act of the Tennessee Legislature. Despite its name the town never became a predominantly "German" settlement, and the Germans did not influence the social and cultural life of the community to the degree which they did in Memphis itself.

The census report of 1830 indicates that there were fewer than 30 Germans within the Memphis city limits. The next twenty years increased the German population to 357, and the sharpest increase was in the next decade when the census report recorded 1,850 Germans.⁶⁶ Not all the Germans

⁶⁵Ruth Webb O'Dell, Over Misty Blue Hills; The Story of Cocke County, Tennessee (USA, 1950), pp. 166-67.

⁶⁶For a table of the German population in Memphis, 1820-1880 see Rauchle, "Contributions of German Population in Memphis," p. 9.

were newly arrived immigrants from the Fatherland. Urged by friends and relatives or persuaded by advertisements, many Germans and citizens of German descent came from Ohio, Wisconsin, Iowa, New York, Louisiana, North Dakota and Missouri and settled in Memphis.⁶⁷

*The German section of Memphis became a flourishing community. Churches were built, various religious, charitable and social clubs were organized⁶⁸ and several newspapers in the German language were printed.⁶⁹ The first German newspaper to appear in Memphis was the weekly Stimme des Volkes (1854). The Forty-Eighter August Kattmann was its editor until 1860. The second weekly newspaper was the independent Der Anzeiger des Südens, which was established on April 15, 1858, and ceased publication in January 1876. Its editor and publisher was Louis Wundermann.⁷⁰

The Germans in Memphis retained their ethnic pride and

⁶⁷Rauchle, "Contributions of German Population in Memphis," p. 11. Mr. Rauchle also lists the native cities, states, duchies and provinces of the Memphis Germans.

⁶⁸For a discussion of the various societies and clubs in Memphis see Rauchle, "Contributions of German Population in Memphis."

⁶⁹For a list of German newspapers printed in Memphis see Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955; History and Bibliography (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer Publishers, 1961), pp. 612-13.

⁷⁰Arndt & Olson, German-American Newspapers, p. 612.

identity, but not at the expense of their newly adopted homeland. The Germans attended American schools and joined American organizations. The pressure to assimilate was so great that the native German language was not spoken in many German homes. But on the whole the Germans maintained at least some of their ethnic identity. A few of the organizations and clubs that the Germans formed were exclusive in that they accepted only Germans or Americans with German ancestry, but most of the functions and activities were open to the general public and were supported and attended by the local non-German residents.

As has been mentioned previously the Germans came to Nashville and to Davidson County in the 1790's. The Swiss, however, did not come until the mid 1840's. They came from a German-speaking section of Switzerland and so the "Americans" in their communities considered them "German" and not a distinct Swiss ethnic group.⁷¹ The extent of the German-speaking population in Nashville is indicated by the number of churches and their membership. There were three major German churches in Nashville during this time, and their members were almost exclusively German. North Nashville was heavily populated by the Germans and much of the population of South Nashville was of similar origin.

⁷¹Ida Clyde Clarke, All About Nashville (Nashville: Marshall and Bruce Co., 1912), p. 90.

A surprisingly large number of the Germans in North Nashville were Roman Catholic. They worshipped at St. Mary's chapel until it burned down in 1850. Even before this incident Bishop Miles, the first Bishop of Nashville, had been planning to build a new church since the chapel was inadequate and too small to meet the needs of the city's growing German Roman Catholic population. Land was acquired, the materials were bought, voluntary help secured, and the new church, the Church of the Assumption, built and dedicated on August 14, 1859.⁷²

Prior to the building of the new Roman Catholic Church, the German Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in 1854 by Mr. C. Cortes, who in the following years became an extremely influential member of the congregation. In 1855 there was enough support and enough members to warrant the construction of a brick church.⁷³

The third German parish to be organized was the First Lutheran Church in 1859 with Reverend Herman Eggers as the first pastor.⁷⁴ During the Civil War Pastor Eggers was forced to minister not only to his parishioners but also to the soldiers who were placed under his care. Because of the ensuing hardships, the first cornerstone for the new church

⁷²For further information on the church see Hahn, "German Settlers in Nashville," pp. 29-40.

⁷³Hahn, "German Settlers in Nashville," pp. 25-29.

⁷⁴Hahn, "German Settlers in Nashville," pp. 40-44.

was not laid until September 13, 1866, and the first church was dedicated on February 10, 1867.

Nashville also had several secular organizations and clubs in the 1840's and 1850's. Die Deutsche Unterstützung-Gesellschaft--the German Relief Society--held its first meeting on September 1, 1846.* Its main objective was to aid the newly arrived immigrants who needed assistance and to help their stricken or impoverished fellow countrymen. The society was incorporated by the State Assembly of Tennessee in 1851.⁷⁵

The Swiss of Nashville, too, organized their own relief society on May 1, 1857. The expressed purpose of Die Schweizer Unterstützungsverein was "the amelioration of the condition of the unfortunate and indigent people of their nationality, and the interchange of sociability and perpetuation of habits and pastimes in Switzerland."⁷⁶

The Nashville Turn Verein was established on October 25, 1854.⁷⁷ The club owned a hall which provided the members with opportunities to exercise their dramatic, vocal, literary or athletic abilities. They also sponsored dances and other social activities. In 1858 the Aurora Lodge No. 105 of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows was organized.⁷⁸

⁷⁵Hahn, "German Settlers in Nashville," pp. 50-54.

⁷⁶Hahn, "German Settlers in Nashville," pp. 55-56.

⁷⁷Hahn, "German Settlers in Nashville," p. 58.

⁷⁸Hahn, "German Settlers in Nashville," pp. 56-57.

Originally the club membership was exclusively German, and all the business and activities were conducted in German. But this soon changed. The English language was introduced and became the dominant language although German was still to be heard, especially among the natives from Germany who just recently came to the States.

During this period the Germans had a tremendous influence on the cultural life of Nashville. On February 25, 1858 Haydn's Oratorio was presented for the first time; on March 4, 1859 Handel's Messiah; and in November 1859 the Schiller Music Festival was organized.⁷⁹ The Republican Banner and Nashville Whig reported on February 17, 1858, the celebration of St. Valentine's Day under the auspices of the German Dramatic Society.⁸⁰

1860-1880

America experienced its first sudden increase in migration in 1854. However, the late 1850's and the early 1860's saw a decline in the number of immigrants who came to America.* The lowest point between 1844 and 1921 was 1862, when only 72,000 immigrants arrived. The poor American

⁷⁹F. Garvin Davenport, Cultural Life in Nashville on the Eve of the Civil War (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), p. 162.

⁸⁰Davenport, Cultural Life in Nashville, p. 166.

harvest of 1854, the depression of 1857^{*}, the coming of the Civil War and the improved economic conditions in Europe were some of the reasons for the decline.⁸¹

Albert B. Faust⁸² and George Stephenson⁸³ maintain that the German immigrants in the 1850's and 1860's outnumbered every other immigrant group, including the Scotch-Irish. Arnold Schreier agrees and gives figures: Germany furnished 36.6 percent of the immigrants during the 1850's, while Ireland contributed 35.2 percent.⁸⁴ It seems that the Germans were the leading immigrant group in the South and in Tennessee at this time. However, Niles Carpenter, an excellent statistician, maintains that the Irish led the Germans both in the 1850's and the 1860's.⁸⁵ These figures indicate that if the Germans were not the leading immigrant group, they were at least a very close second behind the first place Irish immigrants.

Despite the fact that immigration to America was

⁸¹Smith, "Free, Foreign-Born Population of Nashville," pp. 25-26.

⁸²Faust, German Element in the United States, I, 382.

⁸³George M. Stephenson, A History of American Immigration, 1820-1924 (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1926), pp. 19, 42.

⁸⁴Arnold Schreier, Ireland and the American Immigration, 1850-1900 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1850), p. 5.

⁸⁵Niles Carpenter, Immigrants and Their Children, 1920; A Study Based on Census Statistics Relative to the Foreign Born and the Native White of Foreign and Mixed

slowing down, immigration to Tennessee was not. Tennessee's foreign population during the period from 1855-1865 increased substantially. By 1860 the number of foreign-born persons was nearly four times that of 1850, jumping to 21,000. The proportion of the foreign-born to the native-born in the state had more than tripled. During this same period the population for the entire state had only increased by 10 percent to 1,109,801 persons.⁸⁶

Tennessee actively encouraged immigration at this time. By the early 1860's twelve thousand miles of railroad have been laid. Foreign labor was used for the building of the railroads as well as projects like canals, turnpikes and bridges. These projects not only provided jobs for foreigners and thus attracted many to the state, they also made travel possible, much easier and less expensive. These were some of the things which made Tennessee attractive to immigrants.

The city and state governments also made concentrated efforts to attract new settlers. In 1865 Memphis sent agents to New York to advertise the city to the newly-arrived

Parentage, Census Monographs, Department of Commerce, 7 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1927), p. 64.

⁸⁶Smith, "Free, Foreign-Born Population of Nashville," pp. 65-66.

foreigners.⁸⁷ In 1866 the German association of Knoxville had a bureau of immigration to promote the flow of German-born immigrants to East Tennessee. The association had already secured an agreement with the president of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad to transport immigrants at half price. The trip was made by steamer to Norfolk and then to Knoxville by rail. Julius Ochs, the president of the immigration bureau, announced that many German families wished to come to East Tennessee (Knoxville Commercial, March 13, 1866).⁸⁸

In the same year the German businessmen of Nashville put up funds to establish the daily Tennessee Staatszeitung. The paper, under the editorship of J. Ruhm, included a special weekly edition devoted exclusively to the promotion of immigration. This paper was distributed to the newly-arrived immigrants in American ports.⁸⁹

In the following year on August 19, 1867, the Nashville Daily Press and Times reported that the city's German societies would meet to discuss ways of encouraging German migration into the state. Simultaneously similar meetings

⁸⁷Smith, "Free, Foreign-Born Population of Nashville," p. 65.

⁸⁸James B. Campbell, "East Tennessee During the Radical Regime, 1865-1869," East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, 20 (1948), 97.

⁸⁹Wust, "Wartburg: New Germany in Tennessee," p. 23.

were held in Memphis, Chattanooga and Knoxville.⁹⁰ The organizers, at least in Nashville, had success. "The German Association of the City of Nashville" was founded and received a charter from the legislature. The association was "authorized to procure laborers from parties applying to them, to act as agents for land owners desirous of selling their property, and for parties wishing to buy land in the State of Tennessee."⁹¹

Acting on the recommendations of this association in Nashville the legislature created a "State Board of Immigration" in December 1867. The German-born Hermann Bokum was chosen as Commissioner of Immigration. Soon after his appointment Bokum published a comprehensive handbook extolling the assets of Tennessee.⁹² It was intended as a guide for prospective immigrants, and both an English and German edition of this compendium appeared. East Tennessee received a disproportionate share of space. The mineral and industrial possibilities were emphasized more than the agricultural. Bokum also wrote numerous letters to New York newspapers praising the climate, resources and freedom

⁹⁰Rauchle, "Contributions of German Population in Memphis," p. 16.

⁹¹Wust, "Wartburg: New Germany in Tennessee," p. 23.

⁹²Bokum, The Tennessee Hand-Book.

from lawlessness in East Tennessee.⁹³

The state and local immigration association made efforts to establish German colonies throughout the state. Some of these were successful while others were not. For example, the attempted German settlement in 1868 near Columbia was an utter disaster. The local populace was very displeased with the incident and critically reported it in the local press declaring that "the Germans were no better than Negroes, who, at least, were able to speak English."⁹⁴

Other ventures met with moderate success. Some Germans and German-speaking Swiss farmers came to Franklin County in 1868. Some arrived directly from Europe, while others came to the county from North Carolina, Virginia and Georgia, as well as Pennsylvania, New York, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa. A few others who came at a later date were from Grütli, Tennessee. They settled in Belvidere, Dercherd and Winchester.⁹⁵ Two hundred eighty acres of land in Franklin County were bought by Samuel Kaserman

⁹³Campbell, "East Tennessee During the Radical Regime," p. 98.

⁹⁴Nashville Daily Press and Times, April 1, 1868.

⁹⁵John Paul von Gruening, ed., The Swiss in the United States (Madison, Wis.: Swiss American Historical Society, 1940), p. 56.

and his son John. John Kaserman was very active in the colonization project and was directly or indirectly responsible for attracting every German family that settled in the Belvidere community.⁹⁶

The motives and incentives of the early settlers for coming to and settling in Franklin County varied. The opportunity for marriage, desire for economic betterment and the mild climate were factors. Many colonists had close friends and relatives already in Franklin County or nearby, and they wished to join them. The agricultural opportunities also convinced families to migrate to this area. Land was available and it was inexpensive. Trees, too, were plentiful. These factors were very important since most of the German and Swiss who came were poor farmers, who used the trees as building materials and lived off the land on which they settled.⁹⁷

Farther west in Middle Tennessee, Lawrence County was also being colonized by Germans. In 1868-69 the Cincinnati (Ohio) German Catholic Homestead Association obtained vast tracts of land in Lawrence County. Their purpose was to provide many families in the more populous

⁹⁶Walter Martin Kollmorgen, The German-Swiss in Franklin County; A Study of the Significance of Cultural Considerations in Farming Enterprises (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1940), p. 28.

⁹⁷Kollmorgen, German Swiss in Franklin County, p. 11.

centers north of the Ohio River with the opportunity to resettle elsewhere, and yet not be forced to begin life anew in a completely unknown and unfamiliar environment. The majority of the settlers were of German extraction. Their farms and homes were located on each side of the high road which ran from Mount Pleasant through Lawrenceburg south to Florence, Alabama.

There were several German Catholic settlements in Lawrence County at this time: Lawrenceburg was the center; New Einsiedeln was near Ethridge, north of Lawrenceburg; Holy Trinity was on the west; Loretto, St. Joseph and St. Mary were to the south. Only Lawrenceburg, Loretto and St. Joseph survived as parishes. Rev. Henry Heuser, D. D., a former parish priest of Millhousen, Indiana, attended to the needs of all Catholics in Lawrence County. As more and more families came and the parishes began to expand, the Precious Blood Fathers, in February 1872, assumed the duties and responsibilities of caring for the Catholics in the Lawrence County parishes. The Sisters of the Precious Blood also established their convent here in the autumn of 1873.⁹⁸

⁹⁸"Lawrence County Settlements Made in Post-Civil War Period," The Register-Tennessee Edition, July 31, 1938. "The Catholics Come to Lawrenceburg, Democrat Union, Lawrenceburg, Tennessee, August 11, 1969, p. 3. "Loretto Sacred Heart to Celebrate Centennial, February 2nd," Democrat Union, Lawrenceburg, Tennessee, January 27, 1972, p. 1.

In the early 1870's just south of Lawrence County, Johann Gottfried Cullman established a German settlement in Florence, Alabama. Several other German settlements then stretched out northward into Tennessee.⁹⁹

Further east in Middle Tennessee, a second attempt was made to settle Grundy County. Probably in the very early spring of 1869, a party of Germans and Swiss came to Grütli.¹⁰⁰ As has been mentioned previously, the organization of the colony has been promoted as early as 1845 by the East Tennessee Colonization Company, but the enterprise seemed not to materialize until 1869 when Peter Staub, the Swiss Consular agent in Knoxville, with the support of the Swiss Counsul General in Washington, John Hitz, revived the attempts to establish the Grütli colony near Altomont in Grundy County.

⁹⁹Walter Martin Kollmorgen, German Settlement in Cullman County, Alabama; An Agricultural Island in the Cotton Belt (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Agriculture. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1941). Mr. Kollmorgen does not name these settlements in Tennessee. He may possibly be referring to those settlements in Lawrence County which have been just previously discussed.

¹⁰⁰David E. Clayton, "Forgotten Colony," researched for and with the co-operation of the Swiss American Historical Society and the People of Grütli, Tennessee, January, 1971, p. 3. Mr. Clayton defines the Swiss word "Grütli" as "a place of beginning." Frances Helen Jackson, "The German Swiss Settlement at Grütli, Tennessee" (unpublished M. A. thesis, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, 1933), pp. 15-16. Ms. Jackson derives the word from the Swiss "aus-reuten" meaning "to root out" or "to clear." She mentions that the name Grütli is derived from the name Rütli in Schiller's Wilhelm Tell.

According to the Protokol der Gemeinde Switzerland the first meeting of the group was on April 11, 1869, and from the contents of these minutes the meeting seems to have taken place almost immediately after the arrival of the colonists. It is not known who made up this original group of settlers, but on September 11, 1869, three more families arrived: the Ammachers, the Reuts and the Schilds. These had followed the route used by most of the other colonists when they travelled from New York to Chattanooga by train and then to McMinnville, also by train. There they hired teams and wagons and set out immediately for the Cumberland Mountains.¹⁰¹

After 1869 German and Swiss colonists were arriving continually in Grütli. By 1872 nearly one hundred families had settled there. However, the colony was doomed to failure because of the unrealistic views and expectations of the immigrants. They were misled by the laudatory descriptions and promises of promoters and agents of the colony.

The Swiss developed farming as their main occupation although some were artisans in masonry, coopery, carpentry, cabinet making and some of the women were seamstresses. Their knowledge of farming on an intensive basis was their greatest asset since the land was not especially suitable

¹⁰¹Jackson, "The German Swiss at Grütli," pp. 19-20.

for farming. The terrain was broken by gorges and hills. And since the area was so isolated, it was hard to import farm equipment and to export their produce.¹⁰² In spite of these hardships, some remained facing extreme difficulties in their farming enterprises. Others left and settled in neighboring cities and towns. For example, several Swiss families from Grütli settled in a separate section of Tracy City which was then referred to as "Dutchtown" by the other settlers. Many went to Chattanooga, Nashville, Franklin County, Tennessee and to Cincinnati, Ohio.¹⁰³

There were other settlements in Tennessee during these two decades but these were on a much smaller scale than those of Grütli, Lawrence County or Franklin County. Three German emigration societies settled some Germans near Dover in Stewart County¹⁰⁴ and in Paradise Ridge near Nashville in Davidson County.¹⁰⁵ Another group of sixteen

¹⁰²James E. Montgomery, "Three Appalachian Communities; Cultural Differentials as They Affect Levels of Living and Population Pressure" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, 1944), p. 16.

¹⁰³Montgomery, "Three Appalachian Communities," pp. 24-25.

¹⁰⁴Wust, "Wartburg: New Germany in Tennessee," pp. 23-24.

¹⁰⁵Hahn, "German Settlers in Nashville," p. 102.

Swiss-Germans were recorded in Hohenwald in Lewis County in 1870.¹⁰⁶

Many German immigrants or persons of German descent chose to settle in the urban centers of Tennessee instead of the rural and often isolated mountain communities. German organizations and clubs such as the Germania Hall, Germania Turn Verein, and the charitable organizations like the Deutscher Gegenseitiger Unterstützungs-Verein of Memphis¹⁰⁷ were flourishing in the larger cities. Similar aid societies and culture clubs existed in Nashville, Knoxville and Chattanooga.¹⁰⁸

German language newspapers were also supported by the ethnic communities in the larger cities. In Memphis the Memphis Post (later renamed Südliches Post-Journal) had a circulation of about 2,000 copies. The German Gazette, a weekly paper, was edited by L. F. Fritz.¹⁰⁹ The large German population of Nashville was in the position to support even more German language newspapers than Memphis. The Cumberland Blätter was founded in 1863, the Nashviller

¹⁰⁶Grueningen, The Swiss in the United States, p. 56.

¹⁰⁷Shields McIlwaine, Memphis Down in Dixie (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1948), p. 238.

¹⁰⁸Wust, "Wartburg: New Germany in Tennessee," p. 24.

¹⁰⁹O. F. Vedder, History of the City of Memphis and Shelby County (Syracuse, N. Y.: D. Mason & Co., Publishers, 1888), p. 224.

Journal in 1865 and the Nashviller Demokrat on September 15, 1866. In the same year, 1866, the Tennessee Tägliche Staatszeitung was established. This was the daily edition of the weekly Tennessee Staatszeitung which was edited and published by J. Ruhm. In 1869 the weekly edition of the Nashviller Demokrat, the Wöchentlicher Nashviller Demokrat, was published. In 1871 Der Emigrant und Beobachter im Süden was founded by J. F. Jeup, and finally in 1873 the weekly Tennessee Post was edited and published by Frederick Jaensch.¹¹⁰

Germans were also successful businessmen. They established businesses geared primarily toward serving their German-speaking clientele. In 1865 the German National Bank was incorporated in Memphis with a capital of \$175,000 and in 1880 the Fourth National Bank was consolidated with it. In 1885 the bank was re-organized and the name changed to German Bank of Memphis.¹¹¹ The German American Building and Loan Association began business in 1876 and was apparently successful in its business endeavors.¹¹²

The establishment and success of the Lutheran church also attests to the presence and number of Germans in

¹¹⁰Arndt & Olson, German-American Newspapers, p. 614.

¹¹¹Vedder, History of Memphis, pp. 249-50.

¹¹²Vedder, History of Memphis, p. 257.

Tennessee between 1860 and 1880. In 1860 the Holston Synod was formed from the Tennessee Synod. In 1867 the Lutherans of Nashville completed their first church. Lutherans were also prominent in Memphis. However, the majority of the Lutherans at this time were still living in East Tennessee, where they first had settled. Of the eighteen Lutheran churches, fourteen were located in the eastern division.¹¹³

In 1866 the question of the Blacks, i.e. the freed slaves, was again taken up at the Tennessee Synod convention. The resolution of the Synod is recorded as follows: "the negro is licensed to preach, catechize, baptize, and celebrate the right of matrimony among those of his own race . . . This license, however, does not authorize them to preach in our churches . . . We advise them to erect houses for themselves in which they can worship."¹¹⁴ The Germans now joined their neighbors on the issue of the Blacks and accepted segregation as the official policy of their church.

