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## Selling the Heartland: Agents, Agencies, Press, and Policies Promoting German Emigration to Kansas in the Nineteenth Century

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by Eleanor L. Turk

**T**WO SIGNIFICANT, though initially unrelated, developments occurred in 1854. In the United States, the Kansas Territory, hitherto an Indian reserve, was opened to general settlement. And far across the Atlantic, in the thirty-nine states of the German Confederation, 250,000 Germans set out to emigrate to the United States. Although this peak was not again equalled until the 1880s, more Germans than any other Europeans came to America between 1850 and 1890. Few of the Germans setting out for the New World in 1854 had heard of Kansas. Indeed, if they knew of it at all, it was as "the Great American Desert," branded unfit for habitation or cultivation by no less authority than explorer Zebulon Pike and his counterpart, Stephen H. Long.<sup>1</sup>

This daunting image appears to have had an impact on foreign immigration to the state. Demographers have pointed out that even in 1870, the state's peak year for such immigration, the foreign-born provided only 13.3 percent of the Kansas population, while neighboring Nebraska attracted 25 percent of its population from overseas. Moreover, the Kansas foreign-born population declined to 4.3 percent by 1930. By contrast, the general population of the United States included 14.7 percent foreign-born from 1890 to 1910, and the popu-

lation of the state of New York was 25.9 percent foreign-born in 1930.<sup>2</sup>

Of those Europeans who did seek out Kansas, more Germans came than any others. Between 1860 and 1900, they constituted nearly thirty percent of the foreign-born immigrants who settled in Kansas.<sup>3</sup> What made Kansas so attractive to the Germans? Why did they choose to settle Kansas' prairies rather than seek opportunities in the great cities of the East or the wide-open plains of the North and West? Who convinced them that this was the "heartland" instead of the desert, and how? These are the areas that this article will explore.

It took courage to consider emigration. Until the mid-nineteenth century the transatlantic crossings usually lasted about forty desperate days, during which the emigrant was confined below decks day and night, in fair weather and foul. His home was a box-like bunk, about 10 feet wide, 5 feet long and 3 feet high shared with three to nine others. To the ever present navigational hazards of shipwreck and fire were added those of disease: "cholera, dysentery, yellow fever, smallpox, measles, and the generic 'ship fever' . . . [N]ormal mortality was about 10 per cent" on the typical crossing.<sup>4</sup>

Despite these challenges, between 65,000 and 100,000 Germans went to America during the Colonial period.<sup>5</sup> The American Revolution and Napoleonic wars slowed European emigration, but after 1815 the flow resumed.

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1. Robert W. Richmond, *Kansas: A Land of Contrasts* (St. Charles, Mo.: Forum Press, 1974), 21, 23.

2. Carrol D. Clark and Roy L. Roberts, *People of Kansas: A Demographic and Sociological Study* (Topeka: Kansas State Planning Board, 1936), 49; Frederick C. Luebke, "Ethnic Group Settlement on the Great Plains," *Western Historical Quarterly* 8 (October 1977): 405-6.

3. Clark and Roberts, *People of Kansas*, 211.

4. Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted*, 2d ed. (Boston-Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1951), 45-46.

5. Gunter Moltmann, ed., *Germans to America. 300 Years of Immigration 1683 to 1983* (Stuttgart: Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations, 1982), 9.



The two great German ports of Bremen and Hamburg competed for emigrant trade. The success of that competition was depicted in this Harper's Weekly 1874 illustration, "From the Old to the New World—German Emigrants for New York Embarking on a Hamburg Steamer."

Between 1819 and 1829 an average of 5,000 Germans entered the United States each year. From 1820, when the U.S. government began recording immigration statistics, through 1900, over 5 million Germans emigrated to America, almost 4.5 million of them between 1850 and 1900.<sup>6</sup>

One of the greatest hazards faced by the emigrants was the unscrupulous emigrant agent. For example, in 1818 Captain de Groot of the Dutch ship *April* greedily recruited emigrant passengers. Although *April* had a listed capacity for 400 passengers, he booked passage for 1,200. Because of various delays, 115 of these died aboard ship before the vessel left Amsterdam harbor,

and another 300 had to be hospitalized. An additional 500 passengers died during the crossing.<sup>7</sup>

American response was minimal. In 1819, Congress limited passenger ships entering U.S. ports to two passengers per every five tons of the ship's registered weight. But not until 1847 did it act again, decreeing that each passenger was to have "fourteen clear superficial feet of deck" space, including a "well constructed" berth at least 6 feet long and 18 inches wide. (However, children under one year of age were not counted and two children under eight years of age were counted as one passenger.) In 1848, Congress required proper ventilation, cooking facilities and basic cleaning procedures of ships entering American ports. In 1849 the Congress ruled that shipowners and masters had to

6. Oscar Canstatt, *Die deutsche Auswanderung, Auswanderungsfürsorge und Auswandererziele* (Berlin: n.p. [1905]), 11, 51-53. United States Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States 1789-1945, A Supplement to the Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Commerce, 1949), 34-36.

