

Making a German-American Place: Davenport, Iowa, 1836-1918

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**MAKING A GERMAN-AMERICAN PLACE:
DAVENPORT, IOWA, 1836-1918**

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A senior inquiry submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirement for the degree of
Bachelor of Arts
in
Geography

AUGUSTANA COLLEGE

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To my father, who encouraged me to ask questions at an early age. I love you!

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I. Introduction

With her head partly raised and her arm aimed somewhere in the distance, the “Lady of Germania” statue exists as modest reminder of the once prominent German-American society that resided in Davenport and Scott County (see **Figure 1**). The elegance of her bronze-copper alloy signifies the Germans-Americans’ success, and assures that their legacy will never be completely erased or forgotten. Yet, her position at the foot of the Centennial Bridge and two busy intersections also guarantees that few will ever pay her more than just a passing glance. In these ways, “Lady of Germania,” exemplifies current understandings of Davenport’s German heritage. Today, few know much about it.

And, how could they? Only a few place names and physical structures remain from what was once deemed ‘the most German city, not only in the State, but in all the Middle West,’ by Davenport’s prominent German-newspaper editor (Eiboeck 1900). From the 1830s through World War I, German-Americans exhibited a momentous impact on Davenport and Scott County, settling and developing this place from its frontier antecedents to a bustling metropolis. At its height, Davenport exhibited German concentrations similar to Milwaukee, St. Louis, and Cincinnati. Here, many German-Americans worked traditional craft trades, participated in

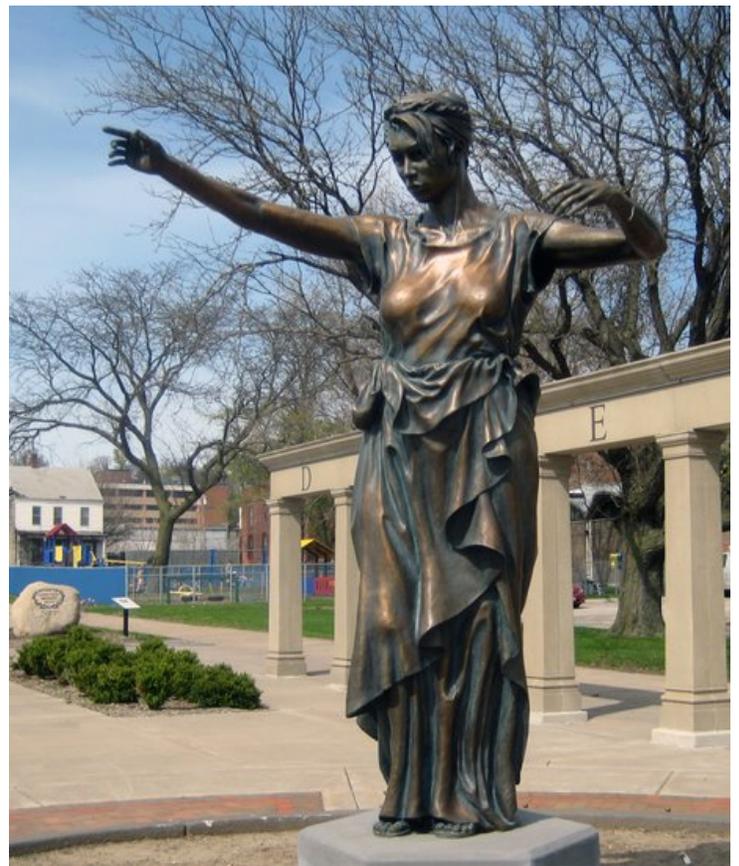


Figure 1. The “Lady of Germania” statue

Source: Bruce Walters, “Art in Plain Sight: ‘Lady of Germania,’ *River Cities’ Reader*, May 5, 2011.

musical societies and politics, celebrated with festivals, parades, and picnics; drank in beer halls and beer gardens, and overall were essential to the development of this young city's public life.

Like cities many other places in the American interior, during the 19th century, Davenport and Scott County direly needed people to settle it, build its infrastructure, develop its economy, and contribute to growing social and political life. Conveniently, Davenport and Scott County boosters' desires occurred simultaneously with rampant pauperism, political, ideological, and religious revolutions, economic redundancy, and widespread dreams of rebirth in Germany. In effect, these conditions produced an unprecedented migration from Germany to Davenport and Scott County in the second-half of the 19th century (Sperber 1994).

As Germans settled, they shaped their places to reflect aspects of their homelands, local geographic characteristics, national trends of modernity (industrialization and urbanization), and their evolving German-American identities. During the Germans' first two decades, they largely lived and acted apart from their American counterparts. Though, with time, Germans-Americans progressively were incorporated into larger, more inclusive political, educational, economic, and social systems. They fought and earned their stars and stripes on Civil War battlefields, as well as in shoe factories, law offices, and classrooms. And due to their hard work and public spirit, Davenport and Scott County's Germans quickly became revered for their heavy contributions on this evolving place. Old settler and prominent Davenport businessman, J. M. D. Burrows, showed this remarking, "I always have had a warm feeling for the Germans for their help in setting up Scott County, when help was so much needed" (Burrows 1888).

Nevertheless, the story of German-American Davenport—and German-America, for that matter—concluded in tragedy. Amidst struggles for statewide prohibition, assimilative processes, and WWI-era anti-German hysteria, the German-American legacy was marred, erased, and ultimately

all but forgotten. Thus, German-American Davenport, a place that proved crucial to survival and success of the larger city and county, died in vain.

This study examines the impact of German-Americans in the creation of Davenport and Scott County, Iowa from 1836 through 1918 (see **Figure 2**). In doing so, this work reflects on more than just German-Americans experiences here. Instead, it elucidates the immigrant experience in America past and present and underscores the significance of immigrants in making American places. This study also allows important parallels to be drawn to between 19th century Germans-Americans and their present analogs: Syrian-Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Indian-Americans—groups who have experienced successes and struggles adjusting to American life.

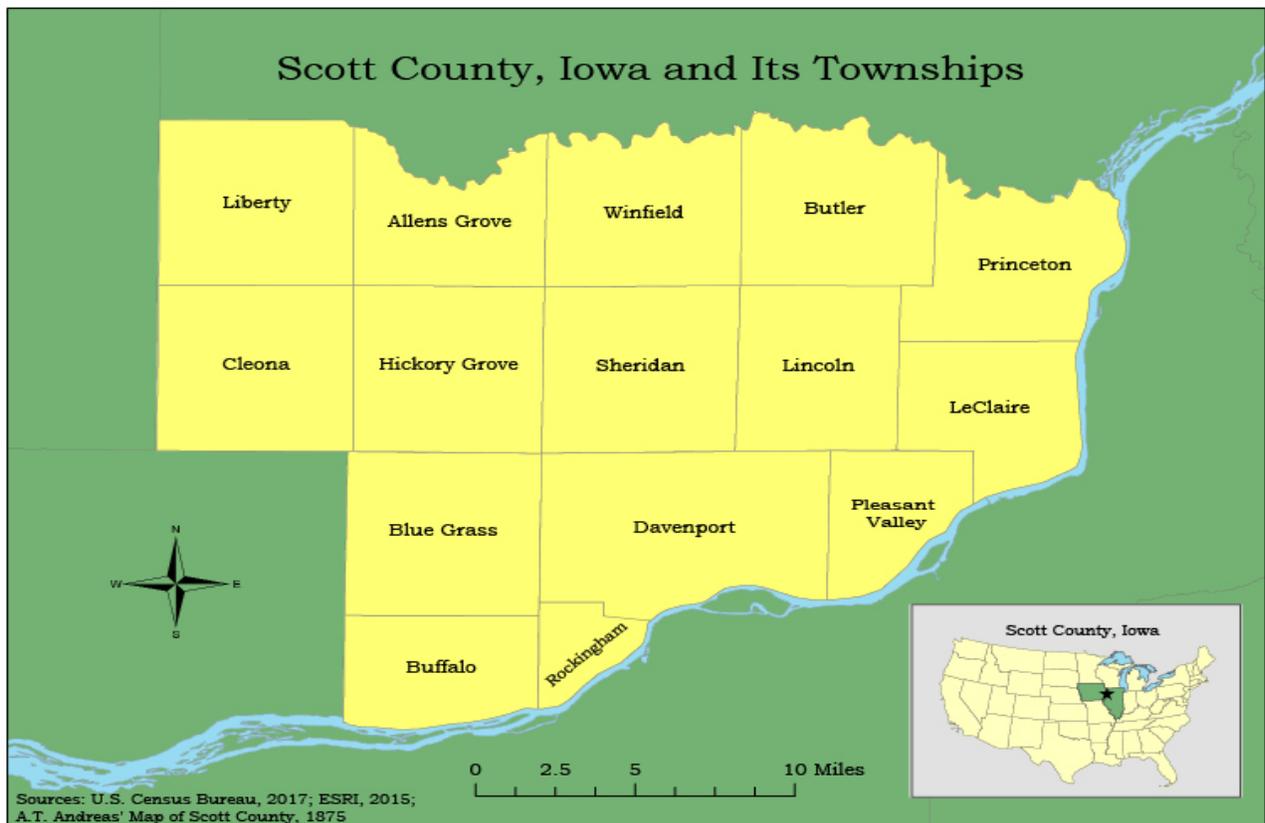


Figure 2. Map of Davenport and Scott County, Iowa

Methodology: The Story Behind the Story

Given my project's temporal focus, 1836 through 1918, by nature, it relied almost entirely on archival research. This past summer and fall, I frequented state archives in Iowa City and Des Moines, as well as local archives at Augustana College, the German-American Heritage Center, and the Davenport Public Library. Online archives from the University of Iowa and the Putnam Museum (Davenport, IA) also provided helpful resources. Countless hours—hundreds—were spent pouring through multi-volume county histories, popular and academic history journals, memoirs; letters, census data, photograph collections, naturalization records; newspaper articles, historic maps, biographies, and more, with an aim of understanding who these people were, how they lived, and how they shaped their physical, built, and imagined environments. From the aforementioned sources, I gleaned complex understandings of place, focusing on everything from education to festive culture; politics to prohibition; religion to boosterism, and much more. Such research offered invaluable insight into the substructures of German-American Davenport and Scott County; nevertheless, such a mass of information lacked important details and a clear, understandable structure. And thus many conclusions could be drawn from particular sources due to their lack of mere lack of historical context. To abate this, I employed corroborated, historical case studies from German-American settlements in Milwaukee, and Buffalo, NY, in order to understand with maximum plausibility how German-American Davenport and Scott County evolved throughout time.

Primary Source Analysis

I do not speak or read German. Consequently, certain sources—such as German newspapers, church records, and novels—remained unavailable to my eyes. Nevertheless, through my searching, I found many sources—namely letters, diaries, and memoirs—were subsequently translated into English and published by family members and curious researchers. Included in these sources are: the “Diary of Johannes Christian Schmidt” (1847), “The Diary of Heinrich Egge” (1857), the *Memoirs of Marx D. Hauberg* (1923), Charles A. Ficke’s *Memories of Fourscore Years* (1930); and Kamphoefner et al.’s *News from the Land of Freedom: German Immigrants Write Home* (1991). These sources (i.e. both diaries) thoroughly document the journey of an emigrant from the Germany to Davenport and Scott County and offer wonderful insights into the German-American experience.

Creating a Secondary Source Framework

The majority of this project draws from journal articles, book chapters and historical accounts from Iowa’s popular history magazine, *The Palimpsest*. Academic works, covering all aspects of life in Davenport and the German-American experience, provide a framework for understanding the aforementioned primary sources. Case studies from German-American settlement in Buffalo, NY and Milwaukee offered essential understandings of German-American settlements that remained unavailable elsewhere. By corroborating these case studies and other accounts from other German-American settlements, I attained a greater understanding of how Davenport was similar and different from the rest of German America.

Biographical Analysis

Most utilitarian among my sources, the *Biographical History and Portrait Gallery of Scott County, Iowa* (1895), contains 236 biographies of those who settled in Scott County in the early 1830s through the 1890s. Of these 236 settlers overviewed, 50 (21.9 percent) identified Germany as their homeland or their parents' homeland; others immigrants—namely those from Switzerland and Austria—self-identified as German or seemed receptive to this idea. As one could imagine, individual biographies provided detailed descriptions of each person's life, including but not limited to: hometown, emigration date, migration pathway, occupation (both Old World and New); civic involvement, education, religion, and more.

Biographical histories—works that typified late 19th and early 20th century public history and commemorative practices—afford a great wealth of information. Often, these biographies track settlement patterns (e.g. clustering, rural-urban migration, and urban-rural migration), immigration trends, occupational trends, religiosity, etc. (see **Appendix A**).

Historic Mapping/GIS

Maps offer the powerful ability to highlight trends within large bodies of information. In this case, georeferenced and digitalized maps brought out spatial distributions people. Once in GIS, historic maps from 1875, 1894, and 1904, were compared to elucidate larger infrastructural and settlement trends in Davenport and its surroundings. These maps were attained from the University of Iowa's wonderful online historic map database.

II. Theoretical Framework

Germans came to and the United States in greater numbers than any other ethnic group during the 19th century. Escaping political revolution, pauperism, famine, and religious unrest, they sought new homes and opportunities as they settled all throughout America—but specifically in the West. Like other immigrant groups, before and since, Germans shaped their physical and human environments based on patterns from the ‘Old World’; though, with time, their settlements came to reflect modernity (namely industrialization and urbanization) and a melding of their traditions with the peculiarities of local settlement: its people, geographic situation, culture, and economy. Furthermore, this research traces the creation of Davenport, Iowa and its German-American settlements from their roots in the pre-1840s West to its existence as a bustling, World War I-era city. In so doing, this research addresses three main propositions:

- 1.) German-Americans were essential to the settlement and development of Davenport and Scott County, Iowa—its infrastructure, institutions, economy, and social life.
- 2.) German settlers of Davenport and Scott County shaped their settlement (i.e. dwellings, businesses, schools, places of leisure, social organization, etc.) to reflect both Old World traditions, local geographic characteristics, and processes of modernity.

