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Kenneth W. Rock*Colorado State University*

UNSERE LEUTE: THE GERMANS FROM RUSSIA IN COLORADO

Розглянуто історію переселення, життя та облантування російських німців, які імігрували в кінці XIX – на початку XX вв. до американського штату Колорадо.

Ключові слова: російські німці, Колорадо, німецькі колоністи, меноніти, культивування цукрового буряка.

Рассмотрена история переселения, жизни и обустройства российских немцев, иммигрировавших в конце XIX – начале XX вв. в американский штат Колорадо.

Ключевые слова: российские немцы, Колорадо, немецкие колонисты, меннониты, культивирование сахарной свеклы.

The history of resettlement and rehabilitation of Russian Germans who immigrated to the U.S., Colorado in the late XIX – early XX centuries is reviewed.

Keywords: Russian Germans, Colorado, German colonists, the Mennonites, the cultivation of sugar beets.

Im Beitrag wird die Geschichte der Umsiedlung, des Lebens und der Einrichtung von Russlanddeutschen, die Ende des 19. – Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts in den amerikanischen Staat Colorado immigrierten, beleuchtet.

Schlüsselbegriffe: Russlanddeutsche, Colorado, deutsche Kolonisten, Mennoniten, Zuckerrübenanbau.

Anyone perusing the telephone directories of Colorado's front range cities cannot fail to be struck by the large number of German surnames and will naturally conclude that the «German element» comprises a significant portion of contemporary Coloradans. History confirms that German-speaking peoples have played a major role in Colorado's destiny – in the mining camps, in the mountain valleys, in the growing cities, and on the irrigated plains.

Territorial Colorado's first «Anglo» colony was organized in 1869 by a Prussian, Carl Wulsten, who persuaded some three hundred German-speaking men, women, and children from Chicago to settle in the Wet

Mountain Valley by March 1870. Although this initial introduction of «thrifty German farmers into Colorado's economy» did not flourish (many settlers drifted off to form German communities in Denver, Pueblo, and Canon City), some descendants make their homes in the towns of Colfax, Silver Cliff, and Westcliffe to this day [1]. By 1875 German-speaking people resided in the Terri Colorado to the extent that the official documents of the state constitutional assembly were published in English, Spanish, and German. At the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 nearly ten percent of Colorado's population was of German or Austrian origin [2]. Although acknowledging that «high country society» was composed primarily of immigrants from the British Isles, Germany, Italy, and Mexico, with Sweden, Japan, and China somewhat less numerously represented, accounts of Colorado and its populace rarely point out that a large number of German-speaking peoples in this state came not from Bismarck's Germany, nor from Austria-Hungary, nor from Switzerland, but rather from Imperial Russia [3]. These «Germans from Russia» have, in fact, played a major role in Colorado's economic and social development. They comprise a fascinating chapter in that intermingling of cultures that characterizes twentieth-century Colorado.

Descendants of Germans from Russia constitute the second largest ethnic group in contemporary Colorado. Only Spanish-speaking people number greater. The United States census of 1920 enumerated 21,000 Germans from Russia residing in Colorado. By 1930 it was estimated that there were nearly 50,000 [4]. Between 200,000 and 300,000 of their descendants reside in the Centennial State today, primarily in the front range metropolitan centers and in the sugar-producing Arkansas and South Platte river valleys. By the 1970s descendants of German-Russian immigrants have become a thoroughly Americanized component of United States society. They have even been termed an invisible minority [5]. Together with other Americans, German-Russians have commenced to search for their ethnic identity. Recent scholarship has endeavored to record this peoples heritage before it vanishes from history [6].

Reasons abound for the widespread lack of knowledge about the German-Russians of Colorado. Many immigrant children learned little of their past, for both they and their parents were too preoccupied with survival to think in historical or literary terms. Spurred on by economic necessity, but also prompted by an essentially peasant *Weltanschauung*, many German-Russians preferred to remain silent about their ethnic and geographic origins when confronted by the strident and overhasty American reactions to political events in both Russia and Germany during

the early twentieth century. To this day many older Colorado residents are reluctant to speak of their past as if ashamed of their heritage, of their lack of formal education, and of their low socioeconomic origins. This silence from within and taunting from without occasioned some members of the younger, rural generation to believe that their ancestors had come from «over the clouds.» A few even spent hours gazing into Colorado skies in search of lost relatives, a natural misunderstanding of references by their elders to a journey *ueber die Wolga* («over the Volga»), which untrained ears recalled as *ueber die Wolken* («over the clouds») [7].

There is some question regarding the best nomenclature for this ethnic group: German-Russians, Russian-Germans, *Deutsch-Russlaender*, *Russlanddeutsche*, or «Rooshun» – as they were colloquially hailed by many native Americans since they arrived in this country bearing Zarist passports and dressed in Russian fashion: felt boots (*Felzstiefel*), long sheepskin coats for the men, and black headshawls (*Halstuche*) for the women. This group always insisted upon their «German» identity. Although they had lived a century in Russia, they spoke German dialects from Hesse, Baden, Alsace, and the Palatinate, and they would counter inquiries of their nationality with the proverb: «A hen may lay an egg in an oven, but that doesn't make it a biscuit!» Both in Russia and in the United States they cherished their own customs, associated largely among themselves, attended their own churches, joined no «foreign» clubs or organizations, regarded both Russian and *Englische* neighbors «not of our kind,» and referred to themselves simply as *unser Lait-unsere Leute* – «our people.» The more current version is Germans from Russia, which has found favor with the dawning historical consciousness among descendants of *unsere Leute* today [8].

The Germans from Russia who appeared on the North American prairies by the mid-1870s were products of a double migration. Originally residents of the Rhinelands, they formed part of a large eighteenth-century peasant and artisan emigration from the war-scarred and religion-ravaged Holy Roman Empire. Some traveled northward to Denmark and Prussia, some southward to Hungary, some westward to Pennsylvania (where they became America's «Pennsylvania Dutch»); others journeyed eastward to Russia, where Empress Catherine II sought «colonists» to populate the Russian Empire's newly-acquired Volga and Black Sea territories. Catherine II's manifesto of 22 July 1763 offered generous grants of land, exemption from taxation for thirty years, religious freedom, and exemption from involuntary military and civil service [9]. In the first decade approximately twenty-three thousand settlers, whom Russian

authorities termed *nemetskie kolonisty* («German colonists») established over one hundred villages upon the western hills (the *Bergseite*) and the eastern meadows (the *Weisenseite*) of the Volga River near the then frontier town of Saratov. In 1804 Emperor Alexander I invited «good, well-to-do farmers,» whose lives had been disrupted by the Napoleonic holocaust, to relocate in the Ukraine from the Russo-Turkish frontier province of Bessarabia to east of the port city of Odessa [10]. The residents of these Volga and Black Sea villages composed the two major groups, many of whose descendants subsequently immigrated to North and South America. The Volga Germans and the Black Sea Germans can be further subdivided by religious-denominations into Evangelical or Protestants (the majority), Roman Catholics, and Mennonites, a relatively smaller element who formed a distinct religio-cultural-economic component of their own.

For a century the colonists resided on Russia's steppe frontier where they prospered and multiplied in closed denominational, agricultural communities. Their privileged status, coupled with their geographical and cultural isolation (the latter true more upon the Volga than along the Black Sea) enabled them to retain their German dialects, ethnic customs, and religious beliefs.

In 1871 Tsar Alexander II, as part of his measures to modernize and integrate his far-flung realm, suspended the colonists' right of self-government. The German villages would henceforth be governed as other communities within the Russian Empire [11]. In 1874 the Russian military began to conscript German youths. The desire to escape service in the tsar's legions (especially during the 1877-78 Russo-Turkish and the 1904-5 Russo-Japanese wars), letters from relatives, and enticements by American railroad agents, prompted many families, often at the urging of wives and grandmothers, to consider emigration. After 1880 when the Russian language became mandatory for instruction in German-Russian schools, except for the subjects of German and religion, fears arose that the villagers would be forced to assimilate Russian ways. Compounding these obvious threats to personal liberty were real problems confronting a rapidly growing population restricted by limited amounts of arable land. Land hunger, falling agricultural prices (for Russia was then buffeted by the growing global economy that brought American agricultural products to the cities of Europe less expensively than Russian grains could be shipped via Odessa), droughts, and famine (particularly in the early 1890s), occasioned severe economic and social dislocation. So many Volga and Black Sea Germans, *Amerika* – the United States, Canada, and

Argentina – with its bountiful, inexpensive land and multiple economic opportunities offered a solution to their tribulations.