One of the most active and growing churches of the Tennessee Synod was the St. James Church in Greene County. In 1870 a second building replaced the well-worn first

¹¹³Folmsbee, History of Tennessee, I, 421.

¹¹⁴"A Brief History of St. James Evangelical Lutheran Church," p. 2.

St. James structure. The new church building was built just in front of where the first one stood. This second building withstood the ravages of wind and storm but became very much dilapidated. Finally in 1901 plans were laid to erect a third building in the face of rather severe opposition.¹¹⁵

North of the St. James community, along the present highway 11E, the Blue Springs (Mosheim) settlement continued to expand. In 1870 J. W. Wagoner persuaded the Holston Synod of the Lutheran Church to build a high school in Blue Springs. The school was called Mosheim Institute in honor of Professor Johann Lorenz von Mosheim (1693-1755), a German Lutheran theologian influential in education and a foremost church historian of his day.¹¹⁶ The name of the community, Blue Springs, was later dropped and Mosheim became the official name.

In 1871 the name of the school was changed to Holston Synodical College and later to Holston College. The school was always an institution "of higher learning" attracting many outstanding teachers and distinguished educators.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵"A Brief History of St. James Evangelical Lutheran Church," p. 3.

¹¹⁶Earl, "It's 'Mos-hime,' Not 'Mos-sheem.'"

¹¹⁷Harry Roberts, "'Mosheim High School' Closing Ends Era in Mosheim History, Early Educational Center," Greeneville Sun, May 26, 1973, p. 1.

Professor T. N. Haun of Holston College, for example, was a reputable mathematician known abroad for his scholarship. He was a member of the Royal Society of London.¹¹⁸

The Annual Report on schools sent to the State Department of Education by County Superintendents for the 1874 report stated that the college had been chartered by a special act of the state legislature and was authorized to confer A. B. and A. M. Degrees.¹¹⁹

During the 1860's the Civil War curtailed immigration to a certain extent. In the 1870's other disasters hit the state of Tennessee which had an effect on the foreign population. The Asiatic cholera started in Tennessee in 1873. Nashville, Chattanooga, Knoxville, Jonesboro and especially Greeneville in Upper East Tennessee were hard stricken.¹²⁰ The mortality rate was high and many fled the contagion. Some moved permanently out of the state although most stayed behind.

After the epidemic of 1873 subsided many returned to Tennessee and immigrants were again encouraged to settle within its boundaries. But in 1878 the yellow fever epidemic struck hard once more. Many Germans who stayed through the

¹¹⁸Roberts, "'Mosheim High School,'" p. 6.

¹¹⁹Roberts, "'Mosheim High School,'" p. 1.

¹²⁰Crutcher, "Asiatic Cholera in Jonesboro," p. 75.

the first epidemic now fled further north to Cincinnati, Louisville, Kentucky and St. Louis. Others chose Tennessee cities which were not affected by the disease. Although some Germans left Tennessee during the yellow fever scourge, there seems to be no significant change in the number of organizations, churches or their membership.¹²¹ Clubs still flourished and German-language newspapers still published. There seems to have been no drastic change in the German communities throughout the state. The 1880 census figures of Shelby County, for example, reported only about a hundred fewer Germans than in the previous decade.¹²²

1880-1900

The first great wave of migration to the United States was in the 1850's with 1854 as the peak year. The second great surge came in the 1870's and reached its peak in 1873. The next wave came in the 1880's and 1890's, the high point being 1882. However, the nature of immigration changed profoundly between the first two crests in immigration and the third one. The immigration of the 1880's is referred to as the "new immigration." Prior to the 1880's northern and western Europe supplied most of the newcomers to America. But now Italy, Austria-Hungary and eastern Europe succeeded

¹²¹McIlwaine, Memphis Down in Dixie, p. 238.

¹²²Rauchle, "Contributions of German Population in Memphis," p. 82.

the British Isles, Germany and Canada as the main sources of immigrants.¹²³ Tennessee, however, was not greatly affected by this change and the Germans and Scotch-Irish still vied for the lead in supplying the largest number of foreigners to Tennessee.

Several German communities were established during these two decades. The Allardt community in Fentress County was organized around 1885.¹²⁴ This small German horticultural and farming colony was a moderate success. Hohenwald in Lewis County was often referred to as the "New Switzerland." It was organized in the 1880's although families had already settled there during the previous decade. It, too, was a moderate success.

The settlement near Milan in Gibson County in West Tennessee was known as Germantown because of the large number of German families residing there. It is three miles north of Milan and a hundred miles northeast of Memphis. Unlike the Germantown near Memphis, the Germantown near Milan never had either a post office, or any definite boundaries and it was never incorporated as a town. Since it is not officially a distinct community, it is often

¹²³Smith, "Free, Foreign-Born Population of Nashville," pp. 20-21.

¹²⁴Wust, "Wartburg: New Germany in Tennessee," p. 24.

included in the discussion of Milan and is sometimes designated by that name.

The primary cause of immigration to Germantown near Milan seems to have been economic. Farmers were attracted by the productive soil which was to be found in that part of Gibson County. Once several families were settled, they encouraged their friends and relatives to join them and many did. Religious and political factors seemed to have played no part in the settlement of this community.¹²⁵

Charles Kastner and Lewis Wahl were the first two Germans to make Milan, i.e. Germantown, their home. They probably came around 1877. These two men encouraged their friends and relatives to join them and in 1880's many did. On December 26, 1883, the Milan Immigration Association was organized for the purpose of encouraging Germans to move into their community. The association apparently never materialized. Nevertheless, many German families moved into the vicinity prior to 1900. Their arrivals were often noted in the local Milan Exchange. Between 1880 and 1905 over 150 Germans were living in Germantown and the surrounding area.¹²⁶

¹²⁵Bob Cyrus Rauchle, "The Germantown near Milan, Tennessee," West Tennessee Historical Society Papers, 20 (1966), 61-62.

¹²⁶Rauchle, "The Germantown near Milan," pp. 65-70.

In 1900, however, the majority of the Germans of Milan began to leave the city permanently. Some moved to the Dakotas, Oklahoma and Washington in search of more farmland or to join their friends and relatives.¹²⁷ Few German families remained and the German flavor of the community disappeared almost completely.

Other German settlements sprang up in West Tennessee. In Dyer County on the Mississippi, the Bernese families founded Newbern. Dresden in Weakley County was also founded around this time.¹²⁸ Unfortunately, little research has been done on these communities and little is known about the role and survival of German culture there.

The Germans were still numerous in Lawrence County in the two decades between 1880 and 1900. In 1886 the Germans in Lawrenceburg began work on the construction of a permanent parish church. Bishop Joseph Rademacher dedicated the church in 1890 giving it the name of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Eight years later the men of the parish began the erection of a brick rectory and after five years they built a brick school. The building had classrooms on the lower floor and an auditorium on the upper floor.¹²⁹

¹²⁷Rauchle, "The Germantown near Milan," p. 70.

¹²⁸Grueningen, The Swiss in the United States, p. 56.

¹²⁹"Lawrence County Settlements Made in Post-Civil War Period," The Register-Tennessee Edition, July 31, 1938.

Most of the parishioners were farmers but they were able to build by themselves without hiring a construction company since most were also artisans by training, skilled at one craft or another.¹³⁰

The Grütli community in Grundy County, on the other hand, slowly began to disintegrate in the 1880's and 1890's. The Swiss did not isolate themselves from the dominant culture.¹³¹ There was constant interaction and inter-marriage with the non-Swiss of the vicinity. Some families, faced by overwhelming hardships, sought to improve their lot in neighboring cities and towns. There were 227 Swiss in Grundy County in 1880 and only 140 by 1890.¹³² The number continually declined as families sought better economic opportunities elsewhere, especially in larger cities.

The urban centers in Tennessee retained their German population and some even increased their number because many immigrants moved to the industrial centers hoping to improve their economic situation. The German residents of Memphis very actively encouraged immigration to their city by organizing a West Tennessee Emigration Society on

¹³⁰"The Catholics Come to Lawrenceburg," Democrat Union, August 11, 1969.

¹³¹Montgomery, "Three Appalachian Communities," p. 28.

¹³²Grueningen, The Swiss in the United States, p. 57.

August 16, 1880.¹³³ This was the first time they really made a concerted effort to attract large numbers of their fellow countrymen to their area. The main reason for this sudden venture was their concern for the German laborers who were often mistreated by their employers in other states. This seemed to be especially true in Arkansas. The Germans in Memphis also claimed that since many German workers moved out during the 1878 yellow fever epidemic more labor was needed. Primarily, however, they wanted to protect the newly-arrived immigrants from ill-treatment and harassment by the employers and the sometimes rather hostile endemic population.

The German population in Memphis still supported German-language newspapers. The weekly Deutsche Zeitung was established in 1887 and existed until the end of the First World War. It was edited and published by Louis G. Fritz. The Jewish Spectator was founded in 1885. This weekly was established by Max Samfield. The Memphis Journal was edited and published by Charles Weidt from 1875-1879 and then by J. B. Huchlefeld from 1880-1883. This newspaper united with the Memphis Post to form the Südlisches Post-Journal. This weekly newspaper existed until 1912 and was published at various times by Zimmermann & Brothers,

¹³³Rauchle, "Contributions of German Population in Memphis," pp. 17-18.

Otto Klus and Louis G. Fritz.¹³⁴

The size of the German population in Memphis and the extent of its social and cultural influence is reflected in the number and variety of clubs which were to be found there at this time. By 1880 nine societies and clubs flourished and the German Mai Fest became an annual and widely attended event.¹³⁵ The Germans also organized musical and dramatic productions as well as lectures and purely social activities. All these events were well received by the "natives" and received their support.

Nashville's German population was also strong during the 1880-1900 period. Most of the clubs organized during the previous decade were still in existence and were well attended. The weekly Der Anzeiger des Südens was established in 1880. It was edited and published by William G. Fischer and existed until about the middle of World War One.¹³⁶ The Germans did not always depend on their own language newspapers for information and advertisement. They often used the local American newspapers to make announcements of their upcoming activities and to encourage their non-German neighbors to attend.

¹³⁴Arndt and Olson, German-American Newspapers, p. 613.

¹³⁵Rauchle, "Contributions of German Population in Memphis," pp. 23-57.

¹³⁶Arndt and Olson, German-American Newspapers, p. 614.

Although some Germans left East Tennessee for other parts of Tennessee or they moved out of the state, the German population in East Tennessee still remained strong. The Lutheran churches which were established in the previous decades remained in operation and retained their congregations, although the numbers often fluctuated.

Holston College in Mosheim, Greene County, increased its enrollment substantially. The school was proving so successful that it was attracting students from a large area, including parts of adjoining counties. By the early 1890's it was apparent that a new and larger building was necessary to accommodate the increase in the student body. Work on the new building was begun in 1897. Since money promised did not materialize, the new school was not completed till 1898 and it incurred debts which it could not pay off immediately. As a result the college was put up for sale in 1901.¹³⁷ With the help of interested and sympathetic persons who purchased and re-opened the school, it survived for several more years to serve the local and especially the German population of East Tennessee.

1900-World War I

The last and greatest wave of immigration to the United States was in the year 1907. This again was the

¹³⁷Roberts, "'Mosheim High School,'" p. 6.

"new immigration" in which the Germans played a minor role. As the number of Germans settling in the United States declined, so also did the number of Germans in Tennessee. The paucity of the German immigration into the state was coupled with the migration out of the state in search of either more and better farmland or the desire to take advantage of the industrial boom in the manufacturing centers of the North. In spite of this, however, the Germans represented the largest group of foreign-born in Tennessee. In 1910 there were 4,569 Germans in the state and the Irish were a close second with 3,372.¹³⁸

The German-language newspapers were still flourishing. The Chattanooga Volksfreund, a republican weekly was edited and published by Emil J. Meyer & Co. Another weekly in Chattanooga, Der Einwanderer von Chattanooga, was founded in 1905. In Memphis the Deutsche Zeitung and the Südlisches Post-Journal were still being published. In Nashville Der Anzeiger des Südens was the only German-language newspaper after the turn of the century.

The German communities at Hohenwald and Robbins founded their own newspapers. In Hohenwald the New Switzerland Nachrichten, edited by P. Schild, Jr., was first published in 1900 as a fortnightly. From 1901-1903

¹³⁸Faust, German Element in the United States, I, 578.

it was a weekly, published both in German and in English. The Germans in Robbins in Scott County in East Tennessee published the Evangel of Hope and Bible Banner. The monthly appeared in 1904 and was also printed in both English and German. It was edited by D. Paul Ziegler and published by the Evangel Publishing Society. The paper survived the war and did not end its publication till 1920.¹³⁹

The Germans in East Tennessee did not publish any German-language newspapers or periodicals. Nevertheless, their presence in this area is attested by the fact that they still supported the Lutheran churches which they founded and even built new ones. In 1901 in Greene County a third building was erected to replace the dilapidated wooden structure of the St. James Church. This third building, constructed under the leadership of the Rev. F. M. Harr, was a frame building but of a much more modern design.¹⁴⁰

Also in Greene County, Holston College, as has been previously mentioned, was put up for sale in 1901. It was bought by Mr. Greener who operated the school until 1901 when the property again was offered for sale. The effort to maintain an accredited college at Mosheim again met with

¹³⁹Arndt and Olson, German-American Newspapers, p. 611.

¹⁴⁰"A Brief History of St. James Evangelical Lutheran Church," pp. 3-4.

failure.¹⁴¹ At this time the property was purchased by the Evangelical United Brethren Church and the name changed to Cowden College. One year later it became the property of Maryville College, only to be purchased two years after that by the Greene County Board of Education. The Board of Education opened the Mosheim High School there in the fall of 1913. Mosheim grew and progressed rapidly and soon became the largest rural school in the county.¹⁴²

The first decade and a half saw a gradual decline in the German population in Tennessee. When World War One came the Germans found themselves not only in the minority as an ethnic group but also in disfavor with the "natives" of Tennessee. In West Tennessee, for example, in Fayette County, a Somerville jeweler of German birth suffered repeated damage to his place of business for no apparent reason other than the fact that he was a native of Germany.¹⁴³

Germany, as the aggressor, was brought into extreme disfavor during the First World War. German peoples in America were looked upon with suspicion and their loyalty

¹⁴¹Roberts, "'Mosheim High School,'" p. 6.

¹⁴²Roberts, "'Mosheim High School,'" p. 15.

¹⁴³Folmsbee, History of Tennessee, II, 289.

and patriotism to the United States was called into question. The very use of the word "German" was avoided. The residents of Germantown in Shelby County, for instance, changed the name of their community to the earlier Indian designation for their locality, "Nashoba."¹⁴⁴ The German language, as a subject of study, was dropped from the curriculum in several Tennessee colleges.¹⁴⁵ As a result of these and other similar measures, Germans sought refuge in northern cities in predominantly German-speaking communities. Thus the First World War had a direct and a very negative influence on the German-speaking population of Tennessee.

¹⁴⁴Folmsbee, History of Tennessee, II, 289.

¹⁴⁵Folmsbee, History of Tennessee, II, 289.

III. SUMMARY

Evidence of Germans in Tennessee can be found as early as the 1730's. The first Germans to venture into the territory were primarily explorers, adventurers, representatives of an organization or government or missionaries endeavoring to bring the Christian gospel to the Indians. Some of these individuals settled permanently within the state and urged their fellow countrymen to join them. By the late eighteenth century Germans comprised at least 3 percent of the population in the state.

In the following decades Germans continued to stream into the state. They came in greater numbers to the eastern part since it was the first to be explored and inhabited and because it was accessible from the "overcrowded" settlements of the northeastern states, Virginia and the Carolinas. The Germans tended to settle in groups although they did not isolate themselves from the surrounding community. They established their own churches and at first used the German language almost exclusively, but soon English was introduced and became the official language, even though German still was understood and used among the members, especially among the newly-arrived immigrants.

In the 1840's there were two large-scale attempts at colonization, one in Wartburg and the other in Grütli. In both cases the endeavor brought relatively large

groups of German and Swiss to the state, but neither settlement ever developed to the extent envisaged by their founders. Until about the middle of the nineteenth century, most of the German settlements were rural. Farming was the main occupation although many of the settlers were artisans and craftsmen by training.

With the advent of industry and the growth of cities, many immigrants sought their fortunes in urban centers where the factories were concentrated. The unstable political, economic and social conditions in Europe also contributed significantly to the increase of the German population in the cities; the emigrants of the second half of the nineteenth century included more political refugees, scholars, teachers and intellectuals than in the first half of the century, and many of them preferred an urban environment.

The Civil War, the Yellow Fever epidemics and the slow pace of industrial development compared with the North cut the flow of immigration from the late 1850's on. German was used in isolated rural parishes up until about 1910, but the lack of new immigrants in the rural communities and the drain put on rural German populations by the trend towards the cities reduced German cultural impact in the countryside to a minimum. The German communities in Memphis and Nashville, on the other hand, remained strong and viable until World War I. The wave of anti-German sentiment generated by the First World War caused them to suppress their cultural activities and lose their ethnic identity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

IV. BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS

Chatt--Chattanooga Public Library, Chattanooga, Tennessee.
McC--McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Public Library,
Knoxville, Tennessee.
St Ar--State Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

I. Unpublished Primary

The information in parenthesis refers to another bibliographical entry in this thesis. The first Roman numeral indicates the section and the capital letter and number following indicate the entry in that particular section.

A. Individuals and Families

- A1. Abplanalp, Menk. Personal letter to his cousin Peter, June 25, 1885.

Reproduced in David Clayton's "Forgotten Colony," p. 21 (III G216). Chatt.

- A2. East Tennessee Missionary. Diary.

According to Mr. Jesse Mills, technical librarian at TVA, Knoxville, the diary of the first missionary to East Tennessee was translated into English in 1961 by Dr. Don Yoder, Chairman, Department of Folklore, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. To date no reply has been received from Dr. Yoder concerning further details on the author or dates of the diary.

- A3. Feldhaus, Henry Joseph. Diary, 1881, 1887-1900.

Feldhaus was a bricklayer and built furnaces for the iron ore mines in Tennessee and Georgia. The diary is primarily an account of his daily life and his work in Lawrenceburg, Lawrence County, Tennessee. It is in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. L. B. Feldhaus, 223 Admiral Circle, Lawrenceburg, Tennessee 38464.

- A4. Gerding, Georg F. Personal Effects. Photostat of the original in Hobart Schofield Cooper's "German and Swiss Colonization in Morgan County, Tennessee," Appendix A (III G185).

Georg F. Gerding was the promoter of the Wartburg colony, Morgan County, Tennessee. The original papers, which are part of a larger collection entitled the "MacFerron Papers" are, according to Mr. Cooper, in the possession of Harvey H. Hannah, Oliver Springs, Tennessee.

- A5. Grütli Settlers (Grundy County). Letters and other documents of the original settlers.
In the possession of David Clayton, Collegedale, Tennessee (III G216).
- A6. Heins, A. G., Jr. "A Biography of Gaudens Heins," 1965. First dictated to his son A. G. Heins, Sr., March 11, 1916. 14 pp.
Gaudens Heins was born in Breau, Switzerland in 1843. He moved with his family first to Nashville and then (in 1854) to Wartburg. The original is in the possession of A. G. Heins, Jr., c/o A. G. Heins Co., Inc., 112-134 Heins St., Knoxville, Tennessee 37901. A copy of the biography is in the possession of Maria Slonina, Department of Germanic and Slavic Languages, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee 37916.
- A7. Henkel, Philip. "Supplementary" (Will), July 4, 1832.
The document is in the St. James Lutheran Church files, Greene County, Tennessee.
- A8. Kemp, Augusta Thekla (Hasslock), 1882-1963. Family and personal papers, 1617-1967.
The papers include letters, documents (1687-1847), genealogical data, obituaries and a manuscript copy of Pegasus Limping (II E80). St Ar.
- A9. Kreis and other German families.
Genealogical data about families who migrated from Wartburg, Germany, prior to 1855 and established a German-Swiss settlement in Wartburg, Tennessee. Among the families mentioned are: Bardill, Behli, Darnuzer, Etter, Fisher, Graf, Heinz, Kaufmann, Kreis, Kuhn, Maler, Mathis, Risch, Ritz, Ruffner, Rungger, Rupp, Schmid, Schneider, Stanger, Ungar, Vollmer, Wehrle. St Ar.
- A10. Melly, Anton A. Letter to the Hon. Thomas A. R. Nelson, February 2, 1866.
The letter contains information on the East Tennessee Colonization Company. Sheldon Nelson Papers, McC.

