We talk German now yet: The sociolinguistic development of voice onset time and final obstruent neutralization in Wisconsin German and English varieties, 1863-2013

by

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For Aryana & Ryder
Dream big.
Work hard.
Ask for help.
Do what makes you happy.

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Abstract

This dissertation integrates methods from historical sociolinguistics and sociophonetics to forge a new, unified approach language change analysis. I undertake historical sociolinguistics using original, handwritten data coupled with information from censuses, church, and local records, etc. to make generalizations about how German and English developed in Wisconsin. I engage in sociophonetics through the acoustic analysis of personal interviews and audio recordings made in the same geographic areas in the 1940s and 2013. By integrating these data types, I show how German and English came into contact, how they impacted each other, and how this contact has led to the emergence of Wisconsin German and English varieties.

I use five collections of documents from Wisconsin, Illinois, and Michigan's Upper Peninsula to track written representations of two phonological features–voice onset time (VOT) and final obstruent neutralization (FON)–from the mid-19th century to the 1940s in Wisconsin German and Wisconsin English varieties. Texts were collected, transcribed and analyzed to create unique sociolinguistic profiles for each author. These profiles support further linguistic analysis by linking authors to particular dialect regions. Texts were transcribed and marked for vernacular forms, which were compared with expected regional or language-specific variants. For example, one German-English bilingual author writes *ticked* instead of *ticket*, suggesting that this speaker neutralizes the distinction between /t/ and /d/ in syllable-final position. These data were then compared with the acoustic analysis of audio recordings, which I analyzed according to sociolinguistic factors such as age, sex, occupation, generation, and language status (i.e., mono-/bilingual).

This research shows that historical writings can directly inform our understanding of modern speech patterns and demonstrates how language developments before audio recordings

can be inferred. Because it bridges the gap from historical to contemporary settings, this approach can be applied to historical language contact situations and it can serve as a model for investigating other communities where multiple languages remain in contact over multiple generations. This is especially important today because many of the world's increasingly mobile bilingual communities are in contact with one another. By understanding the development of speech patterns over time and in connection to sociolinguistic factors, we can better understand the changing relationships between language and identity in bilingual communities.

The dissertation is organized as follows: in chapter 1, I introduce previous research in language change and contact, explain expected speaker phonologies for German and English, and describe why the Upper Midwest is suited for this type of research. In chapter 2, I describe the frameworks I build on and describe my methodology and data sources. Then, after a brief history of the Upper Midwest and explanation of sociolinguistic factors (Ch. 3), I describe VOT data in chapter 4 and FON data in chapter 5. This is followed by an analysis of the results of each feature combined with each sociolinguistic factor in chapter 6. Finally, in chapter 7, I present my conclusions.

1. Introduction

1.1 Language contact and change

This dissertation focuses at its core on language contact and change over time. The innovation is in incorporating methods from both historical sociolinguistics and sociolinguistics integrated with sociophonetics. In so doing, I propose a new, unified approach to the analysis of language contact. This shows how historical writings can directly inform our understanding of modern speech patterns and what modern speech patterns might be able to tell us about how languages may have developed before audio recordings. A related goal is to use both written and audio sources in a geographical region to compare how (dis-)similar the language spoken there may be. This research compares both the German and English produced by groups and individuals in corresponding areas, while also outlining social networks and drawing from historical documents, census, marriage, birth and death records, a process called 'informational maximalism' (Janda & Joseph 2003: 37) to create a fuller picture of bilingual language use than other work.

Integrating historical sociolinguistics and sociophonetics is a new approach, which seeks to solve a problem related to each field. A problem for sociohistorical work is that there is no acoustic evidence. A problem for sociophonetics is that there is not very much time depth. In order to address these two issues, I combine both approaches. Because there are texts and audio recordings covering almost two centuries originating from the same regions in Wisconsin and the Upper Midwest, I look at sounds within individuals and across generations of the same family, which is more detailed than is often the case for historical sociolinguistics. This allows for the exploration of regional variation on a small scale, simply by looking at different groups of people in a relatively small geographic region, the Upper Midwest.

In historical sociolinguistic studies, we 'make the best of bad data' (Labov 1972: 100). Data sets are often incomplete and it can be difficult to find information related to the social aspects of the texts or of the authors. For the time period from which I gather my data, there is census data, as well as immigration, and church records readily available. This data combined with analysis of audio recordings allows me to look not only at individual time periods, but to analyze language use over time by similar individuals in the same communities in a continual manner. That is, I look at speakers of German in a given area by using their written documents from the 19th century, then I look at German speakers in the corresponding area via audio recordings made in the 1940s, and again in 2013. I then do the same for English speakers. If certain features are the result of substrate influence, the substrate connections should be visible over time in the writings and speech of Wisconsin German and in the English of monolingual speakers in these communities. I suspect that features which are visible in the earliest texts may not be as evident in the earlier audio recordings, and then that they will either be changed or no longer existent by the time of the final audio recordings, meaning that the vernacular forms will have settled out of the writings to reveal only standard written forms and that audio features will either not be evident of the original suspected features or that these features will have changed over time.

This importance of this type of work reaches multiple levels. First, it combines micro- and macro-level data analyses. While I look at general settlement patterns across the Upper Midwest in a macro-level analysis, a large part of this work focuses on a more local (or micro-) level, as directly as recreating individual social networks. This shows not only how immigrants settled the region in a general way, but it also shows how smaller groups lived, worked, and communicated both within their communities and with those in their extended acquaintance

circles or networks. While it is easy to suspect that recent immigrants might have small, tight-knit networks or that they did not travel great distances or even outside of their settlement communities, this is easily disputed by the distances covered as shown in their letters and places of residence. Furthermore, when combining evidence on settlement patterns with evidence from linguistic variation it can show how, for example, a recent immigrant in an area with a large minority population might produce language (dis-)similarly to someone else in similar circumstances, but living in an area with a very small minority population. This allows us to see if the differences correlate with their linguistic environment, or if variations/vernacular forms are due to other factors, such as length of L1 to L2 contact, contact with other languages, or social networks.

In order to show how certain features have come into English via German in Wisconsin since the mid-19th century, there are several pieces of background information that need to be understood, including:

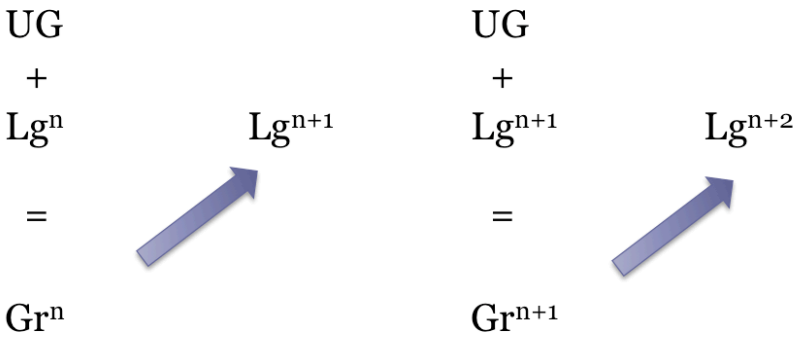
1. what languages were spoken in this region and how and to what extent they came in to contact with one another;
2. the basic understanding of the underlying phonologies of native speakers of the two main languages in contact;
3. the difference between distinct results of two types of contact, namely, borrowing and imposition.

1.2 Language transmission

In order to understand language change, we must consider how language is acquired and how structures are renegotiated through the course of a speaker's life. This includes looking at both language input and the social variation in the language acquisition setting. In order to understand

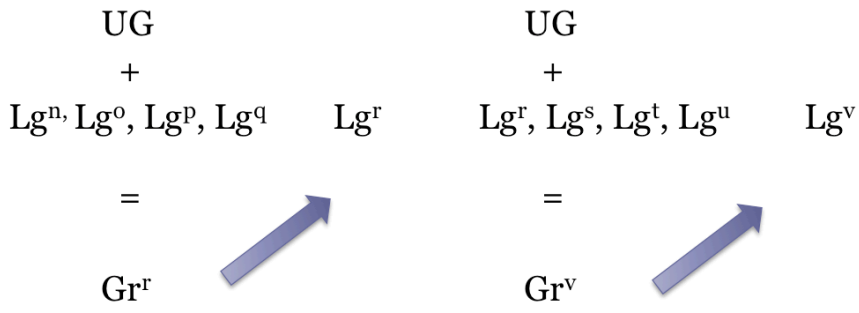
the linguistic situation we need to understand settlement patterns, as well as the spread and use of varieties. In much of the Upper Midwest in the 19th century, the linguistic situation was heterogeneous, meaning that people, including children, were exposed to not only one language or dialect, but instead, even monolingual English-speaking children were often exposed to different types of English; English spoken by L1 adults as well as L2 adults.

Figure 1-1. Transmission of language from generation to generation with homogeneous input (Andersen 1973: 767 as modified by Van Gelderen 2006: 283)



Every time a speaker learns a language, starting in childhood, the speaker receives input from myriad speakers often with varying dialect or regional variation, fluency, and competency. This changes with each generation. The transmission of language from generation to generation results in language change over time. Starting with the assumption of universal grammar (UG), language (Lg) is added to it as it is realized and expressed in a child's input. This then forms the individual grammar (Gr) in the minds of speakers. Their own grammar is then expressed, based on their internal grammar and this results in different language output than the original input. The system is rather simple with homogeneous input settings. However, we find that with the heterogeneous linguistic setting in Wisconsin that the system is more complex, as outlined in Figure 1-2.

Figure 1-2. Transmission of language from generation to generation with heterogeneous input (Howell 2012)



This is more appropriate for the situation in the Upper Midwest. Children, and recent immigrants learning English as an L2, received input of multiple languages and dialects. These multiple languages and dialects serve as input to the child's individual grammar. The child's individual grammar is different from all input variants and the expression thereof is then unique and added to the mix of outputs in the community. This means that children in this situation, and adults renegotiating their individual grammars, are constantly adapting. This leads to changes in output and the acceptance of new variants across generations. Individuals also adapt changes with age and regional mobility (Chambers 1992: 687). For immigrants or L2 speakers, change can happen when learning the L2 according to age at time of acquisition and duration of contact to the new variety (Chambers 1992: 701). For example, Chambers finds that only the youngest Canadian English speakers or 'early acquirers' learning Southern England English learn to unmerge /ɑ/ in words like *Don* and *Dawn* or *hot* and *water* where older Canadian English speakers or 'late acquirers' do not (1992: 687).

While German speakers may have outnumbered L1 English speakers at some points and in some places, they were eventually assimilated into the linguistic community. Because the language shift was happening rather quickly and with children receiving L2 English input, some traces of the other languages remained. These leftover traces or substrate influences, result from

L2 speech. This type of language contact situation, imposition, is distinguished from language contact settings in which borrowing is the main effect (van Coetsem 1988, 2000; Howell 1993). It should also be noted that while borrowing is sporadic, imposition is systematic.

In this section I gave a basic description of how language can change over generations. In the following I consider one way vernacular features might become introduced into a language in a bilingual community.

1.3 Native speaker phonologies

As a speaker learns a language they develop an associated phonology, meaning the way they think about sounds. A speaker's L1 phonology may impact the way the speaker perceives or acquires an L2. This can be seen with L1 German speakers learning to speak or write English as an L2, for example. Because not all sounds and the ensuing orthographic representations of these sounds are the same across languages, orthographic "mistakes", non-standard or 'vernacular' forms may appear. If we consider the individual phonemes of each language, it is possible to suspect some vernacular forms which may arise due to differences between the speaker's L1 and their L2, in this case German and English. In 1.3.1 I introduce German phonemes and allophones to compare with English, in order to show the expected phonology of an L1 German speaker and the impact this may have on the speaker learning English as an L2.

1.3.1 *German phonemes and allophones*

In order to make comparisons related to how the immigrants are writing phonetic representations, it is imperative to understand what was considered the standard or an acceptable form of writing that these speakers and especially L2 learners were exposed to. Because there was no widespread, spoken standard German at the time, most spoke regional varieties at home

and used standard language only for written needs. Grammars and dictionaries of the time period as well as the school system in Wisconsin give an idea of what speakers were shown as a standard to try to achieve. These grammars and dictionaries show a reasonable depiction of what speakers would have known as "standard German" or English in the 19th century. In this section I describe the phonetics of German and English[1] via several examples of "correct" speech and writing as given by these grammars and dictionaries. There are examples for German and English as well as examples of how German speakers should be speaking in order to produce "correct" English.

I draw here mainly from Curme's *Grammar*, first published in 1922, as a guide for German pronunciation. I chose this particular grammar because it includes a discussion of phonetic features according to place and manner of articulation.

Curme's *Grammar* opens by claiming that in Germany "there is no standard of pronunciation that is acknowledged and absolutely followed by the mass of intelligent people". The closest thing to a standard Curme claims are the "fixed rules for pronunciation" which were established for the stage. These pronunciation guides are supposed to be quite close to "colloquial North German as spoken by the mass of intelligent people", likely indicating that the people considered "intelligent" were educated in the standard language. Other works such as Viëtor's *Kleine Phonetik des Deutschen* (1894) describe standard pronunciation and how each sound is produced.

Table 1-1. German consonantal phonemes

[1] Phonology is discussed in chapter 2.

Major Class	Manner of Articulation		Laryngeal Setting	Place of Articulation							
				labial	dental	alveolar	alveopalatal	velar	uvular	glottal
					coronal					
obst.	stops		fortis	p^h	t^h			k^h		(ʔ)
			lenis	p	t			k		
	fricatives		fortis	f^h	s^h		$ʃ^h$			
			lenis	f	s		ʃ			
	affricates			$p\widehat{f}^h$		$\widehat{ts}^h$	$t\widehat{ʃ}^h$			
sonor.	approximants						ç	x		h
	nasals			m		n		ŋ		
	liquids	rhotic							ʀ	
		lateral				l				
	glides						y			

German, like English, is a two-way aspirating system, meaning that stops and fricatives can be fortis /p^h, t^h, k^h, s^h, $tʃ^h$/ or lenis /p, t, k, s, tʃ/.[2] Stops and fricatives are contrastive plain vs. aspirated. For example, in *pat* [$p^hæt^h$] the final /t^h/ is aspirated, but in *pad* [$p^hæt$] the final /t/ is not. Affricates appear only aspirated in German. German has two approximate sounds that English does not /ç, x/. There are also more /r/ phones than in English. German has /r/ realized as [r, ɾ, ʁ, ʀ]. The /l/ phoneme in German is similar to the /l/ in English, although never velarized. The stops and nasals are also comparable. German has three affricates, two of which are not standard American English phonemes, /$p\widehat{f}^h$/ and /$\widehat{ts}^h$/. German has 7 places of articulation, similar to English, but with uvular added. German has stops, fricatives, affricates, approximants, nasals, liquids, and glides.

Table 1-2. German vowel phonemes

	Front				Central		Back	
	unrounded		rounded					
	short	long	short	long	short	long	short	long
high	ɪ	iː	ʏ	yː			ʊ	uː
mid		eː		øː	ə			oː
	ɛ	ɛː	œ		ɐ		ɔ	
low					a	aː		

[2] The transcription forms I use here are a still rather new way of transcribing, indicating spread glottis vs. unmarked. See §2.4.3.2 for details.

The German vowel phones are similar in distribution to American English; however, American English does not have front-rounded vowels. German does not have the ash vowel, /æ/, and the standard language has only low central vowels, not low back vowels.

Table 1-3. Allophonic inventory as presented in Curme's *Grammar*; not a complete list

Major class	Manner of articulation	Laryngeal setting	Place of articulation							
			Labial		Coronal			Dorsal		
			bi.	lab. dent.	dental	alveolar	alveopalatal	velar	uvular	glottal
obst.	stops	voiceless aspirated voiceless plain voiced devoiced	pʰ p b b̥		tʰ t d d̥			kʰ k g g̊		(ʔ)
	fricatives	voiceless aspirated voiceless plain voiced	fʰ f v v̥		sʰ s z z̥		ʃʰ ʃ ʒ ʒ̊			
	affricates	voiceless aspirated voiceless plain voiced	p͡fʰ		t͡sʰ		tʃʰ tʃ dʒ			
sonor.[3]	approximants						ç	x	χ ʁ	h ɦ
	nasals		m			n		ŋ		
	liquids: rhotic					r ɾ			ʀ	
	liquids: lateral					l				
	glides						y			

Curme explains that /p, t, k, s, tʃ/ are voiceless in some southern dialects. Lenis consonants, if voiced are only weakly voiced.

Several allophones only exist in loanwords such as /dʒ/ and /ʒ/, which generally appear in French loan words. Both /θ/ and /ð/ mainly appear in English loanwords, although these are not possible for many Germans and are often substituted with /t, tʰ, s, sʰ/.

[3] Liquids and rhotics can be phonetically voiceless in intitial clusters, but are considered by Curme as belonging to sonorants.

Word final /p, t, k/ are pronounced voicelessly. This is usually referred to as 'final devoicing' and occurs in German, Dutch, and Russian[4], among others (Purnell et al. 2005a, b). The devoicing of /p^h/ to [p] and /t^h/ to [t] is considered general practice in the North, but /g/ does not always become /k/. Final /g/ often can be devoiced and turned to the approximants [ç] or [x]. The /g/ will be realized as /k/ when used in compound words or when suffixes are added which include [ç]. For example, *König* /kø:niç/ and *Königs* /kø:niçs/, but *Königreich* /kønɪkʁaiç/ and *königlich* /kønɪklɪç/. In some regions /k/ is described as the glide /j/. In the South, Curme claims all instances of word final /k/ are devoiced to /k^h/.

The German /r/ is very different than in American English. As previously mentioned, /r/ realized as [r, ɾ, ʁ, ʁ][5] exists in regional and social variation in German. Word final /r/ preceded by schwa is realized as [ɐ] in many varieties.

Many of the sounds in German are also present in American English but American English has several phones that German does not. These are /w/, the voiced bilabial glide, /θ, ð/, both interdental fricatives, /s/ and /tʃ/, and /ɹ, ɻ/. German also has several phones that American English does not. These are the affricates, /pf, ts/, the dorsal fricatives, /ç, x, χ/, and the uvular /ʁ/. There are also some differences between the vowel inventories. The biggest differences are that German does not have the /æ/ vowel and English does not have front-rounded vowels /ʏ, ø, œ/.

Because each of the languages has a different phonemic inventory, the phonology of an L1 speaker may have an impact on their L2 speech. Van Coetsem (1988, 2000) addresses the imposition of features from L1 speech on L2 speech. Imposition happens when a speaker's L1 or

[4] Dutch and Russian are "voice languages" [voice] and so they neutralize final consonants by feature deletion, where German is "spread glottis language", which neutralizes final obstruents by feature addition.

[5] More realizations are also found in dialects and regional varieties, some described by Schirmunski (1962: 327-380).

"source language" is their dominant language and their L2 or "recipient language is their weaker language. The dominant source language speaker transfers components of the source language to the recipient language in speech, imposing features of the L1 on the L2. This happens in contact between German and English speakers as well, for example when a speaker of English learns German the speaker might find producing certain sounds rather difficult, as with the front-rounded vowels. It is also difficult for English speakers to produce the palatal, velar and uvular fricatives, the bilabial affricate /pf^{h}/, /ts^{h}/, and /r/.

There are several difficult sounds for a German speaker learning English. The English alveopalatal fricative and affricate are not especially difficult for German speakers and are generally learned quickly. The English rhotics are more difficult for German speakers because German does not have alveolar or retroflex rhotics. Two difficulties for German speakers are the bilabial glide /w/ and the interdental fricatives /θ, ð/. The bilabial glide is often produced as a voiced labiodental fricative. Even when learned, Germans sometimes have problems with this sound and over correct sounds with /f/ in English to the bilabial glide, i.e. pronouncing *very* as [wɛɹi] rather than [vɛɹi]. Finally the interdental fricatives are difficult and especially noticeable for English speakers because they are frequent in function words in English. Germans commonly produce these as /t, t^{h}, s, s^{h}/.

While Curme's grammar discusses in detail the pronunciation of German and variations of each sound, it does not address any issues related to German speakers learning English, which is what 19th century immigrants to the Upper Midwest would have struggled with and had to do mostly on their own. Because the adults were already beyond the school system, their English learning had to come from somewhere else.

1.4 Language learning aids

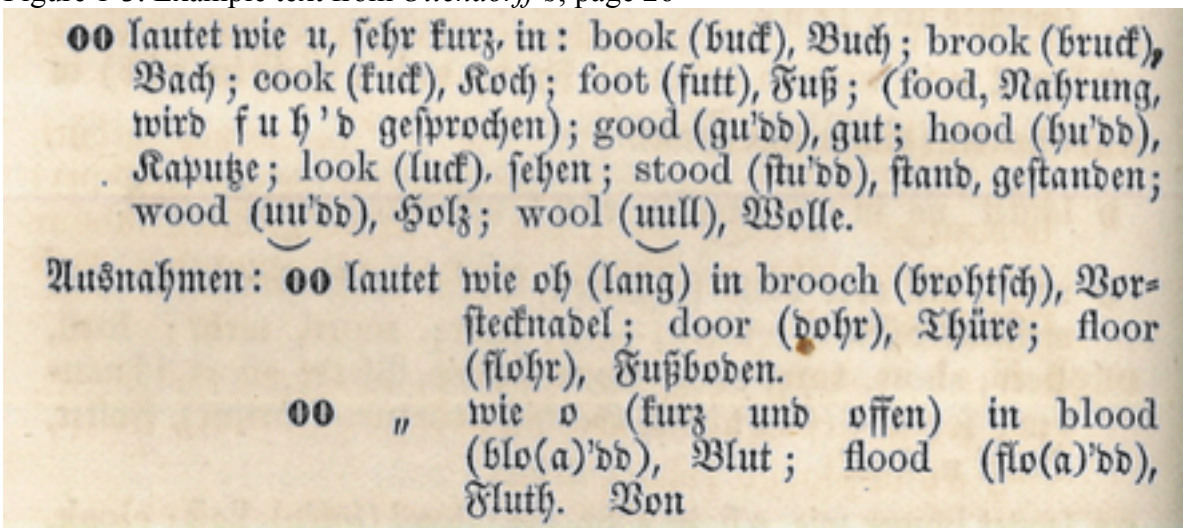
In the 19th century several publications were available to help German immigrants learn English. As examples, I describe three texts to show how and what German immigrants were being taught.

The first, *New Grammar for Germans to Learn the English Language: Ollendorff's neue Methode die englische Sprache lesen, schreiben und sprechen zu lernen* was published in 1856 in New York. This was followed by John Appleton's *Neue praktische Methode die Englische Sprache in kurzer Zeit Lesen, Schreiben und Sprechen zu lernen* published in Philadelphia in 1857. The final example I examine is *Caspar's Amerikanischer Dolmetscher: Ein unfehlbarer Rathgeber für Einwanderer und Eingewanderte* published in Philadelphia in 1911.

The first two, while similar in title, are not structured similarly. *Ollendorff's* opens with a brief (1-2 sentence each) explanation of which letters are vowels and which are consonants, which is followed by an overview of some general rules (p.5-19), such as that vowels are long when they end a syllable (1856: 5) of that an <e> at the end of multisyllable word is usually 'silent' (1865: 6). Then there are eleven pages of pronunciation explanations given via examples of commonly-known words as well as representations of how the word should be pronounced according to German phonology, for example English <u> has eleven sample paragraphs explaining all possible pronunciations beginning with <u> is pronounced as *juh* before a consonant which is followed by a final 'silent' <e> as in *duke* or when used at the end of a syllable such as in *union*, and ending with <u> is silent in some words when written between <q> and <e> such as in *oblique* or between <g> and a vowel such as in *guardian*. The first example is interesting because *duke* pronounced as [dju:k] is also a British English pronunciation rather than only an American English pronunciation, which shows that although this option was

published in the United States and can therefore be expected to have been used by Germans learning English in America, variation in or distinction of American or British pronunciations are not considered at this time. Figure 1-3 shows an example of words written with <oo> in English.

Figure 1-3. Example text from *Ollendorff's*; page 26



oo lautet wie u, ſehr kurz, in: book (buck), Buch; brook (bruck), Bach; cook (kuck), Koch; foot (futt), Fuß; (food, Nahrung, wird f u h'd geſprochen); good (gu'dd), gut; hood (hu'dd), Kapuze; look (luck), ſehen; stood (ſtu'dd), ſtand, geſtanden; wood (uu'dd), Holz; wool (uull), Wolle.

Ausnahmen: oo lautet wie oh (lang) in brooch (brohtſch), Vorſtecknadel; door (dohr), Thüre; floor (flohr), Fußboden.

oo „ wie o (kurz und offen) in blood (blo(a)'dd), Blut; flood (flo(a)'dd), Fluth. Von

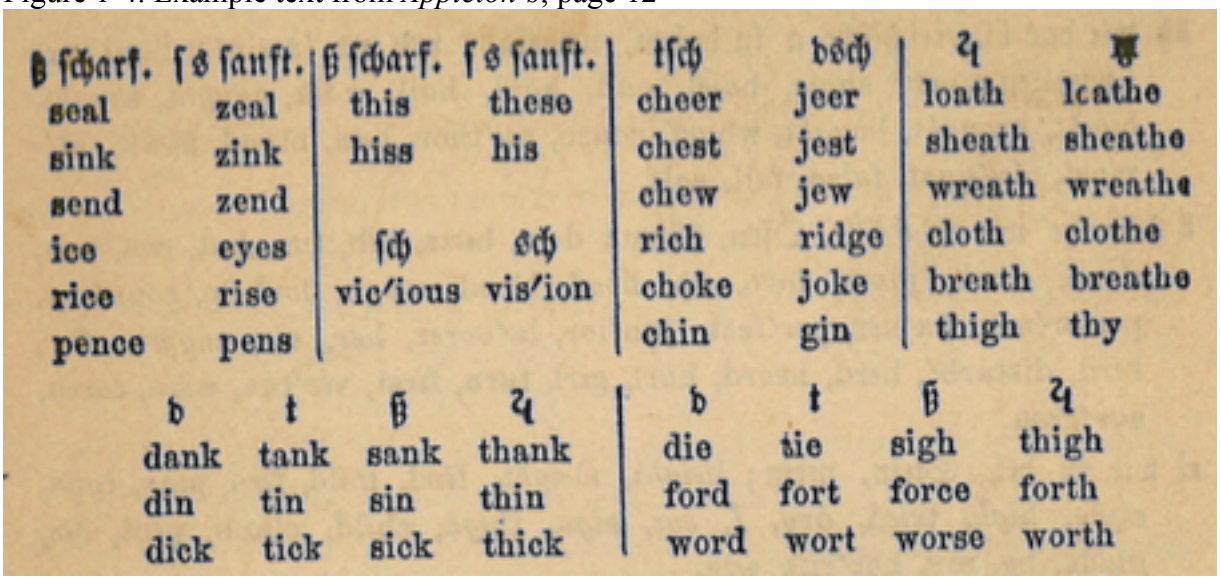
Interesting about even this small section is how final /t/ is represented in the German phonemic spelling as in "fuh'd" for *food* or "gu'dd" for *good*. A possible complication that could arise from this sample is the appearance of a distinction between when "-d" vs "-dd" is written. It might be suspected that this is to distinguish between along or short vowel, but the difference in *food* and *hood*, although spelled with <oo>, is not a difference of length, but rather a different vowel all together [u:] vs. [ʊ]. *Ollendorff's* concludes the introduction by explaining "the accent" including where the stress belongs on English words, punctuation, and the "separation of words".

The first lesson in this example begins with a not so simple grammar explanation, which implies that the intended reader is educated in German grammar. Most of the explanation is in German, with examples in English, many of which appear more as an after thought to add a translation rather than fully incorporated into the lesson. This format suggests that the reader is already educated in German, but also familiar to some extent with the English being presented.

The first several lessons are only up to two pages each, including one exercise. As the book progresses more English is included and the lessons get longer and more complex, with translations glossed inter-linearly rather than side by side. However, even with 69 lessons and 262 exercises in total, the book remains largely in German, supplemented only with English when it appears the author has deemed it necessary.

Appleton's grammar, on the other hand, commences with all text written in both German and English, presented in columns side by side. Appleton only has about three pages dedicated to the explanation of letters and pronunciation. Similar to *Ollendorff's,* Appleton uses common words to explain each sound. On the first page, however, he writes that some of the English sounds cannot be explained through German words, which shows that he is aware that German and English phonologies are not equal. Instead, he suggests that one finds an English teacher who is familiar with the sounds so that they might pronounce them for the learner.

Figure 1-4. Example text from *Appleton's*; page 12



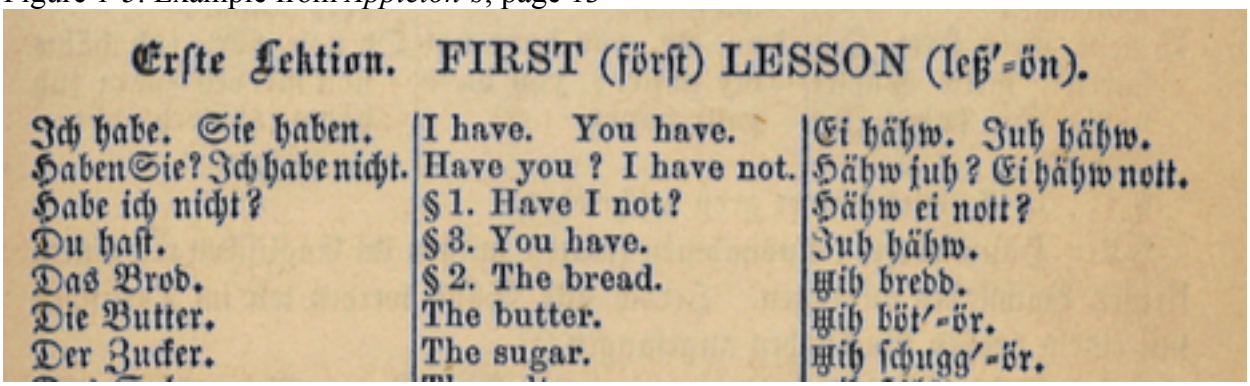
ß ſcharf.	ſ ſanft.	ß ſcharf.	ſ ſanft.	tſch	dſch	ʒ	ʒ
seal	zeal	this	these	cheer	jeer	loath	lcathe
sink	zink	hiss	his	chest	jest	sheath	sheathe
send	zend			chew	jew	wreath	wreathe
ice	eyes	ſch	ſch	rich	ridge	cloth	clothe
rice	rise	vic′ious	vis′ion	choke	joke	breath	breathe
pence	pens			chin	gin	thigh	thy

d	t	ß	ʒ	d	t	ß	ʒ
dank	tank	sank	thank	die	tie	sigh	thigh
din	tin	sin	thin	ford	fort	force	forth
dick	tick	sick	thick	word	wort	worse	worth

This grammar differentiates between voiced and voiceless consonants, as seen in the corresponding columns in Figure 1-4. However, although the lack of corresponding sounds was previously acknowledged, these sounds are not pointed out when they are encountered. For

example, in the first lesson (see Figure 1-5), there are three columns; one for German, one for English and the last for English pronunciation via German orthography, but it is not mentioned that the /a/ in *have* is of particular difficulty for German speakers and while it is given length by the added /h/ in the last column, the actual position of the vowel is not discussed.

Figure 1-5. Example from *Appleton's*; page 13

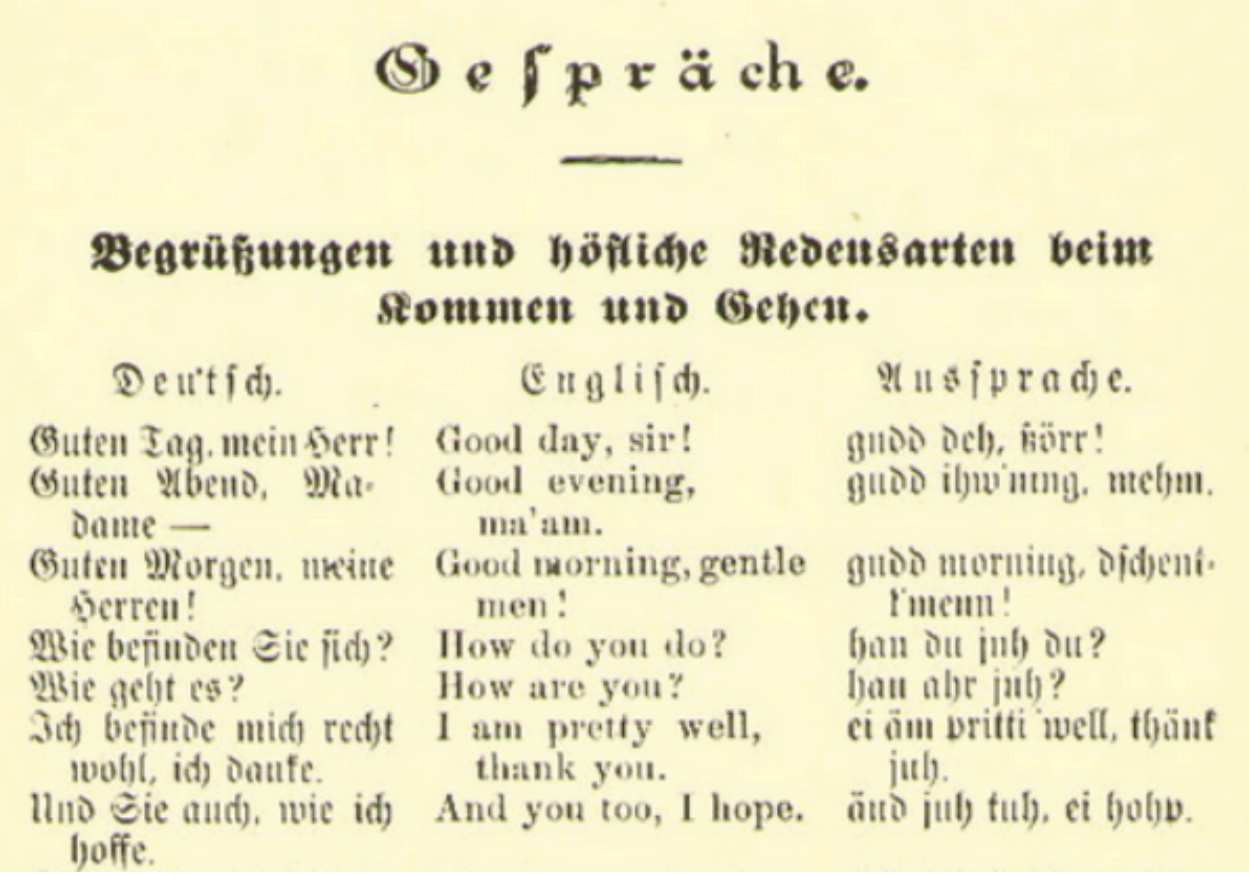


Erſte Lektion. FIRST (förſt) LESSON (leß'-ön).

Ich habe. Sie haben.	I have. You have.	Ei hähw. Juh hähw.
Haben Sie? Ich habe nicht.	Have you ? I have not.	Hähw juh ? Ei hähw nott.
Habe ich nicht?	§ 1. Have I not?	Hähw ei nott?
Du haſt.	§ 3. You have.	Juh hähw.
Das Brod.	§ 2. The bread.	Dih bredd.
Die Butter.	The butter.	Dih böt'-ör.
Der Zucker.	The sugar.	Dih ſchugg'-ör.

Finally, in the last example, *Amerikanischer Dolmetscher*, there are several pages devoted to pronunciation and grammar explanations, and the lessons are structured according to different themes. For each theme or topic, several sentences are given that might be useful for a speaker unfamiliar with what to say in each situation. It resembles something of a precursor to modern travel phrase books and can be seen in Figure 1-6.

Figure 1-6. Example from *Amerikanischer Dolmetscher*; page 130



Gespräche.

Begrüßungen und höfliche Redensarten beim Kommen und Gehen.

Deutsch.	Englisch.	Aussprache.
Guten Tag, mein Herr!	Good day, sir!	gudd deh, körr!
Guten Abend, Madame —	Good evening, ma'am.	gudd ihw'nng, mehm.
Guten Morgen, meine Herren!	Good morning, gentlemen!	gudd morning, dschentl'menn!
Wie befinden Sie sich?	How do you do?	hau du juh du?
Wie geht es?	How are you?	hau ahr juh?
Ich befinde mich recht wohl, ich danke.	I am pretty well, thank you.	ei äm pritti well, thänk juh.
Und Sie auch, wie ich hoffe.	And you too, I hope.	änd juh tuh, ei hohp.

1.5 Schools

Grammars and dictionaries were not the only places that English could be learned. Using Wisconsin as an example, I turn to look at language use in schools. There may, however, not have been as much English being taught in schools in Wisconsin in the latter part of the 19th century as many previously believed. Schools in the 19th century were public, private, and parochial and taught in a myriad of languages. Other than English, German, Norwegian, and Polish were prevalent. Publications from the Wisconsin Office of Emigration went as far as to offer free public schools and suggested an education system comparable to that continued from their country of origin (Petty 2013: 40).

Petty describes the state of German schools in Wisconsin as abundant in the late-19th century. German was by definition the main language of instruction in these schools. Teachers often came from Germany and German language books were used. In 1854 a law was passed that required all major subjects be taught in English, but due to the lack of oversight from the government, this law was not enforced.

In many of the small communities, because of the community structure, much of the administrative oversight or policy relating to schools and the languages taught there were dealt with at the local level. In Milwaukee, where there was a large German-speaking population, the school board passed a resolution in 1857 requiring German-language teachers be hired when there was sufficient need (Petty 2013: 43-44).

It was not until 1889 that the Bennett Law was passed, which required that reading, writing, and math be taught in English (Wisconsin State Legislature 1889: 729-733). This created an added challenge for many German-speaking children. Many German families spoke dialect in the home and already had to learn Standard German, including Fraktur, the old German script (often called 'Gothic' in English), and were required after that point to learn their major subjects in English, which included using the Latin script. Even with increasing anti-immigrant sentiments at the end of the 19th and into the 20th century, and bans on German teaching in schools,[6] some schools in Wisconsin continued using German as a language of instruction as late as into the 1940s (Petty 2013: 50).

This section described how the standard language was defined at the time, including for people in Wisconsin, to show what type of education German immigrants were receiving at the end of the 19th century and what types of educational materials were available to them after their arrival

[6] The Bennet Law of 1889 required English only instruction in schools, but was repealed in 1891 due to extensive public backlash (Petty 2013: 49-50).

in the U.S. While it is not accurate to assume that all speakers accessed these options, some likely made use of them, or of very similar options. To create a clearer picture of how these may have been implemented or where they may have been useful, in the following sections I describe why this region is of particular importance for this kind of study.

1.6 The Upper Midwest as test region

Due in part to its settlement patterns, the endurance of bilingual German-English communities, and the interest of historians and individuals to preserve community and regional history, the Upper Midwest, especially Wisconsin, is an ideal location for the study of language change via contact. When it comes to the English spoken here, it is established enough to show sufficient time depth for seeing changes and 'Wisconsin English' has emerged recently enough that data of this type is readily available. This region also allows for the focus on features over time in order to better understand the preservation of minority languages in bilingual communities over several decades and the potential influences of German on Upper-Midwestern, especially Wisconsin English. As early as the 1830s major waves of German immigration to the Upper Midwest led to many communities, that were originally founded by French or English immigrants and which were majority English speaking, seeing an influx of German-speaking immigrants from across German-speaking Europe. Unlike in some other regions, for example East Franconian speakers in Haysville, Indiana (Nützel: 2009), communities in Wisconsin were often not made up entirely of speakers from one region of German-speaking Europe. It is because of this mix of German language and dialect varieties, as well as other languages such as English, Polish, and Norwegian, that speakers who grew up in these heterogeneous language communities are of particular interest.

1.7 Regional context

In recent years the amount of research conducted on varieties of German spoken in the Upper Midwest (mainly in Wisconsin) and on Wisconsin English has vastly increased, shedding light on the linguistic situation there.

Previous research on the English spoken in Wisconsin has shown in several ways that Wisconsin English differs from that reported for General American English. While some people might be aware of stereotypical Wisconsin features like the stopping of interdental fricatives, saying "dem, der, and dose" rather than "them, there, and those" or the vowels /o/ like in *go* and /u/ in *due* in Wisconsin, other features are less widely recognized.

Purnell et al. (2005a, b) focused mostly on Southeastern Wisconsin and found that in recordings with speakers who were born from 1866-1986, the neutralization of final obstruents, which is common in Wisconsin, is a substrate feature imposed from languages like German, Norwegian, and Polish. They also found that the production differs greatly in this area than reported for general American English.

With recordings from the area for speakers with birth years from 1873-1981, Delahanty (2011) shows that back vowels, stopping, and final fortition are different in Wisconsin than elsewhere. She also shows that these once ethnolinguistic markers are now primarily regional markers.

Bagwell & Olson (manuscript 2006) take on a more comprehensive study of the English in Wisconsin at an earlier time period by looking at a set of familial letters written from 1880-1940 where they focus on written representations of articulatory, morphosyntactic, syntactic, and semantic imposition.

Finally, Litty (2014) examines voice onset time in contemporary English speakers in two concentrated regions, Dodge County and Sauk & Richland Counties, all located in southern Wisconsin. Litty found that there were differences in the production of spread vs. unmarked obstruents and these differences warranted farther examination.

The German spoken in Wisconsin has also been examined in several previous works, including Wolf (2005), who looks at the German in *Kriegstagebücher* "war diaries" from Wisconsin residents and Petty (2013) who focuses on German as the main language of instruction in Wisconsin schools. Geiger & Salmons (2006) focus their work on dialectal variation and loss of aspiration in eastern Wisconsin. Wilkerson & Salmons (2008, 2012) focus on immigrants and subsequent generations in Dodge County.

Previous work on historical sociolinguistics and sociophonetics considers individual pieces of language change over time. However, both generally only focus on individual time periods in the relatively distant past (i.e., 19th century or Early Modern German, Elspaß: 2005a, b), or by focusing on 'apparent time', looking at multiple generations in a given period. I use 'real time' data from written sources and audio recordings to track two linguistic variables (voice onset time and final obstruent neutralization) over several generations. This project shows how a specific set of phonetic features has developed over the course of a ca. 150-year period, culminating in an examination of today's speakers. To do this, I analyze the speech of German immigrants to the United States starting with written documents from the 1860s and follow the progression of their language (both German and English as well as written and spoken) through the language of their descendants, contemporary Wisconsin German speakers, who grew up with German as their first language, as well as monolingual community members whose families had already transitioned to English.

1.8 Research questions

The features I selected are phonetic representations which can be seen in written representations as well as measured from audio recordings. While past fieldwork often relied on impressionistic evidence or the ability of the researcher to capture consultants' speech via handwritten IPA transcriptions, the ability to use audio recordings now allows for quantitative measurements of distinct features without the potential of error due to individual researcher perceptions. Each of the chosen features can be measured and allow for a systematic tracing of speech developments over time.

The major research question(s):

1. Can sociophonetics be successfully married to historical sociolinguistics? Can we bridge that gap?
    a. To what extent are the written sources really representative of the spoken language? Can we reliably use written sources such as ego-documents (letters, diaries, etc.) to make generalizations about spoken language?
2. What does sound change for voice onset time (VOT) and final obstruent neutralization (FON) look like over a ca. 150-year period in bilingual communities in the Upper Midwest?
3. Are there visible substrate effects?
4. How have these features developed over time?
    a. What does looking at a bilingual contact situation tell us about how these speakers were using both English and German?
        i. What effect does the bilingual situation have on each of their languages?

5. What can this research tell us about the social narrative in these German-English bilingual communities? About the lives of recent immigrants and their language use in the mid-19th century?
6. How does this research advance the general historiography in the Upper Midwest in the 19th-20th century?

The rest of this dissertation is organized as follows: Chapter 2 addresses the frameworks and methodologies employed in data collection and analysis, in chapter 3 I give a brief history of selected settlement patterns in the Upper Midwest, focusing on Wisconsin, and introduce several sociolinguistic factors which are used in later analysis. Chapters 4 and 5 describe the data for VOT and FON, respectively. In chapter 6 I consider this data when analyzed according to sociolinguistic factors. Finally in chapter 7 I present my conclusions. Transcriptions of written sources can be found in Appendix 1, individual biographical information for all speakers and authors and data from written sources can be found in Appendix 2, and census data by county is given in Appendix 3. Transcripts from Appendix 1 and abridge biographical data from Appendix 2 can be found on my website: http://samanthalitty.weebly.com/data-collections.html.

2. Frameworks, data collection, and methodology

2.1 Introduction

As already sketched in chapter 1, this project is based in several different frameworks; historical linguistics and sociolinguistics make up the basis, and phonetics supplements these. This dissertation assumes that language cannot be separated from the individual and that a person's language can give indications about their social background, i.e. word choice, regionally accepted forms, or accent. This study uses as many different methods for gathering information about each person as possible, including direct questioning, self-description, census, church, marriage, and burial records.

This study follows many others in considering social variables alongside linguistic variables in an attempt to understand language change, in particular what factors may have affected the speech used by recent German immigrants in the Upper Midwest, as well as their descendants and inhabitants of the region today.

2.1.1 *Sociolinguistics*

Sociolinguistics, the study of linguistics with the inclusion of social factors as understood elements of having an impact on speech has existed in its current form only since the first major studies in this field occurred in the 1960s, beginning perhaps with Labov's work in Martha's Vineyard (1963). In this section I delineate several major studies in sociolinguistics that not only shaped the field of variationist sociolinguistics, but also this dissertation.

Trudgill (1974) provides an overview of different types of sociolinguistic factors, including language and society, social class, ethnic group, sex, social context, social interaction, nation, geography, and language contact. These form the basis for how I chose sociolinguistic factors to consider. Milroy (1980) and Milroy & Milroy (1992) show how social networks and

strong community ties have the strength to reinforce and uphold vernacular linguistic variants due to the power of the network. Chambers (1995) addresses issues of class, kinship and mobility in sociolinguistic theory. Social networks, kinship, and mobility are major factors in how I decided which written sources to include in the analysis in chapters 4-6.

Kerswill & Williams (2000) focus on children and their impact on dialect leveling in their study of Milton Keynes. Eckert (2005) introduced the community of practice approach, which basically shows when a group regularly meets and develops certain accepted practices related to how they interact with the world around them, forming types of in vs. out groupings and ways they interact based on these practices, which is similar to the 'group membership' and 'reference group membership' categories discussed in Fishman (1965: 68-69, 395-396; 1966: 27), with group membership referring to physiological and sociological criteria and 'reference group membership' referring to when a different practice is used or considered acceptable, much as is seen with Wisconsin German speakers using German at home and English in school or work settings. When considering each of the community structures and social networks of the collections used in this dissertation, especially the written collections, evidence emerges that shows interactions and in vs. out groups of speakers and authors as well as how they negotiate between reference groups as to which language to use in which setting.

Elspaß (2005 a, b), working with written sources of German speakers in Europe, introduces the idea of 'Sprachgeschichte von unten' ('language history from below'), reinforcing the idea that language change happens in a bottom-up direction and can be noted and measured in the speech of the common people, rather than sent down to the common people from a small group of individuals, as professed in previous top-down theories.

Blommaert (2010: 1) discusses the impact of globalization on speech and maintains that the world is not a village, simply because of easy and frequent contact due to technological advances, but rather is a kind of complicated web of villages, towns, groups, etc. with multiple connections on various levels of varying strengths. It is these connections and their variability that need to delineated and studied. The description of social networks in chapter 3 (and appendix 2) shows how widespread connections in these communities were in the 19th century. Although individual collection sizes and geographic expanses vary, all show that these authors had connections and interactions with different communities, some thousands of miles away.

Bayler, Cameron & Lucas (2013: 2) stress the necessity of including multiple different disciplines in sociolinguistic work. This dissertation includes facets from sociolinguistics, anthropology, history, sociology of language (Fishman 1965, 1966), and sociology (Karafillidis 2015). It is sociolinguistic in that it considers the social factors of speakers and writers, anthropological in that it considers the social lives and groups of the individuals, historical aspects involved include the use of historic documents and records, and sociological based on the impat of society on language use as well as the framework of networks as social boundaries to delineate data collections rather than the use of geographic, ethnic, or political boundaries.

2.1.2 *Historical sociolinguistics*

To clearly depict the language of 19th-century immigrants, I follow Elspaß (2005, 2007, 2012), Howell (1993), Van der Wal (2006), and others focusing my analysis on ego-documents and their sociohistorical implications. Because there are no audio recordings from this time, looking at unofficial writing allows analysis of written representations as close as possible to the speech of the individual speakers. Starting with Elspaß' (2005) '*Sprachegeschichte von unten'*

"language history from below", several major studies in Europe have forged the path for using written data from uncommon sources, namely those not of the educated middle and upper class. Vandenbussche & Elspaß (2007) discuss the significance of including works exhibiting variation or linguistic features that were nonconforming to the standard language. Prior to the end of the 20th century many grammars, textbooks, and historiographies perpetuated language use from the "*non-elite"* to be "corrupt and vulgar" (147). Vandenbussche & Elspaß (2007), Langer & Davies (2012), and Langer (2014) express the importance of including non-dominant or non-majority societal languages in language histories. When previous work has focused only on the standard or dominant majority language, researchers not only lost out on the impact of multiple languages in contact and the development of regional and community languages over time, but they also failed to document the language and history for a large part of society. Langer & Havinga (2015) express even more forcefully the loss or invisibilization of linguistic varieties or variants that were not written down due to stigmatization, making those varieties or variants effectively invsibile to modern readers (3-6). Elspaß (2005) maintains that language history from below should focus on oral and written language, handwritten sources being as close to oral speech as are available. Rutten & Van der Wal (2011) test to what 'degree of orality' the letters in their corpus represent spoken local dialects, concluding that dialect spellings are in the minority of written forms and that supraregional orthographic forms were more common (269). Schiegg & Thorpe (2017) expand on previous work using written sources as analysis of more than linguistic variables, but extending to handwriting analysis in the written sources from patients in an early 20th-century psychiatric hospital (30).

Building on these studies, data for this type of analysis focuses on writings created by the lower and middle class, rather than a select group of wealthy, educated men. While many studies do not include women writers, in this study, I represent men and women as equally as possible.

In her work on 18th-century linguistic variation, Van der Wal (2007) includes several sociohistorical factors, which are essential to this kind of work. These factors include basic information on the standardization process as well as an introduction to when the languages were spoken and where, individual histories of each writer to as great an extent as possible and explanations as to what each writer must have been familiar with as seen through specific instances in their writings. Van der Wal also stressed the importance that each ego-document must be evaluated for its own merits, not all are equal (2007: 94). Ego documents may not only reflect the spoken language, but also the language taught. Letters can be formulaic and follow written customs. Instead, I use letters that can be categorized as belonging to the 'language of immediacy' (Sprache der Nähe) because these letters are closer to oral language, informal and unplanned (Koch & Österreicher 1985).

Building on the work of Salmons, Mercer & Litty (forthcoming) in "Early Immigrant English: A case study of German-American English", this study examines the phonology of German immigrants in the late-19th century as well as German-English bilinguals and English monolinguals today. Salmons, Mercer & Litty look at the English of 19th-century German immigrants via personal letters in the Asbach collection of the Max Kade institute. Examples include phonological features from German, structural and transitional nonnative features. For phonetic realizations is it most striking that John Asbach lacks a consistent distinction between fortis and lenis stops, writing words like 'forgot' as *vergo**d*** and *thing* as *think.*[7] A possible

[7] Although most Standard English speakers do not have a final /k/ in *thing*, the realization with /k^{h}/ is notable.

explanation for this is that Asbach was aware of instances of final fortition which were considered unacceptable or stigmatized and therefore tried to correct this and actually hypercorrected, or undid final fortition in places where it did belong.

There are several features which can tell us something about the German of the person writing the letters. Salmons, Mercer & Litty (forthcoming) show several such features and structures. Here I show phonological indications found therein. These are letters from common people written from immigrants to home and from their families to them. Some letters are written to family and friends within the U.S. Many of the letters include spellings which likely indicate how the people were pronouncing these words.

Elspaß' 'Sprachgeschichte von unten' (language histories from below) focuses on ego-documents; letters, diaries, cookbooks, household inventories and lists, lay theater plays, etc. Working with texts from common people is sometimes more difficult than working with texts from prominent sources, because less, sometimes nothing is known about the author. Elspaß suggests several criteria for designing and editing a corpus, which I use as a guideline (2012: 161):

1. text source and its archival records must be identified.
2. standardized header or file name
3. editorial principles must be stated
4. deviation from the wording or spelling of the original text and variants in other manuscripts of the same text must be listed

Text selection should be based upon the following criteria (Elspaß 2012: 165):

1. Text should be as close to speech as possible.
2. They should be of different origins.

3. Texts should display variability of the phenomenon under investigation.
4. Texts should fulfill certain size requirements.

Contextual parameters that should be included in the sociolinguistic backgrounds of the writers include; age, sex, social class, regional origin of the writers, family status, education, social mobility, and relation to other writers (if applicable).

2.1.3 *Sociophonetics*

Sociophonetics is, very simply, the synthesis of sociolinguistics and phonetics. It is a relatively new field, first becoming commonplace in the 1990s (Thomas 2011: 1). Sociophonetics views language and language use as variable. The field recognizes that while phonetics allows language to be measured, language users change and adapt according to varying situations. The methods used here follow more of a 'bottom up' approach as described by Docherty et al. (1997), where two features are the focus and as much data is gathered as possible to survey the use and development of these features over time, rather than starting with a 'top down' approach and looking to fulfill a hypothesis.

This dissertation is sociolinguistic as well as phonetic in nature, in that I place a direct focus on the recreation of social and community structures and histories, using whatever data samples possible, rather than focusing on large amounts of phonetic data on its own. The goal is to learn more about which social factors impact the speech of the Upper Midwest.

2.2 Current framework

This dissertation is anchored directly in and aims to connect three major subfields — sociolinguistics, historical sociolinguistic, and sociophonetics. Therefore it is necessary to discuss how these fields are being combined. In actuality, that is the goal of this dissertation, to

see if, how, and to what extent they can be combined, or rather what the use of methods and data from these fields over an expanded period of time can reveal about each individually.

By focusing on entire communities and counties, immigration patterns, and changes across groups I look at each data set from a macro level. However, by focusing on each speaker and author as an individual and looking at individual features, I also considering language use and change on a micro level, drawing on features and biographic evidence for each speaker and author.

2.3 Written sources

In the following section I address previous research using written data sources in sociolinguistics and historical sociolinguistics. In §2.3.2 I dicuss how I collected that data used in the rest of the dissertation, and in §2.3.3 I explain my methodology for working with the written sources.

2.3.1 *Written sources: Previous research*

There are numerous previous works that focus on language change in written sources (Fertig 1994, 2000; Elspaß 2005, Bagwell & Olson manuscript 2006; Elspaß 2007; Vandenbussche & Elspaß 2007; Langer & Davies 2012; Langer 2014; Schiegg 2015, 2016; and many others). Due to the accessibility of previous work conducted in the Midwest I focus mainly on two previous studies, Wolf (2005) and Bagwell & Olson (manuscript 2006) to draw methodology from and to give a brief history of the type of work done with written sources.

2.3.1.1 Wisconsin English

Bagwell & Olson (manuscript 2006) conducted a study of immigrant-influenced linguistic change in Wisconsin. They compiled a database from the letters of an immigrant family, the Krueger family, living near Watertown, Wisconsin. The private collection of letters from this

family is currently housed in the Wisconsin Historical Society and is made up of more than one hundred letters spanning three generations. Bagwell & Olson only consider the letters written in English, which is the majority of their collection. Their work shows how Germanisms have become integrated into the English of an immigrant speech community.

Bagwell & Olson emphasize two main instances of phonetic or phonological imposition; that of the representation of interdental fricatives and final fortition. They find that while infrequent, spelling variants do point toward final fortition. This continues with speakers in the fourth generation, which suggests that these speakers were still neutralizing final consonants even though this is not a feature found in English. Alternating spelling variations and hypercorrections also point toward final neutralization. Bagwell & Olson suggest that because the letters contain relatively few examples of articulatory imposition, this could be because the language situation is not as stable as Van Coetsem's framework would predict or that the writers in the collection are familiar with orthographic conventions.

Figure 2-1. Articulatory imposition as found by Bagwell & Olson (manuscript 2006)

Articulatory Imposition	Year	Gen	Name	Frame(s)
Interdental Fricative > Dental Stop				
/θ, ð/ > [d, t]				
1. *somting* on the road	1899	2nd	Ernestina Goetsch	332-333
2. put them in cold water to *taw* them out	1923	4th	Edgar Krueger	446-448
Final Fortition				
// > []				
3. I got home alright last Tuesday but almost *frose*	1887	2nd	Susie Hasenflicker	180-1
4. I almost *frose*	1888	2nd	Albert Goetsch	183
5. it is after *twelf* now	1923	4th	Edgar Krueger	446-448
6. all the interesting *thinks* you could have told us	1939	4th	Jennie Krueger	482-483
Hypercorrection for Final Fortition				
// > []				
7. I dehorned the little *calve*	1888	2nd	Albert Goetsch	183
8. I dont know how meny Pictures I have *send* you	1894	2nd	William Goetsch	238
9. they have us a *ticked* for nothing[.] the other people had to pay fifty cents for a *tickett*	1892	3rd	Fred Volkmann	199-200
10. grandpa *send* us [5] chickens for thanksgiving last year	1893	3rd	Fred Volkmann	228
11. nothing *importend* has happened around here	1893	3rd	Sarah Krueger	209
12. [I] *send* for the Doctor yesterday at 8 oclock	1906	3rd	Katharina Renk	392-3

2.3.1.2 German-American Civil War diaries

The second major study in the region that uses written sources is Wolf (2005). She uses the diaries of German-American Civil War soldiers as a basis for analysis. Two writers are of special interest for my purposes. The two soldiers immigrated to the United States not long before joining the army. Both of these two men come from different places in German-speaking Europe, but they both lived in the Upper Midwest for some period of time. Because Wolf has already completed analysis of these diaries and included transcriptions for one of the diaries, I use them

as a foundation to discuss how she approached these texts and then similarly, how I approach the texts I worked with.

Wolf traced the linguistic histories of the two soldiers discussed in this section. They originate from different areas in Germany, one from the Pfalz or Palatinate region (West Central German) and the other from the Swabian-speaking region (West Upper German). They exhibit lenition patterns that the other soldiers in Wolf's study do not.

The first is Michael Zimmer, born December 2, 1824 in the Southern Pfalz, in Langenkandel, the son of Johann Jacob and Anna Maria Zimmer. His occupation is listed in the Census of 1860, 1870, and 1880 as carpenter. His emigration request is dated September 19, 1846. He immigrated to Philadelphia where he worked as a baker. He served in the Mexican American War from January 3, 1847 to August 18, 1848. After the end of the war he moved to Pekin, IL where he married Katherine Rosini Koenig. Koenig was born in Muehlenburg, Prussia, and they had 5 children. In the mid 1850s he and his family moved from Pekin, IL to Burlington, WI, where he lived until his death in 1896. Zimmer served from 1861-1864 and in 1870 he received American citizenship. He died in July of 1896.

Zimmer wrote two diaries that span his time in the Mexican American War (1846-1848) and the American Civil War (1861-1865). Zimmer reports retrospectively about his time in the Mexican American War and simultaneously about his time in the American Civil War.

Wolf refers to the diaries as T1 and T2, respectively. T1 includes 181 handwritten, lined pages. The first 13 of which report on the Mexican American War. The first segment is dated January 3, 1847 to August 18, 1848. The second segment is dated September 7, 1861 to December 4, 1864. T2 includes 165 handwritten and numbered pages. The entries begin on page 31. The first segment is dated from January 7, 1847. This is followed by 25 pages which describe

the Mexican American War. The descriptions of the American Civil War are dated September 7, 1861 to June 30, 1864. Wolf only uses T1 as a her source text, because T2 appears to have been written after T1 and it is suggested that T2 is perhaps an attempt by Zimmer to re-copy and embellish his first journal. Some dates do not correspond with the original diary and several stories have been lengthened (Wolf 2005: 23).

Wolf observes that interference between German and English seems to be more frequent in T2. In T2, there are no more "nasal strokes" to indicate the doubling of <n> and <m>. Wolf suggests that since the nasal stroke is such a common component of the German script and not a part of the Latin script and thus also not American orthography that Zimmer may have "forgotten" it over time (Wolf 2005: 23).

Wolf writes of others who had previously described Michael Zimmer's writing. Richard Bazillion refers to it as "rather eccentric German" in 1978. Macha & Wolf note the "eigentümliche Schreibmixturen" ("peculiar writing mixtures") that characterize his diary – especially in the area of German-English language mixing (2001).

Zimmer writes in two distinct script forms, both the German *Kurrent* and the "Latin" script. Wolf writes that Zimmer's writing has many examples of English language code switching. Besides a few English sentences, there are many single lexical elements of English origin. Macha & Wolf (2001) summarize Zimmer's writing the following manner:

- He is not afraid of using English words.
- If he doesn't know how to spell a word, he writes it according to how it sounds.
- He writes in such a manner that English sounds are also apparent.

If we consider where Zimmer is originally from, the Pfalz region, we need to include common regional distinctions that may show up in his writing. Pfälzisch belongs to the West Central

German dialects so we expect for /p/ to be shifted to /pf/, as well as to encounter a possible lenition (Russ 1989: 241-249). Wolf argues that Zimmer makes many mistakes, which cannot be explained via lenition. She says that there is a sort of reversal of the lenition. Zimmer writes /p, t, k/ as <p, t, k>, rather than <b, d, g> which were expected. It is possible that Zimmer was aware of the register difference of the standard versus the dialect and hypercorrected. While the lowering of /i/ to /e/ and /u/ to /o/ are common in Pfälzisch, Zimmer does not do this. The unrounding of /ü/ to /i/ is common in Pfälzisch, but Zimmer actually rounds /i/ to /ü/ and /e/ to /ö/, but he does not exhibit unrounding as might be expected.

The second source that Wolf writes about is Adrian Schweizer, born January 19, 1836, son of the brewer David Schweizer in Weitingen, Amt Horb in the Kingdom of Württemberg. He received the allowance to leave the Oberamt Orb via the Großherzogtum Baden and France to the USA on February 27, 1854. Wolf suspects that he traveled directly from his arrival in New York to the settlement areas near the Great Lakes. On September 9, 1861 he signed up to serve Company F of the 9th Wisconsin Volunteer Regiments in La Crosse. The date of his death is unknown. His diary spans from 1861 to 1864. It is comprised of 31 pages, beginning September 9, 1861 and ending April 30, 1864.

Schweizer, like Zimmer, also writes in two distinct scripts, *Kurrent* and the Latin script. Unlike Zimmer, Schweizer does not have complete sentences or syntactic elements completely in English. His diary consists mostly of information related to troop movements. This is rather unfortunate because it makes it very repetitive with little variation.

Schweizer emigrated from the Swabian-speaking dialect region. Swabian belongs to the Upper German dialects. He exhibits vernacular forms of /p^h/ vs. /p/, /t^h/ vs. /t/ and /k^h/ vs. /k/ in his writing. Schweizer transposes these, but it is not considered by Wolf to be significant. The

lowering of /i:/, /y:/, and /u/ before nasals is present in Schweizer's representations of words like "Iillenos" and "Diveseon", which is likely representative of the way Schweizer heard these words spoken, since the second <i> in Illinois is realized by most English speakers as a schwa and the second <i> in division is realized as [ɪ]. In a similar instance, Wolf considers this a possible hypercorrection of "angesprengt" to "angespringt". Swabian generally unrounds, but Schweizer rounds and unrounds, especially alternating between /i:/ and /y:/. Where in Swabian a pronunciation of *über* might be expected as [i:bɐ], and therefore for Swabian dialect users to write this as <iber>, Schweizer alternates between <iber> and <über>, suggesting that he is aware of the standard spelling, but that his Swabian phonology is interfering in some instances.

Most current speakers of Wisconsin German varieties do not produce front-rounded vowels. While the most direct explanation for the lack of this feature is that it did not exist in the original input varieties, speakers like Schweizer show that this was not necessarily the case. Many of the ancestors of today's Wisconsin German speakers came from regions, especially Low German regions, where front-rounded vowels were common. This might be indicative of loss due to dialect contact instead of language contact, because there were so many different dialects in contact with each other in Wisconsin where speakers with front-rounded vowels were exposed to different kinds of German, which did not have front-rounded vowels.

In these case studies, vernacular forms arise most frequently with the variation of /t^h/ vs. /t/ forms, especially in Zimmer's writing. Zimmer and Schweizer, however, exhibit more variation in vernacular forms exhibiting rounding/unrounding than any authors Wolf examines. Wolf suspects that these patterns arose due to insecurities about the written language. Other writers do not seem to be exhibit interference from varied spoken pronunciations.

American English words can either be written according to the writer's concept of how the word should sound or the writer's concept of how the word should be spelled, perhaps due to relation to other words or spellings the writer has seen/believes to have seen elsewhere. Deciding on an orthographically correct spelling is difficult because there was neither a widespread, easily accessible Standard German nor Standard English spelling in the 19th century (Wolf 2005: 140).

Zimmer's vernacular forms regarding lenition are most often shown in initial positions. This is less frequent with <d-t> and more frequent with <p-b>. Zimmer also rounds <i> to <ü>. Because of this, we can see that dialectal interference is likely in Zimmer's English. Wolf explains these by claiming that Zimmer is using German phonology to write English words. He realizes sounds by representing vowels with German-like representations (Wolf 2005: 148), i.e. <a> for /ʌ/ where in English <u> is expected and <ä> for /ɪ/ or /ɛ/ where <i> is expected in English.

The examples given in Zimmer and Schweizer's diaries led me to believe that similar vernacular forms might exist in writings of other authors from the Upper Midwest. Wolf (2005) shows that these vernacular forms may come from imposing German phonologies on English writings.

One point of particular interest is the way personal pronouns and toponyms are represented. There are certain place names that Zimmer always writes in standard spelling, although he switches between German and Latin script. Other place names suggest uncertainty, as seen in the use of <s> instead of <c> in *Rasine* for /s^{h}/ or <th> instead of <t> in *Benthon* for /t^{h}/ *(*Wolf 2005: 145). Schweizer is capable of writing orthographically difficult words correctly, but also seems to exhibit some uncertainty, which is seen in his representations of place names

with dashes, even though this is not common in English. Wolf also notes that orthographically unstressed syllables are often left out (2005: 150).