Immigrant Placemaking

Place and landscapes reflect the peoples that inhabit them. As historical geographer William Wyckoff put it, “Place refers to the processes by which people give meaning to a location... [it] refers to the signatures people leave upon the visible scene and what those imprints can tell us about a culture and its relation to the environment” (Wyckoff 1999). Today, immigrant societies remain

easily perceptible and well-known: visions of San Francisco and its Chinatown; Miami and its Cuban havens; and Minneapolis and its places of Somali refuge. Yet, American places have not always reflected such notable distinctions. Prior to the mid-19th century, the majority of North American landscape did not experience the formation of ethnic enclaves.

Though, following mass migration, immigrants of the same nationality settled in close geographic proximity to one another to help ease the transition to an unfamiliar place (Arreola 2012; K. N. Conzen 1976: 44-62; Gerber 1989: 173-175; Nadel 1990: 29-46; Ostergren 1988; Winders 2011; Zelinsky 1973: 28-33). In doing so, they restructured their settlements to reflect aspects of their homelands (Harris 2001: 65-89; Kivisto 2005: 300-311; Mitchell 2001: 89-116; Zelinsky 1973: 10, 28-33). These settlements reflected their economic desires, survival needs, and yearnings for community (Limerick 1987: 222-258; Nugent 1999: 58-65).

With time, immigrant settlements become distinct and reflect preferences for certain types of architecture, color schemes, and land use (Kaplin and Li 2006 in Arreola 2012; Winders 2011). These settlement patterns aid in reproducing aspects of homeland in a new land. Ultimately, these preferences “give meaning to a location” and offer a sense of spatial authenticity and uniqueness (Wyckoff).

Settlement & Identity Creation

Immigrants also transform the social geographies of the new land. Separated from the homeland, they ease their transition to an unfamiliar place through persistence of their mother tongue, practicing popular cultural pastimes, going to church, and simply residing near those from the old country (Castles et al. 2014, 55-64). Yet, naturally, separation from old country, and interaction with entirely new groups of people, alters these individuals. This difficult transition commonly results in “downward occupational mobility,” discrimination by the native stock, and

questions of identity, as they adjust to the demands and the people in their new home (Swierenga 1986; Portes and Rumbaut 2006; Castles et al).

To alleviate the difficulties of this transition, commonly immigrants take part in clustering or “ghettoization.” This process, as scholars of the Chicago School posit, enables immigrants to create compact, fully functioning economic, social, and residential neighborhoods for those of the same ethnicity (Jiobu 1988). “Socially, compaction makes for greater ethnicity, as group members react with other members, speaking the language, eating ethnic foods, following ethnic customs” (ibid). Maintenance of ethnic culture, however, can often result in its fair share of ramifications. As Castles et al. show, “Ethnic neighborhoods are seen by some members of the populace as ‘ethnic takeover,’” later noting that, “Linguistic and cultural maintenance is taken as proof of backwardness and inability to come to terms with an advanced industrial society.” In short, concentration of ethnic minorities and the prominence of their communities can unfortunately engender negative reactions amongst the receiving group, generating the belief that the recent immigrants are “static” in their culture and unwilling to adapt to the new society (ibid).

Nevertheless, this widespread belief has proven erroneous and incredibly harmful. As migrants live, work, go to school, and even worship alongside those from the receiving country and countries other than their own, ideas, beliefs, foods, and more are exchanged (Schierup and Alund 1987; Vasta et al. 1992 in ibid). “The vast majority of contemporary immigrants become increasingly embedded in the social institutions and networks of the society where they reside” (Kivisto 2005).

Historically, the term “assimilation” has been used to describe this process. Recently, however, the terms ‘integration,’ and ‘incorporation’ have posed better ways of thinking about these processes and others (Gordon 2005; Kivisto 2005; Portes and Rumbaut 2006). These terms describe, “A transformation of immigrants and their communities. However, these definitions do not necessarily involve the elimination of ethnic distinctiveness” (Kivisto 2005). Instead, ethnic

minorities and the dominant populace of the receiving society add to and enrich each other's lives. Thus, for my purposes, I will rely upon the use the term "incorporation," because I feel that it is a neutral term, and carries with an accurate depiction of the complex processes by which immigrants become part of their receiving societies.

All of this is not to say that immigrant of the same nationality or ethnic group incorporate into the receiving society at the same rate or to the same degree. Naturally first and second-generation immigrants experience different obstacles as they aim to make it in a new place. Other factors, like language barriers and education attainment, play a major role in the process of incorporation (Portes and Rumbaut). Consequently, certain immigrant groups incorporate into their new environments much more effectively and quickly than others.

With time, many immigrants become perceived of as "ethnic' rather than 'foreign'... [and thus] are more tolerated in private and public life" (Alexander 2005: 330). This process yields a state of "multiculturalism" or "ethnic hyphenation," through which they become "more or less polluted representations of civic competence," and thus become viewed as viable citizens but still marked by characteristics of their homeland (ibid). Yet, for too many immigrants the process of hyphenation does not often result in equality. Many immigrants, especially those with darker skin, continue to experience discrimination as they incorporate into the receiving society (Castles et al. 2014; Lears 2009).

In sum, the transition to a new land regularly presents immense difficulty. Settlement entails that immigrants support each other, navigate new economic and social demands, encounter prejudice, and progressively generate and decipher new identities. This process takes years and requires much more than merely arriving in a place and attaining property. Consequently, settlement processes help to author new places and peoples, as both the immigrant group and the receiving society become shaped by progressive and varied interactions over time (Castles et al. 2014).

Conclusion

The 19th century American West provided unprecedented opportunities for immigrants to seek out new lives and forge new places. Mass migration occurred at a time when European cities and countrysides were overcrowded by paupers, peasants, and other undesirables; when local economic systems, protoindustrialization, and famine significantly narrowed workers' means of providing for their families' most basic needs; and when liberalism, conservatism, and other Enlightenment ideologies reacted to yield great societal instability. All of this, of course, worked out perfectly for the United States: the young country that boasted extensive land and resources, but lacked the financial means and people to extract, process, transport, and consume these goods. Thus, immigrants quickly became the greatest gift to the aspiring empire.

With time, immigrants filled desperate occupational needs and provided the necessary human material for developing hinterland societies. In the process, they shaped their societies according to the constraints of local industry, the specific landscape constraints, and a melding of Old and New World traditions and identities. Such local settlements and societies, which were noted for their ethnic distinctiveness, ultimately became incorporated into larger economic, social, and political systems.

This research, moreover, examines how German settlers of Davenport, Iowa proved crucial in the creation of a western metropolis during the latter half of the 19th century. It also demonstrates how the German-American Davenport and Davenport as a whole changed as the Germans' identities evolved. Lastly, this research shows that, despite Germans' respectability, their legacies became tarnished by notions of difference and xenophobia.

III. Pre-1840s Geographies: The River, the Prairie, and the People

A summer night, around 10 pm. Looking west across the great river's bend, one can see it all: trusty city lights, a whirl of cars keen to reach home, the firm structure of an iron bridge and roller dams in the distance, and at furthest extent—a large barge whose dark puffs of black smoke only come to sight on such grand, moonlit nights. These elements provide evidence of what contemporaries might consider urban, modern, technological, and progressive landscapes. Nevertheless, they obscure the fact that this place initially existed as little more than “a beautiful little hamlet of fifteen houses, with a population of about one hundred and fifty persons” (Burrows).

Davenport, Iowa arose first and foremost because of its location. Whatever prospects this landscape held for future development were birthed in its rich, glaciated soils and nurtured by the unpredictable ebb and flow of the Mississippi. Historian William Cronon, affords a nice parallel with Davenport. In his environmental history of Chicago, Cronon illustrates the importance of location and access to natural resources.

Before the city, there was land. Go back just over a century and a half to the place that became Chicago, and our familiar distinctions between city and country vanishes. At the mouth of the river where the city would one day stand, small human settlements came and went, but the inhabitants would no more have used the word ‘urban’ to describe the place than ‘rural.’ Without these words, there could be no city here, not until people came who could dream city dreams in the midst of a cityless landscape...And yet if the boundary between the city and the country had no meaning here, that did not imply that this was a world without borders. Far from it. The city's history may have begun in the human dreams that prophesized its rise, but those dreams laid their foundation on solid earth, tracing their destiny onto the land's own patterns (Cronon 1991).

Though Davenport had a prime location and access to natural resources, it faced incredible political and economic competition in its early campaign for regional prominence. In its early years of settlement adjusted to oft-changing local economies and linkages, fickle weather, and unpredictable money shortages. Consequently, its town developers constantly remained uncertain of

their town’s fate (Barrows 1863; Mahoney 1990c). Surely, before 1838, nothing indicated that Davenport would overcome its neighbors to become what the *Iowa Sun* newspaper eventually coined the ‘Queen City of the West’ (Petersen 1939). Davenport’s regional fate rested in not only in its geographic situation and the crucial decisions of a few men—but chiefly in its ability to attract settlers.

Despite Davenport’s prime location near the center of the Upper Mississippi Valley, local boosters failed to attract people during the first decade of settlement (Burrows, Barrows, Mahoney 1990a, b, c). Even descriptions of the local area as “a noble park, boundless in extent, adorned with exquisite taste” bearing “but blooming desert, that does not awe in gloom,” by the Superintendent of Indian Trade translated to little settlement in first decade

(McKenney 1855). From 1836 through 1844 Davenport grew from approximately 100 people to at most 1000—a far cry from growth experienced by other river towns in the Upper Mississippi Valley (see **Table 1**). This situation changed in the latter half of the 1840s. Immigrants, the majority German and Irish (56.7 and 26.0 percent, respectively, in 1856), provided the human material necessary for expansion and regional prosperity (Iowa Census Board 1857).

Table 1. Davenport Population, 1836-1844

1836	~100
1837	160
1838	~100
1839	300
1840	600
1842	817
1844	800 or 1000

Source: Barrows 1863; 51, 61, 67, 72, 77, 81, 83

Eventually German immigrants became the core of Davenport’s immigrant population. In his memoir, Burrows reveals his feelings of admiration for the early German immigrants and those who followed:

About that time [1845] there was a prospect of brighter days. Our German fellow-citizens began to come to Davenport in large numbers, and many of them possessed a good deal of money, which the country sadly needed. They entered large tracts of land, which they immediately improved...I always have had a warm feeling for the Germans for their help in setting up Scott County, when help was so much needed (Burrows).

By 1900, Davenport had become, 'the most German city, not only in the State, but in all the Middle West, the center of all German activities in the State' (Eiboek).

III. Peopling Davenport & Scott County, 1840-1860

Germans Take Root, 1836-1845

Between 1836 and 1845, “not more than 15 German families settled” in Davenport and Scott County. Ten of the fifteen immediately sought out land for farming (Richter 1920-22g; Petersen 1910). Others, like Adam Wiegand and John Reid practiced traditional German trades in town—“conducting a meat market” and shoemaking, respectively (Richter 1920-22g). Cay Asmus Franz Kroeger worked as a veterinarian, physician, counselor, surgeon, and occasional obstetrician. Ezekiel Steinhilber practiced bookkeeping at the LeClaire House and later owned a livery and a ‘coffee shop.’ Louis Beyer engaged in many lines of work, including owning and operating a grocery store and dance hall (ibid).

Overall, this early group might seem insignificant due to their size. Yet, cultural geographer Wilbur Zelinsky reminds us that,

Whenever an empty territory undergoes settlement, or an earlier population is dislodged by invaders, the specific characteristics of the first group able to affect a viable, self-perpetuating society are of crucial significance for the later social and cultural geography of the area, no matter how tiny the initial band of settlers may have been (Zelinsky 1973).

This initial group of German settlers shaped German settlement in Davenport for years to come.

Many of these initial settlers failed to propagate immigration from their respective German villages, regions, states or duchies. However, a couple individuals from this first decade impressed a lasting influence on Scott County by successfully propagating German immigration for decades to come (see **Table 2**). With letter communication and a return-home trip to Schleswig Holstein, respectively, early German settlers Kay Asmus Franz Kroeger and Louis Beyer ushered the beginning of a German place in the American West (Ficke 1930; Reppmann 1999; *News* 1991).

Table 2. A Few Individuals Engender Mass Immigration

	Composition of Initial Group, 1836-1845	Contribution to Scott County German Population, 1842-1930	Contribution to Region-Specific German Population, in Scott County, 1842-1930
Thuringia	1 family	~0%	~0%
Alsace-Lorraine	1 family	~0%	~0%
Hesse	1 individual	<1.0%	<1.0%
Württemberg	1 family, 2 individuals	0.9%	1.6%
Prussia	1 individual	5.8%	10.0%
Schleswig-Holstein	1 family, 2 individuals	41.6%	71.9%
"Germany" or Unlisted	5 individuals	42.2%	N/A

Sources: Richter 1920-1922g, 1-2; Scott County Genealogical Society. 1981. "Naturalization Index of Scott County, Iowa, 1842-1930" (Des Moines, IA: Iowa Genealogical Society). Found in Richardson-Sloane Special Collections (Davenport, Iowa).