- A11. Neas Family. Old German Bible, 1746.
The bible is in the possession of Mrs. Joe L. Neas, St. James Community, Greene County, Tennessee.
- A12. Plumacher, Eugene H. Papers, 1877-1902.
The papers include 49 letters of Eugene Hermann Plumacher, U. S. Consul at Marcaibo, Venezuela, to his friend, Morton B. Howell, Nashville, Tennessee, 1886-1902. They also include a biographical sketch, clippings, correspondence, memoranda, newspapers, governmental pamphlets, medical reports and Plumacher's will. St Ar.
- A13. Plumacher, Eugene H. Memoirs, 1877-1890. 648 pp.
The memoirs include two letters to Morton C. Howell. St Ar.
- A14. Rader Family. Letter to a cousin in Tennessee, 1897.
The letter reports the death of an uncle. It is in the possession of Mrs. Joe L. Neas, St. James Community, Greene County, Tennessee.
- A15. Ramsey, Dr. J. G. M. Letter to Col. S. H. Laughlin, Mecklenberg (near Knoxville), Tennessee, 1844.
The letter discusses the 1844 presidential campaign and Ramsey's efforts to acquire German newspapers, i.e. democratic German newspapers, for the German population in East Tennessee. The Tennessee Historical Society Miscellaneous Collection. St Ar.
- A16. Schilds Family. Passport of one member of the family, 1870.
The Schilds were among the original settlers at Grütli, Tennessee. Chatt.
- A17. Schilds, Peter. Wanderbuch.
This document replaced the usual Reisepass. It had to be shown at all border checks, the police of each city, and all employers were required to sign it. Chatt.
- A18. Stiles, John Peter (originally John Peter Stein). Diary, 1881.
John Peter Stiles was a native of Brandenburg, Germany. He originally settled in Chicago but later moved to Pleasant Hill, Tennessee, near Crossville. The diary is in the possession of Prof. Allison von Slagle, Audio Visual Center, University of Tennessee, Chattanooga, Tennessee 37401.

- A19. Suter, Ida. Auszug aus dem Geburts-Register, August 14, 1880. Reproduced in David Clayton's "Forgotten Colony," p. 31 (III G216).
The Suters were settlers at Grütli, Tennessee. Chatt.
- A20. Wichser, Barbara. Heimatschein für verheirathete Personen, September 15, 1879. Reproduced in David Clayton's "Forgotten Colony," p. 39 (III G216).
Barbara Wichser was one of the settlers at Grütli, Tennessee. Chatt.

B. Public and Church Records

- B21. Evangelical Lutheran Conference. Proceedings of the Second Conference of the State of Tennessee. Zion Church, Sullivan County, Tennessee, October 22, 1821. Translated by Rud. F. Kuell, February 9, 1940.
The proceedings include a report of the function of the conference sustained at Zion Church, as well as the objection against the Fundamental Constitution of the General Synod. There are also two letters from two pastors from the State of Ohio. St Ar.
- B22. Evangelical Lutheran Tennessee Synod, Reorganized 1858. Minutes of Meeting, 1858.
The minutes are in the possession of Albert H. Neas, Sr., St. James Community, Greene County, Tennessee.
- Greene County
- B23. St. James Evangelical Lutheran Church (Greene County). Financial Records, 1914-26.
The records are in the possession of Albert H. Neas, Sr., St. James Community, Greene County, Tennessee.
- B24. St. James Evangelical Lutheran Church (Greene County). Kirchen Buch. Translated by Marian K. Crosby.
One copy of the translation is in the St. James Church files and another is supposedly in the possession of Goldene F. Burgner, Greeneville, Tennessee.
- B25. St. James Evangelical Lutheran Church (Greene County). Records, 1801-76.
The birth, baptismal and confirmation records are written in German. Beginning with the 1850's some entries are in English. McC microfilm.
- B26. St. James Evangelical Lutheran Church (Greene County). Records, 1860-1930.

The records include a list of pastors, church officers, church members, births, baptisms, marriages, deaths, burials and an annual summary. A constitution and the interesting and important events occurring from time to time in the history of the Church are also recorded. The records are in the possession of Mrs. Joe L. Neas, St. James Community, Greene County, Tennessee.

Grundy County

- B27. Community of Switzerland (Grundy County). "Book of Protocol," April 11, 1869. Translated by Dr. Fritz Stein. Cleveland, Ohio, 1968.

The Grütli Community Church records include a list of community members, baptisms, confirmed children, marriages, deaths, the constitution plus all amendments and minutes of the district and church meetings. Chatt.

- B28. Landwirtschaftverein (Grundy County). Minutes of Meetings, 1873-1917.

A copy of the translation appears in Neskaug, "Agricultural and Social Aspects of the Swiss Settlement in Grundy County," pp. 135-63. (III G222). According to the above publication, the minutes are in the possession of Ernst Stämpfli, Grütli, Tennessee.

Lawrence County

- B29. Catholic Settlement (Lawrence County). Land grant for Settlement, 1870.

In the Lawrenceburg courthouse there is a large bound plat book showing in detail the land bought for the Catholic settlement and also the lots laid out on the part of the tract which lies on the outskirts of the Lawrenceburg of 1870.

- B30. Roman Catholic Church (St. Joseph, Lawrence County). Records, 1870's-present.

The records include a list of baptisms, marriages and deaths.

- B31. Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church (Lawrenceburg, Lawrence County). Records, 1870-present.

The records include a list of baptisms, marriages and deaths.

- B32. Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church (Loretto, Lawrence County). Records, 1872-present.

The records include a list of baptisms, marriages and deaths.

Monroe County

- B33. St. Mary's Evangelical Lutheran Church (Monroe County).
Records, May 20, 1853-August 21, 1910.

The birth, baptismal and confirmation records are written in English. McC microfilm.

- B34. St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church (Monroe County).
Records, May 17, 1851-June 7, 1874.

The records include a list of preachers, members, communicants and the rules of the Church. They are written in English. McC microfilm.

Morgan County

- B35. St. Paul Lutheran Church (Morgan County). Records
1877-?

The church records are written in German dating back to 1877 although the congregation was organized in 1847. The earlier records have been lost. St. Paul Lutheran Church files, Wartburg, Tennessee.

Shelby County

- B36. German Evangelical Lutheran Church (Shelby County).
Kirchen Buch, 1871-1883.

Trinity Lutheran Church Archives, Memphis, Tennessee.

- B37. St. Mary's Catholic Church (Shelby County). Records,
1860-present.

The baptismal, marriage and death records go back to 1860. Some of them are written in Latin. There are names like Zahn, Wolf, Bär, Hoffmann, Holländer, Böhmer. Many of the names are not of German origin. St. Mary's Catholic Church, Memphis, Tennessee.

- B38. St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church (Shelby County).
Liber Baptismorum, February 16, 1841-July 18, 1855.

St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church Archives, Memphis, Tennessee.

- B39. Trinity Lutheran Church (Shelby County). Records,
1874-1926.

Trinity Lutheran Church Archives, Memphis, Tennessee.

II. Published Primary

A. Reports, Speeches and Public Documents

- A1. Barthold, Richard. "Our American Germans." Speech delivered in celebration of German-American Day, Nashville, Tennessee, October 6, 1897. St. Louis, Missouri, 1897.

- A2. Killebrew, J. B. "Clover and the Principal Brasses; Their Value and Influence in Attracting Immigration and Binding Us to Our Homes." Biennial Report of the Bureau of Agriculture, 1893-94, pp. 45-54. A paper presented before the East Tennessee Farmers' Convention, May 23, 1894.
Several references are made to the German-Swiss.
- A3. Peck, T. F. Bureau of Immigration. Report to His Excellency B. W. Hooper, Governor, December 19, 1912.
The report discusses Tennessee's advantages and what it has to offer especially to immigrants.
- A4. Scheibler, John, G. Gengel and Anton Mettler. "A 'Follow Up' Report of the Grütli Colony," July 21, 1871. Requested by the Swiss Cabinet of the Swiss General Consul, Washington, D. C. Translated by and reprinted in Reinhart S. Neskaug's "Agricultural and Social Aspects of the Swiss Settlement in Grundy County," pp. 125-34 (III G222).
The 16 page pamphlet was written in German by three Swiss Tennesseans on the current situation and the future outlook of Grütli, Tennessee.
- A5. Tennessee. Acts of Tennessee, 1850-51. An Act to Authorize the German Evangelical Lutheran Church of the County of Morgan to Hold Land and for Church Purposes, February 1, 1850, p. 403. Reprinted in Hobart Schofield Cooper's "German and Swiss Colonization in Morgan County, Tennessee," Appendix A, p. 4 (III G185).
- A6. Tennessee. Acts of Tennessee, 1851-52, Sections 1-5. An Act to Amend the Chapter of the German Evangelical Lutheran Church at Wartburg, February 15, 1852, p. 629. Reprinted in Hobart Schofield Cooper's "German and Swiss Colonization in Morgan County, Tennessee," Appendix A, p. 4 (III G185).
- A7. Tennessee. Acts of Tennessee, 1859-60, Section 3. Incorporation of the German Reformed Church, Wartburg, Morgan County, Tennessee, February 28, 1860, p. 318. Reprinted in Hobart Schofield Cooper's "German and Swiss Colonization in Morgan County, Tennessee," Appendix A, p. 5 (III G185).

B. Church Records and Reports

- B8. Brown, A. J. "The Lutheran Church Built on the Only True Foundation." Sermon preached at the dedication

of the First German Lutheran Church, Knoxville, Tennessee, September 25, 1870. Philadelphia, n. d.

- B9. Evangelical Lutheran Tennessee Synod. Minutes of Meetings, Sessions 1-69, 1820-89. Reprinted in Sokrates Henkel's History of the Evangelical Lutheran Tennessee Synod, pp. 24-256 (III K358).

C. Descriptions of Travels and Life in Tennessee

Periodicals

- C10. Atlantische Studien; von in Amerika lebenden Deutschen. Göttingen, 1853-57.
- C11. Deutsch-amerikanisches Magazin; Vierteljahrschrift für Geschichte, Literatur, Wissenschaft, Kunst, Schule und Volksleben der Deutschen in Amerika. Ed. H. A. Rattermann. Vol. 1 (October 1886-July 1887). Cincinnati, Ohio: S. Rosenthal & Co., 1887.
The publication was discontinued.
- C12. Der deutsche Pionier; Erinnerungen aus dem Pionier-Leben der Deutschen in Amerika. Ed. at various times. G. Brühl, E. H. Mack, K. Rümelin, K. Knortz, H. Hensel, and for the longest period H. A. Rattermann. 18 vols. Cincinnati, Ohio: Deutschen Pionier-Verein, 1869-87.
From 1869 to February 1876 the title reads Der deutsche Pionier; eine Monatsschrift für Erinnerungen aus dem deutschen Pionier-Leben in den Vereinigten Staaten. The volumes include illustrations, plates, portraits, maps and facsimilies.

Individual Accounts

- C13. Boecklin, August. Wanderleben in den Vereinigten Staaten; nach den Erinnerungen eines ehemaligen Offiziers. Leipzig: Johannes Cotta Nachfolger, 1901.
Boecklin was interested in Southern culture and traditions and finds much color in New Orleans and on his trip up the river via Helena and Memphis to Louisville.
- C14. Busch, Moritz (Julius Hermann). Wanderungen zwischen Hudson und Mississippi, 1851 und 1852. Stuttgart und Tübingen: J. G. Cotta, 1854. Translated and edited by Norman H. Binger. Travels between the Hudson and the Mississippi, 1851-1852. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1971.
- C15. Conzett, Conrad. Nach Amerika; Handbuch für Auswanderer nach eignen Erfahrungen geschrieben. Chur, Switzerland: Conzett, Aebi, 1871.

- C16. Craemer, Curt. Aus meiner Wanderzeit; Reiseeindrücke eines jungen Kaufmanns in Süd-Afrika, Indien, Ceylon, Singapore, Java, China, Japan, Australien, Neuseeland, Samoa, Hawaii, den Vereinigten Staaten und Canada. 100,000 Kilometer zu Wasser und zu Lande. 2nd ed. Berlin: D. Reimer, 1907.
- C17. Early Western Travels, 1748-1846; Travels West of the Alleghenies Made in 1793-96 by Andre Michaux, in 1802 by F. A. Michaux, and in 1803 by Thaddeus Mason Harris. Ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites. Vol. 3. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1904.
- C18. Gerstäcker, Friedrich. The Wanderings and Fortunes of Some German Emigrants. London: D. Bogue, 1848.
- C19. Gustorf, Frederick Julius, 1800-1845. The Uncorrupted Heart; Journal and Letters of Julius Gustorf. Columbia: The University of Missouri Press, 1969.
- C20. Laverrenz, Victor. Prinz Heinrichs Amerika-Fahrt; Darstellung der Reise des Hohenzollern-Admirals, Schilderung von Land und Leuten und interessante Episoden aus der Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten, ein Gedenkbuch für jung und alt. Berlin: Herman J. Meidinger, 1902.
On pp. 145-59 there is a description of Kentucky, Louisville and Chattanooga in rather factual terms, and on pp. 160-73 there is an account of the Mississippi River and St. Louis.
- C21. The Letters of George Gissing to Eduard Bertz. 1887-1903. Ed. Arthur C. Young. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1961.
The work offers an account of Bertz's Tennessee stay in the Rugby colony, Morgan County.
- C22. Lipsey, Plautus Iberus (1865-1947). Memories of his early life 1865-88. Reproduced by Julia Fand John J. Lipsey, Colorado Springs, Colo., 1949.
The memoirs include interesting information on Germantown (Memphis), Tennessee. St Ar.
- C23. Löher, Franz. Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika. Cincinnati: Verlag von Eggers und Wulkop, 1847.
- C24. Memoirs of a Swiss Officer in the American Civil War. Ed. Heinz K. Meier. Bern & Frankfurt/M.: Herbert Lang, 1972.
The Swiss officer is Rudolf Aschmann.

- C25. Michaux, Francois Andre. Travels to the Westward of the Allegheny Mountains in the States of the Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee in the Year 1802; Containing Accounts Relative to the Present State of Agriculture, and the Natural Productions of Those Districts, Together with Particulars of the Commercial Relations Which Subsist Between These States, and Those to the Eastward of the Mountains, and of Lower Louisiana. London: Barnard & Sultzer, 1805.
- C26. Mitchell, Enoch L. "A Dentist Looks at Memphis, 1897." West Tennessee Historical Society Papers, 14, pp. 91-102.
Information from a diary (365 entries) kept throughout 1897 by Dr. James F. Gwinner, age 20, dentist, "recording the most minute details of his practice and his observations of Memphis in that year."
- C27. Muhlenberg, Henry Melchior. The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. Translated by Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein. 3 vols. Philadelphia: The Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States and the Muhlenberg Press, 1942.
- C28. Olmsted, Frederick Law. A Journey in the Back Country. New York: Mason Brothers, 1860.
- C29. "Ost-Tennessee, die Amerikanische Schweiz. An Ackerbauer! Der Staat wo man sich niederlassen sollte." Reprinted in Frances Jackson's "German-Swiss in Grütli," pp. 9-14 (III G220).
This pamphlet advertised East Tennessee in Switzerland and had its desired effect. See Appendix B.
- C30. Schem, Alexander J. Deutsch-amerikanisches Conversations-Lexicon; mit specieller Rücksicht auf das Bedürfnis der in Amerika lebenden Deutschen, mit Benutzung aller deutschen, amerikanischen, englischen und französischen Quellen, und unter Mitwirkung vieler hervorgehender deutscher Schriftsteller Amerikas. 2 vols. New York, 1869-74.
- C31. Schild, Dola. "Early Days in Grütli." Reprinted in James E. Montgomery's "Three Appalachian Communities: Cultural Differentials as They Affect Levels of Living and Population Pressure," Appendix C, pp. 224-31 (III G221).
The information was recorded by Dola Schild as it was

related to her by her late maternal grandmother, one of the original settlers at Grütli, Tennessee.

- C32. Schneider, Martin. Report of His Journey to the Upper Cherokee Towns, 1783-84. First published in Samuel Cole Williams' Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1540-1800, pp. 245-68 (I C36).
The original diary, according to Mr. Williams, is in the Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.
- C33. Schultz, Christian. Travels on an Inland Voyage Through the States of New York, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee and Through the Territories of Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi, and New Orleans; Performed in the Years 1807 and 1808, including a Tour of Nearly 6,000 Miles. 2 vols in 1. New York: Isaac Riley, 1810.
- C34. Steiner, Abraham and Frederick C. DeSchweinitz. Report of the Journey of the Brethren to the Cherokees and the Cumberland Settlements, 1799. First published in Samuel Cole Williams' Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1540-1800, pp. 445-526 (I C36).
The original, according to Mr. Williams, is in the Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.
- C35. Wartensleben, J. C., Graf von. Reisebriefe von einer Fahrt nach Westindien, Mexiko und durch die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika. Berlin: E. S. Mittler, ca. 1902.
This book is based on dated letters. The letter of July 1902 entitled "aus Memphis" contains information on Memphis, a steamship trip on the Mississippi and some notes on the Negro problem.
- C36. Williams, Samuel Cole. Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1540-1800. Johnson City, Tenn.: The Watauga Press, 1928.
- C37. Zurbuchen R. Kreuz und quer durch Nordamerika in den Jahren 1915-19. 2nd ed. Bern: Paul Haupt, 1923.
Zurbuchen travelled extensively in the South. He has detailed accounts of social and economic life as well as the history and picturesque folkways (e.g. feuding and moonshining in the Kentucky mountains) in the Tennessee cities of Chattanooga, Memphis, and Nashville. He also includes an indignant description of the beheading of a Negro in Memphis.

Yellow Fever Epidemic

- C38. Dromgoole, J. P. Heroes, Honors, and Horrors of 1878. Louisville: John P. Morton & Co., 1879.

The book deals with the yellow fever epidemic of 1878 in Memphis.

- C39. Keating, J. M. A History of the Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1878 in Memphis. Memphis: The Howard Association Pub., 1879.

- C40. Maury, R. B. "The Sanitary Necessities of Memphis and the Yellow Fever." First Report of the State Board of Health of Tennessee. Nashville: Tavel & Howell Printers, 1880.

- C41. Quinn, D. A. Heroes and Heroines of Memphis. Providence, R.I.: E. L. Freeman Co., 1878.

- C42. Summers, Thomas O. Yellow Fever. Nashville: Wheeler Bros. Pub., Co., 1879.

D. German-American Newspapers Published in Tennessee

The information on the German-American newspapers in Tennessee was taken directly from Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955; History and Bibliography (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer Publishers, 1961), pp. 611-14. In this work Arndt and Olson give the editor and publisher--insofar as they are known--and a short description of the individual newspapers. I have listed only the title of the paper and the years in which it was published. Anyone seeking more information should consult Arndt and Olson.

*--Indicates that the information is new and not to be found in the work by Arndt and Olson. The citation in parenthesis gives the source of the new information.

Chattanooga

- D43. *Chattanooga Deutsche Zeitung. (Charles D. McGuffey. Standard History Chattanooga, Tennessee. Knoxville: Crew and Dorey, 1911, p. 255).

- D44. Der Chattanooga Volksfreund, 1887-1901.

*Founded in 1887 (Charles D. McGuffey. Standard History of Chattanooga, Tennessee. Knoxville: Crew and Dorey, 1911, p. 255. Arndt and Olson state 1894 as the founding date).

- D45. Der Einwanderer von Chattanooga, 1905-1907.

- D46. *The Pioneer, 1886.
 Edited by Col. Julius Kloehnne. (Charles D. McGuffey. Standard History of Chattanooga, Tennessee. Knoxville: Crew and Dorey, 1911, p. 255).
- D47. Die Südliche Post, 1872.
- Columbia
 D48. Der Demokrat, 1872.
- Hohenwald
 D49. New Switzerland Nachrichten, 1900-1903.
- Memphis
 D50. Der Anzeiger des Südens, 1858-1876.
- D51. Das Deutsche Wort, 1924-1926.
- D52. Deutsche Zeitung, 1887-1918.
- D53. *The German Gazette, 1864.
 A weekly newspaper edited by L. F. Fritz. (O. F. Vedder. History of the City of Memphis and Shelby County. Syracuse, New York: D. Mason & Co., Publishers, 1888, p. 224).
- D54. Jewish Spectator, 1885-?
 *Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York: 10-13, 37-46.
 *Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion Library, Cincinnati: 38-(40-42)-(53) 54. (Union List of Serials in Libraries of the United States and Canada. 5 vols. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1965).
- D55. Memphis Correspondent, 1870-?
- D56. Memphis Demokrat, 1860-?
- D57. Memphis Journal, 1875-1883.
- D58. Die Neue Zeit
- D59. Stimme des Volkes, 1854-?
- D60. Südliches Post-Journal, 1875-1912.
 *McLean Memphis Public Library, Memphis, Tennessee: May 14, 1887. (Information obtained by correspondence).

Nashville

- D61. Der Anzeiger des Südens, 1880-1916.
- D62. *Der Beobachter, 1861.
Published semi-weekly by H. Lange and A. Lange.
(Morrill Bigby Donald. "A Study on Nashville Newspapers 1850-1875." M. A. Thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1937, p. 41).
- D63. Cumberland Blätter, 1863.
- D64. Der Emigrant und Beobachter im Süden, 1871-?
- D65. Lost German Paper, 1857-?
- D66. Nashviller Demokrat, 1866-1871.
- D67. Nashviller Journal, 1865.
- D68. Tennessee Post, 1873-1876.
- D69. Tennessee Staatszeitung, 1866-1869.
*Boston Athenaeum, Boston: September 28, 1867.
(Information obtained by correspondence).
*Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville: April 2, 1867-September 29, 1867 on microfilm. (Information obtained by correspondence).
*Nashville Public Library, Nashville, Tennessee: March 17, 1866-July 27, 1866. (Information obtained by correspondence).
- D70. Tennessee Tägliche Staatszeitung, 1866-?
- D71. Wöchentlicher Nashviller Demokrat, 1869-1871.
- Robbins
- D72. Evangel of Hope and Bible Banner, 1904-1920.