As a first step, I considered the envelopes included in one of the collections of written sources described in 2.3.2 in more detail. Simply viewing the envelopes of letters written to Charles Goth and his family from 1857-1905 can show very basic samples of variation. I chose to look at the envelopes for the use of toponyms, which are often uncommon to the person writing them. This means that when the person writing is uncertain of the spelling, they likely use a spelling that represents what sounds as close to the name as they can reproduce. This is interesting for German writers who have little or no exposure to English because they are writing according to their German phonologies.

In 32 letters written over 48 years to the Goth family in Wisconsin, there is quite a bit of variation on how different words are spelled, and that just on the envelopes. The different spellings of North America are expected, but only two (Nordamerika) coincide with modern Standard German spellings. The spellings for Middleton, Dane County, and Wisconsin are perhaps more noteworthy. There are six different spellings of Middleton, four of Dane County, and five of Wisconsin.

These envelopes show that even among writers from German-speaking Europe at the time, these words were not common enough for orthographic conventions play a role. Table 2-1 gives the spelling variations found on the envelopes; these often include the city, county, state, and country.

Table 2-1. Envelopes to Charles Goth and family 1857-1905

Date	City	County	State	Country
1857-03-29	Madison	Dane Counti	State of Wiskonsin	Nord Amerika
1857-12-24	Madison	Dane Counti	State of Wisconsin	Nord Amerika
1858-06-03	Madison	Dane Counti	State of Wisconsin	Nord Amerika
1861-03-12	Madison, Mittelton		Wiskonsin	Nord Amerika
1861	Madison, Middeltaun		Wieskansien	Nord Amerika
1867-07-02	Madisſon			Nord Amerika
1882-08-11	Middleton	Dane County	Wisconsin	North Amerika
1882-08-26	West Middletan P.O.	Dane C.o.	Staat of Wisiansin	North Amerika
1882-12-16	Middleton	Dane County	Wisconsin	North Amerika
1882	West Middleton	Dane co.	Wisconsin	North Amerika
1883-02	West Midlaban	dan Caundi	Wisiansin	Amerika
1883	West Middleton	Denkaudi	Staat Wisconsin	Nord Amerika
1884-11-03	Middleton		Staat Wisconsin	North Amerika
1885-05	Middleton, W. Madison		Staat Wisconsin	Nord Amerika
1887-01-03	West Middleton	Dane Cy.	Wisconsin	N. Amerika
1887-1895 (11 letters)	West Middleton	Dane Co.	Wisconsin	
1895-05-13	Midleton	Dane County	Wisconsin	Nordamerika
1895	Middleton	Dane County	Wisconsin, U.S.	Nordamerika
1901-08-30	Midleton	Dane County	Wisconsin	
1902-04-04	Middleton	Dane County	Wisconsin	United Staates of America
1905-01-21	Middleton	Dane County	Wisconsin	Nordt Amerika
undated	Middleton		im Staate Wisconsin	Nord Amerika
# of different spellings	Madison = 2 Middleton = 6	Dane County = 4	Wisconsin = 5	North America = 3

This section has shown some of the types of work with written sources — letters, diaries, and envelopes — that has been conducted in the Upper Midwest. In §2.3.2 I discuss the written data collected and used here, then in §2.3.3 I turn to my methodology for working with written sources.

2.3.2 *Written sources: Data collection*[8]

The first step in working with written sources is locating and amassing them. In Wisconsin there are innumberable historical societies, county history groups, and individuals who have collected and preserved this type of material. The Wisconsin Historical Society Library has a large collection of familial documents, which is where I initially collected written sources. Other documents were collected from the Max Kade Institute, the Lomira Historical Society, and the Old Franklin Township Historical Society (OFTHS). Only one of the collections I use was previously published, in that case in a book that was also found in the Wisconsin Historical Society Library.

I consider ego-documents collected throughout southern Wisconsin, but with ties across the Upper Midwest and beyond. The documents, generally letters, were written by a group of people, of similar characteristics; first German born and later US born. I also consider differing education levels. Many of these writers were educated in writing in German, but for those who moved to the U.S. as adults, they were not subjected to the American education system. I expect these speakers to reflect certain characteristics of their speech in their writing.

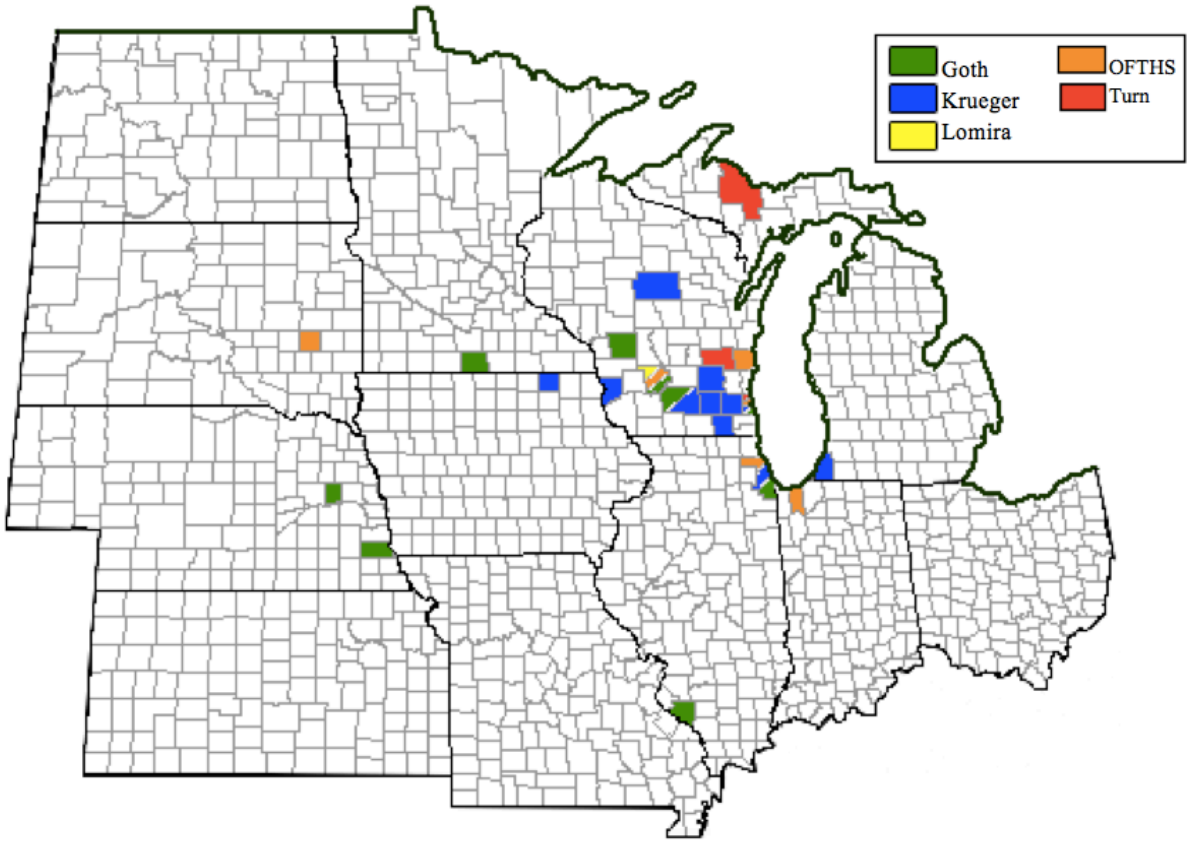
Written documents were collected from locations as described in Table 2-2.

[8] Transcriptions of each collection can be found in Appendix 1, as well as online at: http://samanthalitty.weebly.com/data-collections.html

Table 2-2. Written sources, collection information

Collection title	Retrieval location	Type of documents	# of authors	Network core(s) (collector and location)
Goth	Max Kade Institute, Madison, WI	personal letters; 2 declarations	16	Carl Goth; Middleton, WI Theona End; Verona, WI
Krueger	Wisconsin Historical SocietyLibrary, microfilms, Madison, WI	personal letters; memory album; letter to newspaper	52	August Krueger; Watertown, WI Alex(ander) Krueger; Watertown, WI
Lomira	Lomira Historical Society, Lomira, WI	personal letters	8	Rev. John L. Fritsche; Lomira, WI
OFTHS	Old Franklin Township Historical Society, Plain, WI	personal letters, German military certificates, birth and baptismal certificates, Civil war diary	8	Julianna Hehenberger Diehl; Plain, WI
Turn	Memorial Library, Madison, WI	personal letters	14	Mary Heidtmann Hoffman; Milwaukee, WI & Ripon, WI

Map 2-1 shows the locations (by county) of where the authors of written sources lived. This shows a basic idea of the geographic spread of each collection.



Map 2-1. County map of the Midwest with written data collections marked

2.3.3 *Written sources: Methodology*

The scale of this project means that data collection methods and resources are varied. While I initially on specific regions according to counties, I decided that focusing on modern political boundaries, such as counties is only useful when records are classified as such, or when trying to create a reference point for someone not as familiar with the data. More importantly, is the connection the speakers/authors have to one another and their individual social networks, which I discuss more in reference to each individual and their linguistic data.

After initial data collection (described in §2.3.2) the documents were processed so that they were in the same format. I chose to work with simple transcriptions of the letters in Microsoft Word document form. This allowed me to keep the same formatting for each, for ease of counting tokens. I transcribed all of the documents from the Goth, Lomira, and OFTHS

Collections myself. Letters in English from the Krueger Collection were already transcribed by Bagwell & Olson (manuscript 2006) and I only needed to transcribe documents in German and a couple of additional documents in English from this collection. For this collection I also compared the original letters with the transcripts made by Bagwell & Olson and noticed that I have alternate interpretations of several characters/words/phrases/formatting, which I adjusted and have included with the extended transcriptions from the other collections, in Appendix 1. The Turn Collection was already published and only needed to be converted to the same format to be uniformly aligned with the others.

After the letters were transcribed I arranged them chronologically and created an index (see Appendix 1). From the chronological list of letters I was able to gather information from the letters themselves about the authors and members of their social networks. I first created a basic profile for each author and the people mentioned in their letters. From this I created a 'Name Index', of all the people in each collection with alternative spellings of their names and the locations that they are mentioned in relation to. This list was used for census searches and for recreating social networks. Then I went through the collections again and made note of all the place names mentioned which was also to recreate networks. From these I created the maps discussed in Chapter 3. Finally, I used all of the information I could learn about each author; who they were writing to, who/where both writer and receiver knew in common, occupation, kinship ties, etc. from the content of the letters. I used this information to create brief biographies of each author, found in Appendix 2. After the social information was extracted from the documents, I turn to the linguistic data. In order to see if there are written representations of how laryngeal distinctions were or were not realized, or the written equivalent of VOT, lenition or fortition of obstruents, I marked each instance of syllable-initial vernacular obstruents. The same is done to

mark FON with obstruents in syllable-final position. For example, this letter excerpt from Sophie Goth, 1889 shows the variation of syllable final /t^{h}/ vs. /t/. Vernacular forms are underlined.

Max was there to and Mr. Swere tolt
him that I was ~~w~~ there but he wou=
25 dend bleve it he told Mr. Sawear that
he was a lier then Max went to
the post office and tharr he just
got the dispatch what Fritz send
away wen I started ~~aw~~

In lines 23 and 25 the author writes *tolt* and *told*. The first I classify as an example of FON. The other two examples, *woudend* and *send* for *wouldn't* and *sent*. I classify as hypercorrections. In these instances a final <t> is expected in English, but the use of <d> suggests that the author recognizes FON in German being carried into English pronunciation for words that are written with a final <d>, and tries to correct this, but does so by adding <d> where <t> would be expected.

Examples of variation in initial syllables are infrequent, but appear in examples as shown in this letter from Mary Volkmann from 1892. Vernacular forms are underlined.

25 my mamma is going to Chicago
put since it is only 12 miles form
us to Chicago we can [go] with the
train. it only coast 35 cents.

Line 26 starts with *but* written as *put*, suggesting fortition of the initial /p/ to /p^{h}/.

This data is then assessed for each author in consideration with their biographies and social networks and shown in chapter 4 and 5.

2.4 Audio sources

Paralell to §2.3, in the following section (§2.4.1) I turn to audio sources, including previous research conducted in relation to both VOT and FON (§2.4.1), then I discuss the data collection

for the audio sources (§2.4.2), and finally in §2.4.3 I lay out the methodology for analyzing VOT and FON in the audio sources.

2.4.1 *Audio sources: Previous research*

Not only do people across the United States use different lexical items and have different accents, Jacewicz et al. (2009) show that monolingual English speakers in Wisconsin and North Carolina also have fundamental phonetic differences related to laryngeal articulation. Delahanty (2011), Iverson & Salmons (1995, 2003), Purnell et al. (2005a, b) have worked with similar audio recordings in the Upper Midwest in studies on FON. Wilkerson et al. (2014) discuss the 'stopping' of interdental fricatives as a common feature in Wisconsin English, which has often been stigmatized, but which may be receding. This is a possible substrate influence not only from German, but also from multiple immigrant languages, including Polish and Dutch. Wilkerson et al. also notes the imposition of final fortition, most markedly in /s/ to /s^h/.

2.4.1.1 Voice onset time

Jessen (1998) defines voice onset time (VOT) as, the "time period between the release of the stop closure and the beginning of F2 of the following vowel". According to Jessen (1998), there are several ways that aspiration has been measured and labeled as "correct" or standard. He outlines several, according to pronouncing dictionaries[9], namely; *Viëtor, Siebs, Duden,* and the *Großes Wörterbuch der Deutschen Aussprache* (WdA). For each of these dictionaries there is an explanation given of exactly when stops are pronounced with voicing or aspiration and according to utterance and word positions. Some even describe differences between normal speech and "stage pronunciation".

[9] The main purpose of these dictionaries is to describe standard pronunciation for the stage.

Table 2-3. Jessen's summary of dictionaries; table adaptation is mine

Dictionary	Position	/p^h, t^h, k^h/	/p, t, k/
WdA	Utterance-Initial	only if following vowel is stressed	produced without voicing; but it is an option
	Post-voiceless	only if following vowel is stressed	claimed to be voiceless
Duden	Utterance-Initial	'strong to very strong'	with voicing in most contexts
	Post-voiceless	'strong to very strong'	'weakly voiced to almost voiceless'
	Stage pronun.	realized to a higher degree than in standard pronunciation	always present
Siebs	'pure standard'	aspiration in all contexts	all lax obstruents in all contexts, except final devoicing
	'moderate standard'	aspiration in all contexts, but 'more weakly aspirated' than in 'pure standard'	lax stops; voiceless in word initial & post-voiceless position
Viëtor		stops aspirated; more strongly in stressed syllable	voiced in all positions

The amount of expected aspiration is not only different between languages and consonants, it differs between individuals and even within the same individual. VOT alone does not tell us much about a speaker. It must be coupled with other factors, which is shown in chapter 6.

Because of the varied settlement patterns of each county, we might, for example, expect to see a lower VOT for Dodge County speakers as a substrate German influence, especially because there are still German speakers from lenition areas, such as West Central Germany, living there. Because Richland County was settled by many different people–German, English, and Czech heritage were reported by my consultants–which means it may pattern differently than regions settled primarily by German speakers. However, there may be differences between language contact situations such as in Dodge County and monolingual areas and if these areas are in flux, we may expect to find intermediate changing VOT values, as was found for VOT values for /t/ (Flege & Hillenbrand 1984: 715).

VOT varies regionally in the German spoken in Germany (Braun 1996, and see Table 2-5) and so it may be inferred that the same is true in Wisconsin. Some of these speakers' families originally came from areas of Germany that diverge in this regard from the standard language, so we may expect to find variation in VOT and final fortition. Fieldwork conducted in the area has given evidence (as analyzed in Geiger & Salmons 2006) which suggests that Wisconsin English in these regions may have less aspiration than is expected and reported for general American English. This pattern of reduced aspiration is a potential substrate influence, but not something that people living in the region are known to be conscious of, nor is it a salient feature picked up by outsiders or mimicked in attempts to replicate Wisconsin speech. This is seen with with more pronounced features as readily as comedians on TV making fun of a stereotypical Wisconsin accent where the focus is on the 'stopping' of interdental fricatives and final fortition, both of which are also commonly associated with German. These differences are perceived to some degree by the general public and mimicked by comedians and actors replicating accents, but do not seem to be noticed by the general public living *within* these regions. The stopping of interdental fricatives in rural Wisconsin and the broader Upper Midwest (Da Bears) is indicative of this being noticed to some degree as evidenced by the SNL skits introduced in 1991, "Bill Swerski's Super Fans: Thanksgiving" which can be viewed here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kBnnon_iZOM.

Early work on VOT (Lisker & Abramson 1964) did not consider sociolinguistic factors. Lisker & Abramson (1964) simultaneously considers people of all different ages, sexes, and from different areas, which we know (Chambers 2009; Eckert 1989; and others) has an impact on how people speak. In relation to German work, Braun (1988) has collected several studies dealing with the regional distribution of VOT in German, but the studies Braun has collected

each have their own issues; low number of participants (often only one from a certain region) or having only very little social information available about each participant.

While studies have been conducted on both "German" and "English" speaker's speech, not all of the results are consistent and often, it is unclear who the speakers are or what region they are from. In this section, I try to sketch a background of some of these studies, mostly as have been reported by Jessen (1988).

Table 2-4 summarizes "American English" and regional German varieties.

Table 2-4. Average "American English" VOT values (in milliseconds) according to Lisker & Abramson 1964.

	/p^h/	/t^h/	/k^h/	/p/	/t/	/k/
Av. VOT	58	70	80	1/ -101	5/ -102	21/ -88

For VOT values of /p^h, t^h, k^h/ Lisker & Abramson give averages, but for /p, t, k/ they give ranges. Newer research shows wide variation among individuals (Allen, Miller & DeSteno 2003) which means that more work needs to be done in relation to VOT values to determine the impact of regional variants. Because regional and social factors have an impact on individual speech production, it is necessary to focus on smaller groups of consultants with similar linguistic histories or to focus on the individual. While studies like Lisker & Abramson (1964) give samples of general "American English", I chose not to focus on such a wide variety of both regional and social factors, but attempt to control for some of the variation by containing my research group to similar communities in the Upper Midwest.

Table 2-5. Average VOTs from different regions according to Fischer-Jørgensen (1976) and Braun (1988), values are in milliseconds.

Source	Dialect region	/p^h/	/t^h/	/k^h/
Fischer-Jørgensen (1976)	Berlin	32	42	55
	Lübeck	62	58	71
	Elmshorn	48	45	56
	Koblenz	32	37	67
Braun (1988)	Hessen	56.5	61.4	73.1
Taylor (1975)	"Standard German"			50
Keating (1984)	"German"			60-70
Lisker & Abramson (1964)	"American English"	58	70	80
Allen, Miller & DeSteno (2003)	VOT varies substantially by individual talker			69-119

Tokens from Fischer-Jørgensen are from Berlin, Lübeck, Elmshorn, and Koblenz; all are based on only one speaker each. All tokens from Fischer-Jørgensen are word-initial stops. Tokens from Braun are Hessian and are averaged over seven speakers. All tokens from Braun are utterance-initial stops. "Standard German" measurements are from Taylor's 1975 study as reported in Jessen (1998). All tokens are utterance-initial position and collected from 10 speakers. A distinction is only made between tense and lax stops. "German" measurements are from Keating's 1984 study. All tokens are "initial, main stress".

While this shows us that quite a bit of work has been done with initial VOT in Germany, the important thing to note here is that German VOT in Germany is highly variable, so since speakers were coming from all over to South Eastern Wisconsin, I expect the German of Dodge Co. German speakers also to be highly variable. It should also be noted that the averages given by Lisker & Abramson of "American English" are higher than most accounts of German.

Basically, just as no one speaks in exactly the same way, there is also no consensus on prescriptive pronunciation nor descriptive pronunciation. Many sources agree, for example, that there is aspiration, but not to what degree.

Knetschke & Sperlbaum (1987) categorize aspiration according to three degrees; absence of aspiration, and two degrees of perceived presence of aspiration; medium and strong. They also look at voiced vs. voiceless as two separate degrees. According to their results of /p^h, t^h, k^h/ vs. /p, t, k/ aspiration occurs in intervocalic, utterance-initial, and post-voiceless positions while voicing only appears in the intervocalic position.

Jessen also describes studies based on transcripts conducted by Ezawa (1973), Lotzmann (1975), and Meinhold & Stock (1963). In the first two of these studies degrees of aspiration were impressionistic, simply determining whether it was present or not. In the third, by Meinhold & Stock, waveforms were also consulted. This dissertation differs in that it not only looks at whether or not aspiration is present, but it shows to what extent by measuring VOT. I work here from audio recordings and measure aspiration in milliseconds per token using PRAAT (Boersma & Weenink 2016).

Since the previously discussed studies were completed, sociophonetics has greatly advanced. It is now understood that it is important to specify things like age, sex, and specific location of the speaker's birth and upbringing. These things all correlate with how speech is produced and perceived. We know, for example, that women and men speak differently as well as the young and the elderly. Just as even the layperson is aware that people in New York speak differently from people in Texas although both still fall under the category of "American English".

Wilkerson & Salmons (2008, 2012; Wilkerson et al. 2014) discuss how speech varieties are shaped by bilingualism. They show evidence from communities in the Upper Midwest remaining heavily monolingual 70 or more years after immigration (chapter 3.1, see also Frey 2013 for even more dramatic numbers). The distinct speech characteristics found in these communities reflect, in part, L1 interference. They argue that such features can enter into the speech of a community and that the features may become markers of local or regional speech rather than only belonging to a specific ethnic group.

With the example of Hustisford, a village in Dodge County, Wilkerson & Salmons (2008, 2012) investigate how language use developed over time with the mingling of German and English speakers in the community; whether or not the village was ever German speaking dominant or whether German speakers in the area were marginalized in any way.

European colonization of Wisconsin began in the early 19th century, but immigration from German-speaking regions did not begin until the 1830s. At this time large groups of German speakers from Westphalia, Schleswig-Holstein, the Rhineland and Pomerania began to settle in Southeastern Wisconsin. Hustisford was originally founded by John Hustis in 1837 and settled by Anglo-Americans and therefore was never truly a solely German-speaking community and consequently not a true ‘language island’.

According to data from U.S. Census records from 1910 and 1920, we know that Hustisford was home to both monolingual German speakers and monolingual English speakers as well as bilingual German-English speakers. This data also tells us that the occupations of monolingual German speakers was not limited to agricultural or laboring professions, but included occupations in commerce, trades/craftsmanship, and although not explicitly in Hustisford, professional occupations including teachers and clergymen could be found in the

region. This tells us that monolingual German speakers were not economically marginalized (Wilkerson & Salmons 2012).

Wilkerson & Salmons (2012) also consider marginalization due to where German speakers lived and community integration such as via schools and churches. They found that German monolinguals lived in the same areas as English monolinguals. German monolinguals were not marginalized to living on the outskirts of town or in rural areas. German congregations took up to a century to transition from German to English, ending as late as 1975, which means that German church services and some parochial schools survived the requirements of the (short-lived) Bennett Law's English-only requirements for main subjects at school and the anti-foreigner sentiments of the early 20th century.

Salmons & Purnell give examples of several groups for which this is the case. In Jewish English the topicalization of indefinites is a common stereotype. An example of this is, "A hotel she lives in." (Feinstein 1980, also discussed in Salmons & Purnell 2010: 462). Other features include loanwords such as *schlep*, *schmooze* or *fancy schmancy*. Feinstein conducted a study that found that these forms were more acceptable by New Yorkers than by non-New Yorkers. This shows how features from former ethnic or immigrant groups have become regional features.

Another example is how African American English (AAE) is tied to the local linguistic landscape, rather than a mythical general overarching AAE. AAE exists in all parts of the country and thus is related to all of those regional varieties of American English (Purnell: 2009; Salmons & Purnell 2010: 463).

This section focused on previous work related to VOT for English and German, including previous work specifically conducted in Wisconsin. In the following section, I introduce and discuss previous research related to FON.

2.4.1.2 Final obstruent neutralization

There has previously been work conducted in the same area of Wisconsin where I gather my data, including work by Fourakis & Iverson 1984, Brockhaus 1995, Iverson 1997, Salmons & Purnell 2010. Their work in this region until now has focused primarily on the impact of immigrant language on regional varieties. In many of these areas features that were once associated with a particular ethnic group have now become markers of regional speech. These include the 'stopping' of interdental fricatives, final fortition, the use of *with* as a verb particle with verbs of motion and other innovations of adverbs.

Salmons & Purnell argue that final fortition is a part of koinéization in Upper Midwestern English, which can be attributed in part to influence from immigrant languages such as German, Dutch, Polish, some Scandinavian languages, and some dialects of Yiddish. Final fortition, or the neutralization of voicing in final position can be observed in vocal fold vibration, but also in the preceding vowel length (Heffner 1937; Parker 1974). Salmons & Purnell compare these with each other as well as with an overall change in voicing by looking at four sets of speakers from southeastern Wisconsin. These speakers are from successive generations; the first born between 1866 and 1892 and the last born between 1966 and 1986. What they find can be described as the reallocation of final fortition (Salmons & Purnell 2010).

Purnell et al. 2005b find that contemporary speakers living in an area settled primarily by German-speaking immigrants produce final laryngeal distinctions differently than generally reported in American English, which includes partial neutralization of the distinction of /s^h, t^h/ from /s, t/. Data in this study was collected from recordings of speakers born between 1866 and 1986. They find that while the oldest speakers primarily use glottal pulsing to make the

distinction, the youngest speakers exhibit at "trading relationship" and switch between pulsing and preceding vowel length.

Final fortition in Wisconsin English has also been studied by Purnell et al. (2005a). They investigate four features: glottal pulsing during obstruent closure/constriction, duration of the preceding vowel, and changes in F1 and F0 preceding the obstruent. They find that there are clear and sharp contrasts between English and German.

Much of this previous work is based on current recordings from speakers in the area, but some also stretches as far back as to cover speakers born as early as 1866. Important results from these studies for my study purposes are that specific features, "Watertown features" are found cross-regionally and that the speakers appear to fill a position between German and American English; they have a structural influence from German on their final obstruents in their varieties of English.

2.4.2 *Audio sources: Data collection*

I use recordings from 3 different collections, spanning two major different time periods. Information about each of the audio collections is shown in Table 2-6.

Table 2-6. Basic audio recording information

Collection name	**Collection storage location**	**Main interviewer(s)**	**Years spanned in collection**	**Language of collection**
Seifert Collection	Max Kade Institute Sound Archives, Madison, WI	Lester W.J. "Smoky" Seifert	1945-1949	German
Stratman-Thomas Collection[10]	Mills Music Library, Madison, WI	Helene Stratman-Thomas	1937-1946	English & others
Litty-Evans Collection	Max Kade Institute Sound Archives, Madison, WI	Samantha Litty & Christine Evans	2013	German & English

[10] These recordings are officially part of The Wisconsin Folksong Collection. https://uwdc.library.wisc.edu/collections/millsspcoll/wiscfolksong/

The first collection of German recordings I use in this study were made by Professor Lester W.J. "Smoky" Seifert in the late 1940s. These are followed by recordings made of contemporary speakers in 2013, including both English and German speech. These recordings, of which some of the speakers were born in the mid 19th century, coupled with the recordings of contemporary Wisconsin German speakers gives a sample of speakers born over more than a 100-year expanse.

The project began with the collection of speech samples from German-English bilinguals in Dodge County, Wisconsin and English monolinguals from Sauk and Richland Counties. Speech samples were collected in January-April 2013. The recordings range from 7 minutes to several hours. Other recordings used are recordings made by Seifert of Wisconsin German varieties in 1945-1949 and by Helene Stratman-Thomas 1937-1946. These recordings are stored in the Max Kade Institute Sound Archives and at the Mills Music Library at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

2.4.2.1 Interviews

The interviews took place in the homes of the consultants or at local public places such as the Cazenovia Post Office in Richland County. Each of the interviews was scheduled in advance, during which time the consultants were told the expected process of the interview including length, language to be used, and task type. Because this was settled ahead of time for all of the recordings, the audio recordings capture all events from the moment of arrival until departure. Interviews in Dodge County were conducted by two researchers and at least one consultant. Interviews in Richland County were conducted by one researcher and at least two consultants; one consultant accompanied the researcher to the following interviews and acted as guide and liaison.

Consultants in Richland County as well as monolinguals in Dodge County took part in interviews that asked similar questions about their personal histories, but interviews with bilingual speakers in Dodge County were generally longer as they included several linguistic tasks. Consultants were also asked about their language use history, even if they were not bilingual, to establish a comparison of which languages were present in the community and if they had had any other language training in the past.

The interviews conducted with bilingual consultants in Dodge County were the longest and most focused. The majority of each interview was conducted in German, although most contain small segments of English, at the very least to discuss consent forms. The interviews generally followed this pattern:

- Small talk during arrival of researchers and set up of equipment;
- Personal history questions to gain biographical information as well as an overview of the consultant's language use history;
- Translation task; consultants were read sentences in English and asked how they would say that particular sentence (or idea) in German;
- Picture-guided narration task using one of the books from the Frog series mentioned previously;
- Technology related question section.

Free conversation is interspersed throughout each activity. Sometimes the conversation in between activities is in English.

2.4.3 *Audio sources: Methodology*

Samples have been collected from these recordings in Audacity and analyzed in Praat.

2.4.3.1 Measurements: VOT

A critical first step is to establish a manner of measuring aspiration, where I draw on work by Jessen (2001) and Thomas (2011). Thomas describes voice onset time (VOT) as the interval of time, measured in milliseconds between the stop gap and the onset of vocal fold pulsing (2011). I use this as a base for creating my measurement guide in a section devoted to VOT measurements. With VOT there are several things, which are important to note. According to Fischer-Jørgensen the aspiration of /p^h, t^h, k^h/ after /s^h/ is considerably shorter than in post-vocalic position (1976). Language contact situations may be different than monolinguals settings and we may expect to fine intermediate of changing VOT values (Thomas 2011).

Tokens measured are post voiceless (p^h, t^h, k^h, s^h, f^h, $tʃ^h$) or word initial in stressed position.

Figure 2-2. Praat view of stop gap before token. Monolingual English Speaker, Sauk Co. Transplant, Female, Age 50: *tear*, n. /tɪər/

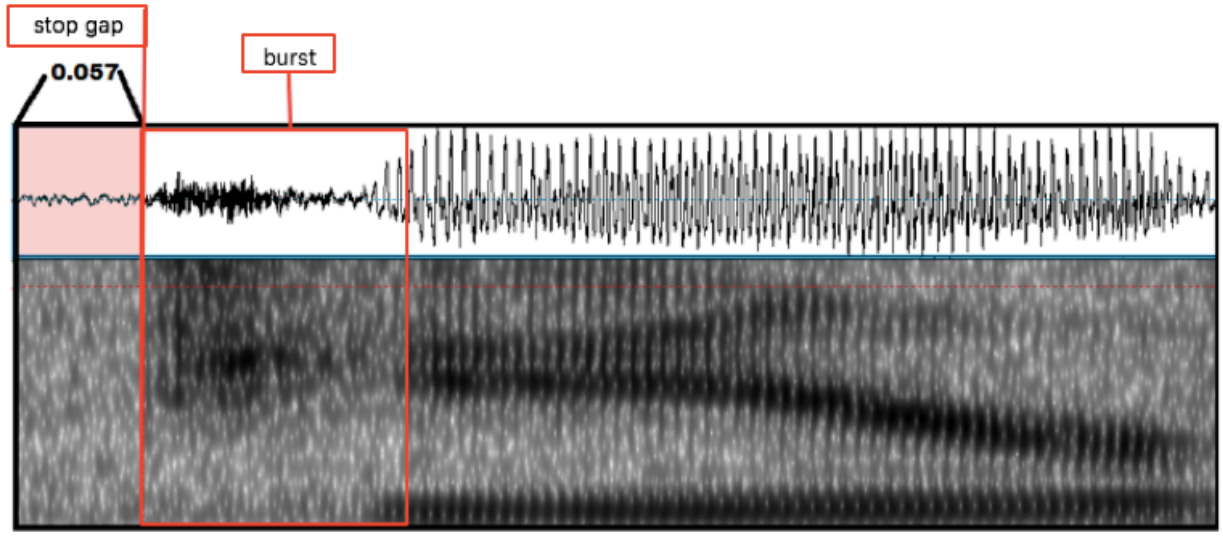
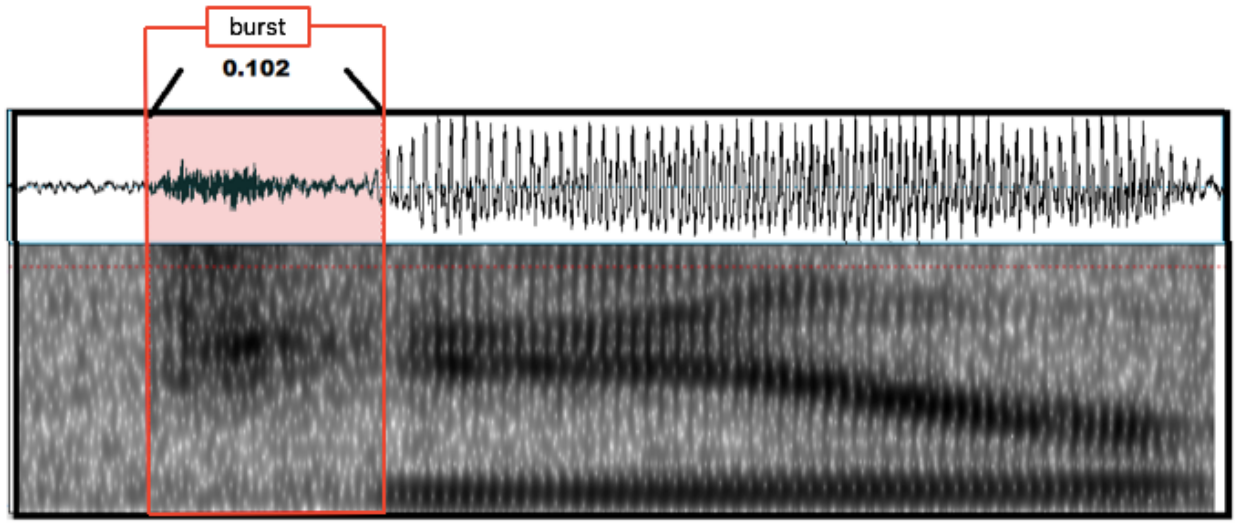


Figure 2-2 shows the stop gap, 57 ms. and the burst (enclosed in the box), or initial onset of aspiration. The measurement of VOT for /p^h, t^h, k^h/ starts from the beginning of the burst until the wave form becomes regular or sinusoidal or until voicing sets in and until Formant 2 is level;

this is usually about halfway through the first small wave of the vowel. Voicing is considered "set in" when the voicing line is fully dark, not the first shadows of voicing. This is usually 1-2 pulses into Formant 1.

Figure 2-3 shows only the burst, 102 ms.

Figure 2-3. Praat view of aspiration sample. Monolingual English Speaker, Sauk Co. Transplant, Female, Age 50: *tear*, n. /tɪər/



2.4.3.2 Measurements: FON

Obstruent minimal pairs in German and English are traditionally referred to as "voiced" and "voiceless", for example, English /s/ is called "voiceless" and /z/ "voiced". However, Iverson & Salmons (1995, 2003) and Purnell et al. (2005a, b) support the consensus that in English and German the distinction is not truly voiced or voiceless but rather where "voiceless" sounds are specified by [spread glottis] or Glottal Width and "voiced" sounds are both unmarked phonologically and laryngeally. Therefore I use refer to these obstruent series as 'spread' (traditionally referred to as voiceless) and 'unmarked' (traditionally referred to as voiced).

Final fortition is a prevalent feature in Modern Standard German. For example, German *Rad* 'bicycle' is realized as [rat] with a final /t^{h}/ sound. In English, the final sound in *rad* is produced as /t/. Previous research has shown that final neutralization is realized differently in Wisconsin than in General American English. There is a generational trade off of glottal pulsing and final fortition (Purnell et al. 2005a, b).

Salmons & Purnell (2010) find that final neutralization is a reallocated feature, that is, a feature found in German originally and then imposed on and expanded in Upper Midwestern English. It is widespread in Eastern Wisconsin. It seems not to be stigmatized and is socially accepted. For example, the /s/ at the end of *beers* is realized as [s] instead of [z].

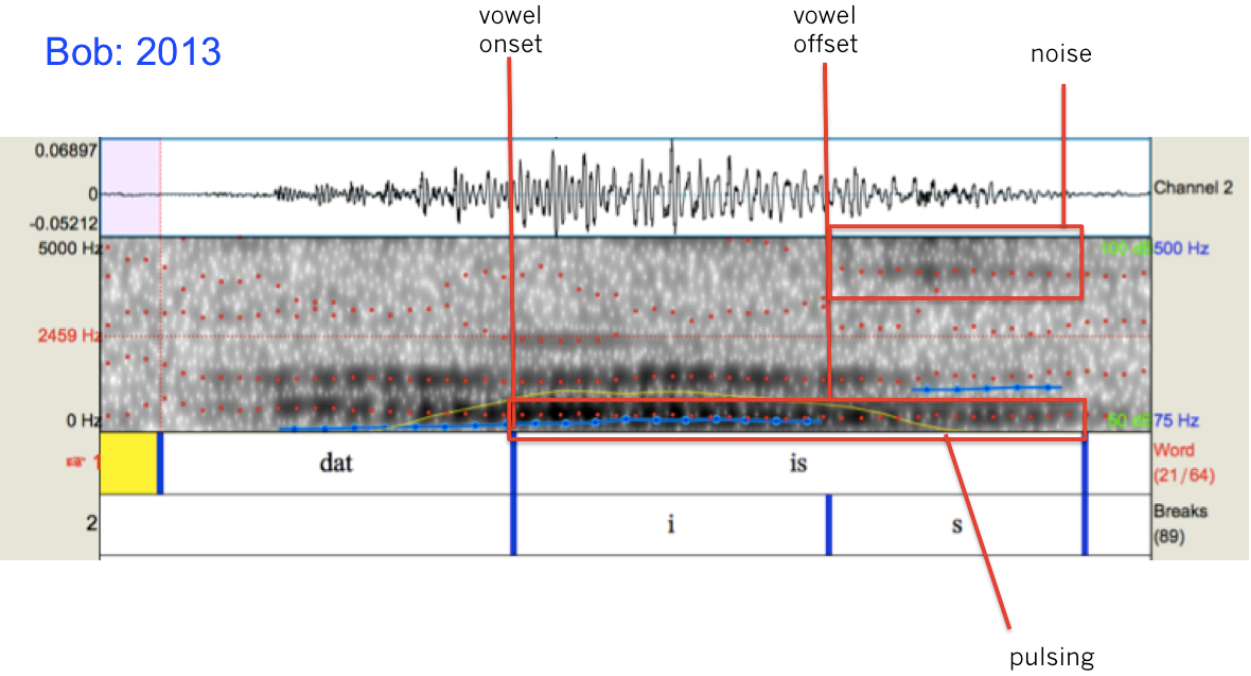
Delahanty (2011) found that final neutralization has become a part of regional Wisconsin English. She writes that while it has become more widespread it is perhaps also used as a social marker among younger speakers. Delahanty finds a changed rate of final neutralization, from the oldest speakers born 1878-1900 at only 30% increasing to 60% with speakers born 1975-1988.

For measurements, I follow Delahanty's description of Praat measurements, (2011: 113).

> The consonant gap is defined from the beginning of the final obstruent closure excluding the burst. Criteria for determining the beginning of the constriction for final fricatives, I looked for noise at the end of the preceding vowel and the beginning of the friction noise was determined by a clear dominance of noise in the spectrum. Glottal pulses were marked in the corresponding waveform.

A sample FON measurement is shown with vowel onset, vowel offset, noise, and pulsing marked in Figure 2-4.

Figure 2-4. Sample FON measurement



This chapter has presented a broad overview of the frameworks the rest of this dissertation is based in. It has also shown the main sources of data collection and methodology. Specific data results for each feature and collection are addressed in chapters 4 (VOT) and 5 (FON). In the following chapter (3), I describe the settlement history of the Upper-Midwest.

3. Upper-Midwestern history & sociolinguistic introduction

3.1 A brief history of settlement in Wisconsin

The Upper Midwest is home to many heritage languages, including German. Southeastern and eastern Wisconsin were settled heavily by German speakers and according to the 2000 census in Dodge County, Wisconsin, 1.5% of inhabitants still spoke German in the home (Purnell et al. 2005a).

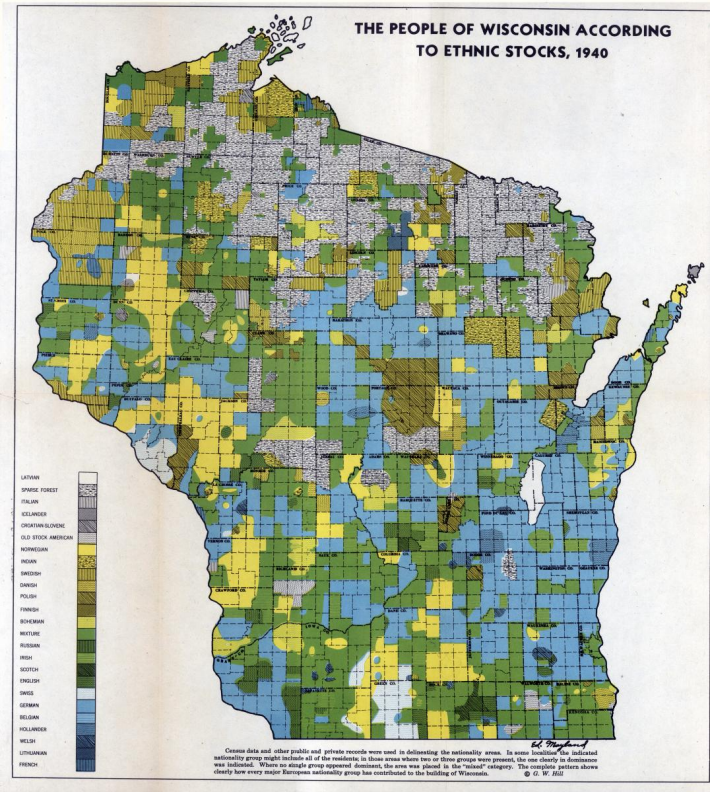
The percentage of the population that was German speaking in each county varied greatly. For example, Dodge, Sauk, and Richland Counties are all located in southern Wisconsin and I have data from speakers and authors from all three. The counties all have varied immigration and settlement histories. For example, according to census data in 1870 more than 20% of Dodge County's population was German born, 11-20% in Sauk, and only 1-10% in Richland. This remained steady until 1900 when the census data shows the percentage remaining the same in Sauk and Richland Counties, but decreasing slightly to 11-20% of the population in Dodge County. In 1910 Sauk and Dodge Counties had 11-20% German born citizens and Richland County had only 1-10%. By 1920 all three counties had decreased to only 1-10% of the population born in Germany. While this remained steady for a few decades, by 1950, less than 1% of Richland's population was born in Germany (see maps, Livengood 2010; Trudgill 2006; Trudgill et al. 2000; Appendix 3).

Table 3-1: Percentage of population born in Germany by decade 1870-1920

	Dodge	Sauk	Richland
1870	>20%	11-20%	1-10%
1880	>20%	11-20%	1-10%
1890	>20%	11-20%	1-10%
1900	11-20%	11-20%	1-10%
1910	11-20%	11-20%	1-10%
1920	1-10%	1-10%	1-10%

By 1920, the influx of German immigrants had slowed or even stopped. However, these numbers only include people born in Germany, not people speaking German or who label themselves as having German heritage. Many areas were majority German speaking even though settlement was not from a single location in German-speaking Europe. This means that a range of dialects came into these areas. There was also a strong presence of standard German in Wisconsin via German-language newspapers, schools, and churches. These communities were often at least partially monolingual German. Hustisford, a small village in eastern Dodge County was as much as 24% German monolingual in 1910 (Wilkerson & Salmons 2008) and New Holstein in Calumet County (in eastern Wisconsin) was 28% German monolingual in 1910 (Frey 2013: 182).

The heaviest areas of German settlement were in southeastern and eastern Wisconsin, especially near Milwaukee and along Lake Michigan. However, other settlements of German speakers spread throughout south-central Wisconsin although with fewer communities located throughout the region. While German-speaking immigrants were among the earlier immigrants to Wisconsin, many immigrants of diverse backgrounds eventually settled in the region. Map 3-1, known as the Hill Map from 1940 (compiled with data from 1940 and 1905 census records), shows the distribution of different ethnicities settled across Wisconsin. It is clear that German is the major language spoken by these groups (other than English). The heavy concentration of German settlement can be seen in eastern and southeastern Wisconsin, especially along Lake Michigan.



Map 3-1. The people of Wisconsin according to ethnic stocks, 1940 from: G.W. Hill, published electronically by the Wisconsin Historical Society 2010. http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/maps/id/140

Today language shift of German-English bilinguals to English monolinguals in Wisconsin is advanced, but researchers estimate that there are still 100s, maybe 1000s of native speakers of Wisconsin German varieties living in Wisconsin. Dodge County is one area where there are still many heritage speakers of Wisconsin German varieties.

3.1.2 Settlement patterns by county

For speakers and authors in this collection, data comes not only from Wisconsin, but from across the Upper Midwest and beyond. Table 3-2 shows the total number of sources from each county, in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, South Dakota, Texas, and Wisconsin.

Table 3-2. Number of authors or speakers from each county

County	Author	Speaker
Illinois		
Cook	7	0
Jackson	3	0
Indiana		
Porter	1	0
Iowa		
Howard	7	0
Michigan		
Berrien	3	0
Marquette	7	0
Minnesota		
Faribault	5	0
Nebraska		
Otoe	1	0
Colfax	2	0
South Dakota		
Miner	1	0
Texas		
Bell	1	0
Wisconsin		
Crawford	1	0
Dane	9	2
Dodge	26	8
Fond du Lac	5	0
Jefferson	6	0
Manitowoc	0	1
Marathon	1	0
Milwaukee	5	0
Monroe	1	0
Oconto	0	1
Richland	0	2
Sauk	6	2
Sheboygan	1	0
Walworth	1	0
Waukesha	1	0
Total:	94[11]	16

[11] This number is different from others given for number of authors, and different than number of authors having written before 1920 because some authors wrote from multiple locations prior to 1920 and all are counted here.

For each county, I collected census data from1880, 1890, 1900, and 1910 to see which immigrant groups were most prevalent at those times (see Appendix 3). The largest immigrant group for each county is shown in Table 3-3.

Table 3-3. Largest foreign-born group by country per county by decade

No.	County, State	1880	1890	1900	1910
1	Cook, IL	Germany	Germany	Germany	Germany
2	Jackson, IL	Germany	Germany	Germany	Germany
3	Porter, IN	Germany	Germany	Germany	Germany
4	Howard, IA	Ireland	Germany	Germany	Germany
5	Berrien, MI	Germany	Germany	Germany	Germany
6	Marquette, MI	England	England	England	England
7	Faribault, MN	Sweden	Germany	Germany	Germany
8	Colfax, NE	Czechoslovakia	Czechoslovakia	Czechoslovakia	Germany[12]
9	Otoe, NE	Germany	Germany	Germany	Germany
10	Miner, SD	N/A	Norway	Norway	Germany
11	Bell, TX	Germany	Germany	Germany	Germany
12	Crawford, WI	Sweden	Norway	Norway	Norway
13	Dane, WI	Germany	Norway	Norway	Norway
14	Dodge, WI	Germany	Germany	Germany	Germany
15	Fond du Lac, WI	Germany	Germany	Germany	Germany
16	Jefferson, WI	Germany	Germany	Germany	Germany
17	Manitowoc, WI	Germany	Germany	Germany	Germany
18	Marathon, WI	Germany	Germany	Germany	Germany
19	Milwaukee, WI	Germany	Germany	Germany	Germany
20	Monroe, WI	Germany	Germany	Germany	Germany
21	Oconto, WI	Germany	Germany	Germany	Germany
22	Richland, WI	Germany	Germany	Germany	Germany
23	Sauk, WI	Germany	Germany	Germany	Germany
24	Sheboygan, WI	Germany	Germany	Germany	Germany
25	Walworth, WI	Ireland	Germany	Germany	Germany
26	Waukesha, WI	Germany	Germany	Germany	Germany

Table 3-3 shows that the majority of the counties had larger portions of German-born population than any other foreign-born population. Three counties had larger groups of foreign-born populations from countries other than Germany in 1880, but these numbers were subsequently surpassed in the following decades. Only two counties retained larger foreign-born populations

[12] Likely Czechoslovakia, but no data available for this year.

from places other than Germany through all four decades. Dane County, WI is interesting because initially in 1880 the German-born population was the largest group, but this group was surpassed by Norwegian-born immigrants in the following decades. The importance of knowing which foreign-born group made up the largest population of foreign-born citizens in each county shows that many of the areas where the authors and speakers in this collection are from have similar settlement groups. However, if we replace the country of birth with the percentage of the total population of each country we see that although Germany is the birth location for the largest percent of the foreign-born population, this is not necessarily a large part of the population as a whole. Labels for birth countries other than Germany are shown in parentheses in Table 3-4.

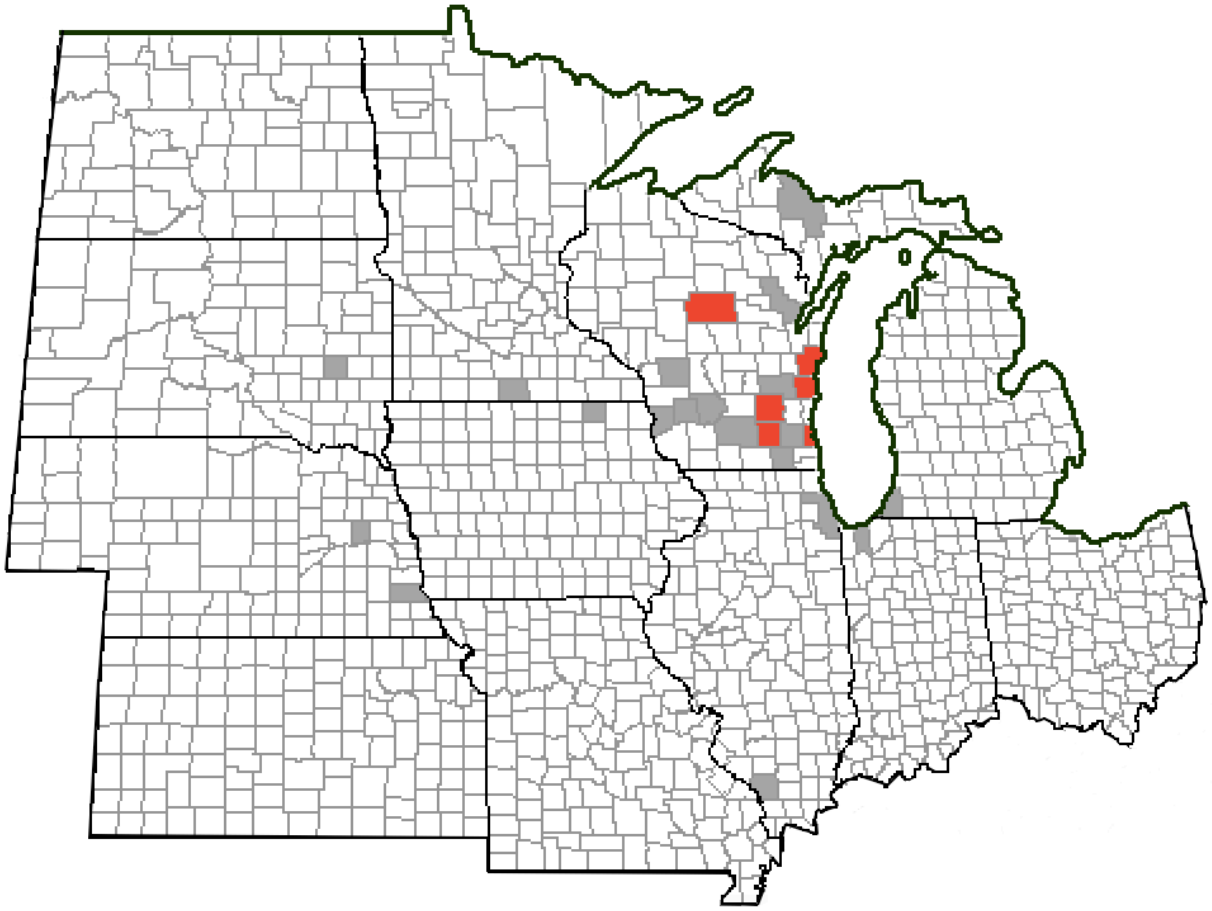
Table 3-4. Percentage of largest foreign-born group per county by decade

No.	County, State	1880	1890	1900	1910
1	Cook, IL	15.4%	15%	10.3%	8.5%
2	Jackson, IL	2.3%	2.3%	1.7%	1.2%
3	Porter, IN	8.1%	9.8%	6.8%	6.0%
4	Howard, IA	5% (Ireland)	5.4%	4.7%	4.2%
5	Berrien, MI	6.3%	8.5%	8.2%	7.2%
6	Marquette, MI	9.8% (England)	11% (England)	7.4% (England)	5.5% (England)
7	Faribault, MN	8.1% (Sweden)	10.4%	8.8%	7.1%
8	Colfax, NE	16% (Czechoslovakia)	16.3% (Czechoslovakia)	15.4% (Czechoslovakia)	5.2%
9	Otoe, NE	9.2%	11.1%	10.1%	8.8%
10	Miner, SD	N/A	6.5% (Norway)	7.1% (Norway)	4.3%
11	Bell, TX	0.6%	1.6%	1.1%	1.2%
12	Crawford, WI	6.3% (Sweden)	5.0% (Norway)	4.5% (Norway)	4.0% (Norway)
13	Dane, WI	10.3%	11.3% (Norway)	9.1% (Norway)	8.1% (Norway)
14	Dodge, WI	24%	24.4%	19%	14.6%
15	Fond du Lac, WI	15.0%	16.8%	13.8%	10.4%
16	Jefferson, WI	22.2%	24.5%	19.4%	15.3%
17	Manitowoc, WI	22.6%	21%	14%	11.2%
18	Marathon, WI	25.6%	28.5%	20.1%	16.0%
19	Milwaukee, WI	27.5%	27.1%	19.4%	17.3%
20	Monroe, WI	11.3%	12.7%	10.4%	8.6%
21	Oconto, WI	8.6%	12.0%	9.5%	8.7%
22	Richland, WI	2.8%	3.1%	2.6%	2.0%
23	Sauk, WI	15.0%	17.0%	13.6%	11.1%
24	Sheboygan, WI	22.6%	25.3%	20.0%	13.9%
25	Walworth, WI	5.4% (Ireland)	8.2%	8.0%	6.9%
26	Waukesha, WI	14.0%	16.0%	13.7%	10.7%

The highest percentage of the overall population is of German-born immigrants in Marathon County, WI in 1890 with 28.5%. Milwaukee, WI also has over 27% German-born immigrants in 1880 and 1890. Other counties with more than 20% German-born population are Dodge,

Jefferson, Manitowoc, and Sheboygan counties. All of these, except Marathon County, are located in southeastern Wisconsin.

Map 3-2 shows the location of each of these 25 counties,[13] with those reaching more than 20% German-born population at least once during 1880-1910 colored in red.



Map 3-2. Counties with more than 20% German-born population from 1880-1910 in red

3.2 Networks and linguistic landscapes

In order to understand the linguistic situation in the Upper Midwest, Census data provides us with information about where inhabitants were born, where their parents were born, and what languages they spoke. This information gives us an overview of the ethnic and linguistic

[13] Texas is not included on this map, because the author who writes from Texas is originally from Dodge County.

background of counties and individual communities. While census data uses counties as a way of measuring borders–which forces data collection to use these political boundaries–the majority of this work focuses more intently on community and familial borders according to social networks. Each of these groups closely mirrors the specifications of networks of social groups discussed in Chambers (1995: 68-69). Each group is made up of members who are localized, close-knit, and often homogeneous with respect to social class and ethnicity. Age is the remaining factor that is varied in these groups. Information about social networks has been gathered from the speakers and authors themselves, as well as inferred from recordings and written sources, census, and marriage records. This information is not bound to macro-level ties (those determined largely by birth (Chambers 1995: 71)), but includes network memberships that are by choice, including decisions by individuals to join certain social groups, or deciding who they associate with.

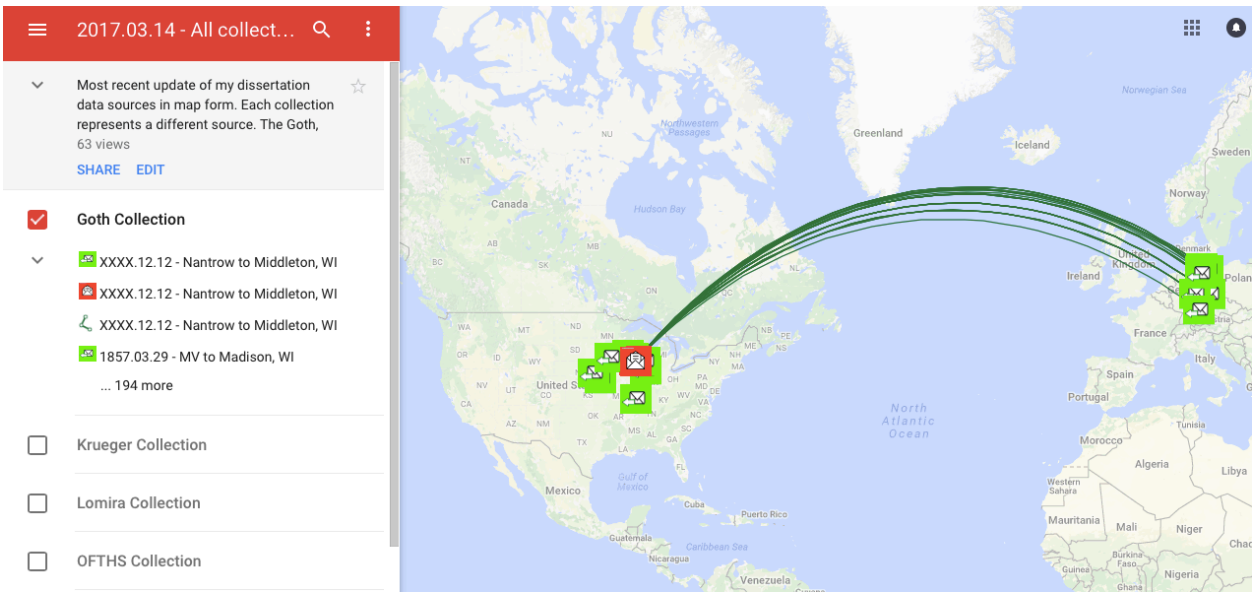
For each of the five written collections I have loosely reconstructed the social networks and kinship charts of each, based on communication and acknowledged associations. First, I gathered information from the documents themselves and filled in gaps with data from census, church, marriage, and burial records. I used the data from the letters themselves to plot where each document was written and where it was addressed to or found, each line on the map designates a connection from one location to another. These can be seen as representing the strength of the network ties or interactions between individuals. I also plotted where each of the recordings was made. The following are images of the map which can be accessed here: https://drive.google.com/open?id=1P4J0w-6up_5zJKP2Ltrxc3H9bMU&usp=sharing

Several icons that are included on these maps. These are explained in Table 3-5.

Table 3-5. Map icon definitions

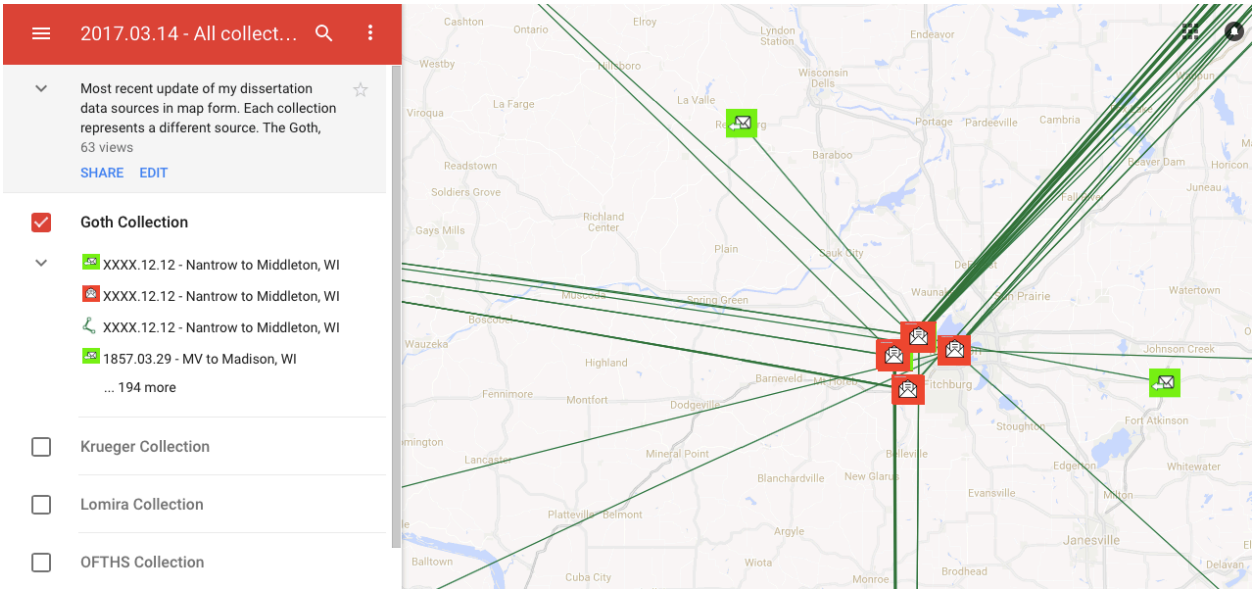
Icon	Icon description	Icon definition
	Letter with arrow pointing leftward, green background	This icon represents a letter at its starting location; its point of origin.
	Open letter with red background	This icon represents a letter at its destination.
	Book with blue background	This icon represents diaries, journals, memory albums; personal documents that were written but not necessarily sent to or intended for anyone else to read.
	Certificate with purple background	This icon represents more formal documents such as birth certificates, wedding invitations, military form letters, etc.
	Record player and microphone with orange background	This icon represents audio recordings that were made in the 1940s with a SoundScriber.
	Laptop and microphone with yellow background	This icon represents audio recordings that were made in 2013 with a laptop, Samsung GoMic, and Audacity.
	Lines of various colors, lengths, and arches	These lines represent the connection between a document from its origin to its destination.

The following are samples of what can be seen using Google Maps to document where documents originated and their destinations. By drawing lines between, a general idea of how close ties were between the author and recipient can be gained.



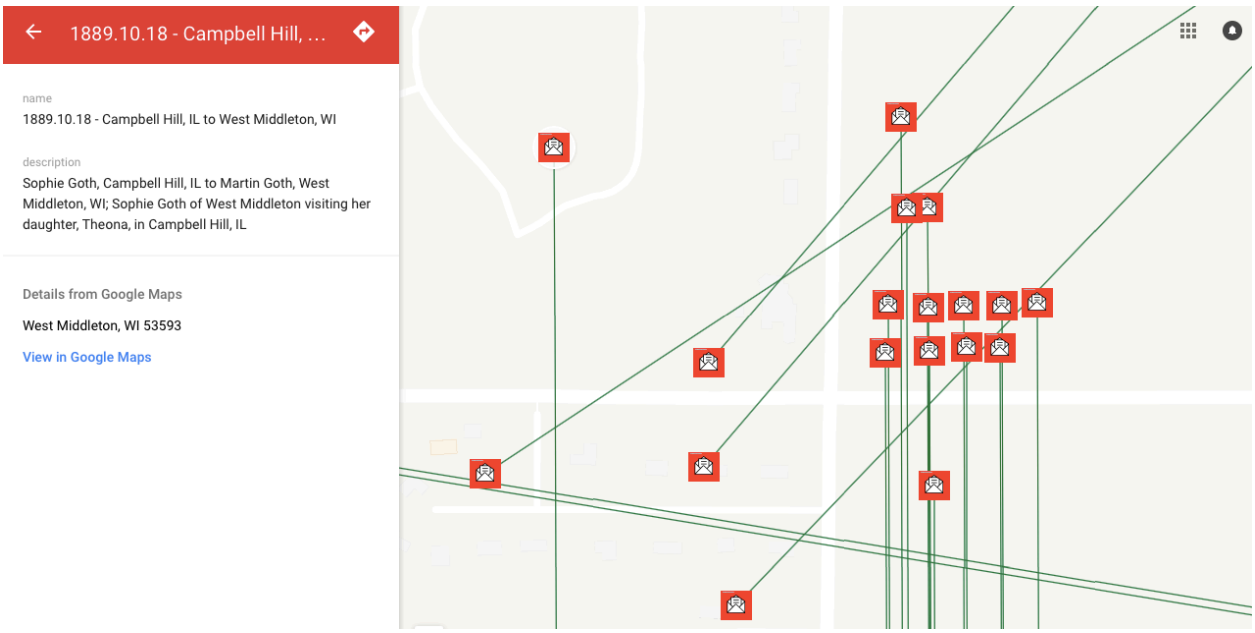
Map 3-3. Goth Collection document distribution

Map 3-3 shows all of the documents in the Goth Collection. In Google Maps each icon and line can be scrolled over or clicked on to reveal more information specifically about that document. The Goth Collection has several letters written from Germany to Wisconsin and from across the Midwest to Wisconsin.