7. Rudolf Cronau, *Denkschrift zum 150. Jahrestag der deutschen Gesellschaft der Stadt New York 1784-1934* ([New York]: Chas. H. Bohn & Co., Inc., 1934), 64; Handlin, *The Uprooted*, 46.

provide drinking water and also see that passengers provided themselves with a "sufficient supply of good and wholesome food."<sup>8</sup>

Within the German Confederation the states were similarly unconcerned with emigration. Initially, most Germans traveled to the Atlantic ports of Rotterdam, Antwerp or LeHavre, and many even traveled to England in order to find boats to America. The two major German ports, Bremen on the Weser River, and Hamburg on the Elbe, were preoccupied with rebuilding their trade routes on the European continent and in the Baltic Sea. Bremen was at a considerable trading disadvantage; the Weser River was shallow and its channels frequently silted up. Goods often had to be hauled in by cart, a slow and expensive procedure. The Bremen merchants soon recognized, however, that emigrants paid their own way to port. Thus, in 1832 the Bremen Senate enacted revolutionary legislation requiring shipping companies to provide emigrant passengers with sufficient food for the Atlantic crossing. As the first European harbor to provide such protection to passengers, Bremen quickly became the German center for emigrant transportation. Because emigrant passage money helped ship captains finance other trading ventures, they, too, began to favor the Weser port. In a very short time Hamburg experienced a five percent decline in trade, while that of Bremen increased by twenty percent. As a result, in 1837, Hamburg also began to enact regulations protecting emigrants.<sup>9</sup> Thereafter, these two cities competed to promote the emigrant trade. This in turn forced the other German states to cope with the problem. By mid-century most German state governments began enacting some sort of legislation to protect their subjects from unscrupulous travel agents and overseas land speculation.<sup>10</sup>

The competition between the two great German ports resulted in material benefits for German emigrants. Just when Europe suffered one of its worst

disasters, travel became safer and less expensive. In 1847 the potato famine shocked peasants from both Ireland and the continent into emigration. In July many of those from the continent emigrated through Liverpool, carried there by small boats from Bremen and Hamburg. "Vessels were arriving with every tide," according to one report, "the German ones neat and healthy, the Irish and English vessels full of disease."<sup>11</sup>

The Hamburg merchants went even further. They founded a corporation and inaugurated the Hamburg-America Shipping Line. In 1848 they purchased two sailing ships with the capacity to embark two hundred emigrants below decks, and twenty cabin passengers. The emigrant trade was so lucrative, however, that within five years they bought four more sailing ships and chartered a number of others. In 1853 they commissioned the construction of two steamships.<sup>12</sup>

By this time, many travel agents from America were congregating in the two German ports. To cope with them, the Hamburg merchants formed the Hamburg Association for the Protection of Emigrants in 1851. Financed by contributions, the association set up the Information Bureaus for Emigrants in local railroad stations to provide free and reliable information concerning the cost of rooms and provisions in the city, passage prices and dates, and the amount and types of provisions to take on board ship. The voluntary agency found it difficult to enforce compliance by unscrupulous landlords and agents. Therefore, in 1854, a year in which fifty thousand emigrants passed through Hamburg, the merchant association turned to the government for assistance. The 1855 Hamburg Senate established an official Emigration Commission. It was charged to continue and expand the operations of the Information Bureau and to oversee and regulate those businesses involved in the emigrant trade.<sup>13</sup>

Thus, by the time Kansas was opened to settlement, governments on both sides of the Atlantic had taken steps to improve the conditions of emigration. Especially in Germany, efforts were made to advise travelers prior to their departure, and to assure that they had clean, economical accommodations before departure. The United States benefitted as well, however. In 1855 the New York Board of Emigration reported that approxi-

8. William J. Bromwell, *History of Immigration to the United States Exhibiting the Number, Sex, Age, Occupation, and Country of Birth, of Passengers Arriving in the United States by Sea From Foreign Countries, From September 30, 1819, to December 31, 1855; Compiled Entirely from Official Data: With an Introductory Review of the Progress and Extent of Immigration to the United States Prior to 1819, and an Appendix Containing the Naturalization and Passenger Laws of the Several States Relative to Immigrants, the Importation of Paupers, Convicts, Lunatics, Etc.* (New York: Redfield, 1856), 206-7.