E. Individual Authors

The following is a list of those prominent German authors who either settled permanently in Tennessee, lived for a limited period in the state or whose works depict the people and/or the state of Tennessee. Neither the list of individuals nor the bibliography is complete. They are intended to exemplify the types of people and the extent of works with which the researcher has to deal.

- E73. Eduard Bertz, 1853-1931, writer and literary scholar.
Eduard Bertz was born on March 8, 1853, the younger son of a Postdam merchant. He entered the University

of Leipzig in 1870 as a student of philosophy and political science. He transferred to the University of Tübingen where he became a member of the German Socialist Party. In 1877 he fled to Paris and later went to England. In 1881 he saw the advertisement for Rugby, Tennessee, and decided to sail for America. In 1883, however, the colony was declared bankrupt and Bertz chose to return to England. He studied and wrote about Walt Whitman, and after his return to Germany he concentrated his attention on German writers, especially Theodore Storm. He died on December 10, 1931.

AUTHOR The French Prisoners; A Story for Boys... London: Macmillan & Co., 1884.

...Glück und Glas. Leipzig: V. Ottmann, 1891.
(Ottmann's Bücherschatz. Bibliothek zeitgenössischer Schriftsteller. Nr. 12-16).

Harmonische Bildung. Ein Buch für die Zeit. Dresden: C. Reissner, 1909.

Das Sabinergut. Berlin: Verein der Bücherfreunde, 1901. A novel relating Bertz's experiences in the Rugby colony.

"Walt Whitman; ein Charakterbild." In Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen. Leipzig. Jhrg. 6, Bd. 1 (1905).

Die Weltharmonie. Monistische Betrachtungen. Dresden: C. Reissner, 1908.

Whitman-Mysterien; eine Abrechnung mit Johannes Schlaf. Berlin: Gose & Tetzlaff, 1907.

Der Yankee-Heiland; ein Beitrag zur modernen Religionsgeschichte. Dresden: C. Reissner, 1906.

E74. Hermann Bokum, 1807-1878, clergyman, translator and public servant.

Hermann Bokum was born and educated in Germany. He came to America when he was 21, spent 28 years in the North, then came to East Tennessee in 1855. He was a professor of German literature in Philadelphia and Boston and before the war left his profession to become a clergyman in East Tennessee. During the war he fled to the North where he earned a living as a lecturer,

author and translator of classical German literature. At war's end he came back to Tennessee as an agent of the Freedman's Bureau. In 1867 he was appointed Commissioner of Immigration to the State Board of Immigration, which was organized specifically for the purpose of encouraging immigration into the State of Tennessee.

AUTHOR Wanderings North and South. Philadelphia: King & Baird, Printers, 1864. It contains the following articles:

"A Refugee's Testimony" printed in 1863 under the title "The Testimony of a Refugee from East Tennessee."

"Sketches of East Tennessee Life." An account of Bokum's re-visit to East Tennessee in 1864.

"Life and Death of a Christian Soldier" - Corporal Charles Crary.

"The Turner's Lane Hospital." (A hospital in the northwestern part of Philadelphia.)

Discourse on the State of the German Population in the United States. Delivered on the 31st of July last, in the Central Presbyterian Church, in Broome-Street, New York, New York. J. P. Callender: Published by request, 1836.

Das Tennessee Handbuch; Eine Beschreibung des Staats Tennessee; dessen Mineralien, Landbau, Wasserdracht, Waldung, Boden und Klima; dessen Eisenbahnen, vollendet oder im Bau begriffen; dessen Gelegenheiten für Viehzucht, Weinbau, Obst, u.s.w. Mit besondern Hinweisung auf das Einwanderungs-Interesse. Philadelphia: King und Baird, 1868. Translated into English: The Tennessee Hand-Book and Immigrant's Guide... Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1868.

E75. Dr. Augustin Gattinger, 1825-1903, botanist, author.

Dr. Gattinger was born in Munich on February 3, 1825. The physician and naturalist entered the Medical School of the University of Munich on October 29, 1844. In 1849 he was forced to leave Germany after participating in a student celebration of Washington's birthday in which eulogies on the freedom of America, as compared with the political conditions in Germany, were made. He first came to Chattanooga and during the war moved to Nashville where he served as State Librarian from

1864-69. He was the first State Botanist of Tennessee publishing works dealing with his adopted state.

AUTHOR "Botanical Fragments; Notes on the Flora of Tennessee, and a Sketch of the History and Problems of Botany." A lecture addressed to the Agricultural, Dairy and Live Stock Convention, Nashville, Tenn., May 15, 1884.

The Flora of Tennessee and a Philosophy of Botany; Respectfully Dedicated to the Citizens of Tennessee. Published by authority of the state through the Bureau of Agriculture. Nashville: Press of Gospel Advocate Publishing Co., 1901.

The Medicinal Plants of Tennessee; Exhibiting their Commercial Value, with an Analytical Key Descriptions in Aid of their Recognition, and Notes Relating to their Distribution, Time and Mode of Collection, and Preparation for the Drug Market. Arranged and published under the direction of T. F. P. Allison. Nashville: F. M. Paul, 1894.

On Trees and Shrubbery; Adapted to the Soil and Climate of Nashville, in Relation to Yards, Streets and Public Parks. Nashville, 1878.

The Tennessee Flora; with Special Reference to the Flora of Nashville. Phaenogams and vascular cryptogams. Nashville: By the author, 1887.

E76. Friederich Wilhelm Christian Gerstäcker, 1816-1872, traveler and writer.

Friederich W. C. Gerstäcker was born in Hamburg on May 10, 1816. In 1837 he made his first trip to America where he traveled extensively. During the following decades he made trips to Egypt, South America, Mexico, the West Indies, Panama and the United States. He wrote numerous travelogues as well as novels based on his journeys. He spent his last years in Dresden and in Braunschweig where he died on May 31, 1872.

AUTHOR Nach Amerika in Gesammelte Schriften. Vol. 11-12. Jena: H. Costenoble, 1872-79.

The novel adds a discordant note to Gerstäcker's general praise of Tennessee.

E77. Johann Gottlieb Häcker, writer and public servant.

AUTHOR "Bericht aus und über Amerika gegeben nach eigener Anschauung in den Jahren 1848 und 1849 und veröffentlicht für Auswanderer." Leipzig, 1849. Translated into English "Report About and From America" by Richard B. O'Connell, Professor of German, Memphis State University, Memphis, Tennessee, 1970. Appeared in the MVC Bulletin (Mississippi Valley Collection), No. 3 and 4 (Fall 1970 and Spring 1971).

The report includes a detailed program for the development of a German colony near Wartburg, Tennessee.

E78. Thekla Dombois Hasslock (German: Hassloch).

Thekla Hasslock was born on August 11, 1824 at Hochheim, a German town in the Dutchy of Nassau. She came to America in 1849 and to Nashville, Tennessee in 1864.

AUTHOR "A Diary of a German Immigrant." Ed. George Mayfield. Tennessee Historical Quarterly, 10 (1951), 249-81.

An intimate story of a voyage to America by a young German couple who, like so many other German immigrants, contributed much to the civil, professional, cultural and religious life of America. The original is in the possession of the editor.

E79. Edward Southey Joynes, 1834-1917, Southern educator and writer.

Edward Joynes was born in Accomac County, Virginia. He studied at various institutions and received a M.A. from the University of Virginia in 1853. In 1856 he went to Berlin for two years where he studied at the University under the most noted scholars then living, Haupt, Bopp and Benary. In 1875 he became a member of the faculty of Vanderbilt University and in 1878 of the faculty of the University of East Tennessee. Throughout his life Joynes devoted himself to the up-building of the schools and the colleges of the South, especially Virginia, Tennessee and South Carolina, and of the teaching profession. His vigorous addresses before the Tennessee Assembly were a potent factor in the organization of the University of Tennessee.

AUTHOR German Lesson Grammar; A German Grammar in Progressive Lessons. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1907.

A German Reader for Beginners in School or College; With Notes and Vocabulary. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1889.

Old Letters of a Student in Germany, 1856-1857.
Columbia, S. C.: The University of South Carolina
Press, 1916.

Report on the Industrial Education of Women in
Germany. Columbia, S. C.: C. A. Colvo, Jr., State
Printer, 1895.

Shorter German Reader for Beginners in School or
College; With Notes, Vocabulary and Paraphrases for
Translation into German. Boston: D. C. Heath &
Co., 1907.

E80. Augusta Thekla Kemp (Hasslock), 1882-1963, teacher.

Mrs. Kemp's grandfather, Herman Wilhelm Hasslock, was born in Germany. He came to this country in 1849, settling near St. Louis, Missouri and moving to Nashville, Tennessee in 1861 where Augusta Kemp was born and received her education. She earned a teaching diploma from Peabody College in Nashville; a B. S. Degree from the University of Nashville; and a M. S. Degree from the University of Chicago. She taught in Tennessee, Arizona, Oklahoma and Texas.

AUTHOR Pegasus Limping. Ed. Clara Whorley Hasslock. Waco, Texas, 1965.

The editor is a resident of Nashville.

E81. Rudolf Leonhart, 1832-1901, writer.

Rudolf Leonhart was born on December 4, 1832 in Bodenfeld in Hannover. He died in November 1901 in Fresno County.

AUTHOR Nord und Süd im Krieg und Frieden; oder Scenen aus der
jüngsten Rebellion. Philadelphia: Schäfer & Koradi, 1868.

A novel of Germans in the United States with part of the action taking place in Tennessee. A summary of this work can be found in German-American Studies, 4 (1972), 67-75.

E82. Maria Paulina Olga Hünerwadel Plümacher, c. 1840-1895*.

*In the course of my research I came across the name Captain E. H. Plumacher and shared this information with Dr. John C. Osborne who was then able to further pursue the investigation of the Captain's wife Olga Plumacher in whom he was interested for a long time. As an expression of his gratitude for this information, which made further research possible,

Maria Paulina Olga Hünérwadel was the daughter of G. Hünérwadel of Stein am Rhein in Kanton Schaffhausen, Switzerland. Her father was a member of a well-known Swiss family the ancestral home of which was apparently in Lenzburg, Switzerland. After attending elementary school at Riesbach bei Zürich, Olga presumably attended secondary school at the Töchterschule in Zürich. As a woman, of course, she could not at the time pursue a university career. Upon completing her secondary education she met and in 1863 married Captain Eugen Hermann Plümacher, a German who had served in the Dutch navy and later became a member of the Commission for Emigration of the Federal Republic of Switzerland. In this capacity he visited the United States in 1867 and in the course of investigating possible sites for the settlement of Swiss visited Beersheba Springs, Tennessee, where he bought property and built a home. Several years later Olga and the children joined him in Beersheba Springs where they resided until the early summer of 1877, at which time Captain Plumacher (not without umlaut), who was seeking a post in the U. S. Foreign Service, took his family to Washington, D. C. When, in June 1878 Plumacher was appointed U. S. Consul to Maracaibo, Venezuela, Olga and the children returned to Stein am Rhein where the children were to be educated. During her first stay in Tennessee she became interested in the philosophy of Eduard von Hartmann and completed two major articles and nearly all of a book on Hartmann's philosophy ("Die Philosophie des Unbewussten und ihre Gegner," Unsere Zeit, NF (Leipzig 1879) 321-46; "Pessimism," Mind, 1879, 68-89; and Der Kampf ums Unbewusste, Berlin: Carl Duncker's Verlag, 1881). Olga remained in Switzerland from 1878 until the summer of 1886, and during that period she devoted herself primarily to the study of the pessimism of Hartmann, whom she visited at his home in Berlin. These interests resulted in two further books on aspects of Hartmann's philosophy: Zwei Individualisten der Schopenhauer'schen Schule, Wien: L. Rosner, 1881; and Der Pessimismus in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, Heidelberg: Weiss, 1884. Her books, all of which were intended primarily for the specialist and well-informed layman, were well received by critics; a second edition of Der Pessimismus in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart appeared in 1888, and a second (and presumably updated) edition of Der Kampf ums Unbewusste was published in 1890.

he has permitted me to quote the following précis of a monograph on Olga Plumacher which he and Dr. Chauncey J. Mellor are currently writing.

During her stay in Switzerland Olga also followed belleslettres and cultural developments closely, and she is thought to have exerted some considerable influence on the youthful Frank Wedekind whose mother had attended school with Olga--Wedekind himself referred to her as his "philosophical aunt" and at one particularly trying period of his adolescence relied almost exclusively on her advice and turned only to her for solace and wisdom. Olga and Wedekind continued to correspond until her death.

There is conclusive evidence that Olga planned to stay in Europe only until her two children, Hermann and Dagmar, had been educated. In January of 1883 she purchased for \$1500, a sum which she had received from an insurance company for the original Tennessee home which had burned down in the late seventies, a tract of land in Beersheba Springs, and it is apparent that she intended to rebuild the home and move there when the children's education was complete. These plans were completely changed when her son, Hermann, became gravely ill in the winter of 1885/86. A stay of several months in a Swiss sanatorium proved to be of no avail, and so in the summer of 1886 Olga returned to the United States with both children. Leading specialists in Philadelphia agreed that Hermann was incurably ill and suggested that his life might be prolonged if he returned to the healthful climate of the Cumberland Plateau. Olga therefore returned to Beersheba Springs and moved into the home which her husband in the meantime had constructed on the land she had purchased three years earlier. When her son died on 8 December 1886 Olga resolved to remain in Beersheba Springs so that she could be near his last resting place, and except for two trips to Venezuela to visit her husband she spent the rest of her life in Tennessee.

Neither personal tragedy nor the removal to Beersheba Springs prevented Olga from continuing to study and write. She continued to keep abreast of developments in European and American philosophy, but at the same time she revealed ever increasing interest in cultural anthropology and in mysticism.

The second editions of two of her three books have already been mentioned. In addition to these, her article, "Meister Eckhart," presumably written before her return to America and published either shortly before or immediately after she had settled again in Tennessee, should be mentioned (no copy of this work has been procured as yet). A philosophical essay, "Grundproblem der Erkenntnistheorie," appeared in

Gegenwart in 1891-92, and in the October 1892 issue of Sphinx (vol. 14) her "Theosophische Weltanschauung" was published. The same periodical had published in the 1889 October issue a delightfully witty critique of Mary Baker Eddy entitled "Praktische Metaphysik in Amerika."

Olga's increasing interest in mysticism and abnormal psychology is evident not only in her preoccupation with Meister Eckhart and with theosophy but also in a short article entitled "Telepathie oder Hallucinations-Übertragungen" (August 1892 issue of Sphinx), in which she relates an ESP experience of her grandmother, and in "Anregungen psychologischer Experimente" (February 1888 issue of Sphinx), in which she suggests that a scientific program to verify or disprove ESP experiences be established. She combined both her interest in her Tennessee environment and her preoccupation with the occult in a letter dated 28 February 1889 which was published in the August 1889 issue of Sphinx under the title "Quellenfindung mit der Wünschelrute."

Even before her return to Tennessee Olga had demonstrated her interest in fields other than philosophy. The article, "Pfahlbauten am Rhein" had appeared in the 16 March 1885 issue of Ausland, and a second article entitled "Geschichte des Weinbaus in Tennessee" was published in the 22 March 1886 issue of the same periodical). After her return to Tennessee she continued to publish in Ausland, and she clearly felt that her contributions could be of value in making America more intelligible to her fellow German-speakers. Her trip to Venezuela to visit her husband in 1887 resulted in an article on the "Goajira Inseln" which was based on an official government report submitted by her husband to the U. S. Department of State (16 January 1888 issue of Ausland). Her major contribution in this area was a four-part essay entitled "Cumberland Plateau in Tennessee" which appeared in Volume 62 of Ausland and which reveals both the powers of observation and the wit and charm of the authoress.

While most of Olga Plumacher's writings were not concerned directly with belleslettres, there is evidence that she did on at least one occasion try her hand at fiction. Frank Wedekind refers to such a work in the following remark in a letter to his mother dated March 1885:

Tante Plumachers amerikanische Erzählung hab' ich mit grossem Interesse gelesen. Schade dass der liederliche Druck sie einigermaßen entstellte. Armin /Wedekind's brother/ wird sie

Dir wiederbringen mit meinem besten Danke,
wenn er zu Euch zurückkehrt.

(Wedekind's Briefe I, 88)

Wedekind's biographer, Arthur Kutscher, also refers to an article which appeared in the Sphinx and in which Olga praised young Frank Wedekind's Frühlings Erwachen, a drama which was at the time generally ignored or condemned by literary critics but which is now recognized to be the first expressionistic drama of note; as yet it has been impossible to locate the article.

In conclusion, two other works should be mentioned. The first, Die christliche Ehe. Eine Konferenzvortrag, Barmen, 1879 may be the work of Olga, but the author is listed in reference works simply as O. Plumacher, and efforts to procure a copy of the pamphlet have been without success. The second, an article entitled "Das Verhältnis von Tugend und Glück in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung" appeared, according to Kutscher, in M. G. Conrad's Gesellschaft (Kutscher I, 141); attempts to locate this essay have likewise been of no avail thus far.

Olga fell ill in the late spring of 1895. Her daughter, Dagmar, placed her in the care of Dr. Berlin, a specialist in women's diseases who maintained a clinic in Chattanooga. Dr. Berlin was unable to cure her, however; whether surgery was attempted is not known. Olga, mortally ill, returned to Beersheba Springs where she died in June 1895. She lies buried in the family cemetery next to her beloved son, Hermann. Her grave is marked by a simple stone bearing no inscription save the letters "O. P." Neither surviving members of her family nor residents of Beersheba Springs who have demonstrated interest in local history were aware that there had once lived in this small village an authoress, critic, and philosopher of international repute.

E83. Adolph Simon Ochs, 1858-1935, newspaper publisher.

Adolph Ochs was born in Cincinnati, Ohio on March 12, 1858 of German Jewish parents. In 1864 his family moved to Knoxville, Tennessee; here Adolph attended the public schools. After trying several different jobs Adolph learned the printing trade, and in 1876 became assistant to the foreman in the composing room of the Knoxville Tribune. Ochs joined the staff of the Chattanooga Dispatch in 1877 and became its editor in chief. In 1878 he acquired a

half interest in the Chattanooga Times, which he developed into a leading newspaper in Tennessee. He also established the Tradesman, a periodical for Southern businessmen and founded the Southern Associated Press, of which he served as chairman from 1891 to 1894. In 1896, Ochs became publisher and controlling owner of the New York Times, retaining that position until his death. He also purchased the Philadelphia Times in 1901 and the next year paid more than \$2,500,000 for the Philadelphia Public Ledger. The two papers were consolidated and managed by his brother, George Washington Ochs, until sold to Cyrus H. K. Curtis in 1913. Adolph Ochs' pledge of \$500,000 in 1924 made possible the publication of the Dictionary of American Biography. Upon his death in Chattanooga, Tennessee on April 8, 1935, both the Chattanooga Times and the New York Times carried the same biographical sketch of the publisher's life.

E84. Karl Ferdinand Roemer, 1818-1891, geologist.

Karl F. Roemer was born in Hildsheim, Hanover. In the spring of 1845, with funds provided by the Society for the Protection of German Emigrants in Texas and the Berlin Academy of Science, and with the approval of Alexander von Humboldt, Roemer sailed for America. Among his numerous works were studies on the geology of Texas and Tennessee.

AUTHOR "Die silurische Fauna des westlichen Tennessee," 1860.

A monograph on the Silurian fossils of western Tennessee.

E85. Otto Ruppius, 1819-1864, professor, writer.

Otto Ruppius was born on February 1, 1819 in Glauchau. He trained to be a salesman but, unsatisfied with his career, he became a soldier in 1838. When the Revolution of 1848 broke out he was sentenced to nine months in prison but instead he fled to America (1849). He became a professor of music in Nashville. The climate, however, did not agree with him and so he sought refuge in Louisville, Kentucky. Because the American Civil War was imminent and since conditions in Europe improved, Ruppius returned with his family to Germany where he died in 1864. He wrote many novels several of which depict the life of Germans in America. Some of them are situated in the South, i.e. Tennessee and Kentucky, where he lived for several years.

AUTHOR Ein Deutscher; Roman aus der amerikanischen Gesellschaft. Leipzig: Keil, 1862.

Geld und Geist; Roman aus dem amerikanischen Leben. Berlin: J. Duncker, 1863.

Genre-Bilder aus dem deutsch-amerikanischen Leben. Berlin: J. Duncker, 1861.

Der Pedlar; Roman aus dem amerikanischen Leben. Berlin: J. Duncker, 1859.

Zwei Welten; Roman. Berlin: J. Duncker, 1863.

E86. Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl, 1793-1864, novelist and traveler.

Karl Postl was born in Poppitz, Moravia. He came to the United States in 1827. He traveled extensively through the United States and Mexico and most of his novels deal with the people of these countries. Some of his favorite topics were General Jackson, his politics and his home state of Tennessee.

AUTHOR The Americans As They Are; Described in a Tour Through the Valley of the Mississippi. London: Hurst, Chance and Co., 1828.
"Tennessee" pp. 99-109.

The United States of North America As They Are. London: W. Simpkin and R. Marshal, 1828.

E87. Talvj (Therese Albertine Louise Robinson (von Jacob), 1797-1869, authoress, translator and philologist.

Therese Robinson was born in Halle, Prussia Saxony, the daughter of Ludwig Heinrich von Jakob, professor of philosophy at the University of Halle. She wrote under the pen-name Talvj, which she coined from the initials of her full maiden name. On August 7, 1828, at the beginning of a very promising career in Europe, she married Edward Robinson of Southington, Connecticut, and came to Massachusetts with him two years later. She wrote both in German and English, non-fiction as well as fiction. After the death of her husband in 1863 she returned to Hamburg where she spent the rest of her life.