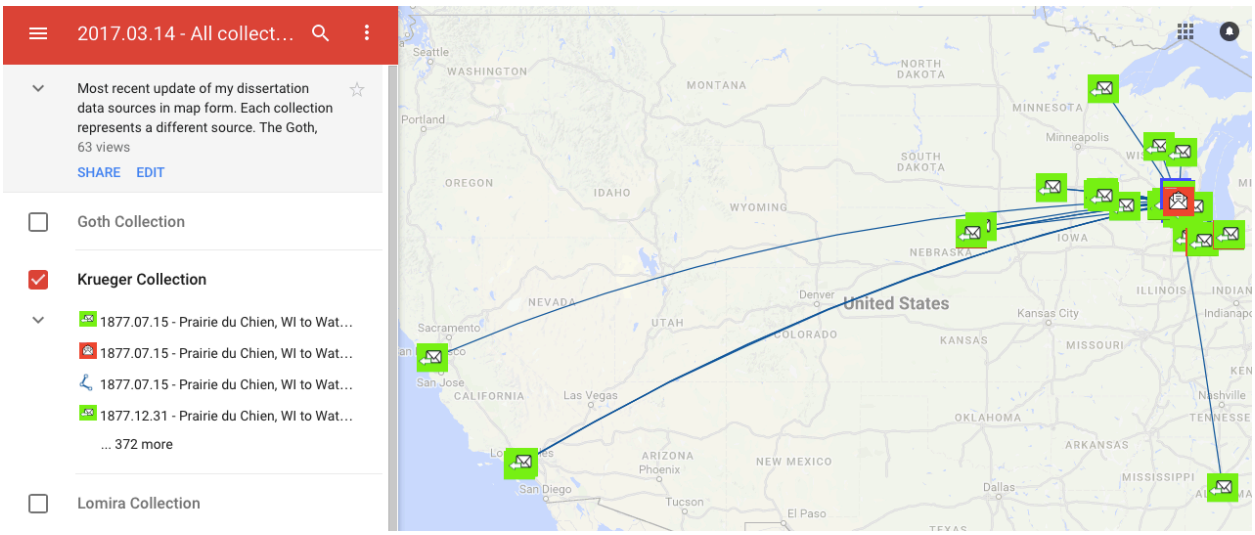
Map 3-4. Goth Collection zoom to Central Wisconsin

Map 3-4 shows what it looks like if you zoom in on a given city. For this collection it is clear that the Madison area is the central destination.



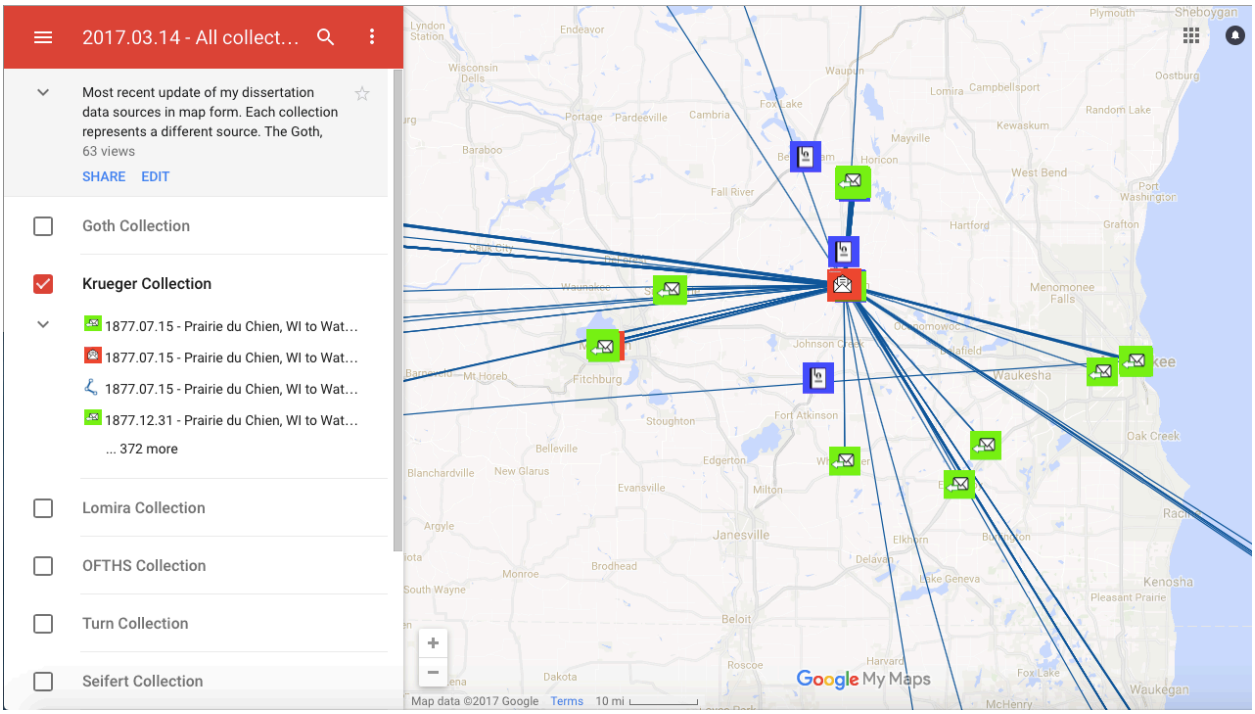
Map 3-5 Goth Collection zoom to West Middleton

Finally, Map 3-5 shows a close zoom displaying only West Middleton. The top left icon is clicked and so the information related to that specific icon appears in the banner on the left. Selected icons are highlighted with a white circle. The plot location of each icon is not a specific address, but rather are simply grouped to show distinct senders. The selected icon, for example, is from Sophie Goth and this is the only letter she sent in the collection. The larger grouping just to the right above the intersection shows that nine letters were sent by the same author (Rev. Max End).



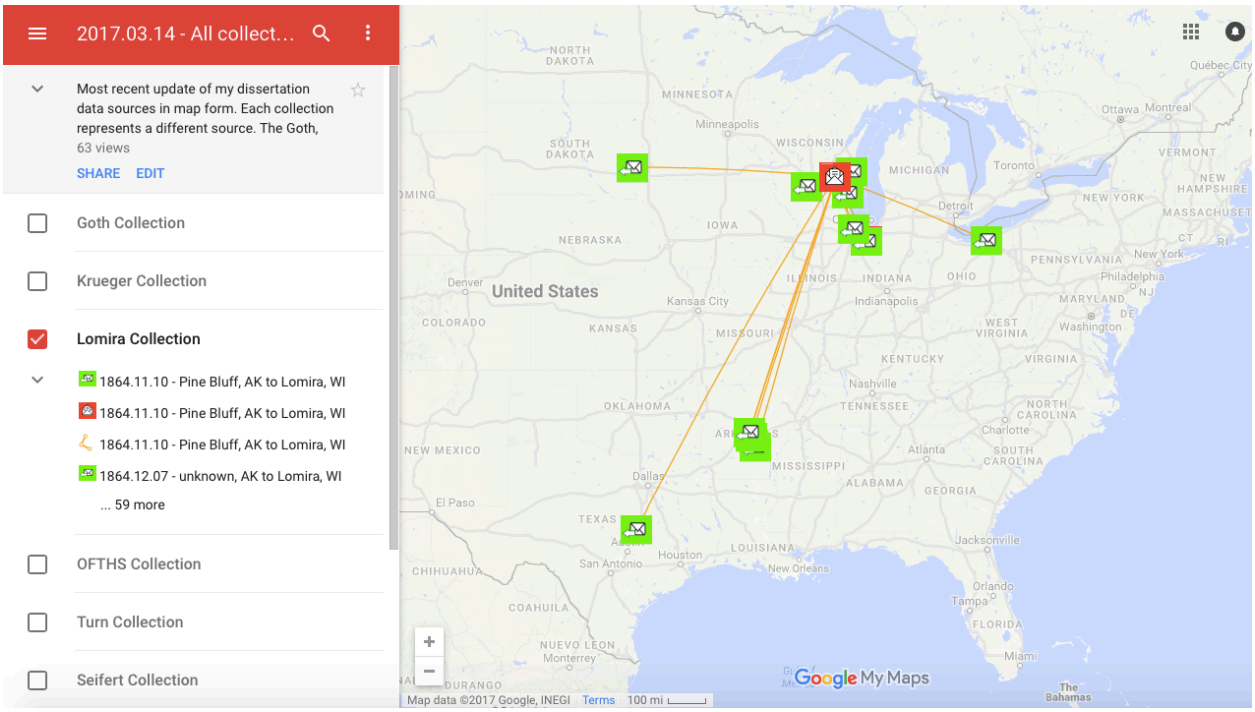
Map 3-6. Krueger Collection distribution

Map 3-6 shows the distribution of the Krueger Collection. It is immediately clear that the Krueger Collection was written entirely within the U.S., with letters sent from as far away as California.



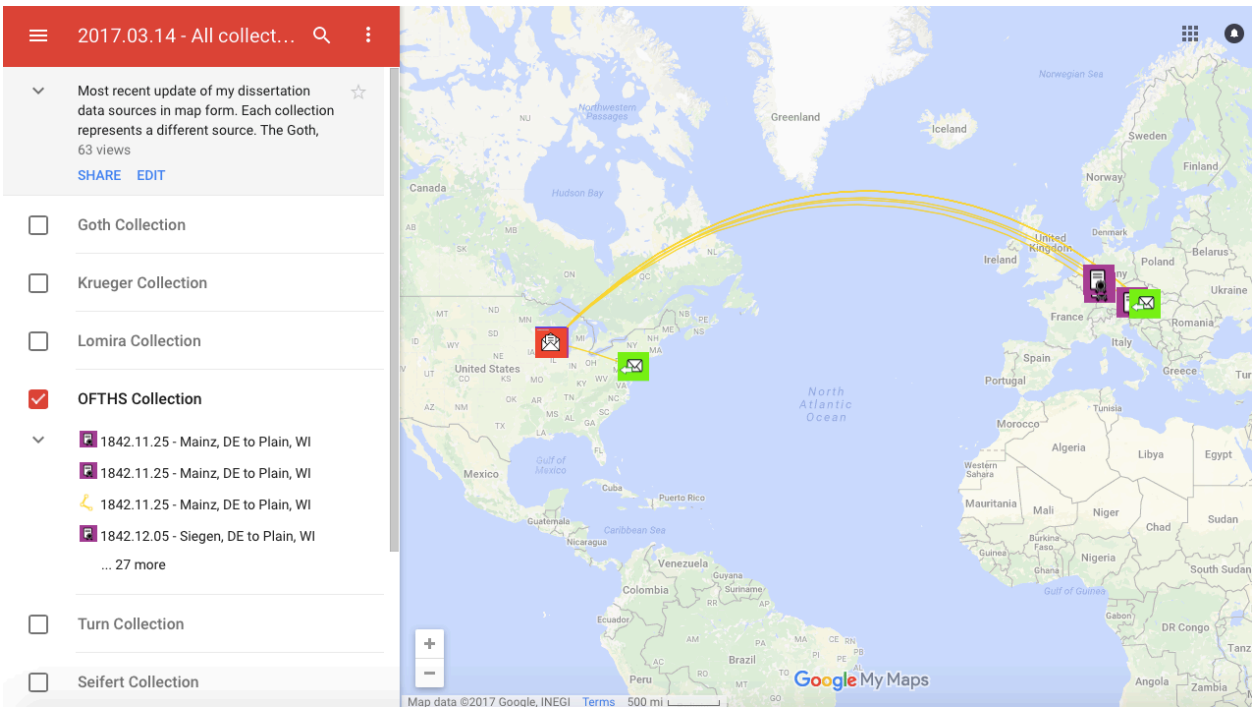
Map 3-7. Krueger Collection zoom 10 miles

Map 3-7 shows that there are diaries, journals, or memory albums in this collection. In this case these entries are written into the memory album of Alexander Krueger. Because the dates and locations are not given for all, I have plotted the entries according to where the author is from.



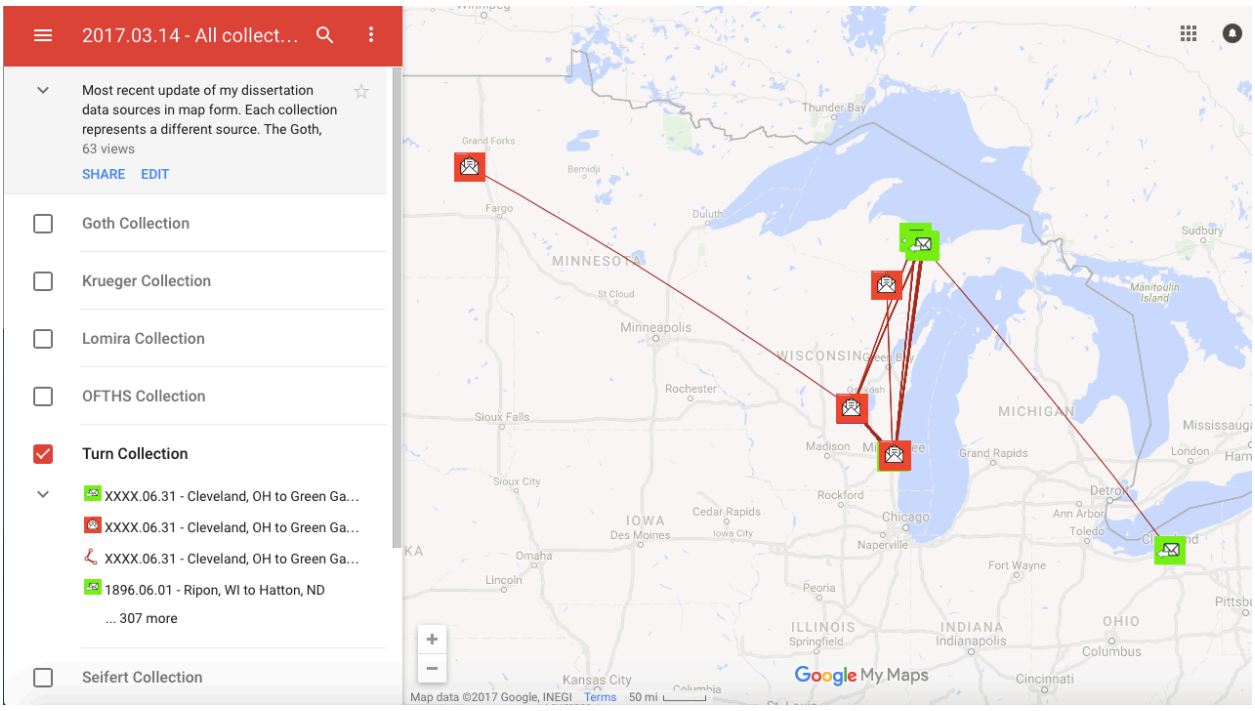
Map 3-8. Lomira Collection distribution

Map 3-8 shows the Lomira Collection. This collection is obviously comprised of fewer documents than the Goth and Krueger Collection, but there are also documents from several areas across the U.S., with one as far away as Texas.



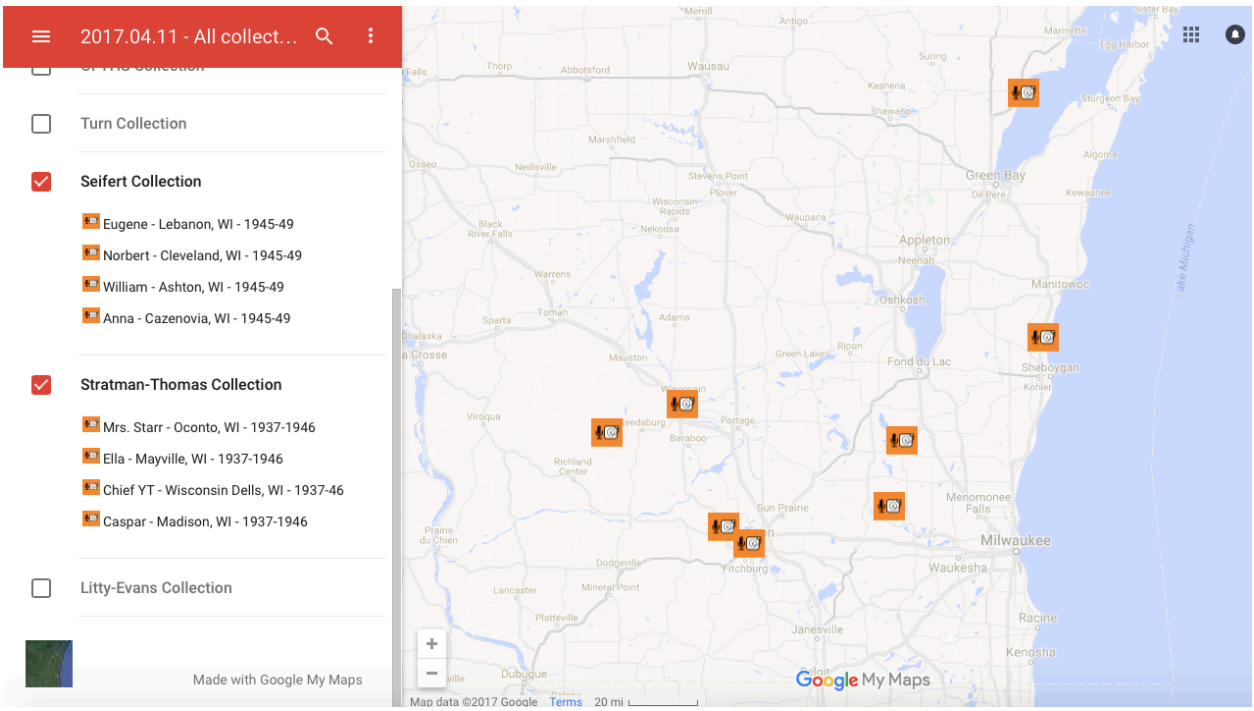
Map 3-9. OFTHS Collection distribution

It is immediately clear with the OFTHS Collection (Map 3-9) that the majority of the letters are from Europe rather than written in the U.S. Only those written in the U.S. are included in the analysis. Noteworthy are the purple certificate icons, which indicate that documents were written in Europe and since these are connected with lines to Wisconsin, this shows that these documents traveled long distances from their points of origin.



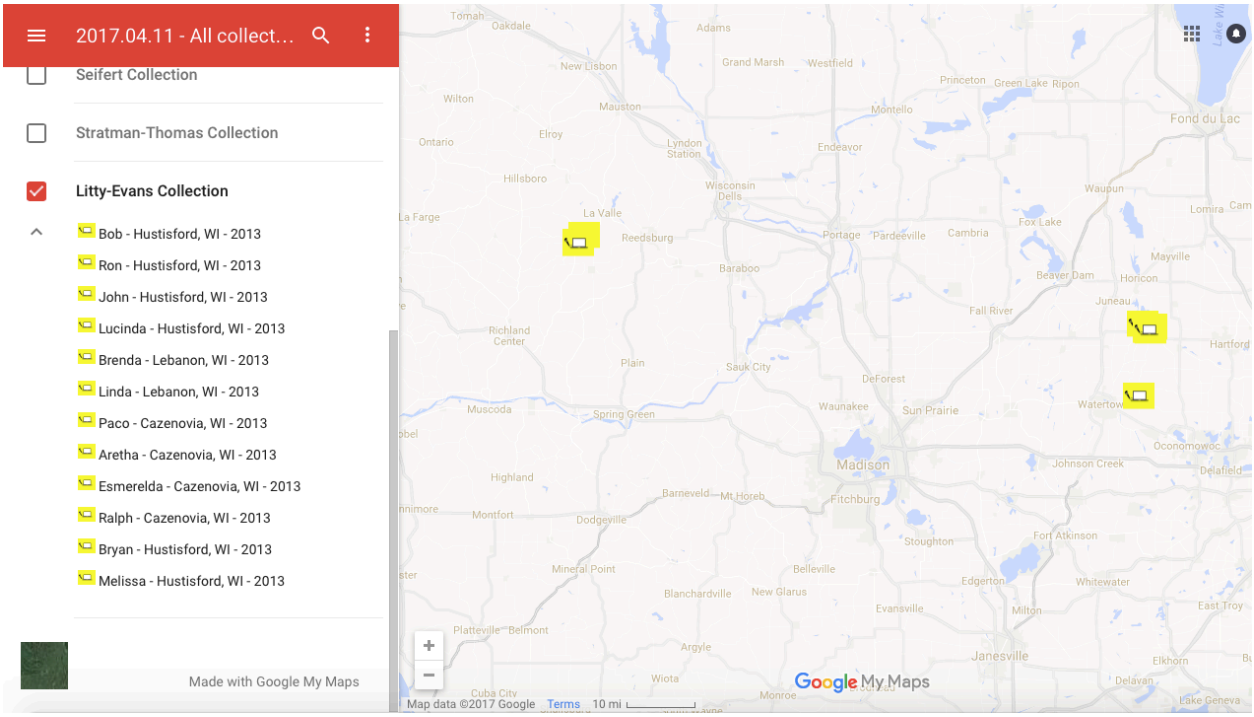
Map 3-10. Turn Collection distribution

Map 3-10 shows that the distribution of the Turn Collection is tighter than the other collections. This suggests that there are either fewer authors or that the networks are less expanded than the other collections. While both are possible conclusions, in this case, the documents were very specifically chosen to be published in a book with the intent of showcasing a romance between two of the authors and so it is possible that other letters in the collection were removed prior to printing.



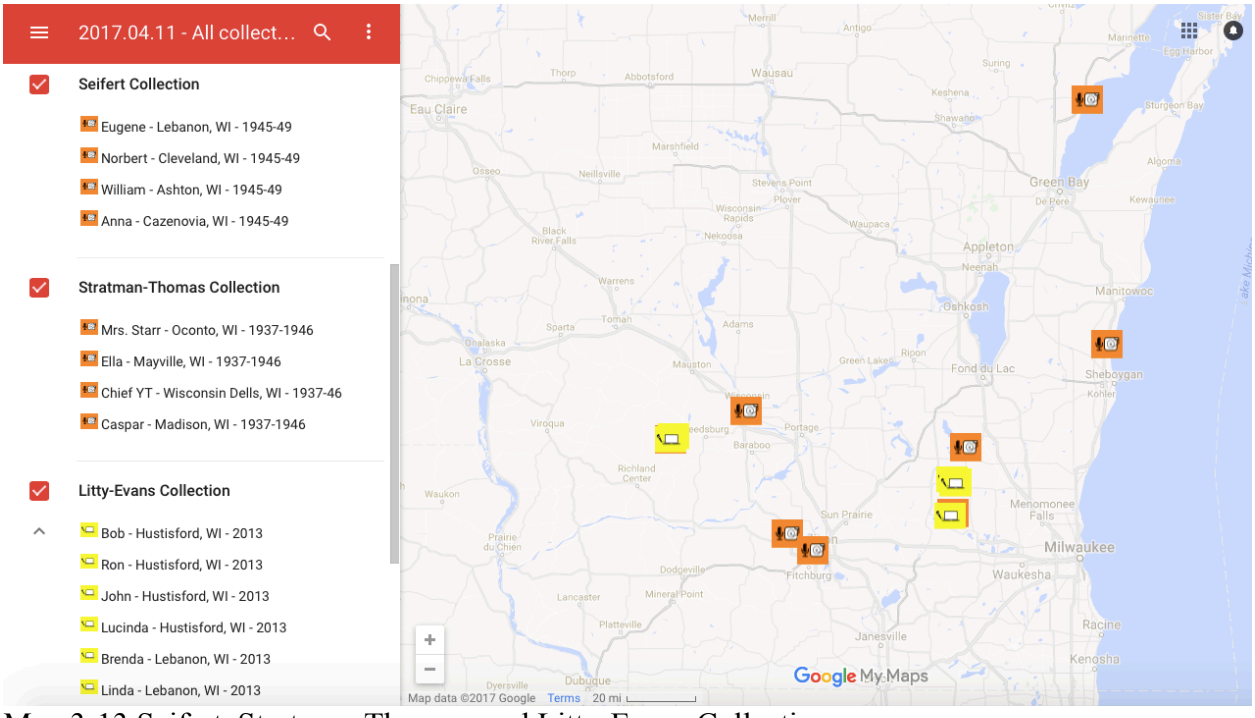
Map 3-11. Seifert & Stratman-Thomas Collections

Map 3-11 shows both the Seifert and Stratman-Thomas Collections. Because both sets were made in the 1940s they have the same icon. The collections are fairly evenly spread and matched.



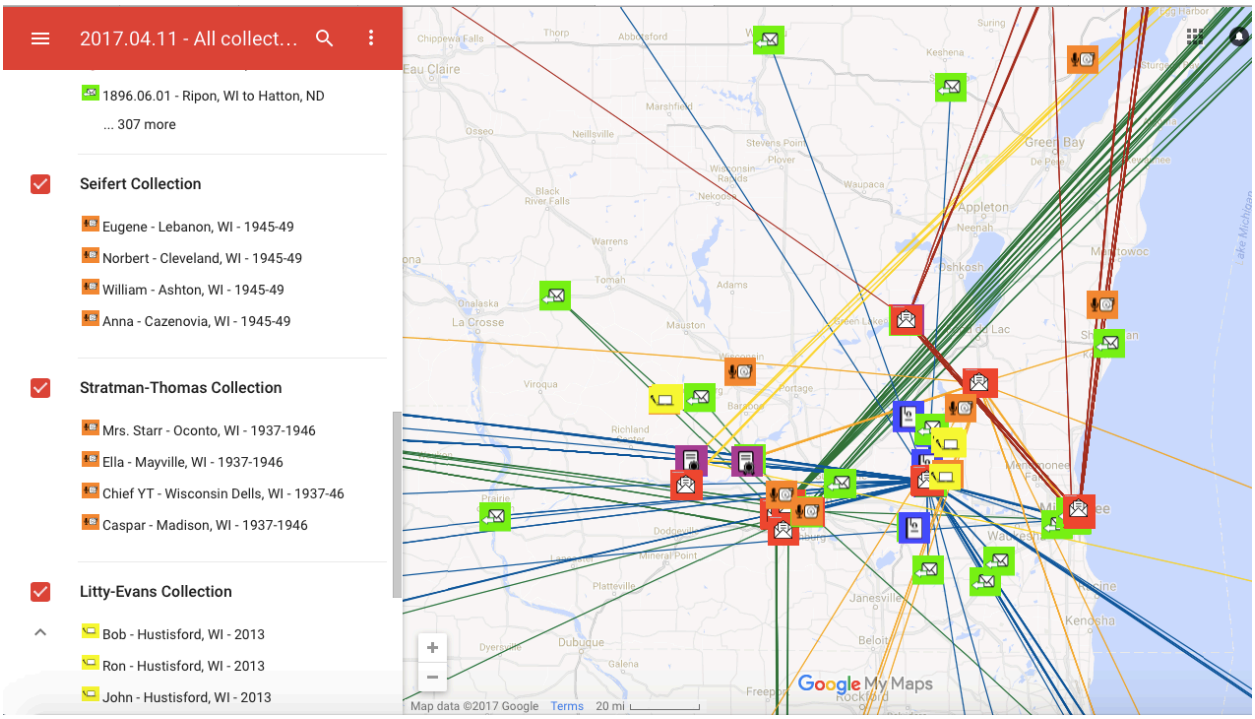
Map 3-12. Litty-Evans Collection distribution

Finally, the Litty-Evans Collection (Map 3-12) shows that these audio recordings were made in two tightly plotted locations, one in Dodge County and the other in Richland County.



Map 3-13 Seifert, Stratman-Thomas, and Litty-Evans Collections

The collections can also be overlaid so that multiple collections can be viewed at the same time. Map 3-13 shows all of the audio recordings, making it clear to see that there are recordings from generally similar areas from the 1940s and from 2013.



Map 3-14. All collections, zoom 20 miles

Map 3-14 shows all collections, both audio and written sources. This shows that although the collections were written or recorded at different times, they are from similar regions, with many of the written collections frequently overlapping. Because networks and distributions overlap, it is perhaps less important to think of these collection as separate entities from individual counties, but rather to focus on individuals and other commonalities between them.

3.3 Sociolinguistic data

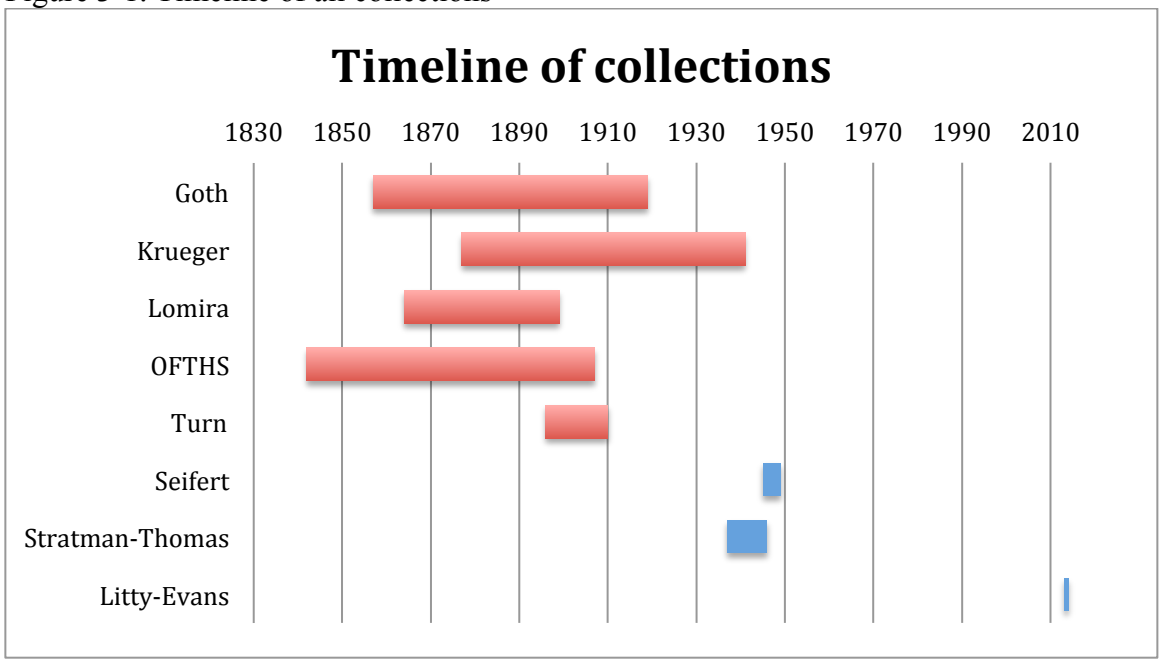
In chapter 2 I discussed different factors used in sociolinguistic studies. Based on these studies, I consider several factors in regards to this data. In this section I give a brief overview of each

factor and how it pertains to each of the collections analyzed here. In chapter 6 I use several of these factors in a more in-depth analysis.

The data from each of the collections has been analyzed according to the following social information: year of birth, age at time of production, sex, place of familial origin, years of education, formal language instruction, occupation group, generation living in the US, and language status.

The total number of speakers and authors analyzed here is 105. Of those, 89 contributed written documents and 16 contributed data via audio recordings. Documents range from 1842-1941 and are shown according to collection in Figure 3-1.

Figure 3-1. Timeline of all collections



In order to make these analyses more explicit, I narrowed the speakers and authors based on those exhibiting vernacular forms vs. those who do not. All who do not exhibit vernacular forms have been removed from analyses.

Thirty-eight authors[14] did not exhibit vernacular forms indicative of VOT or FON. I also chose to exclude two recordings from farther analysis because one of the speakers is presumed a French-English bilingual and the other is a Ho-Chunk-English bilingual. The following analysis focuses on German and English so these speaker's data are only considered as a control in chapters 4 and 5.

Table 3-6 shows the total number of speakers and authors for which data was collected, then the total with all speakers and authors included, then including only those who exhibit vernacular forms, and the change in each.

Table 3-6. Total # of speakers and authors for whom data was collected

Factor	Data creator type	All speakers and authors	Only speakers and authors with vernacular forms	Change
Total #	S&A	105	65	-40

Table 3-7 shows that 18 speakers and authors contributed data in both German and English. Of those only three exhibited no vernacular forms. 23 speakers and authors contributed data in German only. Of these only three exhibited no vernacular forms. 64 speakers and authors contributed data in English only. Of these more than half exhibited no vernacular forms.

Table 3-7. Total # for data collection language(s)

Factor	Language	All speakers and authors	Only speakers and authors with vernacular forms	Change
Data collected	German & English	18	15	-3
	German only	23	20	-3
	English only	64	30	-34

[14] Because data from all recorded speakers will be included in the analyses, all are considered to have vernacular forms.

3.3.1 *Birth year*

The total span of birth years for each collection is shown in Figure 3-2.

Figure 3-2. Birth years by collection

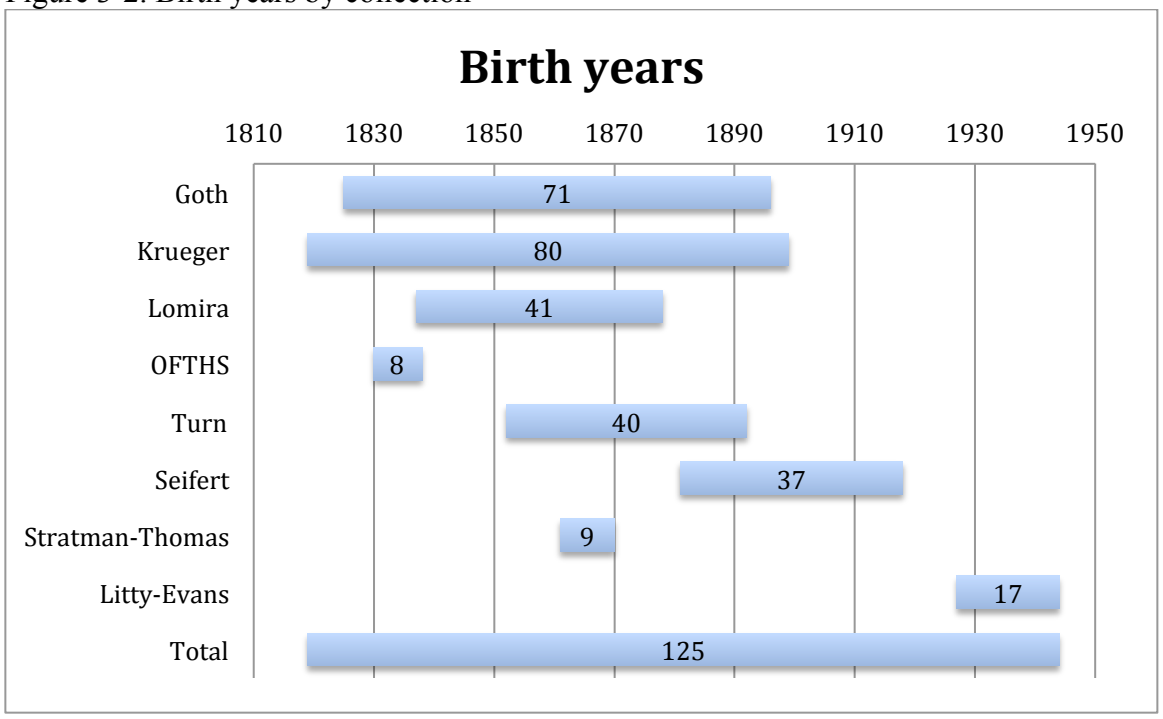


Table 3-8. Total birth year span

Factor	Data type	All speakers and authors	Only speakers and authors with vernacular forms	Change
Birth year range	Written	1819-1906	1819-1899	-7
	Audio	1861-1944	1861-1944	0

When the entire span of birth years is considered, for written sources exhibiting vernacular forms the span is shortened by 7 years. The span remains the same for audio sources. This shows that in the written sources, over time, there are eventually no more vernacular forms present, but this is not the case with audio sources.

3.3.2 *Sex*

Table 3-9. Total # of vernacular forms by sex

Factor	Sex	All speakers and authors	Only speakers and authors with vernacular forms	Change
Sex	Male	58	38	-20
	Female	46	27	-19
	Unknown	1	0	-1

Overall data was collected from more men than women and the total number of those who exhibited no vernacular forms is similar. Of those who exhibited vernaculary forms 65% were men and 59% were women.

3.3.3 *Place of birth & family origin*

Place of birth and family origin are used to determine what varieties would have been present in the speaker or author's country before immigration and in the regions they settled for first generation speakers and authors, and what varieties might have been in their communities when they were learning English for subsequent generations. Because many of these speakers and author's families moved to the Upper Midwest before there was a widespread standard spoken German, it is likely that they would have several dialect markers that show up in their speech. Because of this, Table 3-10 shows the regions from which the place of origin is known for some of these speakers and authors. Some common or expected features from each region is listed.

Table 3-10. Place of birth and family origin country/regions (Russ 1989; König, Elspaß & Möller 2015)

Dialect Region	Origin given	Dialect	# of speakers and authors	Distinctive features	Present in this corpus
North Low German	Soltau	North Saxon	1	1. /f/ written as <w> or <v> 2. /s/ written as <s>, <ss>, or <ß> 3. /x/ written as <ch>, <g>, or <gg>	1. yes 2. yes 3. yes
East Low German	Mecklenburg	Mecklenburgisch	14	1. initial /k^h/, not /j/ 2. intervocalically /p^h, t^h, k^h/ → /p, t, k/ 3. <g> is always /j/, /ç/ or /x/, never /k/ 4. <t> is /t/ 5. /p^hf^h/ is /f^h/ 6. diminutive –ken 7. <rst> is /r$ʃt^h$/ 8. /t^hs^h/ is /s^h/	1. yes 2. yes 3. indicated 4. 5. yes 6. yes 7. yes 8. yes
	Pomerania	East Pomeranian	13		
	Prussia	Low Prussian	25		
East Middle German	Poland	Silesian	3	1. *ik* but *machen* 2. retention of –pp- 3. <pf> → /f^h/	1. no 2. no 3. yes
	Saxony	Upper Saxon	1		
Upper German	Bavaria	Bavarian	1	1. /t^h/ → /t/ 2. most obstruents are spread	1. yes 2.

3.3.4 *Education & language instruction*

For most the education level is unknown. Of the 20 for which education level is known, 10 attended at least some college, six completed high school, two completed 8th grade, one only went to school for six years, and another had only completed three years of schooling at the time of writing. However, of the remaining 77 for which nothing is known about their individual educations, something is still known about the public education system in the U.S. in general. High schools did not become popular and widespread until the "high school movement" of the

20th century (Goldin & Katz 1999). Since 63 would have likely completed school before this movement took off, they would therefore have likely only completed four to eight years of school.

As with education level, very little is known in general about each individual's formal language instruction, so cases where formal language instruction is known are only noted in individual analyses.

Table 3-11. Total # of speakers and authors with vernacular forms by education level

Factor	Education level	All speakers and author	Only speakers and authors with vernacular forms	Change
Education level	8 or less	4	3	-1
	High School	6	6	0
	Some college+	10	7	-3
	Unknown	85	49	-36

Table 3-11 shows that for the majority the education level completed it unknown. Those who were known was most frequently noted in the writing of children who wrote about what level they were currently attending. Because this is otherwise unknown, I do not consider education or language instruction in any further analysis.

3.3.5 *Occupation*

In order to classify as many different types of workers as possible, I adapt the categorizations used in Frey 2013 (105-106). I categorize 5 groups, as does Frey, however they differ in that I include a category for children listed as "at school" or under 18 and with no occupation listed in the census. Frey includes a category called, "Administrative" which categorizes agents, inspectors, and the police. I do not include this category because none of the speakers or authors fall into it. Professional is used to categorize occupations that would likely require the person to write for their profession, some college may be required. Skilled labor is used to categorize

occupations for which training of some kind (although not necessarily high school or college) is necessary. Unskilled labor denotes occupations generally related to agriculture, domestic labor denotes women where no occupation was given in any census records, but who described working at and taking care of the home. The final category, child, is for any author who was only listed as "at school" or under the age of 18 in the census data. Sample occupations according to this classification are given in Table 3-12.

Table 3-12. Classification of occupations

Occupation group	Description	Occupations	# of speakers and author
Child	under 18, no occupation listed in census, "at school"		8
Skilled labor	trained jobs, high school/college not necessary, tradesmen	carpenter, salesman, factory laborer, post office clerk, mail carrier, surveyor, ship crewman/fisherman, brewer, cleaner/servant, soldier, stonemason, enameller, store clerk, caterer	25
Unskilled labor	here generally relating to agriculture	farmer, farm laborer, logger, farm implement salesman, cowboy,	25
Domestic labor	relating to the home	house wife, homemaker	18
Professional	college possibly required, likely to have reason to write in relation to their profession	Doctor, lawyer, clergy (pastor, reverend), clerical secretary, banker, professor, engineer	6

Overall the categories skilled labor, unskilled labor, and domestic labor are relatively similar in number, while only the child and professional categories have very few speakers and authors belonging to each.

Table 3-13. Total # by occupation group

Factor	Occupation	All speakers and author	Only speakers and authors with vernacular forms	Change
Occupation group	Child	8	2	-6
	Skilled labor	25	15	-10
	Unskilled labor	25	19	-6
	Domestic labor	18	13	-5
	Professional	6	5	-1
	Unknown	23	11	-12

Table 3-13 shows the number of each occupation group that exhibits vernacular forms. Six children do not exhibit any vernacular forms and only one speaker and/or author from the professional category exhibited no vernacular forms.

3.3.6 *Generation*

Generation living in the US is a way of classifying how long and at which point in their lives speakers and authors had contact to different languages and varieties. This is calculated by using information from the speakers and authors or the census to find out how long their family members had been living in the US. In this type of contact situation, and what has been shown previously (Purnell et al. 2005a, b; Delahanty 2011; and others) is that some features are more prevalent in the first generation, disappear in the following and in some case in Wisconsin are reemerging in the third generation and beyond. I show the stand of VOT and FON in Wisconsin German and English based on generation.

The generation of each of the speakers and authors living in the U.S. was known for most of the sources, for several others generation was presumed based on relationship to others for whom generation was known. For example, August Krueger is classified as second generation living in the U.S. and if another author wrote to him addressed “dear uncle” this person was presumed to be third generation.

Table 3-14. Total # of speakers and authors with and without vernacular forms by generation

Factor	Generation	All speakers and author	Only speakers and authors with vernacular forms	Change
Generation living in US	1st	12 (+8 presumed)	11 (+7 pres.)	-1
	1st/2nd	3	0	-3
	2nd	36 (+4 pres.)	24 (+3 pres.)	-12
	2nd/3rd	6	3	-3
	3rd	28 (+1 pres.)	13	-15
	3rd/4th	1	0	-1
	4th	5	4	-1
	Unknown	14	10	-4

Speakers and authors for whom generation was known for both paternal and maternal lineage were classified in dual generation categories. Because there are relatively few of these, in later analysis they are grouped according to the higher of their two generations. For example, a dual first/second generation speaker or author would be grouped with second generation speakers and authors.

3.3.7 *Language status*

Language status, or whether a speaker or author is bilingual or monolingual can tell about whether a vernacular form might be transferred from L1 to L2 or if it is potentially a common feature of the community. I have adapted and modified Wilkerson & Salmons' 2012 classification of language categories for the following categories:

1. Bilingual German-English: It is known based on writing or speech samples that this person speaks both German and English.
2. Bilingual English-Other: It is known based on writing or speech samples that this person speaks both English and another language.
3. Monolingual German: This person is a first generation immigrant, census records report as monolingual, all correspondence is only in German.

4. Monolingual English: This person reports only speaking English and no prolonged contact to or instruction in another language.
5. Presumed Bilingual German-English: This author writes in English, but both parents were born in Germany and at least one is reported as speaking only German; siblings wrote in German to this person; spouse from Germany.
6. Presumed Monolingual English: This author writes only in English, parents are able to write in German and English, listed as speaking English on census records.
7. Possibly Monolingual German: This author only writes in German, children/siblings only write to them in German, no census data available.

Table 3-15. Total # of speakers and authors with vernacular forms by language status

Factor	Category	All speakers and authors	Only speakers and authors with vernacular forms	Change
Language status	Bilingual English-Other	2	0	-2
	Bilingual German-English	33	26	-13
	Monolingual English	5	4	-1
	Monolingual German	0	0	0
	Possibly Monolingual German	9	9	0
	Presumed Bilingual German-English	30	15	-15
	Presumed Monolingual English	26	11	-15

Table 3-15 shows that the majority of speakers and authors exhibiting vernacular forms are Bilingual German-English, followed by those who are Presumed Bilingual German-English.

This chapter has given a very brief history of settlement in Wisconsin and shown the major immigrant groups to all of the counties where speakers and authors in the collections lived. I have also shown the number of speakers and authors with vernacular forms for several sociolinguistic factors which are analyzed with the data in chapter 6. In the following chapter I show the data for VOT.

4. Voice onset time data

This chapter presents data on VOT, including both written and audio sources. In §4.1 I focus on written sources, and consider each collection separately, in §4.1.1 the Goth Collection, then the Krueger Collection (§4.1.2) followed by the Lomira Collection (§4.1.3), the OFTHS Collection (§4.1.4), and finally the Turn Collection (§4.1.5). After I have concluded the written sources, I turn to the data collected for audio sources (§4.2), with the Seifert Collection in (§4.2.1), then the Stratman-Thomas Collection in §4.2.2, and finally the Litty-Evans Collection in §4.2.3. In §4.3 I conclude.

4.1 Written sources

Data from written sources were prepared as described in 2.3.3. Each text was transcribed and then marked for vernacular forms. Each vernacular form was then classified as:

1. Pronunciation Orthography [15]
2. Lenition
3. Fortition
4. FON
5. Hypercorrection[16]
6. Other

The data from individual features were then tracked in a spreadsheet to show which tokens exhibited vernacular forms.

[15] Pronunciation Orthography is the term I use to describe vernacular spellings that reflect the pronunciation of the standard language, i.e. *parkt* for "parked".
[16] A hypercorrection is a non-standard form that comes from the over use of a grammar rule, in this case related to orthography.

4.1.1 *Goth Collection*

The Goth Collection consists of letters and documents collected by Carl Goth of Middleton, WI and Theona End of Campbell Hill, IL and Verona, WI. Goth collected letters from his wife, and children, while End collected letters from family and friends alike. This collection is made up of over 65 letters written in Germany and the US from 1857-1919. I first narrowed this to 35 which were written in the US from 1867-1919. Of these 35, 25 were written in German and ten in English. The total usable number of words for this collection is 8,773[17] with 5,185 in German and 3,588 in English. These documents were penned by 16 different authors as shown chronologically in Table 4-1. Authors are listed throughout according to the chronological ordering of their written data.

Table 4-1. Goth Collection authors and document information

Name	Year (span)	# of documents	Language	# of words
1. Johann Soltow	1867	1	German	114
2. Friedrich Schmalfuß	1869	1	German	611
3. Charles Stolte	1881-1887	3	German	706
	1883	1	English	282
4. William J. Stolte	1883-1884	2	German	443
5. May Bailey Stolte	1883-1917	2	English	975
6. Max End	1887-1895	8	German	1,162
7. Theona Goth End	1888	1	German	176
8. W.J. Wittenburg	1888	1	German	354
9. Sophie Goth	1889	1	English	450
10. Carl Goth	1890	2	German	182
11. Maria Frederic	1901	1	German	1,200
12. Mabel Goth	1915	1	English	80
13. E. Hartmann	1915	1	German	237
14. Minnie Stolte	1917	1	English	508
15. E. Sohn	1918	1	English	10
16. Barbara Matthews	1918-1919	3	English	1,283
			Total:	8,773

[17] All word totals are content words only; dates, locations, and repeated greetings and closings have been removed from this count.

There are two things to note in this table. The first is that only one author writes in both German and English, Charles Stolte, and that the English letter is written in between German letters, which shows that he did not simply switch from German to English. The second notable item from this table is the use of German and English over time. It shows that German was still being used in this collection until 1915, meaning that the receivers of these letters were still reading German until at least then.

Nine of these authors exhibit no vernacular VOT forms in their writing. The remaining seven are shown in Table 4-2.

Table 4-2. Goth Collection authors with syllable-initial vernacular forms

Name	Language	/p^h/ vs. /p/ Paar vs. *bar* "pair"	/t^h/ vs. /t/ *getauert* vs. *gedauert* "lasted"	/k^h/ vs. /k/ *recards* vs. *regards*	/f^h/ vs. /f/ *vergive* vs. *forgive*	/s^h/ vs. /s/ *so* vs. *zo*[18]	other
1. Johann Soltow	German	X					<tz> vs. <z> /ts^h/ vs. /s^h/
2. Friedr. Schmalfuß	German	X	X				<tz> vs. <z>
3. Charles Stolte	German		X				/f/ vs. /pf^h/
4. William J. Stolte	German		X				<v> vs. <f>
9. Sophie Goth	English						/t/ vs. /θ/ /tʃ^h/ vs. /s^h/
11. Maria Frederic	German						/k/ vs. /j/ <tz> vs. <z>
13. E. Hartmann	German						<v> vs. <f> <tz> vs. <z>

Table 4-2 shows that for these authors, none exhibit vernacular forms for /k^h/ vs. /k/, /s^h/ vs. /s/, or /ʃ^h/ vs. /ʃ/. For German, two of the five exhibit vernacular forms for /p^h/ vs. /p/, three exhibit vernacular forms for /t^h/ vs. /t/, and two exhibit vernacular forms for <v> vs. <f>. Charles and

[18] Not attested in any collection in either language.

William are brothers, so this perhaps accounts for their similar vernacular forms. Four German authors exhibit similar vernacular orthographic forms with <tz> vs. <z>.

The author writing in English is an L1 German speaker, and both of her vernacular forms are perhaps more likely for L1 German speakers learning English as an L2 than for English L1 authors. Sophie writes *trasher* for *thrasher*, which indicates the stopping of interdental fricatives. She also writes *surch* for *church*, which might be indicative of the difficulty German speakers sometimes have with /tʃʰ/.

4.1.2 *Krueger Collection*

The Krueger Collection consists of letters and documents collected by August and Alexander Krueger of Dodge County, WI. Because this collection was gathered by father and son, there are several generations present in the same collection. This collection is made up of over 145 letters written in the US from 1877-1941. The majority of this collection is in English (123 documents) and only 22 are in German. This collection comprises 26,423 words, of which 25,191 are in English and 1,232 in German. There are 52 known authors in this collection.[19] More is shown about each author in Table 4-3.

Table 4-3. Krueger Collection authors and document information

Name	Year span	# of documents	Language	# of words
1. Ferdinand Volkmann	1877	2	German	218
	1893-1894	2	English	227
2. Adolph Goetsch	1882-1887	1	English	13
3. Albert Krueger	1882-1887	1	English	12
4. August Krueger	1882-1887	2	German	143
	1882-1897	5	English	441
5. Charlotte Goetsch	1882-1887	1	German	35
6. Ernestina Goetsch	1882-1887	2	German	64
	1886-1939	6	English	808

[19] There is one unknown author in this collection which has been included as an English example, and is discussed for the purpose of the vernacular forms contained within it.

7. Herman Bentert	1882-1887	1	English	21
8. Herman Goetsch	1882-1887	1	German	18
9. Ida Goetsch	1882-1887	1	English	10
10. Isabella Bentert	1882-1887	1	English	14
11. Mary Loock	1882-1887	1	English	29
12. Sarah Goetsch	1882-1887	1	English	25
13. Ernst Goetsch	1882-1888	2	German	122
	1893-1907	3	English	128
14. Ida Buelke	1882-1894	2	English	99
15. Wil. F. Goetsch	1882-1897	5	German	311
16. Hannah Goetsch Gericke	1882-1903	3	German	61
	1882-1904	3	English	222
17. Sarah Krueger	1882-1906	8	English	3180
18. Henry Krueger	1882-1915	8	English	1077
	1884-1887	(2)[20]	German	103
19. William E. Goetsch	1886	1	German	62
	1893-1894	2	English	100
20. Susie Hasenfliker	1887	1	English	232
21. Albert Goetsch	1888	13	English	1046
22. Arthur Volkmann	1892	1	English	28
23. Mary Volkmann	1892	1	English	176
24. Fred Volkmann	1892-1897	6	English	1100
25. Arthur Goetsch	1893	1	English	116
26. George Volkmann	1893	1	English	67
27. Alexander Krueger	1893-1927	12	English	5833
28. Louis Will	1894	1	English	280
29. August Habel	1895	1	English	20
30. Lillian Krueger	1895	1	English	318
31. Henry Bigalk	1896	1	English	153
32. William Renk	1898-1912	5	English	859
33. Geo Fels	1899	1	English	26
34. Clara Goetsch	1902	1	English	24
35. Josie Rozen(eke)	1902	1	English	35
36. Paul Goetsch	1902	1	English	1184
37. William Buelke	1902-1908	2	English	181
38. B. Krueger	1904	1	English	55
39. Gustav Koch	1905-1941	2	English	1202
40. Katharina Renk	1906	2	English	289
41. Jennie Krueger	1910-1939	2	English	1152
42. F.J. Ewald	1919	1	German	95
43. Mathilda Heiland	1920	1	English	60

[20] These two letters are not separate letters, but rather English letters with German in them. Henry Krueger only wrote eight letters total in this collection.

44. Unknown	1921	1	English	225
45. Edgar Krueger	1923	2	English	262
46. Fred Dewald	1928	1	English	325
47. Martha Wendorf	1928-1939	2	English	645
48. Auguste Stark	1934	1	English	2132
49. Tillie Stark	1939-1940	2	English	466
50. Esther Bigalk Clark	1940	1	English	56
51. Rena Goetsch	1940	1	English	25
52. Everett Krueger	1941	1	English	213
				26432

Table 4-3 shows that the Krueger family had almost completely switched to English as primary language of written communication by 1903. Only one letter is written in German after this time, and it is from a family friend reminiscing on a time he spent working with August many years prior to the letter, suggesting that the author was either unaware of the familie's choice to mainly use English or the author himself was not comfortable using in English.

Only six authors write in both German and English (#1, #4, #6, #13, #16, #18, and #19), and only one (#18) uses both languages in the same letter; for the other authors German and English were used in separate letters. For #1, #13, and #19 the divide is clear, German was used first and English second. For #4, #6, and #16 the dates appear to overlap, however entries in a memory album dated from 1882-1887 may be the cause for this apparent overlap. Authors #4, #6, and #16 all wrote in this memory album in both German and English and none of their individual entries are dated. When these entries are removed, #4 writes in only English beginning in 1891, #6 in 1886, and #16 in 1903. This suggests that for five of the authors who write in both German and English there was a time when they wrote German and a time when they wrote English. For the final author, #18, there appears to be no divide.

Of these 51 authors, 40 exhibit no vernacular forms in their writings. The remaining 11 are shown in Table 4-4.

Table 4-4. Krueger Collection authors with syllable-initial vernacular forms

Name	Language	/p^h/ vs. /p/ *Paar vs. bar* "pair"	/t^h/ vs. /t/ *getauert* vs. *gedauert* "lasted"	/k^h/ vs. /k/ *recards* vs. *regards*	/f^h/ vs. /f/ *vergive* vs. *forgive*	/s^h/ vs. /s/ *so* vs. *zo*	other
6. Ernestina Goetsch	English						/ʃ^h/ vs. /s^h/ /k/ vs. /j/ /t^h/ vs. /θ/
13. Ernst Goetsch	German						<v> vs. <f>
15. Wil. F. Goetsch	German						<v> vs. <f>
16. Hannah Goetsch Gericke	English				X		/tʃ^h/ vs. /ʃ^h/
17. Sarah Krueger	English						/t^h/ vs. /θ/
18. Henry Krueger	German						/tʃ^h/ vs. /ʃ^h/ <v> vs. <f>
21. Albert Goetsch	English						/t^h/ vs. /θ/
23. Mary Volkmann	English	X					
24. Fred Volkmann	English			X			/t^h/ vs. /θ/ /f/ vs. /w/
27. Alex Krueger	English	X					
45. Edgar Krueger	English						/t^h/ vs. /θ/

Three of those exhibiting vernacular forms are in German writing, and eight exhibit vernacular forms in their English writing. Four of these are authors who wrote in both German and English (#6, #13, #16, #18). All three of the German authors exhibit vernacular forms of /f^h/ vs. /f/, as do two of the authors writing in English. Two authors writing in English exhibit vernacular /p^h/ vs. /p/ form, and one exhibits /k^h/ vs. /k/ vernacular forms. Also notable is that five of the authors exhibit /t^h/ vs. /θ/ vernacular forms, indicating that these speakers struggled with interdental fricatives.

4.1.3 *Lomira Collection*

The Lomira Collection is considerably smaller than the Goth and Krueger Collections and encompasses only 21 letters, 18 of which are considered here. Of these, 14 are in German and four in English, comprising a total of 5,559 words, of those 1,282 are in English and 4,277 in German. The collection was found in 2015 in the wall of a dwelling being remodeled in the Lomira area. The majority of the letters are addressed to Rev. John Fritsche and so it is suspected that he collected the letters, although there are no samples of writing from him in the collection, he receives letters in both in German and English. More detail is given in Table 4-5.

Table 4-5. Lomira Collection authors and document information

Name	Year span	# of documents	Language	# of words
1. Phillip Schneider	1864	4	German	1607
2. A.G. Fritsche	1898-1899	2	English	378
	1899	2	German	359
3. John S. Roeseler	1898-1899	4	German	1483
4. Gust. S. Klaetsch	1898	1	English	868
5. Sarah Fritsche Roeseler	1898	1	English	36
	1899	1	German	185
6. Gustav Fritsche	1899	2	German	458
7. C. Kuschke	1899	1	German	185
			Total:	5559

Table 4-5 shows that most of the letters were written in the time span 1898-1899 and both German and English were common among the authors of this collection. Two authors wrote in both German and English, while four wrote in German only and only one wrote exclusively in English. Of these seven authors, two exhibit vernacular forms in their writing. These are shown in Table 4-6.

Table 4-6. Lomira Collection authors with syllable-initial vernacular forms

Name	Language	/p^h/ vs. /p/ *Paar vs. bar* "pair"	/t^h/ vs. /t/ *getauert* vs. *gedauert* "lasted"	/k^h/ vs. /k/ *recards* vs. *regards*	/f^h/ vs. /f/ *vergive* vs. *forgive*	/s^h/ vs. /s/ *so* vs. *zo*	other
1. Phillip Schneider	German	X	X	X			<sch> vs. <sh> <v> vs. <f>
2. A.G. Fritsche	German						/k/ vs. /j/

Table 4-6 shows that the only vernacular forms from this collection are found in the German writings of these authors. Schneider exhibits a lack of distinction between several features, writing *rivolfer* for *revolver*[21], *dichtig* for *tüchtig* "hearty", *Paracke* for *Baracke* "barracks" and *Glayton* for *Clayton* (likely referring to the Civil War brigadier general, Powell Clayton). A.G. only exhibits vernacular forms in /k/ vs. /j/, writing *jiebt* for *gibt* "gives" and *getzt* for *jetzt* "now".

4.1.4 *OFTHS Collection*

The OFTHS Collection is included mostly because of what it suggests socially about the community at the time the documents were written. Only two of the eleven documents in this collection are analyzed. Most of the documents in the collection are certificates or more formal documents. The eleven total documents span 1842-1907 and were written in Germany, Austria, and the US. Only one personal letter and one diary written in the US are included here. Together these documents account for 688 words. The details of the collection are given in Table 4-7.

[21] Schneider also exhibits several orthographically vernacular forms, which are not likely indicative of spoken /f^h/ vs. /f/ vernacular forms such as *vorh* for *für* "for" or *vort* for *fort* "away", both <f> and <v> in German are /f^h/ phonetically.

Table 4-7. OFTHS Collection author and document information

Name	Year span	# of documents	Language	# of words
1. Christian Diehl	1863	1	German	122
2. Peter Beaver	1864	1	English	566

Table 4-7 shows that these documents were both written during the Civil War. Both authors were soldiers. Diehl wrote a letter to his family while Beaver kept a diary, mostly keeping track of troop movements and deaths.

Table 4-8. OFTHS Collection authors with syllable-initial vernacular forms

Name	Language	/p^{h}/ vs. /p/ *Paar vs. bar* "pair"	/t^{h}/ vs. /t/ *getauert* vs. *gedauert* "lasted"	/k^{h}/ vs. /k/ *recards* vs. *regards*	/f^{h}/ vs. /f/ *vergive* vs. *forgive*	/s^{h}/ vs. /s/ *so* vs. *zo*	other
1. Christian Diehl	German	X					/k/ vs. /j/ <v> vs. <f>
2. Peter Beaver	English	X		X			

Table 4-8 shows that both authors exhibit vernacular forms. Diehl's text suggests an question distinguishing between /p^{h}/ vs. /p/ and /f^{h}/ vs. /f/. Beaver's text exhibits vernacular forms with /p^{h}/ vs. /p/ writing *put* for *but* and /k^{h}/ vs. /k/ writing *disgard* for *discard*. Both authors show many other forms of variation throughout their texts, especially in toponyms and proper names.

4.1.5 *Turn Collection*

The Turn Collection is made up of 102 letters, 13 in German and 93 in English.[22] The collection comprises 40,575 words, 1,958 in German and 38,617 in English. These letters were mostly kept by Marie Heidtmann and William Hoffman prior to their wedding, and were published posthumously by family members. Details are shown in Table 4-9.

[22] Four letters include both German and English.

Table 4-9. Turn Collection authors and document information

Name	Year span	# of documents	Language	# of words
1. Herman Hoffman	1896	1	English	89
2. Carl Friese	1898-1900	13	English	6268
	1898-1899	(3)	German	106
3. Mary/Marie Heidtmann	1899-1901	33	English	15009
4. William Hoffman	1900-1901	28	English	11629
5. Ted Schlegel	1900-1901	2	English	1118
6. Walter Heidtmann	1901	4	English	177
7. Christiane Heidtmann "Mutter"	1901-1907	5	German	1417
8. Minnie	1901	1	English	256
9. Alvina Schlegel	1901	4	English	2341
10. Anna Wallschlager Hoffman	1901	1	English	296
11. Freada Heidtmann Koepp	1901-1910	8	English	1434
	1901	(1)	German	22
12. Ernest Heidtmann	1907	1	German	171
13. Emma Heidtmann	1907	1	German	242
			Total:	40,575

Table 4-9 shows that while the majority of the documents in this collection are in English, German was used in this collection even after English use was established. Of these 13 authors, only five exhibit vernacular forms which are detailed in Table 4-10.

Table 4-10. Turn Collection authors with syllable-initial vernacular forms

Name	Language	/p^h/ vs. /p/ *Paar vs. bar* "pair"	/t^h/ vs. /t/ *getauert* vs. *gedauert* "lasted"	/k^h/ vs. /k/ *recards* vs. *regards*	/f^h/ vs. /f/ *vergive* vs. *forgive*	/s^h/ vs. /s/ *so* vs. *zo*	other
2. Carl Friese	English		X		X		/j/ vs. /tʃ^h/ /t^h/ vs. /θ/
3. Marie Heidtmann	English			X			/ʃ^h/ vs. /s^h/
4. William Hoffman	English		X	X			/ʃ^h/ vs. /s^h/
9. Alvina Schlegel	English						/t^h/ vs. /θ/ /p^h/ vs. /f^h/ <c> vs. <s>
7. Christiane Heidtmann	German		X				<f> vs. <v> vs. <w> /pf^h/ vs. /f^h/ <s> vs. <z>

Table 4-10 shows that none of the authors in the Turn Collection exhibit /p^h/ vs. /p/ vernacular forms, but three exhibit /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms and two each exhibit /k^h/ vs. /k/ and /f^h/ vs. /f/ vernacular forms. The one German writer also exhibits /s^h/ vs. /s/ vernacular forms. Two of the English authors also exhibit /t^h/ vs. /θ/ vernacular forms, as was also present in Krueger and Goth Collections.

Table 4-11. Summary of features exhibited in syllable-initial vernacular forms: German

Collection	/p^h/ vs. /p/ *Paar vs. bar* "pair"	/t^h/ vs. /t/ *getauert* vs. *gedauert* "lasted"	/k^h/ vs. /k/ *recards* vs. *regards*	/f^h/ vs. /f/ *vergive* vs. *forgive*	/s^h/ vs. /s/ *so* vs. *zo*	other	Total # of authors with forms
Goth	X	X				/f^h/ vs. /f/ vs. /pf^h/ /k/ vs. /j/ /ts^h/ vs. /s^h/ <tz> vs. <z> <v> vs. <f>	7
Krueger						<v> vs. <f>	1
Lomira	X	X	X			<sch> vs. <sh> /k/ vs. /j/ <v> vs. <f>	6
OFTHS	X					/k/ vs. /j/ <v> vs. <f>	3
Turn		X				/f^h/ vs. /f/ /pf^h/ vs./f^h/ <v> vs. <f> <s> vs. <z>	5
Total collections which exhibit each form:	3	3	1	0	0	5	

Table 4-11 shows that there are several similarities between the different collections. All of the collections have German authors with <v> vs. <f> vernacular forms. Three collections have German authors with /t^h/ vs. /t/ and /k/ vs. /j/ vernacular forms. Three collections exhibit vernacular forms for /p^h/ vs. /p/ and /t^h/ vs. /t/.

4.1.6 *Written sources VOT summary*

In Tables 4-12 and 4-13 I show a summary of features exhibited in written data from all five collections.

Table 4-12. Summary of features exhibited in syllable-initial vernacular forms: English

Collection	/p^h/ vs. /p/ *Paar vs. bar* "pair"	/t^h/ vs. /t/ *getauert* vs. *gedauert* "lasted"	/k^h/ vs. /k/ *recards* vs. *regards*	/f^h/ vs. /f/ *vergive* vs. *forgive*	/s^h/ vs. /s/ *so* vs. *zo*	other	Total # of forms
Goth						/t/ vs. /θ/ and /tʃ^h/ vs. /s^h/	2
Krueger	X		X	X		/ʃ^h/ vs. /s^h/ /tʃ^h/ vs. /ʃ^h/ /k/ vs. /j/ /t^h/ vs. /θ/ /f/ vs. /w/	8
Lomira	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
OFTHS	X		X				2
Turn		X	X	X		/j/ vs./tʃ^h/ /t^h/ vs. /θ/ /ʃ^h/ vs. /s^h/ /p^h/ vs. /f^h/ <c> vs. <s> <sh> vs.<s>	9
Total collections which exhibit each form:	2	1	3	2	0	3	

Table 4-12 shows three of the collections have English authors who exhibit /k^h/ vs. /k/ vernacular forms and three of the collections have authors with /t/ vs. /θ/ vernacular forms. The Krueger and Turn Collections each have authors exhibiting three different vernacular forms. The OFTHS author exhibits two of these. The Lomira Collection did not have any English authors, and the authors from the Goth Collection did not exhibit any of these vernacular forms.