9. Birgit Gelberg, *Auswanderung nach Übersee. Soziale Problem der Auswandererbeförderung in Hamburg und Bremen von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Hamburg: Hans Christian Verlag, 1973), 10-11.

10. Carstatt, *Die deutsche Auswanderung*, 51-69; Ingrid Schöberl, "Emigration Policy in Germany and Immigration Policy in the United States," in *Germans to America*, 37-41.

11. Terry Coleman, *Going to America* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor, 1973), 153.

12. K. Thiess, "Die Entwicklung der Hamburg-Amerika Linie von 1847 bis 1901," *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, III. Folge, 21. Band 1901, 817-18.

13. Gelberg, *Auswanderung nach Übersee*, 13-15.

# KANSAS OCH COLORADO.

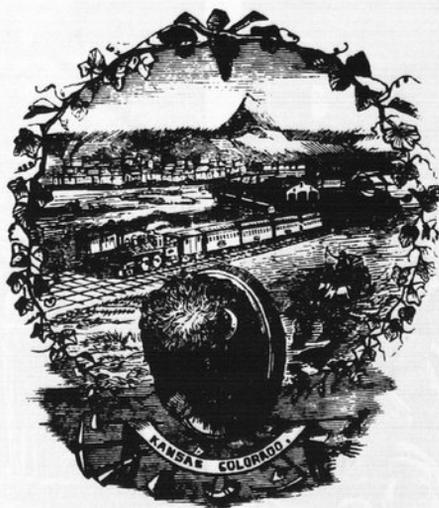
En kort beskrifning öfver landet, dess

Boskapsskötsel och Åkerbruk

längs

**Kansas-Pacific-Jernbanan.**

Med en karta.



**Köpenhamn.**

O. C. Olsen & Co. Boktryckeri.

1877.

*With guides and pamphlets printed in the language of prospective settlers, railroads actively promoted emigration.*

mately \$20 million "in money" was brought into the United States during 1854 by German immigrants.<sup>14</sup>

During the 1860s war again disrupted the Atlantic migration: the American Civil War, 1861 to 1865, and the German wars of unification, 1864 to 1870. Yet, the steamship and steam engine came into their own during this period. In the 1860s there were about eighty steamships regularly sailing between Europe and the United States, and by 1865 more emigrants were traveling to the United States by steam than by sail.<sup>15</sup>

The application of steam to sea transport was paralleled by the development of steam railroads during the same

period in the United States. In 1850 there were 9,021 miles of railroad track in operation. By 1875 this had increased to 74,096, and at the end of the century it had reached 192,556, with 1,224 operating railways.<sup>16</sup>

Early railroad development, combined with canal construction, helped distribute the growing population of the new nation. The five million Americans of 1800 almost doubled by 1820, and that number had more than doubled again by 1850, reaching a population of over twenty-three million.<sup>17</sup> Those Germans who arrived distributed themselves along the East Coast at first, but then began to move out into the Ohio Valley and the upper Midwest, a region which some scholars have characterized as the "German Belt" of settlement.<sup>18</sup>

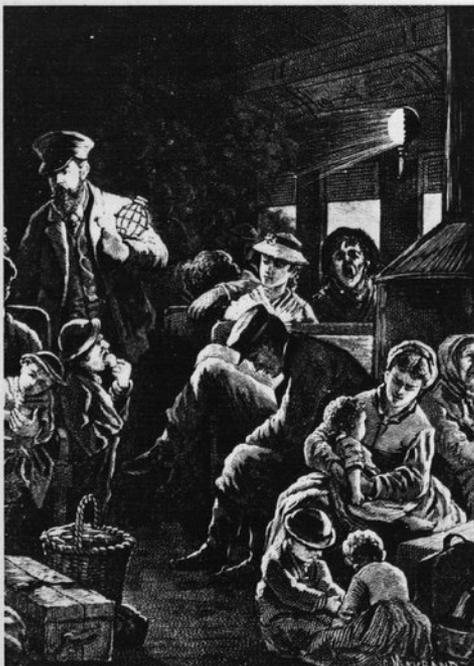
14. Eleanor L. Turk, "The Germans of Atchison, 1854-1859: Development of an Ethnic Community," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 2 (Autumn 1979): 150.