AUTHOR Die Auswanderer; eine Erzählung. ("The Exiles" or "Woodhill," 1853). Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1852.
The Story is situated in Tennessee.

III. Secondary

A. General Bibliographies and Guides

Bibliographies of Printed Books

United States

- A1. Baginsky, Paul. German Works Relating to America 1493-1800; A List Compiled from the Collections of the New York Public Library. New York: the New York Public Library, 1942.
- A2. Palmer, Philip Motley. German Works on America 1492-1800. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952.
- A3. Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland. Annual Reports. Baltimore, 1887-1900. 14 vols. in 9.
- A4. _____ Library. List of books contained in the library of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland. Alphabetically arranged according to subjects and authors. Baltimore: Press of C. W. Schneidereith & Sons, 1896. Reprinted from 6th-10th annual reports of the society.

South

- A5. Appalachian Bibliography. 2 vols. Morgantown: West Virginia University Library, 1972.
Bibliographical entries under "Germans" and "Swiss."
- A6. Thompson, Lawrence S. "German Travel Books on the South, 1900-1950." Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland. Thirtieth Report, Baltimore, Maryland: J. H. Furst Company, 1959. pp. 87-106.
Several books on TN.

Tennessee

- A7. A List of Tennessee State Publications. No. 1-11 (1954-64). Nashville, Tennessee: State Library Division of the Tennessee State Library and Archives.
A guide to the publications of the principal agencies of the state government.
- A8. Ray, Frank Joe. "Tennessee Writers: A Bibliographical Index." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, August 1929.

- A9. Theses available at the McLean Public Library,
Memphis, Tennessee.
The theses were written at Tennessee universities
and libraries.

Guides to Archives, Manuscripts and Microfilm Collections

United States

- A10. Bell, Whitfield, J., Jr. Guide to the Archives and Manuscripts of the American Philosophical Society. Independence Square, Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1966.
- A11. Hale, Richard W., Jr. Guide to Photocopied Historical Materials in the United States and Canada. Published for the American Historical Association. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1961.
115 entries under "Germany"
175 entries under "Tennessee"
7 entries under "Austria"
235 entries under "Switzerland"
- A12. The National Union Catalog of Manuscripts Collections, 1959-1961. Based on Reports from American Repositories of Manuscripts. Ann Arbor, Michigan: J. W. Edwards Publisher, 1962.
- A13. The National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections, Index 1967-68. Washington: The Library of Congress, 1969.
- A14. The National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections, 1970, Index 1970. Compiled by the Library of Congress from reports provided by American repositories with assistance from the Council on Library Resources, Inc. Washington: The Library of Congress, 1971.

Europe

- A15. Faust, Albert B. Guide to the Materials for American History in the Swiss and Austrian Archives. Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1916.
- A16. Learned, Marion Dexter. Guide to the Manuscript Materials Relating to American History in the German State Archives. Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1912.

South

- A17. Blosser, Susan Sokol and Clyde Norman Wilson, Jr. The Southern Historical Collection; A Guide to Manuscripts. Chapel Hill: North Carolina State University Print Shop, 1970.
Entries under "Tennessee" and individual counties.
- A18. Hamilton, J. G. de Roulhac. "Three Centuries of Southern Records, 1607-1907." Journal of Southern History, 10 (1944), 3-36.

Tennessee

- A19. Checklist of Microfilms in the Manuscript Division. Nashville, Tennessee: Tennessee State Library and Archives, 1965.
A supplement to the 1963 revised edition.
- A20. Checklist of Microfilms in the State Archives. Nashville, Tennessee: Tennessee State Library and Archives, 1963. Revised edition.
- A21. Guide to the Processed Manuscripts of the Tennessee Historical Society. Ed. Harriet Chappell Owsley. Nashville: Williams Printing Company, 1969.
A second volume exists which lists the holdings of the Manuscript Section of the Tennessee State Library and Archives. The guide includes: account books, church records, correspondence, diaries, memoirs, county records, documents, genealogical data and personal papers.
- A22. Historical Records Survey. Guide to Collections of Manuscripts in Tennessee. Nashville, Tennessee, 1941.
- A23. Historical Records Survey. Guide to Depositories of Manuscript Collections in Tennessee. Nashville, Tennessee, December 1940.
- A24. Horn, Stanely F. "Twenty More Tennessee Books." THQ, 30, No. 1. (Spring, 1971), 26-49.
Includes several works by German Tennesseans.
- A25. Index to the Collections in the Manuscript Section of the State Library and Archives; Includes the number of items in the collection and the number of pages in each register. Work in progress by Mrs. Matheny at the State Archives, Nashville, 1973.

- A26. Negative Microfilm Checklist. Nashville, Tennessee: Tennessee State Library and Archives, 1967.
Material is divided into library, manuscripts, newspapers, county records, archives and miscellaneous.
- A27. Negative Microfilm in the Restoration and Reproduction Section. Nashville, Tennessee: Tennessee State Library and Archives.
Newspapers, county records, miscellaneous material.

B. Genealogies

Guides

- B28. The Abridged Compendium of American Genealogy: First Families of America. Ed. Frederick A. Virkus.
Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1968.
- B29. Colket, Meredith B., Jr., and Frank E. Bridgers. Guide to Genealogical Records in the National Archives. Washington: The National Archives, 1964.
- B30. Genealogical Research Methods and Sources. Ed. Milton Rubincam. Washington, D. C.: American Society of Genealogists, 1960.

Individual Families

Ausmus

- B31. Ausmus, Harry Lee. Ausmus Family History, 1711-1962.
Johnson City, Tennessee, 1963.

Branner

- B32. Branner, John Casper. Casper Branner of Virginia and His Descendents. California: Printed privately, Stanford University, 1913.

Eisenhower

- B33. Richardson, Fannie Belle Taylor. Eisenhower Lineage and Reference. 4 vols. Greenwood, Ind.: By the author, 1956.
The East Tennessee branch of the Eisenhower family is descended from a Martin Eisenhower.

Fuson

- B34. Fuson, Henry Harvey. The History of the Fuson Family.
London: The Mitrepress, 1932-38.

Henkel

- B35. The Henkel Family Record. Ed. Elon O. Henkel. New Market, Va.: Henkel & Co., 1926.

The work contains information on Anthony Jacob Henkel and other members of the family.

Luchsinger

- B36. "The Luchsinger family tree."

Available in German and English. In the possession of Ms. Stämpfli, Grütli, Tennessee.

Roush

- B37. Roush, Lester LeRoy, D. D. Litt. History of the Roush (Rausch) and Allied Families in America; With Reference to European Background. Vol. 3. Athens, Ohio: The Lawhead Press, Inc., 1963.

The book is in the possession of Mr. James Myers, TVA office, Evans Bldg., Knoxville.

Volume 3 brings vols. 1 and 2 up to date, i.e. 1963.

C. Individual Biographies

Bibliographies

- C38. Dictionary of American Biography. Under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Vols. 1-23.

General

- C39. "The French Broad-Holston Country." East Tennessee Historical Society, Knox County Historical Committee. Sketches of several prominent Germans in Tennessee.
- C40. Gilchrist, Annie Somers. Some Representative Women of Tennessee. Nashville, Tennessee: McGuiddy Printing Co., 1902.
Ms. Gilchrist de-emphasizes the ethnic origin and therefore one must know the German names before searching through this book.
- C41. Rauchle, Bob. "Biographical Sketches of Prominent Germans in Memphis." West Tennessee Historical Society Papers, 22 (1968), 73-85.
- C42. Who's Who in Tennessee; A Biographical Reference Book of Notable Tennesseans of To-Day. Memphis, Tennessee: Paul & Douglas Co., 1911.

Gattinger

- C43. The American Historical Magazine. Published quarterly. Vol. 9 (1904). Nashville: A. V. & W. H. Goodpasture. Includes an entry on Dr. Augustin Gattinger.
- C44. Halley, Robert Ambrose. Dr. Augustin Gattinger; The Pioneer Botanist of Tennessee. Nashville, Tennessee: The Cumberland Press, 1904.
- C45. Oakes, Henry N. A Brief Sketch of the Life and Works of Augustin Gattinger. Nashville: Cullum and Gherther Company, 1932.

Gronauer

- C46. "Documents: Joseph A. Gronauer and the Civil War in Memphis." Ed. Jack D. L. Holmes. West Tennessee Historical Society Papers, 13 (1959), 148-58. Eleven documents pertaining to Gronauer are reprinted.

Heiman

- C47. Frank, John G. "Adolphus Heiman: Architect and Soldier." Tennessee Historical Quarterly, 5 (1946), 35-37.

Mühlenberg

- C48. Mühlenberg, Henry Augustus. Life of Major-General Peter Mühlenberg. Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1849. Describes the migratory spirit of the Germans moving Southwest and settling in Kentucky and Tennessee around 1803.
- C49. Stoever, M. L. Memoir of the Life and Times of Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, D.D. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakistan, 1956.

Ochs

- C50. Davis, Elmer. "Memoir of Adolph Simon Ochs." Dictionary of American Biography, 20, pp. 17-21.
- C51. Govan, G. E., and J. W. Livingood. "Adolph S. Ochs: The Boy Publisher." East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, 17 (1945), 84-104.
- C52. Johnson, Gerald. An Honorable Titan; A Biographical Study of Adolph Ochs and the New York Times. New York, London: Harper & Brothers, 1946; Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970.

Priber

- C53. Crane, Vernon. "A Lost Utopia of the First American Frontier." Sewanee Review, 27 (January, 1919), 48-61.

Concerning Priber, a German who is said to have lived among the Cherokee already in the 1730's.

Roemer

- C54. Dames, W. "Memoir and Bibliography of Roemer's writings." Neues Jahrbuch für Mineralogie, Geologie und Palaeontologie, 1 (1892), Supp.
- C55. Hintze, Carl. "Karl Ferdinand Roemer." Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, 53 (1907), 451-58.
- C56. Simonds, Frederic W. "Dr. Ferdinand von Roemer, the Father of the Geology of Texas," with a bibliography. American Geologist, March 1902. Reprinted without the bibliography in Geological Magazine, London, September 1902.

Sealsfield

- C57. Faust, Albert B. Charles Sealsfield (Carl Postl); der Dichter beider Hemisphären. Weimar; Emil Felber, 1897.
- C58. Faust, Albert B. Charles Sealsfield (Carl Postl); Materials for a Biography; A Study of His Style, His Influence upon American Literature. Baltimore: Press of the Friedenwald Co., 1892.
- C59. Heller, Otto and Thomas Leon. Charles Sealsfield; Bibliography of His Writings Together with a Classified and Annotated Catalogue of Literature Relating to His Works and His Life. St. Louis: Washington University Studies - New Series, Language and Literature--No. 8, 1939.

D. Culture

Bibliographies

- D60. Frank, John G. "Tennessee in European Literature." Tennessee Historical Quarterly, 7 (June, 1948), 105-117.
- D61. Pochmann, Henry August. Bibliography of German Culture in America to 1940. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1953.
For materials since 1940 see (III D63).

- D62. Ward, Robert E. "Englischsprachige Literatur über Deutsche in Amerika." German-American Studies, 3, No. 2 (1971), 46-48.

Periodicals

- D63. The American-German Review. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Inc., Vol. 1-36 (1934-1970).
Since 1941 the April issues have included a "Bibliography, Americana Germanica."
- D64. Americana-Germanica. A Quarterly Devoted to the Comparative Study of the Literary, Linguistic and Other Cultural Relations of Germany and America. 4 vols. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897-1902. Continued as German-American Annals.
- D65. German-American Annals. A Monthly Devoted to the Comparative Study of the Historical, Literary, Linguistic, Educational and Commercial Relations of Germany and America. Vol. 1-2, n.s. Philadelphia: The German-American Historical Society, 1903-1904.
Continuation of the quarterly Americana Germanica.
- D66. German-American Studies. Youngstown, Ohio: The Society for German-American Studies. 5 vols. (1969-1972).
A journal devoted to the literature, history, and cultural achievements of the German-speaking element in the United States.
- D67. Metzner, H. Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei; dem gesammten Turnwesen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Geschichte des Nordamerikanischen Turner-Bundes gewidmet. 3 vols. New York, 1892-1894.

Works

- D68. Arndt, Karl J. R. George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965; revised ed. Rutherford, Madison, Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1972.
- D69. Arndt, Karl J. R. George Rapp's Successors and Material Heirs. Rutherford, Madison, Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1971.
- D70. Bole, John Archibald. The Harmony Society; A Chapter

in German American Cultural History. Philadelphia: Americana Germanica Press, 1904.

- D71. Hinsdale. "Notes on the History of Foreign Influence upon Education in the United States." Report of the Commissioner of Education, vol. 1, 1897-98, pp. 510-629.
- D72. Shryock, Richard H. "Cultural Factors in the History of the South." The Journal of Southern History, 5 (1939), 333-346.
- D73. Woodson, Leroy Henry. "American Negro Slavery in the Works of Friederich Struberg, Friederich Gerstäcker and Otto Rupius." Studies in German, v. 22, Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1949, pp. 322-40.

E. Immigration

General

- E74. Carpenter, Niles. Immigrants and Their Children, 1920; A Study Based on Census Statistics Relative to the Foreign Born and the Native White of Foreign and Mixed Parentage. Census Monographs, Department of Commerce, VII. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1927.
- E75. Commons, John R. Races and Immigrants in America. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907.
- E76. Davis, Marian R. "Appendix II: Critique of Official United States Immigration Statistics." International Migrations ("Publications of the National Bureau of Economic Research, Incorporated," No. XVIII. Ed. Walter F. Willcox). Vol. II, 2 vols. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., 1931.
- E77. Duncan, Hannibal Gerald. Immigration and Assimilation. Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1933.
- E78. Goodrich, Carter, et al. Migration and Economic Opportunity. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1936.
- E79. Hansen, Marcus Lee. The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860; A History of the Continuing Settlement of the United States. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940.

- E80. Hansen, Marcus Lee. The Immigrant in American History. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940.
- E81. Hutchinson, Edward P. Immigrants and Their Children, 1850-1950. Census Monograph Series. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1956.
- E82. Immigration as a Factor in American History. Ed. Oscar Handlin. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959.
- E83. Jenks, Jeremiah W., and W. Jett Lauck. The Immigration Problem; A Study of American Immigration Conditions and Needs. 5th ed. Rufus D. Smith. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1922.
- E84. Lonn, Ella. Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy. Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1952.
- E85. Ross, Edward Alsworth. The Old World in the New; The Significance of Past, Present Immigration to the American People. New York: The Century Co., 1914.
- E86. Schreier, Arnold. Ireland and the American Emigration, 1850-1900. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958.
- E87. Rupp, Professor I. Daniel. A Collection of Upwards of Thirty Thousand Names of German, Swiss, Dutch, French and Other Immigrants in Pennsylvania from 1727 to 1776. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, Inc., 1971.
 Gives names of ships, whence they sailed, and the date of their arrival at Philadelphia. Chronologically arranged, together with necessary historical and other notes. An appendix contains a list of more than one thousand German and French names in New York prior to 1712.
- E88. Stephenson, George M. A History of American Immigration, 1820-1924. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1926.
- E89. Wittke, Carl. Refugees of Revolution. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952.
- E90. Wittke, Carl. We Who Built America; The Sage of the Immigrant. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940.

German

- E91. Dobert, Eitel Wolf. Deutsche Demokraten in Amerika; die Achtundvierziger und ihre Schriften. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958.
- E92. Hansen, Marcus L. "The Revolutions of 1848 and German Emigration," Journal of Economic and Business History, 2 (August, 1930), 630-658.
- E93. Meynen, Emil. Bibliographie des Deutschtums der kolonialzeitlichen Einwanderung in Nordamerika, insbesondere der Pennsylvanien-Deutschen und ihrer Nachkommen, 1683-1933. Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1937. Republished in English, Detroit: Yale Research Co., 1966.
Several entries on Tennessee. A Review of the work by Rev. J. O. Marsh may be found in Ohio State Archeological and Historical Quarterly, 47, i (January, 1938), 79ff; by A. Berthold in Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 62, ii (April, 1938), 251-53; and by Albert B. Faust in Pennsylvania History, 5, iv (October, 1938), 289-91.
- E94. Prahl, Augustus J. "The Turner." Forty-Eighters; Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848. Ed. A. E. Zucker. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940, pp. 79-80.
- E95. Rothnan, Rev. Emmet H. The German Catholic Immigrant in the United States 1830-1860. Dissertation. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1946.
"German Catholics in Tennessee" p. 57.
- E96. Zucker, Adolf Eduard. The Forty-Eighters; Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950.
- Into the South
- E97. Berthoff, Rowland T. "Southern Attitudes Toward Immigrations, 1865-1914." Journal of Southern History, 17 (1951), 328-360.
- E98. Flemming, Walter L. "Immigration to the Southern States." Political Science Quarterly, 20 (1905), 276-97.
- E99. Lonn, Ella. Foreigners in the Confederacy. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1940.

- E100. MacGill, Carolyn E. "Immigration to the Southern States." The South in the Building of the Nation. Ed. Julian A. C. Chandler, et al., 13 vols. Richmond, Virginia: The Southern Historical Publication, 1909-1913.
- E101. Ohsiek, F. C. "A Study of Nineteenth Century Immigration of Germans into the South." Unpublished B.D. thesis, Lutheran Theological Southern Seminary, 1962.
- Into Tennessee
- E102. Belissary, Constantine G. "Tennessee and Immigration, 1865-80." Tennessee Historical Quarterly, 7 (1948), 229-48.
Discusses the Germans of Nashville and Memphis and Bokum's book.
- E103. Killebrew, Joseph Buckner. Tennessee; The Home for Intelligent Immigrants. 1879.
A survey of Tennessee published as a stimulus abroad to entice migration into the state.
- E104. Kincaid, Robert L. "The Wilderness Road in Tennessee." East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, 20 (1948), 37-48.
- E105. Rogers, Tommy W. "Origin and Destination of Tennessee Migrants, 1850-60." Tennessee Historical Quarterly, 27, No. 2 (Summer, 1968), 118-22.
- E106. Tracy, Sterling. "The Immigrant Population of Memphis." West Tennessee Historical Society Papers, 4 (1950), 72-82.
- E107. Weeks, Stephen B. "Tennessee: A Discussion on the Sources of Its Population and the Lines of Immigration." Tennessee Historical Magazine, 2 (1916), 245-53.

F. History

United States

Bibliographies

- F108. Beers, Henry Putney. Bibliographies in American History: Guide to Materials for Research. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1942.
Tennessee, p. 399-400.

- F109. Directory; Historical Societies and Agencies in the United States and Canada, 1973-74. Com. and ed. Donna McDonald. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1972.
- F110. Griffin, Appleton Prentiss Clark. Bibliography of American Historical Societies in the United States and the Dominion of Canada. 2nd ed., rev. and enl. Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1966.
- F111. Kuehl, Warren F. Dissertations in History; An Index to Dissertations Completed in History Departments of United States and Canadian Universities, 1873-1960. Kentucky: University of Kentucky, 1960.
- F112. Writings on American History 1902-1960. Compiled by the National Historical Publications Commission. Ed. James R. Masterson. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office.

Works

- F113. Bolton, Herbert Eugene and Thomas Maitland Marshall. The Colonization of North America 1492-1783. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920.
- F114. Cole, Arthur Charles. The Irrepressible Conflict, 1850-65; A History of American Life. Ed. Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934.

South

- F115. Alden, John Richard. John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier. Ann Arbor, 1944.
Includes a map by John DeBrahm, a German engineer.
- F116. Hesselstine, William B. A History of the South, 1607-1936. New York: Prentice Hall, 1936.
- F117. Owsley, Frank L. Plain Folk of the Old South. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949.
- F118. Russel, Robert R. "Economic Aspects of Southern Sectionalism, 1840-1861." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1922.
- F119. Weaver, Herbert. "Foreigners in Ante-Bellum Towns of the Lower South." Journal of Southern History, 13 (1947), 62-73.

Germans in the United States

Bibliographies

F120. Griffin, A. P. C. A List of Works Relating to the Germans in the United States. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904.

F121. Wittke, Carl Friederick. The Germans in America; A Students' Guide to Localized History. New York: Teachers College Press, 1967.

Works

F122. Bittinger, Lucy Forney. The Germans in Colonial Times. Philadelphia & London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1901.

F123. Bosse, George von. Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seines politischen, ethischen, sozialen und erzieherischen Einflusses. Stuttgart: Ehr. Velsersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1908.

F124. Cronau, Rudolf. Drei Jahrhunderte Deutschen Lebens in Amerika. Eine Geschichte der Deutschen in den Vereinigten Staaten. Berlin: Dietrich Reimar (Ernst Vohsen), 1909.

A study of larger migrations of Germans into the American colonies. On p. 254 there is a reference to a Steiner (Stoner) in Tennessee in 1767.

F125. Faust, Albert B. The German Element in the United States. Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, The University Press Cambridge, 1909.

Extensive bibliography on Germans in the United States, 479-562.

F126. Hawgood, John Arkas. The Tragedy of German-America; The Germans in the United States of America during the Nineteenth Century and After. New York and London: Putnam, 1940. New York: Arno Press, 1970.

F127. Henoch, F. H. Handbuch des Deutschtums in Auslande; Statistische, geschichtliche und wirtschaftliche Übersicht. Einleitung von Prof. Dr. Fr. Paulsen. Berlin: Allg. Deutschen Schulverein zur Erhaltung des Deutschtums in Auslande, 1904.