German-Russian immigration to the New World commenced in 1873, reached its highpoint in 1912, halted during the First World War, resumed in the early 1920s, waned after the United States Immigration Act of 1924, and reoccurred sporadically in the early 1950s following the dislocations of the Second World War. Since the tsar's former subjects instinctively sought land similar to the «old country,» they bypassed America's eastern cities to settle in the Missouri, Platte, and Smokey Hill river valleys bisecting the limitless prairies of the Dakotas, Nebraska, and Kansas. Here they endeavored to recreate their former life upon the Russian steppes.

Although many German-Russian dryland farmers ultimately reaped the bounty of the Great Plains, crop failure on the Great American Desert brought German-Russians from Russell County, Kansas, westward into Colorado in 1880-81. The first Volga Germans to enter Colorado were young men seeking work as section hands for the Kansas Pacific (subsequently Union Pacific) Railroad [12]. Six years later, between 1885 and 1887, Evangelical Volga German families from Lincoln, Sutton, and Hastings, Nebraska, and additional families from Kansas established Colorado's first permanent German-Russian urban community at Globeville, in what is now a semiindustrial region of north central Denver. Male Volga Germans together with the newly-arrived Slavic and Italian immigrants, found employment in the smelters, railroads, and later meat-packing, biscuit, brickyard, and trash hauling industries of Globeville. German-Russian women obtained jobs in the garment shops, laundries, and packing houses, while many crossed the South Platte River to do housework for Denver's rising society. The First German Congregational Church of Globeville, founded in July 1894 at Forty-fourth Avenue and Lincoln Street, became the nucleus of the German-Russian community in Denver, while the Garden Place School, established in 1882, was the site where generations of young German-Russian Coloradoans learned their «three R's» and subsequently attended citizenship classes [13]. By the year 1930 approximately five hundred Evangelical Volga German families, primarily from the *Bergseite* colonies of Norka, Goebel, Beideck, and Dobrinka, had made Globeville, as well as the adjacent hill to the east, which the Volga Germans called «Dobrinka,» their home [14].

The urban environment, alternate sources of income, and exposure to other ethnic cultures, tended to break down the isolation of the German-Russians in Denver and to mold their character rather differently from the majority of rural Colorado German-Russians, who clung more steadfastly

to their German traditions and agricultural ways. Still as late as the 1920s some Globeville residents would close up their houses and journey to the beet fields for the season. The dissection of the community caused by the construction of Interstates 25 and 70 after 1953, the growing prosperity of the 1950s, economic opportunity elsewhere, and the influx of Chicanos, gradually changed the character of Globeville. Even before the Second World War the economically more successful often moved away. A stream of sons and daughters followed, which largely accounts for the fact that many Denverites who spent their youth in Globeville, are residents of Wheat Ridge and Arvada or California and Texas today. Aside from Globeville, Pueblo was the other Colorado urban area that early attracted German-Russian settlement. The smokestacks of the factories in Pueblo symbolized economic opportunity to the Roman Catholic Volga Germans, primarily from *Wiesenseite* colonies, who moved westward from Ellis County, Kansas, to Pueblo in the 1890s [15].

Except for Globeville and Pueblo, practically all other German-Russian immigrants to Colorado settled in rural areas or smaller towns in the South Platte River watershed. Larimer, Logan, Morgan, and Weld counties drew the largest number of immigrants; while Adams, Boulder, Kit Carson, Sedgwick, and Washington counties drew smaller amounts. Crowley, Otero, Prowers, and Pueblo counties in the Arkansas River valley of southeastern Colorado as well as Delta, Mesa, and Montrose counties on the Western Slope also attracted German-Russian settlement.

The uplands of northeastern Colorado became home for individual Black Sea Evangelical German-Russians who in the 1880s pioneered on the prairies. At the turn of the twentieth century, the irrigated fields bordering the South Platte River became a major area of settlement for Protestant, Volga-German sugar beet laborers. Black Sea German-Russian immigrants from Kherson to the east of Odessa in transit from Scotland, South Dakota, first appeared at Burlington in Kit Carson County in 1887. Their numbers increased by 1890 when Bessarabian Germans also by way of Scotland, South Dakota, established residence some nine miles north of Bethune [16]. To this day residents of Burlington speak of «the Settlement,» which oral tradition alleges was the home of «Dutchmen.» A neatly-painted white Immanuel Lutheran Church, a parsonage, a cemetery, and some crumbling adobe walls are all that mark what was once Landsmann, Colorado. Although the Immanuel Lutheran Church still serves a rural congregation, religious strife, prolonged drought, and the dust storms of the mid-1930s terminated life in «the Settlement» [17].

Not far away at Joes, some fifty miles southwest of Wray near Kirk in Yuma County, a large, rectangular, white frame Mennonite Brethren Church shelters one of the few Mennonite congregations in contemporary Colorado. Isolated sentinels, these «white churches of the plains,» crumbling soddies, and deserted frame houses bear testimony to a largely unrecorded Black Sea German-Russian presence in Colorado [18]. Evangelical Black Sea Germans also established residences in 1901 at Loveland in Larimer County and at La Salle, south of Greeley in Weld County, when they, in contact with Volga Germans in Sutton, Nebraska, were attracted to the sugar beet fields. Although some of their descendants remain to this day, many Black Sea Germans, who disliked beet cultivation and preferred the independence of wheat farming moved elsewhere. A few Black Sea and Volga families, nonetheless, settled at Kcota in northern Weld County, near the Pawnee Buttes and at Haxtun and Holyoke in Phillips County, where they became diversified dry-land farmers [19]. It was this pioneering, independent way of life that Clara Hilderman Ehrlich memorialized in her beautifully-written, somewhat romanticized, reminiscences entitled *My Prairie Childhood*, which is about one Volga German- Russian family's life in the 1890s on northeastern Colorado's ribbon of grass between Greeley and Sterling [20].

German-Russians arrived in quantity in Colorado during the first decade of the twentieth century with the advent of the sugar beet industry. Although sugar beets were first grown in Colorado during the 1860s near Littleton, and the first factory was constructed at Grand Junction in 1899, rapid development of the industry shifted to the upper Arkansas and South Platte river valleys when refineries rose at Sugar City in Crowley County and Rocky Ford in Otero County in 1900 and at Loveland in Larimer County in 1901.

The beet sugar industry brought to the newly-irrigated, semiarid eastern slope of Colorado increased land values, population growth, greater agricultural diversity, and a wave of prosperity [21]. It also created a demand for labor since the management of the sugar companies rapidly discovered that resident Colorado farmers were personally unwilling to undertake the long hours of manual labor that beet cultivation required. After unsatisfactory experiments with juveniles, the companies decided to import the labor force necessary to cultivate beets.

The sugar agents particularly sought laborers with large families, since sugar beets was a crop requiring extensive handwork, tasks then deemed ideal for children. In Denver and Pueblo as well as in the larger towns of Kansas and Nebraska, especially along the Burlington and the

Union Pacific railways, the sugar agents encountered German-Russian families. The result was a large influx of German- Russians into Colorado, either directly from the Volga villages (primarily from the *Bergseite*) or often in transit from southern Nebraska or central Kansas. The decade from 1900 to 1910 witnessed the largest immigration into the state [22].