The 'Tide of German Immigrants,' 1846-1856

As naturalization records reflect, Schleswig-Holsteiners comprised the largest German migrant group to Scott County—nearly 72 percent of all state-specified migration from Germany between 1842 and 1930 (See **Table 3**). Germans from other northern and West Elbian* states came to call Davenport home as well, but in significantly smaller proportions than their Schleswig-Holstein counterparts (see **Figure 3**).

Table 3. Scott County (IA) Naturalization Records, 1842-1930, Breakdown

	Population Naturalized	Percentage of Naturalized Population	Percentage of Regional Population
Germany	3066	42.16%	N/A
Schleswig-Holstein	3022	41.56%	71.85%
Prussia	422	5.80%	10.03%
Mecklenburg-Schwerin	218	3.00%	5.18%
Hanover	136	1.87%	3.23%
Bavaria	90	1.24%	2.14%
Württemberg	68	0.94%	1.62%
Other ^a	250	3.44%	5.94%
Total	7272		
Regional Population^b	4206		

^a Includes the following kingdoms, grand duchies, duchies, and free cities, in no particular order: Oldenburg, Hesse, Hamburg, Saxony, Anhalt, Baden, Schaumburg-Lippe, Bremen, Lübeck, Brandenburg, Rhineland, Brunswick, Alsace-Lorraine, Lippe, Nassau, and Liechtenstein.

^b Excludes those from “Germany,” the overwhelming majority of which were naturalized before German state unification in 1871. Some, however, listed their origin as “Germany” well before German unification.

Source: Scott County, Iowa Naturalization Records, 1842-1930

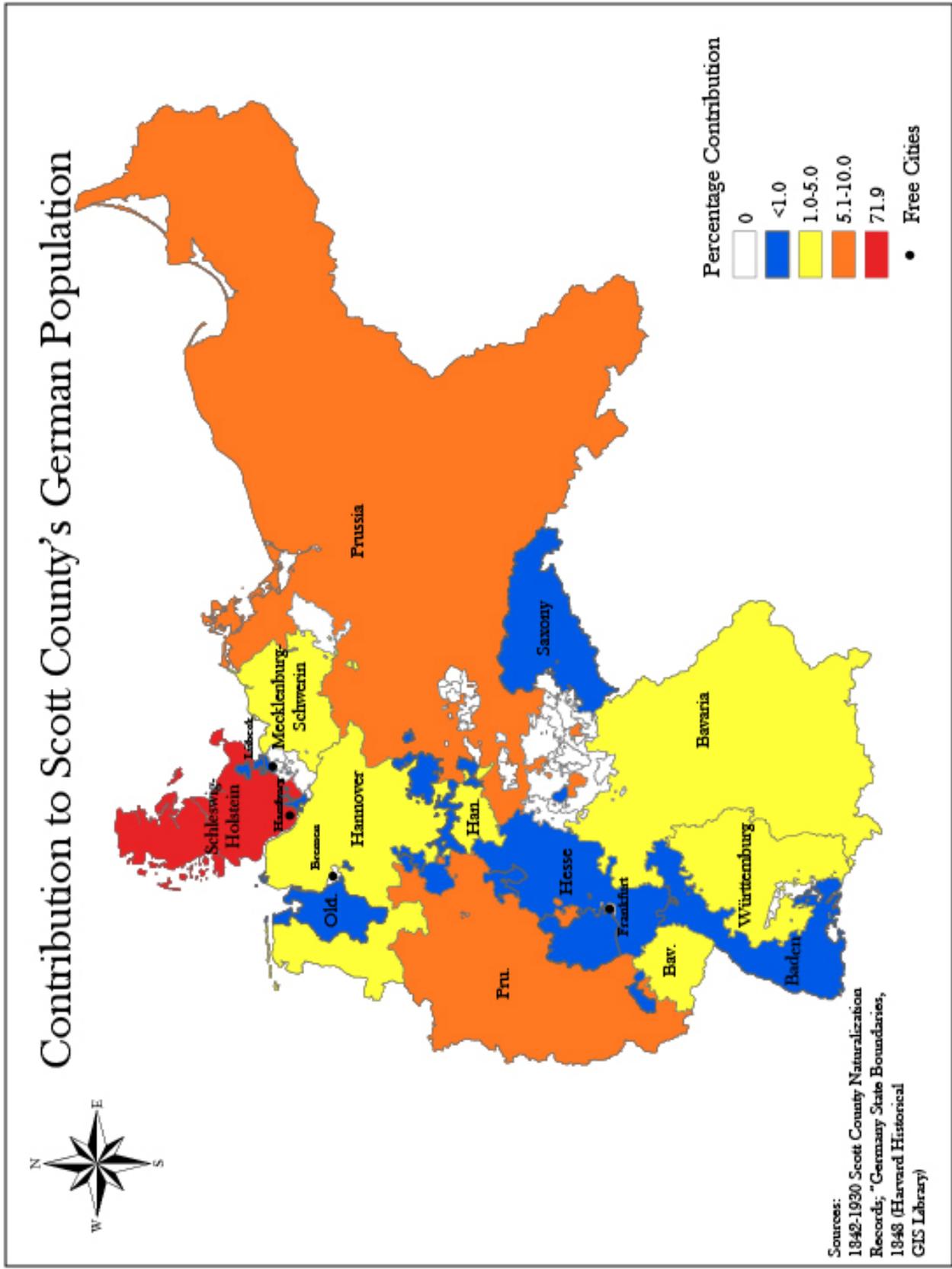


Figure 3. The vast majority of ethnic Germans hailed from the Schleswig-Holstein state, while smaller portions called other northern and western states home.

Once established, these migration chains between Scott County and northern Germany quickly spurred mass migration. The first ships arrived in 1846, carrying 12 families or 60 individuals (Richter 1920-22g; Petersen 1910). Immigration ballooned the following year. After the thick ice on the Mississippi thawed, families arrived by the boat load: 6 in April, 37 in June, 16 in July, and 15 in August. Eight families arrived the following March. From 1846 through March 1848, the German population of Davenport added 94 families for a total of 247 people (Richter 1920-22g).

During the first decade of mass migration (1846-1856), most immigrants reached Davenport via New Orleans and St. Louis.¹ In the subsequent years, heavy migration, Germans reached Davenport and the American interior via New York City. Upon reaching New York City, an immigrant—provided he or she had enough money to continue on—often pressed forward along similar paths. Typically, upon leaving New York City, German immigrants took steamboats along the Hudson River before reaching Albany. Then, from Albany, immigrants took a short train Buffalo before reaching Lake Erie. The Great Lakes—particularly Erie, Ontario, and Michigan—subsequently streamlined transportation to the interior (see **Figure 4.**) “In 1847 [for instance] you could get from New York City to Chicago five days” (Stockman 2003). At some point immigrants got off, took trains or carriages for the remainder of their trip (Ficke; Johnson 1951). A small group of immigrants—like Henry Korn, Amandus Woeber, and August Steffen—pursued other paths through the interior—sometimes landing in Baltimore and nearly always following the Ohio River, until reaching the Mississippi (Biographical History 1895).

Regardless, a German immigrant and their family needed enough money to reach their destination. Those who lacked appropriate funds participated in “step migration,” or migration that

¹ Some immigrants arrived in Stephenson, while others arrived in Davenport. The public ferries, piloted by John Wilson, allowed immigrants to traverse the Mississippi with relative ease. In all of my searching, I have not been able to find any descriptions of Davenport’s dock or ‘wharf,’ which could, in effect, indicate why some Germans arrived in Stephenson before reaching Davenport. Thus, perhaps Davenport’s dock was unable to handle such large groups of immigrants.

occurs in a series of steps, due to an immigrant's poor financial state or other extraneous conditions (Morris 2016). Thus, as migration scholars Stephen Castles, Heim de Haas, and Mark J. Miller posit: "The experience of migration and of living in another country often leads to modification of the original plans, so that migrants' intentions at the time of departure are poor predictors of actual behavior" (Castles et al., 2014). Furthermore, for German immigrants, Hildegard Binder Johnson observed that:

After paying for ocean passage and the fare from New York to Albany and thence to Buffalo and Cleveland, they worked there until the savings from several months' wages might get them to Cincinnati, already a German center in the middle of the forties (Johnson 1951).

Immigrants arriving at points at other points along the eastern seaboard—and New Orleans, too—employed step migration to eventually reach their desired, other times unexpected destination. Both direct and step migration enabled Davenport to become increasingly German throughout the 1850s: comprising 26.1 percent of the total population and 56.7 percent of the foreign population in 1856 (Iowa Census Board 1857).

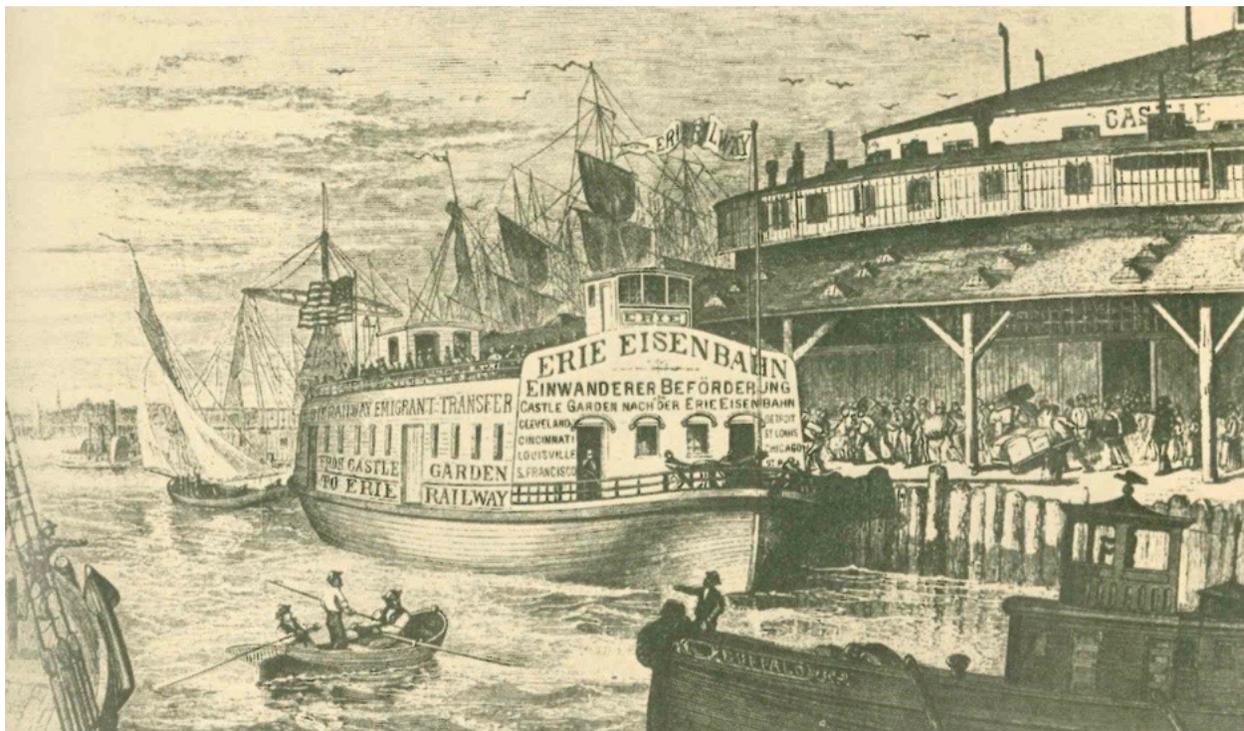


Figure 4. Immigrants prepare to depart Castle Garden for interior cities: Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis—just to name a few.

Source: “Continuing the Journey from Castle Garden Into the Interior.” Engraving. In Günther Moltmann. 1982. *Germans to America: 300 Years of Immigration, 1683-1983*. (Stuttgart, Germany: Institute for Foreign Relations), 101 via Oscar Handlin, *A Pictorial History of Immigration*. 1972. New York.

Leaving the Old World, 1846-1860

By the mid-19th century, much of the German Confederation (a loose association of German states, free cities, and other factions) persisted in a state of economic and social “backwardness” (Levine 1992). Unlike other northern and western European states—France and Great Britain—the German Confederation did not experience large scale agrarian reform or cessions of political power from nobility to members of the working class. Although the German state underwent slow industrialization, the German rank and file did not benefit from greater degrees of political or social freedom. Instead, semi-feudalistic systems of impoverishment and plutocratic power were maintained throughout the 19th century (ibid; Kamphoefner 1987). “The political predominance of the nobility over the middle classes in a period of rapid industrial change, and this political

predominance, cemented in constitutions and political culture alike, undermined attempts at achieving democracy" (Smith 2008).

In effect, as Germany experienced population growth throughout the first-half of the 19th century, there were significant concerns of overpopulation, famine, pauperism, and underemployment. Many people struggled to make ends meet, and were forced to resort to protoindustry, or "the decentralized, rural, labor-intensive production of goods for a distant market, usually supplemented by marginal agriculture," to survive (see **Figure 5.**) (Levine). Protoindustry failed to solve ever present issues of land scarcity, redundancy in common craft trades, and mechanization. Those in northwestern and southwestern Germany, for instance, knew all too well the imminent threat industrial looms posed to old-fashioned, personal looms (Levine; Kamphoefner). Moreover, as Bruce Levine observed, "Rural cottage industry often served simply to prolong and complicate the process of impoverishment" (Levine).



Figure 5. This woodcut above illustrates the hardships pauperism placed on German families throughout the 19th century.

Source: A. Heyn. 1877. "Homeless." Woodcut after a painting. In Günther Moltmann. 1982. *Germans to America: 300 Years of Immigration, 1683-1983*. (Stuttgart, Germany: Institute for Foreign Relations), 63.