4.2 Audio sources

Audio sources were prepared and measured as described in chapter 2. Due to the brevity and lack of recordings from the 1940s, for both the Seifert and Stratman-Thomas Collection, as much as or up to 20 minutes of recording were analyzed. From the Litty-Evans Collection, recordings

were much longer in most cases, but to keep the potentital for numbers of tokens, a similar approximately 20 minutes was analyzed from each of these recordings as well.

Each token average is compared to token averages for Standard German and American English. Standard German values are given in Table 4-13. Values are given in milliseconds (ms.) unless otherwise stated. Besides the ranges given in Table 4-13 the generally expected pattern for both Standard German and American English values is that /p^h/ < /t^h/ < /k^h/ and /p/ < /t/ < /k/.

Table 4-13. Standard German VOT values

Name	/p^h/	/t^h/	/k^h/	/p/	/t/	/k/
Standard German Taylor 1975	50			<20		
German Keating 1984	60-70			<20		
Angelowa & Pompino-Marschall 1985	36	39	47	6	11	16

American English values are given in Table 4-14.

Table 4-14. American English VOT values

Name	/p^h/	/t^h/	/k^h/	/p/	/t/	/k/
American English L&A 1964: 395	58	70	80	1 - -100	5- -102	21 - -88
L&A 1964: 410, running speech	10-45	15-70	30-85	15- -65	25- -90	13- -45
Stevens & Klatt 1974: 653	>50			<20-30		
American English Allen, Miller & DeSteno 2003	69-119					

Because I do not expect these speakers to directly correlate to any of the Standard German or American English values given in Tables 4-13 and 4-14, I also consider thresholds between spread vs. unmarked obstruents and just noticeable differences (JNDs) between categories. Niyogi & Ramesh use a 40-ms. threshold for spread vs. unmarked obstruents (1998: 13). For VOT in initial position Ali, Spiegel, & Mueller give 40 ms. as a statistical threshold between spread and unmarked stops (2001: 82). Blumstein, Myers & Rissman suggest differing threshold

values for /t^h/ vs. /t/ as ranging from 0 to 40 ms. Tokens perceived as 'within-category' are 10-30 ms. from token value, while 20 ms. is considered a 'boundary-value stimulus' (2005: 1354).

JNDs for stop categories (spread vs. unmarked) are about 20 ms. (Hirsh 1959: 767; Stevens & Klatt 1974: 653; Carney et al. 1977: 399). Elliot et al. shows JNDs for adults within 12.5 ms. of /pa/ vs. within 14.5 ms. of /p^ha/ (1986: 632). Lisker & Abramson show that classes of stops /p^h, t^h, k^h/ vs. /p, t, k/ exhibit overlapping distributions at 20-30 ms. (1964: 399).

I have chosen to follow the boundary given in Blumstein, Myers & Rissman (2005), with 20 ms. as a boundary value.

4.2.1 *Seifert Collection: 1945-1949*

Four recordings from the Seifert Collection are analyzed here. They are from three men and one woman. They are all Wisconsin-born German-English bilinguals. Three only speak German on the recordings, but the fourth uses both German and English and so tokens were collected for both languages. I introduce the data from each individually and discuss the expected forms vs. vernacular forms before moving on to discuss the results from the group.

Table 4-15. Eugene VOT values

	/p^h/	/t^h/	/k^h/	/p/	/t/	/k/
# of tokens	4	3	12	5	8	7
Average	67.73	59.77	74.58	52.06	51.46	46.66
SD	7.36	19.56	12.12	15.63	14.93	11.68

When compared with values given by Taylor (1975), Eugene's /k^h/ and unmarked tokens are beyond the JND of 20 ms., meaning that these are all higher than would be classified within each category. Eugene's spread tokens fall within 20 ms. of the range given by Keating (1984), but his unmarked tokens are higher than this threshold. When compared with the values given by Angelowa & Pompino-Marschall (1985), all of Eugene's mean VOTs are beyond the 20 ms. threshold. When compared with the literature overall, none of Eugene's averages for unmarked

tokens are in accordance with what is expected. Eugene's /k^h/ averages are also higher than the expected thresholds for two of the three estimates given. When compared according to obstruent series, Eugene only exhibits a category distinction of >20 ms. for /k^h/ vs. /k/ tokens. For /p^h/ vs. /p/ and /t^h/ vs. /t/ tokens there is no distinguishable difference in mean VOT. Also perhaps of note is that Eugene's /t^h/ tokens show shorter average VOT than his /p^h/ tokens, which is rather unexpected.

Table 4-16. Anna M. VOT values

	/p^h/	/t^h/	/k^h/	/p/	/t/	/k/
# of tokens	3	n/a	4	n/a	n/a	2
Average	70.03	n/a	46.55	n/a	n/a	46.60
SD	33.80	n/a	24.80	n/a	n/a	9.19

Anna's mean VOT for /p^h/ tokens is within the range given by Keating (1984), but is beyond the 20 ms. threshold for values given by Taylor (1975) and Angelowa & Pompino-Marschall (1985). Her mean VOT for /k^h/ tokens is within the threshold for all comparisons. The opposite is true for her mean VOT for /k/ tokens. When compared with only her own tokens, Anna does not exhibit a difference greater than 20 ms. for /k^h/ vs. /k/ tokens, suggesting there is no categorical distinction between her spread vs. unmarked tokens.

Because Anna has so few tokens, I also completed an analysis of her tokens grouped by spread vs. unmarked (i.e., /k^h/ vs. /k/), as shown in Table 4-17.

Table 4-17. Anna M. VOT values by obstruent series

Speaker	Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Average in ms.	Standard Deviation	Min/Max ms..	Range in ms.
Anna M.	German	spread /p^h, t^h, k^h, f^h, s^h/ = <p, t, k, f, s>	7	56.61	29.08	15.1/89.4	74.3
		unmarked /p, t, k, f, s/ = <b, d, g, v, z>	2	46.6	9.19	40.1/53.1	13

When compared with the literature as obstruent series rather than individual tokens, Anna's mean VOT for spread tokens is within the 20-ms. threshold, but her mean VOT for unmarked tokens is not. When compared according to obstruent series Anna's mean VOTs do not exhibit a difference greater than 20 ms., suggesting there is no categorical difference between her spread vs. unmarked tokens.

Table 4-18. Norbert VOT values German

	/p^h/	/t^h/	/k^h/	/p/	/t/	/k/
# of tokens	n/a	3	n/a	n/a	7	3
Average	n/a	25.17	n/a	n/a	31.06	37.60
SD	n/a	9.07	n/a	n/a	12.58	23.53

When compared with the literature, Norbert's mean VOT for German /t^h/ tokens is lower than the 20 ms. threshold for both the values given by Taylor (1975) and Keating (1984), but his unmarked tokens are within the 20 ms. threshold for both. The opposite is true when compared with Angelowa & Pompino-Marschall's values (1985). Norbert's German mean VOT for /t^h/ tokens is lower than his averages for /t/ and /k/ tokens, which is unexpected. However, when compared against his own mean VOTs for /t^h/ vs. /t/ tokens the difference is less than 20 ms., suggesting that there is no categorical difference between his spread vs. unmarked tokens.

Table 4-19. Norbert VOT values English[23]

	/p^h/	/t^h/	/k^h/	/p/	/t/	/k/
# of tokens	n/a	5	5	n/a	n/a	1
Average	n/a	54.24	54.82	n/a	n/a	32.00
SD	n/a	13.63	19.30	n/a	n/a	n/a

Norbert's English mean VOTs are almost all within the 20 ms. threshold when compared with the values from the literature, except for /k^h/ tokens as reported in Lisker & Abramson (1964) and for /k/ tokens when compared with values given in Allen, Miller & DeSteno (2003). Both are

[23] As the only speaker with English data collected from the Seifert collection, Norbert's English data will be consider with the English data from the Stratman-Thomas collection's English data from the same time period.

more than 20 ms. lower than the values given. When compared against his own mean VOTs, the difference for /k^h/ vs. /k/ tokens is greater than 20 ms., suggesting that Norbert does produce a categorical difference in English.

Table 4-20. William M. VOT values

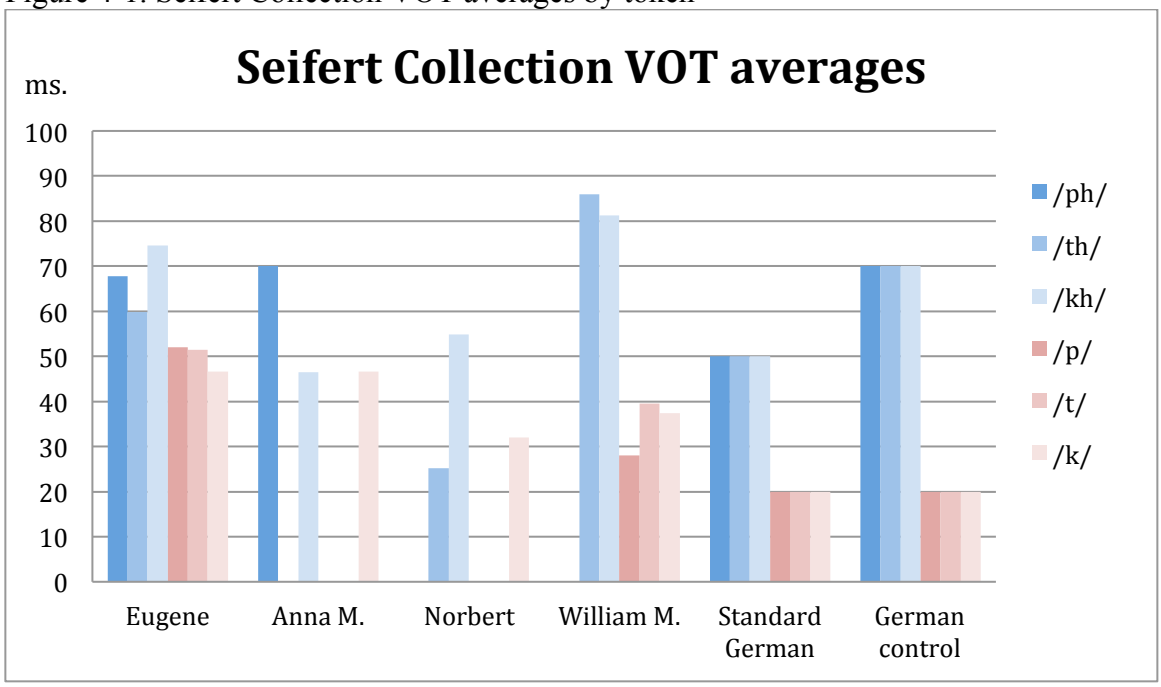
	/p^h/	/t^h/	/k^h/	/p/	/t/	/k/
# of tokens	n/a	1	9	1	7	3
Average	n/a	86.00	81.31	28.00	39.49	37.33
SD	n/a	n/a	12.48	n/a	7.66	9.50

William's /t^h/ and /k^h/ mean VOTs are both higher than the 20 ms. threshold for the values given in Taylor (1975), but his unmarked tokens are within the threshold for values given in Taylor. While all are within the 20-ms. threshold for values given in Keating (1984), none are within the 20 ms. threshold for values give in Angelowa & Pompino-Marschall (1985). What is notable is the clear divide of more than 40ms. between William's spread and unmarked obstruents, suggesting that he does produce a categorical distinction between each obstruent series.

4.2.1.1 Seifert Collection conclusions

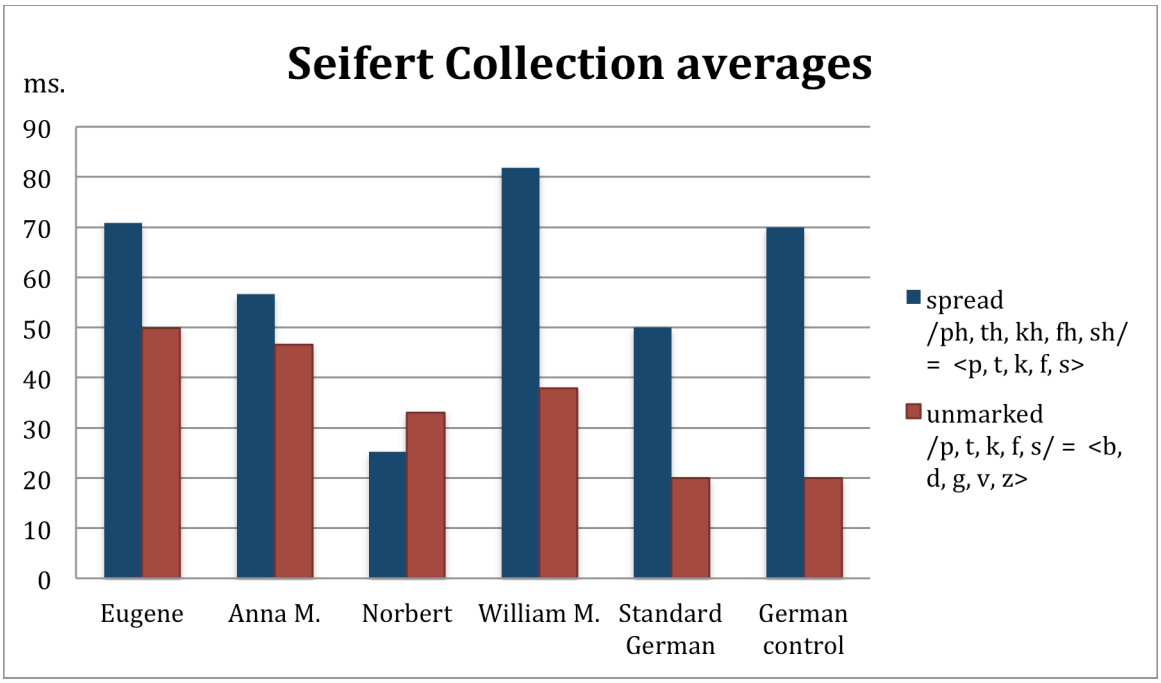
When considering their data averages as a group and compared with the averages given for Standard German, the main point that stands out is none of these speakers match what is described as Standard German for all types. This is not particularly surprising when considering the time of their recordings and the Standard German studies. What is perhaps most notable is that for all speakers except Norbert, /p^h, t^h, k^h/ token averages are larger than their /p, t, k/ counterparts. This is shown in Figure 4-1.

Figure 4-1. Seifert Collection VOT averages by token



When collection averages are grouped by spread vs. unmarked (i.e., /k^{h}/ vs. /k/) consonants, it becomes clear that three of the four speakers produce longer VOT for spread consonants than for unmarked. Norbert is the exception to this. For two of the speakers their mean VOTs for spread vs. unmarked tokens differs by more then 20 ms., suggesting that both Eugene and William exhibit categorical distinctions between spread vs. unmarked obstruents, where Anna and Norbert do no. This is shown in Figure 4-2.

Figure 4-2. Seifert Collection VOT averages by obstruent series



If we consider each pair of spread vs. unmarked consonants we see that for /p^h/ vs. /p/ only Eugene has tokens from each type, but he does not exhibit a categorical difference, meaning that his mean VOTs have less than a 20 ms. difference. For /t^h/ vs. /t/ tokens, William exhibits a categorical distinction, but Eugene and Anna do not. Eugene and William exhibit a categorical difference and for /k^h/ vs. /k/ but Anna does not. This is shown in Table 4-21.

Table 4-21. Seifert Collection: Obstruent series category distinction

Categorical distinction (y/n)	/p^h/ vs. /p/	/t^h/ vs. /t/	/k^h/ vs. /k/
Eugene	no	no	yes
Anna M.	n/a	n/a	no
Norbert	n/a	no	n/a
William M.	n/a	**yes**	**yes**

4.2.2 *Stratman-Thomas Collection: 1937-1946*

Four recordings were analyzed from the Stratman-Thomas Collection. Similar to the Seifert Collection, these recordings are brief so token counts are unfortunately low. I consider each

speaker's tokens individually before discussing the group. The speakers from this group have a more varied background than from the other collections. Mrs. Starr is the descendant of a French Canadian and presumed French-English bilingual and CYT is an L1 Ho-Chunk speaker. I chose to include their tokens, however, because they not only give showcase other varieties of English being spoken in Wisconsin in the 1940s, but these speakers should pattern differently than expected for German-English bilinguals and those in heavily German populated areas.

Table 4-22. Caspar VOT values

	/p^h/	/t^h/	/k^h/	/p/	/t/	/k/
# of tokens	1	3	n/a	5	1	n/a
Average	19.00	61.13	n/a	27.36	41.60	n/a
SD	n/a	29.32	n/a	13.97	n/a	n/a

When compared with the literature, Caspar's mean VOTs for /p^h/ are more than the 20-ms. threshold lower than values given in all but Lisker & Abramson (1964: 410) for running speech. His /t^h/ tokens are in accordance with all values given in the literature. For unmarked tokens, Caspar's mean VOTs are in accordance with the values given for Lisker & Abramson (1964: 410) and Stevens & Klatt (1974: 653). When compared as obstruent series, Caspar's mean VOTs do not exhibit a difference of more the 20 ms., suggesting there is no categorical distinction between spread vs. unmarked tokens.

Table 4-23. Ella VOT values

	/p^h/	/t^h/	/k^h/	/p/	/t/	/k/
# of tokens	n/a	3	4	2	1	n/a
Average	n/a	27.93	61.80	34.35	19.00	n/a
SD	n/a	14.28	15.51	1.91	n/a	n/a

What is noticeable based on the few tokens analyzed for Ella, is how much less VOT her /t^h/ token average shows than her /k^h/ token average, almost 1.5 times the JND of 20 ms. Her mean VOT for /t^h/ tokens only corresponds with the values given for running speech by Lisker & Abramson (1964: 410). Her mean VOT for /k^h/ tokens is in accordance with all values given in

the literature. Her mean VOT for /p/ tokens is in accordance with values given for running speech from Lisker & Abramson (1964: 410) and Stevens & Klatt (1974: 653). Her mean VOT for /t/ tokens is in accordance with all values given except those in Allen, Miller & DeSteno (2003) where her mean VOT is 50 ms. shorter than expected.

When compared as obstruent series, Ella only has tokens to compare /t^h/ vs. /t/. The difference is less than the 20-ms. threshold, suggesting that she does not exhibit a categorical distinction between spread and unmarked obstruents. Because Ella has so few tokens, I also completed an analysis of her tokens grouped by spread vs. unmarked (i.e., /k^h/ vs. /k/), as shown in Table 4-24.

Table 4-24. Ella VOT by obstruent series

Speaker	Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Average in ms.	Standard Deviation	Min/Max ms.	Range in ms.
Ella	English	spread /p^h, t^h, k^h, f^h, s^h/ = <p, t, k, f, s>	7	47.29	22.71	19/76.4	57.4
		unmarked /p, t, k, f, s/ = <b, d, g, v, z>	3	29.23	8.96	19/35.7	16.7

When compared with the literature as obstruent series rather than individual tokens, Ella's mean VOT for spread and unmarked tokens are within the 20-ms. threshold for values given by Stevens & Klatt (1974: 653). However, both her mean VOTs for spread and unmarked tokens are lower by more than the 20-ms. threshold when compared with the values given by Allen, Miller & DeSteno (2003). When compared according to obstruent series Ella's mean VOTs do not exhibit a difference greater than 20 ms., suggesting there is no categorical difference between her spread vs. unmarked tokens.

Table 4-25. CYT VOT values

	/p^h/	/t^h/	/k^h/	/p/	/t/	/k/
# of tokens	4	9	3	9	4	1
Average	53.60	55.08	50.07	36.96	36.28	55.80
SD	15.60	16.21	5.75	13.06	6.69	n/a

As an L1 Ho-chunk speaker, CYT was included because his averages are expected to be dissimilar from those of the German-English bilinguals and English L1 speakers. CYT's mean VOTs for spread tokens all fall within the values give except for /k^h/ token values given in Lisker & Abramson (1964: 395), for which his mean VOT is more than 20 ms. lower than expected. CYT's unmarked tokens are more varied. All are more than 20 ms. higher than the values given in Lisker & Abramson (1964: 395). When compared with the values given in Lisker & Abramson (1964: 410) for running speech, both his /p/ and /k/ tokens are more than 20 ms. higher than expected. Only his mean VOT for /k/ tokens is more than 20 ms. higher than the values given in Stevens & Klatt (1974: 643). When compared with the values given in Allen, Miller & DeSteno (2003), CYT exhibits greater than JNDs for /p/ and /t/ mean VOTs. When compared according to obstruent series, CYT's mean VOTs do not exhibit a difference greater than 20 ms., suggesting that there is no categorical distinction between spread vs. unmarked tokens.

Table 4-26. Mrs. Starr. VOT values

	/p^h/	/t^h/	/k^h/	/p/	/t/	/k/
# of tokens	1	3	10	5	1	1
Average	49.00	43.93	58.78	1.16	17.70	38.00
SD	n/a	2.55	10.10	25.21	n/a	n/a

Because Mrs. Starr is a French-English bilingual, her values might be expected to be unlike those of German-English bilinguals. What might be noteworthy is that her /t^h/ average is lower than her /p^h/ average, similar to that of Eugene in §4.2.1. When compared with the literature Mrs. Starr's values for /t^h/ and /k^h/ tokens are beyond the 20-ms. threshold given by Lisker &

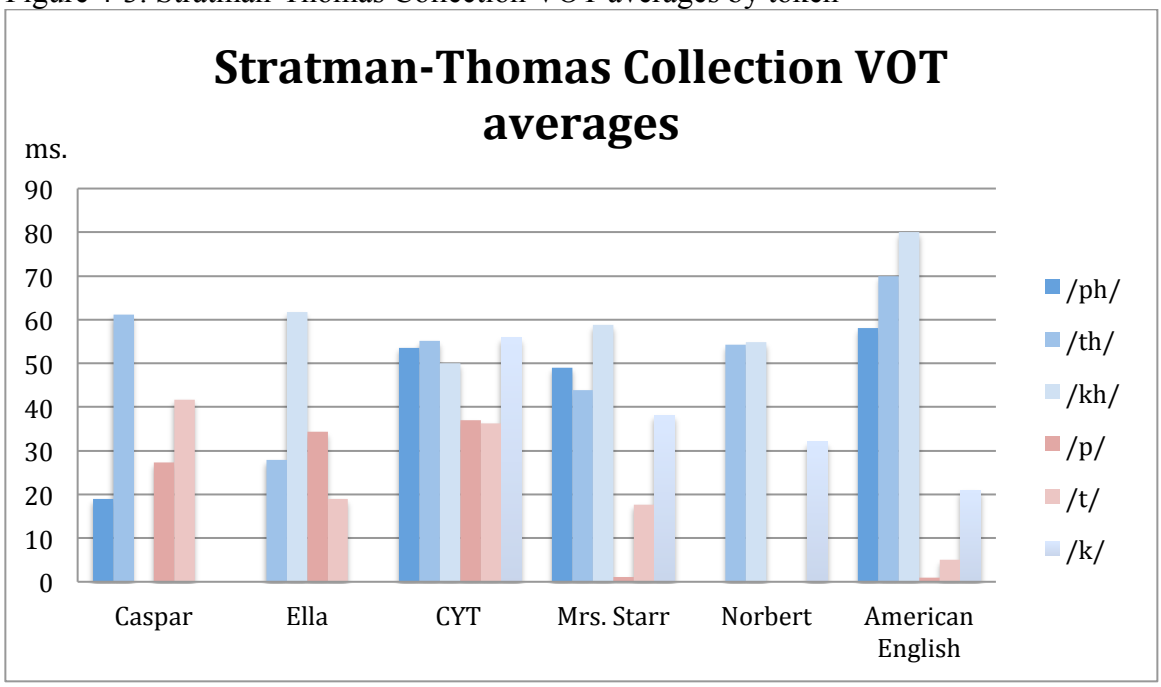
Abramson (1964: 395). Both mean VOTs are at least 20 ms. shorter than expected. Only her /k/ tokens differ from the values given in Lisker & Abramson (1964: 410) for running speech. Her mean VOT for /k/ tokens is greater than the 20-ms. threshold. All of her values are in accordance with the values given in Stevens & Klatt (1974: 653). Mrs. Starr's values for /t^h/ and all unmarked tokens are lower than the 20-ms. threshold for values given by Allen, Miller & DeSteno (2003). When her own mean VOTs are compared according to obstruent series, all show more than a 20 ms. difference, suggesting that Mrs. Starr does have a categorical distinction between spread vs. unmarked obstruents.

4.2.2.1 Stratman-Thomas Collection conclusions[24]

While I expected Mrs. Starr and CYT to pattern clearly differently than the other two speakers in this collection, this does not appear to be the case. However, Ella and Caspar also do not have any apparent patterns. What is noticeable is a difference based on the sex of the speakers, however. For Mrs. Starr and Ella, mean VOTs for /k^h/ are the largest, indicating that they do not pattern as expected for place of articulation. Both women exhibit mean VOTs for /t^h/ which are more than 20 ms. lower than the values expected. This might be the precursor to /t^h/ with low VOT in Wisconsin, if the change is beginning in the 1940s already, the women might be leading the change. This is shown in Figure 4-3.

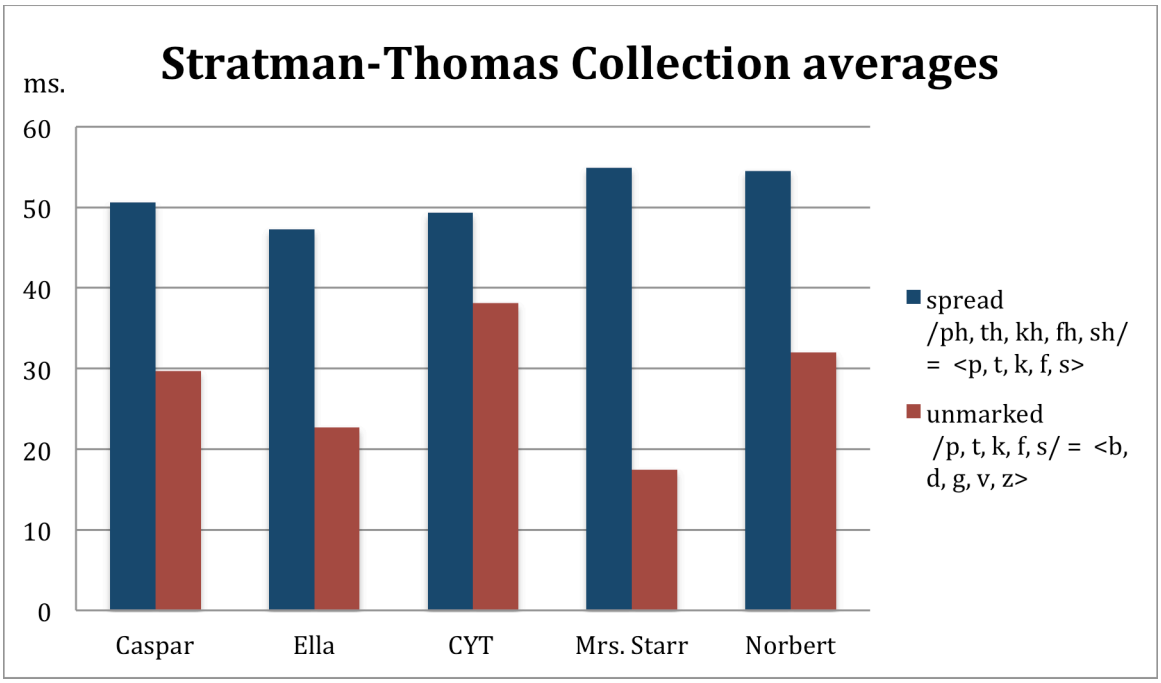
[24] These also include Norbert's English values (from the Seifert Collection). He has been included here because this collection was made at a similar time and there are no other English tokens available from his collection.

Figure 4-3. Stratman-Thomas Collection VOT averages by token



When token averages are considered for spread vs. unmarked (i.e., /k^{h}/ vs. /k/) consonants as a group, all have longer mean VOTs for spread consonants than unmarked, and all but CYT exhibit a categorical distinction between spread vs. unmarked consonants. This is shown in Figure 4-4.

Figure 4-4. Stratman-Thomas Collection VOT averages by obstruent series



If we consider each pair of spread vs. unmarked consonants we see that for /p^{h}/ vs. /p/ and t^{h}/ vs. /t/ only Mrs. Starr exhibits a categorical difference and for /k^{h}/ vs. /k/ both Mrs. Starr and Norbert exhibit a categorical difference. This is shown in Table 4-27.

Table 4-27. Stratman-Thomas Collection: Obstruent series category distinction

Categorical distinction (y/n)	/p^{h}/ vs. /p/	/t^{h}/ vs. /t/	/k^{h}/ vs. /k/
Caspar	no	no	n/a
Ella	n/a	no	n/a
CYT	no	no	no
Mrs. Starr	**yes**	**yes**	**yes**
Norbert	n/a	n/a	**yes**

4.2.3 *Litty-Evans Collection: 2013*

Eight recordings from the Litty-Evans Collection are included for analysis here. Four are German-English bilinguals from Dodge County, WI. Two of these are men and two are women. The other four recordings are monolingual English speakers, two living in Richland County and two living in Dodge County. There is one male and one female monolingual English speaker per

county. As with the other sections I discuss the results of each speaker individually before discussing the results as a group.

Table 4-28. Lucinda VOT values German

	/p^h/	/t^h/	/k^h/	/p/	/t/	/k/
# of tokens	1	6	11	15	9	10
Average	87.70	80.42	83.07	19.69	34.88	33.33
SD	n/a	19.20	27.77	43.03	18.42	17.54

Lucinda exhibits prevoicing in German unmarked consonants beginning with /b/, namely *Busch* "woods", *Bub* "boy", *Bienen* "bees", and *Bauer* "farmer".

Most notable about Lucinda's averages are how high the aspirated averages are. These are all at least 30 ms. above averages given for German in Taylor (1975) and Angelowa & Pompino-Marschall (1985). All of her mean VOTs are in accordance with values given in Keating (1984). Her mean VOT for /t/ is more than 20 ms. higher than the value given in Angelowa & Pompino-Marschall (1985). When compared as obstruent series, Lucinda's mean VOTs differ by more than 20 ms., suggesting that she exhibits categorical distinctions for all spread vs. unmarked obstruents.

Table 4-29. Lucinda VOT values English

	/p^h/	/t^h/	/k^h/	/p/	/t/	/k/
# of tokens	2	4	2	6	2	1
Average	108.15	55.43	76.70	16.48	14.00	24.90
SD	56.36	24.90	3.82	11.12	0.00	n/a

Lucinda's mean VOTs do not follow expected patterns for place of articulation. She has a lower mean VOT for /t^h/ tokens than /p^h/ or /k^h/. When compared with the literature, only her mean VOT for /t^h/ tokens does not fall within the value thresholds for those given in Lisker & Abramson (1964: 395, 410) where her mean VOT for /t^h/ tokens is more than 50 ms. higher than the values given. Her mean VOTs are all in accordance with the values given in Stevens & Klatt (1974: 653), and her values for spread tokens are in accordance with the values given in Allen,

Miller & DeSteno (2003). Her unmarked tokens are all more than 20 ms. higher than the values given in Allen, Miller & DeSteno (2003). When compared as obstruent series, Lucinda's mean VOTs differ by more than 20 ms., suggesting that she exhibits categorical distinctions for spread vs. unmarked obstruents.

Table 4-30. Bob VOT values German

	/p^h/	/t^h/	/k^h/	/p/	/t/	/k/
# of tokens	2	4	6	3	4	n/a
Average	14.50	22.50	53.72	-63.33	-16.75	n/a
SD	4.95	49.05	15.44	72.84	52.97	n/a

Both Bob's German and English averages follow expected patterns for amount of aspiration based on place of articulation, /p^h/ < /t^h/ < /k^h/ and /p/ < /t/. Bob exhibits prevoicing the most frequently of any speaker, although with low token counts. Despite this, Bob exhibits prevoicing in unmarked tokens in both English and German.

When compared with all given values for German, Bob's mean VOT for /t^h/ tokens is more than 20 ms. lower than expected in the literature. His mean VOT for /t^h/ tokens is also more than 20 ms. lower than the values given in Taylor (1975) and Keating (1984). His mean VOT for /k^h/ tokens is in accordance with the values given in the literature. For unmarked tokens, Bob's mean VOTs are in accordance with the values given in Taylor (1975) and Keating (1984), but are more than 20 ms. lower than the values given in Angelowa & Pompino-Marschall (1985). When compared as obstruent series Bob's mean VOTs differ more than 20 ms., suggesting that Bob does exhibit a categorical distinction between spread vs. unmarked obstruents.

Table 4-31. Bob VOT values English

	/p^h/	/t^h/	/k^h/	/p/	/t/	/k/
# of tokens	1	4	4	3	1	n/a
Average	12.00	35.00	62.73	-23.00	19.00	n/a
SD	n/a	36.05	11.08	19.92	n/a	n/a

Bob's mean VOT for /p^h/ tokens is more than 20 ms. lower than values expected from all literature except Lisker & Abramson for running speech (1964: 410). Bob's mean VOTs for /t^h/ tokens is more than 20 ms. lower than values given in Lisker & Abramson (1964: 395) and Allen, Miller & DeSteno (2003). Bob's mean VOT for /k^h/ tokens are in accordance with the values given in the literature. Bob's unmarked tokens are in accordance with the literature for all except the values given by Allen, Miller & DeSteno (2003), for which his mean VOTs for /p/ and /t/ are both more than 20 ms. lower than the values given. When compared as obstruent series, Bob's mean VOTs differ by more than 20 ms., suggesting that he exhibits a categorical distinction between spread vs. unmarked obstruents.

Table 4-32. Mike VOT values German

	/p^h/	/t^h/	/k^h/	/p/	/t/	/k/
# of tokens	6	6	17	8	6	10
Average	49.52	64.00	64.90	-31.46	-4.77	30.00
SD	18.54	22.08	21.51	36.51	29.66	25.92

Mike exhibits prevoicing in unmarked tokens in both German and English, although much more extensively in German with 10/24 tokens showing prevoicing while only one, *but*, did in English.

Mike's German averages follow expected patterns for amount of aspiration based on place of articulation, /p^h/ < /t^h/ < /k^h/ and /p/ < /t/ < /k/. All mean VOTs are within the 20-ms. threshold of values given in Taylor (1975) and Keating (1984). Mike's mean VOT for /th/ tokens is more than 20 ms. higher and his mean VOT for /p/ tokens is more than 20 ms. lower than the values given in Angelowa & Pompino-Marschall (1985). When compared as obstruent series, Mike's mean VOTs differ more than 20 ms. for each type, suggesting that he also exhibits a categorical distinction between spread vs. unmarked tokens in German.

Table 4-33. Mike VOT values English

	/p^h/	/t^h/	/k^h/	/p/	/t/	/k/
# of tokens	3	7	5	7	1	1
Average	45.80	43.13	77.86	12.00	41.80	33.40
SD	13.06	11.00	17.83	49.71	n/a	n/a

Mike's mean VOTs do not follow expected patterns based on place of articulation in English. His mean VOT for /t^h/ is lower than that for /p^h/ and /k^h/, although not enough to be noticable. Mike's mean VOT for /t^h/ and /t/ tokens are outside the expected values when compared with Lisker & Abramson (1964: 395). His mean VOT for /t^h/ is more than 20 ms. lower than expected and more than 20 ms. higher for /t/. When compared with Lisker & Abramson's values for running speech (1964: 410) only Mike's mean VOT for /k/ is more than 20 ms. higher than expected. Mike's mean VOT for /k^h/ is more than 20 ms. higher than values given in Stevens & Klatt (1974: 653). Mike's mean VOTs for /p^h/, /t^h/, /p/, and /t/ are all more than 20 ms. lower than values given in Allen, Miller & DeSteno (2003). When compared as obstruent series, Mike's man VOTs differ more than 20 ms. for /p^h/ vs. /p/ and /k^h/ vs. /k/, suggesting that for these he does exhibit a categorical distinction between these spread vs. unmarked obstruents, but not for /t^h/ vs. /t/.

Table 4-34. Susan VOT values German

	/p^h/	/t^h/	/k^h/	/p/	/t/	/k/
# of tokens	6	8	11	5	7	1
Average	66.27	62.44	64.98	-1.60	37.20	41.00
SD	14.38	10.47	13.83	33.54	25.51	n/a

Susan exhibits prevoicing in both English and German unmarked tokens, although in English there is only one token, *Doris*.

All of Susan's mean VOTs fall within the 20 ms. threshold of values given by Taylor (1975) and Keating (1984) except /k/. Susan's mean VOT for /k/ is more than 20 ms. higher than the expected values. Susan's mean VOTs for /p^h/, /t^h/, /t/, and /k/ are all more than 20 ms. higher

than the values given in Angelowa & Pompino-Marschall (1985). When compared as obstruent series, Susan's mean VOTs all differ by more than 20 ms., suggesting that she exhibits categorical distinctions between spread vs. unmarked obstruents.

Table 4-35. Susan VOT values English

	/p^h/	/t^h/	/k^h/	/p/	/t/	/k/
# of tokens	5	5	3	6	4	1
Average	68.64	63.58	38.13	30.20	2.98	26.70
SD	6.25	17.06	22.77	21.14	24.78	n/a

When compared with the literature, Susan's mean VOTs for /k^h/ and /p/ tokens do not align with values given in Lisker & Abramson (1964: 395). Only her mean VOT for /p^h/ does not align with values in Lisker & Abramson for running speech (1964: 410). All mean VOTs are in accordance with values given in Stevens & Klatt (1974: 653). Susan's mean VOTs for /k^h/ and unmarked tokens are all more than 20 ms. lower than the values given in Allen, Miller & DeSteno (2003). When compared as obstruent series, Susan does exhibit a categorical distinction for /p^h/ vs. /p/ and /t^h/ vs. /t/ tokens, but not for /k^h/ vs. /k/.

Table 4-36. Ralph VOT values

	/p^h/	/t^h/	/k^h/	/p/	/t/	/k/
# of tokens	7	9	8	5	1	1
Average	5.83	45.97	37.81	34.38	-73.40	45.60
SD	64.56	13.31	5.15	12.05	n/a	n/a

Ralph, unlike most other speakers has the highest average VOT for /t^h/ tokens, conversely for /t/ he has the lowest. Ralph exhibits prevoicing with only two tokens, one spread, *parents*, and one unmarked, *dumplins*. When compared with the literature, Ralph's mean VOTs for spread tokens are all more than 20 ms. lower than the values given in Lisker & Abramson (1964: 395). His mean VOT for unmarked tokens are more than 20 ms. higher than the values given except for /t/. When compared with the values given in Lisker & Abramson for running speech, only his mean VOT for /k/ tokens is higher by more than 20 ms. When compared with the values given in

Stevens & Klatt (1974: 653), only Ralph's mean VOT for /p^h/ tokens is more than 20 ms. lower than expected. All of Ralph's mean VOTs are more than 20 ms. lower than the values given in Allen, Miller & DeSteno (2003). When compared as obstruent series, Ralph's mean VOTs for /p^h/ vs. /p/ and /t^h/ vs. /t/ differ by more than 20 ms., suggesting that for these tokens he exhibits categorical distinctions between spread vs. unmarked obstruents, but not for /k^h/ vs. /k/.

Table 4-37. Esmerelda VOT values

	/p^h/	/t^h/	/k^h/	/p/	/t/	/k/
# of tokens	5	12	14	8	5	4
Average	43.00	59.53	60.12	8.05	-5.46	20.05
SD	14.02	18.87	42.16	29.20	63.04	13.32

Esmerelda's mean VOTs follow expected patterns for place of articulation. Her mean VOTs match the literature for values given in Lisker & Abramson (1964: 395, 410) and Stevens & Klatt 1974: 653). When compared with the values given in Allen, Miller & DeSteno (2003) her mean VOTs for /t^h/ tokens is more than 20 ms. lower than expected, as are all of her mean VOTs for unmarked tokens.

Table 4-38. Esmerelda VOT by obstruent series combined

Speaker	Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Average in ms.	Standard Deviation	Min/Max ms.	Range in ms.
Esmerelda	English	spread /p^h, t^h, k^h, f^h, s^h/ = <p, t, k, f, s>	31	57.13	31.09	-52/136.7	188.7
		unmarked /p, t, k, f, s/ = <b, d, g, v, z>	17	6.9	38.62	-118/33.8	151.8

Esmerelda exhibits extremely variable and large ranges of both spread and unmarked consonants. She exhibits prevoicing on three tokens, one spread, *cuz*, and two unmarked, *but* and *dee*. When compared by obstruent series, each individual type differs by more than 20 ms.,

suggesting that she does exhibit categorical distinctions between spread and unmarked obstruents.

Table 4-39. Bryan VOT values

	/p^h/	/t^h/	/k^h/	/p/	/t/	/k/
# of tokens	4	7	3	7	1	2
Average	35.00	62.46	65.33	1.76	19.00	35.25
SD	11.05	27.28	1.53	53.72	n/a	13.79

Bryan's averages follow expected patterns for place of articulation. Bryan has three unmarked tokens that exhibit prevoicing, *but*, *before*, and *book.* When compared with the literature, Bryan's mean VOTs are in accordance with the values given in Lisker & Abramson (1964: 410) for running speech and Stevens & Klatt (1974: 653). Only Bryan's mean VOT for /p^h/ tokens is more than 20 ms. lower than expected when compared with the values given in Lisker & Abramson (1964: 395). Bryan's mean VOTs for /p^h/ and all unmarked tokens are more than 20 ms. lower than the values given in Allen, Miller & DeSteno (2003). When compared as obstruent series, all of Bryan's mean VOTs differ by more than 20 ms., suggesting that he exhibits categorical distinctions between spread vs. unmarked obstruents.

Table 4-40. Melissa VOT values

	/p^h/	/t^h/	/k^h/	/p/	/t/	/k/
# of tokens	4	2	4	5	2	n/a
Average	46.38	59.50	52.75	4.66	18.50	n/a
SD	32.38	0.71	9.64	12.93	0.71	n/a

Melissa, like Ralph, has the highest average VOT for /t^h/ tokens, meaning that she does not follow expected patterns according to place of articulation. Melissa showed prevoicing on one unmarked token, *but*. When compared with the literature, Melissa's mean VOTs are in accordance with the values given in Lisker & Abramson (1964: 410) for running speech and Stevens & Klatt (1974: 653). Her mean VOT for /k^h/ tokens is more than 20 ms. lower than the values given in Lisker & Abramson (1964: 395). Her values for /p^h/, /p/, and /t/ are all more than

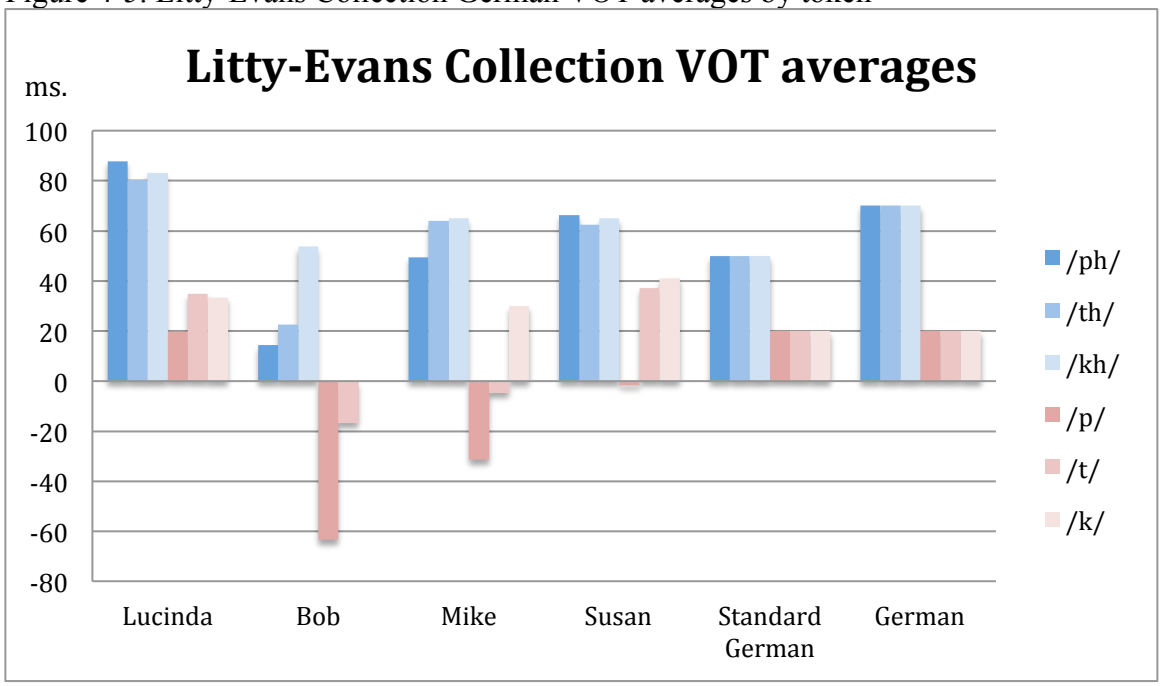
20 ms. lower than the values expected in Allen, Miller & DeSteno (2003). When compared as obstruent series, Melissa's mean VOTs for /p^h/ vs. /p/ and /t^h/ vs. /t/ differ by more than 20 ms., suggesting that she exhibits categorical distinctions between spread vs. unmarked obstruents.

4.2.3.1 Litty-Evans Collection conclusions

Because there are data from two languages in this collection, I consider the German first, then the English, and then show the data for the German-English bilinguals together.

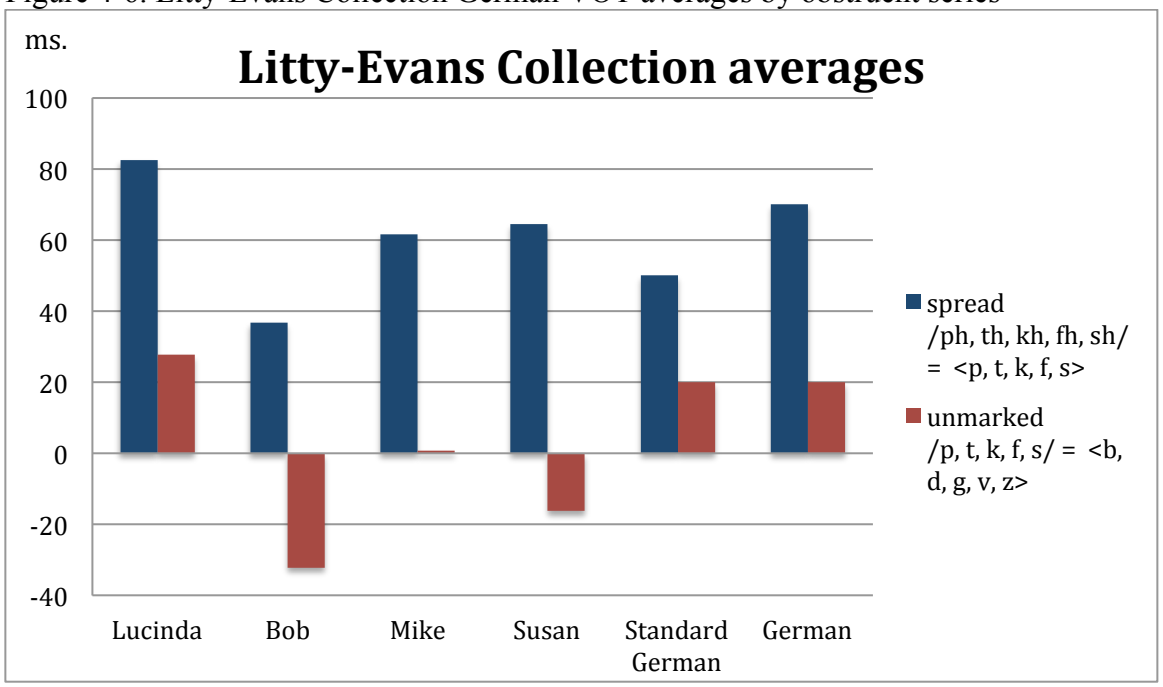
When all tokens are considered together, it is clear that Bob's mean VOTs for /p^h/ and /t^h/ are more than 20 ms. lower than the expected values, while Lucinda's are more than 20 ms. higher than the values given for the "Standard German" values, but within the 20-ms. threshold for "German". What is interesting is that three of the four exhibit negative average VOTs for /p/ tokens, and both men also have negative average VOT for /t/ tokens. Both women have shorter average VOTs for /t^h/ tokens than their /p^h/ or /k^h/ token averages. This is shown in Figure 4-5.

Figure 4-5. Litty-Evans Collection German VOT averages by token



When considering their token average grouped together by spread vs. unmarked (i.e., /k^h/ vs. /k/), both Bob and Susan have negative averages for unmarked consonants, while Mike's average is also very low. These do not appear to be outside of the ranges given in the literature. Lucinda's unmarked average is the closest to what is expected for Standard German. Mike and Susan's spread averages fall within the ranges given for spread consonants, while Lucinda's average is higher and Bob's is lower, but all are within the 20-ms. threshold. This is shown in Figure 4-6.

Figure 4-6. Litty-Evans Collection German VOT averages by obstruent series



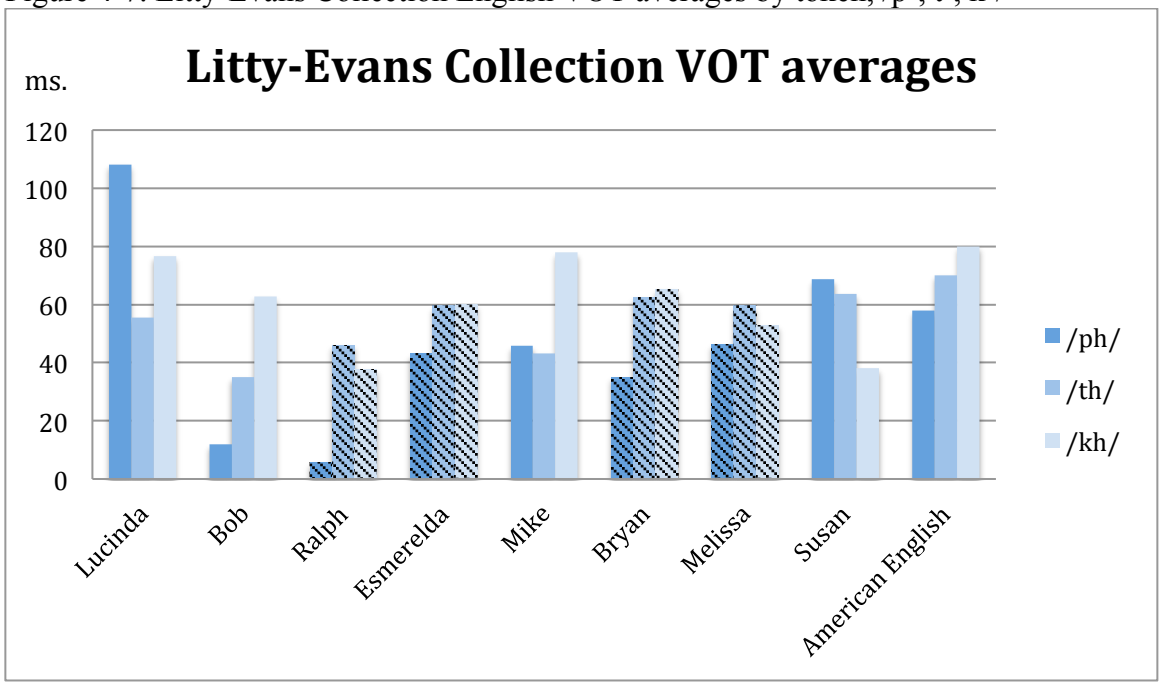
If we consider each pair of spread vs. unmarked consonants we see all speakers exhibit a categorical difference for all three pairs of spread vs. unmarked obstruents. This is shown in Table 4-41.

Table 4-41. Litty-Evans Collection: Obstruent series category distinction: German

Categorical distinction (y/n)	/p^h/ vs. /p/	/t^h/ vs. /t/	/k^h/ vs. /k/
Lucinda	**yes**	**yes**	**yes**
Bob	**yes**	**yes**	n/a
Mike	**yes**	**yes**	**yes**
Susan	**yes**	**yes**	**yes**

Because there are eight speakers Figure 4-7 compares only spread token averages. From this we see that Bob and Ralph have the lowest average VOT for /p^h/ tokens. Lucinda and Susan have the highest averages for /p^h/ tokens, both larger than their /t^h/ token averages, which is unexpected according to place of articulation. For Melissa and Ralph, average /t^h/ tokens are largest, while for Bob, Mike, Esmerelda, and Bryan /k^h/ token averages are the largest. Bob, Ralph, and Bryan's mean VOTs for /p^h/ tokens are more than 20 ms. less than the value given for "American English". Bob, Mike, and Ralph's mean VOTs for /t^h/ tokens are more than 20 ms. less than the value expected. Susan, Ralph, and Melissa's mean VOTs for /k^h/ tokens are more than 20 ms. less than the expected values.

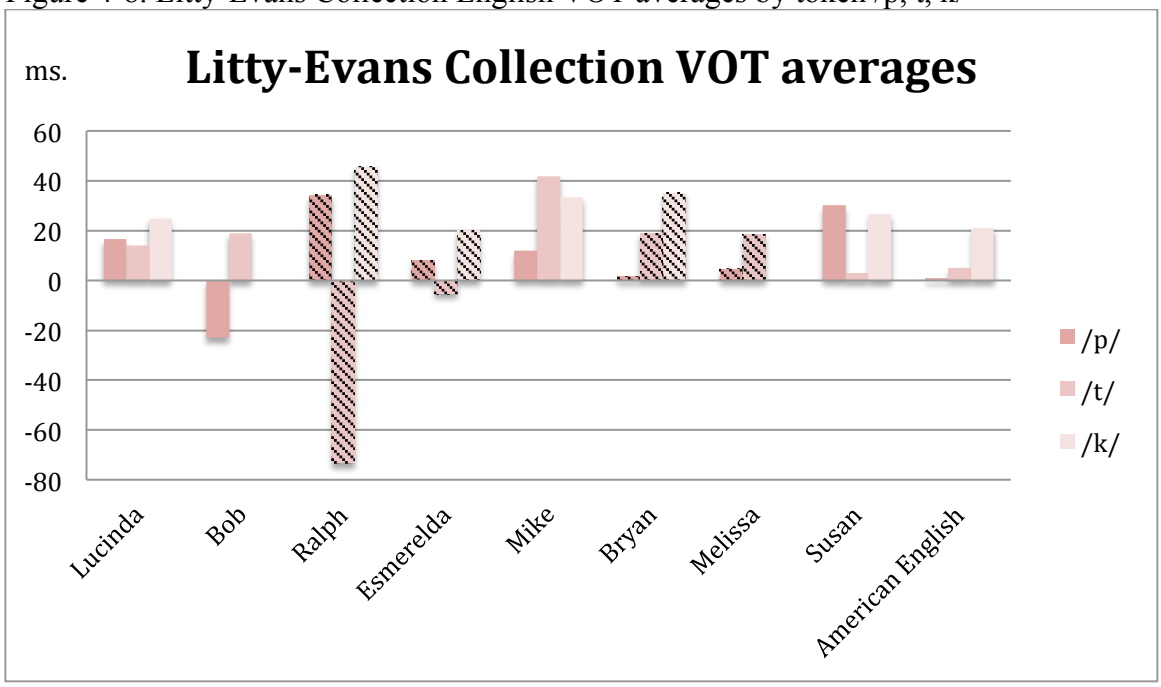
Figure 4-7. Litty-Evans Collection English VOT averages by token, /p^h, t^h, k^h/[25]



For unmarked tokens, Susan, Lucinda, Esmerelda, and Ralph have mean /t/ tokens which are lower than their /p/ and /k/ tokens, suggesting that they do not follow expected patterns for place of articulation. Both Esmerelda and Ralph exhibit negative mean VOTs.

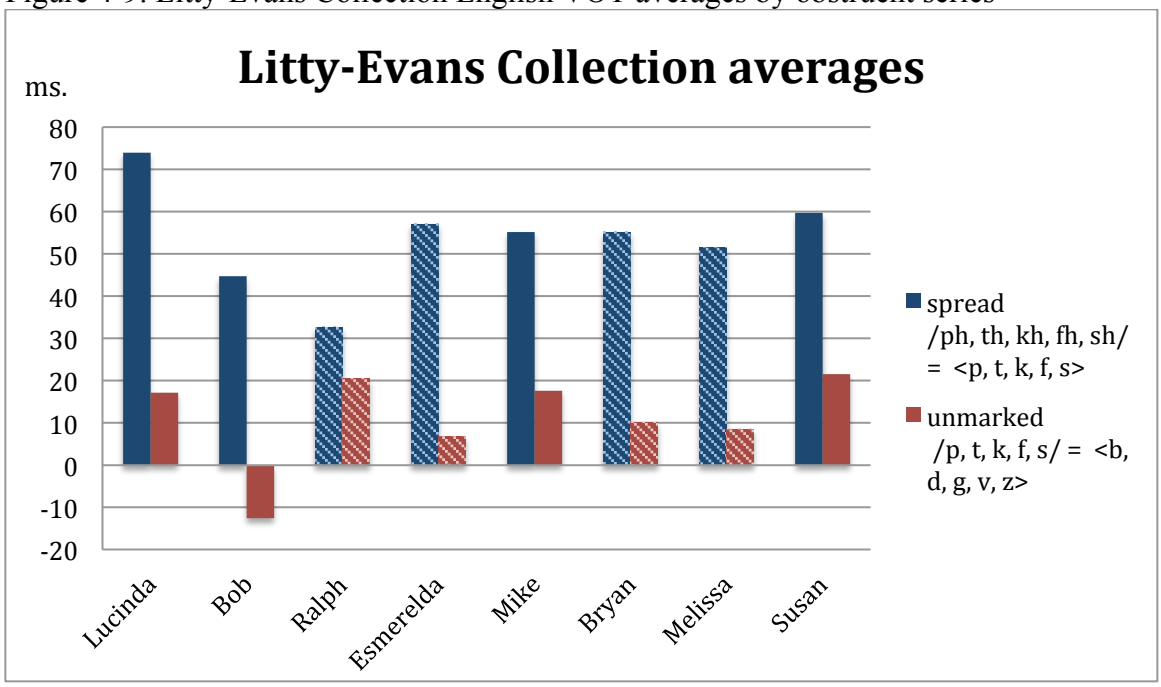
[25] Monolingual English speakers are denoted by striped columns.

Figure 4-8. Litty-Evans Collection English VOT averages by token /p, t, k/



When these speaker's English VOT averages are group by spread vs. unmarked (i.e., /k^h/ vs. /k/) consonants, Bob has a negative VOT for unmarked consonants, but all others are positive. All speakers except Ralph have mean VOTs which differ more than 20 ms. between spread and unmarked obstruents, suggesting that he is the only speaker who does not exhibit a categorical distinction between the two types of obstruents. This is shown in Figure 4-9.

Figure 4-9. Litty-Evans Collection English VOT averages by obstruent series



If we consider each pair of spread vs. unmarked consonants we see all speakers exhibit a categorical difference for /p^h/ vs. /p/ and all but Mike do for /t^h/ vs. /t/ tokens. Two speakers do not exhibit categorical distinctions between /k^h/ vs. /k/ mean VOTs. This is shown in Table 4-42.

Table 4-42. Litty-Evans Collection: Obstruent series category distinction: English

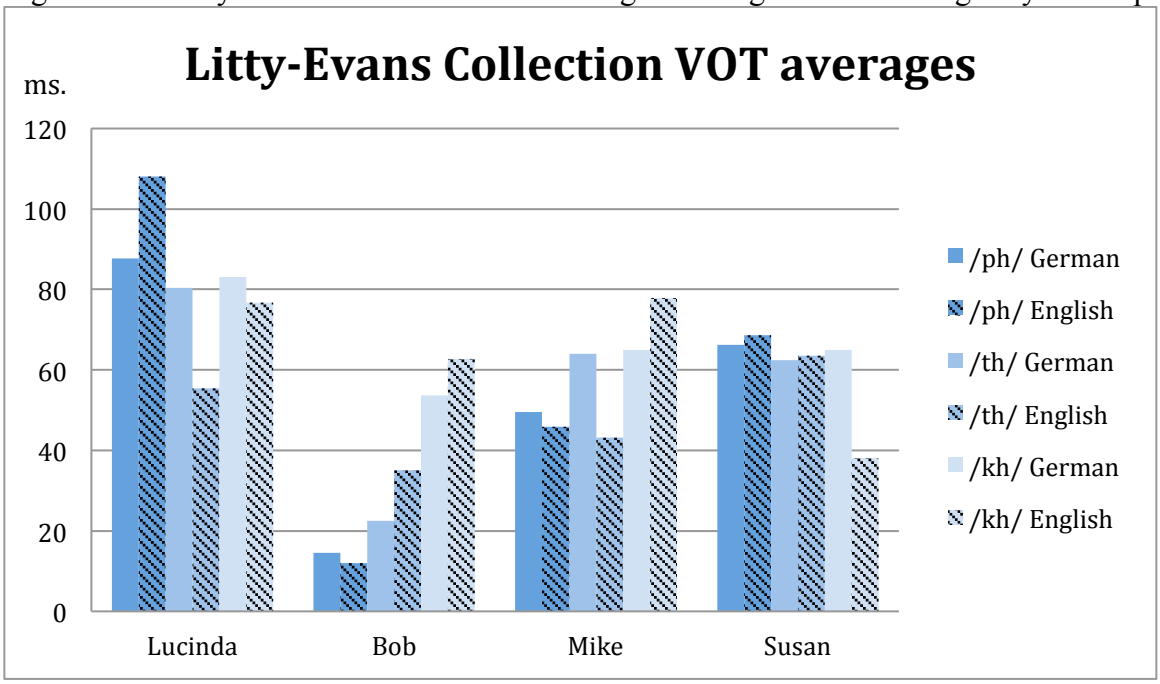
Categorical distinction (y/n)	/p^h/ vs. /p/	/t^h/ vs. /t/	/k^h/ vs. /k/
Lucinda	**yes**	**yes**	**yes**
Bob	**yes**	**yes**	n/a
Ralph	**yes**	**yes**	no
Esmerelda	**yes**	**yes**	**yes**
Mike	**yes**	no	**yes**
Bryan	**yes**	**yes**	**yes**
Melissa	**yes**	**yes**	n/a
Susan	**yes**	**yes**	no

For bilingual German-English speakers I consider each of their VOT averages grouped by individual tokens, first /p^h, t^h, k^h/, then /p, t, k/.

For /p^h, t^h, k^h/ values, there are a couple of things that stand out. First, Bob and Mike have the lowest mean VOTs for /p^h/ in both languages. Mike and Lucinda both have more than 20 ms.

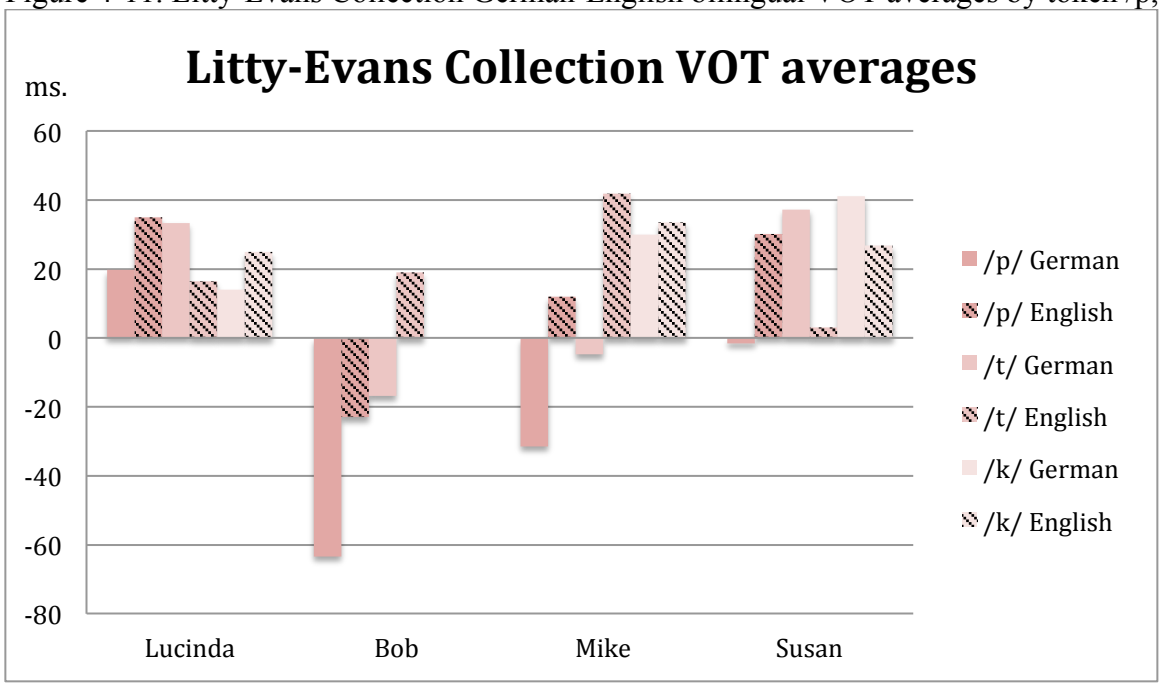
higher /t^h/ averages in German than in English, which is unexpected. Susan and Lucinda both have higher /k^h/ averages in German than in English, which is also unexpected, but only Susan's mean VOTs differ by more then 20 ms. This is shown in Figure 4-10.

Figure 4-10. Litty-Evans Collection German-English bilingual VOT averages by token /p^h, t^h, k^h/



For bilingual German-English speakers, the comparison of their unmarked consonants /p, t, k/ shows that all speakers have lower average VOTs in German than English for /p/ tokens, and for all but Lucinda the difference is more than 20ms., suggesting that their German /p/ tokens are categorically different from their English /p/ tokens. Both men have lower average VOT for /t/ tokens in German than in English, but the women both produce more than double VOT averages for /t/ in German than in English. Bob, Susan, and Mike exhibit mean VOT differences greater than 20 ms. between their /t^h/ vs. /t/ tokens, suggesting that these are also categorically different. This is shown in -4-11.

Figure 4-11. Litty-Evans Collection German-English bilingual VOT averages by token /p, t, k/



4.3 Syllable-initial vernacular forms and VOT conclusions

In §4.1-4.2 I showed the data for VOT for written and audio sources in both German and English. To discuss the results, I break these into separate categories. First I discuss written sources for German and then English in §4.3.1, in §4.3.2 I discuss results for audio sources.