F128. Huebener, Theodore. The Germans in America. Philadelphia: Chilton Co., 1962,

A critical review of the book can be found in German-American Studies, 1, No. 2 (1970), 101-02.

- F129. Kaufmann, Wilhelm. Die Deutschen im amerikanischen Bürgerkriegen; Sezessionskrieg 1861-1865. München und Berlin: R. Oldenbourg, 1911.
- F130. Körner, Gustav. Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, 1818-1848. Cincinnati: A. G. Wilde & Co., 1880.
"Tennessee, Wartburg, Nashville and Dr. Gerhardt Troost." S. 356-58.
- F131. O'Connor, Richard. The German-Americans; An Informal History. Boston, Toronto: Little Brown, 1968.
- F132. Wittke, Carl. German-Americans and the World War; With Special Emphasis on Ohio's German-Language Press. Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1936.

Swiss in the United States

Bibliographies

- F133. Faust, Albert Bernhard, and Gaius Marcus Brumbaugh. List of Swiss Emigrants in the Eighteenth Century to the American Colonies. 2 vols. in 1. Baltimore: Genealogical Pub. Co., 1968.
- F134. Schelbert, Leo. "The Swiss in the United States: An Introductory Annotated Bibliography." New Glarus 1845-1970; The Making of a Swiss American Town. Glarus, 1970.

Works

- F135. Steinach, Dr. Adelrich. Geschichte und Leben der Schweizer Kolonien in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika unter Mitwirkung des Nord-Amerikanischen Grütli-Bundes. New York: T. Bryner, 1889.
- F136. The Swiss in the United States. Ed. John Paul von Gruening. Madison, Wisc.: Swiss American Historical Society, 1940.

Indian

- F137. Adair's History of the American Indians. Edited under the auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in Tennessee, by Samuel Cole Williams. Johnson City, Tenn.: The Watauga Press, 1930.
- F138. Corn, James Franklin. Red Clay and Rattlesnake Springs; A History of the Cherokee Indians of Bradley County, Tennessee from Prehistoric Times to 1838. Cleveland, Tenn., 1959.

Includes biographical sketches as well as maps and notes.

F139. Royce, Charles C., 1845-1923. "Indian land cessions in the United States." U. S. Bureau of American Ethnology. Eighteenth annual report, 1896-97.

F140. Royce, Charles C. "The Cherokee Nation of Indians; A Narrative of Their Official Relations with the Colonial and Federal Governments." U. S. Bureau of American Ethnology. Fifth Annual Report, 1883-84. Washington, 1887.

The report includes maps of the early routes traveled by immigrants.

G. History--Tennessee

Reference

G141. Alderson, William T. and Robert H. White. A Guide to the Study and Reading of Tennessee History. Nashville: The Tennessee Historical Commission, 1959.

Divides Tennessee history writings and articles according to specific subjects, e.g. aboriginal occupants, early religion activities, the reign of Andrew Jackson.

G142. Writings on Tennessee Counties. Nashville: Tennessee State Library and Archives, 1971.

General

G143. American Guide Series. Tennessee; A Guide to the State. Compiled and Written by the Federal Writers' Project of the Work Projects Administration for the state of Tennessee. New York: Hastings House, Publishers, 1939. Sponsored by the Department of Conservation, Division of Information.

G144. Antebellum Tennessee; A Documentary History. Ed. Eric Russell Lacy. Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1969.

G145. Fiske, John. Old Virginia and Her Neighbors. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1897.

G146. Flowers, Paul. "Place names in Tennessee." West Tennessee Historical Society Papers, 14, pp. 113-23.

G147. Folmsbee, Stanley J. History of Tennessee. 2 vols. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1960.

- G148. Giddings, Frederick. "Early Tennessee Surveys and Maps." Tennessee Law Review, 4 (March, 1926), 115-24.
- G149. The Goodspeed Histories of Cannon, Coffee, DeKalb, Warren and White Counties; With Biographical Sketches and an Aboriginal Map of Tennessee. Reprinted from the 1887 edition of Goodspeed's History of Tennessee. McMinnville, Tenn.: The Ben Lomond Press, 1972.
- G150. Goodspeed's History of Tennessee; From the Earliest Time to the Present, Together with a Historical and a Biographical Sketch of the County of Shelby and the City of Memphis Besides a Valuable Fund of Notes, Original Observations, Reminiscences, etc. Nashville: Goodspeed Publishing Co., 1887.
- G151. Hale, Will T., and Dixon L. Merritt. A History of Tennessee and Tennesseans. The Leaders and Representative Men in Commerce, Industry and Modern Activities. Vols. 1-8. Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1913.
- G152. Hamer, Philip M. Tennessee; A History, 1763-1932. 4 vols., New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1933.
- G153. Hesselstine, W. B. "Tennessee's Invitation to Carpetbaggers." East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, 4 (1932).
- G154. History of the Tennessee Highway Department (1900-1958). Highway Planning Survey Division. Nashville, Tennessee: Compiled in cooperation with the U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Public Roads, 1959. Diags., focisms., maps, ports., tables, views. Includes an account of early roads in Tennessee, 1750-1900.
- G155. Lacy, Eric Russell: Antebellum Tennessee; A Documentary History. Berkeley, Cal.: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1969.
- G156. Lacy, Eric Russell. "The Persistent State of Franklin." Tennessee Historical Quarterly, 23 No. 4 (December, 1964), 321-32.

- G157. McCown, Mary Hardin and Iney E. Burns. Soldiers of the War of 1812 Buried in Tennessee. Johnson City, Tenn.: The Tennessee Society United States Daughters of 1812, 1959.
- G158. Oldham, Bethenia Mclemore. Tennessee . . . and Tennesseans. Clarksville, Tenn.: W. P. Titus, 1903.
- G159. Ramsey, J. G. M. The Annals of Tennessee to the End of the Eighteenth Century. Charleston, S. C.: Walker & James, 1853.
- G160. Ray, Worth S. Tennessee Cousins; A History of Tennessee People. Austin, Texas: By the author, 1950.
A history of Tennessee through its families (genealogies).
- G161. Stone, Grace. "Tennessee: Social and Economic Laboratory." Reprinted from The Sewanee Review, 46 (1938), 36-44.
Includes information on Swiss in Grundy County.
- G162. Tennessee; The Volunteer State, 1769-1923. Ed. John Trotwood Moore and Austin P. Foster. 4 vols. Nashville, The S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1923.
- G163. Whitman, Willson. God's Valley; People and Power Along the Tennessee River. New York: The Viking Press, 1939.
- G164. Williams, Samuel C. The Dawn of the Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History. Johnson City, Tenn.: The Watauga Press, 1937.
- G165. Williams, Samuel Cole. History of the Lost State of Franklin. New York: The Press of the Pioneers, 1933.
- East Tennessee
- G166. Campbell, James B. "East Tennessee during the Radical Regime, 1865-1869." East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, 20 (1948), 84-102.
- G167. Goodspeed's History of East Tennessee. Containing Historical and Biographical Sketches of Thirty East Tennessee Counties. Reprinted from Goodspeed's History of Tennessee, 1887. Nashville, Tennessee: Charles and Randy Elder Booksellers, 1972.
Short and concise sketches of the counties and prominent personalities of these counties.

- G168. Krechniak, Helen Bullard and Joseph Marshall Krechniak. Cumberland's First Hundred Years. Crossville, Tenn.: Centennial Committee, 1956.
- G169. Montgomery, James R. "The Nomenclature of the Upper Tennessee River." East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, 28 (1956), 46-57.
Reference made to John DeBrahm, a German engineer.
- G170. Preston, Thomas. Historical Sketches of the Holston Valleys. Kingsport, Tenn.: Kingsport Press, 1926.
- G171. Rogers, William Flinn. "Life in East Tennessee Near End of Eighteenth Century." East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, 1 (1929), 27-42.
- G172. Smith, J. Gary. A Brief Historical, Statistical and Descriptive Review of East Tennessee, United States of America; Developing its Immense Agricultural, Mining, and Manufacturing Advantages; With Remarks to Emigrants. London: J. Leath, 1842.
- G173. Wayland, John Walter. "The Germans of the Valley." Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 9 (April, 1902), 337-52; 10 (July, 1902), 33-48; (October, 1902), 113-30. Richmond, 1902.
- G174. Wirt, Alvin Bryan. The Upper Cumberland of Pioneer Times. Washington, 1954.
On 10 Counties East of Dixon's Creek and Drained by the Cumberland and its Tributaries (Caney Fork, Roaring, and Obed Rivers), 1783-1834; With Biographical Sketches and Gazetteer.

East Tennessee
Cocke County

- G175. O'Dell, Ruth Webb. Over Misty Blue Hills; The Story of Cocke Co., Tennessee. USA, 1950.
"The Lutheran Church," pp. 166-67 (Concerning Salem Church).
- G176. Walker, Edward R. III. "Cocke County, Tennessee about 1830: An Analysis of Ethnic Background." Unpublished paper written for History 3050 at the East Tennessee State University, March 1, 1971.
"The Germans" pp. 17-19. The original is in the possession of the author. Copies are available at Stokely Memorial Library, Newport, Tennessee.

Greene County

- G177. Earl, Suellen. "It's 'Mos-hime', Not 'Mo-sheem.'" The Greeneville Sun, Greeneville, Tennessee, September 5, 1970.
- G178. Roberts, Harry. "'Mosheim High School' Closing Ends Era in Mosheim History: Early Educational Center." The Greeneville Sun, Greeneville, Tennessee, May 26, 1973.
- G179. "Saint James--An Old, Old Community with a Most Progressive Look." Greeneville Sun, Greeneville, Tennessee, August 18, 1956.
On file in St. James Lutheran Church.

Hamilton County

- G180. McGuffey, Charles D. Standard History of Chattanooga, Tennessee; With Full Outline of the Early Settlement, Pioneer Life, Indian History, and General and Particular History of the City to the Close of the Year 1910. Knoxville: Crew and Dorey, 1911.

Knox County

- G181. Creekmore, Betsey Beeler. Knoxville; Settled in 1786. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1958.
Includes maps, views, bibliography and an account of East Tennessee since 1540, particularly of the Cherokees in Tennessee.
- G182. Creekmore, Pollyanna. "Early East Tennessee Tax-payers." Knox County, Tennessee, 1806. East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, 26, pp. 67-106.
Map, tables, notes, list.
- G183. Morris, Betsy. "Swiss Families--Knoxville." Knoxville News-Sentinel, Knoxville, Tennessee, August 5, 1973.

Morgan County

- G184. Beard, William E. "A Saga of the Western Waters." Tennessee Historical Quarterly, 2 (1943), 316-330.
German families heading for Morgan County on passenger ship in 1845.
- G185. Cooper, Hobart Schofield. "German and Swiss Colonization in Morgan County, Tennessee." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1925.
Special emphasis placed on Wartburg. Includes documents, special notes, maps and photographs.

- G186. Freytag, Ethel and Glenna Kreis Ott. A History of Morgan County Tennessee. USA: Specialty Printing Company, 1971.
- G187. Montgomery, James E. "Two Resettlement Communities on the Cumberland Plateau: An Introductory Study of Recent Utopian Reform." Unpublished M. A. thesis, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, 1941.
Compares the Rugby community (1872) and the Crossville settlement (1929) in Tennessee.
- G188. Rattermann, Heinrich Arnim. "Die alte deutsche Kolonie an der Cincinnati Südbahn (Wartburg, Tennessee)." Der Deutsche Pioneer, 10 (1878), 12-15.
- G189. Stagg, Brian L. "Tennessee's Rugby Colony." Tennessee Historical Quarterly, 27, No. 3 (Fall 1968), 209-24.
Information on Eduard Bertz, for some time the colony's only German resident.
- G190. Wust, Klaus G. "Wartburg: Dream and Reality of the New Germany in Tennessee." Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, 31 (1963), 21-45.

Sullivan County

- G191. Creekmore, Polyanna. "Early East Tennessee Taxpayers." Sullivan County, Tennessee, 1796. East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, 31, pp. 112-21.
Map and notes plus a copy of the tax roll of Sullivan County for the year 1796 with a historical introduction.
- G192. Taylor, Oliver. Historic Sullivan; A History of Sullivan County, Tennessee with Brief Biographies of the Makers of History. Bristol, Tenn.: The King Printing Co., 1909.

Washington County

- G193. Crutcher, Charlotte. "Asiatic Cholera in Jonesboro, 1873." Tennessee Historical Quarterly, (Summer 1972), 74-79.

Middle Tennessee

Davidson County

- G194. Bearden, Lillie. "The Religious Situation in the Fensterwald Settlement of Nashville." Unpublished M. A. thesis, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, 1929.

- G195. Burt, Jesse C. Nashville; Its Life and Times. Nashville: Book Company, 1959.
- G196. Clayton, W. W. History of Davidson County, Tennessee; With Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Its Prominent Men and Pioneers. Philadelphia: J. W. Lewis & Co., 1880.
- G197. Corlew, Robert E. "Some Aspects of Slavery in Dickson County." Tennessee Historical Quarterly, 10 (1951), 224-48.
Germans in Davidson County.
- G198. Creighton, Wilbur Foster. Building of Nashville. Nashville: Wilbur F. Creighton, Jr., 1969.
- G199. Crew, H. W. History of Nashville, Tennessee. Publishing House of the Methodist Church, South, Barbee & Smith, Agents, 1890.
- G200. Davenport, F. Garvin. Cultural Life in Nashville on the Eve of the Civil War. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941.
- G201. Edler, Charles. History of Nashville. Nashville: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1890.
- G202. Frank, Fedora S. Five Families and Eight Young Men; Nashville and Her Jewry, 1850-61. Nashville, Tenn: Tennessee Book Company, 1962.
- G203. Hahn, Phyllis Elizabeth. "German Settlers in Nashville, Tennessee." Unpublished M. A. thesis, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, 1935.
- G204. Huddleston, Ed. Big Wheels-Little Wagons. Published in installments in the Nashville Banner from October 5 to December 7, 1959.
Stories about old North Nashville and its epochal German element across 180 years of trade and commerce.
- G205. Macpherson, Joseph Tant, Jr. "Nashville's German Element, 1850-70." Unpublished M. A. thesis, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, June, 1957.
- G206. Nashville in the 1890's. Ed. William Waller. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1970.

- G207. Nashville 1900 to 1910. Ed. William Waller. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1972.
- G208. Robert, Charles E. Nashville and Her Trade for 1870. Nashville: Roberts and Purvis, Republican Banner Office, 1870.
Discusses Germantown, i.e. North Nashville which was almost solidly settled by Germans.
- G209. Rose, Stanley Frazer. "Nashville and Its Leadership Elite, 1861-69." Unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Virginia, May, 1965.
Primarily concerned with the city government and officials in Nashville. Section on national origin (German)--gives census figures 1861-69.
- G210. Smith, Earl Jennings. "The Free, Foreign-Born Population of Nashville in the 1850's." Unpublished M. A. thesis, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, 1968.

Franklin County

- G211. Kollmorgen, Walter Martin. The German-Swiss in Franklin County; A Study of the Significance of Cultural Considerations in Farming Enterprises. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1940.
- G212. Ray, Herman. "An Economic, Educational, and Social Survey of Franklin County, Tennessee." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1937.
- G213. Rhoton, Thomas Foster. "A Brief History of Franklin County, Tennessee." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1941.

Grundy County

- G214. "Beersheba Springs, Grundy County." A scrapbook collected by and in the possession of Mrs. Floyd Copping, the historian and librarian of Beersheba Springs.
- G215. Bentley, Blanche Spurlock. Sketch of Beersheba Springs and Chickamauga Trace. Chattanooga, Tenn.: The Lookout Publishing Co., 1928.
- G216. Clayton, David E. "Forgotten Colony." This article researched for and with the co-operation of the Swiss American Historical Society and the people of Gruetli, Tennessee, January, 1971.

Chattanooga, in possession of author and Maria Slonina, UT German Department, Knoxville, Tennessee.

- G217. Coppinger, Mrs. Margaret. "Tennessee's Oldest and Most Historic Summer Resort Beersheba Springs, Settled in 1833."
In possession of author Mrs. Margaret Coppinger, Beersheba Springs, Tennessee 37305 and Maria Slonina, UT German Department, Knoxville, Tennessee 37916.
- G218. Exum, Kinchen. "Little-Known Details of History of Gruetli, Tenn., Found in Book by History Student David Clayton. Swiss Community in Grundy County." News-Free Press, June 20, 1971.
- G219. Howell, Isabel. John Armfield of Beersheba Springs. Nashville: Historical Commission, 1944.
- G220. Jackson, Frances Helen. "The German Swiss Settlement at Gruetli, Tennessee." Unpublished M. A. thesis, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, 1933.
- G221. Montgomery, James E. "Three Appalachian Communities: Cultural Differentials as They Affect Levels of Living and Population Pressure." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, 1944.
One of the communities discussed is the Swiss colony Gruetli in Grundy County, Tennessee.
- G222. Neskaug, S. Reinhart. "Agriculture and Social Aspects of Swiss Settlement in Grundy County." Unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1936.
A comprehensive work on the Swiss settlement at Gruetli based on records as well as personal interviews with the Gruetli Swiss. Especially valuable since many of the direct descendents interviewed are now dead.
- G223. 100th anniversary of the founding of the Gruetli Community. Newspaper clippings from local newspapers in the Chattanooga Public Library commemorating the founding of Gruetli, Tennessee in 1869.
- G224. "Out and About on the Cumberland Mountain." The Nashville Banner, January 9, 1972.
- G225. "Overflow Assembly Helps Dedicate Swiss Memorial." Grundy County Herald, Tracy City, Tennessee, April 13, 1972.

Swiss Memorial Elementary School in Laager was dedicated in memory of Grütli, founded more than a hundred years ago by Swiss families from the canton of Glarus in Switzerland.

- G226. Theiler, Miriam B. New Glarus' First 100 Years.
Madison, Wis.: Campus Publishing Co., 1946.

Williamson County

- G227. "German House." Banner Correspondent, September 22, 1948.
German house built in Franklin, Tennessee in 1868.

West Tennessee

- G228. Killebrew, Joseph Buckner. "West Tennessee: Its Resources and Advantages. Cheap Homes for Immigrants." Tennessee Bureau of Agriculture, Statistics and Mines. Nashville: Tavel, Eastman and Howell, 1879.
- G229. Williams, Samuel C. Beginnings of West Tennessee in the Land of the Chikasaws, 1541-1841. Johnson City, Tenn.: The Watauga Press, 1930.
- G230. Williams, Joseph S. Old Times in West Tennessee; Reminiscences-Semi-Historic-Of Pioneer Life and the Early Emigrant Settlers of the Big Hatchie Country. Memphis, 1873.

Gibson County

- G231. Hargove, Mr. Gordon Brame. An Honor Roll Containing a Pictorial History of Gibson County, Tennessee, U.S.A.; Specially Honoring Those Who Served in the Great World War 1917-1918-1919. Eaton, Tenn.: Mrs. Gordon Brame Hargove, 1920.
- G232. Rauchle, Bob. "The Germantown near Milan, Tennessee." West Tennessee Historical Society Papers, 20 (1966), 61-76.
Largely based on interviews and local newspapers.

Lawrence County

- G233. "Lawrence County Settlements Made in Post-Civil War Period." The Register--Tennessee Edition, July 31, 1938.

Shelby County

- G234. Bejach, Judge Lois D. "The Seven Cities Absorbed by Memphis," The West Tennessee Historical Society Papers, 8 (1954), 95-104.

- G235. Capers, Gerald M., Jr. The Biography of a River Town, Memphis; Its Heroic Age. Tulane University: Gerald M. Capers, Jr., 1966.
- G236. Coppock, Paul R. "History in Memphis Street Names." West Tennessee Historical Society Papers, 11, pp. 93-111.
- G237. Crouse, Maurice A. "A Sketch of Early Germantown History." 1st Annual Germantown Festival, September 16-17, 1972.
May be obtained from the mayor of Germantown, Tennessee. A copy is also in the possession of Maria Slonina, UT German Department, Knoxville, Tennessee 37916.
- G238. Durham, Louise. "The Old Market Street School, 1872-1920." Unpublished M. A. thesis, Memphis State College, Memphis, 1953.
- G239. Future Urban Area; Memphis-East, Germantown Section. Dir. of Planning Jerrold A. Moore. Memphis and Shelby County Planning Commission, August 17, 1962.
- G240. Hurt, Mary Elizabeth. "The Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1878 in Memphis." Unpublished M. A. thesis, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, August, 1938.
- G241. Keating, J. M. History of the City of Memphis and Shelby County Tennessee; With Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Some of Its Prominent Citizens. 2 vols. Syracuse, N. Y.: D. Mason and Co., 1888.
- G242. McIlwaine, Shields. Memphis Down in Dixie. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1948.
- G243. Martin, Edwin D. "Germantown Annexation Study." University of Tennessee: Municipal Technical Advisory Service Division of University Extension and The Bureau of Public Administration, August, 1961.
- G244. Miller, William D. Memphis During the Progressive Era, 1900-1917. Madison: The American History Research Center, 1957. Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press, 1957.
- G245. Rauchle, Bob. "The Political Life of the Germans in Memphis, 1848-80." Tennessee Historical Quarterly, 27, no. 2 (1968).

Largely based on the news as it appeared in the
Memphis Daily Appeal 1852-1878.