In Schleswig and Holstein mechanization remained limited. Nevertheless, systems of economic redundancy and impoverishment certainly existed. "Even small villages of 10 to 20 homes...[had] a bakery and a meat shop at every corner" (Blevins 2017). Also, in Schleswig-Holstein, not all of the 'push factors' were economic or social. "It is possible to say that the majority of the Schleswig-Holstein emigrants up to 1848 did not leave their homeland for economic reasons as was the case in the rest of Germany" (Reppmann). Several historians have substantiated this claim with examples from other German states and these works have shown the Revolutions of 1848

functioned as a crucible for already defined economic, political, social, religious, and ideological conflicts (Sperber).²

The 1848 Revolutions

Historians have traced the beginning of the 1848 German Revolutions to France—not Germany. Seminal Enlightenment ideas—most notably liberalism and conservatism—were birthed and baptized by fire during the French Revolution (ibid). In Germany, such ideas came into effect during the 1830s, and evoked great disruption in the political scene. Liberals, in short, vied for greater representation and the weakening of old power structures; such a government was referred to as a “constitutional monarchy” (ibid). Conservatives, on the other hand, aimed to maintain their positions in society—whether religious, social, or political (ibid).

From the depths of tremendous poverty, societal stagnation, political absolutism, and—for many—longstanding clericalism, liberals thus sought to rise. Liberals consisted of: those who did not profit from “absolutist government” (absolute monarchy), those who opposed Junkers (noble landowners, who largely lived in eastern Germany), those who were not “members of the court society and the upper levels of government service and armed forces” or government-contracted businessmen, and often not the “religiously devout” (ibid). Moreover, as a whole, liberals sought to shake up existing power structures, with aims of achieving new ranks in the resulting society.

In Schleswig and Holstein, liberalism mixed with German nationalism in the time leading up to the 1848 Revolutions (or Schleswig-Holstein Wars; there were two). For many years, Schleswig had remained under the possession of both Germany and Denmark. And thus, “When the Danish troops went to occupy Schleswig, the Holsteiners organized an insurrection against Denmark” (Stockman). As a whole the Schleswig-Holstein War and the nationalist question that surrounded it

² See Marcus Lee Hansen “The Revolutions of 1848 and German Emigration” (1930), Carl Wittke *Refugees of Revolution* (1952), and Bruce Levine *The Spirit of 1848* (1992)

(“the Schleswig-Holstein question”) has confused scholars since to such a degree that, British Prime Minister Lord Palmerston famously quipped:

The Schleswig-Holstein question is so complicated, only three men in Europe have ever understood it. One was Prince Albert, who is dead. The second was a German professor who became mad. I am the third and I have forgotten all about it (Palmerston).

In effect, the Schleswig-Holstein Wars compounded larger epidemics of poverty and famine with political, religious, social, and ideological insurrection (often termed ‘free-thought’), to produce ideal conditions for German emigration around the mid-century mark. Bruce Levine pointed that, “At least until the Civil War, expulsive forces in Europe were the main factors behind emigration, and the displaced rural lower class constituted the majority of the emigrants” (Levine). Fortunately for Germans, 1848 America yearned for people to settle and develop its oft-imagined “virgin and unscathed” West. Thus, as August P. Richter put it, “The Forty-Eighters,” or Germans who immigrated roughly between 1847 and 1856, became, “Germany’s Loss [and] America’s Gain” (Richter 1920-22j).³

³ Scholars use the term “Forty-Eighter” differently. For some, forty-eighters were simply those who emigrated from 1847 through the mid-1850s. Others, however, have used the term to mean “the politically motivated revolutionary refugees from Europe who arrives in the United States between the years 1847 and 1856” (Reppmann, 11). For my purposes, though, the previous definition of “Forty-Eighter” will be utilized.

VI. A Developing Society

In the approximate three decades following the beginning of mass migration (1850s-70s), Davenport and Scott County underwent an array of changes that altered its human and physical environments. Railroads appeared and then became king. Frontier mainstays gave way to new, metropolitan institutions. Infrastructure improved. A myriad of religious, interest-related, ethnic, and political organizations formed and filled evolving wants and needs. Migration and settlement continued, though it followed an ebb and flow. And overall, the pace of life quickened, reflecting larger national trends of industrialization and urbanization. With the help of German immigrants, who filled important occupational and social roles during this era, Davenport quickly evolved from its frontier state into connected and industrial metropolis.

Railroad Dreams

In the decades around the Civil War, railroads fundamentally altered the American interior. Railroads allowed previously isolated communities to communicate with urban centers for purposes of commerce and cultural exchange (Cronon). They also provided an effective means of populating the American interior during an era of unprecedented migration and settlement.

By the 1850s, Davenport had been identified as a prime location for railroad linkages and the location of the first trans-Mississippi bridge. And people took notice. Immigrants—mainly Germans—flocked to the budding, frontier town at rapid rate (see **Table 4**). The Mississippi and Missouri (M&M) Railroad to Rock Island in 1854 and Davenport in 1856. It offered incredible promise—credit, bigger buildings, better goods, and a reliable connection to Eastern markets and goods (Richter 1920-22h, k' Mahoney 1990a).

To Germans, many who had endured the wrath of underemployment and unemployment in their homelands, the railroad presented opportunities for employment.⁴ “The Midwestern cities contained fewer Irish laborers competing for unskilled jobs and they attracted large numbers of Germans from rural districts, immigrants hoping to work there only long enough to save toward the ownerships of Midwestern farms” (Nadel 1990). Therefore, the arrival of the railroad fueled immigrant prospects, and in turn, provided jobs.

“...And Metropolitan Airs”

Prior to mid-1850s or 1860s, a large number of Germans settled on farms. No doubt, the opportunity to support one’s family through a familiar means, tilling black earth and sowing seed—all for relatively affordable prices—excited early German farmers to Scott County. Land records underscore their eagerness (Petersen 1967). During the 1854-55 fiscal year alone, Iowa land offices sold 3.71 million acres [a little more than 10 percent of the state’s land area] (Lokken 1942). Due to Scott County’s location on the eastern edge of the state, the land rush proceeded even more quickly. In Scott County, settlers of all nationalities claimed desirous plots on a ‘first come first serve’ basis. By 1854, less than a decade after the signaling of mass migration, settlers had claimed much of Scott County.

Not all of the land was claimed. German immigrant Charles Ficke noted the availability of “many quarters of virgin prairie between Long Grove and Davenport...[and] even a quarter sections which adjoins the city” (Ficke). In fact, such availability allowed his family to farm at a time when

Table 4. Scott County Population Growth, 1847-70

Year	Population	Change
1847	3652	N/A
1849	4837	1185
1850	5986	1149
1852	8621	2635
1854	12671	4050
1856	21521	8850
1860	25959	4438
1863	26277	318
1865	28474	2197
1867	34362	5888
1870	38599	4237

Source: Downer 1910, 567-568

⁴ This acknowledges that Germany was by no means homogeneous in the mid-19th century. In fact, prior to 1870, Germany did not exist as a state, and it wouldn’t be until the late 20th century that Germany became a nation, according to many historians.

land in highly concentrated German areas were unavailable. Despite this, most German families displayed an unwillingness to separate from their community in non-German rural areas.

Consequently, the unavailability of desired farmland paired with burgeoning urbanism, forced prospective German farmers to either wait and seek other means of employment in the city while farmland freed up elsewhere, or to pick up and migrate West—as a few individuals, like Heinrich Egge, did (Egge 1930-31).

Davenport's excitement, superior infrastructure and institutions, and relatively easier means of life continually pulled Germans from the countryside to the city. As the Iowa Writers' Project noted, "[even] with the nearing of the twentieth century... [and thus] improved breeds of livestock, big red barns, and rural mail delivery, farm machinery, and cream separators... the provisions for education in the rural districts did not keep pace with those of the town and city where the graded schools were beginning to attract families away from the farm" (Iowa Writers' 1942). The difficulties of farm life added to this struggle (Lears 2009; Ficke). Ficke, for example, chronicled the difficulty of mid-century farm life, speaking of the sheer drudgery, boredom, and physical difficulty necessary. "That year I ploughed father's entire farm," he remarked of his 1861 farm duties. "This work finally became enduringly monotonous. Would winter never come and put an end to this misery?... I found relief in anticipating the quitting hour at which I could retire to rest my weary bones" (Ficke). These harsh realities, combined with social separation and the difficulty of profiting from agriculture, inspired a growing majority of Scott County Germans—especially amongst the second generation—to dream for urban life over rural subsistence (Ficke; Biographical History).

Urban Life

Urban life brought greater opportunities for employment, increased access to schools, clubs, churches, and public programs; and most significantly—endless opportunities to build a tight-knit community with fellow Germans. Settlement patterns reflect this. “For many years Harrison Street was the accepted dividing line between east and west of the city. The eastern portion passed as the American, and the western as the German district” (Richter 1920-22e; Hansen 1956). Settling almost exclusively in west end, they formed a series of three or four distinct neighborhoods (see **Figure 6**). And even though Germans settled in identifiable geographic clusters, little suggests that the Germans living here failed to act as a community. These clusters accentuated German community building. Hundreds of men pledged membership in the local Turnvereine (“Turn society”), which later became Turngemeinde (or “Turn community”); thousands more attended their events (Johnson 1946.⁵ The 1882 name change [from “society” to “community”] in addition to extensive participation in singing societies, German theatre, and innumerable street festivals also illustrates the Davenport German community’s cohesiveness during this time. Still, diversity and internal factions also existed, as immigrant Marx D. Hauberg portrayed in his description of those from the Probstei area, which later became a neighborhood in northwest Davenport.

One time two other fellows and I walked from our log house to 'Propstei' (sic)...It was dangerous business to go there. A stranger was liable to get into a knockdown. I think I would have got into one there if I had not been so bold. They had a different twang to their talk, and our language was different so they always noticed it (Hauberg 1923).

Regardless of their differences, Davenport’s German community generally acted as a whole; members helped one another ease the transition to a new, unfamiliar place—meanwhile forming strong occupational, social, and political units.

⁵ Translated with Google Translate

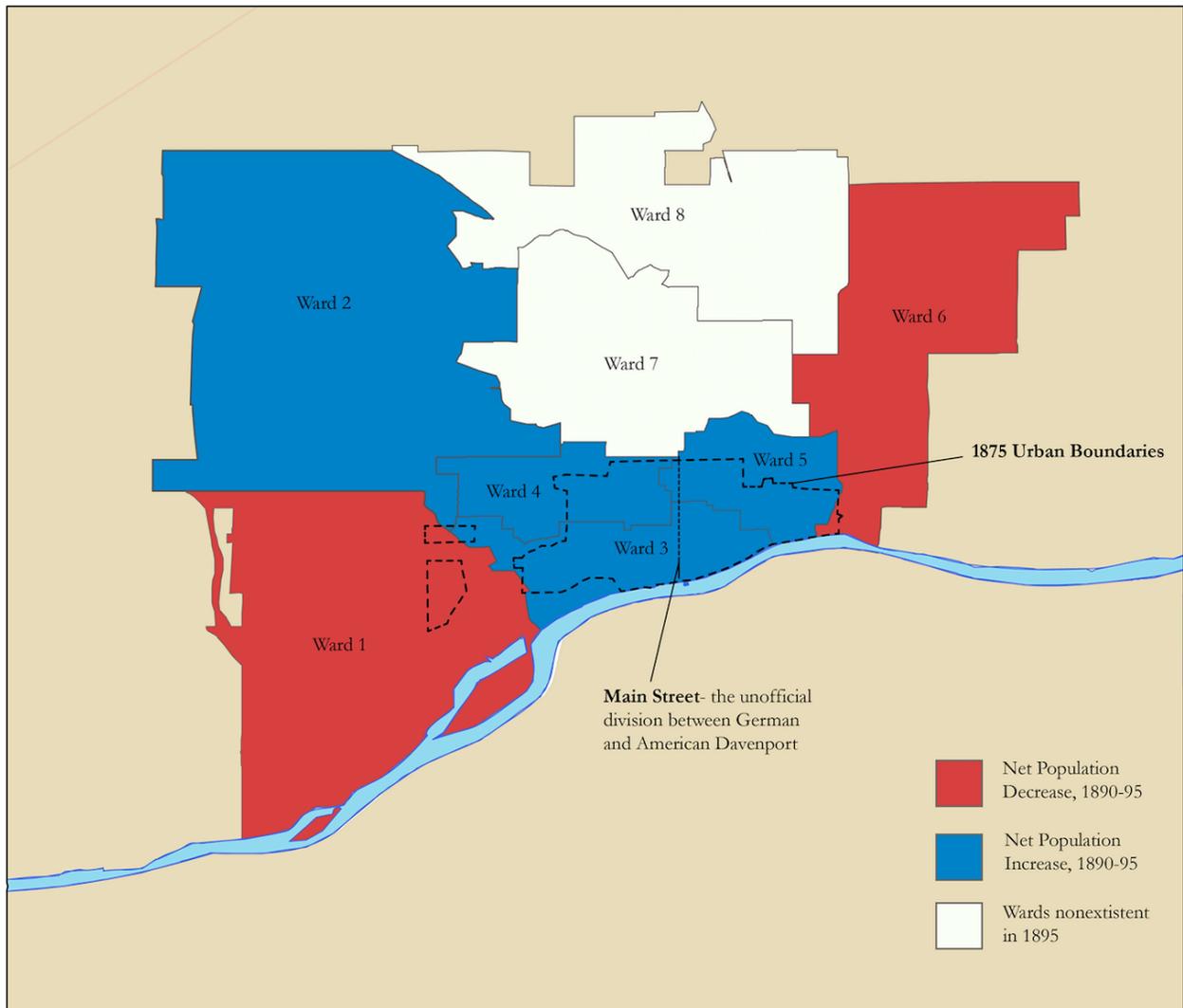


Figure 6. Suburbanization [in wards 2, 4 5], which began in the 1880s or 90s, integrated those of German heritage into the American society. At this point, most people of German heritage would have considered themselves to be “American.”