4.3.1 *Written sources results*

For written sources the total number of authors and the total number of authors exhibiting vernacular forms is shown in Table 4-43.

Table 4-43. Written sources summary of vernacular forms and VOT by collection

Collection	Total # of authors	# of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Percent (%) exhibiting vernacular forms
Goth	16	7	43.8%
Krueger	51	11	21.6%
Lomira	7	2	28.6%
OFTHS	2	2	100%
Turn	13	5	38.5%
Total	89	27	30.3%

Table 4-43 shows that in total about 30% of authors exhibited some vernacular forms.

Tables 4-44 and 4-45 show the summary of all written sources according to language, the types of vernacular forms, and the number of authors exhibiting each form. These are ordered from forms exhibited by the largest number of authors to the fewest.

Table 4-44. Written sources summary of vernacular forms and VOT by collection: German

Collection	Total # of authors	# of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	NS form examples	# of authors exhibiting each form
Goth	10	6	<tz> vs. <z>	4
			/t^h/ vs. /t/	3
			<v> vs. <f>	3
			/p^h/ vs. /p/	2
			/k/ vs. /j/	1
			/ts^h/ vs. /s^h/	1
			/f^h/ vs. /f/ vs. /pf^h/	1
Krueger	11	3	/<v> vs. <f>	3
			/$tʃ^h$/ vs. /$ʃ^h$/	1
Lomira	6	2	/p^h/ vs. /p/	1
			/t^h/ vs. /t/	
			/k^h/ vs. /k/	
			/<v> vs. <f>	
			<sch> vs. <sh>	
			/k/ vs. /j/	1
OFTHS	1	1	/p^h/ vs. /p/	1
			<v> vs. <f>	
Turn	5	1	/t^h/ vs. /t/	1
			<v> vs. <f>	
			/s^h/ vs. /s/	
			/pf^h/ vs./f^h/	

Table 4-44 shows that each collection has a different most frequent form, but it also shows that several forms show up across collections, suggesting that these are not individual orthographic errors, but rather are vernacular forms from authors with similar language histories.

Table 4-45. Written sources summary of vernacular forms and VOT by collection: English

Collection	Total # of authors	# of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	NS form examples	# of authors exhibiting each form
Goth	7	1	/t/ vs. /θ/	1
			/tʃʰ/ vs. /sʰ/	
Krueger	48	8	/tʰ/ vs. /θ/	5
			/pʰ/ vs. /p/	2
			/fʰ/ vs. /f/	1
			/kʰ/ vs. /k/	1
			/ʃʰ/ vs. /sʰ/	1
			/k/ vs. /j/	1
			/tʃʰ/ vs. /ʃʰ/	1
			/f/ vs. /w/	1
			<v> vs. <f>	1
Lomira	3	0	N/A	N/A
OFTHS	1	1	/pʰ/ vs. /p/	1
			/fʰ/ vs. /f/	
			/k/ vs. /j/	
Turn	10	4	/tʰ/ vs. /t/	2
			/kʰ/ vs. /k/	2
			/tʰ/ vs. /θ/	2
			/ʃʰ/ vs. /sʰ/	2
			/fʰ/ vs. /f/	1
			/j/ vs. /tʃʰ/	1
			/pʰ/ vs. /fʰ/	1
			<c> vs. <s>	1

Table 4-45 shows similar results in English VOT to German in regards to similarities extended across groups. Vernacular forms with /kʰ/ vs. /k/ are the most frequent, and are exhibited in three of the four collections with English data. Vernacular /tʰ/ vs. /θ/ forms are also present in three of the collections. Authors in three of the collections exhibit vernacular forms in place of /tʃʰ/ namely /j/, /ʃʰ/, and /sʰ/.

4.3.2 *Audio sources results*

Results from the audio sources are divided according to German results, English results, and then a comparison of bilinguals' German vs. English results.

4.3.2.1 German audio results

None of the speakers from the Seifert Collection match the averages given for Standard German. This could be due to many different factors including the time difference between the studies, these audio recordings were made in the field and based off of free speech and not word lists in a speech laboratory, because these speakers are from a different place, individual variation, etc. All but one speaker exhibit larger mean VOTs for /p^h, t^h, k^h/ than /p, t, k/. When considered as obstruent series rather than individual tokens, all but one speaker exhibit longer mean VOTs for spread than unmarked tokens, as is expected for German. Only one speaker exhibits categorical distinctions between spread vs. unmarked tokens.

As with the Seifert Collection, none of the German speakers in the Litty-Evans Collection matched the Standard German mean VOTs given, which is hardly surprising. Two, however, do fall within the 20-ms. threshold for mean values given for German for /p^h, t^h, k^h/ values. These two speakers are the two with the most contact to Standard German speakers today. One also took some German lessons in retirement. Only one speaker exhibits a mean VOT for /k/ tokens that is more than 20 ms. larger than expected. Both of the men exhibit negative mean VOTs for /p/ and /t/ tokens, one of the women exhibits a negative mean VOT for /p/ tokens. When considered as obstruent series, all speakers have longer mean VOTs for spread tokens than for unmarked tokens.

4.3.2.2 English audio results

The Stratman-Thomas results are very different than what was expected based on the averages given for “American English”. Overall the speakers exhibited more than 20 ms. longer VOTs for unmarked tokens than expected (except for Allen, Miller & DeSteno (2003)) and more than 20 ms. shorter mean VOTs for spread tokens, which might suggest that there is less of a

distinction between the categories for these speakers than expected in other regions of the US. Spread tokens were still longer than unmarked tokens. While I expected Mrs. Starr and CYT to pattern differently than the other speakers in the collection due to their varied linguistic histories, only CYT appears to pattern differently than the others. A small difference according to sex appears to be present in the patterning of mean VOTs for /p^h/ < /t^h/ < /k^h/. For the women, especially Ella, mean VOTs for /t^h/ are more than 20 ms. lower than expected. For Mrs. Starr and Ella, /k^h/ averages the largest, while for two of the men /t^h/ averages the largest VOT. The low /t^h/ values for the women might be the precursor to /t^h/ with low VOT in Wisconsin, if the change is beginning in the 1940s already, the women might be leading the change. When considered as obstruent series rather than individual tokens, all speakers exhibit longer mean VOTs for spread tokens than unmarked tokens, as is expected for English, but the difference between groups is less than 20 ms. for CYT, suggesting that he does not exhibit categorical distinctions between spread vs. unmarked obstruents.

English results from the Litty-Evans Collection include data from both bilingual German-English speakers and monolingual English speakers. Three of the speakers, one bilingual male, one monolingual male and one monolingual female, exhibit a standard-like pattern of /p^h/ < /t^h/ < /k^h/. One bilingual female patterns exactly the opposite. The other two bilinguals (one male, one female) have shortest mean VOTs for /t^h/ tokens. The final two monolinguals (one male, one female) exhibit longer mean VOTs for /t^h/ tokens than /p^h/ or /k^h/ tokens. Data for unmarked tokens is less clear than for English spread tokens. Only one speaker, a monolingual male, patterns as expected for place of articulation in American English with /p/ < /t/ < /k/. Three speakers pattern /t/ < /p/ < /k/, and one patterns /t/ < /k/ < /p/. One speaker patterns /p/ < /k/ </t/. Data for the other two speakers is incomplete, neither have /k/ tokens. When considered as

obstruent series, all but one of the speakers exhibit more than 20 ms. longer mean VOTs for spread than unmarked tokens, as expected for American English.

Possible trends for modern English speakers are the lenition of /t^h/ with a lower mean VOT than for /p^h/ tokens. Although unexpected for the region, seven of the modern speakers exhibit prevoicing on /p/ tokens, with four of them exclusively exhibiting prevoicing on /p/ tokens.

4.3.2.3 Bilingual comparison

When each token is compared for German vs. English for the bilingual speakers a couple of things are noteworthy. Two speakers have higher /t^h/ averages in German than in English, which is unexpected and two speakers have higher /k^h/ averages in German than in English, which is also unexpected. The comparison of their unmarked consonants /p, t, k/ shows that all speakers have lower average VOTs in German than English for /p/ tokens and for three of the speakers the difference is more than 20 ms., suggesting these are categorically distinct. Both men have more than 20 ms. lower average VOT for /t/ tokens in German than in English. The women both produce more than double VOT averages for /t/ in German than in English, but only one of these is more than a 20-ms. difference.

I have shown here vernacular orthographic forms in written documents and described VOT values for recordings made in the 1940s and 2013 with both German and English speakers. In chapter 5 I do the same for FON and in chapter 6 I examine possible reasons for these changes over time.

5. Final obstruent neutralization data

This chapter presents the data for FON. Based on the original dialect region of each person or family, it is expected that different patterns of FON should arise. For example, Low German and Ripuarian dialects should mostly retain a distinction between spread vs. unmarked obstruents (exceptions might occur after long vowels), but /p^h, t^h, k^h/ might be lenited in some Low German and Central German dialects (Schirmunski 1962: 330-331). Central German and some Upper German dialects (Upper Franconian, Swabian, and Low Alemannic) have lenited /p^h, t^h, k^h/ so that there is no distinction between spread vs. unmarked stops and words like *leiten* 'to lead' and *leiden* 'to suffer', *Ente* 'duck' and *Ende* 'end' and *Blatt* 'sheet (of paper)' and *platt* 'flat' are pronounced the same (Schirmunski 1962: 332).

This chapter includes both written and audio data sources. In §5.1 I focus on the written sources and consider each collection separately in §5.1-5.5. Then I turn to the audio data in §5.2 with the Seifert Collection in (§5.2.1), then the Stratman-Thomas Collection in §5.2.2, and finally the Litty-Evans Collection in §5.2.3. In §5.3 I summarize the findings.

5.1 Written sources

Written sources are examined collection by collection, as in chapter 4.

5.1.1 *Goth Collection*

Documents for the Goth Collection are the same as those in Table 4-1 in chapter 4.1.1. Of the 16 authors, 10 exhibit vernacular FON forms in their writing. These are shown in Table 5-1.

Table 5-1. Goth Collection authors with syllable-final vernacular forms

Name	Language	/p^{h}/ vs. /p/ *Baptist* as *Babtist*	/t^{h}/ vs. /t/ *verdient* as *verdind* "earns"	/k^{h}/ vs. /k/ *baks* for *bugs*	/f^{h}/ vs. /f/ *Stiefens* for *Stevens*	/s^{h}/ vs. /s/ *frose* for *froze*	other
1. Johann Soltow	German		X				<g> vs. <ch> <s> vs. <ß> <t> vs. <∅>
2. Friedrich Schmalfuß	German			X		X	<s> vs. <ß>
3. Charles Stolte	German		X			X	<s> vs. <z> vs. <ß> <g> vs. <ch> <b> vs. <f> <ch> vs. <ck> <tz> vs. <tzt>
4. William J. Stolte	German		X		X	X	<g> vs. <ch> <s> vs. <z> vs. <ß> <tz> vs. <tzt> <t> vs. <∅>
5. May Bailey Stolte	English				X		<tson> vs. <tion>
6. Max End	German	X					<-bt> vs. <-pt>
7. Theona End	German		X				
8. W.J. Wittenburg	German		X				<g> vs. <ch>
9. Sophie Goth	English		X				
11. Maria Frederic	German		X		X		<s> vs. <ss>

Table 5-1 shows that none of these authors exhibit vernacular forms for /tʃ^{h}/ vs. /tʃ/, but all other forms are present. Two of these authors write in English and eight write in German. For the English authors only one exhibits /t^{h}/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms, while six of the German authors exhibit vernacular forms for the same pair. The other English author exhibits vernacular forms of

/f^{h}/ vs. /f/ which is a possible indication of FON. For the other German authors vernacular forms for /k^{h}/ vs. /k/ and /p^{h}/ vs. /p/ are each only exhibited by one author apiece. Three of the ten exhibit vernacular forms for /s^{h}/ vs. /s/. Orthographic vernacular forms are present in the writings of every author but one. Two of the authors frequently leave final /t^{h}/ off of their writing, which may be suggestive of FON. Four of the German authors exhibit vernacular forms when distinguishing between <s> and <ß>, while the <ß> often represents /s^{h}/, the use of <s> (which is indicative of /s/ in German) in its place might be suggestive of a lack of distinction or FON. Using <g> for <ch> is also common, suggesting that these authors speak varieties of German that spirantize /k/.

5.1.2 *Krueger Collection*

Documents for the Krueger Collection are the same as those in Table 4-3 in chapter 4.1.2. Of the 51 authors, 20 exhibit vernacular FON forms in their writing. These are shown in Table 5-2.

Table 5-2. Krueger Collection authors with syllable-final vernacular forms

Name	Language	/p^{h}/ vs. /p/ *Baptist* as *Babtist*	/t^{h}/ vs. /t/ *verdient* as *verdind* "earns"	/k^{h}/ vs. /k/ *baks* for *bugs*	/f^{h}/ vs. /f/ *Stiefens* for *Stevens*	/s^{h}/ vs. /s/ *frose* for *froze*	other
3. Albert Goetsch	English				X	X	
4. August Krueger	German						<dt> vs. <t>
	English				X		<c> vs. <s> <t> vs. <-ed> <c> vs. <k>
5. Charlotte Goetsch	German						<g> vs. <ch>
6. Ernestina Goetsch	English		X				<f> vs. <ph> <p> vs. <ph> <t> vs. <ght> <c> vs. <s> <sch> vs. <sh>

15. Wilhelm F. Goetsch	German						<g> vs. <ch>
16. Hanna Gericke Goetsch	English		X				
18. Henry Krueger	German		X				
19. William E. Goetsch	English		X				
20. Susie Hasenfliker	English					X	
23. Mary Volkmann	English			X			
24. Fred Volkmann	English	X			X		<c> vs. <s> <ch> vs. <ck>
27. Alexander Krueger	English					X	
29. August Habel	English						$<t^h>$ vs. <∅>
30. Lillian Krueger	English						<c> vs. <s>
36. Paul Goetsch	English				X		
40. Katharina Renk	English		X				<-ed> vs. <∅>
41. Jennie Krueger	English			X			
42. F.J. Ewald	German		X				<h> vs. <ch> <g> vs. <ch>
45. Edgar Krueger	English				X		
48. Auguste Starke	English				X		<ed> vs. <t> <sh> vs. <ch>

Only five of the authors who exhibit vernacular forms write in German. Two of those exhibit vernacular /t^h/ vs. /t/ forms. Two of the other three exhibit orthographic vernacular forms for <g> for <ch> which suggests these authors speak varieties of German that spirantize /k/. Of the 15 English authors who exhibit vernacular forms, six exhibit /f^h/ vs. /f/ vernacular forms which suggests a lack of categorical distinction between the two and is indicative of FON. Two authors

exhibit final /k^h/ vs. /k/ vernacular forms, four exhibit vernacular /t^h/ vs. /t/ forms, and one exhibits /p^h/ vs. /p/ vernacular forms, all of which are suggestive of FON. Of the English authors, only two exhibit more than one kind of vernacular form suggestive of FON.

5.1.3 *Lomira Collection*

Of the seven authors in the Lomira Collection (see Table 4-5 for details), five exhibit vernacular forms which may be indicative of FON. These are shown in Table 5-3.

Table 5-3. Lomira Collection authors with syllable-final vernacular forms

Name	Language	/p^h/ vs. /p/ *Baptist* as *Babtist*	/t^h/ vs. /t/ *verdient* as *verdind* "earns"	/k^h/ vs. /k/ *baks* for *bugs*	/f^h/ vs. /f/ *Stiefens* for *Stevens*	/s^h/ vs. /s/ *frose* for *froze*	other
1. Phillip Schneider	German		X		X	X	<g> vs. <ch> <mbt> vs. <md> <h> vs. <ch>
2. A.G. Fritsche	German		X			X	
4. Gust. S. Klaetsch	English		X				
6. Gustav Fritsche	German		X				
7. C. Kuschke	German					X	<g> vs. <ch>

Of these five authors, four write in German and one writes in English. The author who writes in English exhibits /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms, as do three of the German authors. Three of the German authors exhibit /s^h/ vs. /s/ vernacular final forms. One exhibits /f^h/ vs. /f/ vernacular forms. All of these are suggestive of FON. Two of the German authors also exhibit orthographic vernacular forms for <g> for <ch> which suggests these authors speak varieties of German that spirantize /k/.

5.1.4 *OFTHS Collection*

Both of the authors from the OFTHS Collection (see chapter 4.1.4) exhibit vernacular final forms suggestive of FON. They are shown in Table 5-4.

Table 5-4. OFTHS Collection authors with syllable-final vernacular forms

Name	Language	/p^{h}/ vs. /p/ *Baptist* as *Babtist*	/t^{h}/ vs. /t/ *verdient* as *verdind* "earns"	/k^{h}/ vs. /k/ *baks* for *bugs*	/f^{h}/ vs. /f/ *Stiefens* for *Stevens*	/s^{h}/ vs. /s/ *frose* for *froze*	other
1. Christian Diehl	German		X		X	X	<g> vs. <ch> <mbt> vs. <md>
2. Peter Beaver	English				X		

Diehl's German exhibits FON. He also exhibits orthographic vernacular forms for <g> for <ch> which suggests he spoke a variety of German that spirantizes /k/. Beaver's English also exhibits vernacular forms for /f^{h}/ vs. /f/ tokens which suggest FON.

5.1.5 *Turn Collection*

Ten of the thirteen authors in the Turn Collection (see §4.1.5) exhibit vernacular final forms suggestive of FON. These are shown in Table 5-5.

Table 5-5. Turn Collection authors with syllable-final vernacular forms

Name	Language	/p^h/ vs. /p/ *Baptist* as *Babtist*	/t^h/ vs. /t/ *verdient* as *verdind* "earns"	/k^h/ vs. /k/ *baks* for *bugs*	/f^h/ vs. /f/ *Stiefens* for *Stevens*	/s^h/ vs. /s/ *frose* for *froze*	other
2. Carl Friese	English		X		X		<c> vs. <s>
3. Marie Heidtmann	English				X		<c> vs. <s>
4. William Hoffman	English		X	X	X	X	<t> vs. <th> <c> vs. <s> <d> vs. <∅> <t> vs. <ce>
5. Ted Schlegel	English					X	
6. Walter Heidtmann	English		X				<c> vs. <s>
7. Christiane Heidtmann "Mutter"	German						<g> vs. <ch>
9. Alvina Schlegel	English				X		<t> vs. <∅>
10. Anna Wallschlager Hoffman	English		X				
12. Ernest Heidtmann	German						<g> vs. <ch>
13. Emma Heidtmann	German		X				<g> vs. <ch>

All three of the German authors here exhibit vernacular forms for <g> for <ch> which suggests these authors speak varieties of German that spirantize medial and final /k/[26], namely the Central German dialects and some of the Upper German dialects (Alsatian, Upper Franconian, North Bavarian, parts of Central Bavarian) (Schirmunski 1962: 309). Four of the English authors and one of the German authors exhibit vernacular forms for /t^h/ vs. /t/. Four of the English authors

[26] /k/ can spirantize between two vowels, betweeens a liquid and a following vowel, word finally following a liquid or a vowel (Schirmunski 1962: 302).

also exhibit /f^h/ vs. /f/ vernacular forms, suggesting FON. One English author exhibits /s^h/ vs. /s/ vernacular forms. Interesting to note is that William exhibits vernacular forms on several different features, suggesting that for him FON is not limited to one or two environments, but is likely more widespread.

5.1.6 *Written Sources FON summary*

These collections exhibit several of the same vernacular forms, suggesting that they are less likely due to chance and more likely due to FON. These are shown in Table 5-6.

Table 5-6. Summary of features exhibited in vernacular forms for each collection: German

Collection	/p^h/ vs. /p/ *Baptist* as *Babtist*	/t^h/ vs. /t/ *verdient* as *verdind* "earns"	/k^h/ vs. /k/ *baks* for *bugs*	/f^h/ vs. /f/ *Stiefens* for *Stevens*	/s^h/ vs. /s/ *frose* for *froze*	other	Total # of forms
Goth	X	X	X	X	X	<g> vs. <ch> <s> vs. <z> vs. <ß> <b> vs. <f> <ch> vs. <ck> <tz> vs. <tzt> <t> vs. <∅>	11
Krueger		X				<g> vs. <ch> <dt> vs. <t>	2
Lomira		X		X	X	<g> vs. <ch> <mbt> vs. <md> <h> vs. <ch>	6
OFTHS		X		X	X	<g> vs. <ch> <mbt> vs. <md>	5
Turn		X				<g> vs. <ch>	2
Total collections which exhibit each form:	1	5	1	3	3	5	

Table 5-6 shows that there are many similarities across the different collections. All of the collections have German authors with vernacular /t^h/ vs. /t/ forms and they all have authors with

vernacular <g> vs. <ch> forms. German authors from three of the collections exhibit vernacular forms of /f^{h}/ vs. /f/ and /s^{h}/ vs. /s/. Only one collection each exhibits /k^{h}/ vs. /k/ and /p^{h}/ vs. /p/ vernacular forms. Authors from the Goth Collection exhibit vernacular forms in all categories and authors form the OFTHS Collection exhibit four of the five vernacular types. Authors from Lomira exhibit three of the types. Authors form the Turn and Krueger Collections both only exhibit /t^{h}/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms.

Table 5-7. Summary of features exhibited in vernacular forms for each collection: English

Collection	/p^{h}/ vs. /p/ *Baptist* as *Babtist*	/t^{h}/ vs. /t/ *verdient* as *verdind* "earns"	/k^{h}/ vs. /k/ *baks* for *bugs*	/f^{h}/ vs. /f/ *Stiefens* for *Stevens*	/s^{h}/ vs. /s/ *frose* for *froze*	other	Total # of forms
Goth		X		X		<tson> vs. <tion>	3
Krueger	X	X	X	X	X	<ed> vs. <t> <sh> vs. <ch> vs. <sch> <-ed> vs. <∅> <c> vs. <s> <t^{h}> vs. <∅> <ch> vs. <ck> vs. <c> <f> vs. <ph> <p> vs. <ph> <t> vs. <ght>	14
Lomira		X					1
OFTHS				X			1
Turn		X	X	X	X	<t> vs. <∅> <t> vs. <th> <c> vs. <s> <d> vs. <∅> <t> vs. <ce>	9
Total collections which exhibit each form	1	4	2	4	2	3	

Table 5-7 shows in which collections each English vernacular forms were present. Authors writing in English from four of the collections exhibit vernacular forms for /t^h/ vs. /t/ and /f^h/ vs. /f/ tokens. Vernacular forms for /s^h/ vs. /s/ and /k^h/ vs. /k/ are exhibited by authors from two collections each. Only one collection exhibits vernacular forms for /p^h/ vs. /p/. These results are more varied than the German FON vernacular results, suggesting that there is more variation in the written English than in the German. Authors from the Turn and Krueger Collections exhibit vernacular forms for all types, OFTHS and Goth Collections exhibit vernacular forms for two types each and the Lomira author exhibits only one type. Vernacular /t^h/ vs. /t/ and /f^h/ vs. /f/ forms are exhibited by authors in four collections. Vernacular /p^h/ vs. /p/ forms are exhibited by authors in one collection, and vernacular /k^h/ vs. /k/ and /s^h/ vs. /s/ forms are exhibited in only two of the collections.

The greater variation in the English than in the German may be due to authors imposing German-like FON in their English writing. This could also be because authors are renegotiating their German vs. English phonologies.

5.2 Audio sources

Audio sources used here are the same as those used for VOT in chapter 4.2. For each speaker measurements of vowel length, consonant length, ratio of vowel to consonant and percent of pulsing to consonant duration have been taken and are given for each individual and then are discussed for each collection as a group. Values are given in milliseconds (ms.) unless otherwise stated.

For each of the collections the same applies: If German devoicing is present, vowels should not lengthen before unmarked obstruents. For English tokens, the duration of the preceding vowel should be increased before marked tokens. The ratio of vowel to consonant

duration should be approximately 1.5 times longer for unmarked stops than for [spread] stops (Chen 1970; Purnell et al. 2005a, b), for Watertown speakers this was approximately 50 ms., so that should be expected for these speakers as well. I use the data in Table 5-8 for comparisons with each collection (Purnell et al. 2005a, b; Delahanty 2011).

Table 5-8. Mean American English, Watertown English, and German FON values

Speaker	Token Type	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean of % pulsing to consonant ratio
General American English (GAE)	spread /p^h, t^h, k^h, f^h, s^h/ = <p, t, k, f, s>	101	100	1.41	0.36
	unmarked /p, t, k, f, s/ = <b, d, g, v, z>	157	102	1.80	0.69
German	spread	89	76	1.33	0.43
	unmarked	115	77	1.83	0.49
Watertown English	spread	110	n/a	0.26	n/a
	unmarked	162	n/a	0.77	n/a

5.2.1 *Seifert Collection: 1945-1949*

The recordings analyzed here are the same as in chapter 4.2.1. As with VOT, I discuss each of their results individually before moving on to the whole group.

Table 5-9. Eugene FON values

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of % pulsing to consonant ratio
German	spread /p^h, t^h, k^h, f^h, s^h/ = <p, t, k, f, s>	41	88.33	99.59	0.89	8.12	0.08
	unmarked /p, t, k, f, s/ = <b, d, g, v, z>	2	59.8	48	1.25	0	0

Of his 43 tokens, Eugene exhibits pulsing on only seven, four ending in <s> *is* "is", *bis* "until", and *das* "that" twice, and two ending in <t> *hat* "had" and *weit* "far". Six of these might be explained by preceding a sonorant. The mean vowel to consonant ratio is lower for both spread (44%) and unmarked (8%) tokens than expected for German. The mean pulsing to consonant ratio for spread is also lower (35%) than expected, suggesting more neutralization.

Table 5-10. Anna M. FON values

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of % pulsing to consonant ratio
German	spread /p^h, t^h, k^h, f^h, s^h/ = <p, t, k, f, s>	3	138.3	62.7	2.21	20.6	0.33
	unmarked /p, t, k, f, s/ = <b, d, g, v, z>	2	137.7	121.85	1.13	78.65	0.65

Anna exhibits more than 50% pulsing on four of her five fortis tokens, suggesting that she does not exhibit *Auslautverhärtung.* For Anna, the mean vowel to consonant ratio for spread tokens is higher (88%) than expected, rather than 1.5 times longer, her average vowels preceding spread obstruents are more than twice as long as the following consonant. For unmarked tokens, Anna's mean vowel to consonant ratio is 70% lower than expected. Mean pulsing to consonant ratio for spread tokens is less (10%) than expected and for unmarked tokens it is larger (16%).

Table 5-11. Norbert FON values

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of % pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread /p^h, t^h, $k^{h,}$ f^h, s^h/ = <p, t, k, f, s>	2	69.6	92.45	0.75	13	0.14
	unmarked /p, t, k, f, s/ = <b, d, g, v, z>	1	144	86.4	1.67	0	0
German	spread	8	111.3	119.14	0.93	8.68	0.07
	unmarked	2	66.8	62.85	1.06	32	0.51

Two of Norbert's German spread tokens exhibit pulsing, *Monat* "month", *Stadt* "city". The mean vowel to consonant ratios for Norbert's German tokens are both smaller than expected (spread 40% less, unmarked 77% less), as is his mean pulsing to consonant ratios for spread consonants (36% less). His mean pulsing to consonant ratio for unmarked consonants is similar (2% greater) to that of the German given.

Of his English fortis tokens, only one exhibits pulsing, *Manitowoc*. Norbert's mean vowel to consonant ratio for spread tokens is less (66%) than expected for GAE, but his unmarked token is relatively close (13% less). The mean pulsing to consonant ratios for spread and unmarked are both lower than expected (36% and 49% less, respectively).

Table 5-12. William M. FON values

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of % pulsing to consonant ratio
German	spread /p^h, t^h, $k^{h,}$ f^h, s^h/ = <p, t, k, f, s>	15	98.58	95.15	1.04	22.4	0.24
	unmarked /p, t, k, f, s/ = <b, d, g, v, z>	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

William exhibits pulsing on six tokens, two ending in <t> *Zeit* "time", *gehat* "had", two ending in <s> *Maus* "mouse", *das* "that", and two ending in <p> *Kip* "shock, of hay, e.g.", *Köp* "shocks, of hay, e.g.". William's mean vowel to consonant ratio for spread tokens is less than expected for German (29% lower) and his mean pulsing to consonant ratio for spread tokens is 19% less than the expected value.

5.2.1.1 Seifert Collection FON conclusions

Figure 5-1 shows the mean vowel duration for each of the speakers from the Seifert Collection. Only Anna patterns as expected for a German speaker according to the literature, showing virtually no vowel length difference whether preceding a spread or unmarked consonant (however, this is different than what is given as our German control speaker). Both Eugene and Norbert produce the opposite of what is expected.

Figure 5-1. Seifert Collection mean vowel duration

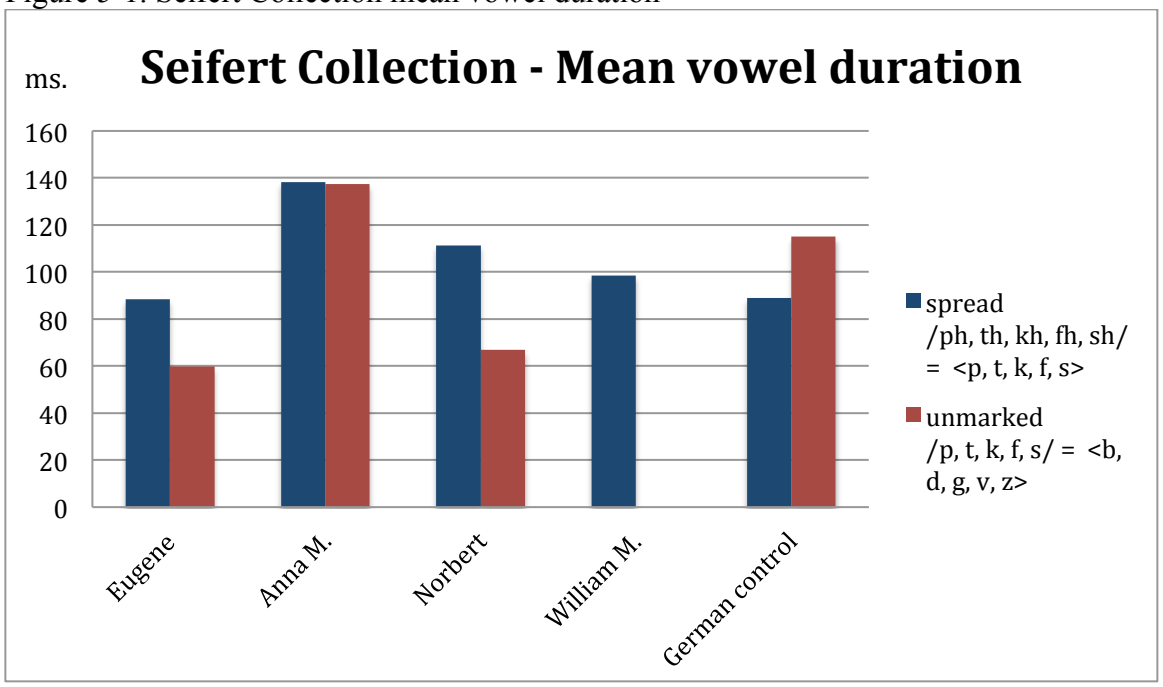


Figure 5-2 shows the mean consonant duration for each speaker. While our German control speaker has a similar duration for consonants, both Eugene and Norbert have much longer durations for spread consonants (50-60 ms.), while Anna has a longer mean duration for unmarked consonants (59 ms.).

Figure 5-2. Seifert Collection mean consonant duration

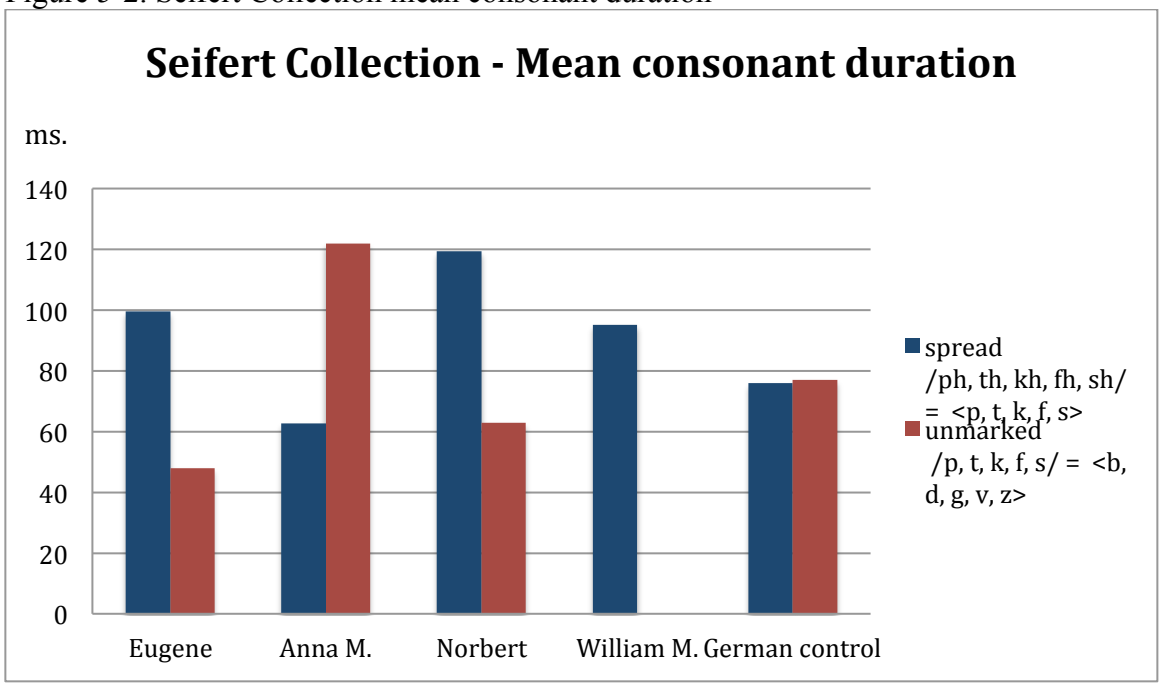


Figure 5-3 shows the percentage of difference for each German speaker from the mean given for "German", where the x-axis, or 0 is equal to the expected German values. Only Anna's spread token mean is greater than what was expected. All others are below.

Figure 5-3. Seifert Collection mean vowel to consonant ratio

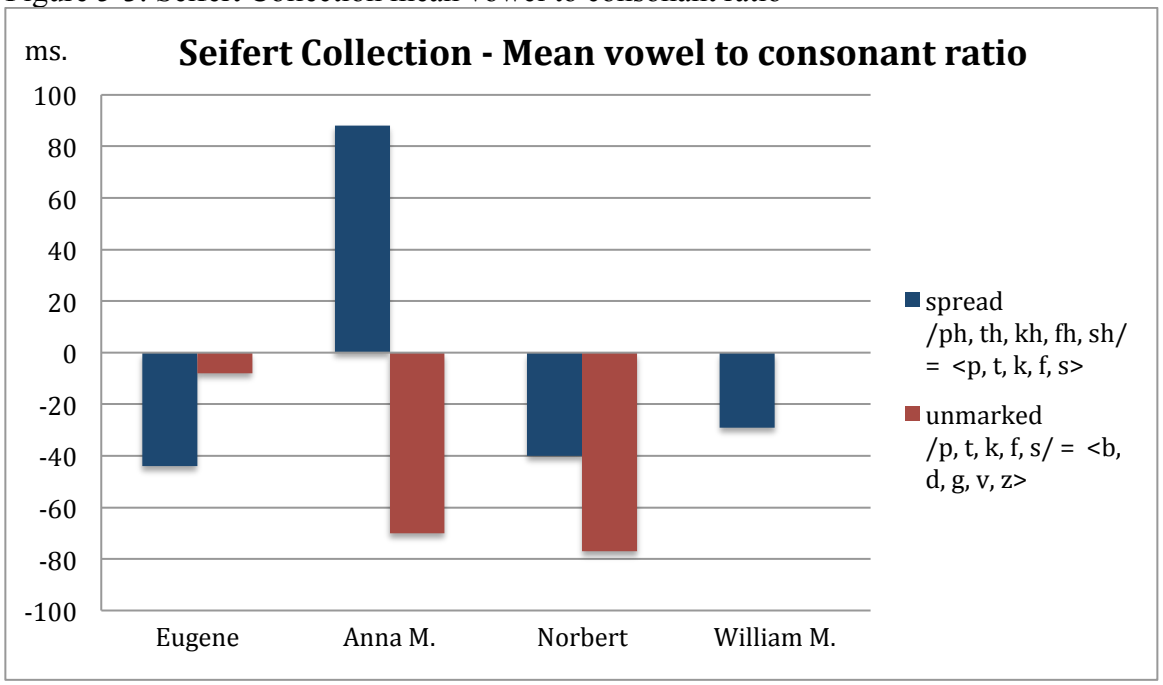
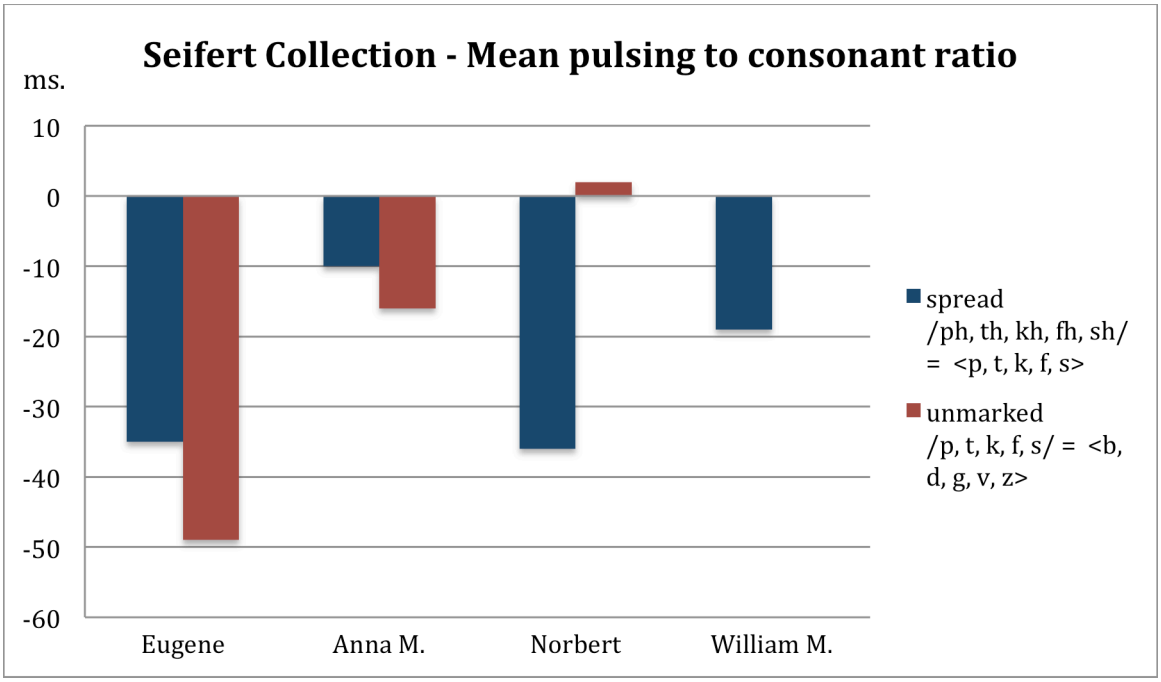


Figure 5-4 shows the mean pulsing to consonant ratios for each speaker in the Seifert Collection as compared to the German expected values. All of those given are less than expected, except for Norbert's unmarked token mean.

Figure 5-4. Seifert Collection mean pulsing to consonant ratio



5.2.2 *Stratman-Thomas Collection: 1937-1946*

Recordings analyzed here are the same as in chapter 4.2.2. As with the Seifert Collection, I address each speaker individually before considering the group as a whole.

Table 5-13. Caspar FON values

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of % pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread /p^h, t^h, k^h, f^h, s^h/ = <p, t, k, f, s>	2	100.4	114.95	0.87	0	0
	unmarked /p, t, k, f, s/ = <b, d, g, v, z>	3	188.57	99.33	1.9	54.4	0.55

Caspar's fortis tokens exhibit no pulsing while his lenis tokens all exhibit some pulsing. All three lenis tokens end in <s>, *was*, twice and *toys*, both which are expected as /z/. Caspar's mean vowel to consonant ratio for spread is lower (54%) than expected, but his mean vowel to consonant ratio for marked tokens is similar (10% higher) to what is expected for GAE. His mean pulsing to consonant ratios are both lower than expected (36% and 14%).

Table 5-14. Ella FON values

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of % pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread /p^h, t^h, k^h, f^h, s^h/ = <p, t, k, f, s>	9	91.54	92.76	0.99	17.9	0.19
	unmarked /p, t, k, f, s/ = <b, d, g, v, z>	4	107.53	44.88	2.4	44.88	1

Ella exhibits pulsing on four of her spread tokens, two of which might be explained by preceding sonorants. Of her unmarked tokens, Ella exhibits 100% pulsing in all, *glad, proud,* and *was*

twice. Ella's mean vowel to consonant ratio is lower than expected for spread tokens (42%) and higher (60%) for unmarked tokens. Her mean pulsing to consonant ratio is lower (17%) for spread tokens and higher (31%) for unmarked.

Table 5-15. CYT FON values

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of % pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread /p^h, t^h, k^h, f^h, s^h/ = <p, t, k, f, s>	22	118.25	76.59	1.54	31.4	0.41
	unmarked /p, t, k, f, s/ = <b, d, g, v, z>	19	144.67	77.34	1.87	58.87	0.76

CYT exhibits pulsing on most tokens, 12 of the spread and 17 of the marked tokens. There is no obvious pattern as to which are exhibiting pulsing or not. CYT's mean vowel to consonant ratio for both spread and unmarked tokens are similar to those for GAE (13% and 7% higher, respectively), as are his mean pulsing to consonant ratios (5% and 7% higher, respectively).

Table 5-16. Mrs. Starr FON values

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of % pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread /p^h, t^h, k^h, f^h, s^h/ = <p, t, k, f, s>	6	98.82	75.5	1.31	25.52	0.34
	unmarked /p, t, k, f, s/ = <b, d, g, v, z>	2	147.05	46.65	3.15	0	0

Mrs. Starr exhibits pulsing on three of six fortis tokens, only one of which might be explained by preceding an unmarked obstruent. She does, however, not exhibit any pulsing on her two unmarked consonants. Mrs. Starr's mean vowel to consonant ratio for spread tokens is 10% less than expected for GAE, but her mean vowel to consonant ratio for unmarked tokens is much longer (135%), perhaps an influence from French. Her mean pulsing to consonant ratio for spread tokens is only 2% less than expected, but her mean pulsing to consonant ratio for unmarked tokens is 69% less.

5.2.2.1 Stratman-Thomas Collection FON conclusions[27]

Figure 5-5 shows the mean vowel duration for all speakers from the Stratman-Thomas Collection, as well as Norbert's English values. All of these speakers have longer vowel durations before unmarked than spread tokens, as expected. Norbert and Caspar both have larger differences between them than expected (74-88 ms.). Ella has the least difference between the two, perhaps patterning more like the German control.

[27] Norbert's English values will also be considered here.

Figure 5-5. Stratman-Thomas Collection mean vowel duration

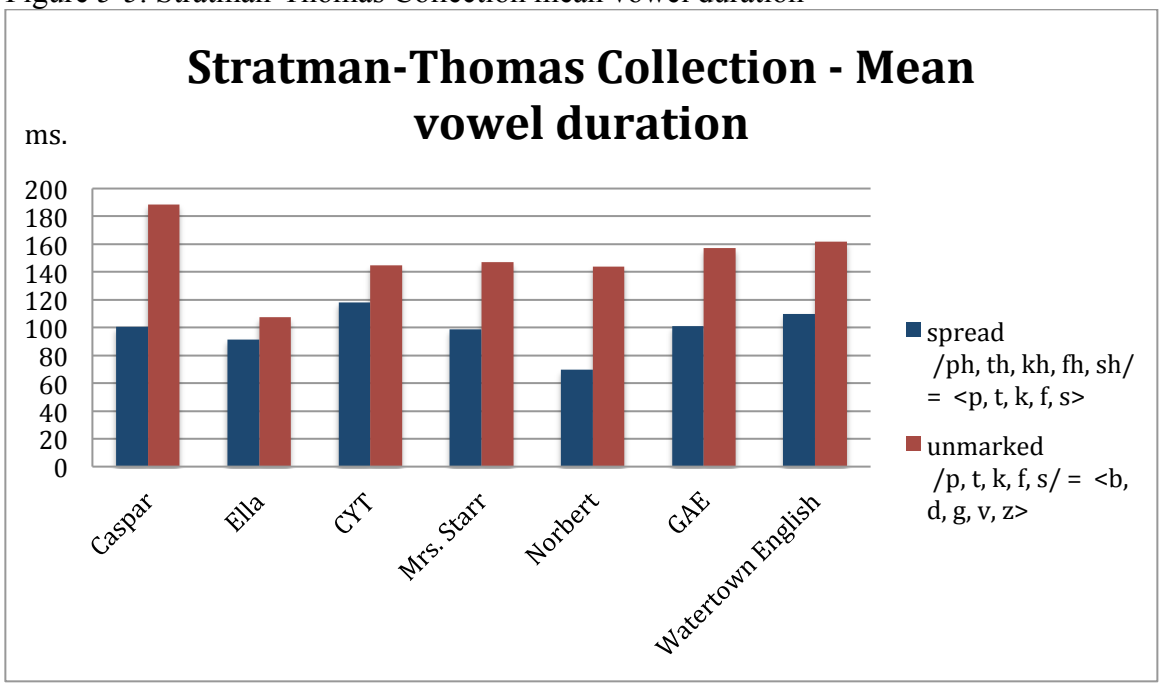


Figure 5-5 shows the mean consonant duration. The only speaker who patterns like the GAE control is CYT, all of the others have longer mean durations for spread consonants than unmarked consonants. For both of the women, the difference ranges from 28-48 ms., which is longer than for the men who have only 6-15 ms. difference between the two.

Figure 5-6. Stratman-Thomas Collection mean consonant duration

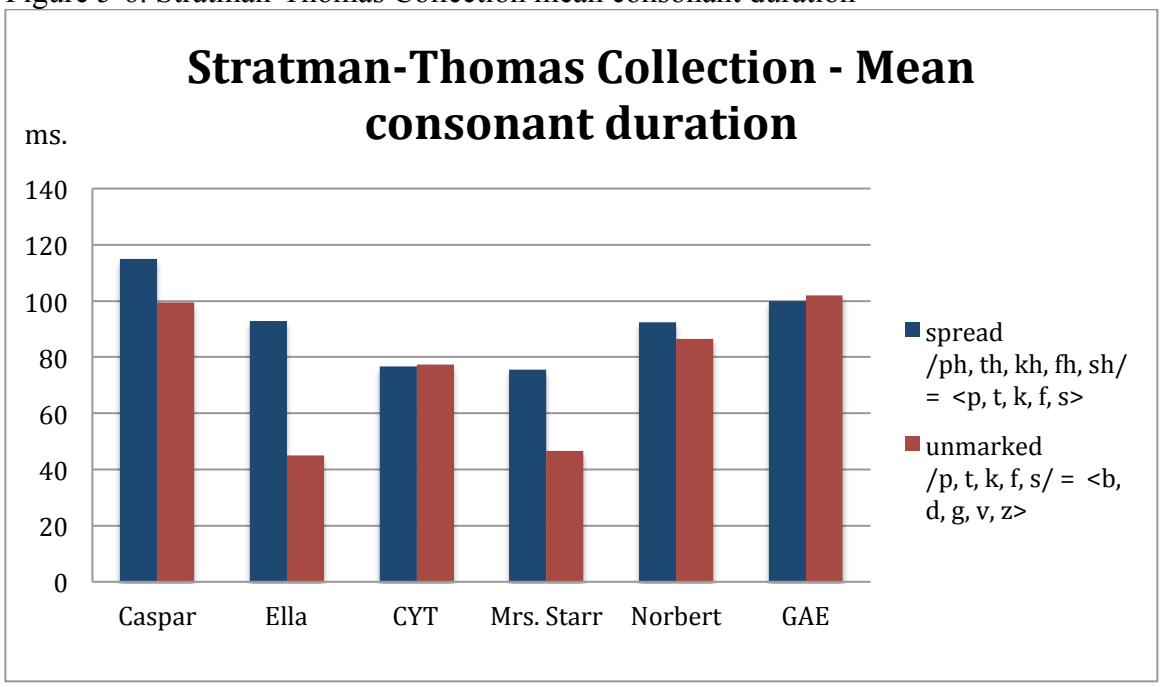


Figure 5-7 shows the mean vowel to consonant ratios for the group. All of the speakers have lower mean vowel to consonant ratios for spread tokens than given for GAE, except CYT. All of the speakers have higher mean vowel to consonant ratios for unmarked tokens than given for GAE, except Norbert. Mrs. Starr's mean vowel to consonant ratio for unmarked consonants is more than double the next longest, perhaps related to her contact with French. Mrs. Starr and Ella both exhibit longer mean vowel to consonant ratios for unmarked tokens than the men.

Figure 5-7. Stratman-Thomas Collection mean vowel to consonant ratio

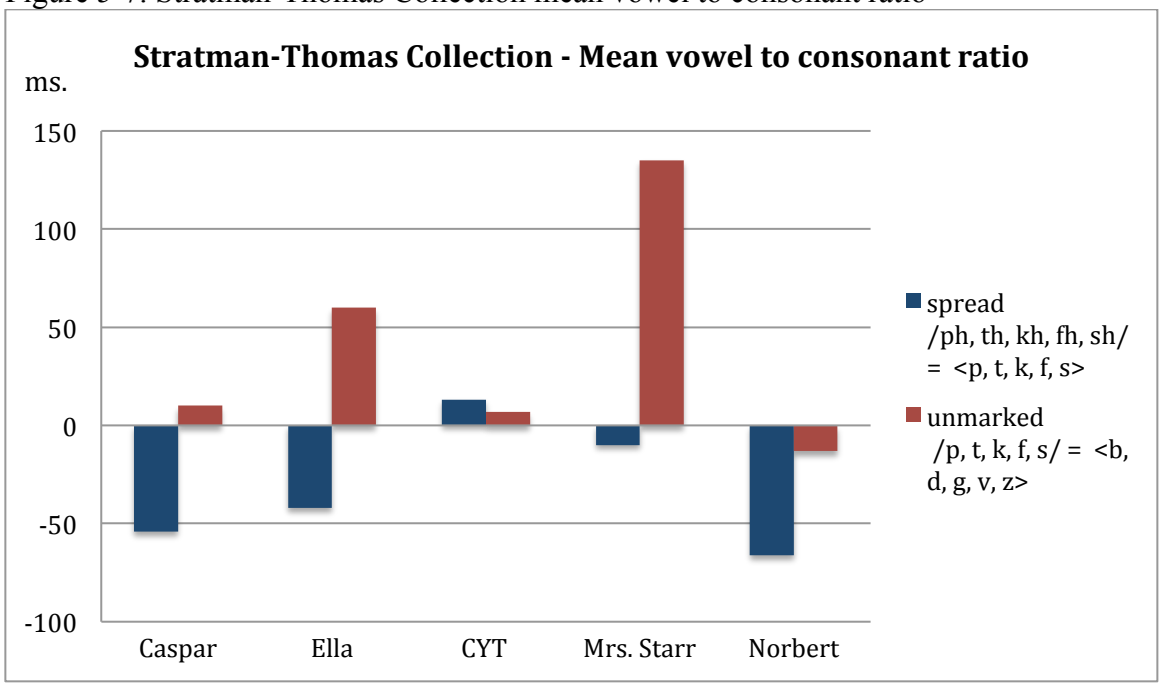
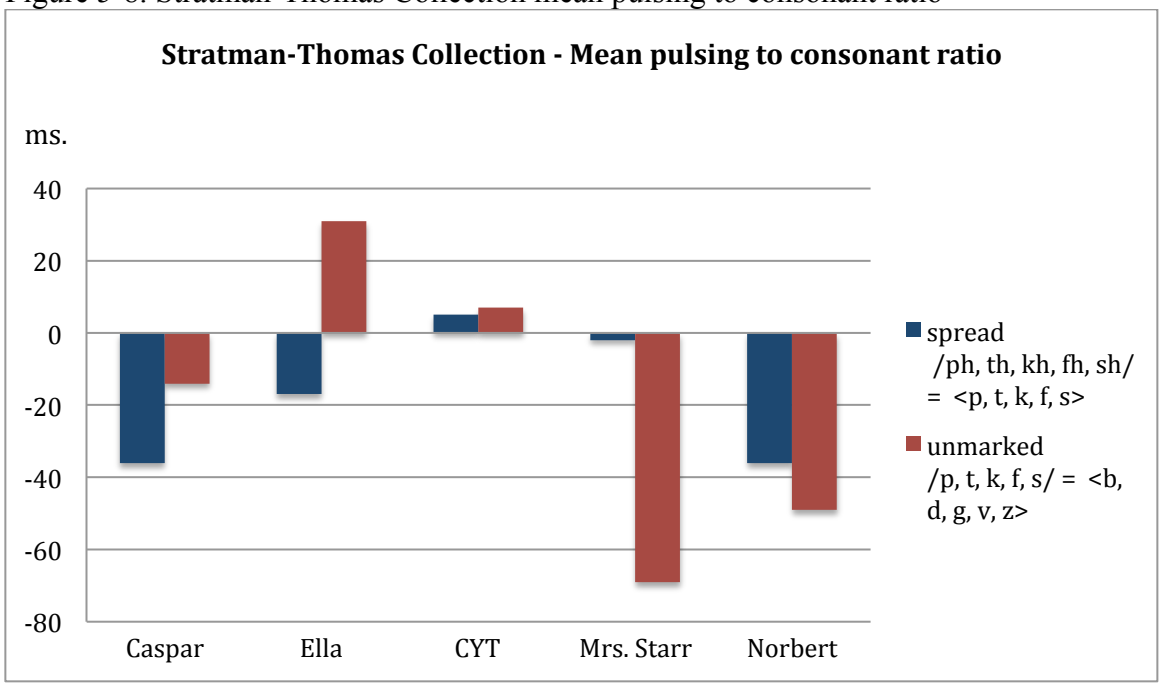


Figure 5-8 shows the mean pulsing to consonant ratio for each speaker. CYT again seems to pattern opposite the rest of the group, but close to the expected GAE values. Mrs. Starr patterns remarkable close to the expected GAE values as well. Ella, Caspar, and Norbert have lower mean pulsing to consonant ratios for spread tokens than expected. Caspar and Norbert also have lower than expected mean pulsing to consonant ratios for marked tokens. Ella's mean pulsing to consonant ratio for marked tokens is high.

Figure 5-8. Stratman-Thomas Collection mean pulsing to consonant ratio



While none pattern exactly as expected according to the GAE expectations, they do pattern similarly to each other. Mrs. Starr and CYT pattern differently than the other three on multiple occasions, perhaps due to their both being bilingual English-not German.

5.2.3 *Litty-Evans Collection: 2013*

Recordings for the Litty-Evans Collection are the same as described in chapter 4.2.3. As elsewhere I discuss the results of each speaker individually before as a group.

Table 5-17. Lucinda FON values

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of % pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread /p^h, t^h, k^h, f^h, s^h/ = <p, t, k, f, s>	6	99.62	91.73	1.09	4.97	0.05
	unmarked /p, t, k, f, s/ = <b, d, g, v, z>	7	158.33	207.91	0.76	26.36	0.13
German	spread	14	94.95	144.03	0.66	8.9	0.05
	unmarked	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Of Lucinda's English fortis tokens, only one, *piece*, shows pulsing. Of her English lenis consonants three exhibit pulsing, but none are more than 60%. What is perhaps more interesting is that the four lenis tokens that show no pulsing, *is*, *cheese*, *cities*, and *Grulkes*, all end in [z] in GAE. Of Lucinda's German tokens, all are expected as fortis, due to *Auslautverhärtung*, but four of her tokens show partial pulsing, but none with more than 32%. Two of these, however, end in <t>, *gearbeit/gearbeitet* "worked PAST PARTICIPLE". Lucinda's English mean vowel to consonant ratio for spread tokens is lower (32%) than expected, but her mean vowel to consonant ratio for unmarked tokens is much lower than the expected value (104% lower). Her mean pulsing to consonant ratios are both lower than expected (spread 31% and unmarked 56%). For German, Lucinda's mean vowel to consonant ratio for spread tokens is also lower than expected (117%) as is her spread pulsing to consonant ratio (44% lower).

Table 5-18. Bob FON values

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of % pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread /p^h, t^h, k^h, f^h, s^h/ = <p, t, k, f, s>	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	unmarked /p, t, k, f, s/ = <b, d, g, v, z>	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
German	spread	38	117.52	100.96	1.16	33.04	0.33
	unmarked	4	131.75	74.58	1.77	79.87	1.07

Unlike the other bilingual German-English speakers recorded in 2013, Bob exhibits pulsing in 25 of 43 tokens. Of those, 14 end in <t>, seven in <s>, and the remaining three are all *hab* "have". While three of Bob's four *hab*'s exhibiting pulsing might be explained by influence from English phonology, the other tokens seem to indicate that Bob does not possess *Auslautverhärtung*. No English tokens were collected from Bob for comparison. Bob's mean vowel to consonant ratio for spread tokens is lower (17%) than expected, but his mean vowel to consonant ratio for unmarked tokens is similar (3% lower) to the expected values. His mean pulsing to consonant ratio for spread tokens is a bit lower (10%), but his mean pulsing to consonant ratio for unmarked tokens is higher (58% higher) than what is expected.

Table 5-19. Mike FON values

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of % pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread /p^h, t^h, k^h, f^h, s^h/ = <p, t, k, f, s>	5	80.22	79.38	1.01	17.12	0.22
	unmarked /p, t, k, f, s/ = <b, d, g, v, z>	2	93.15	94.25	0.99	94.25	1.0
German	spread	11	87.54	78.85	1.11	12.06	0.18
	unmarked	1	156.7	89.3	1.75	0	0

Of Mike's English spread tokens, two exhibit pulsing, both *but*. Of his English unmarked tokens, both exhibit 100% pulsing. Of his German tokens, three exhibit pulsing, all ending in /t/, (Diet) *Rite*, *tut* "does", *tot* "dead". Mike's mean English vowel to consonant ratios are lower (spread 40%, unmarked 81%) than expected as is his mean spread pulsing to consonant ratio (14%). His mean English pulsing to consonant ratio for unmarked tokens is higher (31%) than reported for GAE. His mean vowel to consonant ratios for spread and marked tokens are both lower than reported for German (22% and 8%, respectively). His mean pulsing to consonant ratios for spread and marked tokens are 25% and 49% lower, respectively.

Table 5-20. Susan FON values

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of % pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread /p^h, t^h, k^h, f^h, s^h/ = <p, t, k, f, s>	8	119.61	82.95	1.44	6.33	0.08
	unmarked /p, t, k, f, s/ = <b, d, g, v, z>	3	133.83	74.07	1.81	0	0
German	spread	9	117.83	103.94	1.13	3.56	0.03
	unmarked	1	64.2	57.5	1.12	0	0

Susan exhibits pulsing on two English spread consonants but none on any of her three unmarked tokens. Susan only exhibits pulsing on one spread token in German. Susan only exhibits pulsing on /t^h/ tokens. Interesting to note is that similar measurements were taken from her husband, Mike. Susan's mean vowel to consonant ratios are almost identical to those given for GAE (3% higher for spread, and 1% higher for unmarked), but her mean pulsing to consonant ratios are much lower than expected (24% lower for spread). For her German tokens, Susan's mean vowel to consonant ratios are both lower than expected (20% for spread and 71% for unmarked), and her mean pulsing to consonant ratios are very low (40% lower for spread and 49% for unmarked).

Table 5-21. Ralph FON values

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of % pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread /p^h, t^h, k^h, f^h, s^h/ = <p, t, k, f, s>	4	82.93	107.6	0.77	32.88	0.31
	unmarked /p, t, k, f, s/ = <b, d, g, v, z>	7	72.31	63.2	1.14	50.09	0.81

Of Ralph's fortis tokens, two of these exhibit pulsing, *got* followed by "the" shows 100% pulsing, and likely carried through from the word following it. The other, *house*, shows more than 50% pulsing although at the end of a sentence and so not influence by the surrounding environment. Ralph's lenis tokens, however all exhibit more than 60% pulsing. Ralph's mean vowel to consonant ratios are less than expected, 64% for spread and 66% for unmarked. His mean pulsing to consonant ratio for spread tokens is similar to that reported for GAE (5% lower), but his mean pulsing to consonant ratio for unmarked tokens is higher (12%).

Table 5-22. Esmerelda FON values

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of % pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread /p^h, t^h, k^h, f^h, s^h/ = <p, t, k, f, s>	11	109.42	83.85	1.3	5.64	0.07
	unmarked /p, t, k, f, s/ = <b, d, g, v, z>	6	120.42	76.57	1.57	39.4	0.52

Of Esmerelda's spread tokens only two exhibit partial pulsing, *sit* and *but*. Of her unmarked tokens, four exhibit pulsing. Two of these are less than 40% each and both end in <s>, *those* and *boys*. Esmerelda's mean vowel to consonant ratios are lower than reported for GAE (spread 11% lower, unmarked 23% lower) as are her mean pulsing to consonant ratios (spread 29% lower, unmarked 17% lower).

Table 5-23. Bryan FON values

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of % pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread /p^h, t^h, k^h, f^h, s^h/ = <p, t, k, f, s>	9	100.88	95.71	1.05	17.32	0.18
	unmarked /p, t, k, f, s/ = <b, d, g, v, z>	6	186.93	140.63	1.33	67.38	0.48

Of Bryan's spread tokens 3 show pulsing, *speak*, at the end of a sentence and *up* in "we looked up this book". Of his unmarked tokens, all show pulsing, except *his* followed by an "um". Two other tokens have less than 50% pulsing, both ending in <s>, *was* and *recipes*. Bryan's mean vowel to consonant ratios are less than expected (36% lower for spread tokens and 47% lower for unmarked tokens), as are his mean pulsing to consonant ratios (18% lower for spread tokens and 21% lower for unmarked).

Table 5-24. Melissa FON values

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of % pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread /p^h, t^h, k^h, f^h, s^h/ = <p, t, k, f, s>	3	89.57	139.17	0.64	19.46	0.14
	unmarked /p, t, k, f, s/ = <b, d, g, v, z>	4	151.43	195.68	0.77	46.55	0.24

Only one of Melissa's spread tokens shows pulsing, namely *seamstress* in the sentence "she was a seamstress". It shows 22.69% pulsing. Of her unmarked tokens three show pulsing. Two of these, with less than 50% pulsing each, end in /z/, *because*. Melissa's mean pulsing to consonant ratios are both lower than expected for GAE (77% for spread, 103% for unmarked), but similar to those of Watertown English (38% higher for spread, same for unmarked). Her mean pulsing to consonant ratios are lower than GAE (22% for spread, 45% for unmarked).

5.2.3.1 Litty-Evans Collection FON summary

First I consider the German data and then the English. Figure 5-9 shows the mean vowel duration for German speakers in the Litty-Evans Collection. Bob and Mike both have longer mean vowel durations preceding unmarked tokens, which is similar to the German control. Susan's mean vowel duration preceding unmarked consonants is less than any of the means for spread tokens.

Figure 5-9. Litty-Evans Collection German mean vowel duration

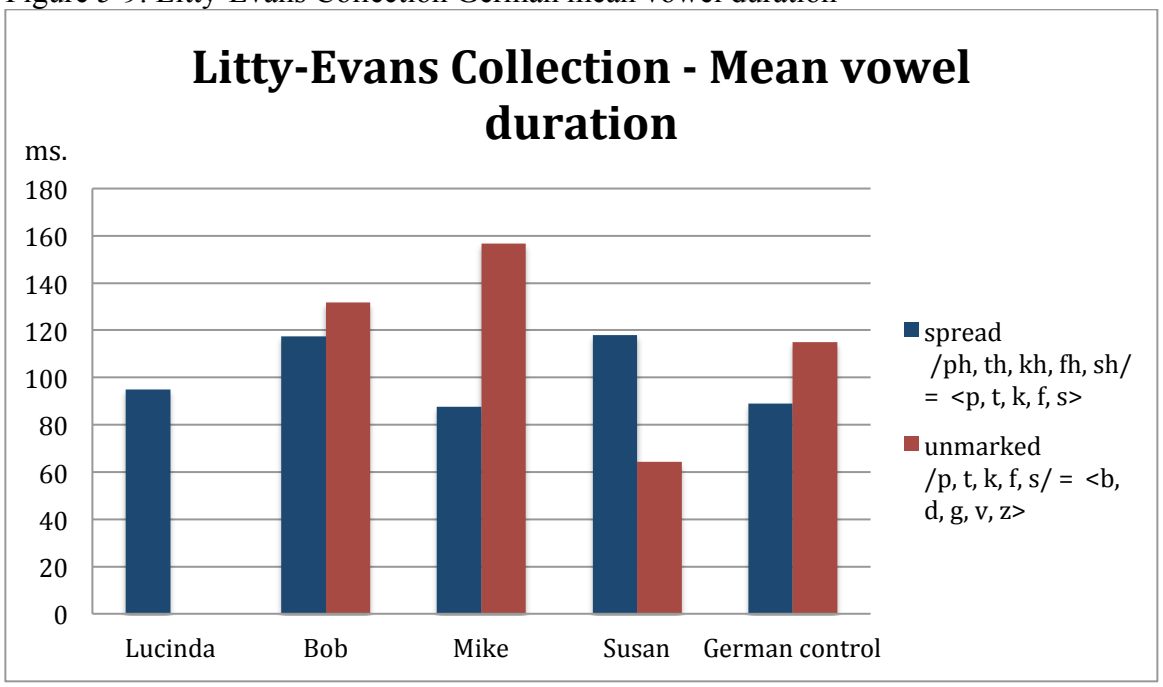


Figure 5-10 shows the mean consonant duration for German speakers in the Litty-Evans Collection. Bob and Susan both pattern opposite of expected, with longer mean consonant duration for spread than unmarked consonants.