The first «boom town» was appropriately christened «Sugar City,» when in April 1900 several hundred Evangelical, Volga, German-Russian families from Denver, Pueblo, Herington, Kansas, and Hastings, Nebraska, converged upon this site in the upper Arkansas River valley, some fifty-six miles east of Pueblo, where the National Beet Sugar Company was erecting its refinery [23]. Because their first habitations were tents, after harvest nearly three-fourths of the German-Russian families journeyed to Globeville to spend the winter with fellow countrymen. Since the National Beet Sugar Company pledged to construct housing for its workers and offered liberal credit to finance individual purchases of company land, many of the first year's laborers, accompanied by friends and relatives, returned to the fields of Sugar City in 1901. These inducements, and the fact that the earnings of the first season for a family of six had totaled almost one thousand dollars, persuaded over one-half of the 1901 work force to make Sugar City their home [24]. If company officials were impressed by these «hard-working, sober people,» for their part the German- Russians saved their money and began first to lease then to purchase land. «Within five years of their arrival, the majority of German- Russians had become land owners. By 1909, one-quarter of National's holdings of 12,000 acres had been purchased by these immigrants» [25]. This rapid transition by German-Russians from migrant laborers to owners and growers prompted the management to import Mexican laborers as early as 1903. Thus «while all of Sugar City's contract workers were German-Russians in 1900, by the early 1920s two-thirds of the beet field workers were Mexican» [26]. This pattern would be repeated elsewhere in Colorado.

If Sugar City mushroomed into a flourishing company town in the first decade of this century, complete with refinery, Edwardian mansions for the managers, and modest frame houses for the laborers surrounding the spire of its German Lutheran Church, today the silence is striking, for despite attempts to obtain additional water, the community perished economically with the arid 1930s. Many German-Russian families moved away. Oral tradition, county naturalization records, and historical research confirm that Evangelical and Roman Catholic Volga Germans once flocked to Pueblo, Crowley, Otero, and Prowers counties in the Arkansas River valley, causing the old highway from La Junta to Swink and Rocky

Ford to be known familiarly as «Rooshun Row.» To this day residents of Lamar (Prowers County) assert that «the whole town of Wiley,» ten miles northwest of Lamar, «is made up of 'Rooshuns'» [27]. German-Russians, long residents of northern Colorado, still recall their parents' first Colorado jobs in Sugar City, the cantelopes and watermelons of Rocky Ford, the fruit orchards and sweet-smelling hay of Wiley, and the hazard posed to beet worker's children by the Fort Lyon Canal. They remember, too, the «English» children taunting «Rooshun» children in rural school playgrounds until a compromise was effected. Sandwiches of dark, homemade bread filled with spicy «Rooshun» sausage were traded for «English» sandwiches of store-bought, white bread oozing with tantalizing peanut butter [28].

The northeast quadrant of the state, particularly the South Platte River valley, proved to be the more extensive and permanent region of German-Russian settlement. Commencing at Loveland, thirteen sugar refineries rose between 1901 and 1926. With towns competing for these coveted prizes, factories materialized at Eaton and Greeley in 1902; in Fort Collins, Longmont, and Windsor in 1903; in Sterling in 1905; in Fort Morgan and Brush in 1906. Additional factories followed at Brighton in 1917, at Fort Lupton in 1920, and at Ovid and Johnstown in 1926 [29]. Despite insufficient local capital, capricious weather, skeptical farmers (who preferred potatoes to beets), and concern over the protective tariff, irrigated northern Colorado embarked upon a wave of prosperity as the sugar industry expanded. Beet sugar proved to be a reliable cash export while beet tops and processed pulp provided feed for cattle and especially for lambs.

In 1905 the South Platte refineries were consolidated into what became the giant of the industry, the Great Western Sugar Corporation. By 1909 79,000 acres were planted to sugar beets in the South Platte River valley, the year when «Colorado became the leading beet sugar producing state in the Union. ... Of the 10,724 beet workers in northern Colorado in 1909, 5,870 were German-Russian, 2,160 were Japanese, and 1,002 were Spanish-American» [30].

The majority of the German-Russians in northern Colorado were Evangelical Volga Germans who arrived with their families via the Burlington and Union Pacific railways from southern Nebraska to provide «stoop labor» for the Great Western Sugar Company. In contrast with the Black Sea and Volga Germans who arrived in prior decades, immigrants from the Volga to Colorado after 1900 arrived too late to acquire homestead lands, and on the whole they were economically poorer.

Elderly German-Russians recall that the trip on the beet trains to Colorado was one of the most exciting events of their year, an excursion that they eagerly anticipated. A family would take provisions for six months: clothing, bedding, crockery, pots and pans, quantities of food (in particular sausage), and perhaps an umbrella to place over the infants parked at the edges of the beet fields. Contract in hand they would disembark at the station nearest to their summer locations, and the beet farmers would take them in spring wagons to the shacks or tents that would comprise their temporary homes for the beet season [31].

Their arrival in northern Colorado communities was recorded by the newspapers, indicating both curiosity and observing that these immigrants were highly welcome. One week after the first special trainload of about three hundred fifty German-Russians arrived in Loveland on 1 May 1901, the *Loveland Register* concluded that «the new people appear to be quiet and industrious, and will no doubt prove a valuable addition to our country and a great aid to our farmers» [32]. «Nearly Six Hundred Settlers for Colorado in One Day,» the *Denver Times* headlined in April 1902:

The population of Colorado was increased 586 today by the arrival of . . . immigrants from Southern Nebraska to settle in the vicinity of Loveland. . . . They were Russians . . . coming to Colorado to engage in the industry which offers greater opportunities than any other pursuit open to them at this time. . . . As the industry is one requiring a great deal of child labor, these families are peculiarly adapted to the work, several of them having from five to nine children ranging from babies in arms and toddling youngsters to youths of 18. They were all healthy, vigorous specimens of humanity [33].

Simultaneously a trainload of five hundred men, women, and children, arrived in Greeley from Lincoln, Nebraska. The *Greeley Tribune* noted that although they came from Russia, «they were of German stock.»

They are a ruddy, hardy, healthy lot, clean and intelligent. The children are fat and chubby, the girls strong and nice-looking, with their bright colored dresses and flowing garden hats. All the younger generation, many of whom were born in the United States, talk good English as well as German and Russian while the older ones as a rule stick to the language of their ancestors. . . . It is a godsend to the farmers to be able to get these people here, who are honest and industrious and don't get drunk.

The *Tribune* even hinted at the future, for «eventually some of these families will acquire small farms about here and grow wealthy as they grow into genuine Coloradians [sic]» [34].

In April 1903 the *Fort Collins Evening Courier* noted that «forty-eight German families, 300 persons in all, arrived in the city on Friday by special train from Lincoln, Nebraska. They came out under contract to work in the beet fields and have already been placed among the farmers. Indeed, their employers were in town with teams waiting for them to arrive, so that the newcomers could be taken to their homes without delay. The arrivals are bright, intelligent looking people and will no doubt make good citizens» [35]. Three days later a letter to the editor of the *Evening Courier* enthusiastically welcomed the «Russians.» «We must consider the Russians not as strange beings to be looked upon with curiosity, but rather as friends whom we can trust and esteem, since for the next few months it will be their labor, their knowledge of the soil which will cause our land to bring forth wealth in the form of sugar beets» [36].

April to November found entire German-Russian families straddling the rows, stooping upon their hands and knees, thinning, hosing, and topping beets. Women and children performed the most menial «stoop labor,» while the men, in addition to beet culture, aided the local farmers by putting up hay, threshing, helping with sheep and cattle feeding, and assisting with the irrigation network. With the beets harvested many families returned to their homes and relatives in Nebraska or sought seasonal labor in the industries of Denver or on the railroads of Cheyenne. This seasonal hegira to and from beet fields became a well-established practice in the first decade of the twentieth century and continued as economic necessity required throughout the First World War and into the early 1920s.