Making a Living

The majority of urban Germans sought jobs in the craft trades—for example, shoemaking, bricklaying, furniture making, and carpentry (Johnson 1951). In 1850, there were 22 carpenters, 8 bricklayers, 19 cabinetmakers, and 5 chair makers in Davenport (Richter 1920-22c). A smaller group entered service occupations, working as “printers, clerks, and hotel keepers,” and would later come to be known as mid-level professionals (see **Figure 7.**) (ibid). Finally, an even smaller group of

Germans became professionals: doctors, lawyers, musicians, and teachers (Johnson 1951; Petersen 1910).



Figure 7. A German dry goods shopkeeper and his son (c. 1890)

Courtesy of the German American Heritage Center

Davenport’s Germans began to specialize within their trades. Nicholas Kuhnen advertised “the choicest brands of Havanas...segars, tobaccos, fancy pipes, [and] segar cases,” instead of simple frontier smokes (see **Figure 8**). P.M. Housel advertised his dealing of “piano-fortes, melodeons, musical instruments, and sheet

music,” while Miller and Zeisler Manufacturers advertised “soda water...not surpassed by any other article of the kind in use” (Spencer 1856). Indeed, the evolution of German businessmen’s occupations, shop inventories, and services performed reflect their vigilance and vanguard in a rapidly evolving society. Even though Hildegard Binder Johnson noted that “special opportunities in German

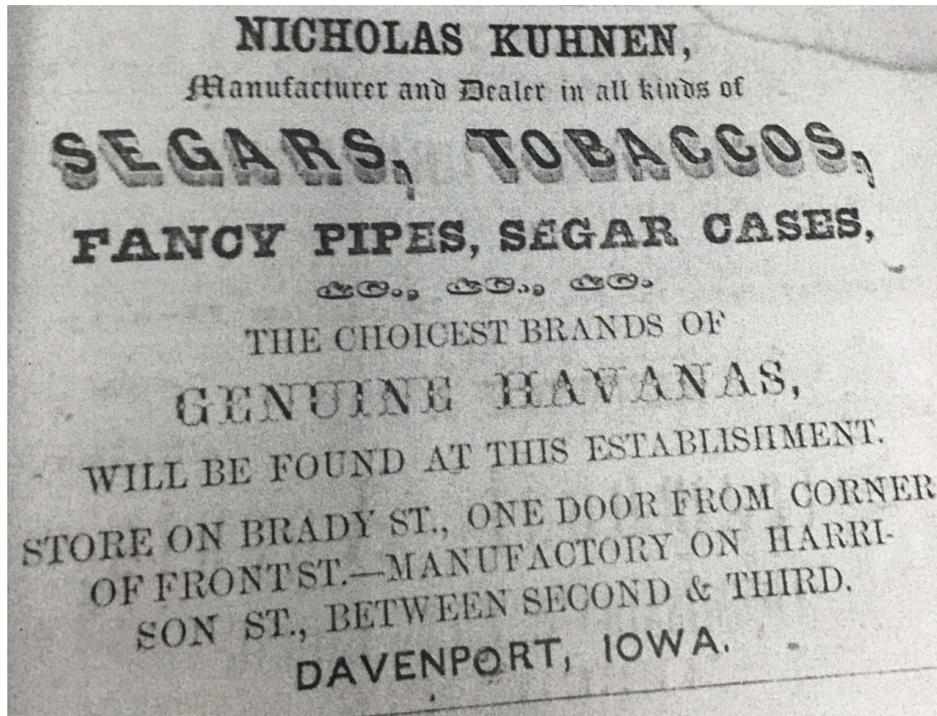


Figure 8. An 1856 advertisement from Nicholas Kuhnen’s tobacco store

Source: Spencer 1856, 17

communities decreased” with continued immigration and settlement, Davenport Germans’ supportive community structure and experience in craft industries enabled many to venture beyond the typical realm of their trades, or—for others—to blaze completely novel paths once the old ones had dried up (Johnson 1951). Consider the life of August Reimers.

After arriving to America from the German state of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, in 1849, Reimers worked as a “sweeper and office” at a “music establishment” for six years. In his teenage years, he worked as a baker’s apprentice “on boats plying the Lower Mississippi,” before becoming a “candy maker’s apprentice” in St. Louis. After nearly four years of service for the Union army during

the Civil War, he returned to St. Louis and immediately began working in a candy factory again. In 1871, he moved to Davenport and opened up candy factory (Reimers & Fernald). For the rest of the century, Reimers & Fernald did “enormous business throughout the West and later added the manufacture of crackers to that of candy” (Biographical History). Similar self-made, success stories can be knowingly made for Robert Krause, Abraham Moritz, Charles Nicolas Voss, Henry Kohrs, August Steffen, Nicholas Kuhnen, August Warnebold, and William Becker (ibid). These case studies chronicle German immigrants’ labor, prominence, upward social mobility and cohesiveness, and overall influence on Davenport.

Look at the business on the streets. Who has the bulk of it? The German. Why not? Thirty or forty years ago he was poor but plucky. He worked for others—the young men and their sisters. Today they have most of the shops and stores; and where are they who sought the higher life? Climbing downwards to a larger extent. Labor conquers. Fugitives from the labor perish. It is not the German who conquers, but his labor, energy, saving—willingness to work (D.N. Richard 1890 in Richter 1920-22j).

With their providence, hard work ethic, and resultant wealth, the German collective shaped Davenport to meet the evolving needs of industrializing and increasingly urban Middle Western city. Lacking the Germans’ diverse and far-reaching efforts, Davenport could not have “reach[ed] and stretch[ed] his vigorous limbs, and strive to emerge from the state of a mere frontier town to that of a real city” (Richter 1920-22c, j).

Public Life and Placemaking

Known for their exuberance, idealism, and emphasis on “mind, body, and spirit,” the Germans of Davenport dramatically altered their social spaces—both physical and imagined (Richter 1920-22e, j, o, u, w, y, aa, ac, ad, ed; Reppmann). These spaces illustrated their pastimes and priorities, and also served as points of contention with a growing number of American peers

(Gerber 1992; Richter 1920-22i, s; Hofmann 2009).⁶ In addition, these spaces exhibited the importance of festive culture to creation and maintenance of their ethnic German identities. This coincidentally facilitated their integration into the old stock (Conzen 1989).

Prior to German immigration, “there was little gaiety in American social gatherings, few places of public recreation...Even the Fourth of July, with its parades, ovations, and fireworks, could not measure up to the ‘idealistic and artistic’ stamp of public celebration to which the immigrants had been accustomed in their homeland” (ibid). In 1846, one embittered German immigrant expressed, ‘The life of the American swings between the market and the church’ (ibid). A lack of festivity marked by strong, Protestant overtones typified public life in Davenport before the arrival Germans. Prior to the 1850s, individuals often recreated in saloons, churches, or others’ homes (Ficke; Richter 1920-22k; Burrows).⁷ However, Davenport’s social spaces quickly grew and became important elements of everyday life after German immigration.

⁶ Sabbatarianism was an American Protestant idea that the Sabbath (Sunday) should strictly be kept holy.

⁷ Richter cited Franc Wilkie (1858), writing that, “Americans...had sought their emotional recreation mainly in church, bible, or temperance and neighborly gatherings, felt a longing for some other good and harmless diversions. Circus and theatre shows were rarities, far and wide between, and the literary and debating societies seldom survived more than one winter season.” Somewhat conversely, Burrows spoke of “sleighing parties, hunting parties, balls, and visiting one another” as common forms of enjoyment in frontier Davenport.

Organized in 1852 by Christian Mueller, a “former turning teacher in Kiel (the Holstein capital),” Davenport’s Turner Societies quickly became the hub for German public life in Davenport (Richter 1920-22e).⁸ Established in Germany in the 1810s, Turner societies played key roles in the nationalist revolutions of 1848. But in America, these societies filled new roles (Hofmann).⁹ Turner events typically centered around political life, intellectual life, and festivity. Given the Turner’s broad focus, strength, and good financial standing, and Davenporters’ desires for alternative and often non-religious forms of recreation, the Turngemeinde exerted powerful influence over Davenport society for many years (Gerber; Johnson 1946).¹⁰ Most broadly, this group introduced music, parades, theatre, shooting competitions, beer culture, exercise, and intellectual life to the general populace (Petersen 1910).

Shortly after arriving in Davenport, the Turners founded a vast number of choirs and instrumental groups (ibid; Betterton 1964; Petersen 1964). These groups embodied musical traditions rooted in the German culture and also allowed men and women to seek enjoyment and build communal bonds after a hard day’s work. Often, groups met once or twice during weekday evenings and then performed at a beer hall, at a picnic, or



Figure 9. A German-American parade (c. 1900)

Courtesy of the German American Heritage Center

⁸ Eventually, there were two Turner societies in Davenport.

⁹ Though, one certainly didn’t have to be a Turner to attend their events; in fact, the majority of their events’ attendees weren’t. Thus, presumably membership offered additional benefits.

¹⁰ The Davenport Turngemeinde “ranked second strongest and, in proportion to its size, was financially the best situated Turner society in the North American Turner Bund.”

in a small street procession (or ‘concert’) on Sunday (see **Figure 9**).¹¹ Occurring in “conjunction with [the] gymnastic exhibitions” and probably intellectual discussions and debates (termed “lyceums”), music practices provided a common ground for Germans of all social classes.¹² Music life in Davenport allowed members of varying skill to perform. True, some groups, like the lauded Männerchor performed at sängerfests in the Middle West (“singing festivals”) and garnered awards a few times a year, but high participation and German’s cultural heritage suggests that music was more commonly practiced by laymen (see **Figure 10**).¹³



Figure 10. The Oberammergau Farm Players, one of many amateur music groups for Germans in Davenport and Scott County (c. 1900)

Courtesy of Augustana College Special Collections

¹¹ *ibid*

¹² Betterton 1964, 285

¹³ William J. Betterton, “The Sangerfest of 1898,” *Palimpsest* 45, no. 7 (1964): 294; Petersen in Downer, 830. The “Oberammergau Farm Players” a mixed group of presumably 12 German farmers and their wives typified German involvement in music. Along these lines, 150 Germans reported participation in the 170-person Tri-City Musical Society in 1910. And surely, there were not 150 professional musicians in 1910

A large number of Germans participated in theater (Petersen 1955). Similar to musical activities, laymen comprised the majority of Germans who participated in theater.

The Germans played for the sheer joy of playing, and not to earn a living from the stage...these people were decorators, picture framers, clerks, saloon keepers, newspaper workers, housewives, and others who held relatively humdrum jobs in the workaday world (ibid).

Germans of “all ages and sexes” enjoyed these plays— “the farce, [the] comedy, [the] serious drama, and the tragedy”—in what they considered a family-friendly environment (ibid). Within years, many Americans even attended German plays. “By the early sixties...the American papers granted that the German Theater had become ‘the place of popular amusement in Davenport’ for Americans as much as for the Germans (ibid).”

Lyceums, debates, and gymnastic practices were important community gatherings for Turners and the German collective. Debates and lyceums satisfied the highly educated Germans’ desires to strengthen mental capacities, whereas gymnastics met their desires to broaden physical strength. In effect, these practices aimed to create strong, well-balanced individuals, committed to “soul, mind, and body” (Hofmann; Johnson 1946; Richter 1920-22o, p). Typically, lectures were led by “nationally known German-Americans,” “famous European visitors,” or scientists—like the German geologist Robert Schlagintweit (Johnson 1946). This fact accentuates distinctions between German and American pastimes, and shows the Germans’ commitment to intellectual life before such cultural practices were common amongst other Davenporters. Certainly, these practices of self-investment and development contributed to the Germans’ material success and upward social mobility as the century progressed.

VII. Becoming Modern, Becoming American

In the two to three decades after the arrival of the railroad, greater flow of credit, as well as communication by railroads, telegraphs and eventually telephones enabled Davenport to blossom into a promising metropolis within a larger, Chicago-centric urban system (see **Figure 11**) (Cronon; Mahoney 1990a; Conzen 2011). As a result, Eastern-owned businesses slowly yet progressively replaced locally-owned ones (Christensen 1940). Meanwhile, work conditions and the overall quality of life improved, new forms of leisure were offered, and internal migration and immigration from southern and eastern Europe allowed new groups—non-Germans—to fill the society’s blue-collar needs (Iowa Executive Council 1896). During this time, Davenport exhibited the hallmarks of other Eastern cities, whose connectivity, industry, work force, and cultural pluralism, authored new realities for everyday life, and allowed previously somewhat set-apart populations—again, Germans—to become old stock.

Social Mobility

Davenport Germans’ similar Schleswig-Holstein origins and their large urban population (an upwards of 40 percent) facilitated their rise to prominence (1856 and 1895 Censuses).¹⁴ The proliferation of chain migration from Schleswig-Holstein and northern German states, enabled Germans to form communities with ‘Old World’ friends, family members, acquaintances, and those of similar cultural backgrounds. In doing so, Davenport’s Germans created an incredibly cohesive, relatively homogenous community that facilitated their incorporation into a new environment. This

¹⁴ Davenport reached 26.1 percent population in 1856 and 21.8 percent in 1895. However, the actual percentage of Germans is much higher, because these records only account for birthplace and not identity. Plus, these records also do not speak about those from Switzerland and Austria who also identified as German.

community also provided economic outlets for Germans when relations between Germans and Americans remained limited (Ficke). In other words, Germans of all professions could pursue satisfactory employment in the German economy, as they continued to reside in the German West End but were familiarized with the rhythms of American life (Spencer; Montague and Curtis 1871; Stone 1888).