Figure 5-10. Litty-Evans Collection German mean consonant duration

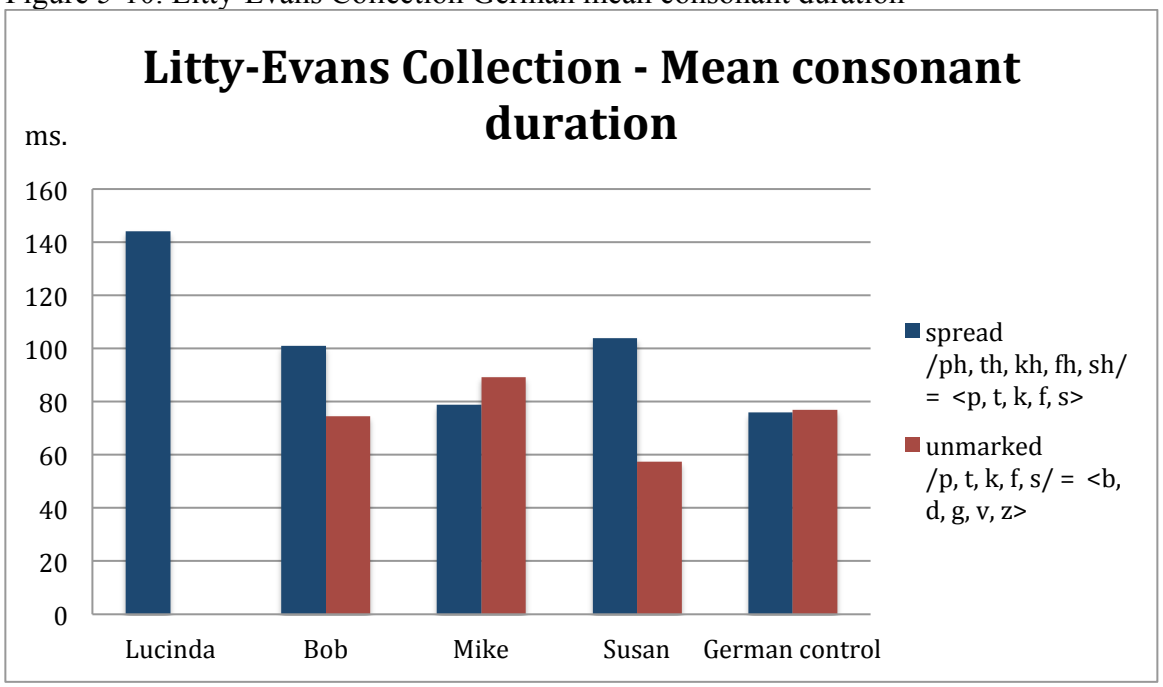


Figure 5-11 shows the mean vowel to consonant ratios for German speakers. All speakers have lower mean values for spread consonants, as do the three with mean vowel to consonant ratios for unmarked tokens.

Figure 5-11. Litty-Evans Collection German mean vowel to consonant ratio

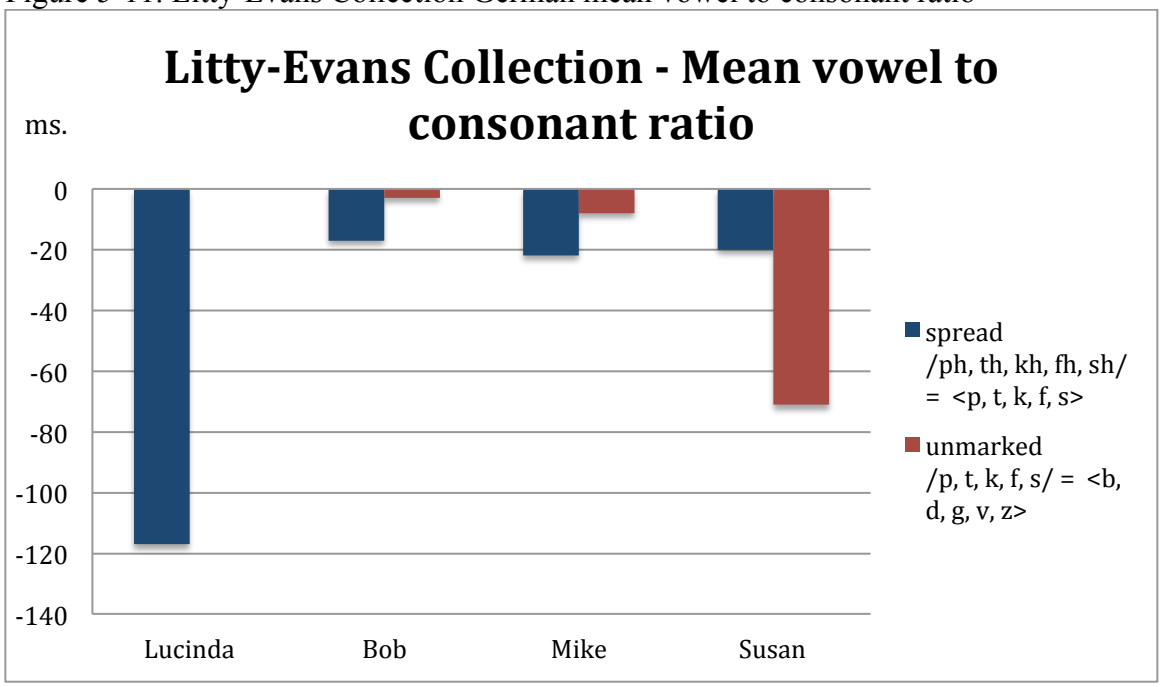
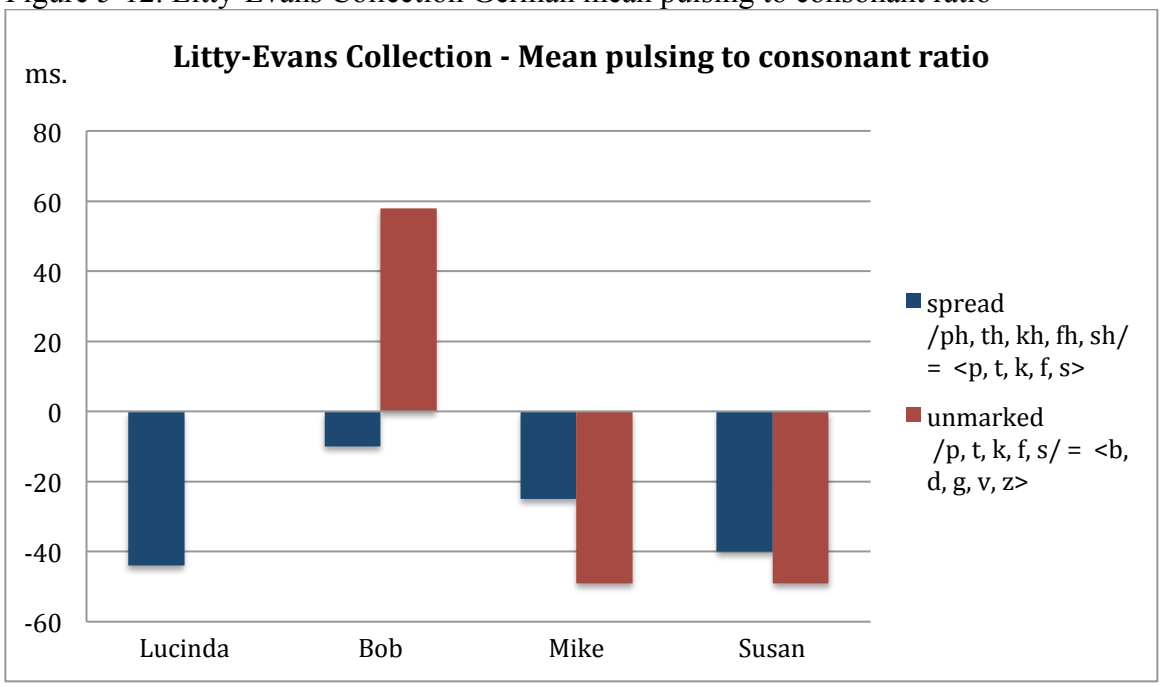


Figure 5-12 shows the mean pulsing to consonant ratios for German speakers. All speakers have lower mean pulsing to consonant ratios for spread tokens than the German control.

Figure 5-12. Litty-Evans Collection German mean pulsing to consonant ratio



Here I show all speakers for English from the Litty-Evans Collection.

Figure 5-13 shows the mean vowel duration for all English speakers of the Litty-Evans Collection. All have longer mean vowel durations before unmarked consonants except Ralph.

Figure 5-13. Litty-Evans Collection English mean vowel duration[28]

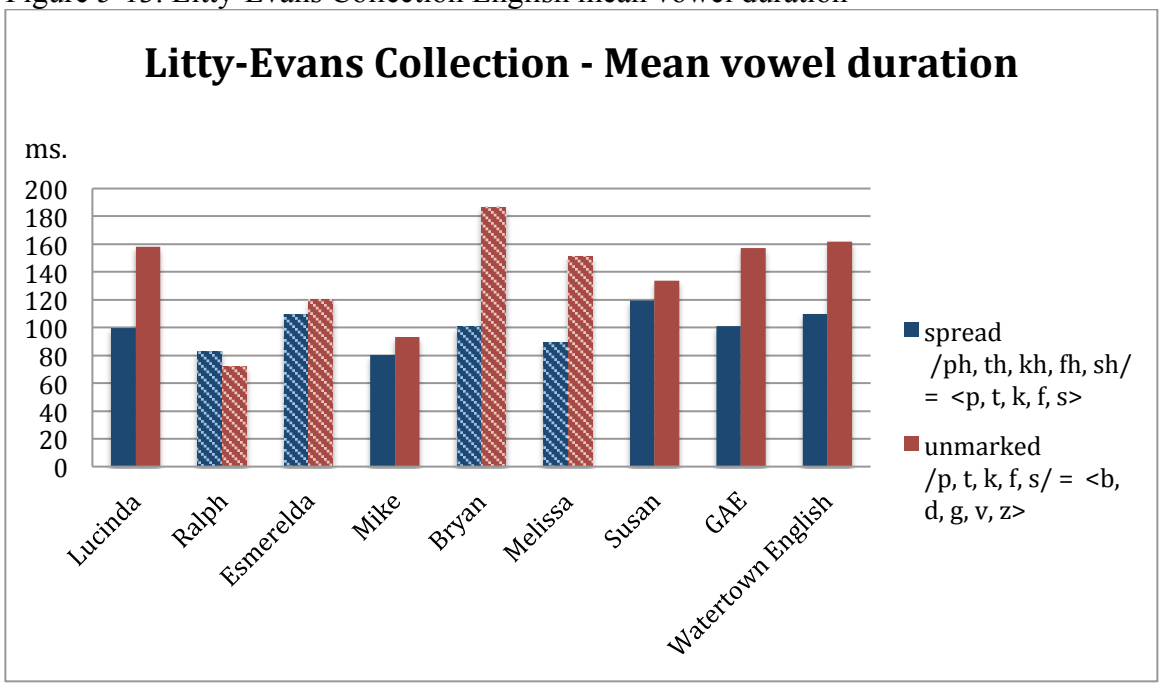


Figure 5-14 shows the mean consonant duration for English speakers in the Litty-Evans Collection. Susan, Esmerelda, and Ralph all have longer mean spread consonants than unmarked consonants. Mike's consonant means are less than 15 ms. apart, where Bryan, Melissa, and Lucinda all have more than 44 ms.

[28] As noted in footnote 25 in §4.2.3.1, monolingual English speakers are noted with striped bars when considered with German-English bilingual speakers together.

Figure 5-14. Litty-Evans Collection English mean consonant duration

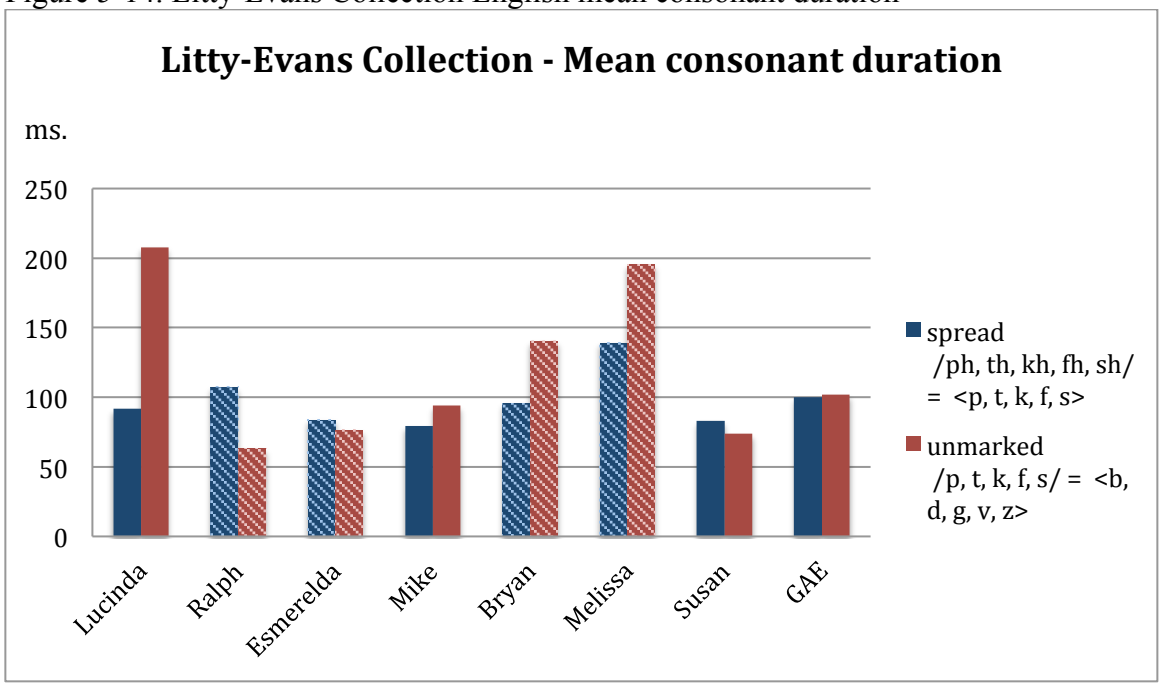


Figure 5-15 shows the mean vowel to consonant ratios for English speakers. Susan is the only speaker whose mean vowel to consonant ratios are similar to those of GAE given. All others have lower means for both, all with larger differences for unmarked than marked token means.

Figure 5-15. Litty-Evans Collection English mean vowel to consonant ratio

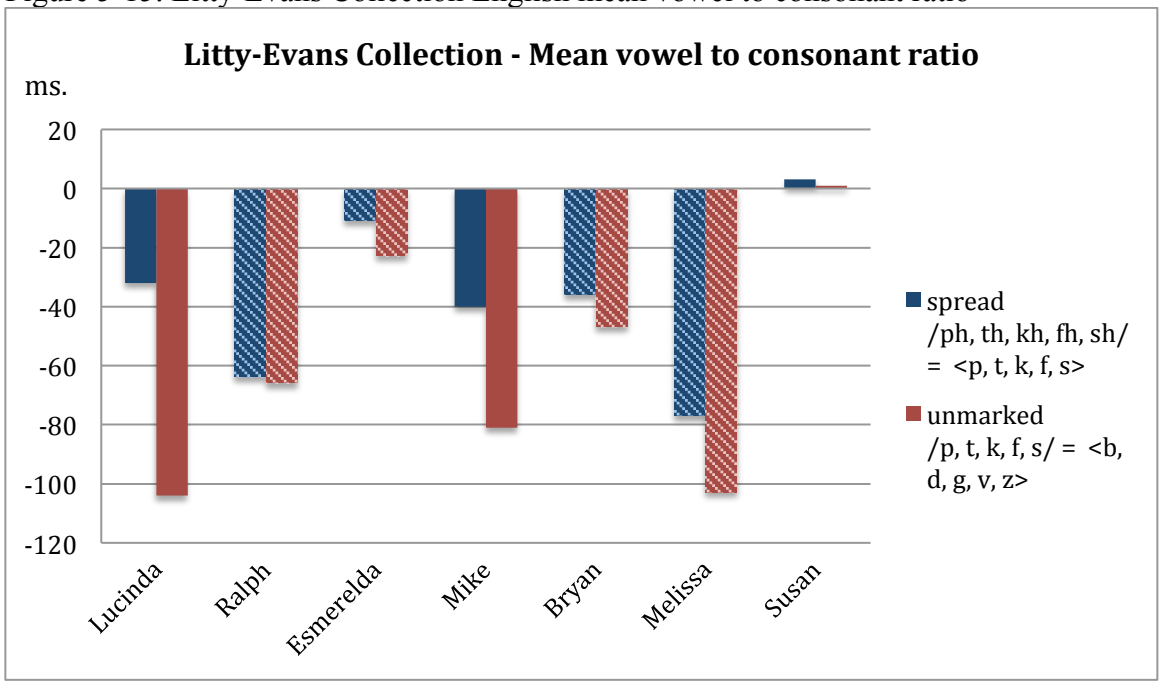
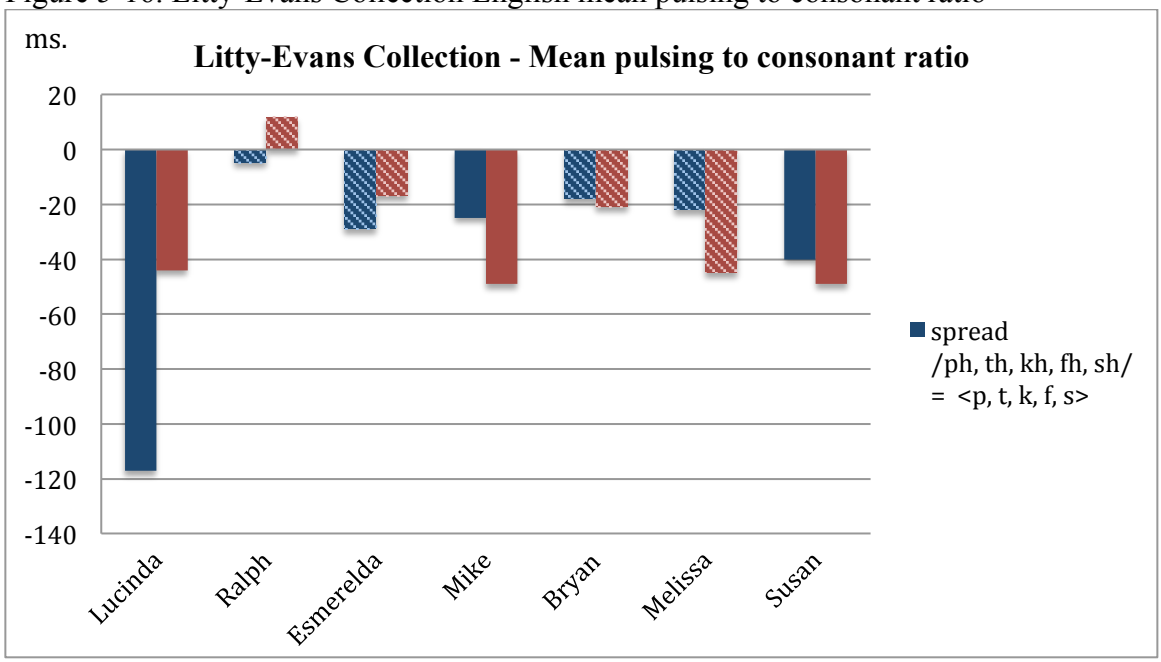


Figure 5-16 shows the mean pulsing to consonant ratios for English speakers. All speakers have lower than expected mean pulsing to consonant ratios except for Ralph for unmarked tokens. Lucinda and Esmerelda both have larger differences for spread tokens than for unmarked, for the rest of the speakers the difference is larger with unmarked consonants.

Figure 5-16. Litty-Evans Collection English mean pulsing to consonant ratio



5.2.4 *Audio sources summary*

In order to see any patterns or changes over time, we need to look at the speakers all together. First I consider German speakers, then English speakers.

Figure 5-17 shows the mean vowel duration for all German speakers. Mike and Bob pattern like the expected German control, with longer vowel duration before unmarked consonants. For Eugene, Anna, Norbert, and Susan their mean vowel duration is longer before spread consonants. William and Lucinda both had no unmarked consonants measured, but their

mean vowel duration preceding spread vowels are of similar length to those expected for German.

Figure 5-17. All collections: German mean vowel duration

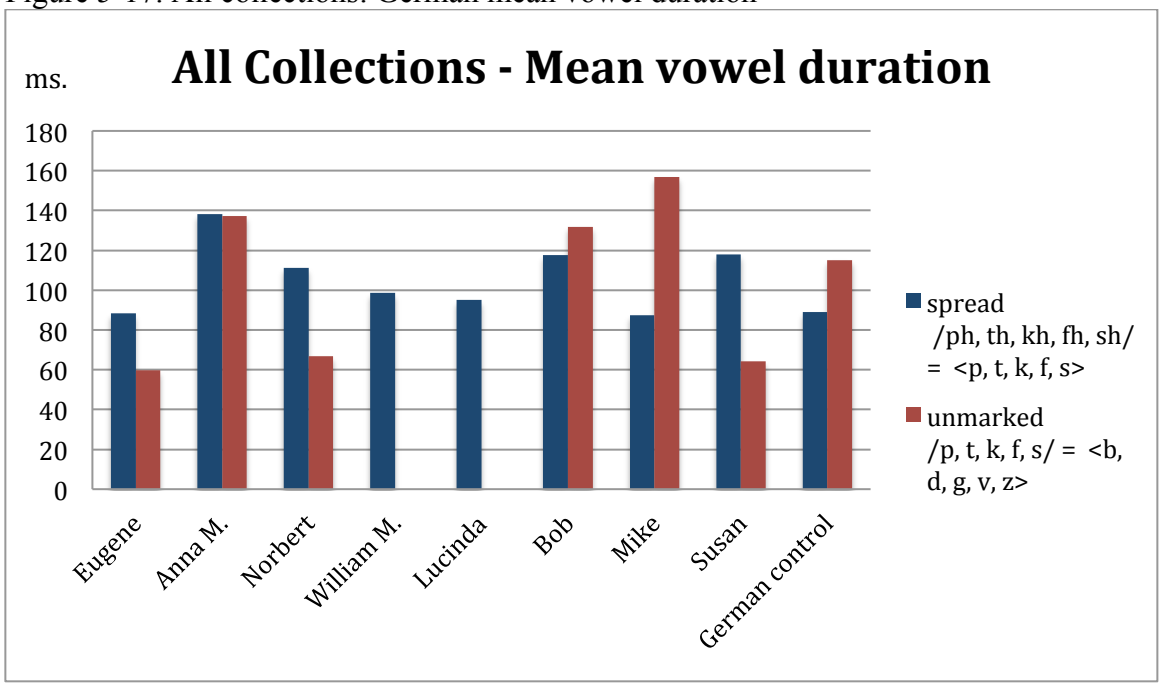


Figure 5-18 shows the mean consonant duration for all German speakers. Anna and Mike have longer mean consonant durations preceding unmarked tokens. For Eugene, Norbert, Bob, and Susan the mean consonant duration is longer preceding spread tokens. William and Lucinda have no unmarked tokens measured, but William's mean spread consonant duration is similar to that of Eugene and Bob. Lucinda's mean consonant duration is >20 ms. longer than the next longest.

Figure 5-18. All collections: German mean consonant duration

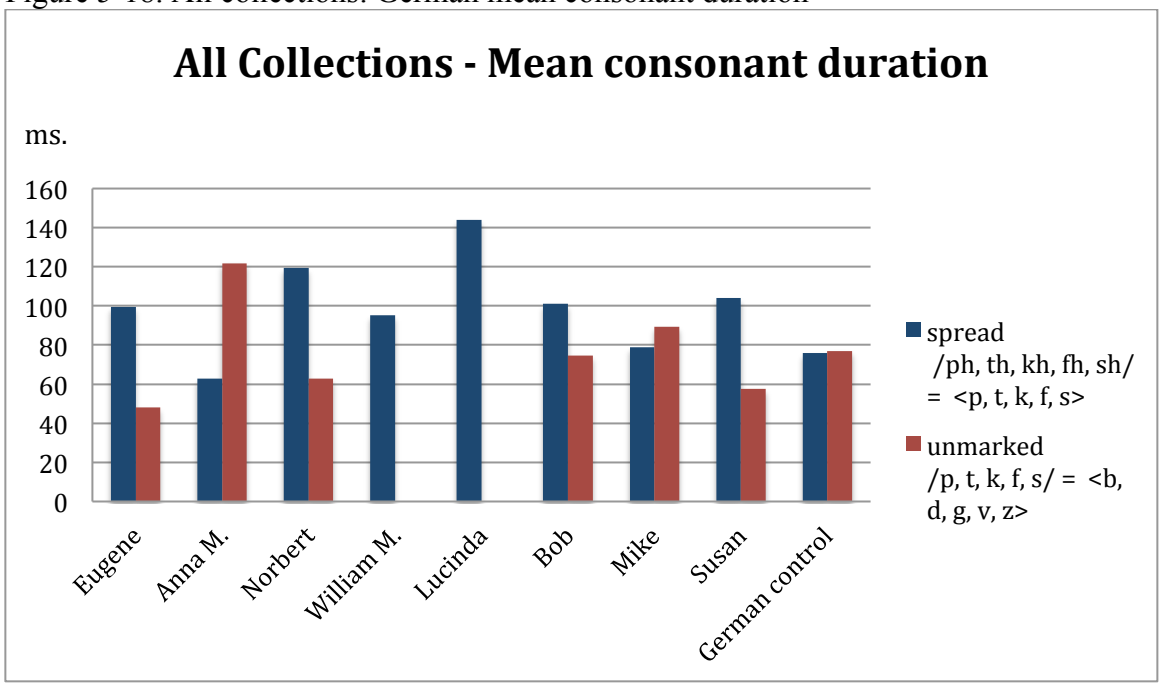


Figure 5-19 describes the mean vowel to consonant ratio for all German speakers. All but Anna have lower than expected vowel to consonant ratios preceding spread tokens. All (with tokens) have lower than expected vowel to consonant ratios preceding unmarked tokens. For Norbert and Susan this difference is greater before unmarked consonants. For Eugene, Bob, and Mike the difference is greater before spread consonants.

Figure 5-19. All collections: German mean vowel to consonant ratio

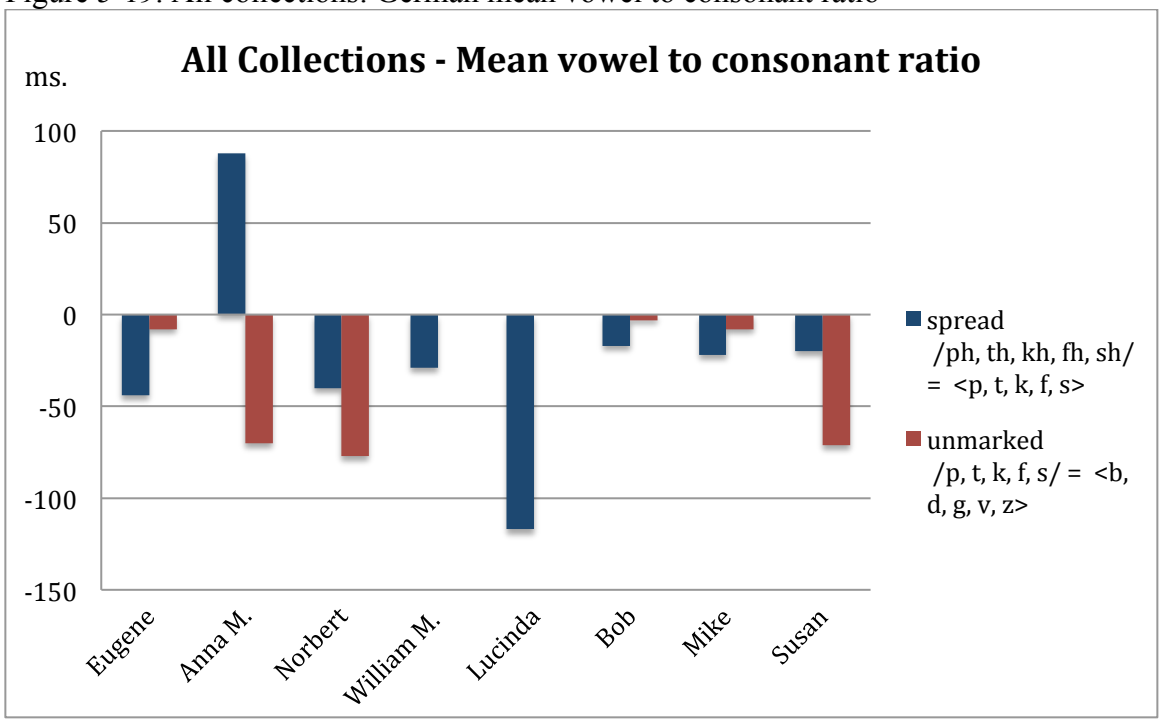


Figure 5-20 shows the mean pulsing to consonant ratios for all German speakers. All speakers have lower than expected mean pulsing to consonant ratios for spread consonants. Bob and Norbert both have higher than expected means for pulsing to consonant ratios for unmarked consonants. Eugene, Anna, Susan, and Mike pattern similarly, although Anna's pulsing to consonant ratios are both closer to the expected values.

Figure 5-20. All collections: German mean pulsing to consonant ratio

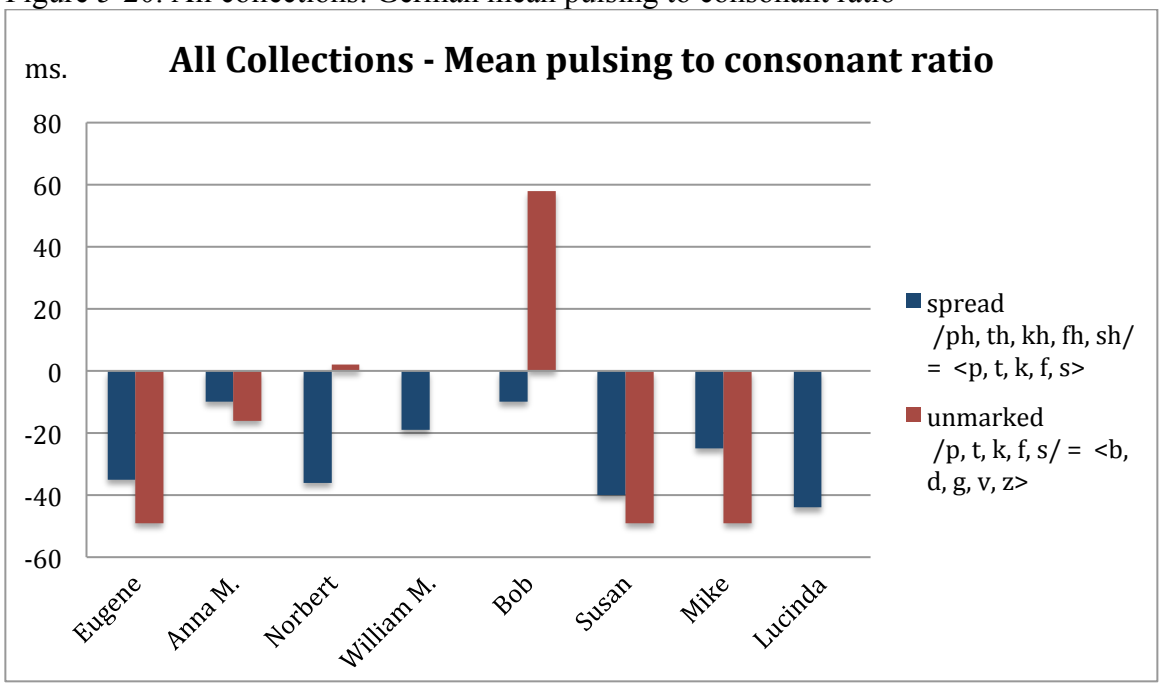


Figure 5-21 shows the mean vowel duration for all English speakers. All speakers except Ralph have longer mean vowel durations preceding unmarked rather than spread consonants, with Caspar, Lucinda, and Bryan having the longest means. Norbert, Mike, and Ralph have the shortest means preceding spread consonants.

Figure 5-21. All collections: English mean vowel duration

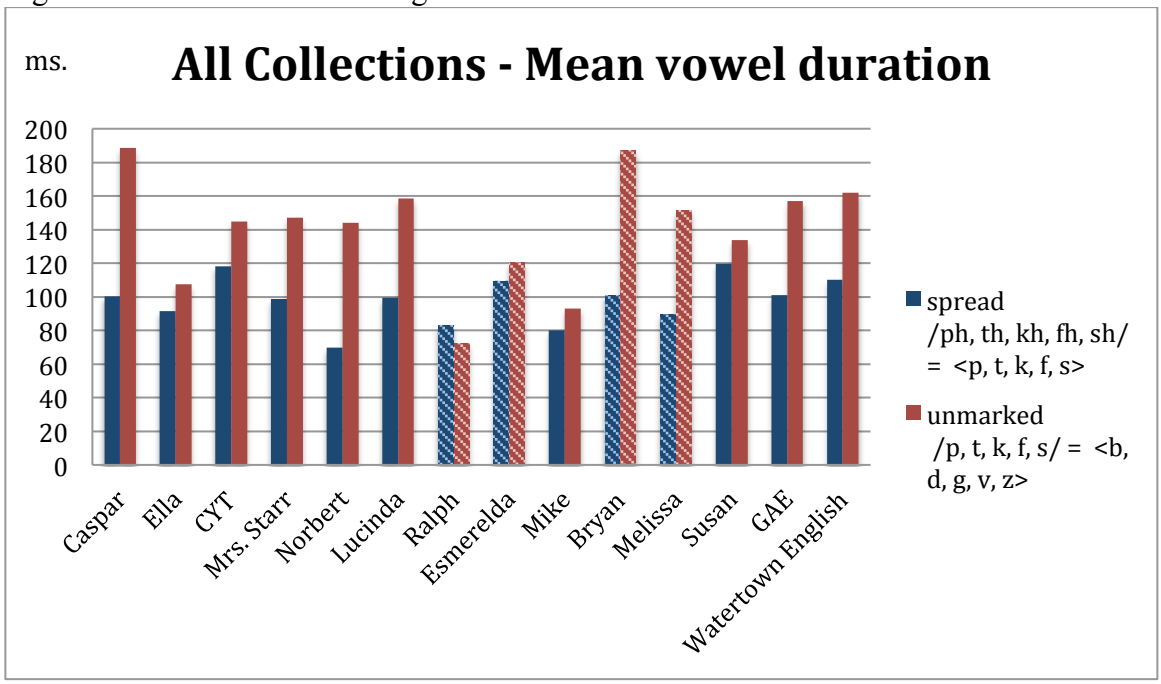


Figure 5-22 shows the mean consonant duration for all English speakers. While the GAE control person had almost the same means for spread and unmarked consonants, the same is only true for CYT. Of the other speakers, seven have longer mean durations for spread consonants.

Figure 5-22. All collections: English mean consonant duration

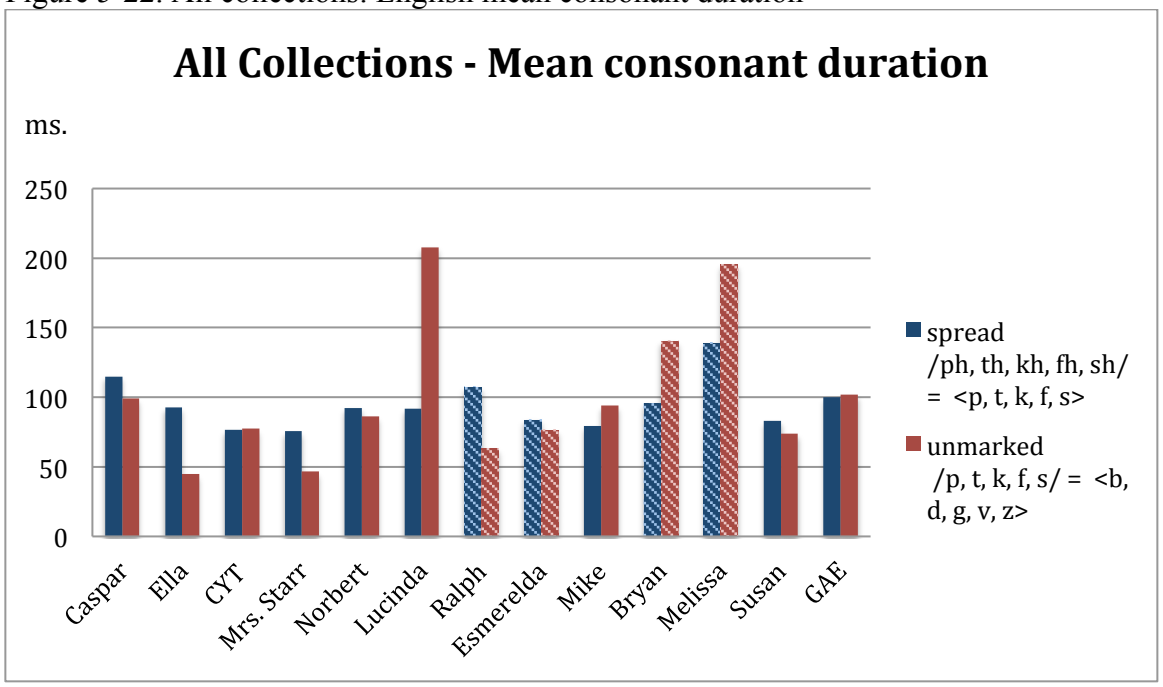


Figure 5-23 shows the mean vowel to consonant ratio for all English speakers. All but two of the speakers had lower mean vowel to consonant ratios for spread consonants. Five had higher than expected mean vowel to consonant ratios for unmarked consonants.

Figure 5-23. All collections: English mean vowel to consonant ratio

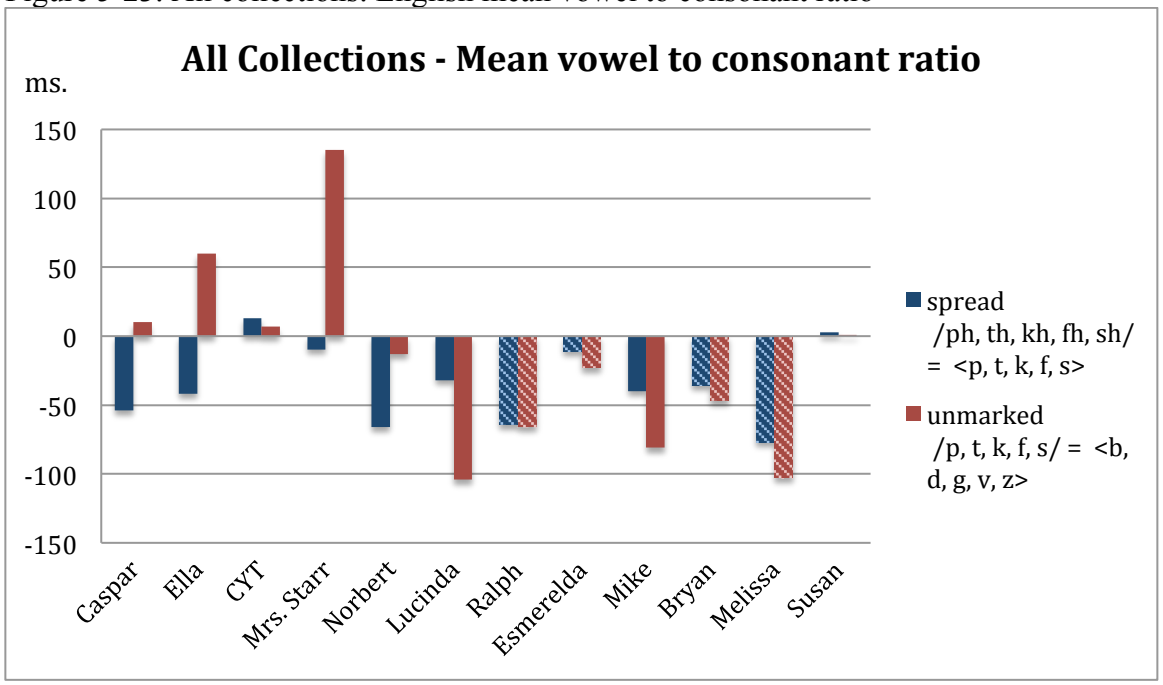
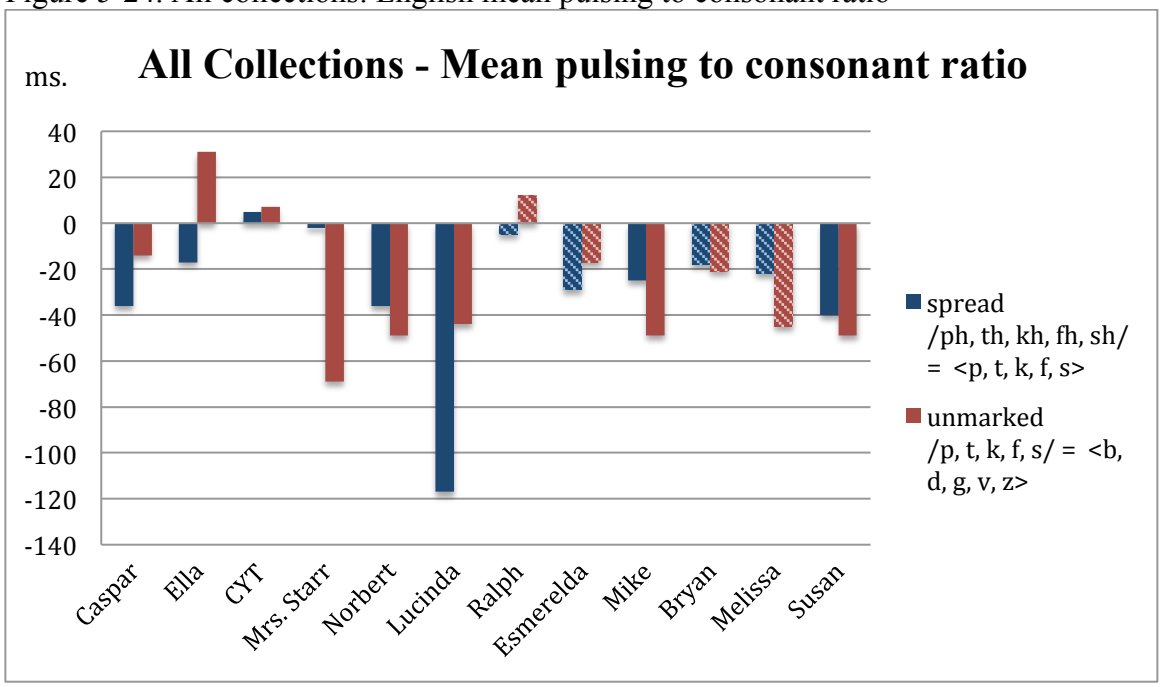


Figure 5-24 shows the mean pulsing to consonant ratio for all English speakers. Three have higher than expected durations for unmarked consonants, and only one for spread consonants. For six the difference is greater for unmarked consonants.

Figure 5-24. All collections: English mean pulsing to consonant ratio



5.3 Syllable-final vernacular forms and FON conclusions

In §5.1-§5.2 I showed the data for FON for written and audio sources in both German and English. To discuss the results, I break these into separate categories. First I discuss written sources for German and then English in §5.3.1, then in §5.3.2 I discuss results for audio sources.

5.3.1 *Written sources results*

For written sources the total number of authors and the total number of authors exhibiting vernacular forms is shown in Table 5-25.

Table 5-25. FON all collections summary of vernacular forms

Collection	Total # of authors	# of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Percent (%) of authors exhibiting vernacular forms
Goth	16	10	62.5%
Krueger	51	20	39.2%
Lomira	7	5	71.4%
OFTHS	2	2	100%
Turn	13	10	76.9%
Total	89	47	52.8%

Table 5-25 shows that in total almost 53% of authors exhibited some vernacular forms.

Tables 5-26 and 5-27 show the summary of all written sources according to language, the types of vernacular forms, and the number of authors exhibiting each form. These are ordered from forms exhibited by the largest number of authors to the fewest.

Table 5-26. FON collection summary of vernacular forms: German

Collection	Total # of authors	# of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	NS form examples	# of authors exhibiting each form
Goth	10	8	/t^h/ vs. /t/	6
			<s> vs. <ß> vs. <ss> vs. <z>	5
			<g> vs. <ch>	4
			/s^h/ vs. /s/	3
			/f^h/ vs. /f/	2
			<t> vs. <∅>	2
			<tz> vs. <tzt>	2
			/k^h/ vs. /k/	1
			/p^h/ vs. /p/	1
			<-bt> vs. <-pt>	1
			<b> vs. <f>	1
			<ch> vs. <ck>	1
Krueger	11	5	<g> vs. <ch>	3
			/t^h/ vs. /t/	2
			<dt> vs. <t>	1
			<h> vs. <ch>	1
Lomira	6	4	/t^h/ vs. /t/	3
			/s^h/ vs. /s/	3
			<g> vs. <ch>	2
			<mbt> vs. <md>	1
			<h> vs. <ch>	1
			/f^h/ vs. /f/	1
OFTHS	1	1	/p^h/ vs. /p/	1
			/t^h/ vs. /t/	
			/f^h/ vs. /f/	
			/s^h/ vs. /s/	
			<g> vs. <ch>	
			<mbt> vs. <md>	
Turn	5	3	<g> vs. <ch>	3
			/t^h/ vs. /t/	1

Like the VOT summary table in (Table 4-43), Table 5-26 shows that each collection has a different most frequent form, but it also shows that several forms show up across collections, suggesting that these are not individual orthographic errors, but rather are vernacular forms from authors with similar language histories. The largest number of authors in two of the collections

exhibit <g> vs. <ch> vernacular forms and two collections have the largest number of authors who exhibit /t^{h}/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms. The final collection has only one author with several vernacular forms, and exhibits vernacular forms of both /t^{h}/ vs. /t/ and <g> vs. <ch> forms.

Table 5-27. FON collection summary of vernacular forms: English

Collection	Total # of authors	# of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	NS form examples	# of authors exhibiting each form
Goth	7	2	/t^{h}/ vs. /t/	1
			<tson> vs. <tion>	1
Krueger	48	16	/f^{h}/ vs. /f/	6
			/t^{h}/ vs. /t/	4
			<c> vs. <s>	4
			/s^{h}/ vs. /s/	3
			<t> vs. <-ed> vs. <∅>	3
			/k^{h}/ vs. /k/	2
			<c> vs. <k> vs. <ch>	2
			<sch> vs. <sh> vs. <ch>	2
			/p^{h}/ vs. /p/	1
			<t^{h}> vs. <∅>	1
			<f> vs. <ph>	1
			<p> vs. <ph>	1
			<t> vs. <ght>	1
Lomira	3	1	/t^{h}/ vs. /t/	1
OFTHS	1	1	/t^{h}/ vs. /t/	1
Turn	10	7	/t^{h}/ vs. /t/	4
			<c> vs. <s>	4
			/f^{h}/ vs. /f/	4
			/s^{h}/ vs. /s/	2
			/p^{h}/ vs. /p/	1
			/k^{h}/ vs. /k/	1
			<t> vs. <th>	1
			<d> vs. <∅>	1
			<t> vs. <ce>	1
			<t> vs. <∅>	1

Table 5-27 shows that /t^{h}/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms are the most commonly exhibited and appear in all five collections. In the Krueger Collection, only /f^{h}/ vs. /f/ vernacular forms are more common. Vernacular /f^{h}/ vs. /f/ forms are also one of the most common in the Turn Collection. Both the Krueger and Turn Collections exhibit <c> vs. <s> vernacular forms among the most frequently.

5.3.2 *Audio sources results*

Results from the audio sources are divided according to German and then English results.

5.3.2.1 German audio results

The first measure considered for FON is the mean duration of vowel length preceding the obstruent. Only one speaker from the Seifert Collection patterns as expected for a German speaker, producing virtually no difference in vowel length preceding a spread or unmarked obstruent. Two of the speakers produced the opposite pattern than the control subject, with longer mean vowel duration preceding spread obstruents. The second measure considered in FON is the mean consonant duration. For a German speaker exhibiting FON, there should be no difference between the duration of spread vs. unmarked obstruents. One of the speakers did not produce any unmarked consonants, but the other three who do produce unmarked consonants do not follow this expected pattern. Both of the men have longer average durations for spread consonants than unmarked. Anna's mean consonant duration is almost twice as long for unmarked consonants than marked. For vowel to consonant ratios, only Anna's spread consonant mean values were higher than expected, all others were less than expected. For pulsing to consonant ratios all speakers exhibit smaller ratios than expected, except Norbert for unmarked tokens.

In the Litty-Evans Collection only three of the speakers produced data for both spread and unmarked obstruents. Of those, two have longer mean vowel durations preceding unmarked obstruents than spread. The third speaker produces a mean vowel duration of almost twice as long preceding spread rather than marked tokens. For mean consonant duration one speaker, Mike, patterns similarly to the German control speaker, with similar durations for spread and unmarked obstruents, with unmarked obstruents being slightly longer. For the other two speakers, the duration of spread consonants is longer, which is the opposite of expected, but similar to what we saw in the women of the Stratman-Thomas Collection, suggesting that these speakers are perhaps patterning more similarly to the English spoken in Wisconsin. Mean vowel to consonant ratios for all German-English bilinguals with German data are smaller than expected, but the range for spread consonants for three of the speakers is very similar. The mean pulsing to consonant ratio is only larger for one speaker for unmarked obstruents. All other pulsing to consonant ratios are smaller than expected.

5.3.2.2 English audio results

For English speakers in the Stratman-Thomas Collection, the mean vowel duration is expected to be longer preceding unmarked obstruents than spread obstruents, which is the case for all speakers with audio data from the 1940s (this includes Norbert from the Seifert Collection). Noteworthy is that Ella has the smallest range between vowel duration, patterning more similarly to the German control than the English. The mean consonant duration for both spread vs. unmarked obstruents are exhibited as very similar by the GAE control, with unmarked consonants slightly longer than spread consonants. The only speaker who patterns this way is CYT who was expected to pattern differently than the group because he has a different linguistic profile. The range between spread vs. unmarked obstruents for the women is almost twice as

long as the men. The speaker with vowel to consonant ratio closest to that expected is also CYT. All four of the other speakers have lower than expected ratios for spread obstruents and three of those have higher than expected vowel to consonant ratios for unmarked obstruents. Only Norbert exhibits lower than expected mean vowel to consonant ratios for both obstruent series. For the mean pulsing to consonant ratio, CYT again patterns closest to expected, with both of his mean values slightly only longer than expected. Ella also has a larger than expected ratio for unmarked tokens. All other speakers exhibit ratios that are smaller than expected. With the exception of CYT (who was expected to pattern differently than the other speakers), none of these speakers pattern consistently like the GAE expectations, but they do pattern similarly to each other.

For English speakers in the Litty-Evans Collection, the mean vowel duration should be shorter for spread obstruents than unmarked consonants. This holds true for all but one speaker. The two monolingual English speakers from Dodge County pattern the most similarly to GAE and the Watertown English examples. The mean consonant duration for the GAE control is very similar for both obstruent series, with the duration for spread obstruents slightly smaller than for unmarked obstruents. Four speakers pattern with smaller mean durations for spread than unmarked consonants. Of the other three, two have mean consonant durations with only 8 ms. between spread and unmarked obstruents. Of the mean vowel to consonant ratios, only one speaker has larger ratios than expected, but these are the closest of all to the expected values. The other six speakers all have smaller than expected ratios with spread ratios closer to expected values than unmarked. That is, unmarked ratios are much smaller than expected. This pattern continues with mean pulsing to consonant ratios, although not as clearly. Only Ralph exhibits a larger than expected ratio for unmarked tokens. All other speakers exhibit ratios that are smaller

than expected for both obstruent series. For four speakers the mean pulsing to consonant ratio for unmarked obstruents is smaller than for spread. For the other two the mean pulsing to consonant ratio for spread obstruents is smaller than for unmarked. For Lucinda, the ratios for spread tokens is much smaller than for unmarked.

I have shown vernacular orthographic forms in written documents suggestive of FON and described measurements of final obstruents for recordings made in the 1940s and 2013 with both English and German speakers. For each of the written collections there were similarities, although not always across languages. For the recordings there were also similarities between the older and newer recordings. To help describe why these might be, I now use this data in combination with social elements to show patterns and the development of FON over time.

6. Data analyzed according to sociolinguistic factors

Of the sociolinguistic factors introduced in chapter 3, only some are considered together for this analysis to show trends over time and according to each aspect. In §6.1 I consider year of birth, followed by age at time of production in §6.1.1. I consider sex in §6.2, occupation in §6.3, generation in §6.4 and language status in §6.5. I conclude in §6.6.

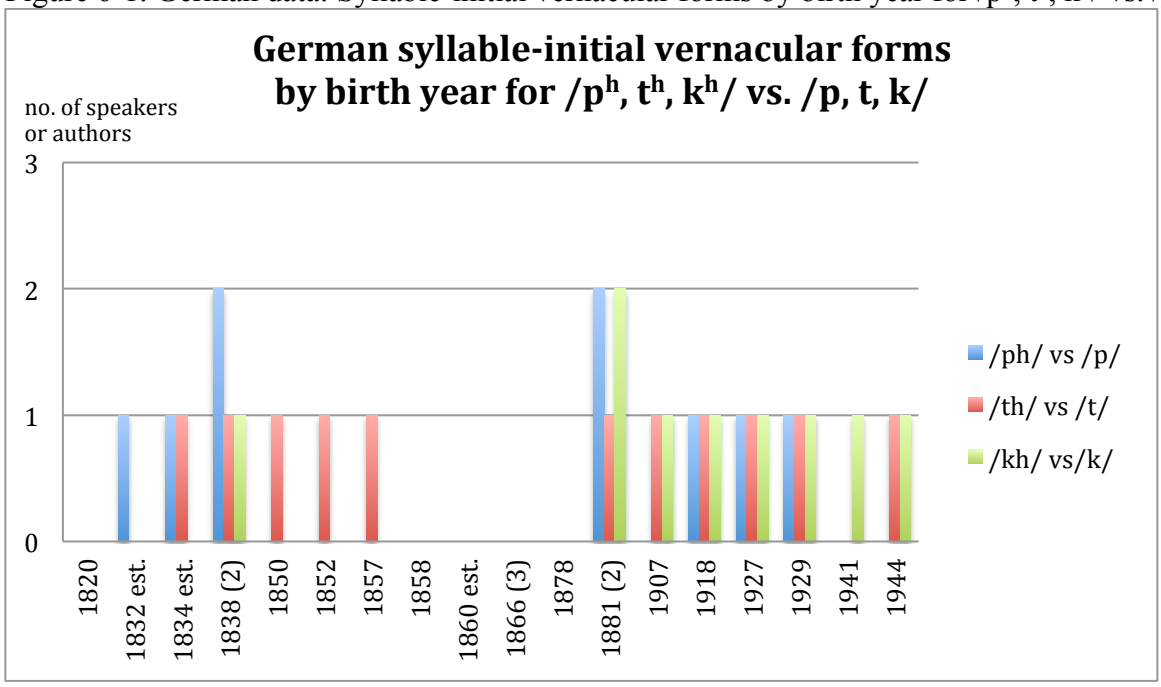
6.1 Birth year

The first sociolinguistic factor I consider is year of birth. By plotting each of the features according to standard vs. vernacular, I hope to be able to see if there is a pattern according to birth year as far as when each feature occurred. I also consider age at time of production to show if a certain pattern is more likely to happen in someone of a certain age.

Speakers' and authors' birth years range from 1819-1944, but only those exhibiting vernacular are shown. The representation for each timeline is the same. I use a one for the presence of vernacular features. The purpose is not to show how or to what extent vernacular features are present, but rather to show when in time they are present. For the written sources it is straightforward, but for the audio sources because each token type has a range or absolute value, most are vernacular in some way. For this section these are simply designated as vernacular (+1) or standard (0). Some birth years are estimated, these are marked. Each year is shown only once, so when more speakers are born in a given year, these are also marked by adding another +1, meaning when there are three authors born in the same year, all exhibiting vernacular forms, this is marked as +3. In the current data, I have no more than three authors or speakers born in the same year, so all charts in this section are labeled with 3 as the highest number on the y-axis.

Like in chapters 4 and 5, because the data is expected to differ based on language, first I show data for German speakers and authors, starting with syllable-initial vernacular forms, then syllable-final vernacular forms. Then I do the same for English.

Figure 6-1. German data: Syllable-initial vernacular forms by birth year for /p^h, t^h, k^h/ vs. /p, t, k/



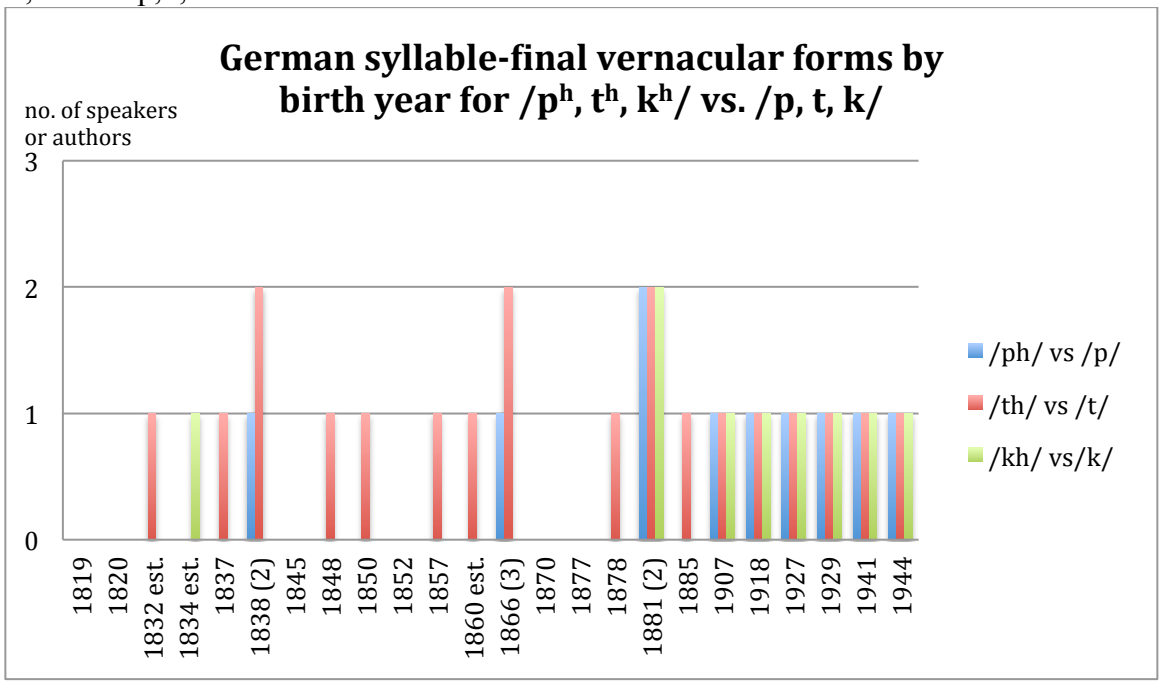
Speakers with birth years 1881 and 1907 are missing data; no data was collected for 1881 /t^h/ vs. /t/ or 1907 /p^h/ vs. /p/. More important is that speakers 1941 and 1944 fall within standard ranges for German /p^h/, one of the only examples of speakers achieving the expected "standard" according to the comparisons given. Figure 6-1 shows a distinct gap from birth years 1857-1881 for all tokens. For /p^h/ vs. /p/ the gap is 43 years from 1838-1881. For /t^h/ vs. /t/ the gap is shortest at 24 years from 1857-1881. Finally, /k^h/ vs. /k/ appears only once in the first half of the 19th century, in 1838 and appears again in 1881. This is supportive of 'boomerang' features (Benor 2015), where a vernacular form is common in early generations after immigration, recedes in the following generation and returns in the third or later generation. The idea of a 'boomerang' exists not only in specific linguistic features, but can also be seen in the fluidity of

regional and cultural identity creation, as discussed in regards to Creole African American and Cajun communities in Dubois & Horvath (2003) and described in terms of ethnicity in Fishman (1966: 395-396).

No data was gathered for speakers with audio recordings for /f^{h}, s^{h}/ vs. /f, s/, but authors with birth years from 1820-1878 exhibit these vernacular forms. The earliest vernacular form, 'other', <f> vs. <v> appears in the writing of an author from 1820 and is present in the writing of other authors until 1860.

Syllable-final vernacular forms suggestive of FON are more prevalent than syllable-initial vernacular forms. These are shown by birth year for /p^{h}, t^{h}, k^{h}/ vs. /p, t, k/ in Figure 6-2. Similar to syllable-initial vernacular forms, /k^{h}/ vs. /k/ is the least common early form, appearing in the writing of only one author born about 1834. Vernacular forms with /p^{h}/ vs. /p/ also appear only twice in authors with birth years 1838 and 1881. Vernacular /t^{h}/ vs. /t/ forms are the most frequently occurring with the largest gap being twelve years, suggesting that vernacular /t^{h}/ vs. /t/ forms have been occurring since speakers with birth years as early as 1832.

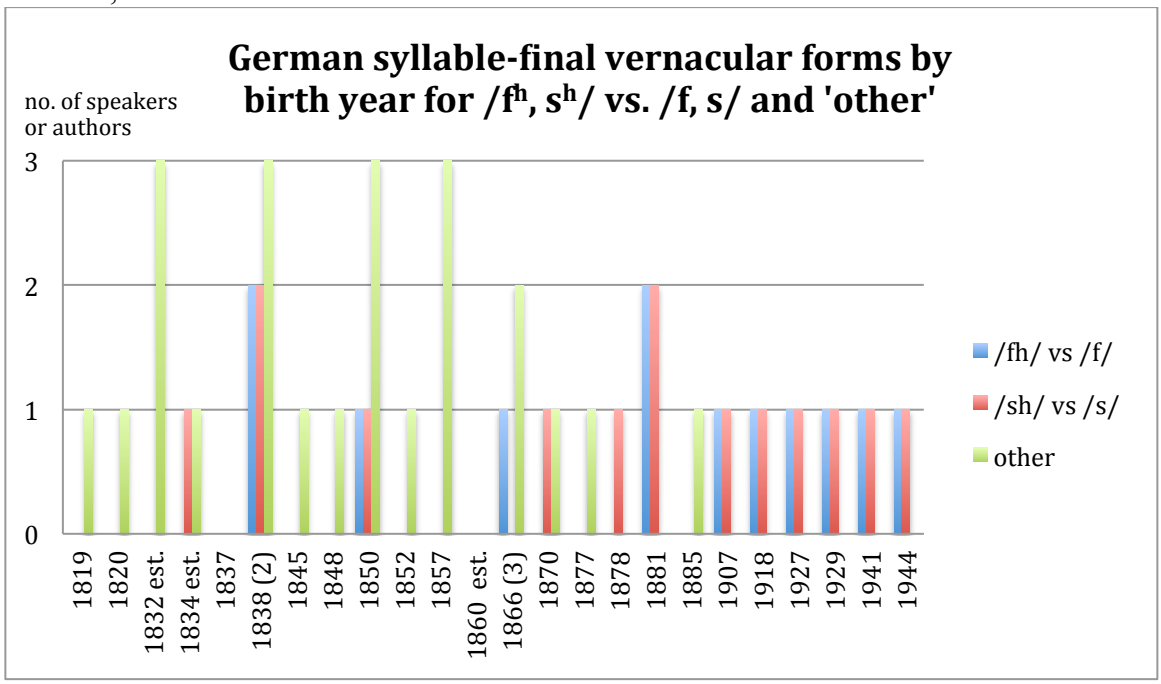
Figure 6-2. German data: Syllable-final vernacular forms suggesting FON by birth year for /p^h, t^h, k^h/ vs. /p, t, k/



German syllable-final vernacular forms /f^h, s^h/ vs. /f, s/ and 'other' are shown in Figure 6-2. Of these types 'other' is the most prevalent, occurring frequently in authors with birth years from 1819 to 1885.[29] Vernacular /s^h/ vs. /s/ forms first appear in an author born in 1834. The largest gap for this type of vernacular feature is 20 years, from 1850 to 1870. Vernacular forms of /f^h/ vs. /f/ are less frequent, but appearing in the writing of authors with birth years spaced 12-16 years.

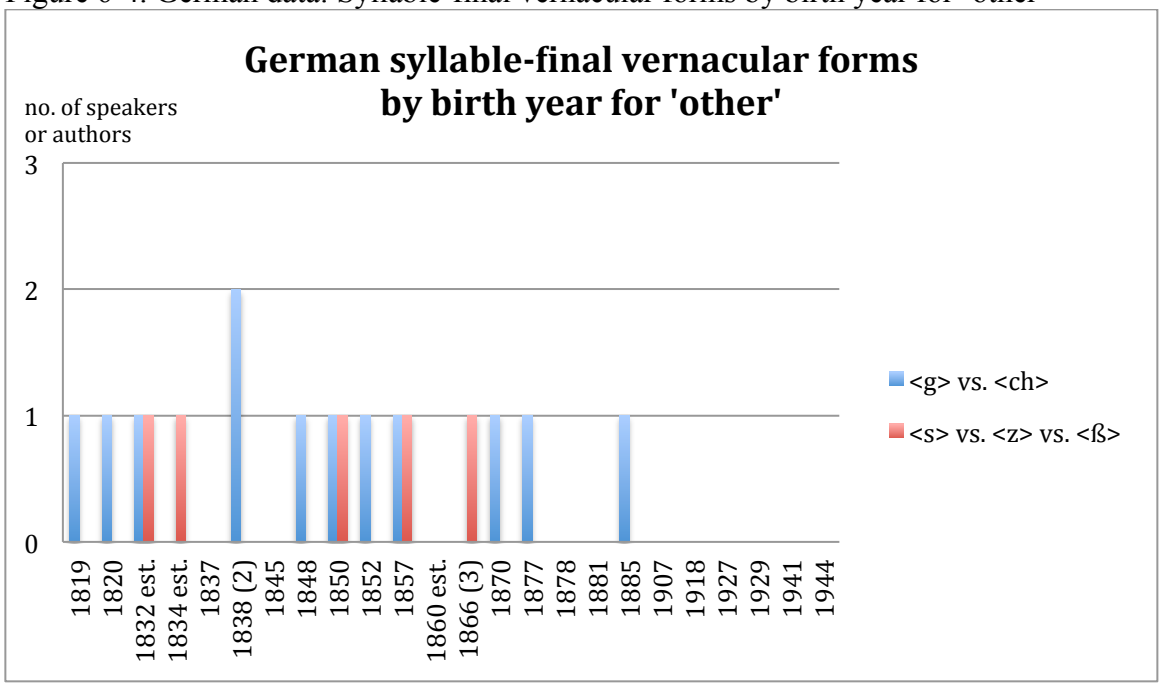
[29] For speakers with audio recordings, no data on 'other' was collected.