By the second decade of the twentieth century seasonal migration to Colorado became less significant, for many beet workers chose to remain permanently in the South Platte River valley. Here the «Rooshuns,» who as strangely-clad, foreign-tongued, newcomers formed the lowest socioeconomic stratum of the community, initially clustered in tents, shacks, or modest houses at the edge of town, usually adjacent to the beet refineries or the railroad yards. Whole neighborhoods were termed by the *Englische* (resident Americans), «little Saratov,» «Little Moscow,» «St. Petersburg,» «Rooshun Corner,» or «Shag Town.» One such example would be Andersonville and Buckingham, located northeast of Fort Collins (Larimer County) across the Cache la Poudre River near the site of the beet refinery. Some thirteen box houses, measuring twenty by twelve, were erected on Charles Buckingham's place in 1902, while others rose on Peter Anderson's farm in 1903. «The houses while small seem comfortable

and new ones are being built daily,» the *Fort Collins Courier* noted in December 1902 [37]. This area, while associated with the Chicanos today, still bears evidence of its German-Russian origins. Into the 1920s, however, it remained closed to outside interference from «across the Rhine» and was popularly labeled «Russianville» or «Saratov» as late as the 1930s [38]. It was never so termed by its German-Russian residents. To them it remained «the jungles» [39].

From «the jungles» German-Russians issued forth as contract laborers for American and the more prosperous German-Russian farmers until they could become renters and property owners. Here too they held religious services until 1904 when they erected a stone and brick «pointed-Gothic» German Congregational Church across the river «within» Fort Collins at Whedbee and Oak streets. A second Gothic stone «Evangelical Luther in Bethlehem Kirche» rose one block further south in 1914 [40].

Loveland (Larimer County) claims northern Colorado's oldest permanent German-Russian settlement since approximately twenty families from McCook, Nebraska, originally from the *Bergseite* Volga colony of Frank, founded a German-Russian community in Loveland in May 1901 [41]. Additional families from Denver, Sutton, Culbertson, and Hastings, Nebraska, arrived the same year. Although hundreds of people were forced to live in tents near the sugar factory in Loveland, by 24 November 1901 their faith had inspired the founding of the Loveland First German Congregational Church. By December, German religious services were being conducted in the town hall every Sunday [42]. Between two hundred and four hundred German-Russians spent the winter of 1901-2 in the city. Settling in family units, many came to stay. «They came without money and they went where there were jobs,» recalled a Volga German born in Norka in 1887, whose family had established residence in Loveland in 1904 [43]. By the beginning of the 1902 season, the *Loveland Reporter* observed candidly that the German-Russians «have proved thus far good citizens, quiet, inoffensive, ready to work – and ready to charge good prices if there is a show of getting the money,» for the Volga Germans quickly discovered that they controlled the burgeoning labor market [44].

Gradually, modest, white frame houses punctuated at intervals by church steeples, marked the eastern edge of Loveland. The large, brick First German Congregational Church constructed on Lincoln Avenue in the heart of the city reflected the faith and the prosperity of its congregation. By 1903 Loveland possessed its own «German-American Store,» while the year 1909 saw the founding of what became the Miller and Wacker

Mercantile Company, whose proprietor, Jacob Miller – originally from the village of Norka – became a leader of the German-Russians and indeed the Loveland community. Over the decades Loveland German-Russians acquired the ownership of many fields on which they initially labored, and they came to participate fully in business and public affairs. To this day some recall Loveland German-Russians for their musical abilities, both their singing in church choirs and as the best musicians to hire for German-Russian weddings and polka festivals, the so-called «Dutch hops» [45].

The expanding beet acreage and additional refineries not only kept wages high but also enabled German-Russian families to radiate outward from Loveland into the surrounding communities. Immigrants from the *Bergseite* villages of Frank and Norka established themselves eastward toward Kelim, Johnstown, Milliken, Platteville, Windsor, Greeley, and Eaton. Some went north to Fort Collins. Others journeyed south to Berthoud (whose settlers came primarily from Norka). Additional immigrants from the northern *Bergseite* villages of Jagodnaja and Pobotschnoje took up residence in Longmont [46].

A fascinating settlement arose in the small town of Windsor (Weld County), where Evangelical Volga German-Russians from the *Bergseite* colony of Norka first arrived in 1902. They were joined in 1904 by immigrants from Doenhoff, another Evangelical *Bergseite* village. By the 1930s approximately nine hundred Volga German families resided in Windsor, and this small town with its ultra-English name became a community that appeared predominantly German in speech and culture [47]. Its three German churches within as many blocks, whose bells rang out to their congregations from Russianesque belfries, the monuments in the local cemetery, its wide streets lined with modest, hip-roofed frame houses (whose porch steps and floors were often painted mustard yellow) still suggest a Volga village transplanted to the Colorado plains.

Indeed, for decades Windsor was colloquially termed «little Moscow.» Before the arrival of Kodak and recent urban renewal, Windsor probably epitomized Colorado's most unique German-Russian community. In addition to seasonal beet cultivation on the surrounding acres and labor at the refinery during the sugar-producing «campaigns,» the Great Western Sugar Company research station provided year-round-jobs for numerous German-Russians. Many engaged in commerce, milling, and meat-packing. Within half a century German-Russians became the largest landowner and tenant group of the irrigated farms in the area [48]. At Windsor's Park School both the summer school classes for children of beet workers and the citizenship classes sponsored by the Reverend Paul

Jueling, pastor of the Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church from 1914-29, played a major role in integrating younger and older generations of Volga Germans into a wider American life [49].

East of Windsor lay Greeley (Weld County), where the demand for labor drew German-Russians via Nebraska, many of whom originally came from the *Bergseite* colonies of Frank and Walter as early as 1902. By August 1904 sixteen German-Russian families had purchased building lots near the sugar refinery on the east side of town. Simultaneously ground was broken to construct Saint Paul's Christian Church, which became the largest of Greeley's five German-speaking congregations. By 1913 the *Greeley Tribune-Republican* commented that German-Russian workers have about solved the labor problem for the farmers of Weld County. These foreign helpers not only care for the beet crop of the county but do the spring plowing, the planting and all the extra work for the farmers ... as well as that which is needed in harvesting other crops besides beets. ... The German-Russians support their families during the spring and summer on the wages received for the extra work and have their beet labor money clear to put in the bank. By this careful and frugal method, practically all the German-Russians earn their own homes within a few years [50].

A 1915 report based upon the Greeley city directory indicated that between 1910 and 1915 the German-Russian population in the rural districts near the Weld county seat increased nearly one hundred percent. Many of the new immigrants, according to the report, came directly from Russia [51]. Similar to other northern Colorado cities, German-Russians of Greeley came to play a substantial role in the economic and commercial development of Weld County. David J. Miller, today a prominent Greeley lawyer, has long been a community leader involved with irrigation and legal activities, as well as one of the founders and the first president of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, established in Greeley in 1968.

German-Russian settlement spread throughout the South Platte River valley when immigrants from Frank via Hastings, Nebraska, and Fort Collins established residence in Fort Morgan (Morgan County) in 1904 and acquired farmland around Brush in 1905. By the 1930s numerous new arrivals from the *Bergseite* village of Kraft had expanded the Fort Morgan community [52].

Sterling (Logan County) deserves special mention, for while the vast majority of the Colorado Volga Germans were Protestant, the Volga Germans of the Sterling community were largely Roman Catholic. These were not the first German-Russian Roman Catholics to enter the state. As

early as 1885 immigrants, primarily from the *Bergseite* Catholic village of Goebel, left the heavily Roman Catholic settlements in Ellis County, Kansas, to immigrate to Denver. In the 1890s other Catholics from Kansas, mainly from *Wiesenseite* villages, relocated in Pueblo. These groups were attracted by the economic opportunities in the Denver and the Pueblo factories and railroads. Similarly, the new sugar refinery at Sterling built in 1905 drew Roman Catholic families, primarily from Topeka, Kansas, and Pueblo to the Logan County beet fields. By the 1930s some two hundred thirty families resided in Sterling, many of them descendants of two *Bergseite* Catholic villages: Rothammel and Seewald [53]. In contrast with the Protestant congregations, who were sectarian, village-oriented, and often kept their distance from one another, the congregation of the Sterling Saint Anthony's Roman Catholic Church – consisting of German-Russians, Czechs, Italians, and Mexicans – intermingled. Further to the northeast around the towns of Iliff, Proctor, Crook, and Julesburg (Sedgwick County), Roman Catholic and a few Protestant German-Russians also made their homes. Those in Iliff came largely from the *Bergseite* village of Pfeifer [54].