- G246. Rauchle, Bob. "Reaction of Germans in Memphis to the Franco-Prussian War 1870-1871." Tennessee Historical Quarterly, 30 (1971), 205-209.
Uses the local paper the Memphis Daily Appeal extensively.
- G247. Rauchle, Bob. "Social and Cultural Contributions of the German Population in Memphis, 1848-80." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1964.
- G248. Vance, Calvin F. Past and Future of Memphis. Memphis, 1892.
- G249. Vedder, O. F. History of the City of Memphis and Shelby County. 3 vols. Syracuse, N. Y.: D. Mason & Co., Publishers, 1888.
- G250. Wooten, Fred T., Jr. "Religious Activities in Civil War Memphis." Tennessee Historical Quarterly, 3 (March, 1944).
- G251. Young, Judge J. P. Standard History of Memphis, Tennessee. Knoxville, Tenn.: H. W. Crew & Co., 1912.

H. Industry and Agriculture

Industry and Transportation

- H252. Allred, Charles E., et al. Grundy County, Tennessee: Relief in a Coal Mining Community. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee, Agricultural Experiment Station, Federal Works Projects Administration, and Tennessee Welfare Commission, 11 (April, 1936).
- H253. Belissary, Constantine G. "Industry and Industrial Philosophy in Tennessee, 1850-60." East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, 22 (1951), 46-57.
Tennessee Historical Quarterly, 7, p. 230 ff.
- H254. Belissary, Constantine G. "The Rise of the Industrial Spirit in Tennessee, 1865-1885." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, 1949.
Chapter VI: "The industrial spirit and immigration in Tennessee, 1865-80."

- H255. Burt, Jesse C., Jr. "History of the Nashville, Chattanooga, and St. Louis Railway, 1873-1916." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, May, 1950.

Agriculture

Bibliography

- H256. Stuntz, Stephen Conrad. List of the Agricultural Periodicals of the United States and Canada Published during the Century, July 1810 to July 1910. Ed. Emma B. Hawks. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1941. 190 pp. (U. S. Department of Agriculture Miscellaneous Publication No. 398).

Works

- H257. Allred, Charles E., et al. How the Swiss Farmers Operate on the Cumberland Plateau. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee, Agricultural Experiment Station, Monograph No. 33 (1937).
- H258. Allred, Charles E., et al., Significant Changes in Agriculture of Cumberland County, Tennessee. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee, Agricultural Experiment Station, Monograph No. 139 (1942).
- H259. Gray, Lewis Cecil. History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860. 2 vols. Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1933.
- H260. Killebrew, J. B. Tennessee Its Agricultural and Mineral Wealth. Nashville: Tavel, Eastman and Howell, 1876.
- H261. Kollmorgen, Walter M. The German Settlement in Cullman County, Alabama; An Agricultural Island in the Cotton Belt. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, June, 1941.
Settlers from Cullman County, Alabama came north and settled in Lawrence County, Tennessee.
- H262. Kollmorgen, Walter M. "Observations on Cultural Islands in Terms of Tennessee Agriculture." East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, 16 (1944).
- H263. Shryock, Richard H. "British versus German Traditions in Colonial Agriculture." The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 26 (June, 1939), 39-54.

- H264. Taylor, Carl C. "The Contribution of Sociology to Agriculture." Farmers in a Changing World, Yearbook of Agriculture, (1940), 1042-55.

I. Printing

United States

Reference

- I265. George P. Rowell & Co.'s American Newspaper Directory. Vols. 1-40, (1869-1908). New York: George P. Rowell & Co., 1869-1908.
The title may vary slightly. The directory identifies several German-American newspapers in Tennessee.
- I266. Arndt, Karl J. R., and May E. Olson. German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955; History and Bibliography. Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer Publishers, 1961.
- I267. Arndt, Karl J. R. and May E. Olson. The German Language Press of the Americas, 1732-1968. History and Bibliography. Vol. 2. Pullach / Munich: Verlag Dokumentation, 1973.
- I268. Ayer, N. W. and Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals. Philadelphia, Penn.: Ayer Press, 1880-1972.
Mentions German-American language newspapers.
- I269. Newspapers on microfilm. Washington: U. S. Library of Congress, 1948.
- I270. Tobias Brothers' German Newspaper Directory; Containing a Carefully Prepared List of All German Newspapers Published in the United States, Territories, and Dominion of Canada (omitting those not inserting advertisements) with Valuable Information Regarding Their Circulations, Issue, Date of Establishment; Also Separate List of Religious Newspapers. New York: Tobias Brothers', German Newspaper Advertising Agents, c 1890.

Works

- I271. Baensch, Emil. "The German-American Press." Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 46 (1898). Madison, Wisc., 1899.

- I272. Brachvogel, Udo. "Die deutsche Presse in den Vereinigten Staaten." Armin Tenner's Amerika. Berlin & New York, 1884.
- I273. Conrad, Victor L. "The Press in the Lutheran Church." The Lutheran Quarterly, 28 (October, 1898).
- I274. "Die deutsche Presse in den Vereinigten Staaten." Der deutsche Pionier. Cincinnati, 8 (October, 1876).
- I275. "Deutsche Zeitungen in den Vereinigten Staaten im Jahre 1848." Mitteilungen des deutschen Pionier-Vereins von Philadelphia, 16 (1910).
- I276. "Die deutschen Zeitungen in den Vereinigten Staaten." Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes. Berlin, Jahrgang 39, vol. 78 (1870), 396.
- I277. "The Foreign-Language Press." Fortune, 22 (1940).
- I278. Fritsch, W. A. "Die deutschen Zeitschriften in Nordamerika." Magazin für die Literatur des Auslands. Berlin, 39 (1870).
- I279. Gotwald, Frederick Gerhart. "Pioneer American Lutheran Journalism, 1812-1850." The Lutheran Quarterly, 42 (April, 1912).
- I280. Joest, Wilhelm. Die Aussereuropäische Presse; Nebst einem Verzeichnis sämtlicher ausserhalb Europas erscheinenden deutschen Zeitungen und Zeitschriften. Köln: Verlag der M. DuMont-Schauberg'schen Buchhandlung, 1888.
- I281. Miller, Daniel. Early German American Newspapers. Lancaster, Penn.: Pennsylvania-German Society, 1911.
- I282. Seidensticker, Oswald. The First Century of German Printing in America, 1728-1830. Pub. by the German Pionier-verein of Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Schaefer & Koradi, 1893. New York: Kraus Reprint Corp., 1966.
- I283. Steiger, Ernst. The Periodical Literature of the United States of America; With Index and Appendices. New York: E. Steiger, 1873.

- I284. Thomas, Isaiah, LL.D. The History of Printing in America; With a Biography of Printers. 2 vols. New York: Burt Franklin, 1874.
- I285. Vocke, William. "The Germans and the German Press." Transactions of the McLean County Historical Society. Bloomington, Ill.: 3 (1900).
- I286. Wacker, Helga. Die Besonderheiten der deutschen Schriftsprache in den USA. Mannheim: Bibliographisches Institut, 1964.
Dieses Heft gibt der Form der Schriftsprache in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, wie sie in den deutschsprachigen Zeitungen erscheint.
- I287. Wittke, Carl Frederick. The German-Language Press in America. Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 1957.
A good overview of the German Press in the United States--history, views, stands they took, struggle to survive. Mentions Memphis: Anzeiger des Südens and Stimme des Volks and Nashville: Tennessee Post and Tennessee Staatszeitung.

South

- I288. Cappon, Lester Jesse. New Market Virginia, Imprints, 1806-1876. Charlottesville, Virginia: Aldermann Library, 1942.
Valuable information on Paul Henkel who helped found the Evangelical Lutheran Tennessee Synod in 1820.
Includes a list of imprints and where they can be found.
- I289. Gilmer, Gertrude C. Checklist of Southern Periodicals to 1861. Boston: The F. W. Faxon Company, c 1934.
- I290. Wust, Klaus G. "German Printing in Virginia, A Check List, 1789-1834." Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland. Baltimore, 27 (1953), 56-66.

Tennessee Reference

- I291. Ballentine, Nelle. "A Bibliographical Checklist of Knoxville and Memphis Imprints 1867-1876, with an Introductory Essay on the Knoxville and Memphis Press." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1957.

- I292. Fauntleroy, Captain Thomas. Chronological Index to Memphis Newspapers, 1834-1924. 2 vols.

Fauntleroy, the chief editorial writer for the Memphis Commercial Appeal, is interested in ethnic groups and mentions their activities.

- I293. Newspapers which are in the McLean Memphis Public Library, A file, 1834.

Works

- I294. Baker, Thomas H. "The Early Newspapers of Memphis, Tennessee, 1827-1860." West Tennessee Historical Society Papers, 17 (1963), 20-46.
- I295. Donald, Morrill Bigby. "A Study on Nashville Newspapers, 1850-1875." Unpublished M. A. thesis, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, 1937.
- I296. Millspaugh, Kathryn Gail. "Notes on Early Nashville Newspapers 1797-1850." Unpublished M. A. thesis, Vanderbilt, Nashville, 1936.
- I297. Stewart, Guy Harry. History and Bibliography of Middle Tennessee Newspapers, 1799-1876. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms (Pub. 25,297), 1957.
- I298. Sutherland, Sallie Bralliar. "Newspapers of Nashville, Tennessee before 1868." Unpublished M. A. thesis, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, August, 1933.

J. Politics

German-Americans

- J299. Child, Clifton James. The German-Americans in Politics. New York: Arno Press, 1970 (1939).

Civil War

- J300. Cambell, Mary. The Attitude of Tennesseans Toward the Union, 1841-61. New York: Vantage Press, Inc., 1961.
- J301. Cullop, Charles P. Confederate Propaganda in Europe, 1861-1865. Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1969.
- J302. Dorpalen, Andreas. "The German Element and the Issues of the Civil War," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 29 (June, 1942-March, 1943), 55-76.

Nativism

- J303. Brownlow, William G. Americanism Contrasted with Foreignism, Romanism, and Bogus Democracy in the Light of Reason, History, and Scripture; In which Certain Demagogues in Tennessee, and Elsewhere, Are Shown Up in Their True Colors. Nashville, Tennessee: By the author, 1856.
- J304. Cole, Arthur Charles. "Nativism in the Lower Mississippi Valley." Proceedings of the Mississippi Historical Association for the Year 1912-1913. Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1913, Vol. VI, pp. 258-275.
- J305. Coulte, E. Merton. William G. Brownlow; Fighting Parson of the Southern Highlands. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937.
- J306. Gohmann, Sister Mary de Lourdes, M. A. Political Nativism in Tennessee to 1860. Dissertation. The Catholic University of America. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1938.
Characterizes the people of Tennessee as revealed in their legislative enactments and prescriptive measures towards foreigners and Catholics up to the period of the Civil War.
Germans encounter nativism everywhere in the United States, including Tennessee.
- J307. Higham, John. Strangers in the Land; Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1955.
- J308. Stephenson, George M. "Nativism in the Forties and Fifties, with Special Reference to the Mississippi Valley." Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 9 (December, 1922), 185-202.

Know-Nothing Party

- J309. Hargis, Robert Loren. "The Know-Nothing Party in Tennessee." Unpublished M. A. thesis, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, 1931.
- J310. Measamer, Murray. "History of the Know-Nothings in Tennessee." The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1931.
- J311. Overdyke, W. Darrell. The Know-Nothing Party in the South. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950.

K. Religion

Records

K312. Historical Records Survey, Tennessee. Knoxville: The Works Progress Administration. The papers produced were given to the Tennessee State Library and Archives, 1942.

Church Records, ca 1785-1942 include: copies of church minutes, membership rolls, constitutions, deeds, historical sketches of churches, religious movements and colleges, newspaper clippings about churches, biographical sketches and correspondence. ca 12,000 items.

Cemeteries: A listing of tombstone inscriptions particularly in Middle Tennessee, several from East Tennessee and a few from West Tennessee. An alphabetical listing of the cemeteries by county is included.

K313. Historical Records Survey. Inventory of the Church Archives of Tennessee. Tennessee Baptist Convention: Nashville Baptist Association, December, 1939.

General History

K314. Kane, John J. Catholic-Protestant Conflicts in America. Chicago: Regnery, 1955.

K315. White, John Bowman. "The German Christians in Tennessee and Western North Carolina Prior to 1800." Unpublished B. D. thesis, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, 1932.

Catholic

United States

Bibliographies

K316. Vollmar, Edward R. The Catholic Church in America: An Historical Bibliography. 2nd ed. New York: Scarecrow Press, 1963.

Works

K317. Alexander, Theron, Jr. "The Covenanters Come to Tennessee." East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, 13 (1941), 36-46.

K318. Barry, Colman James. The Catholic Church and German-Americans. Milwaukee: Bruce, 1953.

K319. Ellis, John Tracy. American Catholicism. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956.

- K320. Ellis, John Tracy. Documents of American Catholic History. 2nd ed. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1962.
- K321. Gleason, Philip. The Conservative Reformers; German-American Catholics and the Social Order. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968.
- K322. O'Gorman, Thomas. A History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. The American Church History Series. New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1895.
- K323. Shea, John Dawson Gilmary. History of the Catholic Church in the United States. New York: J. G. Shea, 1886-92.
- Tennessee
- K324. "Assumption, Pioneer Parish of North Nashville." The Columbian (Official Publication of the Nashville Council, No. 544, Nashville), 8 (January, 1926), 1-24.
- K325. Bevier, Thomas. "Cornerstone Yields History--Plus 42 Cents." Commercial Appeal, October 17, 1972. Cornerstone of the St. Mary's Church, Memphis, Tennessee.
- K326. "Bishop Whelan History: Memphis Parish Established in 1860 for Growing German-Speaking Group," The Tennessee Register, Nashville, July 26, 1963.
- K327. "The Catholics Come to Lawrenceburg." Democrat Union, Lawrenceburg, Tennessee, August 11, 1969, p. 3.
- K328. Flanigen, George Joseph. Catholicity in Tennessee; A Sketch of Catholic Activities in the State, 1541-1937. Nashville: Ambrose Printing Co., 1937.
- K329. History of St. Mary's School. St. Mary's Catholic Church. Memphis, Tennessee, n.d.
German-American parish founded in 1852 in Memphis.
Copy in the possession of Maria Slonina, UT German Department, Knoxville, Tennessee 37916.
- K330. "Loretto Sacred Heart to Celebrate Centennial Feb. 2nd." Democrat Union, Lawrenceburg, Tennessee, January 27, 1972, p. 1.

- K331. O'Daniel, Victor F. The Father of the Church in Tennessee; The Life, Times, and Character of the Right Reverend Richard Pius Miles, O. P., The First Bishop of Nashville. New York: Fredrick Pustet, 1926.

Protestant Records

- K332. Allison, W. H. Inventory of Unpublished Material for American Religious History in Protestant Church Archives and Other Repositories. Washington: Carnegie Institute, 1910.

Baptist

- K333. Brumbaugh, M. G. A History of the Brethren. Elgin, Ill.: Brethren Publishing House, 1899.
- K334. Driver, Carl S. "The Effects of Their Environment on the Social, Education, and Religious Practices of the German Baptist Brethren." Unpublished M. A. thesis, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, 1924.
- K335. Winger, Otho. A History of the Doctrines of the Church of the Brethren. Elgin, Ill.: Brethren Publishing House, 1919.

Episcopal

- K336. Davies-Rodgers, Ellen. The Romance of the Episcopal Church in West Tennessee, 1832-1964. Memphis: The Plantation Press, 1964.

German Reformed

- K337. Good, James L. "The Founding of the German Reformed Church in America by the Dutch." American Historical Association Annual Report, 1898.

Lutheran Reference

- K338. Historical Records Survey. Tennessee Records of Certain Lutheran Churches in Tennessee. Nashville: U. S. Works Progress Administration, 1938.
- K339. Jacobs, Henry Eyster. The Lutheran Cyclopedia. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1899 (1905).

United States

- K340. Bente, F. American Lutheranism. Vol. 1. St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Publishing House, 1919.
Section on Tennessee Synod.

- K341. "German Protestant Evangelical Church." The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. Ed. Samuel M. Jackson. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1950.
- K342. Hazelius, Ernst Lewis. History of the American Lutheran Church; From Its Commencement in the Year of Our Lord 1685, to the Year 1842. Zanesville, O.: Edwin C. Church, 1846.
- K343. Jacobs, Henry Eyster. A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States. New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1897.
- K344. Mauelshagen, Carl. American Lutheranism Surrenders to Forces of Conservatism. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1935. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia, 1936.
- K345. Nelson, E. Clifford. Lutheranism in North America, 1914-1970. Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972.
- K346. Schmucker, Samuel Simon. The American Lutheran Church. New York: Arno Press, 1969.
- K347. Wentz, Abdel Ross. A Basic History of Lutheranism in America. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1955, rev., 1964.
- K348. Wentz, Abdel Ross. The Lutheran Church in American History. Philadelphia: The United Lutheran Publication House, 1923.
- South
- K349. Anderson, Huge George. Lutheranism in the Southeastern States, 1860-1886. A Social History. The Netherlands: Mouton & Co., N. Y.: The Hague Publishers, 1969.
- K350. "Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod." The Lutheran Annual. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1962.
- K351. Morgan, Jacob L., Backman S. Brown, Jr., and John Hall. History of the Lutheran Church in North Carolina. United Evangelical Lutheran Synod of North Carolina, 1953.

Tennessee

- K352. "A Brief History of St. James Evangelical Lutheran Church, Greene County, Greeneville, Tennessee." Prepared for general distribution at the one-hundred-fiftieth anniversary service held at the church on Sunday, December 10, 1961. 1811 _____ 1961.
- K353. Burgner, Goldene Fillers. "Solomon Lutheran Church to Celebrate 175th Anniversary Sunday." The Greeneville Sun, Greeneville, Tennessee, October 19, 1972.
- K354. Cassell, Charles Willis. History of the Lutheran Church in Virginia and East Tennessee. Strasburg, Va.: Shenandoah Publishing House, Inc., 1930.
- K355. "East Tennessee Lutheranism Began in 1700's." The Virginia Lutheran, 39, No. 7 (July, 1962).
- K356. Fox, L. A. "The Genesis of the Tennessee Synod." The Lutheran Quarterly, 3.
- K357. Goldenes Jubiläum der lutherischen Dreieinigkeits-Gemeinde zu Memphis, Tennessee, Oktober 1, 1905. Trinity Lutheran Church Archives, Memphis.
- K358. Henkel, Socrates. History of the Evangelical Lutheran Tennessee Synod; Embracing an Account of the Causes, Which Gave Rise to Its Organization; Its Name; Its Position and Confessional Basis. New Market, Va.: Henkel & Co., 1890.
- K359. Stirewalt, J. P. The Pioneers of the Tennessee Synod. n.p., 1920.
Favoring the formation of the Tennessee Synod and breaking with the North Carolina Synod.
- K360. Wessinger, B. D. The Work of the Pioneers of the Tennessee Synod. n.p., 1920.
Favoring the formation of the Tennessee Synod and breaking with the North Carolina Synod.

Mennonite

- K361. Cassel, Daniel K. Geschichte der Mennoniten; Von Menno Simons' Austritt aus der Römisch-katholischen Kirche in 1536 bis zu deren Auswanderung nach Amerika in 1683. Mehr speciell ihre Ansiedlung und Ausbreitung in Amerika. Enthaltend: Kurze Skizzen

der einzelnen Gemeinden mit den Namen ihrer
Prediger vom Jahre 1683 bis zur gegenwärtigen Zeit.
Mit Illustrationen. Philadelphia: J. Kohler, 1890.

K362. Musser, Daniel. The Reformed Mennonite Church; Its
Rise and Progress, with Its Principles and Doctrines.
Lancaster, Penn.: Inquirer Printing & Publishing
Co., 1878.

K363. Smissen, Carl H. A. Von der Kurzgefasste Geschichte
und Glaubenslehre der Altevangelischen Taufgesinnten
oder Mennoniten. Summerfield, Ill.: Im Selbstverlag
des Verfassers, 1895.

K364. Smith, C. Henry. The Mennonites of America. Scotts-
dale, Penn.: Mennonite Publishing Co., 1909.

Methodist

K365. Douglass, Paul Franklin. The Story of German Method-
ism. New York & Cincinnati: The Methodist Book
Concern, 1939.

K366. Price, R. N. Holston Methodism: From Its Origin to
the Present. Nashville and Dallas: Publishing House
of the M. E. Church, South. Smith & Lamar, Agents,
1903.
Information concerning the Easterly family.

Moravian

K367. Freis, A. L. The Moravian Church. Raleigh, N. C.:
Edwards & Broughton, 1926.

K368. Hamilton, John Taylor. History of the Church Known
as the Moravian Church; Or the Unitas Fratrum, or
the Unity of the Brethren, during the Eighteenth
and Nineteenth Centuries. Bethlehem, Penn.: Times
Pub. Co., Printers, 1900; New York: AMS Press, 1971.

K369. Henry, James. Sketches of Moravian Life and Character.
Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1859.

K370. Reichel, William Cornelius. Memorials of the Moravian
Church. Vol. I. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott &
Co., 1870. IV. 9-366.

The Moravian Book Association was instituted in
1870 for the issuing of documents and papers illus-
trating the history of the Moravian Church.

- K371. Moravian Historical Society. Transactions. 6 vols. Nazareth, etc.: Printed for the Society, etc., 1876-1900.

Vol. III is devoted to "The early history of the Church of the United Brethren (Unitas Fratrum), commonly called Moravians, in North America, A. D., 1734-1748," by the Rev. Levin Theodore Reichel.