15. John Maxtone Graham, *The Only Way to Cross* (New York: Collier Books, 1972), 9; Thomas W. Page, "The Transportation of Immigrants and Reception Arrangements in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Political Economy* 19 (1911): 735.

16. *Historical Statistics of the United States*, 200-5.

17. *Ibid.*, 26.

18. John A. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940), 80-90.



In 1874, Harper's Weekly illustrated the "interior of a car on an emigrant train at night" and explained that these cars were often attached to a freight train traveling to the West. Thus, when room had to be made for freight cars on the train, the travelers would be "switched off" to a side track "to wait for hours before a train comes to take them on."

The answer to why the emigrants came to Kansas can be found in two important pieces of American legislation, enacted just in time to bring the wave of German emigration and the new transportation technology into contact with the "Great American Desert": the Homestead Act and the Pacific Railway Act, both passed in 1862. The Homestead Act gave free 160-acre grants of land from the public domain to farmers who pledged to improve the land. Even new immigrants could obtain the land grant, providing they declared their intention to apply for citizenship.<sup>19</sup> The second enactment provided huge allotments of public lands to railroad developers in order to subsidize the building of transcontinental railroads. In Kansas, land grants went to the Kansas Pacific and to the Atchison and Pikes Peak railroads, both branches of the Union Pacific Company. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway received almost three million acres, and a number of smaller roads also benefitted.<sup>20</sup> The railroads needed to sell their trackage landholdings in order to raise capital and attract customers for their services. The immigrants were promising customers. Thus, the American railroad developers and the German steamship captains had a mutual interest in encouraging Germans to go to Kansas. What they needed were mechanisms for recruitment.

The immigrants themselves had already established one such mechanism. In 1765 the German-Americans of Pennsylvania, concerned about the dreadful conditions of emigrant travel, founded the German Society of Pennsylvania "to aid and assist distressed foreigners of German nativity in Pennsylvania..." In 1784 a corresponding branch was founded in New York City "to promote emigration from Germany, to assist immigrants in distress as well as their descendants and to spread useful knowledge among compatriots who have settled in the State of New York." As German settlers moved westward, the network of assistance organizations went with them. German immigrant aid societies were founded in the coastal cities of New Orleans, Boston, Hartford, and New Haven. Further inland, along river, canal, and early railroad routes, branches were founded in Rochester, New York; Pittsburgh and Allentown, Pennsylvania; Cincinnati; Chicago; Milwaukee and St. Paul; St. Louis and Kansas City; and eventually in San Francisco and Seattle.<sup>21</sup>

These organizations reached out to Germans on both sides of the Atlantic. In 1882 the New York

German Society published a pamphlet, *Practical Counsel and Information for German Emigrants*, and offered new arrivals employment, legal aid, and banking services.<sup>22</sup> These organizations also provided the German emigration commissions with information on American travel, wages, land prices, citizenship requirements, and employment. For example, in 1872 the New York German Society annual report provided a listing of lawyers for every county in Kansas and the lawyers' post office addresses.<sup>23</sup>

German settlement in Kansas started slowly. The 1855 census of the Kansas Territory registered only 115 individuals of German birth. Fifty-five of these had already been naturalized, and an additional thirteen had applied for citizenship. This indicates that they had moved to Kansas after previous settlement elsewhere, many coming from the "German Belt."<sup>24</sup> Some of the Germans had responded to the urgings of the New England Emigrant Aid Society, an organization of eastern abolitionists who were anxious to populate the new territory with antislavery voters.<sup>25</sup> While most of the Germans settled around the army post at Fort Leavenworth, a few braved the proslavery sentiments of Atchison.