Between 1910-12 Roman Catholic Volga Germans, originally from the southern *Bergseite* colony of Marienfeld, settled in the Brighton and the Fort Lupton areas (Adams and Weld counties), attracted by the beet and fruit-canning industries. Most of this group moved north from Denver; others came from Kansas. In February 1914 the *Brighton Blade* noted that twenty families of «Russian-Germans» had moved to Brighton in a matter of ten days. «Most came to the United States from Russia about eight years ago . . . and are glad to get away from the war. . . . They came from Sugar City in the Arkansas Valley, some from the western slope of Colorado. . . . Every house in Brighton is filled and some homes house a number of families [55].

Brighton was also home for numerous Protestant *Reichsdeutsche* and Volga Germans, whose chief nucleus was the Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church and school. Over the years the Adams county seat became a community almost evenly balanced among Protestant and Catholic Germans, Mexicans, and Japanese. The Great Western Sugar Refinery, established in 1916, became a showplace for the company offering work for many German-Russians during its winter campaigns. Other families acquired farms in the area. In addition the Kuner- Empson vegetable and fruit-processing company provided employment for many German-Russian women, ensuring a stable year round economy for the community [56].

In tracing the «roots» of many Colorado German-Russian families today, it is apparent that they were a «wandering people.» When wages for beet hand laborers in Colorado were low and the cost of renting beet acreage was high (the case during 1910-11), many left Colorado seeking employment in Michigan, Montana, and Wisconsin. In the years 1906-7 a number of Evangelical Volga Germans traversed the Colorado Rocky Mountains to Garfield, Mesa, Delta, and Montrose counties and to the valleys of the Colorado and the Gunnison rivers.

Between 1910 and 1915 Roman Catholic Volga Germans from Denver journeyed to Delta (Delta County) and Montrose (Montrose County) to work for the Holly Sugar Company [57]. A few families remained on the Western Slope to become independent diversified farmers and ranchers, but some felt uncomfortable living between the mountain ranges. It was «too hilly» they said, and so different from their former Volga *Heimat* or even Colorado's eastern plains, where the mountains lay, naturally in their minds, to the west. This instinct, and the disappointment with the poor soil, caused the majority of the Western Slope migrants to recross the Rockies as early as 1911 where they reestablished residence in the towns and on the farms of northeastern Colorado. Today few remember the German-Russians at Fruita, the «German church» of Grand Junction, or the «Rooshun Corner» of Montrose [58].

Nearly all of the German-Russians arrived in Colorado as humble individuals, unskilled and poorly-educated from the American point of view but staunch in their faith and willingness to tackle disagreeable, grueling work. «Thrifty and industrious, however, many . . . lifted themselves far up the social and economic scale» [59]. The key to their ascent was that experience on the steppes of Russia that had accustomed them to hard agricultural labor in which all family members participated. It also had taught them how to carve a living from arid lands. With these inherent skills a *Hausvater* (head of a German-Russian household) could not only contract for large beet acreages but, by placing his family in the fields, could also amass a sizeable total family income. Determined to better their lot, German-Russian families saved their earnings and rapidly made the transition from laborer to renter to landowner. The sugar companies, eager to colonize their acreage with resident labor, often assisted their ambitious workers by granting them credit to rent or to purchase company land [60]. By 1919 the Spanish-Americans and Mexicans were supplying most of the «stoop» labor [61]. The estimates of 1930 suggest that more than fifty percent of Colorado's German-Russians were beet farmers, while some figures state that as early as 1910 »probably seventy-five percent of all the

farms between Sterling and Denver were operated by Volga Germans» [62].

Not all of the German-Russians in Colorado or in the other states have been economically successful, but unquestionably for many immigrants and their descendants, there has been an astonishing and rapid upward mobility. Second- and third-generation German-Russians today include the leading farmers, livestock feeders, merchants, and professional people throughout the irrigated valleys of Colorado and neighboring states. The third and fourth generations have dispersed across the nation and have merged into the mainstream of American life. From modest beginnings and by their own efforts, many German-Russians have entered the ranks of the «immigrant upraised» [63].

Socioeconomic progress did not come easily in Russia or Colorado, since the promises of free transportation, adequate housing, and decent wages often proved lacking. Harassment by Kirghiz raiders, Russification policies, and the droughts of the 1890s might be compared with the strident anti-Germanism during the First World War, harassment by the Ku Klux Klan, or the dust storms of the arid 1930s. If the immigrants «talked funny» upon their arrival along either the Volga or the South Platte, one season in the fields was sufficient to make indelible the significance of the word «work.» In both countries German-Russians idealized work in folklore and song. Work «rendered life sweet» («*Arbeit mach das Leben suess*»). «*Arbeit, komm her, ich fress dich auf!*» («Work, come here, I will devour you!») became their century-old cry [64].

German-Russians encountered difficulties in adjusting to American life, a process that many immigrants resisted as strongly as their forefathers had resisted Slavic encroachments in Russia. The first generation, mainly in Colorado rural districts, clung to their dialects, religion, traditions and dress. Mothers and grandmothers were especially tenacious in this regard. *Unsere Leute's* clannishness, patriarchal characteristics, German religious services, exuberant three-day wedding festivals, and their reluctance to participate in American social activities—except for the Fourth of July, understood by all to be a celebration of «freedom»—set them apart from the *Englische* of rural Colorado [65]. Yet, inevitably the long sheepskin coats and the Russian caps yielded to the denim overalls (with padded and patched knees) and wide-brimmed sun hats. In addition the American practice of individual farming undermined the closed communal desires of the village-oriented German-Russians.

Relations with neighboring Coloradoans were sometimes strained, often because of mutual ignorance on the part of both *Englischer* and

«Rooshun,» but the issue was also economic. Colorado farmers quickly noted that they possessed economic rivals in the industrious German-Russians, and *Englische* attitudes expressed concern over German-Russian materialistic acquisitiveness and demands for higher wages. The economic interrelationship was aggravated annually when the sugar companies, farmers, and beet laborers negotiated their contracts [66]. Native Coloradans commented about the German-Russians' «tightness» with their money, their cantankerousness and lack of courtesy, especially to their wives and families. «Well, they ought to save money, just look how they work their women and children!» was a typical remark [67]. But, when steady industry resulted in German-Russian acquisition of property, attitudes turned from toleration to admiration. The dollar spoke eloquently for the successful German from Russia in Colorado, as it did for new Americans anywhere. Those German-Russians who did not prosper remained apart in their foreign world.

A further yardstick of acceptance into Colorado communities was the concern shown by Americans that German-Russian children were often absent from school. Most German-Russian *Hausvaters* saw little value in education beyond religious catechism. They considered their children to be economic assets until age twenty-one and thus, school attendance unquestionably suffered. Although some German-Russian parents (primarily urban residents or pastor's families) encouraged their children's schooling, child labor in the beet fields remained an important economic and educational issue into the 1930 s.[68].

In addition to misunderstandings with the *Englische*, German-Russians found little understanding with Americans from the German *Reich* except for a number of pastors. «These other Germans, who considered themselves culturally superior, all too often showed contempt for the 'ignorant Russians,' who did not speak 'good German' and generally had but little education. These, and even more their children, reacted in an understandable way: since their German was not 'good,' they soon gave it up entirely and spoke English»[69]. German-Russians, thus, found themselves in the precarious position of a stateless people, turning inward among their own kind, troubled, and often ambivalent toward their own ethnic heritage.