The large majority of Germans—men like, Abraham Moritz, Charles Nicholas Voss, Henry Kohrs—were of members of the working or lower middle class in Germany, but achieved success

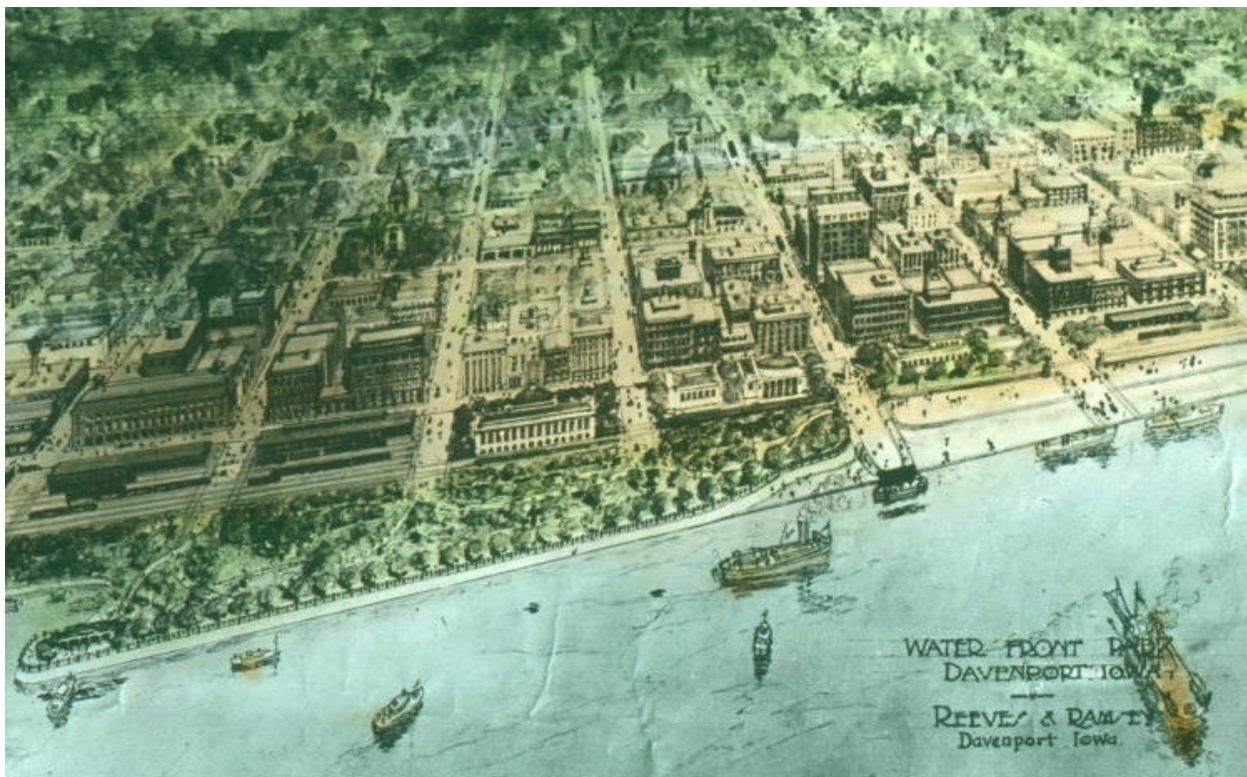


Figure 11. Davenport riverfront in 1914

Courtesy of the Putnam Museum of History and Natural Science

through their industriousness and hard work. Kohrs, for example, “began his life with no capital other than his own abilities. But through his “genius for hard work...business enterprise, [and] determination and preserving industry, made for himself a name and attained [to] a position in business and financial circles both gratifying and creditable.” Starting as a general store clerk in 1854,

he saved up enough money to open a meat market, and then a meat packing plant by 1875 (*Biographical History*). Others—men like, Robert Krause, Reinholdt Seig, and Hon. Ernst Claussen, came from wealth in their homeland, and achieved similar prominence in Davenport. Seig, for instance, benefitted from a “good elementary education” in Germany, and became a dry goods store clerk, a tobacco businessmen, and a successful salesman of “iron hardware” (*ibid*). As a whole, the German community’s extreme hard work ethic and communal cohesiveness enabled them to ascend Davenport’s social ladder in the second half of the 19th century. Education also played a major role in their upward social mobility.

Education as a Means of Incorporation

Noted for their commitment to strengthening mental capacities, Germans pursued education at higher rate than most. (Richter 1920-22e). In the early years, though, the quality of schools raised concerns. Prior to the public-school system’s organization and development in late 1860s and ‘70s

Some of [its schools], according to late standards, were little better than granaries (“storehouses for threshed grain”). The blackboard was just that, a board painted black and nailed across one end of the room. A dictionary and a globe were usually provided, but no library. The teacher turned up quite early in winter to start the fire in the stove, which often heated only the center of the room. At some schools drinking water was carried from the nearest neighbor's well or spring (Petersen 1910; Iowa Writers’).

The quality of early public-school education followed suit. Often, early education was poor and fell under the larger scope of religious education (Iowa Writers’; Downer 1910). More significantly, for most Davenporters, day-time school was too expensive. In the early years especially, fathers needed their sons to tend duties in the shop or on the farm just to stay afloat. Therefore, sending girls to high school remained out of the question, too (Goetsch 1973; Gerber). In Davenport, even as late as the 1890s “an extraordinarily low...percentage of [German] elementary school children went to high

school.” In fact, “most parents believed that their child’s time could be more profitably spent on the farm or at the grocery (Goetsch).”

Still, many German parents yearned for their children to enjoy a high-quality education.¹⁵ Consequently, many German parents pursued their children’s education through private or supplementary means—most notably through “free schools.”¹⁶ These schools offered a variety of classes—mathematics, natural sciences, history, geography, Greek, Latin, German—and also allowed students to become educated on the English language (Saint Katherine’s 1885-86). As parents must have viewed it, these classes offered an affordable alternative to subpar public-school education (Richter 1920-22e). Meanwhile, the teaching of English language became instrumental in the incorporation of second-generation Germans into their new environment.

Language education almost certainly provided a source of great debate amongst Davenporters. Although sources from Davenport remain limited, the ‘language question’ probably played out similarly to the one in Buffalo, New York. There, “language became a source of controversy among Germans and Americans.” David Gerber noted that for “German secularists, liberal Protestants...and conservative religionists too poor, individually or collectively, to support sectarian schools” that this “issue became a major test of American willingness to support pluralistic, democratic culture.” On the other hand, “for Germans supporting parochial schools, it offered a basis for attracting those wanting German in their children’s schools and for criticizing the competition, the public school.” But as Americans viewed it, this was “a question of how far they would be willing to bend public institutions to, which they believed should be molded in the image of the only legitimate American culture—their own (Gerber).”

¹⁵ *ibid*

¹⁶ “Free schools” were noted for being secular—not free of cost. Other children received informal education at home.

Over time, German private schools and home education conceded to Davenport’s promising public schools, all of which offered German in addition to advanced courses in the late 19th and early 20th century (see **Table 5** and **Table 6**) (Downer). Some of these courses included: “Medieval, Modern, and English History,” astronomy, botany, and physical geography (Annual Reports 1903).¹⁷ Surely, these educational opportunities must have proven attractive to families and students. For, in 1885 Scott County reported offering 1.4 months more education per pupil than the state average [8.6 to 7.2] (Executive Council 1885).

Table 5. Private School Attendance in Scott County, 1894

Name	Year Founded	Religious Affiliation	Enrollment
Adas Israel Ang. School	1893	Jewish	18 [^]
Immaculate Conception Academy	1859	Roman Catholic	164*
Ida Institute	1882	None	105
Kemper Hall	1836	Episcopal	25 [^]
Sacred Heart Parochial School	1872	Roman Catholic	250
Saint Katherine Hall	1884	Episcopal	93*
St. Mary's Academy School	1876	Roman Catholic	100
St. Joseph's School	1856	Roman Catholic	130
German Evangelical Lutheran	1870	Lutheran	60
St. Anthony Parochial School	1839	Roman Catholic	100

*All-Female School

[^]All-Male School

Source: Census for the Year 1895, 720

Still, public schools continued to offer German language and literature classes to students on the east and west side from first grade through ninth grade. Nevertheless, German instruction became increasingly viewed as a novelty instead of a necessity (Annual Reports). Even in schools on the predominantly German west side, learning of the German language was viewed as “optional” (Downer). By the early 20th century, advanced course offerings and lax public-school language

¹⁷ “Teachers in charge of rooms” outnumbered “special teachers of German” by a ratio of 8:1, in 1903.

requirements and assimilative processes resulted in a “younger generation of German descent” who was both intellectually-esteemed yet “apparently incapable” and “unwilling” to “read a German book” and presumably to speak the language, either (Richter 1920-22a; Hawgood 1970).

Table 6. Public Education Report, 1893 & 1903

	1893	1903	Increase
School Census	12005	10177	1828
Total Enrollment	6993	5061	1934
Average Attendance	5527	3843	1684
High School Enrollment	561	310	251
Average High School Attendance	431	252	179
Number of Teachers	176	114	62
Number of School Rooms	144	85	59

Source: Annual Reports, 7

Identity Construction & Reception

Unlike other German-American cities—Buffalo and Milwaukee—Davenport displayed relative homogeneity and cohesiveness (Gerber; Conzen 1976).¹⁸ As a result, “ethnicization”—the process through which “each day...formal and informal interactions [among Germans] ...slowly erode older, more parochial identities” and bring about “new[er], more inclusive ethnic ones,” occurred to a lesser extent (Gerber).

Therefore, discussion of German identity in Davenport comes with some uncertainty. At some point in the first decade, Davenport Germans banded together to “overcome homesickness [and] ease the long-term transition from German to American culture” (Reppmann). In doing so, they participated in aforementioned pastimes and resided in the predominantly German West End. Little suggests that Davenport Germans underwent much ethnicization. Instead, it seems that the

¹⁸ This is due to its disproportionately large population from Schleswig-Holstein (72 percent of the state-specified Germans from 1842 to 1930).

German nationalist tones of the 1848 Revolutions carried over to the United States, and thus allowed them to identify as Germans instead of Schleswig-Holsteiners, Mecklenburgers, Hanoverians, or Prussians. Perhaps, in this way, their German identity can be identified as a greater Schleswig-Holstein identity—or vice versa. Either way, most people identified as German, and unified shortly after arriving in Davenport.

Most Germans considered their German and American identities to be intertwined—hence, a German-American identity. August Richter reflected upon these transnationalist behaviors in his history, remarking,

When they came to America, and to become citizens forswore their former sovereigns, it was not expected by any reasonable man that they should forswear their native land. They loved America, their land of choice and adoption, but it would be strange if they should have ceased to love the country of their birth (Richter 1920-22j).

Put succinctly, Germans displayed their political loyalty to America, but also reserved the right to celebrate specific holidays, practice certain pastimes, and continue speaking their mother tongue (Conzen 1989).¹⁹ Furthermore, the commitment of German-Americans to their new home cannot be underestimated. A humorous anecdote from Charles Ficke, a boy during the Civil War, also underscores this. On one occasion, he joyfully remembered his neighbor friends and he “fighting battles and building snow forts both Union and Rebel.” At one point, he recalled defending the Rebel fort and being “struck squarely in the eye” with a “very solid” snowball. After this, he plainly quipped, “I saw a thousand stars. [But] It was a deserved punishment for my temporary disloyalty to my country” (Ficke).

For the most part, Americans accepted the conditions of German-American settlement in Davenport and Scott County. In fact, some yearned for the expansion of German-American settlement, because it seemed that most of their business and public-spirited ventures bore fruit

¹⁹ see “Placemaking and Public Life”

(Petersen 1910). Even though Germans and Americans were separated residentially for the better part of a half century (1850-1900), these group exchanges and reliance upon each other increased by year beginning in the 1880s (Ficke).²⁰ Surely, business engagements and public education aided this process.

By the close of the 19th century, many Germans had progressively assumed roles in higher society. They filled roles as bankers, managers of factories, doctors, lawyers, and other white-collar positions [see **Figure 12** and **13.**] (*Biographical History*; Downer; “The German Savings” 1919). In their free time, many of these same men served important roles in public life, too. August Riemers acted as the Republican representative of his ward, and was a member of the “Grand Army of the Republic” and various masonic orders. Henry Hans Sindt volunteered as a township trustee (9 years), a township clerk (6 years), a county supervisor (6 years), and a township constable (17 years). August Steffen enjoyed his roles as President of Davenport Plow Works, First National Bank, and later Davenport Savings Bank (*Biographical History*). And these are just a few examples. Members of the German-American community continuously displayed a willingness to be involved with and improve all areas of Davenport life.

Ultimately, the Germans’ success in public life, business, and education contributed to what some scholars have termed the “gravedigger thesis” (Kerr 2014).²¹ In others words, the Germans’ success enabled them to effectively integrate into American society, but it also slowly and likely unintentionally contributed to their shedding of cultural traditions and markers (Petersen 1910). Consumer culture probably also played as significant role in this process, as evidence from German-American Philadelphia’s German-American community suggests (Kazal 2004). Together, these

²⁰ Prior to the 1880s, however, Charles Ficke remembered that, “German born and native born residents had little in common. Each of these classes were deficient in the language of the other.” But in the following years, education, business, and even, at time, recreation brought together Germans and Americans.