One of those who settled near Fort Leavenworth was the German-born surgeon, Charles F. Kob. In 1857 he left Massachusetts for Atchison where, with the backing of the abolitionist organization, he founded a German-language newspaper, the *Kansas Zeitung*. Thus, the German abolitionist became one of the first agents to sell the heartland. In his initial issues Kob stated his objectives clearly, in both German and English:

The main object of this paper is (besides helping to build up Kansas a Free State...) to give the millions of German citizens in the States, and the emigrants who come to our shores from Europe, a vivid and true picture of our land so blessed by nature, to show them that there is a broad field and a speedy reward for their labor....<sup>26</sup>

He promoted his paper as a good advertising medium for reaching Germans on both sides of the Atlantic:

19. Ibid., 87-93.

20. *Chart of the United States Law Association and Collection Union: Containing the Name of a Reliable and Responsible Lawyer in Every County of the United States* No. 7, 1871, issued by Ulman & Gozzan, Principal Office, 132 Broadway, New York. Auswanderungsamt, VII 2, XIII (1872), 1; 11-12, Staatsarchiv Hamburg, German Federal Republic.

21. Territory of Kansas, Census of 1855. Clark and Roberts, *People of Kansas*, 208.

22. Samuel A. Johnson, "The Emigrant Aid Society in the Kansas Conflict," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 6 (February 1937): 25.

23. *Kansas Zeitung*, Atchison, July 22, 1857.

19. Gilbert C. Fite, *The Farmers' Frontier 1865-1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977), 16.

20. Homer E. Socolofsky and Huber Self, *Historical Atlas of Kansas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), n 30.

21. Cronau, *Denkschrift zum 150*, 71.

The *Kansas Zeitung*, the only German paper in the Territory, and on the Missouri river, will have a larger circulation than any other journal printed in the Territory. . . . Our subscription list in the eastern states has already reached a number exceeding our best expectations; yes, some of our copies will cross the Atlantic.<sup>27</sup>

However, Kob was not alone in his efforts to attract Germans to the territory. In March of 1858 he was able to reprint an article from the German-language *Illinois Zeitung* entitled, "Off to Kansas":

... Emigrants who own horses should ride directly to Kansas. Otherwise, go to St. Louis and take the steamship to Wyandotte or Kansas City. A cabin costs \$10, below decks \$5 or \$6. You should take sufficient clothing, even if it costs extra. Also bring flint and rifle. With \$100 you can do very well, but even with nothing you can find plenty of work, and Kansas offers definite security to the emigrant and his family. Daily wages for craftsmen are high here, and a diligent worker can earn \$2-4 per day, at the same time buy a good farm at \$1.25 per acre. Because there is so much to be done here, the prospects are superior for craftsmen. A man with a good horse can earn \$3-4, a regular worker \$1-2. . . . (Livestock is cheaper here than in the East.) A horse costs \$60-100, a mule about the same; oxen \$60-90; cattle \$16-30; sheep \$1 1/2-2 1/2. Plows can be bought everywhere, as can seed, although you would be advised to bring good seed with you. A person can build a wood house at first which, for 5-6 people would cost \$10-15. Stone houses cost 12 1/2-14¢ per cubic foot, so that a relatively comfortable 1 1/2 storey house costs approximately \$300. A log house costs \$50-100, or if of the most durable quality, \$100-250. There is ample stone of a type suitable for building.<sup>28</sup>

Kob wrote from conviction, but also had a keen eye for profit. He published an emigrant's guide to Kansas, which he advertised in his newspaper for twenty cents per copy. In 1858 he turned the newspaper over to another German editor in Fort Leavenworth and became a land speculator, trying to sell off lots for a town named Bunker Hill in Atchison County.<sup>29</sup>

The *Kansas Zeitung* did not survive the Civil War, and during the 1860s efforts to establish eight other German-language newspapers also failed, no doubt as a result of wars in the United States and in Germany. However, from the 1870s through the end of the century there was an astonishing blossoming of German-language journals in Kansas: twenty founded during the 1870s,



Of the immigrants who came to Kansas, there were more German-born than any other national group. Shown above and on the facing page are two Ellis County families of German heritage.

nearly fifty more by the end of the century, and almost sixty more by the eve of the First World War.<sup>30</sup> Consisting of daily and weekly newspapers, as well as religious and general household magazines, the German-language press of Kansas circulated widely and provided a vehicle for promoting German settlement here. Its growth was also an important barometer of the success of that mission.

In 1870 the *Freie Presse*, published in Leavenworth by the Haberlein family, was the only German-language newspaper in Kansas. Its range and activity in recruiting

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Kansas Zeitung*, March 27, 1858, p. 2.

29. *Kansas Zeitung*, August 19, 1857, p. 2. Kob's name appeared in several classified ads promoting the land venture.

30. Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-Language Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1955* (Heidelberg: 1961), 151-67. See also Eleanor L. Turk, "The German Newspapers of Kansas," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 6 (Spring 1983): 46-64.



German settlers can be gauged by the following article from the *Deutsche Auswanderer-Zeitung*, a German newspaper for emigrants published in Bremen. The article was placed in the official files of the Hamburg Emigration Commission:

Bremen, 30 June, 1873: J. M. Haberlein, publisher of the *Kansas Freien Presse*, died at the end of May. The *Kansas Post* wrote of him: Haberlein, who of late has been better known by the respectful title of "the elder," [settled in]... Leavenworth and undertook to publish the *Freie Presse*. This paper, the only German newspaper in Kansas, he published without interruption until his death. Mr. Haberlein was, we believe, from Würzburg, and throughout his life displayed that gracious, friendly manner which is so characteristic of the sons of Bavaria. He will be remembered with respect by all who knew him.<sup>31</sup>

31. "2. Anlage Protocolle," Bd. XIX, 1873, 101, Auswanderungsamt, VII, Staatsarchiv Hamburg, German Federal Republic.

Another proud booster of Kansas was Edward Fleischer, who was editor and publisher of *Der Courier*, a German-language newspaper published in Atchison and Topeka from 1874 to 1881. Fleischer, who boasted that the *Courier* had "a larger circulation among the Germans living along the A.T. and S.F. R.R. [Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe] than any other German paper in the United States," took on the state's "Great American Desert" reputation in a July 1876 article entitled "Dry Kansas":

Our exhibits which right now are earning the astonished admiration of all nations at the World's Fair, demonstrate clearly the agricultural productivity of the past year. They also show the abundant rainfall to be quite sufficient and that the attribute "dry" is utterly unwarranted.<sup>32</sup>

32. *Atchison Courier*, July 20, 1876, p. 2.

Fleischer often toured the Kansas countryside, and he frequently wrote about various regions in the columns of his paper. In October of 1877, having led such a tour for local Germans, he revealed his true dream. Fleischer proposed the establishment of a Kansas association to promote German immigration.

[M]y friends, has this short trip through the settled areas of Kansas convinced you...? And aren't you now proud to be a citizen of such a state and to be of German descent? Is it not your duty to announce this to the rest of the world and especially to Germans everywhere who are eking out a miserable existence in less fortunate regions of the United States? That, gentlemen, should be the object of our association, not to give financial support, but a moral encouragement to these people who wish to better themselves... Gentlemen, let us send a circular to all Germans in the state encouraging them to organize themselves... [W]e can establish the state organization and take the necessary steps to put it into operation... to promote the general interests of the state, and of the German people.<sup>33</sup>

In addition to immigrant societies and the German-language press, there was an alliance of railroad and land agents that provided Germans with a barrage of sales and public relations materials. Charles Bernard Schmidt, a German immigrant who became commissioner of immigration for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway, described the process:

With a keen appreciation of the importance of a rapid settlement of the lands tributary to the railroad, Mr. Touzalin [the general passenger agent and land commissioner of the line] set about at once to organize an army of land agents, scattering them through out the eastern and middle states... Each agent was amply supplied with attractive literature... A system of effective newspaper advertising was inaugurated... One of the most important and most interesting features of the land department was the foreign immigration department, the organization and conduct of which was placed in my hands. From a small beginning it grew to extensive proportions;... The prosperous German, Austrian, Swiss and Mennonite settlements [on the Kansas]... Santa Fe system are the fruits of this foreign immigration work.<sup>34</sup>

Schmidt regarded his greatest work to be the promotion of the resettlement of some fifteen thousand German-speaking Russian Mennonites in Kansas. As

part of his first expedition to Russia in 1875, Schmidt stopped in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland to appoint local businessmen as agents for the railroad.<sup>35</sup> To them he provided promotional materials developed by the railroad, such as the pamphlet issued in 1881, attributed to Schmidt, which described German settlements along the railroad right-of-way. Over fifty pages long, the pamphlet details, with numerous tables, the geography, climate, and economic productivity of the state. After describing prosperous townships and individual settlers, the rhetoric pauses to ask, "Who should come to Kansas?" The answer is both daunting and challenging:

Not the artisan who needs a job, unless he is certain there is a workshop which offers him work; not the young salesman seeking a position in a shop, since such positions are already filled; not the man who fails at everything he undertakes; not the farmer of limited means who will be obliged to work his farm under the oppression of mortgage payments; not the malcontent who, unhappy with the lack of opportunity in the homeland, has exaggerated ideas about becoming rich in America without having to work hard. Kansas cannot use such people—but rather men and women of intelligence, resolute, determined and enterprising; men who are determined to overcome any obstacles, men who want to work and who know how to build achievements out of every useful opportunity. Such men Kansas can use; for them Kansas is a well-spring of prosperity. Men with capital are welcome... With an investment of 4000 [marks] it is possible to buy a farmstead, although a good one may cost 6000 to 7000 marks. The farmer with 15,000 to invest can acquire a wonderful farm in south-central Kansas, in a nicely developed community, close to schools and churches, and will be most comfortable from the outset. Moreover, he can invest about one-third of his capital in cattle raising and, unless he is a poor impractical manager, will realize annually a 33% return on his investment.<sup>36</sup>

The railroad also selected local German immigrants as land agents and urged them to contact their countrymen before they left home and concentrate on selling them land in Kansas. F. A. Steckel, who ran a store in Ellinwood, is credited for attracting enough Germans to found the village of Germania nearby.<sup>37</sup>

33. *Ibid.*, October 4, 1877, p. 1.

34. C. B. Schmidt, "Reminiscences of Foreign Immigration Work for Kansas," *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society 1905-1906*, 9: 487, 488.

35. *Ibid.*, 495.

36. "Neuestes von Kansas und seinen Hilfsquellen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Landereien der Atchison Topeka & Santa Fe Eisenbahn," 37, papers of J. Neale Carman, PP106, Box 11 - KB/H/AT 24, Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas.

37. Nell Blythe Waldron, "Colonization in Kansas from 1861-1890" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1923), 83.

That is not to say, however, that there were no problems. For example, numbers of the aggressive American agents in Germany competed to sell tickets for their railroad and canal lines in the States. They often misrepresented cost and travel times, or even sold counterfeit tickets. The Hamburg businessmen banned them as early as 1854, which meant that the railroads had to appoint local agents in the port cities. The registry of these men was carefully maintained, and those suspected of impropriety were promptly investigated.<sup>38</sup> Land agents from the American states were similarly discouraged. By 1874 the Hamburg Emigration Commission reported that the only remaining American resident agent was from Iowa, and that he had declared German citizenship in 1861. A former agent from Michigan had left for Leipzig, and the Nebraska agent had returned to America. Agents from Texas and Missouri still operated in Bremen.<sup>39</sup>

In 1899 a shadow fell across the activities of the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Settlement Company, which was apparently carrying on business through an unregis-

tered agent. An investigation was mounted and it was discovered that the agent was only distributing land information in Odessa, on the Black Sea, and recommending that the emigrants travel to Hamburg to use the Hamburg-Amerika Line. Satisfied, the commission dropped the investigation and sat back to enjoy the profits.<sup>40</sup>

Thus, from its earliest days, there were voices, speaking both English and German, calling out to emigrants on both sides of the Atlantic and inviting them to settle in Kansas. As a result, the German-born population in Kansas grew at a surprising rate, from 14,551 in 1870 to 38,566 in 1880, and again to 62,992 in 1890. Although German immigration slowed down after that, there were 58,024 German-born citizens in Kansas in 1900, and 65,842 in 1910.<sup>41</sup> Clearly the agents and agencies, publicists and press had done their jobs well. Selling the "heartland" was a complex and successful part of the great folk migration from Europe in the nineteenth century. As such, it contributed significantly to the successful growth and rich history of the state of Kansas. KH

38. "Dritter Jahresbericht..." Auswanderungsamt, VII 2. Bd. IV; "Reichsangehörigkeit der Auswanderungsagenten," *ibid.*, VII 2. Bd. XX, 1874, Protocolle Anlage; "Amerikanische Siedlungsgesellschaft Missouri, Kansas and Texas Trust Co.," *ibid.*, IV E. 1 3, Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Federal German Republic.

39. "Bericht," 2/8, 1-2, Auswanderungsamt, VII, 2 XX 1874, Protocolle Anlage, Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Federal German Republic.

40. "Amerikanische Siedlungsgesellschaft 'Missouri, Kansas und Texas Trust Co.," May 8, 1899, pp. 1-5, Auswanderungsamt, IV, E 1 3, Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Federal German Republic.

41. J. Neale Carman, *Foreign-Language Units of Kansas, I: Historical Atlas and Statistics* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1962), 9.