Figure 6-3. German data: Syllable-final vernacular forms suggesting FON by birth year for /f^{h}, s^{h}/ vs. /f, s/ and 'other'



Because there were so many 'other' vernacular tokens marked, Figure 6-4 shows the two most common vernacular 'other' tokens. Data for speakers is the same as in Figure 6-3; no 'other' data was collected for speakers (birth years 1881, 1907-1944).

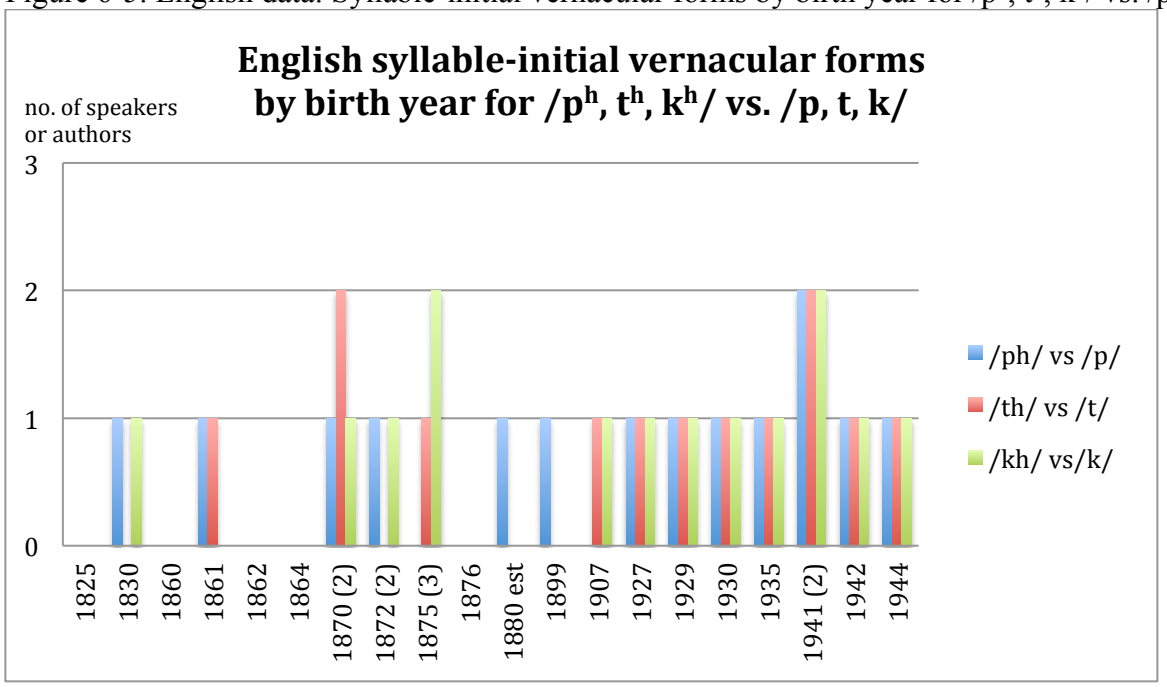
Figure 6-4. German data: Syllable-final vernacular forms by birth year for 'other'



Both of these 'other' vernacular forms are listed as dialect markers and discussed in chapter 3. The orthographic representation of /x, ç/ as <ch> often appears in the texts as <g>, suggesting that these speakers hail from regions where /k/ is realized as [x, ç].

Figure 6-5 shows English syllable-initial vernacular forms for /p^h, t^h, k^h/ vs. /p, t, k/. There is no clear beginning or end for /p^h/ vs. /p/ tokens. Vernacular forms for /t^h/ vs. /t/ occur in the writings of authors with birth years 1861 and 1875. Vernacular forms for /k^h/ vs. /k/ occur in the writings of authors with birth years 1830, 1870-1875, and then again in the recording of a speaker with a birth year in 1907. The large gaps (40 and 32 years) could be indicative of a boomerang progression.

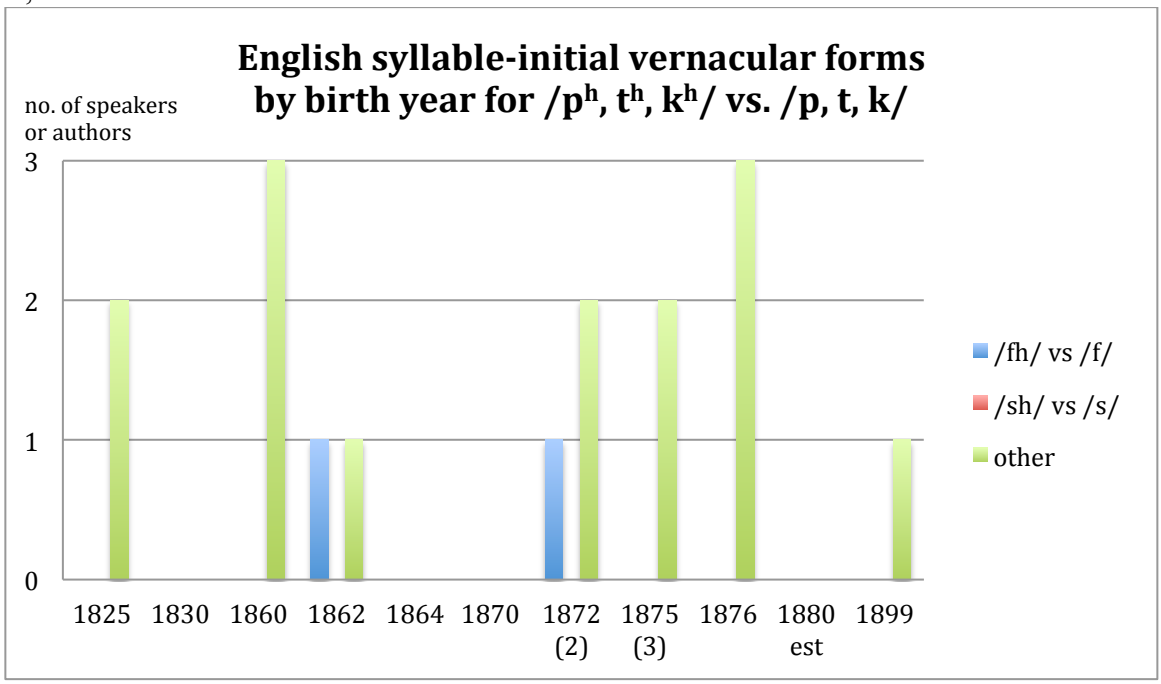
Figure 6-5. English data: Syllable-initial vernacular forms by birth year for /p^h, t^h, k^h/ vs. /p, t, k/



For the speaker with birth year 1861 no /k^h/ vs. /k/ data was collected and for speaker from 1870, all averages were considered vernacular, as were recordings or speakers with birth years 1907-1944.

Figure 6-6 shows that English syllable-initial vernacular forms for /f^h, s^h/ vs. /f, s/ are rare. Other vernacular forms are much more common and are shown in Figure 6-7.

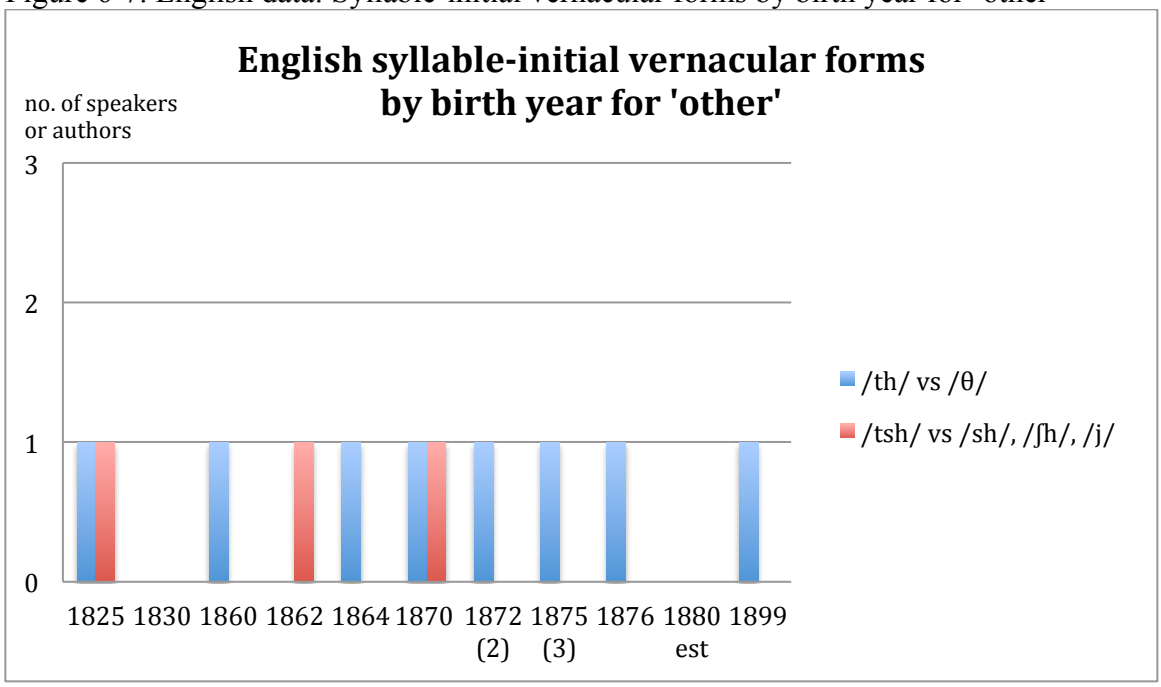
Figure 6-6. English data: Syllable-initial vernacular forms for authors by birth year for /f^{h}, s^{h}/ vs. /f, s/ and 'other'



No data for speakers for /f^{h}, s^{h}/ vs. /f, s/.

The 'other' forms in Figure 6-7 are /t^{h}/ vs. /θ/ and /ts^{h}/ vs. /s^{h}/, /ʃ^{h}/ and /j/. While data was not gathered via the recordings for these forms, /t^{h}/ vs. /θ/ vernacular forms are common in the Upper Midwest.

Figure 6-7. English data: Syllable-initial vernacular forms by birth year for 'other'



Like the German syllable-final vernacular forms, syllable-final vernacular /p^h, t^h, k^h/ vs. /p, t, k/ are more frequent in English in this data than syllable-initial forms. All forms have an eight to nine year gap in birth years from 1861/1862 to 1870, however, the data for one speaker each for birth years 1861 and 1870 is from audio data, where most all speakers exhibited vernacular forms. If these two are excluded /p^h/ vs. /p/ vernacular forms experience a gap in birth years from 1830 when it first appears to 1872. For /k^h/ vs. /k/ this would mean that vernacular forms first appear in authors with birth years 1875 or later.

Figure 6-8. English data: Syllable-final vernacular forms suggesting FON by birth year for /p^h, t^h, k^h/ vs. /p, t, k/

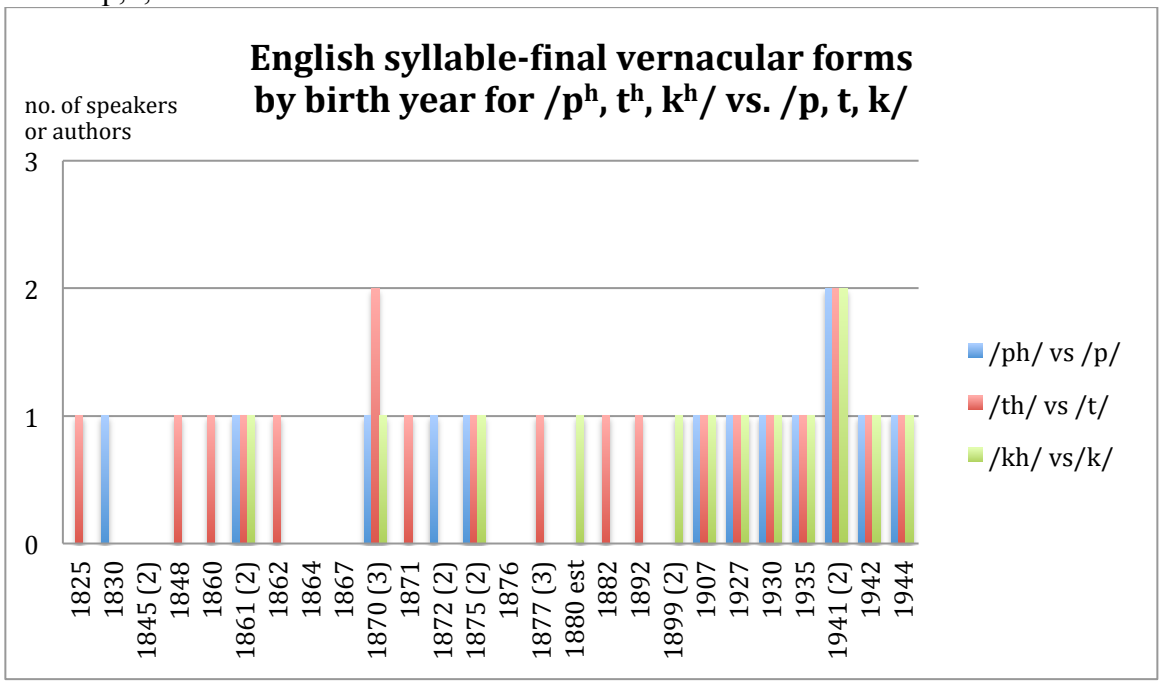
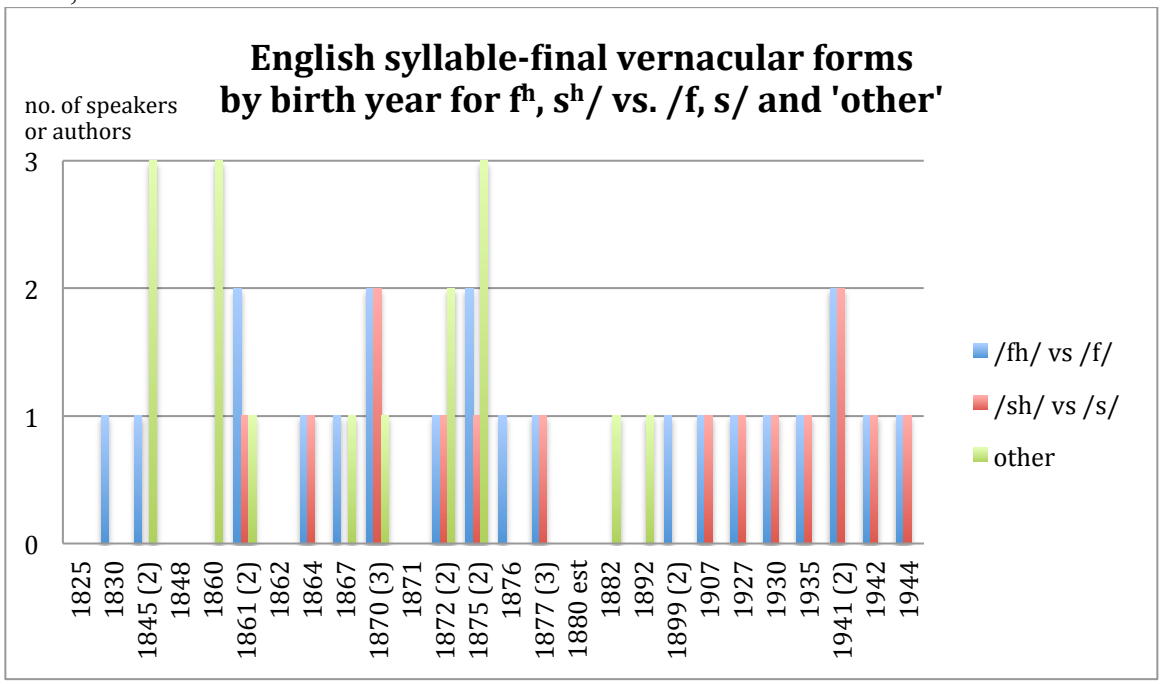


Figure 6-8 shows English syllable-final vernacular forms suggestive of FON for /f^h, s^h/ vs. /f, s/ and 'other' tokens. Vernacular /s^h/ vs. /s/ forms are first visible in the recorded speech of a speaker born in 1861. The first author to exhibit vernacular forms of this feature was born in 1864. There is a thirty year gap from 1877 to 1907 where no vernacular forms of /s^h/ vs. /s/ are visible. A gap exists for /f^h/ vs. /f/ tokens as well. Vernacular /f^h/ vs. /f/ forms have a 22 year gap from speakers born 1877 to 1899. While these gaps could be due to lack of data in the gap years, more education for the writers born in the gap years, etc., because of the length of each of these gaps, this appears to support the idea of boomerang effects in these types.

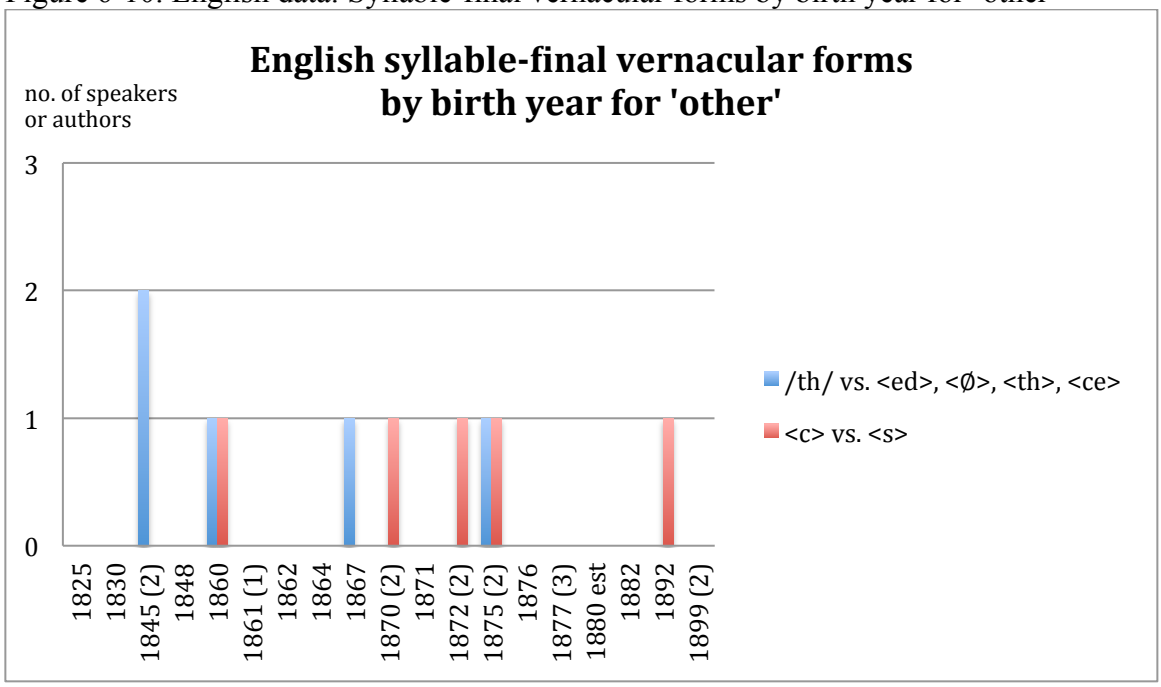
Figure 6-9. English data: Syllable-final vernacular forms suggesting FON by birth year for /f^{h}, s^{h}/ vs. /f, s/ and 'other'



Data for recorded speakers is the same as in previous table; taken from spread vs. unmarked comparisons, stops and fricatives included. No 'other' data was collected for recorded speakers (birth years 1861, 1870, 1907-1944).

Figure 6-9 shows the distribution of birth years for speakers and authors exhibiting English syllable-final vernacular forms. The two most common 'other' vernacular forms are orthographic vernacular forms for final <-ed> or <-th> and using <c> where <s> is expected in words like *case*, where the final consonant is /s^{h}/ rather than /s/. This suggests that these authors recognized in English <c> is often realized as /s^{h}/.

Figure 6-10. English data: Syllable-final vernacular forms by birth year for 'other'



6.1.1 *Age at time of production*

Age at time of production is important to consider to show if there are differences by age group which could be indicative of language change over time. Age-grading, or people using language differently at different stages in life, could be another explanation to the linguistic variation shown here. For age at time of production, I tallied the number of vernacular form types, for each type I add one (+1), so for example if a speaker or author has five types of syllable-initial vernacular obstruent forms, they show up with a five on this graph, if a speaker or author has none they appear marked as zero. 'Other' tokens have been excluded, so the highest number an individual could receive is five, one for each type: /p^h, t^h, k^h, f^h, s^h/ vs. /p, t, k, f, s/. For recorded speakers, only three types are possible, as no data was gathered for /f^h, s^h/ vs. /f, s/.

The following show differences by age group at time of production. The age groups I have chosen are based on where the gaps naturally occurred in my data and to reflect ranges and

life stages given in previous studies (Labov 2001: 101; Tagliamonte 2012: 43-49). The groups are as follows:

1. Child/adolescent; 7-15
2. Young adult; 19-29
3. Middle-aged adult; 30-50
4. Older adult; 62-86

When an author wrote multiple times over multiple-year periods, I used the date of their first document to simplify.

Table 6-1 shows the total number of speakers compared with the number of speakers exhibiting vernacular forms and the percentage of speakers with vernacular forms. Of the 105 speakers or authors, 14 were between the ages of seven and 15 (child/adolescent group), 41 were between the ages of 19 and 29 (young adult group), 25 were 30 to 50 years old (middle-aged adult group), 19 were 62-86 years old (older adult group), and the age for the final six was unknown and unable to be estimated (no birth years were found). The group with the most speakers exhibiting vernacular forms is ‘older adult’. The groups with the lowest percent of speakers exhibiting vernacular forms is ‘unknown’ and then ‘child/adolescent’.

Table 6-1. Age groupings for speakers and authors with no vernacular forms and those with vernacular forms

Age group	Total speakers and authors	# with vernacular forms	%
Child/adolescent	14	5	35.7%
Young adult	41	29	70.7%
Middle-aged adult	25	12	48%
Older adult	19	17	89.5%
Unknown	6	2	33.3%
Total	105	65	61.9%

Overall Table 6-1 shows that the group with the highest percentage of speakers and authors exhibiting vernacular forms is ‘Older adult’, followed by ‘Young adult’, ‘Middle-aged adult’, ‘Child/adolescent’, and unknown. Table 6-2 shows the distribution by language.

Table 6-2. Vernacular forms in each language by age group

Age group	German	with vernacular forms	%	English	with vernacular forms	%
Child/adolescent	0	0	0	14	5	35.7%
Young adult	16	14	87.5%	25	15	60%
Middle-aged adult	15	12	80%	11	2	18.2%
Older adult	14	13	92.6%	8	8	100%
Unknown	2	2	100%	4	0	0
Total	47	41	87.2%	62	30	48.4%

Table 6-2 shows the number of speakers with vernacular forms per age group according to language. For German speakers and authors the age groups are fairly even. For English speakers and authors the group most frequently exhibiting vernacular forms is the ‘Older adult’ group with 100% exhibiting vernacular forms. The group with the least amount speakers and authors exhibiting vernacular forms is ‘Middle-aged adult’ with only 18.2% of speakers and authors exhibiting vernacular forms. For German speakers and authors, all age groups are over 80%, suggesting that for these speakers and authors vernacular forms are common at all levels, and likely have less to do with age rather than the language or other factors.

Table 6-3. German data: Syllable-initial vernacular forms by age group

Type	Child/ adolescent; N=0	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Young adult; N=7; 1 audio	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Middle-aged adult; N=6; 1 audio	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Older adult; N=7; 6 audio [30]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms
/p^h/ vs. /p/ <p> vs. <b>	n/a	n/a	3	42.9%	2	33.3%	4	57.1%
/t^h/ vs. /t/ <t, th> vs. <d>	n/a	n/a	3	42.9%	4	66.7%	4	57.1%
/k^h/ vs. /k/ <k> vs. <g>	n/a	n/a	2	28.6%	1	16.7%	5	71.4%
/f^h/ vs. /f/ <f, v> vs. <w>	n/a	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	0
/s^h/ vs. /s/ <ss, ß> vs. <s>	n/a	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	0
other	n/a	n/a	6	85.7%	3	50%	1	14.3%

Table 6-3 shows that each age group has a different vernacular form that is most common. There are no speakers or authors in the 'Child/adolescent' group. For the 'Young adult' group, the vernacular form exhibited by the highest number of speakers and authors is tied at 42.9% between /p^h/ vs. /p/ and /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms. For the 'Middle-aged adult' group /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms are exhibited by the highest percent of speakers and authors with 66.7% exhibiting these vernacular forms. For the 'Older adult' group /k^h/ vs. /k/ vernacular forms were exhibited by the highest percent of speakers and authors with 71.4% exhibiting this type.

[30] All speakers exhibit vernacular forms for all types where data collected.

Table 6-4. German data: Syllable-final vernacular forms by age group

Type	Child/ adolescent; N=0	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Young adult; N=10; 1 audio	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Middle-aged adult; N=9; 1 audio	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Older adult; N=9; 6 audio [31]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms
/p^{h}/ vs. /p/ <p> vs. <b>	n/a	n/a	3	30%	1	11.1%	6	66.7%
/t^{h}/ vs. /t/ <t, th> vs. <d>	n/a	n/a	8	80%	5	55.6%	7	77.8%
/k^{h}/ vs. /k/ <k> vs. <g>	n/a	n/a	1	10%	2	22.2%	6	66.7%
/f^{h}/ vs. /f/ <f, v> vs. <w>	n/a	n/a	3	30%	3	33.3%	6	66.7%
/s^{h}/ vs. /s/ <ss, ß> vs. <s>	n/a	n/a	6	60%	3	33.3%	6	66.7%
other	n/a	n/a	6[32]	60%	8[33]	88.9%	2[34]	22.2%

Table 6-4 shows for German syllable-final vernacular forms that apart from 'other' vernacular forms for the 'Middle-aged adult' group, /t^{h}/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms are exhibited by the highest percentage of speakers and authors.

[31] All speakers exhibit vernacular forms for all where data collected.
[32] Five of the authors exhibiting 'other' forms exhibit <g> vs. <ch> vernacular forms.
[33] Five of the authors exhibiting 'other' forms exhibit <g> vs. <ch> vernacular forms. Four exhibit <s> vs. <ss> vs. <ß> vs. <z> vernacular forms.
[34] Both 'other' forms are <g> vs. <ch> vernacular forms.

Table 6-5. English data: Syllable-initial vernacular forms by age group

Type	Child/ adolescent; N=2	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Young adult; N=10	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Middle-aged adult; N=2; 1 audio	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Older adult; N=11; 10 audio [35]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms
/p^h/ vs. /p/ <p> vs. <b>	1	50%	2	20%	1	50%	10	90.9%
/t^h/ vs. /t/ <t> vs. <d>	0	0	2	20%	1	50%	10	90.9%
/k^h/ vs. /k/ <k> vs. <g>	0	0	3	30%	2	100%	9	81.8%
/f^h/ vs. /f/ <f> vs. <v>	0	0	2	20%	0	0	0	0
/s^h/ vs. /s/ <s> vs. <z>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
other	1	50%	8	80%	0	0	1	9.1%

Table 6-5 shows that for English syllable-initial vernacular forms, each group has a different form which is exhibited by the highest percent of speakers and authors. For the 'Child/adolescent' group, there are only two speakers and authors, and one exhibits /p^h/ vs. /p/ vernacular forms and the exhibits 'other' vernacular forms. For the 'Young adult' group, 'other forms' are exhibited by 80% of speakers and authors. For the 'Middle-aged adult' group /k^h/ vs. /k/ vernacular forms are exhibited by both speakers and authors. Finally, for the 'Older adult' group /p^h/ vs. /p/ and /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms are tied for being exhibited by the highest percentage of speakers.

[35] All speakers exhibit vernacular forms for all where data collected.

Table 6-6. English data: Syllable-final vernacular forms by age group

Type	Child/ adolescent; N=4	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Young adult; N=17	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Middle-aged adult; N=5; 1 audio	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Older adult; N=11; 9 audio [36]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms
/p^h/ vs. /p/ <p> vs. <b>	1	25%	2	11.8%	2	40%	9	81.8%
/t^h/ vs. /t/ <t> vs. <d>	1	25%	7	41.2%	2	40%	10	90.9%
/k^h/ vs. /k/ <k> vs. <g>	2	50%	1	5.9%	1	20%	9	81.8%
/f^h/ vs. /f/ <f> vs. <v>	0	0	9	52.9%	3	60%	10	90.9%
/s^h/ vs. /s/ <s> vs. <z>	1	25%	4	23.5%	1	20%	9	81.8%
other	1	25%	8[37]	47.1%	2	40%	1	9.1%

Table 6-6 shows which age group exhibited each form by the highest percentage of speakers and authors for English syllable-final vernacular forms. For the 'Child/adolescent' group /k^h/ vs. /k/ forms are exhibited most frequently. For both the 'Young adult' and 'Middle-aged adult' group, /f^h/ vs. /f/ vernacular forms are exhibited by the highest percentage of speakers and authors. This is also true for the 'Older adult' group, although it is tied with /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms.

[36] All speakers exhibit vernacular forms where data collected.
[37] Five of the authors exhibiting 'other' forms exhibit <c> vs. <s> vernacular forms.

6.1.1 *Age summary*

Table 6-7 summarizes which group had the highest percentage of speakers and authors exhibiting vernacular forms for each type. Vernacular forms for /p^h/ vs. /p/ in both German and English, syllable initially and finally, were exhibited by the highest percentage from the 'Older adult' group. Vernacular forms for /t^h/ vs. /t/ in German were exhibited syllable initially by the highest percentage from the 'Middle-aged adult' group and syllable finally by the highest percentage from the 'Younger adult' group. For English /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms were exhibited both syllable initially and finally by the highest percentage from the 'Older adult' group. For German /k^h/ vs. /k/ vernacular forms were exhibited both syllable initially and finally by the highest percentage from the 'Older adult' group. For English, syllable initially these forms were exhibited by the highest percentage from the 'Middle-aged adult' group and syllable finally by the 'Older adult' group. Syllable-initial vernacular forms for /f^h/ vs. /f/ and /s^h/ vs. /s/ were not present in German, but syllable finally, the 'Older adult' group had the highest percentage of speakers and authors who exhibited these vernacular forms. In syllable-final position this was the same in English. In syllable-initial position /f^h/ vs. /f/ vernacular forms were exhibited by the highest percentage of speakers and authors from the 'Younger adult' group. 'Other' forms were exhibited by the highest percentage of speakers and authors from the 'Younger adult' group for all languages and syllable positions except syllable finally in German, which was exhibited by the highest percentage from the 'Middle-aged adult' group.

Overall, the groups are varied for German and English syllable initial vernacular forms, but for syllable-final vernacular forms in both German and English, the 'Older adult' group exhibited the highest percentage of speakers and authors exhibiting vernacular forms more frequently than any other group.

Table 6-7. Age summary

Type	German VOT	German FON	English VOT	English FON
/p^h/ vs. /p/	Older	Older	Older	Older
/t^h/ vs. /t/	Middle	Younger	Older	Older
/k^h/ vs. /k/	Older	Older	Middle	Older
/f^h/ vs. /f/	n/a	Older	Younger	Older
/s^h/ vs. /s/	n/a	Older	n/a	Older
other	Younger	Middle	Younger	Younger

6.2 Sex

Table 6-8. Sex of all speakers and authors

Sex	Total speakers and authors	# with vernacular forms	%
Men	58	38	65.5%
Women	46	27	58.7%
Unknown	1	0	0%
Total	105	65	63.1%

Table 6-8 shows that 65.5% of the male authors exhibit vernacular forms, but only 58.7% of women exhibit vernacular forms.

Table 6-9. Sex distribution by language

Sex	Data in German and English	Data in German only	Data in English only	Total
Men	11	13	14	38
Women	4	7	16	27
Total	15	20	30	65

Table 6-9 shows the sex distribution based on data collection languages. Six speakers and authors contributed data with vernacular forms in both German and English.

Table 6-10. German data: Syllable-initial vernacular forms by sex

Type	Men; N=15	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Women; N=6	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms
/p^h/ vs. /p/ <p> vs. <b>	7	46.7%	2	33.3%
/t^h/ vs. /t/ <t, th> vs. <d>	8	53.3%	3	50%
/k^h/ vs. /k/ <k> vs. <g>	5	33.3%	3	50%
/f^h/ vs. /f/ <f, v> vs. <w>	0	0	0	0
/s^h/ vs. /s/ <ss, ß> vs. <s>[38]	0	0	0	0
other	7	46.7%	3	50%

Table 6-10 shows that when separated by sex, German speakers and authors exhibit different features. The feature exhibited most by men is /t^h/ vs. /t/, while for women /t^h/ vs. /t/ is tied with /k^h/ vs. /k/ vernacular forms. The second most common feature with vernacular forms exhibited by men is /p^h/ vs. /p/. Men are approximately 13% more likely to exhibit /p^h/ vs. /p/ and /t^h/ vs. /t/ syllable-initial vernacular forms than women. Women are 16.7% more likely to exhibit /k^h/ vs. /k/ syllable-initial vernacular forms than men, and only 3.33% more likely to exhibit 'other syllable-initial vernacular forms. Neither men, nor women exhibited German syllable-initial /f^h/ vs. /f/ or /s^h/ vs. /s/ vernacular forms.

[38] It is expected that there should be no instances of syllable-intial /s^h/ vs. /s/ vernacular forms for German data because /s^h/ only exists in loanwords and both /s^h/ and /s/ are orthographically represented as <s>.

Table 6-11. German data: Syllable-final vernacular forms by sex

Type	Men; N=21	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Women; N=8	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms
/p^h/ vs. /p/ <p> vs. <b>	7	33.3%	3	37.5%
/t^h/ vs. /t/ <t, th> vs. <d>	15	71.4%	6	75%
/k^h/ vs. /k/ <k> vs. <g>	6	28.6%	3	37.5%
/f^h/ vs. /f/ <f, v> vs. <w>	8	38.1%	4	50%
/s^h/ vs. /s/ <ss, ß> vs. <s>	12	57.1%	3	37.5%
other	14	66.7%	4	50%

Table 6-11 shows that for German syllable-final vernacular forms similar numbers of male and female speakers and authors exhibit each. Vernacular /t^h/ vs. /t/ forms are exhibited by the largest number from both groups, followed by 'other' forms. There is less than a 5% difference between men and women for /p^h/ vs. /p/ and /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms. Women are 8.9% more likely than men to exhibit /k^h/ vs. /k/ vernacular forms and 11.9% more likely to exhibit /f^h/ vs. /f/ vernacular forms. Men are 19.6% more likely to exhibit /s^h/ vs. /s/ vernacular forms and 16.7% more likely to exhibit 'other' forms.

Table 6-12. English data: Syllable-initial vernacular forms by sex

Type	Men; N=13	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Women; N=12	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms
/p^h/ vs. /p/ <p> vs. <b>	8	61.5%	6	50%
/t^h/ vs. /t/ <t> vs. <d>	7	53.8%	5	41.7%
/k^h/ vs. /k/ <k> vs. <g>	7	53.8%	7	58.3%
/f^h/ vs. /f/ <f> vs. <v>	1	7.7%	1	8.3%
/s^h/ vs. /s/ <s> vs. <z>	0	0	0	0
other	4	30.8%	6	50%

Table 6-12 shows that when separated by sex, the English syllable-initial vernacular form exhibited by the most men is /p^h/ vs. /p/, while the English syllable-initial vernacular form exhibited by women is /k^h/ vs. /k/. Men are 11.5% more likely than women to exhibit /p^h/ vs. /p/ vernacular forms and 12.1% more likely to exhibit /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms. Women are 4.5% more likely to exhibit /k^h/ vs. /k/ vernacular forms than men and 19.2% more likely to exhibit 'other' vernacular forms. The difference between men and women for /f^h/ vs. /f/ vernacular forms is less than 1%.

Table 6-13. English data: Syllable-final vernacular forms by sex

Type	Men; N=20	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Women; N=18	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms
/p^h/ vs. /p/ <p> vs. <b>	8	40%	5	27.8%
/t^h/ vs. /t/ <t> vs. <d>	9	45%	10	55.6%
/k^h/ vs. /k/ <k> vs. <g>	6	30%	7	38.9%
/f^h/ vs. /f/ <f> vs. <v>	13	65%	9	50%
/s^h/ vs. /s/ <s> vs. <z>	9	45%	6	33.3%
other	6	30%	6	33.3%

Table 6-13 shows the differences between English syllable-final vernacular forms for men and women. Vernacular forms of /f^h/ vs. /f/ followed by /s^h/ vs. /s/ are exhibited by the most men. Vernacular forms of /t^h/ vs. /t/ followed by /f^h/ vs. /f/ are exhibited by the most women. Men are 12.2% more likely to exhibit /p^h/ vs. /p/ vernacular forms than women. Women are 10.6% more likely to exhibit /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms and 8.9% more likely to exhibit /k^h/ vs. /k/ vernacular forms than men. Men are 15% more likely to exhibit /f^h/ vs. /f/ vernacular forms and 11.7% more

likely to exhibit /s^{h}/ vs. /s/ vernacular forms than women. There is less than a 5% difference between men and women for 'other' forms.

6.2.1 *Sex summary*

Table 6-14. Sex summary

Type	German VOT	German FON	English VOT	English FON
/p^{h}/ vs. /p/	Men	Women	Men	Men
/t^{h}/ vs. /t/	Men	Women	Men	Women
/k^{h}/ vs. /k/	Women	Women	Women	Women
/f^{h}/ vs. /f/	n/a	Women	Women	Men
/s^{h}/ vs. /s/	n/a	Men	n/a	Men
other	Women	Men	Women	Women

Table 6-14 shows which sex was more likely to exhibit each vernacular forms of each type. Men were more likely to exhibit both /p^{h}/ vs. /p/ and /t^{h}/ vs. /t/ syllable-initial vernacular forms in German and English. Women were more likely to exhibit vernacular forms for /k^{h}/ vs. /k/ both syllable initially and finally and in both German and English. For the available data, VOT vernacular forms pattern the same overall in German and in English. Women are more likely to exhibit German syllable-final vernacular forms.

6.3 Occupation

In this section I consider the occupation groups described in chapter 3 and compare with speakers and authors exhibiting vernacular forms.

Table 6-15. Occupation groups: With and without vernacular forms

Occupation group	Total speakers and authors	# with vernacular forms	%
Child	8	2	25%
Skilled labor	24	15	62.5%
Unskilled labor	25	19	76%
Domestic labor	18	13	72.2%
Professional	6	5	83.3%
Unknown	22	11	50%
Total	103	65	63.1%

Table 6-15 shows the distribution of occupation group with no vernacular forms and with vernacular forms. The largest group exhibiting no vernacular forms is skilled labor, followed by child and unskilled labor. The smallest group exhibiting no vernacular forms is professional. Unskilled laborers make up the largest group that exhibits vernacular forms, followed by skilled laborers, and then domestic laborers.

Table 6-16. Vernacular forms in each language by occupation

Occupation group	German	with vernacular forms	%	English	with vernacular forms	%
Child	8	0	0	2	2	100
Skilled labor	24	12	50%	15	12	80%
Unskilled labor	25	11	44%	19	9	47.4%
Domestic labor	18	6	33.3%	13	7	53.8%
Professional	6	5	83.3%	5	1	20%
Unknown	22	7	31.8%	11	4	36.4%
Total	103	41	39.8%	65	30	46.2%

Table 6-16 shows the distribution of each language's vernacular forms according to occupation group. Of those exhibiting German vernacular forms, the largest group is made up of skilled laborers, followed by unskilled laborers, and unknown. Of those exhibiting English vernacular forms, the groups pattern the same.

In the next comparisons I remove "child" from farther analysis because there are no children exhibiting German vernacular forms and only two exhibit vernacular forms in English, only one with syllable-initial vernacular forms.

Table 6-17. German data: Syllable-initial vernacular forms by occupation group

Type	Skilled labor; N=6; 3 audio	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Unskill. labor; N=7; 3 audio[39]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Dom. labor; N=1	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Prof.; N=2; 1 audio [40]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms
/p^h/ vs. /p/ <p> vs. <b>	2	33.3%	4	57.1%	0	0	0	0
/t^h/ vs. /t/ <t, th> vs. <d>	4	66.7%	5	71.4%	1	100%	0	0
/k^h/ vs. /k/ <k> vs. <g>	3	50%	2	28.6%	0	0	1	50%
/f^h/ vs. /f/ <f, v> vs. <w>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
/s^h/ vs. /s/ <ss, ß> vs. <s>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
other	1	16.7%	3	42.9%	1	100%	1	50%

Table 6-17 shows German syllable-initial vernacular forms by occupation group. At first glance these seem very distinct, but the largest vernacular feature exhibited by the most speakers and authors for skilled and unskilled laborers is /t^h/ vs. /t/ forms. Only one speaker or author is listed as a domestic laborer and exhibits vernacular forms of two types. For the professional group, only two speakers and authors are included, each exhibits only one type of vernacular form.

[39] All exhibit vernacular forms for all types with data collected.
[40] This speaker only exhibited vernacular forms for /k/. The author with 'other' vernacular form is /t^h/ vs. /θ/.

Table 6-18. German data: Syllable-final vernacular forms by occupation group

Type	Skilled labor; N=6; 3 audio[41]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Unskill. labor; N=9, 3 audio[42]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Dom. labor; N=4, 3 audio[43]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Prof.; N=4, 1 audio[44]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms
/p^h/ vs. /p/ <p> vs. <b>	3	50%	3	33.3%	0	0	2	50%
/t^h/ vs. /t/ <t, th> vs. <d>	5	83.3%	5	55.6%	2	66.7%	3	75%
/k^h/ vs. /k/ <k> vs. <g>	3	50%	4	44.4%	0	0	1	25%
/f^h/ vs. /f/ <f, v> vs. <w>	3	50%	3	33.3%	0	0	1	25%
/s^h/ vs. /s/ <ss, ß> vs. <s>	3	50%	6	66.7%	0	0	2	50%
other	2	33.3%	6	66.7%	3	100%	1	25%

Table 6-18 shows German syllable-final vernacular forms by occupation group. In the skilled labor group, /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms are exhibited by the highest number of speakers and authors. In the unskilled labor group /s^h/ vs. /s/ vernacular forms and 'other' vernacular forms are exhibited by one person more each than /t^h/ vs. /t/ forms, suggesting that all are rather frequent. In the domestic labor group 'other' vernacular forms are exhibited by the largest number of speakers and authors, followed by /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms. The professional group also has the highest number of speakers and authors who exhibit /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms.

[41] All exhibit vernacular forms for all types with data collected.
[42] All exhibit vernacular forms for all types with data collected.
[43] All 'other' are <g> vs. <ch> vernacular forms.
[44] Audio speaker exhibits vernacular forms for all categories except 'other'.

Table 6-19. English data: Syllable-initial vernacular forms by occupation group

Type	Skilled labor; N=8; 5 audio[45]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Unskill. labor; N=8; 2 audio	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Dom. labor; N=4	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Prof.; N=2, both audio [46]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms
/p^h/ vs. /p/ <p> vs. <b>	4	50%	5	62.5%	0	0	2	100%
/t^h/ vs. /t/ <t> vs. <d>	6	75%	2	25%	0	0	2	100%
/k^h/ vs. /k/ <k> vs. <g>	6	75%	5	62.5%	0	0	2	100%
/f^h/ vs. /f/ <f> vs. <v>	1	12.5%	1	12.5%	1	25%	n/a	n/a
/s^h/ vs. /s/ <s> vs. <z>	0	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	n/a
other	3	37.5%	3	37.5%	4	100%	n/a	n/a

Table 6-19 shows English syllable-initial vernacular forms by occupation group. The skilled labor group shows both /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms and /k^h/ vs. /k/ vernacular forms exhibited by the largest number of speakers and authors. For the unskilled labor group, /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms and /p^h/ vs. /p/ vernacular forms are exhibited by the largest number of speakers and authors. The domestic labor group shows 'other' vernacular forms as exhibited most frequently. Of the four speakers and authors in this category three speakers and authors exhibit vernacular /t^h/ vs. /θ/ forms and two vernacular /tʃ^h/ vs. /ʃ^h/ forms. Data for the professional group are from

[45] All with vernacular forms where data available.
[46] Both speakers exhibit vernacular forms for all types.

recorded speakers only, both are considered to have vernacular forms for all tokens. Skilled and unskilled labor groups are similar, but differ from the domestic group for syllable-initial forms.

Table 6-20. English data: Syllable-final vernacular forms by occupation group

Type	Skilled labor; N=12; 5 audio[47]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Unskill. labor; N=8; 1 audio[48]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Dom. labor; N=8	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Prof.; N=2; both audio [49]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms
/p^h/ vs. /p/ <p> vs. <b>	5	41.7%	4	50%	0	0	2	100%
/t^h/ vs. /t/ <t> vs. <d>	7	58.3%	2	25%	5	62.5%	2	100%
/k^h/ vs. /k/ <k> vs. <g>	5	41.7%	2	25%	1	12.5%	2	100%
/f^h/ vs. /f/ <f> vs. <v>	9	75%	7	87.5%	2	25%	2	100%
/s^h/ vs. /s/ <s> vs. <z>	5	41.7%	5	62.5%	0	0	2	100%
other	5	41.7%	2	25%	2	25%	n/a	n/a

For the skilled labor group, English syllable-final vernacular /f^h/ vs. /f/ forms are exhibited by the largest number of speakers and authors, followed by /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms. Vernacular /f^h/ vs. /f/ forms are also exhibited by the largest number of speakers and authors in the unskilled labor group, followed by /s^h/ vs. /s/ vernacular forms. The domestic group also exhibits /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms by the largest number of speakers and authors, followed by other tokens and

[47] Speakers exhibit vernacular forms for all categories except 'other'.
[48] Speakers exhibit vernacular forms for all categories except 'other'.
[49] All with vernacular forms where data available.

then /f^{h}/ vs. /f/. Data for the professional group are from recorded speakers only; both are considered to have vernacular forms for all tokens.

6.3.1 *Occupation summary*

Although there are differences between the skilled, unskilled, and domestic labor groups, these appear not to be suggestive of any differentiation between occupation groups. Table 6-20 shows which groups were more likely to exhibit each type of vernacular form. German syllable-initial vernacular forms are distributed across the groups, but German syllable-final forms are most likely to be exhibited by skilled labor speakers and authors. English syllable-initial and syllable-final vernacular forms are most likely to be exhibited by professional speakers and authors. This is rather unexpected because the professional group has the highest level of education and it might be expected that they would have more experience with writing and speaking in standard-like situations. However, this could also be because they often have more data and therefore more opportunity to exhibit vernacular forms.

Table 6-21. Occupation summary

Type	German VOT	German FON	English VOT	English FON
/p^{h}/ vs. /p/	Unskilled	Skilled/Professional	Professional	Professional
/t^{h}/ vs. /t/	Domestic	Skilled	Professional	Professional
/k^{h}/ vs. /k/	Skilled/Professional	Skilled	Professional	Professional
/f^{h}/ vs. /f/	n/a	Skilled	Domestic	Professional
/s^{h}/ vs. /s/	n/a	Unskilled	n/a	Professional
other	Domestic	Domestic	Domestic	Skilled

6.4 Generation

For the following analyses I collapsed the generation groups so that those with differing generation levels are assigned to the group with the larger generation number. For example, if their mother was a second-generation speaker and their father a third generation speaker, I would

have originally classified them as second/third, but for this I consider them a third-generation speaker. I do not consider those of an unknown generation.

Table 6-22. Generation: With and without vernacular forms

Generation	Total speakers and authors	# with vernacular forms	%
Gen 1	12	11	91.7%
Gen 2	39	24	61.5%
Gen 3	33	16	48.5%
Gen 4	6	4	66.7%
Unknown	13	10	76.9%
Total	103	65	61.9%

Table 6-22 shows that the largest group of those exhibiting no vernacular forms is third generation, followed by second generation. Of those exhibiting vernacular forms, the largest group is second generation, followed by third, and then first.

Table 6-23. Speakers and authors exhibiting vernacular forms for German and English by generation

Generation	Total # of German speakers and authors	German with vernacular forms	%	Total # of English speakers and authors	English with vernacular forms	%
Gen 1	10	9	90%	2	2	100%
Gen 2	16	12	75%	23	12	52.2%
Gen 3	6	5	83.3%	27	11	40.7%
Gen 4	1	1	100%	5	3	60%
Unknown	8	8	100%	6	2	33.3%
Total	41	35	85.4%	62	30	48.4%

For German speakers and authors vernacular forms are exhibited most by second-generation speakers and authors, then first generation. For English speakers and authors vernacular forms are exhibited most by second then third generation.

Table 6-24. German data: Syllable-initial vernacular forms by generation

Type	Gen 1; N=5	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Gen 2; N=6; 2 audio[50]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Gen 3; N=4; all audio	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Gen 4; N=1; audio	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms
/p^h/ vs. /p/ <p> vs. <b>	2	40%	2	33.3%	2	50%	0	0
/t^h/ vs. /t/ <t, th> vs. <d>	3	60%	3	50%	3	75%	1	100%
/k^h/ vs. /k/ <k> vs. <g>	1	20%	2	33.3%	3	75%	1	100%
/f^h/ vs. /f/ <f, v> vs. <w>	0	0	0	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
/s^h/ vs. /s/ <ss, ß> vs. <s>	0	0	0	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
other	5	100%	4	66.7%	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Table 6-24 shows German syllable-initial vernacular forms by generation. The largest number of first-generation speakers and authors exhibit other vernacular forms, followed by /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms. The same is true for the second generation. While in most cases I have shown that speakers from audio sources exhibit vernacular forms for all token types, here all third-generation German syllable-initial data is made up from audio sources, but not all exhibited vernacular forms, which is perhaps more interesting than the vernacular forms themselves. Two third-generation speakers exhibit standard forms for both /p^h/ and /p/ tokens and one of those also exhibits standard forms for both /t^h/ vs. /t/ tokens. There is only one fourth-generation speaker who exhibits two vernacular forms (no data was collected for /p^h/ vs. /p/ forms).

[50] Two speakers with vernacular forms for /p^h/ and /k^h/. One speaker with vernacular forms for /t^h/.

Table 6-25. German data: Syllable-final vernacular forms by generation

Type	Gen 1; N=8	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Gen 2; N=8; 2 audio[51]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Gen 3; N=5; 4 audio [52]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Gen 4; N=1; audio	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms
/p^h/ vs. /p/ <p> vs. <b>	1	12.5%	2	25%	4	80%	1	100%
/t^h/ vs. /t/ <t, th> vs. <d>	5	62.5%	6	75%	4	80%	1	100%
/k^h/ vs. /k/ <k> vs. <g>	0	0	2	25%	4	80%	1	100%
/f^h/ vs. /f/ <f, v> vs. <w>	3	37.5%	2	25%	4	80%	1	100%
/s^h/ vs. /s/ <ss, ß> vs. <s>	3	37.5%	4	50%	5	100%	1	100%
other	7	87.5%	3	37.5%	1	20%	n/a	n/a

Table 6-25 shows German syllable-final vernacular forms by generation. 'Other' vernacular forms are exhibited by the most first-generation speakers and authors, followed by /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms. Vernacular /t^h/ vs. /t/ forms are exhibited by the largest number of second-generation speakers and authors, followed by /s^h/ vs. /s/ vernacular forms. Data for both third- and fourth-generation speakers and authors is gathered mostly from recorded speech where all speakers exhibit vernacular forms, however, this shows that at least for third-generation speakers and authors most written vernacular forms have disappeared, only /s^h/ vs. /s/ vernacular forms are exhibited.

[51] Both speakers with vernacular forms for all types except 'other'.
[52] Four speakers with vernacular forms for all types except 'other'.

Table 6-26. English data: Syllable-initial vernacular forms by generation

Type	Gen 1; N=2	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Gen 2; N=9; 3 audio[53]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Gen 3; N=11; 6 audio [54]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Gen 4; N=3; 2 audio [55]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms
/p^h/ vs. /p/ <p> vs. <b>	0	0	3	33.3%	8	72.7%	3	100%
/t^h/ vs. /t/ <t> vs. <d>	1	50%	4	44.4%	6	54.5%	2	66.7%
/k^h/ vs. /k/ <k> vs. <g>	0	0	4	44.4%	8	72.7%	2	66.7%
/f^h/ vs. /f/ <f> vs. <v>	1	50%	1	11.1%	1	11.1%	0	0
/s^h/ vs. /s/ <s> vs. <z>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
other	2	100%	5	55.6%	2	22.2%	1	33.3%

Table 6-26 shows English syllable-initial vernacular forms by generation. This shows that overall English syllable-initial vernacular forms are very infrequent, with most of the data here coming from audio data, suggesting that the writers had achieved standard orthographic conventions. Although there are only two speakers and authors with vernacular forms for first generation, this shows that in the first generation living in the US, vernacular /t^h/ vs. /t/ and /f^h/ vs. /f/ forms are already exhibited. Vernacular /t^h/ vs. /t/ forms were not only present in first-generation speakers and authors data, but also in second generation written forms. By third- and

[53] Three speakers with /p^h/ vs. /p/ and /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms, two with /k^h/ vs. /k/ vernacular forms (third speaker had no data available).
[54] Five speakers with /p^h/ vs. /p/ vernacular forms (one speaker had no data). All six speakers exhibited /t^h/ vs. /t/ and /k^h/ vs. /k/ vernacular forms.
[55] Speakers both with vernacular forms for /p^h, t^h, k^h/ vs. /p, t, k/.

fourth-generation speakers and authors these have receded to only appearing in the data of recorded speakers. Vernacular /k^{h}/ vs. /k/ forms are exhibited in the writing of second- and third-generation speakers and authors, and in the spoken data of second–fourth generation speakers and authors.

Table 6-27. English data: Syllable-final vernacular forms by generation

Type	Gen 1; N=3	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Gen 2; N=17; 3 audio[56]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Gen 3; N=11; 5 audio [57]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Gen 4; N=4; 2 audio [58]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms
/p^{h}/ vs. /p/ <p> vs. <b>	0	0	4	23.5%	7	63.6%	2	50%
/t^{h}/ vs. /t/ <t> vs. <d>	2	66.7%	10	58.8%	5	45.5%	2	50%
/k^{h}/ vs. /k/ <k> vs. <g>	0	0	4	23.5%	5	45.5%	3	75%
/f^{h}/ vs. /f/ <f> vs. <v>	1	33.3%	10	58.5%	8	72.7%	3	75%
/s^{h}/ vs. /s/ <s> vs. <z>	0	0	6	35.3%	6	54.5%	2	50%
other	2	66.7%	8	47.1%	2	18.2%	n/a	n/a

Table 6-27 shows English syllable-final vernacular forms by generation. Vernacular /t^{h}/ vs. /t/ forms are only present in the written data of first and second-generation speakers and authors, but remain exhibited in the speech of second–fourth generation speakers and authors. Vernacular /f^{h}/ vs. /f/ forms appear in written data for all generations and in spoken data for all generations

[56] Speakers exhibit vernacular forms for all categories except ‘other’.
[57] Speakers exhibit vernacular forms for all categories except ‘other’.
[58] Speakers both with vernacular forms for all types except ‘other’. The two authors are twins.

where audio data has been acquired (second–fourth). While second-generation speakers and authors exhibit vernacular forms for all types in written and spoken data, third-generation speakers and authors exhibit written vernacular forms for only three tokens types and by the fourth generation this has declined to only two types. The two fourth-generation speakers and authors with written data who exhibit vernacular forms are twins, but exhibit different vernacular forms.

6.4.1 *Generation summary*

Overall the most vernacular forms were exhibited by Generation 1 speakers and authors with 91.7% exhibiting vernacular forms. This was followed by Generation 4 with 66.7%, Generation 2 with 61.5%, and finally Generation 3 with only 48.5% of speakers and authors exhibiting vernacular forms. Vernacular forms were most common among German speakers and authors, with 85.4% exhibiting vernacular forms and only 48.4% of English speakers and authors exhibiting vernacular forms. German syllable-initial /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms were most common across all generations. For German syllable-final vernacular forms /t^h/ vs. /t/ was most common for Generations 1 and 2, and /s^h/ vs. /s/ was most common for Generations 3 and 4. The most common English syllable-initial vernacular form varied for all generations, but /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms were present in all generations. English syllable-final /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms were most common in Generation 1, while syllable-final /f^h/ vs. /f/ vernacular forms were most common in Generation 3 and 4. Generation 2 speakers exhibited both of these types of vernacular forms equally frequently.

Table 6-28 shows which generation was most likely to exhibit each form. What is most striking is that Generation 2 speakers and authors are not most likely to exhibit any form in any language. Generation 4 speakers and authors, on the other hand are most likely to exhibit forms

for 11 different types. Generation 1 speakers and authors are most likely to exhibit 'other' vernacular forms in all categories. Generation 4 speakers and authors are most likely to exhibit German syllable-final vernacular forms for all categories except 'other'.

Table 6-28. Generation summary

Type	German VOT	German FON	English VOT	English FON
/p^{h}/ vs. /p/	Gen. 3	Gen. 4	Gen. 4	Gen. 3
/t^{h}/ vs. /t/	Gen. 4	Gen. 4	Gen. 4	Gen. 1
/k^{h}/ vs. /k/	Gen. 4	Gen. 4	Gen. 3	Gen. 4
/f^{h}/ vs. /f/	n/a	Gen. 4	Gen. 1	Gen. 4
/s^{h}/ vs. /s/	n/a	Gen. 3/4	n/a	Gen. 3
other	Gen 1	Gen 1	Gen. 1	Gen. 1

6.5 Language status

The categories for language status were discussed in chapter 3. The largest groups are Bilingual German-English, Presumed Bilingual German-English and Presumed Monolingual English. There are no confirmed monolingual German speakers and two classified as Bilingual-Other, who have been removed from farther analysis. Table 6-28 shows the total number of speakers compared with those exhibiting vernacular forms. Speakers and authors from the Possibly Monolingual German category all exhibit vernacular forms. 78.8% of Bilingual German-English speakers and authors exhibit vernacular forms. Only 42.3% of speakers and authors from the Presumed Monolingual English category exhibit vernacular forms, which is the least frequent of all the groups.

Table 6-29. Language status: with and without vernacular forms

Language status	Total speakers and authors	# with vernacular forms	%
Bilingual English-Other	2	n/a	n/a
Bilingual German-English	33	26	78.8%
Monolingual English	5	4	80%
Monolingual German	0	0	0
Possibly Monolingual German	9	9	100%
Presumed Bilingual German-English	30	15	50%
Presumed Monolingual English	26	11	42.3%
Total	105	65	61.9%

Table 6-29 shows the distribution speakers and authors exhibiting vernacular forms in German and English by language status. The majority of those with German vernacular forms are German-English bilingual, followed by possibly monolingual German and then presumed bilingual German-English. For English vernacular forms speakers and authors are from more categories, with presumed monolingual English making up the largest, followed by presumed bilingual German-English, bilingual German-English, and monolingual English. Because there are so few speakers and authors in several categories I only compare those with more than three speakers and authors, also because they are based on language ability, the categories compared are different for German than for English vernacular forms. German data is taken from only three categories of language status, while English data is taken from five (four are compared here).

Table 6-30. German and English vernacular forms by language status

Generation	Total # of German speakers and authors	German with vernacular forms	%	Total # of English speakers and authors	English with vernacular forms	%
Bilingual English-Other	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	n/a	n/a
Bilingual German-English	24	19	79.2%	9	7	77.8%
Monolingual English	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	4	80%
Monolingual German	0	0	0	n/a	n/a	n/a
Possibly Monolingual German	9	9	100%	n/a	n/a	n/a
Presumed Bilingual German-English	8	7	87.5%	22	8	36.4%
Presumed Monolingual English	n/a	n/a	n/a	26	11	42.3%
Total	41	35	85.4%	64	30	46.9%

Table 6-30 shows that for bilingual German-English speakers and authors both /t^h/ vs. /t/ and /k^h/ vs. /k/ syllable-initial vernacular forms are exhibited more than any other vernacular form and are exhibited by an equal number of speakers and authors.

Table 6-31. German data: Syllable-initial vernacular forms Bilingual German-English

Type	Bil. Ger.-Eng.; N=12; 8 audio	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Pres. Bil. Ger.-Eng.; N=2	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Poss. Bil. Ger.-Eng.; N=7	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms
/p^h/ vs. /p/ <p> vs. <b>	5	41.7%	1	50%	3	42.9%
/t^h/ vs. /t/ <t, th> vs. <d>	7	58.3%	2	100%	2	28.6%
/k^h/ vs. /k/ <k> vs. <g>	7	58.3%	1	50%	0	0
/f^h/ vs. /f/ <f, v> vs. <w>	0	0	0	0	0	0
/s^h/ vs. /s/ <ss, ß> vs. <s>	0	0	0	0	0	0
other	4	33.3%	2	100%	5	71.4%

There is only data from two presumed bilingual German-English speakers and authors. One exhibits vernacular forms for three tokens and the other only exhibits vernacular forms for /t^h/ vs. /t/ tokens. Both exhibit 'other' vernacular forms.

For speakers and authors who are Possibly Monolingual German, other vernacular forms are exhibited by five of seven speakers and authors. Vernacular /p^h/ vs. /p/ forms are exhibited by three of seven speakers and authors and /t^h/ vs. /t/ forms by two speakers and authors.

Table 6-32 shows syllable-final vernacular forms for bilingual German-English speakers and authors. Vernacular /t^h/ vs. /t/ forms are exhibited by the eleven of thirteen speakers and authors, while /s^h/ vs. /s/ vernacular forms are exhibited by ten of thirteen.

Table 6-32. German data: Syllable-final vernacular forms for Bilingual German-English speakers and authors

Type	Bil. Ger.-Eng.; N=13; 8 audio[59]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Pres. Bil. Ger.-Eng.; N=7	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Poss. Bil. Ger.-Eng.; N=8	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms
/p^h/ vs. /p/ <p> vs. <b>	8	61.5%	1	14.3%	1	12.5%
/t^h/ vs. /t/ <t, th> vs. <d>	11	84.6%	4	57.1%	4	50%
/k^h/ vs. /k/ <k> vs. <g>	8	61.5%	0	0	1	12.5%
/f^h/ vs. /f/ <f, v> vs. <w>	8	61.5%	2	28.6%	2	25%
/s^h/ vs. /s/ <ss, ß> vs. <s>	10	76.9%	3	42.9%	2	25%
other	3	23.1%	7[60]	100%	7[61]	87.5%

All seven speakers and authors in the Presumed Bilingual German-English group exhibited 'other' vernacular forms, of these six exhibit vernacular <g> vs. <ch> forms. Vernacular /t^h/ vs. /t/ forms are the next most frequently exhibited followed by vernacular /s^h/ vs. /s/ forms.

For speakers and authors in the Possibly Monolingual German group, 'other' is the most common vernacular form. Of these five speakers and authors exhibited vernacular <g> vs. <ch> forms. Vernacular /t^h/ vs. /t/ forms are the next most frequently exhibited followed by an equal number exhibiting vernacular /s^h/ vs. /s/ and vernacular /f^h/ vs. /f/ forms.

Table 6-33 shows English syllable-initial vernacular forms for bilingual German-English speakers and authors. Both /t^h/ vs. /t/ and /k^h/ vs. /k/ vernacular forms are exhibited by seven speakers and authors. For this group the distribution of vernacular forms is fairly even. There are

[59] All speakers exhibit vernacular froms for all types where collected.
[60] Six of the seven 'other' vernacular forms are <g> vs. <ch>.
[61] Five of seven 'other' vernacular forms are <g> vs. <ch>.

no vernacular /s^h/ vs. /s/ forms and only two speakers and authors exhibit vernacular /f^h/ vs. /f/ forms.

Table 6-33. English data: Syllable-initial vernacular forms for Bilingual German-English speakers and authors

Type	Bil. Ger.-Eng.; N=13; 6 audio[62]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Pres. Bil. Ger.-Eng.; N=5	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Mono. Eng. N=3; all audio	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Pres. Mono. Eng.; N=3	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms
/p^h/ vs. /p/ <p> vs. <b>	6	46.2%	1	20%	3	100%	3	100%
/t^h/ vs. /t/ <t> vs. <d>	7	53.8%	1	20%	3	100%	1	33.3%
/k^h/ vs. /k/ <k> vs. <g>	7	53.8%	2	40%	3	100%	1	33.3%
/f^h/ vs. /f/ <f> vs. <v>	2	15.4%	1	20%	n/a	n/a	0	0
/s^h/ vs. /s/ <s> vs. <z>	0	0	0	0	n/a	n/a	0	0
other	6	46.2%	3	60%	n/a	n/a	3	100%

English syllable-initial vernacular forms for Presumed Bilingual German-English speakers and authors 'other' vernacular forms are the most common with three of five exhibiting this type of vernacular form. This is followed by /k^h/ vs. /k/ vernacular forms. Like bilingual German-English speakers and authors there are no vernacular /s^h/ vs. /s/ forms. Monolingual English data all comes from recorded speakers and authors, all report vernacular forms for all types. All

[62] All speakers exhibit vernacular forms for /p^h, t^h, k^h/ vs. /p, t, k/ when data available.

speakers and authors from the group Presumed Monolingual English exhibit syllable-initial vernacular forms for /p^h/ vs. /p/ tokens. There are no vernacular /s^h/ vs. /s/ or /f^h/ vs. /f/ forms.