The years of the First World War brought increased torment. Although loyal to their new homeland, they, who formerly had been branded «Russians,» together with Germans from the *Reich* and Austria-Hungary now found themselves castigated as «Germans» and their language banned [70]. The elder generation who still «talked funny» were especially

harassed. Many denied their ancestry and changed their names: Jakob became Jake, Johann became John, Mueller became Miller. Some claimed to be «Dutch» rather than *Deutsch*. Although no lynchings took place, some serious incidents did occur, particularly in rural Colorado. German-Russian dogs were killed, hay wagons were overturned, church windows in Montrose were broken, a German-Russian in Severance was forced to subscribe to a \$500.00 Liberty Bond and to take an oath of allegiance. Both known and unknown observers appeared at German-Russian church services in Globeville and in Fort Collins to certify that there had been no disloyalty [71]. Ministers, mayors, and school principals mediated to allay suspicion. All welcomed the return of peace.

The tales brought by German-Russians, who in 1923 reached Colorado directly from the Soviet Union, sowed further suspicions. These refugees recounted bitter experiences of turmoil and dislocation during the Bolshevik revolution and ensuing civil war. The 1923 immigrants were much more antagonistic toward the Russians than were the immigrants who had arrived before 1914 [72]. Although generous funds to aid «our people» were raised by the Volga Relief Society in Colorado, wary Volga Germans denied knowledge of their ancestry and committed no memoirs to paper. They were not particularly careful to preserve records. Humble work and second-class citizenship, coupled with distrust and fear of being associated with the Communists, made many Colorado German-Russians even more introverted [73].

By the 1920s, while their elders continued to labor, the youth born in this country, who had not experienced life in Russia and who had glimpsed American ways when attending school or on their Saturday excursions into town, yearned to escape from the ceaseless, back-breaking stoop labor. Simultaneously, many *Hausvaters* became renters and moved from «the jungles» onto farms, a decisive socioeconomic and psychological advance. Their pride in accomplishment made it even harder when their children began to rebel. The younger generation, girls as well as boys, sought to finish elementary school, to enroll in high school, and some even aspired to a college education. Girls left home to work for the minister's family or took up careers as store clerks or housemaids, while boys became mechanics or construction laborers. This break-up of Volga German families brought misunderstanding and alienation between generations. It also meant an estrangement from farming—the only life the older generation knew—and with that, however painful, Americanization for some had begun. It was also a conscious attempt on the part of the German-Russian youth to overcome inferiority complexes. «The young

considered everything German to be inferior. The old people will take their German world with them to the grave. The young will live in an American world» [74].

This was the situation vividly portrayed by Hope Williams Sykes in her 1935 novel, *Second Hoeing*, a chronicle of a fictional German-Russian family's total involvement with the beet culture in Fort Collins during the years 1924-29. Praised by critics, but denounced by German-Russians at its publication, the book was emotionally received by everyone. *Second Hoeing* was too realistic a commentary on German-Russian family relationships and child labor practices to be taken calmly in the 1930s. Now, from a distance of forty years, it is possible to consider Sykes's novel a historical document [75].

If many Colorado German-Russians had achieved modest agricultural prosperity by the late 1920s, the depression brought difficulties to all. A 1938 Master of Arts thesis asserted that many of northern Colorado's Germans from Russia, then fourteen percent of the population of Larimer, Weld, Morgan, and Logan counties, were «maladjusted» [76]. Evidence suggests, however, that German-Russians, who had not invested in the «necessities» of a credit-oriented American society nor had overcommitted themselves financially for their farms, machinery, or livestock, managed to survive the 1930s without undue hardship. Those who were overextended suffered as did their American neighbors. But as a German-Russian from the Sterling area reflected, «I can't say when the depression started or when it quit. For some people, it's depression all their lives. It didn't make any economic difference to us. We had to work for a living. The prices we received for our crops went up and down just like they do now. Sometimes you got what they were worth and sometimes you didn't. ... In those days, there were a lot of things we done without, ... the eggs, milk, and cream paid for our groceries, and if we made anything farming, that paid for equipment or other expenses» [77].

Hence, for many German-Russians the 1930s was simply another decade of frugality. A German-Russian from Loveland recalled that «it was done with the help of the women who could stretch the food and cook despite the scarcity» [78]. The role of the strong and enduring German-Russian woman who kept the family going despite hardship emerges again and again. The women managed the family cow (which in many cases meant survival for the children and income when the milk and cream were sold), the hens (whose eggs could be sold), and the vegetable garden, while «mamma's» *grebbles*, watermelon pickles, *blina*, soup, and *Revel Kucha* were always present. The preacher might get the chicken and

the best melons, but families managed to obtain food. «We didn't know we were poor. There was always plenty to eat» [79]. Despite hardships, some German-Russian couples today recall that «now, looking back, the 1930s were the good years; that was when our children were born and we acquired our farms» [80].

The depression decade was also a time of increasing naturalization and saw a rise in German-Russian applications for citizenship. For decades many had been so busy working that they had never become American citizens. Often at the urgings of sons and daughters, who were Americans by birth, many immigrants, men especially, applied for and received United States citizenship. Children tutored their parents at home. Citizenship classes were conducted in the schools (for example by the Reverend Paul Jucling at Windsor's Park School and Principal Matthew E. Eagleton in Garden Place School at Globeville) or in the Lebsack's grocery store in Loveland. Leaders of the local communities, such as the Reverend Conrad Becker in Fort Collins and Jacob Miller in Loveland, sponsored elderly German-Russians for citizenship. An additional reason for the rise in German-Russian naturalization petitions in Colorado in the 1930s was that while German-Russians always prided themselves for their self-sufficiency and refused to accept charity, many children now felt that their elders had worked long enough to receive the pensions introduced by the social security system, for which citizenship was a prerequisite. Thus, Colorado, which they had adopted thirty years earlier, at last acquired many diligent and stalwart citizens [81].

As the United States emerged from the depression and passed through the war years, increasing numbers of German-Russians began to enter nonagricultural occupations. These years also witnessed the German Evangelical and the Reformed churches in Colorado abandoning the regular Sunday services in the German language. However, such decisions were always bitter and congregations often split. Widening horizons, nonetheless, prompted gradual toleration of nonethnic marriages, although to this day the majority of Colorado's German-Russian families are interrelated. The early 1940s saw hundreds of young German-Russian Coloradoans join their fellow Americans in the United States armed forces. Minimal ethnic discrimination occurred in Colorado during this second global conflict. The G. I. Bill and the prosperity of the 1950s brought interdenominational marriages and an increasing access to higher education as both men and women attended college, although individual German-Russians had achieved university degrees in Colorado

long before 1950. Some members of the older generation regretted such transformations and today lament that Americanization has gone too far: their grandchildren have even abandoned the work ethic!

In the past decade an emerging ethnic and historical consciousness has arisen among adult German-Russian-Americans as evidenced by the advent and widespread acceptance of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia. The society's goal is to bring together individuals interested in the Germans from Russia, to correct misunderstandings, to preserve and to disseminate information about their heritage not only in the United States but throughout North and South America, in Germany, and in the Soviet Union. The American Historical Society of Germans from Russia is both historical and social in nature [82]. Its efforts to encourage additional scholarly inquiry can be applauded, for since the Second World War assimilation and acculturation have inevitably swept forward. An observation recorded in 1970 by a young German-Russian scholar in conversation with a ninety-two-year-old Volga German in a Sterling, Colorado, nursing home epitomizes the German-Russian experience: «Ja, my children can speak German but whenever I use it they answer me in English. Not one of their own children – my grandchildren – even knows any German. I never would have believed 'our people' would ever act this way. We have Americans become» [83].

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2. *Atheam*. The Coloradans, p. 236.

3. To illustrate the general absence of information, none of the following general accounts discuss Colorado's Germans from Russia: Carl Abbott, *Colorado: A History of the Centennial State* (Boulder, Colorado Associated University Press, 1976); Marshall Sprague, *Colorado: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1976); Carl Ubbelohde, Maxine Benson, and Duane A. Smith, *A Colorado History*, 3d ed. (Boulder, Colo.: Praett Publishing Co., 1972). See, however, *Atheam*. The Cohradans, pp. 180–81; LeRoy R. Haafen, ed., *Colorado and its People*. 4 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1948), 2:107–8. 142; and Alvin T. Steinel, *History of Agriculture in Colorado 1858 in 1926* (Fon Collins, Colo.: State Agricultural College, 1926), p. 406.