- K372. Schwarze, Edmund. History of the Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes of the United States. Bethlehem, Penn.: Times Publishing Co., Printers, 1923.

Jews

Encyclopedias, Inventories, Year Books

- K373. American Jewish Periodical Center. Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion. Cincinnati, 1957.
- K374. Encyclopaedia Judaica. Das Judentum in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Vol. 1-10. Berlin: Verlag Eschkol A.-G., 1934.
- K375. The Standard Jewish Encyclopedia. Ed. Cecil Roth. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1959.
- K376. "Statistics of Jews." The American Jewish Year Book 5674, October 2, 1913-September 20, 1914. Eds. Herbert Friedenwald and H. S. Friedman. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1913.
- K377. Tennessee Historical Records Survey. Inventory of the Church and Synagogue Archives of Tennessee Jewish Congregations. Nashville, Tennessee, July, 1941.
- K378. The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia. Ed. Isaac Landman. Vol. 1-10. New York: The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Inc., 1943.
- Works
- K379. Friedman, Lee M. Jewish Pioneers and Patriots. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943.
The Jews in America and their place in the American Society. Notes and bibliography for each chapter.
- K380. Handlin, Oscar and Mary F. "A Century of Jewish Immigration to the United States." American Jewish Year Book. Eds. Harry Schneiderman and Morris Fine.

Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1949.

- K381. Hirshler, Eric E. Jews from Germany in the United States. New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1955.
- K382. Shankman, Samuel. Baron Hirsch Congregation; From Ur to Memphis. Memphis, 1957. n.p.
- K383. Wax, Rabbi James A. "The Jews of Memphis: 1860-65." West Tennessee Historical Society Papers, 3 (1949), 39-89.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

EARLY HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY OF TENNESSEE

1. Tennessee was originally a part of Virginia. Later, North Carolina claimed part of it. After several early exploration trips had been made, the first settlement was made at Watauga in December 1768 and January 1769.
2. 1770 - The Holston River became the border between Virginia and North Carolina. Land north of the Holston belonged to Virginia and land south of the Holston belonged to North Carolina. In 1770, all of Tennessee became a part of North Carolina.
3. April 1777 - North Carolina established Washington District which included all of Tennessee.
4. July 1777 - A treaty was signed with the Cherokee Indians which opened the territory for white settlement.
5. November 1777 - North Carolina created Washington County, containing all of the present state of Tennessee and made it part of the Millsboro District. North Carolina then began issuing Land Grants to white settlers in Washington County in January 1778.
6. The American Revolution ended officially in 1782 and North Carolina passed an act which provided Land Grants to her soldiers who had served in the American Revolution.
7. 1784 - The State of Franklin was established by the settlers of the territory which by now contained Sullivan, Washington and Greene Counties. New counties created by the State of Franklin were: Caswell (now Jefferson), Spencer (now Hawkins) and Wayne (now Carter and Johnson). These counties ceased to exist when Franklin ceased in 1788.
8. 1790 - The Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio was established and William Blount, of

North Carolina, was appointed governor. This territory was divided into two districts: Washington District which included East Tennessee and Mero District which included Middle and West Tennessee.

9. September 1794 - The Territorial Government took a new census and the existing counties were Sullivan, Washington, Hawkins, Greene, Jefferson, Knox, Sevier and Blount in East Tennessee and Davidson, Sumner and Tennessee which were the parent counties of Middle and West Tennessee.
10. Tennessee became a state of the United States on 1 June 1796.

CREATION OF COUNTIES

- 1777 - Washington County - included all of territory later known as the State of Tennessee.
- 1779 - Sullivan County - created from Washington County.
- 1783 - Greene County - created from Washington County.
- 1786 - Hawkins County - created from Sullivan County.
- 1792 - Jefferson County - created from Greene and Hawkins Counties.
- 1792 - Knox County - created from Greene and Hawkins Counties.
- 1794 - Sevier County - created from Jefferson County.
- 1795 - Blount County - created from Knox County.
- 1796 - Grainger County - created from Hawkins and Knox Counties. (Also from Jefferson.)
- 1797 - Cocke County - created from Jefferson County.
- 1801 - Roane County - created from Knox and Blount Counties.
- 1783 - Davidson County - created from Washington County.
- 1786 - Sumner County - created from Davidson County.
- 1788 - Tennessee County - created from Davidson County and ceased to exist when Tennessee became a state by the same name, and it was divided into Montgomery and Robertson Counties. All of its records are at Clarksville in Montgomery County.

Source: Mrs. Warren West, Knoxville, Tennessee.

APPENDIX B

OST-TENNESSEE,
die Amerikanische Schweiz.

An Ackerbauer!

Der Staat, wo man sich niederlassen sollte.

Grosse Facilitäten für Fabrikanten jeder Art in Ost-Tennessee.

Anliegend findet sich ein Circular, welches eine genaue Darlegung der Vorthelle enthält, welche die Eisen- und Stahl-Fabrikation in Ost-Tennessee bringen muss. Dieser grosse Landstrich, die zukünftige Heimath einer zahlreichen, wohlhabenden Bevölkerung, wird bald nach allen Richtungen von Bahnschienen durchzogen sein und die Eisenmanufaktur wird die Handelswege vervielfältigen. Eisen, welches acht Dollars per Tonne in Pennsylvanien zu produziren kostet, kann in Ost-Tennessee für einen Dollar und sechszig Cents produziert werden. Die Kohlen- und Eisenminen sind kaum eine Meile von einander entfernt, auf einem Areal von mehr als vierzig Meilen. Die Zeit wird kommen, in welcher dieses enge Thal und dieser Landstrich voller Hochöfen sein wird. Kohle, Eisen, Kalk, Sandstein, Thonerde, verschiedene Arten des besten Nutzholzes, vortreffliche Wasserkraft, alles liegt unbenutzt und wartet auf Kapital und Unternehmungsgeist, die besten Märkte für den Verkauf aller möglichen Fabrik-Artikel, Eisen und Stahl eingeschlossen, sind jetzt vorhanden. Eisen und Kohle dieser Gegend sind von erfahrenen, tüchtigen Eisenkennern und Fachmännern für besser erklärt worden, als die Produkte von Pennsylvanien. Mehrere Eisenbahnen sind jetzt im Bau begriffen, darunter die Cincinnati und Chattanooga Eisenbahn, welche diese Region durchschneidet. Alle diese Eisenbahnen werden wesentlich zur Hebung der Mineral-schätze in diesem Theile des Staates beitragen. Das Beispiel Pennsylvanien's zeigt, wie wohlhabend eine Bevölkerung durch die Eisenproduktion werden kann. Wenn Tennessee will, so kann es ein zweites Pennsylvanien werden.

Ihre Aufmerksamkeit wird achtungsvoll auf diese Vorthelle der Kapitalanlage gelenkt.

Die ungeheuren Reichtümer, welche aus den Minen Ost-Tennessee's zu haben sind, haben eine grosse Bedeutung. Die

geringe Kapitalanlage und Arbeit, welche erforderlich ist, die Agricultur- und Mineralreichtümer des Staates zu entwickeln und die Fruchtbarkeit des Bodens sind gewiss bedeutende Reizmittel für den Emigranten; dieselben müssen Denen, welche sich in jenen Regionen niederlassen, bedeutenden Wohlstand einbringen, denn die Gegend gehört zu den reichsten des Landes. Die zahlreichen Eisenbahnen, welche ihre gigantischen Arme nach allen Richtungen ausstrecken, sowie die verschiedenen Dampferlinien, stellen eine ununterbrochene Verbindung zwischen der übervölkerten alten Welt und den noch dünn bevölkerten Regionen von Ost-Tennessee her, wo jeder Einwanderer sich für die Mühe, welche er sich machte, hierher zu kommen, durch die Ausbeute der Agricultur- und Mineral-Reichtümer reich belohnt finden wird.

Das Klima und der Boden von Ost-Tennessee sind der Thee-Cultur äusserst günstig und Tennessee's Thee wird bereits vielfach getrunken. Viele ziehen ihren ganzen Hausbedarf ohne grosse Mühe und Kosten. In einer einzigen Saison reifen drei Theeerndten. Die allgemeine Einführung einer erfolgreichen Thee-Cultur wird diejenigen reich entschädigen, welche sich derselben widmen. Die Theepflanze ist ein immergrüner, wurzelreicher Strauch, ungefähr 5 Fuss hoch, welcher auf Bergland eben so gut gedeiht als im Thale und niemals des Schutzes vor Frosten bedarf.

An der Linie der "Ost-Tennessee und Virginia" Eisenbahn" entlang, zieht sich eine Ader vortrefflichen Marmors mit elf Varietäten, zwei derselben sind dem berühmten Rosso antique und dem rauhen antique Marmor Italiens an Güte gleich. Die Quantität ist unerschöpflich, die Dichtigkeit ist kompakt und der Stein gänzlich frei von Poren. Prof. Dickinson hat kürzlich eine ganz neue Marmorart, entdeckt, welche er Zebra nennt, wegen der eigenthümlichen Vertheilung der weissen und chokoladefarbigen Streifen. Dieser Marmor ist der feinsten Politur fähig, er ist das reine Kalk-Carbonat. Blöcke von irgend welchem Umfange können in diesen Marmorbrüchen gebrochen werden.

Die wilde Traube wuchert in reicher Fülle, ebenso wachsen Pfirsiche und Birnen der besten Qualität. Man hat hier Pfirsiche von 9 Zoll Umfang und 9 Unzen Gewicht gezogen; Pfauennüsse wachsen in reicher Fülle. Die Wälder sind voller Hochwild und wilder Truthähne.

Dieser Landstrich eignet sich besonders für Nordländer und Einwanderer. Er ist eine feste Burg der Loyalität und wenn ich Etwas zu bedauern habe, so ist es nur, dass

derselbe so dünn bevölkert ist und noch so viel werthvolles Land wüst liegt.

Der erste Eindruck, welchen der Besucher von Ost-Tennessee erhält, ist, dass der Staat gute Fortschritte in der Reconstruction der Geschäfte macht, die Bahnverbindungen sind vollkommen, werden aber täglich mit übermenschlicher Anstrengung noch weiter ausgedehnt und vermehrt. Alle diese Vortheile, verbunden mit den ausserordentlich niedrigen Landpreisen, (von 5 bis 20 und 30 Dollars pro Acker) sind grosse Verlockungen für den Einwanderer, zumal Ländereien von 1-100 Ackern, je nach Wunsch des Ansiedlers verkauft werden. . . .

DER BODEN

Der Boden im Thale ist im Allgemeinen dunkelschwarzer Lehm Boden erster Klasse und da wo er bewaldet, oder kürzlich erst urbar gemacht wurde, ist er sehr reich und fruchtbar und steht nur dem Prairielande des Westens nach. Ländereien, welche jetzt ein halbes Jahrhundert lang bebaut werden, sind theilweise sehr reich, theilweise auch erschöpft, weil ihre Bebauer niemals Gras säen, und überhaupt nach dem schlechtesten, das Land am meisten erschöpfenden Systeme wirtschaften; dennoch sind die Ländereien sehr rasch wieder ertragfähig gemacht, indem sie eine starke Thonschicht, vermischt mit primitivem Thon und Mergel haben. Es ist nicht von Bedeutung, nach welcher Richtung hin das Land liegt, überall ist es warm, der Boden ist allenthalben produktiv und belohnt den Ackerbauer liberal für seine Arbeit. Die Bodenbeschaffenheit des hochplateaus und der Bergkette ist steinig, theilweise sandig, grösstentheils aber besteht sie aus Sandlehm, mit einer Thonschicht als Unterlage.

DAS CLIMA

Kein Theil der Union ist so sehr durch ein schönes und gesundes Clima begünstigt, als dieser. Der grösste Schnee, welcher im letzten Winter fiel, war im Thale nicht tiefer als 1-1/2 Zoll und auf dem Plateau und der Hügelkette nicht tiefer, als 6 Zoll. Die grossen Ströme frieren kaum einmal in 25 Jahren zu, dennoch sind die Morgenstunden kühl, manchmal frostig und während des Winters immer ziemlich frisch. Der Frühling beginnt ziemlich bald, die Sommer sind lang, doch infolge der eigenthümlichen Lage des Landes nicht übermässig heiss. Nirgends kann der Sommer angenehmer sein, als auf der Hügelkette und dem Hochplateau. Die Herbste sind lang und dauern bis spät in den Dezember.

Die Landleute pflügen gewöhnlich während des ganzen Winters. Wir haben hier weder den kalten erstarrenden Winter des Nordens, noch die lähmende, erschlaflfende Hitze des Südens.

DIE PRODUKTE

Was die Produkte des Landes betrifft, so sind wir so sehr begünstigt als irgend ein Landstrich der Union. Wir können Alles bauen was im Norden und im Süden gezogen wird. Das Plateau trägt Korn, Hafer und alle Vegetabilien der besten Art. Im letzten Sommer wurden innerhalb fünf Meilen des Ortes, wo ich wohne, Weissrüben gezogen, deren Umfang zwanzig Zoll betrug; die Kartoffeln sind hier sehr gross und von ausgezeichneter Qualität. Das Thal produziert Mais, Hafer, Roggen und Klee in Fülle.

DIE VIEHZUCHT

Dieses ist ein Viehzüchterland erster Klasse, unser mildes Klima erfordert wenig Stallung. Während das Plateau reichlich freie Weide bietet, die vom 1. April bis zum 1. Dezember grün bleibt, gewährt das Thal mehr oder weniger den ganzen Winter hindurch Grasweide. Als ein Land für Viehzucht ist Ost-Tennessee den Prairiesen in mancher Hinsicht vorzuziehen und steht selbst dem Besten nicht nach. Vor dem Kriege hielt ein Mann hier an 600 Stück Rinder.

OBSTZUCHT

Wir sind reich mit Obst gesegnet. Aepfel, Birnen, Pfirsiche, Pflaumen, Kirschen und alle Arten kleineren Obstes gedeihen in Fülle. Wir ziehen vortreffliche Winteräpfel, unsere Sommeräpfel reifen bereits in Juni. Auf dem Plateau und den Bergen gedeihen die Aepfel am besten, im Thale werden ausgezeichnete Pfirsiche gezogen, dieselben wachsen an den Strassen und in den Ecken der Einzäunungen. Es ist selten, dass wir eine schlechte Obsterndte haben. Die letzte Sendung von Winteräpfeln nach dem Staate Georgia wurde zu \$10 per Fass verkauft.

MINERALIEN

Wir haben Ueberfluss an vortrefflichen Kohlen. Das Plateau und die Bergkette werden von verschiedenen ergiebigen Adern durchzogen. Es finden sich hier unerschöpfliche Lager von Eisenerz, Kalk ist ebenfalls, gefunden worden, Sand- und Thonstein werden mit Leichtigkeit erlangt, auch

haben wir hier verschiedene Arten von Salzen.

DAS WASSER

Das Wasser ist klar, rein und chrystallgleich; bildet nirgends stagnirende Sümpfe, sondern fliesst rasch ab, wo es aus der Erde quillt. Im Thale sind die Fluss-bette lehmig, auf den Höhen steinig mit Kalk untermischt, letzteres Wasser wird zu Heilzwecken sehr geschätzt.

DER GESUNDHEITSZUSTAND

Ich halte diese Gegend für einen der gesunden Theile des ganzen Landes und diese Ansicht scheint allgemein zu sein; denn wenn man das Land durchreis't, wird man Viele finden, welche nur aus Gesundheitsrücksichten hierhergezogen sind. Wir haben keine lokalen Krankheitsursachen irgend einer Art. Die Gesundheit ist im Allgemeinen die Regel und die Krankheit die Ausnahme.

EMI GRATION

Gegenwärtig erhalten Ost-Tennessee und die angrenzenden Theile von Mittel-Tennessee ihren reichlichen Antheil von der Einwanderung und die Nachfragen aus dem Norden, Osten und Westen, bezüglich des Landes mehrten sich und deuten an, dass von dort in nicht ferner Zeit ein bedeutender Zuwachs der Bevölkerung zu erwarten steht. Die Gesetzgebung des Staates, die verschiedenen Einwanderungs-Gesellschaften und die Bahn-Compagnieen verbreiten beständig jede Information über Land und Leute und gewähren solchen Personen thatsächliche Hülfe, welche in Tennessee sich niederlassen wollen.

DIE OEFFENTLICHE MEINUNG

Ich will hier bemerken, dass ich von Washington County, Pa., hier eingewandert bin und dass die Bevölkerung mich dessenungeachtet sehr freundschaftlich und liebenswürdig behandelt. Und so viel ich weiss, werden andere Nordländer mit derselben Frömmlichkeit und Zuvorkommenheit behandelt, sobald sie Anstalten treffen, sich bleibend hier nieder zu lassen. Die Bevölkerung sieht Einwanderer nicht nur gern, sie wünscht sogar sehnlichst, dass Einwanderer kommen und sich hier niederlassen. Jeder Nordländer, der sich hier anständig beträgt, wird der Bevölkerung willkommen sein; er ist hier eben so sicher, als in den Staaten Pennsylvanien und New York. Nordländern und Capital oder mit Willenskraft und starken Armen möchte ich zurufen: "Kommt

hierher! Tennessee ladet Euch ein und hier ist Platz genug für Tausende."

LANDPREISE

Land kostet von 5 bis 35 Dollars per Acker, der Durchschnittspreis ist gewöhnlich \$20 bei reellem Werthe. Wir haben schöne Waldungen im Ueberfluss. Gegenwärtig steigen die Landpreise und es sind alle Aussichten vorhanden, dass sie in Zukunft noch mehr und noch schneller steigen werden. Ich will keine Vergleiche mit anderen Landstrichen anstellen, aber ich will Denjenigen, welche nach einem Lande auszuwandern wünschen, wo kein langer strenger Winter den Comfort zerstört und die Einnahmen des Sommers aufzehrt, wo ein baldiger Frühling die Natur in seinen grünen Mantel hüllt, wo ein langer Sommer dem Landmanne genügend Zeit gibt, seine Arbeit belohnt - zurufen: Kommt, seht und urtheilt dann selbst.

Niemand kann sich eine Idee bilden von der Grossartigkeit und dem Reichthume der natürlichen Vorzüge, welche Ost-Tennessee besitzt; das muss man selbst gesehen haben, wenn man es glauben soll. Eine Bevölkerung gutherzig und freundlich, mit einem anerkanntem Sinn für Ehre und Rechtlichkeit, bekannt durch ihre nachbarliche Freundschaft ladet Euch ein, unter ihr Eure Wohnsitze aufzuschlagen und ihr zu helfen die Ressourcen des Staates zu entwickeln, die reichen Mineral-und Agriculturschätze zu heben, mit welcher eine gütige und gnädige Vorsehung diesen westlichen Theil von Tennessee so reich gesegnet hat.

Source: Frances Helen Jackson. "The German Swiss Settlement at Grütli, Tennessee." Unpublished M. A. thesis, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, 1933, pp. 9-14.

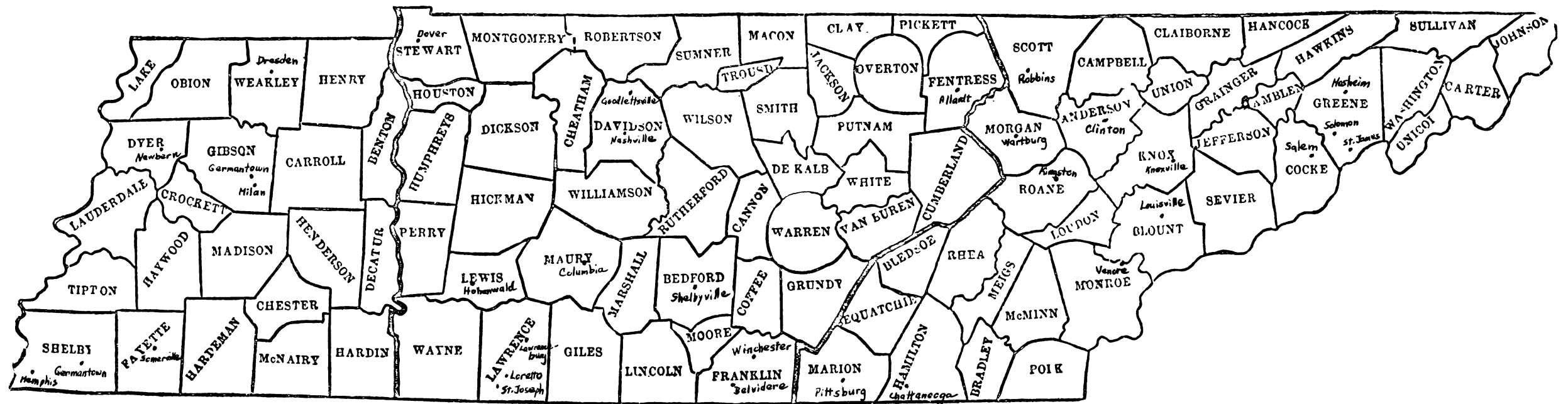


Figure 1. German settlements in Tennessee.

VITA

Maria Slonina was born on June 4, 1949, in Hohenfels, Germany and came to the United States in December, 1956. Upon graduating from Felician Academy in 1967, she entered the University of Detroit. She spent the academic year 1969-70 in Munich, Germany, and upon her return she completed her Bachelor of Arts degree in 1971, graduating cum laude in German. She then accepted an NDEA Fellowship in German at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, and received her Master of Arts degree in December, 1973.

Ms. Slonina plans to continue her studies at the University and in addition is pursuing a teaching certification program for secondary schools.