²¹ Marx coined the phrase to describe how ‘capitalism will inevitably dig its own grave.’ I have not found scholars that have applied this same theory to identity. However, it feels applicable in this situation.

forces contributed to the Germans' earning their place amongst the 'old stock' and probably their whiteness, too, by the late 19th or early 20th century (ibid; Roediger 1999; Lears 2009). However, despite their high degree of assimilation, German-Americans were not entirely unremarkable from the American populace.



Figure 12. The German Savings Bank became the largest and wealthiest bank in Iowa in the early 1910s, with a capital stock of \$600,000 and deposits totaling over \$10.5 million. Its new, granite structure reflected the Germans' high position within Davenport society.

Courtesy of the German American Heritage Center



Figure 13. The German Savings Bank, c. 1915

Courtesy of Augustana College Special Collections

Highly Personal, Highly Political

Even though most Americans appreciated the Germans' contributions to the city, most Americans—especially firebrand Protestants—were not impressed by German festive culture. They took issue with the Germans' serving of beer and liquor at plays and other Sunday festivities—parades, concerts, and picnics. One Canadian traveler's description of his visit to the German theater paralleled Americans' feelings of unease and cultural backwardness towards the Germans.

I saw...several hundred people swigging lager on benches under the tree whilst listening to the strains of a fine band performing operatic selections...Six or seven attendant imps of boys ran frantically hither and thither with handfuls of lager...things there presented a very odd aspect to me, who then first beheld the unrestrained amenities of German life (Petersen 1955).

For these Americans, the Germans' Sunday practices fused Sabbatarianism with already lively Temperance and Know-Nothing (or nativist) movements to engender a somewhat unfriendly environment for Germans at times. To religiously devout and conscious Americans, these pastimes represented a direct assault on their American and Protestant ways of life (ibid; Conzen 1989; Gerber; Johnson 1946).

Responding to early discrimination, Germans in Davenport and Scott County formed large voting blocks to vie for their ethnic interests (*Biographical History*; Bowers 1966; Emery 1940; Richter 1920-22h). In the 1860s and 1870s, the majority Davenport Germans voted Republican, even though the Republican party supported Temperance—a practice that the German majority vehemently opposed (Emery; Richter 1920-22k). The German majority unfailingly supported personal liberty—hence abolition—above all else (*Biographical History*; Clark 1908). Thus, they aligned with the Republicans. However, after the Civil War, as prohibition movements gained clout statewide and nationwide, the vast majority of Germans swiftly shifted their support to the Democratic party (Clark).

For most Germans-Americans, prohibition movements represented direct infringements on their inalienable rights as Americans and their culture practices Germans (see **Figure 14**). Historian Carl Wittke showed this, remarking, “Forty-Eighters helped make the freedom of man and ‘the freedom of lager’ synonymous terms in the minds of many Americans” (Wittke 1952). And surely it was. A conversation with a German mother and her son after he returned from college underscores this point, signifying the importance of beer to the German culture. The conversation went as follows:

‘How is the beer in Ithaca?’ Upon which, “Julius replied that he really could not say since he did not have enough money to buy much of it.” Following this his mother vividly exclaimed, ‘My boy! My boy! Look what they’ve done to my boy! He’s sick and hungry and doesn’t get enough to drink!’ Soon after, she “ran into the kitchen and brought out a bucket of beer and a steaming dinner of sausage and sauerkraut” (Goetsch).



Figure 14. “A National Drink...A Healthy Drink...A Family Drink...A Friendly Drink,” read this circa 1900 German-American beer advertisement.

Source: Moltmann 1982, 114

Despite strong German opposition, prohibition gained popularity and support statewide during the second-half of the 19th century [see **Figure 15.**] (Richter 1920-22e, i, s, y). Of Iowa’s 99 counties, only a few counties maintained the same stances on the ‘liquor question’ in 1887 as they did in 1855 (see **Figure 16.**). Of these, Scott County was one. In fact, even when statewide prohibition remained in law from 1884 to 1894, Scott Countians—including the Davenport mayor and police—openly defied the state law, and received little—if any—reprimand (Wood 2005).²² And

²² No doubt, the German contingency presented the main influence for this practice.

though this might have seemed like a major victory for beer-loving Germans, it, in fact, soon wouldn't be. In 1894, the state of Iowa enacted an alternative to the Prohibitory Amendment: the Mulct Law. This agreement allowed counties to decide under which jurisdiction they would fall.

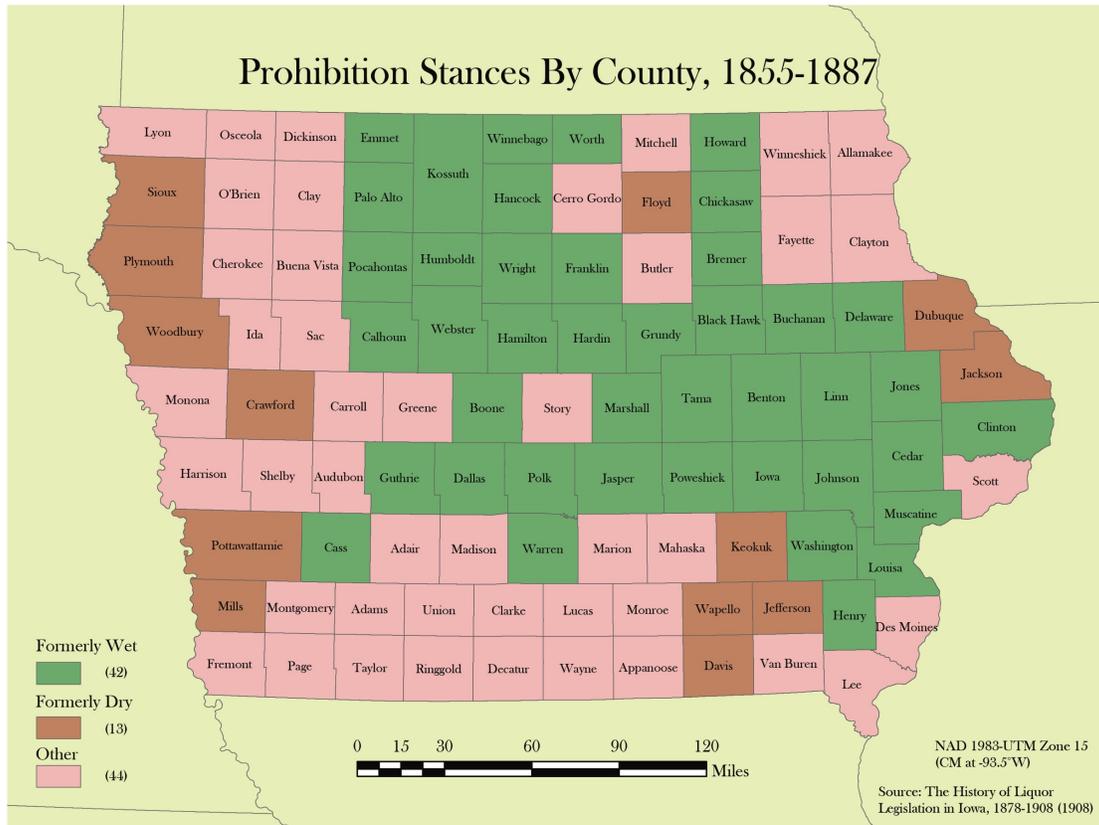


Figure 15. Most (42) of Iowa’s formerly wet counties adopted dry policies or ‘blue laws’ by 1887. Source: Clark 1908

It then enabled urban saloon owners to legally sell alcohol as long as they agreed to pay a \$600 licensing fee (“triple the old licensing fee”) and adhere to strict, state-mandated hours of operation (ibid; Bowers). In return, the city also received large portions of these taxes, which they put to use for urban improvements [i.e. street paving] (Wood).

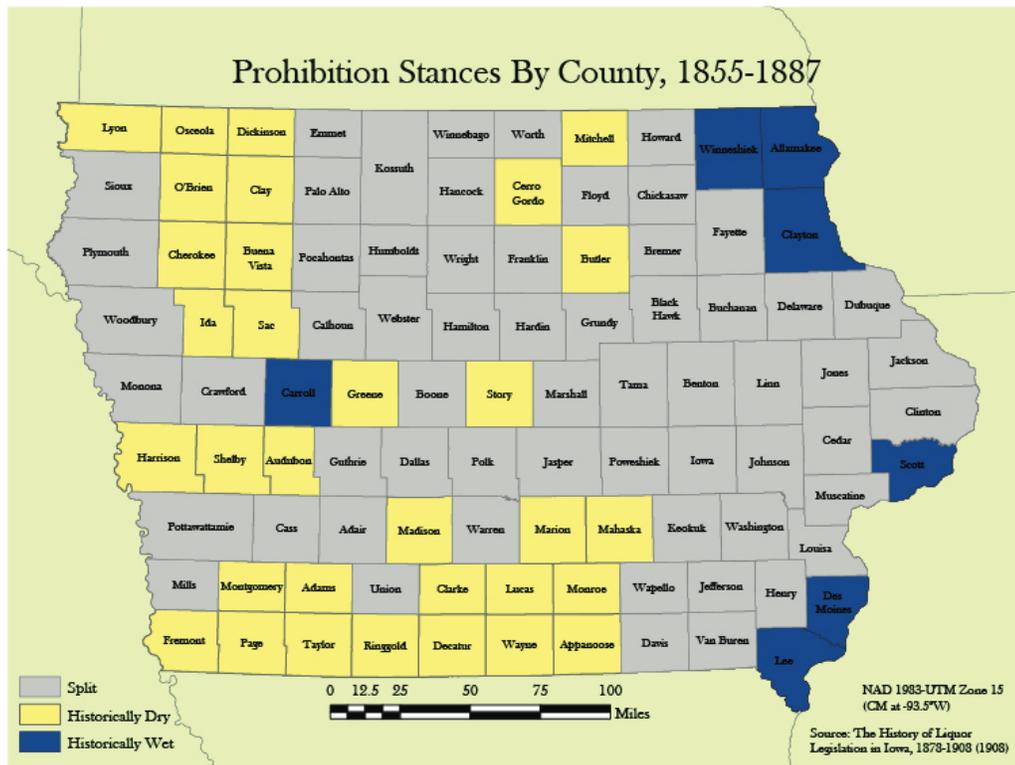


Figure 16. Seven counties remained wet, 1855-1887. On the other hand, 32 remained dry through this era. Of seven historically wet counties, the vast majority were Iowa river counties with high German populates.
Source: *ibid*

Such politicking almost immediately backfired. The Mulct Law effectively concentrated vice within Davenport’s already seedy, non-German district: Bucktown (*ibid*). As a result, Bucktown quickly became the bane of respectable women, men, Protestants, Americans, and Germans, because naturally, prostitution often coupled with alcohol sales (*ibid*). Little suggests that Germans frequented Bucktown, or participated in its activities. Germans enjoyed their beer in theaters, beer halls, grocery stores, and respectable taverns (Gerber). David Gerber observed a similar situation in Buffalo, New York. There, “German drinking houses were never a scene of scandal, and no credit reporter ever labeled them 'low' or 'rowdy,' terms used frequently for other local watering holes” (*ibid*). However, this fact does not seem to have influenced Americans’ opinions of German drinking establishments. Americans’ opinions of such watering holes steadily declined over the years.

Pretty soon, it seems, most Americans and Prohibitionists failed to delineate between respectable German places of drink and irreputable Bucktown locales.²³

The enactment of the Mulct Law also elicited questions of enforcement. With this, German-Americans wondered if they would be able to continue the practice of their cultural pastimes (i.e. frequent beer consumption at all types of events), under the good graces of law enforcement (Bowers). Such yearnings would not be received well. In 1907, a businessman and attorney “instituted over twenty injunctions against saloons.” They later demanded that, “saloons in ‘Bucktown’ be closed, the practice of serving free lunches in saloons stopped, women and children be kept out of saloons, the practice of selling beer in buckets to women and children who came for it by the back door be stopped, and saloons be closed on Sundays” (*Davenport Times* 1907). Following this, the German-American political block quickly engaged in emotionally-charged exchanges with American Mulct-supporters.

Ultimately, this commotion resulted in a modification of the proposed amendments to the Mulct Law: all amendments were kept except the restriction on Sunday saloon openings (Bowers). However, Davenport and Scott County eventually succumbed to the popularity of Mulct Law (*ibid*). Americans Protestants, women, and the socially conscious viewed the Mulct Law’s enforcement as a victory against vice and immorality in their proud city, while Germans viewed this as an egregious erosion of their ‘personal liberty.’ In this way, battles for prohibition indirectly served as the precursor to WWI-era anti-German sentiment. These conflicts excited Davenport society, and seemed to remind Americans that their German-American compatriots were different—not fully American—despite their half-century of undoubted loyalty to the stars and stripes.

²³ Americans and Prohibitionists weren’t always the same, but they often were

VIII. A Legacy Re-Emerging

Long after the first German's arrival in Davenport, Harry E. Downer, the author of Scott County's history, wrote the long-time editor of the city's German newspaper and implored that he, "write the truth about the part Germans have played in the development of Scott County and Davenport." To him, such a history could serve as "a vindication of the German character as we have known it here." As he wrote, in 1910, Davenport Germans were "disparaged...their accomplishments belittled...and they were spoken of in general terms of condemnation" (Downer). Upon the heels of Mulct Law predicament, the highly-assimilated German-Americans were marked as different and presumably lesser in the minds of their fellow Davenporters. Only eight years later, Iowa's governor, William Harding, introduced the Babel Proclamation. Per his request, all citizens should, 'refrain from all acts and conversations which might excite suspicion and strife amongst the people" (Harding 1918). In effect, this state bill prohibited the speaking of foreign languages, including German, in any public space (e.g. school, church, library, etc.) or on the telephone, and people were urged to report on anyone who violated this (Cumberland 1984).