4. *Richard Sallet*. *Russian-German Settlements in the United States*, trans. LaVern J. Rippley and Armand Bauer (Fargo: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 1974), pp. 110–112. See also David J. Miller, «German-Russians in Colorado.» *The Colorado Magazine* 21 (July 1944): 129–32.

5. Timothy J. Kloberdanz. «They Came over [the Clouds,» Empire Magazine 27 (30 May 1976): 10-14.

6. The leading authority on the German-Russians today is Karl Stumpp of Tuebingen, Germany, whose *Die Russlanddeutschen: Zweihundert Jahre Unterwegs* (Freilassing in Bayern: Pannonia-Verlag, 1965) has been translated into English by Joseph Heigt, *The German-Russians: Two Centuries of Pioneering* (Bonn: Atlantic-Forum, 1967) See also Adam Giesinger, *From Catherine to Khrushchev: The Story of Russia's Germans* (Battleford, Saskatchewan: Marine Press, 1974); and Mattie Plum Williams, *The Czar's Germans: With Particular Reference to the Volga Germans*, ed. Emma S. Haynes, Phillip B. Legler, and Gerda S. Walker (Lincoln, Neb.; American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, 1975); as well as Timothy J. Kloberdanz, «The Volga Germans in Old Russia and in Western North America: Their Changing World View,» *Anthropological Quarterly* 48 (October 1975):209-22; and Kenneth W. Rock, «Germans from Russia in America: The First Hundred Years» (Fort Collins: Germans from Russia in Colorado Study Project. 1976); *Work Papers* (Lincoln, Neb.: American Historical Society of Germans from, 1969-).

7. Kloberdanz, «They Came over the Clouds,» p. 10.

8. See the June 1973 Newsletter of the American Historical Society of Germans for Russia (AHSGR) and Emma S. Haynes, «By What Name Should We Be Called?,» AHSGR Work Paper, no. 16 (December 1974), pp. 33-34.

9. The major provisions of Catherine II's manifesto are published in Stumpp, *The German-Russians*, p. 10, and are discussed in Williams, *The Czar's Germans*, pp. 31-42.

10. *Sallet. Russian-German Settlements*, p. 11; Williams, *The Czar's Germans*, pp. 94-95.

11. *tumpp*. *The German-Russians*, p. 29; Williams, *The Czar's Germans*, pp. 170-80.

12. *Sallet. Russian-German Settlements*, p. 49.

13. On Globeville see Chester G. Krieger, ed., *First German Congregational Church: Diamond Jubilee 1894-1969* (Denver: Schwartz Printing Co., 1969); Larry Betz, *Globeville: Part of Colorado's History* (Denver: By the Author. 1972); interview with Paulina Hahn. Denver. 5 July 1977; interview with Mr. and Mrs Emmanuel G Reisbick. Denver. 24 May 1977 (interviews, unless otherwise noted, were conducted by the author and are located in the Germans from Russia in Colorado Special Collection. Morgan Library, Colorado State University. Fort Collins).

14. *Sallet. Russian-German Settlements*. p. 49.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

17. Timothy J. Kloberdanz. «A Preliminary Field Survey of Sources and Informants in Eastern Colorado. Aug. 20-21. 1975.» manuscript, 1975. Germans from Russia in Colorado Collection, Colorado State University.

18. Ibid. See also Robert Hickman Adams. *White Churches of the Plains: Examples from Colorado* (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1970).

19. Interview with John Schulz, Ault, 7 October 1975, by Dennis Means.

20. Clara Hilderman Ehrlich. *My Prairie Childhood*, ed. Sidney Heitman (Fort Collins: Germans from Russia in Colorado Study Project, 1977); see also portions of the same published in *The Colorado Magazine* 51 (Spring 1974): 115-40.

21. The Dingley Tariff of 1897 provided sufficient protection for a domestic sugar industry to make capital investment profitable while experiments at Colorado's State Agricultural College by 1898 resulted in the statement: «It can be said in general that the results of the season of 1898 are so inclusive, that we may feel justified in saying that Colorado can raise as good sugar beets and as large crops of beets as any place in the world» (Henry W. Hugener, «A History of the Beet. Sugar Industry of Northeastern Colorado» [M.A. thesis, Colorado State Teachers College, 1927], p. 19).

22. Sallet. *Russian-German Settlements*, pp. 49-51.

23. On Sugar City see Dena Markoff. «Beet Hand Laborers of Sugar City. Colorado, 1900-1920.» manuscript, 1976, Germans from Russia in Colorado Collection. University of Colorado, Boulder; see also Sallet, *Russian-German Settlements* p. 49.

24. *Markoff*. «Beet Hand Laborers of Sugar City,» p. 8.

25. Ibid., p. 9.

26. Ibid., p. 10.

27. *Timothy J. Kloberdanz*. «Field Report: A Preliminary Investigation of Sources and Informants in Southeastern Colorado Oct. 15-18, 1975.» manuscript, 1975. Germans from Russia in Colorado Collection. Colorado State University.

28. Interview with Mr and Mrs Harold Henkel. Longmont. 21 March 1977; see also interview with Mrs. John P. Geringer, Pueblo. 5 May 1976, by Timothy J. Kloberdanz.

29. These factories and towns were located in Adams, Boulder, Larimer, Logan, Morgan, Weld, and Washington counties (Robert G Dunbar, «History of Agriculture,» *Colorado and its People*, ed. LeRoy R. Hafen [New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1948], 2:141).

30. Ibid., 2:141-42.

31. *Historical News*, (Hastings, Neb.: Adams County Historical Society), 6 (June 1973): 1-6.

32. *Loveland Register*, 8 May 1901.

33. *Denver Times*, 24 April 1902.

34. *Greeley Tribune*, 24 April 1902, cited in Hugener, «A History of the Beet Sugar Industry,» p. 187.

35. *Evening Courier*, Fort Collins. 18 April 1903.

36. Ibid., 21 April 1903.

37. Cited in Evadene Burris Swanson, *Fort Collins Yesterdays* (Fort Collins: Don-Art Printers, 1975), p 57.

38. Sallet. Russian-German Settlements, p. 50. Spanish names intermingled with German names in Buckingham. Place as early as 1906, while in 1923. Great Western Sugar announced plans for a Spanish «colony» for its Mexican hand laborers to be constructed north of Buckingham adjacent to Andersonville (Swanson, Fort Collins yesterdays, p. 61).

39. Interview with David J. Miller. Greeley, 1 April 1975; interview with Delbert Blichm, Fort Collins, 12 April, 1977.

40. Fort Collins Weekly Courier. 9 December 1903; see also Swanson, Fort Collins yesterdays, p. 57.

41. Sallet. Russian-German Settlements, p. 50.

42. Loveland Register. 5 December 1901.

43. Loveland Reporter-Herald. 26 March 1976.

44. Loveland Reporter, 24 April 1902.

45. On Loveland. see Clara Ball, ed., Loveland-Big Thompson Valley 1877 Centennial 1977 (Loveland: Johnson Litho., 1975), pp. 55-57; Loveland Reporter-Herald, 28 July 1976; interview with Mr. and Mrs. Carl Amen. Loveland, 23 May 1977; interview with Gus Lebsack, Loveland, 25 April 1977; interview with Phillip B. Legler, Fort Collins, 30 March 1977; interview with David J. Miller, Greeley, 1 April 1975.

46. Sallet. Russian-German Settlements, p. 50; interview with Mr. and Mrs. Harold Henkel, Longmont, 21 March 1977.

47. Sallet. Russian-German Settlements, p. 50.

48. Alton David Hill. Jr. «Volga German Occupance in the Windsor Area, Colorado» (M.A. thesis. University of Colorado, 1959). p. iii.

49. On Windsor see Roy Ray. comp., Highlights in the History of Windsor, Colorado (Press of the Poudre Valley. 1940); interviews with Phillip B. Legler. Fort Collins. 23 February, 30 March. 6 April 1977; interview with Peter Stall, Windsor, 20 April 1977; Windsor Beacon, 19 June 1975, 25 March 1976.

50. Greeley Tribune-Republican, 3 April 1913. cited in Norman A. Stroh. «The German-Russians in Weld County, Colorado» (M.A. thesis, Colorado State College of Education, 1941), p. 25.

51. Greeley Tribune. 28 April 1915, cited in Hugener, «A History of the Beet Sugar Industry,» p. 190. On Greeley see the excellent collection assembled by AHSR, Greeley Public Library; interview with David J. Miller, Greeley, 1 April 1975; interview with Lydia Alles Miller, Greeley, 28 February 1977.

52. Sallet, Russian-German Settlements, p. 50.

53. Ibid., pp 60-61.

54. On Volga German Catholics see Timothy J. Kloberdanz, «The Volga German Catholic Life Cycle: An Ethnographic Reconstruction» (M. A. thesis, Colorado State University, 1974); Harold Hamil, «The German-Russians.» Farmland News, 31 July, 15, 31 August 1972; Whistlewind: Recollections of Northeast Colorado 1 (Spring 1976), 1 (Spring 1977).

55. Cited by Albin Wagner, Brighton Reflections: Bicentennial Years, 1776-1976 (Brighton, Colo.; Brighton Federal Savings, 1976), p. 25.

56. On Brighton, see interview with Mr. and Mrs. Harold Henkel. Longmont, 21 March 1977; interview with Albin Wagner, Brighton, 4 March 1977; interview with Jacob Wagner. Denver. 28 April 1977; Brighton Blade 21 January, 7 October 1975. 13 April 1976.

57. Sallet. Russian-German Settlements, pp. 50, 61.

58. Timothy J. Kloberdanz. 'Field Report: A Preliminary Investigation of Sources and Informants in Western Colorado, September 23-26, 1975,' manuscript, 1975, Germans from Russia in Colorado Collection, Colorado State University; interview with Mr. and Mrs. Jake Shaeffer, Boulder, 6 June 1977.

59. Colin B. Goodykoontz. «The People of Colorado.» Colorado and its People, 2:107-8,

60. Harry Schwartz. Seasonal Farm Labor in the United States with Special Reference to Hired Workers in Fruit and Vegetable and Sugar-Beet Production (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 108.

61. Ibid, p. 1 12; see also Dunbar, «History of Agriculture,» 2:142. Great Western, Holly, and other sugar companies in Colorado and neighboring mountain states encouraged Mexicans and other Spanish-Americans to settle near or in their beet areas by the 1920s. The object was to create a resident labor supply to replace the German-Russians and to end the necessity of spending hundreds of thousands of dollars annually to recruit workers and to move them to the best areas.

62. Sallet. Russian-German Settlements, p. 51. In 1924, twenty-two years after the first Volga Germans came to Windsor as sugar beet workers, a review of conditions in the Windsor fields revealed that the Volga Germans formed 53.5 percent of the beet workers, 73.9 percent of the beet farm renters and 72.7 percent of the beet farm owners. By 1930 Volga Germans accounted for only 15.25 percent of the beet workers, but 85 percent of the beet farmers (Sallet, Russian-German Settlements, p. 80).

63. Andrew F. Rolle. The Immigrant Upraised: Italian Adventures and Colonists in an Expanding America (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1968).

64. Cited by Kloberdanz, «The Volga Germans in Old Russia and in Western North America,» p. 213.

65. Studies of all aspects of German-Russian life in Colorado need to be conducted before these distinctive ethnic manners and customs are lost to history. An excellent beginning has been made by Timothy J. Kloberdanz, «The Volga German Catholic Life Cycle: An Ethnographic Reconstruction.» See also the pioneering studies by Conrad H. Becker, «A Historical Survey of the Social Background of the German-Russians from the Volga District in Russia Living in Northern Colorado» (M.A. thesis, Colorado State College, 1938); Emma D. Schwabenland, «German Russians on the Volga and in the United States» (M.A. thesis. University of Colorado, 1929); and Mattie Plum Williams, A Social Study of the Russian Germans, no. 16 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Studies, 1916).

66. Loveland Reporter 12 February 1903; Markoff, «Beet Land Laborers of Sugar City.» p. 28; Hugener, «A History of the Beet Sugar Industry.» pp. 73-108.

67. Schwabenland. «German-Russians on the Volga and in the United States,» p. 163.

68. Except for the unpublished Masters' theses cited in footnote 65, practically the only studies on German- Russians in Colorado dating to the period before 1930 that this author has to date discovered, deal with child labor inquiries into the absence of the «Russian» children from the schools of northern Colorado and their subsequent «retardation.» See, for example, Edward N. Clopper and Lewis W. Hine. *Child Labor in the Sugar-Beet Fields of Colorado* (New York; National Child Labor Committee, 1916); B.F. Coen. W.E. Skinner, and Dorothy Leach, *Children Working on Farms in Certain Sections of Northern Colorado* (Fort Collins: Colorado Agricultural College, 1926).

69. Giesinger. *From Catherine to Khrushchev*, p. 373.

70. *Ibid.* See also Sallet, *Russian-German Settlements*, pp. 100–105; Frederick C. Luebke. *Bonds of Loyalty: German Americans during World War I* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1974); and Lyle W. Dorset!, «The Ordeal of Colorado's Germans during World War I,» *The Colorado Magazine* 51 (Fall 1974):277–93.

71. See Kloberdanz, «Field Report: A Preliminary Investigation of Sources and Informants in Western Colorado»; Krieger. *First Centum Congregational Church*, p. 26; and Swanson. *Fort Collins Yesterdays*. p. 56.

72. Interview with Mary Strauch, Denver, 5 July 1977; see also «Jacob Guenther's Story» (interview by Jacob Zeiler, 1975).

73. Timothy Kloberdanz told this author that to this day older representatives of Colorado Volga German communities are often reluctant to talk or be interviewed. More than once he was met with the phrase, «Are you going to tell this to the Russians'.» Others pause awkwardly and are hesitant to speak of their humble beginnings, still conditioned by the prejudice against them experienced in their youth.

74. *Sallet*. *Russian-German Settlements*, p. 108.

75. Hope Williams Sykes. *Second Hocking* (New York: O P, Putnam's Sons. 1935); see also Timothy J. Kloberdanz, «The Novel Second Hocking. A Reappraisal.» AHSGR Work Paper, no. 20 (Spring 1976), pp. 15–20.

76. *Becker*. «A Historical Survey of the Social Background of the German-Russians,» p. iv.

77. Cited by Kris Heckel, «You Couldn't Have Made It Any Better,» *Whistewind* 1 (Spring 1976):58.

78. *Loveland Reporter-Herald*, 26 March 1976.

79. Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Harold Henkel, Longmont. 21 March 1977; interview with Delbert Blehm. Fort Collins, 12 April 1977; interview with Phillip B. Legler, Fort Collins, 23 February 1977; interview with Lydia Alles Miller, Greeley, 28 February 1977.

80. Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Carl Amen, Loveland, 23 May 1977.

81. Interview with Phillip B. Legler, Fort Collins, 6 April 1977; see also Dennis Means, «Handbooks of Larimer County, Colorado Naturalization Petitions,»

manuscript, 1977, Germans from Russia in Colorado Collection, Colorado State University.

82. Founded in Greeley, Colorado, in 1966 the AHSGR's headquarters are currently located in Lincoln, Nebraska. There are chapters in California, Colorado, Kansas, Michigan, Nebraska, Oregon, Texas, Washington, and Wyoming and lines of communication to Germany, South America, and individually to the Soviet Union. To date the AHSGR has held eight international conventions. Its Work Papers (beginning in 1969) and monographs have inaugurated a new historical consciousness among usere Leute See iis latest publication, a novel by Mela Meisner Lindsay, Shukar Balan: The White Lamb (Lincoln, Neb.: Augstums Printing Service, 1976).

83. Kloberdanz, «The Volga Germans in Old Russia and in Western North America,» p. 221.