The Babel Proclamation effectively delivered the fatal blow to the dwindling German-American society. Year after year, activities of cultural heritage—specifically Turner Society activities—were relegated to a diminutive group of German 'grays' and traditionalists (Richter 1920-22a; Hawgood; Johnson 1946). Meanwhile, children of German heritage progressively enjoyed the fruits of a prominent, Middle Western metropolis—namely, public school education, new forms of recreation, and consumerism. As the passionate August Richter reflected in 1899, this generation "owed [their] allegiance to the United States." Yet probably few had much of a clue of what their ancestors endured so that they could "make [their] homes to make it the nation of [their]selves and [their] children" (Richter 1899). Their ancestors came to America not "by chance of birth, but by choice."

Upon arrival, most of their German ancestors served as hardworking artisans, shop owners, and laborers, to support themselves and their families. In the process, they achieved high positions in nearly every business or trade, served in every public office, built up the city's education system, and comprised a large sector of Davenport's populace (perhaps an upwards of 40 percent). In doing so, the Germans were instrumental in delivering Davenport from its humble, at times, dire frontier origins to its status as an important Middle Western city by World War I. During their prominence, they assimilated remarkably into their American surroundings. Such success led them to act not only with the "purest, patriotic motives," as August Richter put it, but to gradually shed aspects of their prided German culture and assimilate into a larger American populace (ibid; Richter 1920-22a).

Despite their assimilation, questions of the rights of cultural practice arose amidst their prominence, and progressively brought to light divisions between Davenport's people—German-Americans and Americans. Although Davenport's Germans were largely viewed with reverence for their integral roles in shaping the society around them, their legacy met a tragic end with feuds over prohibition and WWI-era anti-German sentiment.

In Davenport, few marks remain from the prominent group that brought, "industry which helped to change the bare prairie into laughing, fruitful fields...the systematic physical training now taught in many schools...the

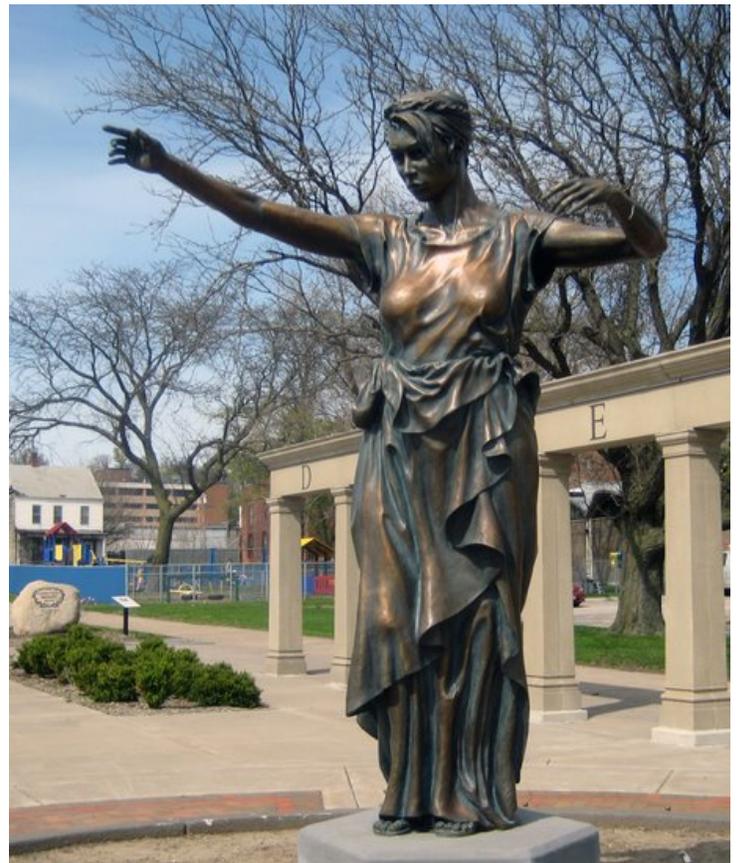


Figure 2. The "Lady of Germania" statue exists as one of only markers of German heritage and influence in Davenport. Located at the foot of the Centennial Bridge, her arm points west upon the neighborhoods in which the Germans lived.

Source: Walters

fostering of the best in vocal and instrumental music, true love of liberty, and the Christmas tree” [see **Figure 17.**] (Petersen 1910). Like elsewhere in America, the 19th century’s largest ethnic group—the Germans—vanished amidst their own success, xenophobia, and assimilation (Kazal). Yet, if one looks close enough, hopefully they can not only imagine “the human dreams that prophesized” this city’s rise—but the people who helped “trace their destiny onto the land’s own patterns” (Cronon).

Appendix A. Biographical Analysis Sample from *Biographical History and Portrait Gallery of Scott County, Iowa (1895)*

Name	Charles Augustus Ficke	Hon. Hans Reimer Claussen	August Reimers
Home Town/Region	Beitzenburg, Mecklenburg	Heide, Holstein	Schwerin-Mecklenburg
Old World Profession	Child	Politician & Member of German Parliament	Child
New World Profession	Dry goods store clerk, discount clerk at Davenport National Bank, Lawyer, Money lender, 2x mayor of Davenport	Lawyer	"Sweeper and office boy" (during teenage years), baker's apprentice, Union soldier, Candy & Cracker Factory Owner; Director and President of the Crystal Ice Company, Director of the Davenport Building and Loan Association
Old World Involvement (societies, hobbies, etc.)	None. He came to America at the age of three.	Political revolution against the Danish government	None. He came to America as a boy
New World Involvement/Pastimes	Studying and reading. Involvement with the Republican party until 1880. He then switched to the Democratic Party.		Republican representative for his ward, Grand Army of the Republic, Illinois Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Masonic Lodge (Blue Lodge and the Chapter of the Commandery)
Emigration Date	1852	1851	1849
Davenport Arrival	1852	1851	1871
Migration Pathway	Unknown. His parents were farmers early on. He spent one year of his teens in Lowden, Iowa, working in a DG store. He also traveled to NY for law school, but returned to Davenport subsequently	New Orleans to St. Louis; to Davenport	St. Louis (3 years), Worked on boats along the "lower Mississippi",
Religion	Unstated	Unstated	Presbyterian

Chain Migration (Y or N?)	Y	N	Unstated
If so, who preceded?	Wilhelm Fischer	N/A	N/A
Reason for Emigration	Chain Migration	Exiled by the Danish King, Christian VIII	
Notes	Father was a merchant. He was educated in Davenport public schools and gradually worked his way up Davenport's social hierarchy. 2x mayor of Davenport		Father died in a struggle against the Prussian King. Mother brought August and his three brothers to America (St. Louis), where she later died. Fought for the Union in the Civil War

Appendix B. Richter Papers Index

Richter, August P. 1920-1922. "The True History of Scott County, Iowa." *Davenport Democrat and Leader* (Davenport, Iowa).

Key Ideas:

- Other histories of Scott County were written before 1920; however, these histories were often theme-based instead of chronological. For instance, Downer's 1910 history of Scott County discusses education, occupation, immigration, and so on and so forth, instead of comprehensively chronicling the county's history from one year to the next.
- Dr. August P. Richter, an enthusiastic lei historian, spent 40 years "diligently gathering from every available source the scattered historical data and fragments, principally scanning every page of the various newspaper files, from the first days of the *Iowa Sun* to the present time" (April 11, 1920).
- His first history was written in German and then in English. The second history (i.e. this volume) was only written in English, and published in the *Davenport Democrat and Leader* as a matter of "public service."
- Dr. Richter viewed this history as a 'labor of love.' He gave up his job to write this history, and unfortunately, he received insufficient return on this economic and emotional endeavor.

Reference Note:

- The bolded letters (**a**, **b**, **c**, etc.) refer to the selected newspaper chapter within the year it was published.

1920

- ❑ "A Monument to Our Predecessors and an Example For their Successors" (April 11, 1920) **a**
- ❑ "The State of Iowa. A Brief Account of Its Physical Conditions, and Its Historical, Political and Economical Growth" (April 18, 1920) **b**
- ❑ "Davenport, A Young Giant. Railroad Dreams, Metropolitan Airs of a Country-Town, 1850" (May 9, 1920) **c**
- ❑ "The Year 1851--Davenport a Real 'City'—Charles Weston—Hungarian Refugees—East Davenport—The Great Flood and the Cholera" (May 16, 1920) **d**
- ❑ "Year 1852—Temperance in Progression—If but in Profession—Church or School?—School Carries the Day—"Old Trinity"—Turners in Davenport—Scott-Pierce Campaign" (May 23, 1920) **e**
- ❑ "Year 1853--The Beginning of a Railroad—High Expectations—Loaning Hand Prices—Flush Times—A Sealed Cannon—Japanese Awakening" (May 30, 1920) **f**
- ❑ "Germans in Scott County—Their Pathfinders—Tide of German Immigrants Begins in 1846" (June 6, 1920) **g**
- ❑ "Year 1854--First Shriek of the Locomotive—New Era for Davenport—Distinguished Visitors—Political Revulsion—Governor Grimes" (June 13, 1920-June 27, 1920) **h**

- ❑ “The Year 1855—Fervent Christianity and Icy Water—A Memorable Election—Prohibition and Rebellion—Locomotives in Iowa—The Bridge—A Handicapped City Administration—Birth of the Davenport Democrat” (July 4, 1920) **i**
- ❑ “The ‘Forty-eighters’—Citizens of Two Continents--Men of Ideals and Principles—Germany’s Loss, America’s Gain” (August 1, 1920) **j**
- ❑ “Year 1856—A New Trade Channel to the East—Muenchhausen In Iowa City—The Effie Alton Disaster—Patti and Uncle Tom” (August 8, 1920-August 29, 1920) **k**
- ❑ “Year 1857—Prosperous Davenport—The Water Power of the Great River—Davenport’s Special Charter—An Open-Handed City Council—Heating a Street—The Crash of Fifty-Seven” (September 5, 1920-September 12, 1920) **l**
- ❑ “The Mississippi Bandits and the Regulators on the Wapsipinicon—Pat Crowe, the Last of the Wapsi Tigers” (September 19, 1920) **m**

1921

- ❑ “Forty-Eighth Installment” (March 6, 1921) **n**
- ❑ “The Year 1867—A School Election. The People’s Party—Burtis Opera House—Church Activities—Davenport at the World’s Fair—Rapids Improvement—Bridging the Wapsie—Alaska is Ours” (May 29, 1921) **o**
- ❑ “The Year 1868—The Bond Debt Imbroglia—First Decoration Day—A Horse Railway—The New Bridge and Its Ownership—A Northwestern Railroad—Jail Birds—Academy of Sciences—Unitarian Church—Schuetzen Park” (June 5, 1921) **p**
- ❑ “The Sheriff’s Boarders” (June 12, 1921) **q**
- ❑ “Davenport for a National Capital” (July 10, 1921) **r**
- ❑ “Year 1870—Temperance Radicals and the ‘Bartmeyer Case’—Operations in Finance—Founding of Eldridge—The Sparrow—Franco-German War—Tragedies—Growth of the City and County—A Great Decade” (July 31, 1921- August 7, 1921) **s**
- ❑ “Year 1871—Blizzard, Heat, Drought—A Weather Situation—Public Improvements—County Administration Reconstructed—Corn Syrup and Sugar—Sulphur Springs—President Grant in Davenport” (August 14, 1921) **t**
- ❑ “Patriots and Pioneers” (September 25, 1921) **u**
- ❑ “1876—The National Centennial—The Hill Block Fire—A Glorious Independence Day—Storm and Flood—The Davenport and Northwestern—Dark Deeds” (December 4, 1921) **v**

1922

- ❑ “Year 1879—Two Destructive Fires—A Blow to Eldridge Junction—Fraternal and Social Life—Retrenchment in Public Expenditures—Prohibition Advances—J. J. Burtis Leaves Davenport—Troubled Property Owners” (January 8, 1922-January 22, 1922) **w**
- ❑ “1880—Business Revived—Two Carnival Plays—Fires and Storms—A Memorial Day—In Ireland’s Cause—A Memorable Presidential Campaign” (January 29, 1922) **x**
- ❑ “Religious and Benevolent Institutions—Crimes and Accidents—Victory and Defeat of Prohibition—The Last Summons—Educational and Social—Destructive Fire” (April 2, 1922-April 16, 1922) **y**

- ❑ “One Hundred Sixteenth Installment” (June 18, 1922) **z**
- ❑ “1887—Many Wholesome Activities—More Transportation Facilities—Monumental Buildings—Some Reverses—Merry Travelers” (August 6, 1922) **aa**
- ❑ “Men of Deed—H. R. Claussen, Ernst Claussen, C. A. Ficke, R. Krause, N. Kuhnen” (August 13, 1922-August 20, 1922) **ab**
- ❑ “1888—Cold and Wet—Masonic Temple and Turner Hall—Rebellious Knights—Riding by Electricity—A Resourceful Tramp” (September 10, 1922-September 17, 1922) **ac**
- ❑ “Washington’s First Inauguration and the Nation’s Birthday Centennial—German Forefather’s Day—The River Carnivals” (September 24, 1922) **ad**
- ❑ “1890—A New Fair Society—Trust Activities—A Tribute to Union Soldiers—First Official Labor Day—A Good Decade for Davenport” (October 17, 1922) **ae**

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