Table 6-34 shows syllable-final vernacular forms for Bilingual German-English speakers and authors. The largest number of speakers and authors exhibit vernacular /t^h/ vs. /t/ syllable-final forms, this is followed by /f^h/ vs. /f/ vernacular forms, then /s^h/ vs. /s/ and 'other' forms. For English syllable-final vernacular forms for presumed bilingual German-English speakers and authors, f^h/ vs. /f/ vernacular forms are exhibited by the largest number of speakers and authors, this is follower by /s^h/ vs. /s/ and 'other' forms. Data for English syllable-final vernacular forms were only collected from recorded speakers and authors and all exhibited vernacular forms for all token types. English syllable-final vernacular forms for Presumed Monolingual English speakers and authors seem to be pretty evenly spread, vernacular /f^h/ vs. /f/ forms are exhibited by the largest amount of speakers and authors, this is followed by /t^h/ vs. /t/ and 'other' forms.

Table 6-34. English data: Syllable-final vernacular forms for Bilingual German-English speakers and authors

Type	Bil. Ger.-Eng.; N=15; 5 audio[63]	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Pres. Bil. Ger.-Eng.; N=8	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Mono. Eng. N=3; audio	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms	Pres. Mono. Eng.; N=10	% of authors exhibiting vernacular forms
/p^h/ vs. /p/ <p> vs. <b>	5	33.3%	2	25%	3	100%	2	20%
/t^h/ vs. /t/ <t> vs. <d>	11	73.3%	2	25%	3	100%	3	30%
/k^h/ vs. /k/ <k> vs. <g>	5	33.3%	2	25%	3	100%	2	20%
/f^h/ vs. /f/ <f> vs. <v>	8	53.3%	5	62.5%	3	100%	5	50%
/s^h/ vs. /s/ <s> vs. <z>	6	40%	3	37.5%	3	100%	2	20%
other	6	40%	3	37.5%	n/a	n/a	3	30%

6.5.1 *Language status summary*

The most vernacular forms were exhibited by the Possibly Monolingual German group, with all members of this exhibiting vernacular forms. The group with the lowest percent of speakers and authors exhibiting vernacular forms is the Presumed Monolingual English group. For German data, 85.4% of speakers and authors exhibited vernacular forms. For English data, only 46.9% exhibited vernacular forms.

For German syllable-final vernacular forms, /t^h/ vs. /t/ was present in all groups, but was exhibited most only in the Presumed Bilingual German-English group. Vernacular forms for /t^h/

[63] All speakers with vernacular forms of all types except 'other'.

vs. /t/ and /p^h/ vs. /p/ were tied for being exhibited by the highest number of speakers and authors in the Bilingual English-German group. Vernacular forms for /p^h/ vs. /p/ were exhibited by the highest number of speakers and authors in the Possibly Bilingual German-English group. For German syllable-initial vernacular forms, besides 'other', /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms were most commonly exhibited in all groups.

For English data, different syllable-initial vernacular forms were exhibited in all groups. Vernacular /t^h/ vs. /t/ and /k^h/ vs. /k/ were tied for the Bilingual German-English groups. Vernacular forms for /k^h/ vs. /k/ were exhibited by the most speakers and authors for the Presumed Bilingual German-English group. Data from the Monolingual English group was all from audio recordings, meaning all speakers exhibited vernacular forms for all types. For the Presumed Monolingual English group, /p^h/ vs. /p/ vernacular forms were exhibited by the highest number of speakers and authors.

Table 6-35 shows which group had the highest number of speakers and authors who exhibited each form. German VOT vernacular forms were exhibited most by the Presumed Bilingual German-English group, while German FON forms were exhibited most by the Bilingual German-English group. English VOT vernacular forms are exhibited by several groups, and English FON vernacular forms are exhibited most frequently by Monolingual English speaker and authors.

Table 6-35. Language status summary

Type	German VOT	German FON	English VOT	English FON
/p^h/ vs. /p/	Pres. Bil. Ger.Eng.	Bil. Ger.-Eng.	Mono. Eng./Pres. Mono. Eng.	Mono. Eng.
/t^h/ vs. /t/	Pres. Bil. Ger.Eng.	Bil. Ger.-Eng.	Mono. Eng.	Mono.Eng.
/k^h/ vs. /k/	Bil. Ger.-Eng.	Bil. Ger.-Eng.	Mono. Eng.	Mono. Eng.
/f^h/ vs. /f/	n/a	Bil. Ger.-Eng.	Pres. Bil. Ger.-Eng.	Mono. Eng.
/s^h/ vs. /s/	n/a	Bil. Ger.-Eng.	n/a	Mono. Eng.
other	Pres. Bil. Ger.-Eng.	Pres. Bil. Ger.-Eng.	Pres. Mono. Eng.	Bil. Ger.-Eng.

6.6 Data analyzed according to sociolinguistic factors conclusions

Because there are so many factors addressed in this chapter, I briefly summarize the highlights and describe the importance of each.

Data analyzed according to birth year most clearly shows gaps that could be due to generational change or indicative of the boomerang effect. All German syllable-initial vernacular forms exhibit gaps and both /t^h/ vs. /t/ and /k^h/ vs. /k/ vernacular forms are exhibited in English. This suggests that /p^h/ vs. /p/ tokens did not exhibit a boomerang effect in English syllable-initial position. While there are gaps for both German and English syllable-final forms, those which exhibit gaps are different in each language. For German data only /p^h/ vs. /p/ and /k^h/ vs. /k/ exhibit gaps, suggesting that vernacular forms for /t^h/ vs. /t/ never receded. For the English data gaps are exhibited for /f^h/ vs. /f/ and /s^h/ vs. /s/ forms. The differences in language and type show a more nuanced description of these features than discussed in previous literature.

When data for age at time of production is analyzed, it is important to consider which groups exhibit which types of vernacular forms. For the German data, 87.2% of speakers and authors exhibited vernacular forms, while only 48.4% of English speakers and authors exhibited vernacular forms in the English data. Of the German groups, all had higher than 80% of speakers

and authors who exhibited vernacular forms. There were no speakers or authors from the German child/adolescent group who exhibited vernacular forms. For the English data, the group with the most speakers and authors who exhibited vernacular forms was the Older adult group, then the young adult, child/adolescent group, and finally the Middle-aged adult group. The lowest percent of middle-aged adults who exhibit vernacular forms is the same as seen in other studies with age-grading. The most common German syllable-initial vernacular forms were different for each age group. For German syllable-final vernacular forms, /t^h/ vs. /t/ forms were most common across all age groups, suggesting that this vernacular form is not dependent on age. In the English data, the most common syllable-initial vernacular forms were different for each age group. For English syllable-final vernacular forms, /k^h/ vs. /k/ forms were most common among the child/adolescent group, but all other age groups exhibited /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms by the highest number of speakers and authors.

The main observation from the data compared according to sex is that men exhibit vernacular forms more than women. For German and English data, syllable-initial vernacular forms for /p^h/ vs. /p/ and /t^h/ vs. /t/ types were exhibited most frequently by men. Overall, women exhibit more German syllable-final vernacular forms. For English syllable-final vernacular forms, men exhibit /p^h/ vs. /p/, f^h/ vs. /f/, and /s^h/ vs. /s/ forms more frequently than women.

For German data compared with occupation group, the group that exhibits the most vernacular forms overall is the professional group, followed by unskilled labor, domestic labor, skilled labor, and finally, the child group. This order changes when only German data is considered, the group with the most vernacular forms is professional, skilled labor, unskilled labor, and then domestic labor. In the English data the child group exhibits the most vernacular forms, followed by skilled labor, domestic labor, unskilled labor, and then professional. For

syllable-initial forms, /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms are exhibited most frequently across all groups. This is also true for German syllable-final forms, except the unskilled labor group, where /s^h/ vs. /s/ forms are most common. For English data, there are no clear patterns across groups. The most common are /k^h/ vs. /k/ vernacular forms, but this is tied with /t^h/ vs. /t/ forms in the skilled labor group and /p^h/ vs. /p/ forms in the unskilled labor group. English syllable-final vernacular forms also vary, with /f^h/ vs. /f/ forms as most common in skilled and unskilled labor groups and /t^h/ vs. /t/ most common in the domestic labor group.

The next factor considered was generation living in the US. The generation with speakers and authors that exhibited the vernacular forms most frequently is Generation 1, with 91.7% of all speakers and authors exhibiting vernacular forms. Generation 4 had 66.7% of its speakers and authors who exhibited vernacular forms, followed by 61.5% of Generation 2 speakers and authors. Generation 3 speakers and authors were least likely to exhibit vernacular forms, with only 48.5% of speakers and authors exhibiting vernacular forms. This order stays the same for English speakers and authors, but for German speakers and authors the order of speakers and authors exhibiting forms most frequently is Generation 4, Generation 1, Generation 3, and Generation 2. Apart from 'other' forms, /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms were exhibited most frequently across all groups for German syllable-initial data. This was tied with /k^h/ vs. /k/ vernacular forms in Generation 3 and 4. For German syllable-final data /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms are most common in Generation 1 and 2, while /s^h/ vs. /s/ forms were most common in Generation 3 and 4. English Syllable-initial /p^h/ vs. /p/ vernacular forms are most common in Generations 3 and 4. Syllable-initial /t^h/ vs. /t/ and /k^h/ vs. /k/ forms are among the most common in all groups. For English syllable-final data /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms are most common in Generation 1 and 2, while /f^h/ vs. /f/ forms were most common in Generation 3 and 4.

The final factor compared with vernacular forms is language status. For both German and English data, syllable-initial vernacular forms are varied across all groups. The same is true for English syllable-final vernacular forms. For German syllable-final forms, /t^{h}/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms is most common across all groups, which suggests that this is a more widespread vernacular form, rather than dependent on language status.

The two main points from this chapter are the gaps found in the comparisons of each feature with birth years, which suggest support for boomerang features and that /t^{h}/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms are widespread regardless of language or sociolinguistic factor. This suggests that /t^{h}/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms are likely widespread at a community level and perhaps less likely to be diminished via time or education.

In this chapter I have compared the data with sociolinguistic factors and present those results. In the following chapter, I conclude.

7. Conclusions

The main goals of this dissertation were to look at a pair of features over time to see how they developed, but also to show if and how written and audio sources can be integrated into a single, coherent anaylsis of variation and change. This chapter is organized as follows. In §7.1 I summarize some of the most interesting findings from each of the features and comparisons with sociolinguistic data. In §7.2 I focus on how the research questions were answered and tie the results together with the methodological framework. Then in §7.3 I discuss possible future research avenues.

7.1 Feature summaries and sociolinguistic data comparisons

Chapters 4-6 showed data for two different linguistic features and placed them in a sociolinguistic context. In §7.1.1-§7.1.3 I summarize some of the most striking findings. As in chapters 4 and 5, I discuss written sources for German and English separately and then audio sources for both languages, before summarizing findings over time.

7.1.1 *Syllable-initial vernacular forms and VOT*

Authors from all five written collections combined who exhibit vernacular forms make up about 30% of the total. The most striking result from syllable-initial vernacular forms in German written sources is that all five collections exhibit vernacular forms of /f^{h}/ vs. /f/. It is also apparent that similar vernacular forms show up across the collections regardless of geographic location, suggesting that these are not individual vernacular orthographic forms or tied to certain communities, but rather that this type of vernacular form is likely tied to similar linguistic profiles, for example place of origin or generation.

English syllable-initial vernacular results are perhaps less distinct than those for German, but like the German results, similar vernacular forms are found in English across written collections, again suggesting that these are not due to individual orthographic errors or geographic region, but rather are tied to linguistic profiles. Vernacular forms with /k^h/ vs. /k/ are the most prevalent, present in three of the four collections with English data. Vernacular /t^h/ vs. /θ/ forms are also present in three of the four collections.

A general conclusion from the audio results is that very few speakers from any group or language match what is given in the literature as comparisons for "Standard German", "German", "GAE", or "Watertown English". Because each of the previous studies from which these numbers are drawn were completed with different methods, locations, and numbers of speakers, this is perhaps not surprising. What is more important is that even with the small numbers of speakers and tokens compared here, speakers appear to pattern similarly throughout. More speakers and tokens are necessary to uncover more than basic patterns.

All but one German speaker with audio data from the 1940s exhibit longer mean VOTs for spread than unmarked obstruents, all speakers from 2013 follow this expected pattern. In the Stratman-Thomas Collection, English speakers recorded in the 1940s, exhibited longer mean VOTs for unmarked tokens than expected and shorter mean VOTs for spread tokens. Both of the women recorded in this time period exhibit mean VOTs for /t^h/ tokens with more than 20 ms. shorter mean VOTs than expected. However, when taken as obstruent series rather than individual tokens, all speakers exhibit longer mean VOTs for spread tokens than unmarked tokens, which is expected for English. English speakers recorded in 2013 exhibit patterns other than the standard-like pattern for place of articulation of /p^h/ < /t^h/ < /k^h/. Three of eight speakers from this time period with English VOT data follow this pattern while the other five have more

varied results. Two pattern with lowest mean /t^h/ tokens, while two others have highest mean /t^h/ tokens. The variation in these could be due to individual variation or it could also be indicative of variation across the larger community, consistent with results from Litty 2014. Seven of the modern speakers exhibit prevoicing on /p/ tokens, with four of those exhibiting prevoicing on /p/ tokens only and not on /t/ or /k/ tokens. While this is unexpected for the region, prevoicing is common in other American English dialects. The prevoicing here could be affected by age or it could also be indicative of fluxuation in those communities.

When individual tokens are compared German vs. English for bilingual speakers, their mean values did not match the control values. I originally suspected that this was because their production of these tokens had merged and would be somewhere in between the expected values. This was not the case. There appear to be contrasting differences between the languages for all speakers except Susan for /p^h/ vs. /p/ and /t^h/ vs. /t/ tokens.

7.1.2 *Final obstruent neutralization*

Authors from all five written collections combined who exhibit syllable-final vernacular forms make up about 53% of the total authors. The forms that are most frequent are more similar than in VOT. For syllable-final forms in German data, two collections exhibit <g> vs. <ch> vernacular forms by most authors and two collections exhibit /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms by the most authors. The most common German vernacular forms are /t^h/ vs. /t/, which are exhibited by all five collections.

English syllable-final vernacular forms are similar. Vernacular /t^h/ vs. /t/ forms are the most commonly exhibited and appear in all five collections. Only in the Krueger Collection are /f^h/ vs. /f/ vernacular forms more common. Vernacular /f^h/ vs. /f/ forms are also one of the most

common in the Turn Collection. Both the Krueger and Turn Collections exhibit <c> vs. <s> vernacular forms among the most frequently.

For the audio recordings I use several measures for each group, mean vowel duration, mean consonant duration, vowel to consonant ratio, and pulsing to consonant ratio. For the Seifert Collection, German recordings from the 1940s, only one speaker patterned as expected for a Standard German speaker, exhibiting very little different between mean vowel duration preceding spread vs. unmarked obstruents. One of the speakers did not produce data for both spread and unmarked obstruents. The other three speakers did not pattern as expected. The two men have longer average durations for spread consonants than unmarked and the woman's mean consonant duration is almost twice as long for unmarked consonants than marked. For vowel to consonant ratios, only one speaker produced mean ratios that were larger than expected, all others were smaller. Finally, for pulsing to consonant ratios only one speaker exhibited a ratio that was larger than expected for unmarked tokens, all other ratios were smaller than expected.

German data in the Litty-Evans Collection comes from three of the speakers. Two have longer mean vowel durations preceding unmarked obstruents than spread, as is expected. One speaker produces a mean consonant duration similar to that of the German control, the others produced longer durations for spread consonants than unmarked, which is similar to what was shown for speakers from the Stratman-Thomas Collection, which suggests according to this measure that these speakers pattern more similarly to the English spoken in Wisconsin in the 1940s than German. Mean vowel to consonant ratios for all German-English bilinguals with German data are smaller than expected, but the range for spread consonants for three of the speakers is very similar. The mean pulsing to consonant ratio is only larger for one speaker for unmarked obstruents. All other pulsing to consonant ratios are smaller than expected.

English data from the Stratman-Thomas Collection show that for all speakers the mean vowel duration patterns according the literature, that vowel length is longer in English preceding unmarked than spread obstruents. The only speaker who patterns according to the GAE control for mean consonant duration is CYT, who was originally expected to pattern differently from the rest of the group due to his differing linguistic profile. CYT also patterns close to the GAE control for vowel to consonant ratio and mean pulsing to consonant ratio. For mean vowel to consonant ratio all other speakers have smaller than expected ratios for spread obstruents and three have higher than expected for unmarked obstruents. For mean pulsing to consonant ratios, Ella has a larger than expected ratio for unmarked tokens, but all other ratios are smaller than expected. While none of these except CYT pattern similar to the GAE control, they do pattern similarly to each other, suggesting that they speak a similar variety of regional English and that Wisconsin English was perhaps already emerging in the 1940s.

English data from the Litty-Evans Collection is similar to the Stratman-Thomas Collection for mean vowel length. For all but one speaker, the mean vowel duration is shorter for spread than unmarked obstruents. The two monolingual English speakers from Dodge County pattern the most similarly to GAE and the Watertown English examples. For mean consonant duration the speakers from this collection pattern in different ways, only two similar to the GAE control. For mean vowel to consonant ratios, only one speaker patterns similarly to the GAE control, all others have ratios that are much smaller than expected. This is similar for pulsing to consonant ratios.

7.1.3 *Data and sociolinguistic factors*

In chapter 6 I considered several sociolinguistic factors in comparison with the data presented in chapters 4 and 5. The major findings are reviewed here.

Overall vernacular forms are found more often in syllable-final position than in syllable-initial position. The most common 'other' vernacular form for German syllable-final forms is <g> for <ch>, which is unsurprising due the widespread prevalence of this feature in German-speaking Europe. The most common 'other' vernacular form for English syllable-initial forms is /t^h/ vs. /θ/, which was noted as one of the features that is difficult for a German speaker to produce when learning English, and might be explained by the large number of German immigrants to the Upper Midwest and their impact on English in the region.

The first sociolinguistic factor considered was birth year. In order to classify according to birth year, I simply noted whether a vernacular form was present or not. When laid out on a timeline, it became clear that there is a gap in German syllable-initial vernacular forms for /p^h, t^h, k^h/ vs. /p, t, k/. The gap was forty-three years (1838-1881) for /p^h, k^h/ vs. /p, k/ and twenty-four years (1857-1881) for /t^h/ vs. /t/. For English syllable-final vernacular forms there was a forty-year gap for /s^h/ vs. /s/. What these gaps tell us is that these features which were once present in the initial written sources disappeared with subsequent birth years, and eventually returned after a generation or two. This supports the idea of boomerang features.

I then considered age at time of production. For this I grouped authors and speakers in to four age groups. The groups were child/adolescent (7-15), young adult (19-29), middle-aged adult (30-50), and older adult (62-86). Of the German speakers and authors, 87.2% exhibited vernacular forms, while only 48.4% of English speakers and authors did. In all of the four age groups (except child/adolescent which had no speakers or authors exhibit vernacular forms) for German speakers and authors more than 80% exhibited vernacular forms. This differed from the English groups, where the older adults group exhibited vernacular forms most frequently, followed by the young adult, child, and middle-aged adult group. This lowest percentage of

speakers and authors exhibing vernacular forms is smiliar as in other studies with age grading. When considerd by individual feature, /t^h/ vs. /t/ forms were most common across all age groups, suggesting that this vernacular form is not dependent on age for German syllable-initial forms. The most common syllabile-initial vernacular form was different for each age group of English speakers and authors. For the child/adolescent group, /k^h/ vs. /k/ syllable-final vernacular forms were most common, buth all other age groups exhibited /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms as the most common.

When analyzed according to sex, the most common German syllable-initial vernacular form exhibited by men are /t^h/ vs. /t/ forms, while /t^h/ vs. /t/ and /k^h/ vs. /k/ forms are tied for most common for women. The most common English syllable-initial vernacular form for men are /p^h/ vs. /p/, while for women /k^h/ vs. /k/ is most common. Both men and women exhibit German syllable-final forms of /t^h/ vs. /t/ most frequently. The English syllable-final vernacular form exhibited by the largest percentage of men is /f^h/ vs. /f/, while /t^h/ vs. /t/ is exhibited by the largest percentage of women.

The next factor I considered was occupation differences. The groupings were explained in chapter 3. English syllable-initial vernacular forms show skilled and unskilled labor groups are similar, but differ from the domestic labor group. English syllable-final vernacular forms do not appear suggestive of differences between occupation group. German syllable-initial vernacular forms show /t^h/ vs. /t/ forms exhibited by the largest number of speakers and authors. German syllable-final vernacular forms show that all groups have speakers and authors who exhibit /t^h/ vs. /t/ forms, but this only occurs most frequently for skilled and professional groups.

Several interesting trends emerged when generation living in the U.S. was considered.

first- and second-generation German authors exhibit a variety of syllable-initial vernacular forms, these level out by the third & fourth generation where only /t^h/ vs. /t/ and /k^h/ vs. /k/ remain exhibited, although appearing perhaps less frequently. German syllable-final vernacular forms show a similar variety in the first and second generations, with only /s^h/ vs. /s/ vernacular forms exhibited in third-generation written forms. English syllable-initial vernacular forms show /t^h/ vs. /t/ forms recede in written data by the third generation and /k^h/ vs. /k/ vernacular forms are present in the written data of second–third generation, but remain in spoken data from second–fourth generation. The number of English syllable-final vernacular forms decline in written data over time, as might be expected. Vernacular forms in spoken data remain present. What this tells us is that authors eventually became familiar with the standard and adapted their writing processes, but because the feature remain in the spoken language, they appear less stigmatized or are at least more acceptable than written vernacular forms.

The final factor considered was language status. German syllable-final vernacular forms for presumed bilingual German-English and possibly monolingual German groups pattern similarly. English syllable-final vernacular types are distributed differently across language status groups. For example, more monolingual English speakers exhibit /p^h/ vs. /p/ vernacular forms, where more bilingual German-English speakers and authors exhibit /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms. More presumed bilingual German-English and presumed monolingual English speakers and authors exhibit /f^h/ vs. /f/ vernacular forms most. The /t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms are perhaps the most expected forms, given common spoken vernacular forms in the region today. Most surprising were the /p^h/ vs. /p/ vernacular forms, which should be looked at further with more data from monolingual English speakers.

7.2 Method and framework synthesis

So many factors were considered because so many methods and frameworks were employed in this dissertation. In order to see if modern sociophonetics and historical sociolinguistics can be joined together in a kind of historical sociophonetics, data from multiple time periods in similar regions was needed. The data presented here from across the Upper-Midwest, mainly Wisconsin supplied this opportunity.

The research questions posed in chapter 1 are repeated here with brief answers to each. The major research question(s):

1. Can sociophonetics be successfully married to historical sociolinguistics? Can we bridge that gap?
    a. To what extent are the written sources really representative of the spoken language? Can we reliably use written sources such as ego-documents (letters, diaries, etc.) to make generalizations about spoken language?

The data presented here show that it is possible to use historical data as well as modern audio data together in linguistic analysis of language change via contact. The extent to which the written sources are representative of the spoken language is only briefly touched on here, much more needs to be done to draw additional conclusions. Data for VOT and FON have shown that in these bilingual communities in Wisconsin features that were exhibited in the writing of initial generations of immigrants are found in the speech of local German and English varieties generations later. This has implications for heritage language studies in general, as well historical sociolinguistics, language contact studies, and our understanding of regional language change over time.

2. What does sound change for voice onset time (VOT) and final obstruent neutralization (FON) look like over a ca. 150-year period in bilingual communities in the Upper Midwest?

I have presented and tracked the development of VOT and FON over this period of about 150 years. When shown on a timeline, the appearance and span of each feature became clear. While previous work has shown FON to be present in the initial generation after immigration, recede for a generation or two, and reemerge in a boomerang effect, I have shown that this is not true for all final obstruents. However, because there are obstruents for which this appears to be the case, it provides strong support for Salmons & Purnell's (2010) work on English in Wisconsin. German syllable-final vernacular forms of /t^h/ vs. /t/ are present in authors and speakers with birth years from 1832-1944 with no more than a six-year gap, suggesting that these forms never receded. German vernacular forms of syllable initial /t^h/ vs. /t/ show a 24 year gap and English vernacular forms for /t^h/ vs. /t/ show a 32 year gap, suggesting that these forms could have receded for at least a generation. English syllable-final vernacular forms show a gap in birth years for /p^h/ vs. /p/ for 32 years, /s^h/ vs. /s/ forms have a 30 year gap, also suggesting that these form receded for a generation. The gaps for each of these specific features shows the duration and time period of where each feature existed or appears to have ceased to exist for some time, which gives a more nuanced understanding of this phenomenon and the idea of boomerang features than has previously been presented in this region. Rather than considering only obstruent series, but by considering each token type individually, this shows that some types (/t^h/ vs. /t/ vernacular forms) did not appear to exhibit any boomerang effects, which has not previously been documented. This could be because these were widespread throughout the community level

or because these features were not specifically addressed through education or social stigma at that time.

3. Are there visible substrate effects?

Because the data for VOT and FON do not clearly pattern like either Standard German or GAE, or specifically in a neat range between the two, it might be suggested that the values for these features have evolved because of contact. A new variety that develops in contact situations is not expected to be the same as any of the input varieties. While this dissertation does not show any clear middle ground between Standard German or GAE, it shows that the speakers recorded in Wisconsin in 2013 do not pattern as expected for either group. This supports preivous research and claims regarding a regional Wisconsin English that is emerging and that varieties of Wisconsin German have evolved from their places of origin and no longer closely resemble any of those specific regions. More data and comparisons from other regions need to be collected and analyzed to give more expansive answers to this question, however, it with some feaures, such as FON, there are features present in the region that were indicative of the speech of German immigrants from the mid-19th century.

4. How have these features developed over time?
    a. What does looking at a bilingual contact situation tell us about how these speakers were using both English and German?
        i. What effect does the bilingual situation have on each of their languages?

In the written data sources the majority of authors used either only German or English, but most lived in communities where both German and English were spoken. The majority of the Turn Collection lived in a county where German immigrants made up only a small portion of the population, yet the authors wrote in German simultaneously with English through the entirety of

the collection, suggesting that factors other than community structure gave the impetus for language choice, this may be related to social or reference groups such as those suggested in Fishman (1965, 1966). For some authors with otherwise mostly Standard German writings, English influence can be seen in vocabulary choices. German influence can also be seen in otherwise Standard English writing with vernacular orthographic forms. While there is a wide variety of variability in these features, both in what was brought to individual communities and what has been shown to exist in these communities now, the rather unusual phonetic patterns are characteristic of this kind of contact setting. The important thing to note is that the orthographic variability settles out over time, while the variability in the spoken languages seems to either remain steady or to become clear by the third and fourth generation of speakers.

5. What can this research tell us about the social narrative in these German-English bilingual communities? About the lives of recent immigrants and their language use in the mid-19th century?

This research supports the findings of Wilkerson & Salmons (2008, 2012) that immigrants did not always learn and adopt English quickly. In some instances authors used only German later than the second generation and all of the 2013 recordings are second–fourth generation German speakers. Data from the written sources also shows that speakers were acquiring and using German and English simultaneously and that the recipients were also able to use both languages. They were writing and not just speaking German for longer than previously expected and the German they were writing was in most cases fairly standard German and not regional varieties.

6. How does this research advance the general historiography in the Upper Midwest in the 19th-20th century?

The biggest addition this research adds to the historiography in the Upper Midwest is by showing that vernacular forms are similar across collections and geographic regions, meaning that orthographic vernacular forms are likely not only due to individual variation or within one region or collection. The similarities across collections (including across wide geographic expanses) suggests that the orthographic variation is more systematic based on language history or factors other than geography and settlement only. However, while the variation does not appear to be dependent on geography, it is important to note that with such widespread immigration of German families and groups across the Upper Midwest, similar features and imposition are being seeded across a larger area. Tracking data from each feature and comparisons of individual tokens shows more about how these features developed, giving an impression of how immigrants negotiated the linguistic intricacies of their L1 and L2. This also shows how immigrants and subsequent generations used more than one language actively and often simultaneously in their daily lives.

7.3 Future research avenues

The scope of this dissertation opens many avenues for further research. Two features that are worth looking into are front-rounded vowels and a more detailed focus on the stopping of interdental fricatives. Wisconsin German speakers do not produce front-rounded vowels, just as they do not exist in English. Input varieties and dialects recorded in the 1960s show that front-rounded vowels were present in some regions and the written sources show great variation in how these are represented. The stopping of interdental fricatives has been studied from audio recordings, but the variation present in written sources suggests that it would be of interest to focus on these in more detail over a longer time period, beginning as early as the first immigration in the 1830s.

Other possible data sources include recordings that were made in the 1960s of different dialects spoken throughout Wisconsin. Adding this data could show more how features changed from the 1940s to 2013. Other written sources this work could be expanded to include are literary representations of speech from local writers such as Julius Gugler/Alfred Ira. This type of document shows that not only were local writers cognizant of regional and social variations, but also that the audience was aware of these variants and able to recognize the social implications or jokes associated with such representations.

A final research avenue is to adapt these methods to another data set completely, to see how the integration of historical linguistics or sociophonetics can be applied to other language change situations via contact.

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Appendix 1: Unpublished, transcribed letters

Collections

1. Goth
2. Krueger
3. Lomira
4. OFTHS
5. Turn (Published in "A Turn of the Century Courtship: Mom and Dad's Letters", edited by Ann Marie Godfrey and Leone Hoffman, 1998.) Index included here, created by me. Letters not included.

Transcription Conventions

Some text segments are unclear or damaged. Sections I have added with relative certainty appear in [square brackets], uncertain parsings or suggestions appear in {braces}, sometimes with question marks. Letters or text segments that are completely unclear appear as {…}. Underlined text segments are present in the originals. Dashes above letters are used only when present in originals. This is indicative of the doubling of a consonant, most frequently n or m. Original spacing, spelling, and capitalization are kept. Strikethrough and super-/subscript are used to indicated text portions that were crossed out in the original or added between lines. Page numbers are not present on most letters and have been added in [brackets]. Editorial notes have been added in (parentheses) and are tagged with my initials (SML) to separate from possible parentheses in the originals. Line numbers have also been added.

Letters listed in **bold** are in German, others are in English. Some letters listed in the indexes are not used in analysis; all excluded from analysis are footnoted.

1. Goth Collection; original letters stored in the Max Kade Institute at the University of Wisconsin – Madison

Index of Goth Collection letters

1. Johann Soltow to Carl Goth, December 14, 1867
2. Friedrich Schmalfuß to Lieber Freund, October 7, 1869
3. Charles Stole to Carl Goth, January 13, 1881
4. W.J. Stolte to parents, April 7, 1883
5. Charles and May to "all the folks at home", May 4, 1883
6. Wilhelm Stolte to parents, February 18, 1884
7. C. H. Stolte to Mr. Carl Goth, June 4, 1887
8. C. H. Stolte to Mr. Carl Goth, June 14, 1887
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16. Wittenburg to Wahlmann, December 10, 1888
17. Sophie to Martin, October 18, 1889
18. Max to Chas Goth, Oct 19, 1889
19. Rev. End to Chas Goth, November 24, 1889
20. Max to Mr. Karl Goth, February 4, 1890
21. Carl Goth to J. Wittenburg, February 4, 1890
22. J.T.H.M. End to Mr. Chas Goth, February 12, 1890
23. Document written by C. Goth, included in letter from February 12, 1890
24. Max to parents, May 10, 1895
25. Maria Frederic to Mrs. Ent, August 30, 1901
26. E. Hartmann to Theona End, May 6, 1915
27. Postcard to Theona, December 2, 1915
28. May to Theona, May 27, 1917
29. Minnie to Aunt Theona, Oct 28, 1917
30. Barbara to Theona End, April 18, 1918
31. E. Sohn to Theona End, July 23, 1918
32. Barbara to Theona End, February 2, 1919
33. Barbara to Theona End, March 11, 1919

** There are other letters in this collection, however, they were written in Germany, so at this time I've not included them here.

1. Johann Soltow to Carl Goth, December 14, 1867

Chicago d 14ten
dez emper
1867

Lieber Freund Carl Goth
daß Geld habe ich den 13ten
detzemper erhalten und habe von
Bagman erfahren daß ihr im̄er einen
Brief erwartet haben von mir
Ich habe schon vor 8 Wochen geschribe[n]
an dir nicht wegen daß Geld
daß hätte keine Eile gehabt ich habe
bis hieher 1 doller 75 Zents verdind
und Heinrich 2 doller 40 Zents der a Tag
Schaft hir in das Ear Marks in die
Fabrik wo die eisenban wagen gemacht
werden. ich bin so von dir weggekom̄en
daß ich die Adrs von Bekmann
nich mit bekom̄en habe ich bitte
dir herzlich schreibe mir bald
wieder und schiebe mir die Adrs

von Bekmann und waß dein
Sohn Wilhelm sagt von
Bekmann seine Wirtschaft

2. Friedrich Schmalfuß to Lieber Freund, October 7, 1869

Address:

Meine Adreße ist
Friedrich Schmalfuß
~~Näbr~~ Nebraska City
Nebr.

[Pg. 1]

Nebraska City den 7 Okt.
1869

Lieber Freund
endlich nach langen Schweigen ergreife
ich die Feder um euch von u^{n}sren
Befinden zu Benachrichtigen, wier sind
somit alle Gott sei dank Gesund
und Munter bis auf unser kleine
Em̄a diese ist so lange wier in
Nebraska sind im̄er kränklich, auf
der Reise war sie ganz Gesund, und
wier alle. Die Reise hat uns weit
gut gefallen, blos hat es etwas länger
getauert als wier geglaubt haben
als wier über den Missisipi fuhren
fing es an zu Regnen und hat eine
ganze Woche angehalten wo wier
manche Tage nicht mehr wie fünf
bis zehn Meilen gefahren haben die
letzte Zeit sind wier ganz allein
gefahren bereits über acht Tage wo
mich mein Schwager verlaßen

[Pg. 2]

hat auch habe ich einen Ochsen auf der
Reise verloren es war der Kleinste davon
wier hatten etliche Tage sehr heißes

Wetter und da ich einsah daß es den
Ochsen über wurde so habe ich Sie
mit den Wagen und den Frietz bei
einen deutschen Farm̄er in Iowa
gelaßen und wier sind dann nach
Nebraska City gefahren wo ich auf
einen Monat ein Haus gerentet habe,
dann bin ich wieder über hundert
Meilen mit den Pferden zurückge=
ritten und haben den Wagen mit
den Ochsen nachgeholt als ich aber da
kam war der Ochs währen der Zeit
Tot. Land habe ich noch nicht gekauft
ich will erst ausfinden wie es
eigentlich hier ist, die Gegend gefält
mir ganz gut, ich habe mich auch
schon ziehmlich Umgesehen ich bin
40 Meilen Südwest gewesen von hier

[Pg. 3]

und 50 Meilen west aber das holz ist sehr
Rahr und die Kohlen sind auch theuer
daß der Buschel Kohlen soll so billig werden
daß man sie kaufen ~~kaufen~~ kann für 10 Cents
das ist nicht wahr so wie ich von
Lämmert gehört habe. das klima ist gesund
und der Boden ist auch guter schwarzer
Boden an drei Fuß tief für Korn und
hafer kann Er nicht geboten werden
aber für Weitzen glaube ich hält
Er nicht so lange aus wie in Wis
consin die Farmer legen sich mehr auf
Korn bauen da Sie mehr Gewinn davon
haben als wie von Weitzen. Ich habe
mir eine Farm gerentet wo 100 Acker
Pflugland sind da will ich es erst
einmal versuchen. Ich habe einen
vortheilhaften kauf gemacht mit
einen deutschen der letztes Frühjahr
diesen Farm gearbeitet hat den
es aber hier nicht gefallen hat und

[Pg. 4]

wieder zurück nach Misuri ist

ich glaube aber daß den das heimweh
ammeisten dazu getrieben hat den
sonst hätte Er seine Sachen nicht
so billig verkauft den Er ist letztes
Frühjahr erst hirher gekom̄en. Ich
habe Ihn alles abgekauft was Er hatte
und alles ist neu, Es sind 36 Acker
Korn 2 Acker Kardofel 25 bis 30 Tonne
Heu und ein bar schwere braune
Pferde 7 Jahr alt so groß als man
sie finden kañ und einen neuen
Wagen mit Springsitzt und Bräk
ein gutes heuräck eine säämaschine
2 Kornpflügen einen Stopelpflug sänse
Forken hacken Sägen Bett Tisch und
Stühle und eine Büchsflinte und
viele kleinigkeiten für 850 Thl.
Er hat weider nichts mitgenomen
wie seine Kleider und Ofen.

[Pg. 5]

Mein August hat sich bei Einen
vermiethet zum Vieh hüten wo Er
125 St. zu hüten hat was Ihn auch ganz
gut gefällt den Er hat sein Gesatteltes
Pferd dazu, und bekom̄t 15 Thl. das
Monat und nächste Som̄er soll Er
20 Thl. bekom̄en. die Kardoffel gerathen
hier ganz gut keine Kardoffelbaks
sind hier nicht. die Butter verkaufen
wier zu 40 Ct. das Pfund, die Kardoffel
kosten 45 Ct. der Buschel Korn neues
50 der Buschel der Weitzen von 60 bis 70 Ct.
und hafer 30 Ct. da ich Euch nun vorderhand
geschrieben habe wie es uns geht [sol]
will ich dies mal schliesen in der
Hoffnung auf baldige Antwort.
Viele Grüße an Euch von mir
und meiner Frau ~~Ich vebleibe~~
dein Freu^{n}d
Fr. Schmalfuß

Nebraska
den 7 Okt. 1869.

3. Charles Stole to Carl Goth, January 13, 1881

Reedsburg Jan 13th 1881
Lieber Vater und Mutter
ich habe euch fersprochen das
ich euch schreiben wolte
was die kranken leute
hier machen. Wilhelm hat
es grade so wieter wie
letztes mal er ist aber
immer auf er hat heute
den gansen tag auf
gesessen, und Albert
den schat gornichts der
ist grade so wilt als
immer, die krankheit werden
sie wohl über kommen.
heute haben wier nicht viel
gemacht da waren heute nicht
viele leute in die stat
das wetter war zu schlegt
aber doch haben wier einem
schlitten ferkauft an dem
Rudolf Beikmann.

[Pg. 2]

er hat ihn gleich mit
genommen
ich denke ich werde icht
~~h~~lange hier bleiben wen
Wilhelm witer besser ist
den kom ich witer nach
haus.
weiter weis ich auf
dies mal nichts zu schreiben
als viel grüse von uns
alle.
so bleibe ich eür
getreuer sohn
Charles H. Stolte
der dokter ist grade
gekommen und hat es auf
gemacht jetz fült er gans
gut. sagt er.

Charles
Stolte

4. W.J. Stolte to parents, April 7, 1883

Office of L.B.Stevens
Dealer in
Farm Machinery
Sparta, Wis., Apr 7 1883

Lieber Vader und Muter ich bin
jetz in arbeit bei Rossel und Stiefens
sie bezalen mein lohn fom 1 April an
ich kriege 38 taler das monat und
alles frei. meine kost bezalt er wen
ich schaf aber wen nichs zu tuhn ist
oder wen es rachent und Sontags
dan mus ich meine eigene kost stehn
aber mein Lohn geth immer fort.
als ich irgens kont wir mussen das
nodwandig gleich gebrauchen. Schikt
es bei ixpres und tut es in einen
guten weizen sack, der Stevens
sagt er bezahlt for den sack
ich bedank mir auch fiel mahl for das
geld.

[Pg. 2]

ich werd es euch bald wieder gäben
ich bin ~~s~~ gesund und ich hoffe das ich euch
mit mein schreiben auch alle gesund
antreffen werde ich denk aber ~~ihmen~~
immer an bruder August das er
so krank ist grüß ihn viel mahl
mir und ich wünsche das er bald
wider wird. wen er aber ser schletz
wird das es zum dod geth, dan schreibt
mir aber gleich. das ich ihn noch zu
sehn kriege, und dan schreibt auf den
brief in hast. viele herzlige grüze
von mir an euch alle der euch
schreibt eur sohn.
W. J. Stolte

schikt das geschir zu

L.M. Stevens
Sparta
Wis

5. Charles and May to “all the folks at home”, May 4, 1883

Dear all the folks at home
we arived up here all safe
and sound it took us three
days to come up here
we had a break down on the
way. ~~we lade~~ the wheels got
on fire and birnt the wheel
of. and then we had to stop
a half a day on the road.
and when we got there our
horses was glad to git out of
the car. you was telling that
you was driving tom three
days. ~~th~~at and wasent broke
I drove my colts a week
on the drag and drove them
to the city one day and that
is ten miles and thay have both

[Pg. 2]

got sore sholders
and thay hant broke.
we put in ten acers
of oats. and I am going
to poot in ten acers of corn
yet. if I can we are all
done sowing small grain here
and good many is planting
corn already, the wheat is
from three to four inches high
here and looks well.
I was going too buy me some
stock here as I told you
but I don’t think that
I will buy anny atall for
thay are to high here. in
the spring. thay pay from

15 to 18 dollars for yearlings
here you was telling of
Sophes pigs in the letter
I wished you woud save me
two of them and send

[Pg. 3]

them out here when
thay are two months old.
save me a bore and a sow
and pick me nice ones
and send them by express
and I will pay for them
when thay come here.
and pay you when I come
out there thay got nothing
but fullbloted ~~rockers~~ rookers
here.

(different handwriting – May continues letter, SML)

When you go down depot you
go down where the car stood and
see if Charleye side boarde is there yet
and take them home.
Charley is most through with
his letter so I will fill out the
rest and tell you about our
shanty we have got it perticie-
tioned of with cotton cloth for
bedrooms and the other part
goes for parlor sitting room and

[Pg. 4]

kitchen and buttery all together.
but still after all we are quite comfortable.
Sunday afternoon we went down
to the creek and picked out a
building spot and picked out
some clams and brought them
home and fried them just for a
taste.
But I think it is real nice
here it is more settled than I

thought it was close neighbors
and real nice buildings all
around as far as you can see
and a nice quiet little town
our folks can go down town and back
in a half an hour and we live a half
a mile from town the other day they
went down to Blue Earth that is

(along the top of pages 4 and 1, SML)

ten miles from
here and got
back so earley
with all there
money still in
the pocket book
and not all
pooled out on a
pool table there
isent a slook
for twenty miles
around.
We got Georgia's
letter last night
I thought you
was not a going
to night a tall
but we are real
glad to hear
that William
is getting such
good wages if
he will only make
good use of it.
We have got a
nice big garden
made have you
got yours all
done. but I
have'ent any
chickens setting
yet I suppose
mother has little
goslings turkeys
and chickens

by this time
and a nice
flower bed for
them to play in
I guess I must close
for my space is getting
small now write soon
from
Charles & May.

(vertically, along side of page 1, SML)

Tell Fritz to come quick with his gun
they is five cranes going over the house
there is such a lot of ducks and prarie chickens here.

6. Wilhelm Stolte to parents, February 18, 1884

Feb 18 1884

Lieber Vater und Mutter
ich kan euch was neus [naues] erzälen
wier haben heute morgen
einen grosen jungen Buben
zubekommen er wigt 10 ½ Pfunt
er ist ser munter, und ser dick
und feth. die ganze nachbarren
sagen sie haben noch nie so
fettes kint gesehn, gestern
aben hatten wir noch besuch
da war Gorge noch gans munter
heute nacht um 2 uhr wurd
Gorge krank am halb 6 hold
ich den dokhter und am 7 uhr
war er schon geborn, Gorge
befind sich ser munter; und wir
haben viele hülfe die nachbarn
Frauens sind ser behällig. er sied
grade so aus als Albert.

[Pg. 2]

Alberd sagt wen er sein
maul nicht helt wollen
wir ihn nicht behalten er
sagt er ist zu klein er wil

einen gröseren bruder haben
der mit ihn schlitten faren kan
ich schaf wider for meinen Alten
Bahs. das ist alles was ich
euch heute schreiben kan
Vieleherzlieg grüse von uns an
euch alle.
Wilhelm Stolte

7. C. H. Stolte to Mr. Carl Goth, June 4, 1887

Elmore June 4th 1887

Lieber Vater und Mutter
und alzu sammen zu haus
ich glaub ihr habt schon
lengst auf einem brief
gewartet von mier ihr weist
es ist keine zeit zum schrei=
ben. aber jetz mus ich
die zeit nemen und euch
daß neuhes erzeilen,
uns ist ein Sohn geboren
ein gesunder und groser
Kerl ein zehn vünder es
ist geboren an den zweiten
juni. die viemile schient
zeimlich gut zuwege zu sein,
bis jetz.
jetz wil ich euch
schreiben was ich hier
tuh ich habe zehn acker

[Pg. 2]

haber gesehn und zehn
acker mit ~~ha~~ korn geflanzt
und jetz sint wier am land
land brechen. ich hab
mier noch kein land
gekauft und kauf auch
keins ich kan aldas
land krigen was ich
haben wil zu besähn
umsonst und heu kan über
al machen ich wil mier

ziemlich heu machen und
den wil ich mier vie kaufen
diesem herbst und nechsten
sommer wil ich vie hüten
das vie ist teur hier ich
hab eine Kuh gekauft
für 40 taler man mus
bezahlen für kelber ein
jahr alt von 15 bis 18 taler
darum kauf ich noch kein
im herbst kan man
besser kauffen

[Pg. 3]

die frucht stet ser schön
hier. das korn ist nicht
so schön es ist so kalt
gewesen es ist viel korn
ferdorben in die grund
mein korn ist so gros
ich hab es schon gekoltewetet
meine vert die sint so gewacßen
wen ihr sie jetz siht ihr kent
sie niht es ist so hübsche
tiem als sie hier haben.
ich bin schon 275 taler geboten
ich denk da pasiert gornichts
in Middleton das ihr nichts
zu schreiben weißt.
schreibt mier wie weit ihr
mit die arbeit sint habt
ihr eur korn schon geflanzt
und alles geseht oder
regnet es da auch so wie
hier es hat hier beina jeden
tag geregnet und es regent jetz
al was es kan

[Pg. 4]

(vertically across top of page 4, SML)

meine adrese
ist
C H S

Elmore
Fairbolilt Co
Min

am vingsten hat es hier geregent
und einem grosen storm dabei
so ich noch nicht gesehn hab
schreibt mier was für ein vingsten
ihr da gehabt hat.
grüßt den Wm. Batka von mir
und frag ihn wen er den brief
nicht gekricht hat den ich ihn ge=
schrieben hab
hermit wil ich schliesen
es ist zeit zu bet ich bin müd
es ist {ibf} uhr
fiele grüse von
uns alle an euch alle grüß
bruder August und seine Frau
und grüßt Wilhelm Batka von
mier. C.H. Stolte

8. C. H. Stolte to Mr. Carl Goth, June 14, 1887

Elmore June 14th 1887
Lieber Vater und Mutter
und alle zusammen.
wier sind noch alle munter
und hoffe das selbege von
euch alle.
ich habe mich for genomen auf
reisen zu gehn ich wil mich
Dakota mal besehn und wen
du wünscht mich nach dem
Bachmann zu gehn den
sichke mier die noth so bald
als möglich und ich wil
mein b[is 2] versuchen ich wolte
diese woche gehn wen ich kan
aber jetz ge ich nicht bis ich
antwort von dier habe.
unser frucht siet gut aus
bis jetz wier haben ziemlich
regen gehabt diesem früjahr

[Pg. 2]

es hat schon drei tage gerechengt
und es regent jetz noch. es
regent nicht hart es ist so al=
gemeinen land regen.
unser korn ist schon zwei
fuß hoch. und weizen und
haber hab ich noch nie besser
gesehn dies zeit von Johrs.
ich hab euch noch ein Pfert
zu gekauft diesem früjar
ich habe ~~euch~~ zwei füllen
und drei Pfert jetz.
hat August glüch gehabt
mit seine füllen diesem früjahr
ich hör ja nichts von ihn.
und hat Ruth einem füllem
dies jahr.
Elmer spricht noch jedem tag
von seine andere GrosMutter
was sie getahn hat wen er
da war. und von GrosVater
seine grose feife.

[Pg. 3]

jetzt kömpt der 4 juli ich
wolte ich könt da sein.
wier haben jetz keinem se{l}on
hier wier müssen wasser trinken
es ist zeit zu bid es ist ilf
uhr. das schwein das ich von
dich gebracht bab [hab] das wiegt
ziem 2,50 Pfund jetz.
hier mit mus ich schliesen
fiele grüse an euch alle,
schreib so bald als möchlich
C.H. Stolte

9. Max End to Carl & Sophie, August 18, 1887

Campbell Hill, Ills. den 18. Aug. 1887.

Geehrtester Herr u. werteste Frau Goth!

Wie mir Pastor E. Scherbel
mitteilte, darf ich hoffen, Ihre Tochter
Tiona als Frau zu bekommen. Ich
verspreche Ihnen, Alles für Tiona zu
thun, was in meinen Kräften steht.
Sie soll gewiß über nichts zu klagen
haben. Ich habe sie herzlich lieb und weiß,
daß ich meines theils glücklich mit
ihr werde. Nun aber die Frage, bis
wann darf ich kommen und sie mir
holen? Es sollte dies zum weinigsten
bis zum 6. od. 7. September sein. Denn nach
deiser Zeit lastet ein furchtbare Arbeit
auf mir, die es mir fast unmöglich
macht abzukommen.

[Pg. 2]

Bitte lassen Sie mir bestimmte Ant=
wort zukommen.
Mit herzlichen Grüße
Ihr
{F. H.} M. End

10. Max and Teona to Chas Goth, Sept 30, 1887

Mr. Chas Goth
West=Middleton
Dane Co.
Wisconsin

Campbell Hill, Ills., Sept. 30th 1887

Lieber Vater, Mutter und Geschwister!

Wir sind gestern abends gesund und
wohl in unserem Heim angekommen.
Teona gefällt es hier ganz gut; sie schreibt nächsten
Montag selber. die Reise hat ihr viel Spaß gemacht.
Sie jammert oft, daß Ihr so viel Arbeit habt und
sie kann nicht helfen. Habt nur keine bange Ihr
lieben, ich denke wir leben recht glücklich zusammen
Habt recht herzlichen dank für all die Mühe und
Arbeit, die Euch unsere hochzeit gemacht ha~~b~~t.
Nächsten Montag schreiben wir ausführlicher.
Grüßt August & Frau, Franz, Hortenzia, etc.

Euch alle grüßen herzlichst
Eure Kinder
Max & Teona!

11. (Max) to Chas Goth, Jan 28, 1888

Mr. Carl Goth,
West=Middleton,
Dane Co.,
Wisconsin.

Campbell Hill, Ills.,
Januar 28th 1888

Lieber Vater u. liebe Mutter!
Euren lieben Brief haben wir erhalten und haben uns sehr gefreut über Eure Stille Ankunft im Bilde. Wir haben gestern unsere Bilder bekommen, das heißt einen theil davon und senden wir Euch anbei 2 stück vorläufig. Wir sind _ Gott sey dank__ noch wohl auf und ge= sund. Werde aber wahrsheinlich von Campbell hill fort gehen doch sagt in Middleton zu nie= manden etwas. die Leute hier wollen mich nicht gehen lassen, aber ich bleibe nicht mehr.

[Pg. 2 missing]

12. Teona to parents, February 14, 1888

Campbell Hill, Illinois Feb
14 - 1888

Lieber Vater und Mutter
Euren lieben Brief haben wir gestern erhalten. Und daraus gesehen, daß Ihr noch alle mun= ter und gesund seid. Aber Mutter daß du dich vom Scherbel aus schimpfen läst gefällt mir nicht. Wenn er noch mal wieder kommt so gehe mit dem Bäsenstiel

hinter ihm, den es geht ihm
garnichts an was wir thun.
Und wir wissen auch was wir zu
thun haben. Kämmerer hat das
wahrscheinlich aus Spaß geschrieben
und er muß den gleich sein
großes Maul aufreißen, als ob
er auch was zu sagen habe.

[Pg. 2]

Wir haben einen guten Platz.
so gut wie Scherbel, haben wenigstens
keine Feinde wie er. die Gemeinde
hier laßt uns auch nicht fort.
Weil Max wo anders hin wollte
war daß er lieber in der Nähe
bei einer großen Stadt wohnen möchte,
den hier kann man nicht immer haben
was man möchte, und kosted sieben
mal mehr. Auch ist es im Sommer
nicht am gesündsten
Daß Scherbel so sehr da gegen ist
daß wir nicht auf Greasle sein
Platz sollen, das ärget ihn weil
sie ihn nicht haben wollen, sonst
wär er schon lange dort gewesen

(handwriting changes, possible also different pen, SML)

13. Max to parents, February 14, 1888

Post Scribtum
Meine Eltern von Deutsch=
land lassen Euch grüßen
Max.

(This letter is written in a different handwriting-that of Max. The first part of this letter appears to then be written by Teona, regardless of Post Scriptum written by Max, so I have split this letter into two entries to indicate multiple authors, SML)

Campbell Hill, Ills. Febr. 14 ‘88

Lieber Vater und Mutter!
Ich denke, ich muß den
von Teona angefangenen

brief schließen. Ich denke, du
hast recht lieber Vater, daß
Past. Scherbel wieder nur mit
dem Munde wechseln wollte.
Er würde gern zu allem et=
was zu sagen haben, doch bin
ich, {G}ott sei Dank! nicht von
hr. Ehrwürden Scherbel abhängig.
Ich werde weder noch Water=
town noch nach Rockford
gehen, dann meine Gemeinde
läßt mich nicht ziehen und
zweitens, ich hätte zu viel
Schaden von einem Ruczug.
So halte ich in Campbell Hill
aus. Ich denke, da Stehe ich mich
auch am besten. Meine Leute
kennen mich, u. ich kenne sie.

[Pg. 2 of this author (4 of letter as a whole)]

das Wetter ist hier schön und
garstig. die Sonne scheint
warm von oben herab. aber
die Wege sind auch grundlos
vor Morast und Koth. Schlitten=
road hatten wir 8 Tage und
während der Zeit ging der
Schlitten halb auf dreck.
Sonst weiß ich Nichts wesent=
lich Interressantes; ich will
deshalb schließen.
Mit den herzinnigsten
Grüßen
verbleiben wir
die Euren
{W.H.} Max und Theona

14. Max to Mr. Chas Goth, March 20, 1888

[Envelope:]

Mr. Chas. Goth,
West Middleton,
Dane Co,
Wisconsin

Campbell Hill, Ills.
den 20. März ’88.

Lieber Vater und Mutter!

Ich denke, daß Pastor Scherbel im laufe der Woche nach Ostern kommt. Es wäre uns sehr angenehm, wenn Mutter mitkäme. Sie hat da eine gute Gelegenheit. – Sehr in Eile nächste Woche mehr.
Recht herzl. Gruß
Max & Teona.

15. Max to Mr. Chas Goth, June 16, 1888

[Envelope front:]

Mr. Chas Goth,
West Middleton,
Dane Co,.
Jackson Wisconsin
Ill

[Envelope back:]

Rev. F. H. M. End
Campbell Hill
Jackson Co
Ill

[Pg. 1 missing]

[Pg 2., assumed, SML]

Auch Teona ist soweit wohl zuwege. Na freust dich den da nicht, daß du ~~schon~~ Großva= ter bist bei deiner Teona.
Wie sieht es den bei Euch aus? Mutter möchte wissen, ob Ihr auch zurecht kommt. Hat die Ernte schon begonnen? Bei uns ist sie schon vorbei.

Waizen ist besser als man dachte
doch auch nicht viel.
Hafer geht an und Korn wird
gut, wenn die church buks
daraus bleiben.
Nun schreibt bald. Wir grüßen
Euch alle herzlich
Mutter, baby, Teona
und Max

16. Wittenburg to Wahlmann, December 10, 1888

Middleton Wis Dec 10. 1888

Werther Herr Wahlmann
Selbst auf die gefahr hin, das mein schreiben
nicht von Sie, wie sich F. End in einen Brief an
deine Frau aus drükt angenommen würde Riskire
ich doch diese wenigen Zeilen, um den Wunsch
seiner Frau zuerfullen, Sie kam am vorletzten
Sontag zu mich in mein Haus, um wie sie
sich ausdeutete, den Lebenslauf ihrem herlichen
Gemahl zu erfahren, da sie wuste das ich zum
Theil seine Schandthaten u schmachvolles betragen
von vergangene Zeiten Schriftlich in mein Haus
hatte zweitens zeigte sie mir einer ~~Brief~~ Brief
von ihren Mann worin es wörtlich sagt (der
Schuft Scherbel, habe ein Schriftstück ausgefertigt,
worin es ihm bezügligt das es hir besasten
war u der Sallon kisens ihm ausgewiesen habe,
und andere schlegtigheiten mehr, es dan von uns
Vorrstände unterzeignen ließ u. es Eurem
Vorstand zuschickte, daher war sie sehr erstaunt,
und bat mich ich möchte mich bei Ihnen erkundigen
ob auch daß gelogen sei, Ich versprach ihr dann,
daß ich es versuchen wolle mit einen Brief,

[Pg. 2]

Sagte ihr dann daß ich nie so ein Schriftstück gesehn
noch weniges unterschrieben hätte, obgleich es wohl nichts
weiter als die Wahrheit sei und von vielen hier bezeugt
werden kann, sie sagte dann sie wolle es abwarten,
befor daß sie wieder zu ihm ginge, ob Er alle
diese u Inen Anklagen widerlegen käme;
Er hat sich hir schlegt u Undankbar gegen uns

alle betragen, Obgleich er nichts weiter als Liebe u
Gutthaten von uns alle erfahren hat, doch muß
Ich sagen daß mich u uns Alle wohl noch nie
Iemand So frech ins Gesicht gelogen hat wie dieser
Kerl. Er hat sich hier fort gemacht zu unser aller
Befridigung, u alle Gemüthes sind beruhigt, bis auf
die Beklagens werthe Frau u Famielie, Nun ein
himmel blaues Wunder ist es für mich und uns alle, daß
dieses Moralisch Bankrote Mensch noch immer als Selsorger
dort bei ihnen fungirt. doch hiermit will ich schließen
in der Hofnung daß diese wenigen Zeilen Sie bie
guter Gesundheit antrefen werden und mich eine
baldige Antwort zu kommen laßen
zeignet sich hochachtungsvoll {…}.W Wittenburg Sekretar
der deudsch Evangelisch Lutherischen Kirchen Gemeinde zu
Middleton Dane Co. Wis

17. Sophie to Martin, October 18, 1889

Campbell Hill Ocober 18 1889

Dear Martin

I arrived here ~~the~~ in Camp=
bellhill twenty minuts before
twelve and in the night
and there was nobody at
the ~~I~~depo but there was a man
with me. ~~that~~ he ~~went~~ got an
the ~~tl~~ train With me in St. Lou
is & wen we got to Campbell Hill
Everthing was dark ~~g~~ but the mi=
ll was a going and then we went
there & the miller send us to Mr.
Dutenbusle and then couldent
keep me so they send us to a
nother place and they dident wa=
ke up then we back to the mill
~~g~~ again then the miller too me to his

[Pg. 2]

house and then I stade there over
night and this morning the miller took
ed for a team so that I could ride out
~~to~~ so the first on that was Mr. Swear,

Max was there to and Mr. Swere tolt
him that I was ~~w~~ there but he wou=
dend bleve it he told Mr. Sawear that
he was a lier then Max went to
the post office and tharr he just
got the dispatch what Fritz send
away wen I started ~~aw~~
Well I must you about Little
hortensie she got bari~~g~~d yesterday
10 o clock the depo agant ~~d~~ dident sen
~~out~~ the dis patch ~~a~~ out if they knew
that I was coming they would kept her
a day longer Teona is feating prety
good to day she isent in bed she
was to the neighbors to hartmanns & I here they lived when me and
max com home she dident say nothing
else but if we knew this we would kep~~t~~ =
~~I~~ her till to day. Mr and Mrs Swear com$_e$
here this after noon Mrs. Swere said

[Pg. 3]

if ~~h~~ there was some body in Campbell
hill that took pictures then they would
~~w~~ have had ~~ther~~ little Hortensies pictures
taken yet while she was ~~there~~ ded
Well I am glad that Teona is fealing
Well ~~g~~ again to day she was pretty ~~sck~~
sick yesterday & daybefor they all thought
she would take sick too, ~~but~~ she just
was ~~e~~ sick ~~l~~ from Weaping and fealing
bad yes Max and Teona ~~con~~ can ~~le~~
eat good Teona cant eat as good as before
but Max ~~eam~~ can eat like a ~~sk~~ trasher
and his feat is pretty near thin again
and he looks pretty ~~l~~ good Teona looks
the same as she alwais did
Max is going to write to Father
I must close now
Sunday is ~~s~~ surch and after church
we are going to Bearman
Max Barid Hortense him ~~sef~~ self
I will write again after Sunday
Sophia
Now we are going to bed

18. Max to Chas Goth, Oct 19, 1889

Campbell Hill, Ills, den 19t October 1889

Lieber Vater, Mutter, Fritz u. Martin!

Aus meiner de=
peschte habt Ihr ja bereits gesehen, wie es bei uns aus=
sieht. Traurig, Ihr Lieben! einesteils- und freudig an=
derntheils. Unsere geliebte Hortensia ist uns ge=
nommen und dem Fleische thut es weh: wenn man
sein Liebstes in die Erde betten muß; umsomehr,
da die Freude jetzt erst angieng, nachdem sie an=
fing zu sprechen und zu laufen. Aber, Ihr lieben
Teuren, was für freude war es den, die wir zu
erwarten hatten?? Es wäre nur irdische Freu=
de gewesen. Und sollen wir den lieben Gott
durch unser Klagen, Murren und Weinen Vor=
würfe machen? ! Nein! nie und nimmer.
Sie ist daheim, unser teures u. süßes Kücken!
der himmlische Vater ist jetzt ihr Vater und Engel
pflegen sie sorgsamer, wie eine Mutter es kann.
Jetzt wissen wir ganz gewiß, daß unsere Tensi im
Himmel ist, denn sie kannte die Sünde noch nicht
und that auch noch keine. Wer sagt uns aber, ob
sie das Himmelreich ererbt hätte, wäre sie älter,
größer geworden. Nun aber hat sie die irdischen
Freuden der Sünde unbewußt vertauscht mit den
himmlischen Freuden der Gerechtigkeit. Thut der
Todt uns auch weh dem Fleische nach; Ihr Lieben!
der Geist ruft uns zu: dein Kind ist dir nicht genom̄en
„Es wird ja nur dort droben;
Vom Vater aufgehoben
damit es unverletzet bleibt.
Ihr lieben Teuren, das ist mein Trost und suche ich

[Pg. 2]

auch Teona damit zu Trösten und diese Gewißheit
laßt auch Euren Trost sein das kleine, unschul=
dige Kind ist gut ab. Es braucht ein die Angst u.
Not, die Sorge und Mühe der Erde und des Le=
bens erfahren. Wohl Ihr, sie hat es gut!
Teona ist etwas besser. doch denkt
Euch meinen Schrecken. Ich und herr Schwier gingen,
um den Sarg vom Schreiner zu holen. Nachdem wir

in den Store zurückkamen, lag sie auf dem Boden
und Klagte im Unterleib in der Seite. Ich dachte
nicht anders, als nun kommt Teona an die Reihe
Wirklich wir haben etwas durch gemacht. doch
verzage nicht! „Wir haben einen Gott, der dahilft
und dein Herrn, Herrn, der vom Todt errettet.
Sophia hat ja Euch selbst geschrieben.
Ich bin wohl bis auf meine Schwäche
und geschwollenen Füßen.
Nun lebt wohl Ihr Lieben! Seid herzlichst
gegrüßt von den Euren
Max Teona & Sophia

[Envelope:]

P.M.at Middleton: Please send out by chance
if you can right away! JFHM End
Mr.
Chas. Goth,
West-Middleton,
Dane Co._
Wisconsin

19. Rev. End to Chas Goth, November 24, 1889

Envelope:

Mr. Chas Goth,
West=Middleton,
Dane Co.,
Wisconsin

C.H., Ills., den 24t November 1889

Lieber Vater!
In kürze die Nach=
richt, daß Miss Sophia am
donnerstag abreist. Seid so gut
und holt sie am depot ab. Über
Krankheit können wir bis dato
nicht klagen; nur me. Füße sind
noch nicht all-right. das andere
mündlich.
Mit herzlichen Gruß an alle
von
Euren

20. Max to Mr. Karl Goth, February 4, 1890

[Envelope front:]

Mr. Karl Goth,
West. Middleton,
Wisconsin
-Dane Co.-

Campbell Hill, Illinois, den 4. Febr. ’90.

Liebe Eltern!

Aus den letzten Briefe Martin’s ent=
nehm ich eine solche Verdorbenheit in
der Middletoner Gemeinde, daß ich Euch
nur <u>einen</u> Rat geben kann, nämlich
den : Habt mit diesem Pack nichts zu
schaffen mehr. Ihr könnt das doch
deutlich genug sehen, daß die Leute
noch schlechter sind wie Scherbel selbst.
Sie wollen einmal einen, der Ihnen,
in die Hölle vorangeht. Daß die
anderen Gemeindeglieder einen
Fremden Menschen, dem alles mehr
ist den ein Pastor, recht geben und
mehr glauben als einem alten Nach=
bar; wenn das nicht von ebensoviel
Schlechtigheit als dummheit zeigt,
den weiß ich nichts.

[Pg. 2]

Und mit solchen Leuten seid Ihr
seither in eine Kirche und zu einem
Abendmahl gegangen und denkt
vielleicht wiedem. Denkt an die
7. Bitte : „Davon behüte uns himmlischer
Vater!”—1. Psalm : „Sitze nicht, da die
Spötter sitzen – Johannis: „Habt keine Ge=
meinschaft mit den Ungerechten; Schaut
sie nicht an, grüßet sie auch nicht.”
Ärgert Euch nicht; ihr Lieben über diese
Leuten. Laßt sie laufen! die entrinnen

ihrer Strafe nicht; wo die Zeit schweigt,
da richtet die Ewigheit – wo Menschen
ungerecht sind, da ist Gott desto ge=
rechter. Schreibt das folgende ab und
sendet es an Hannes. –
das nächste mal mehr. Mit Gruß
der Eure
Max

21. Carl Goth to J. Wittenburg, February 4, 1890

An
J. Wittenburg –

Als Antwort auf die Auffor=
derung Ihres w. Committee' Folgendes:
1., Ich kann die Wahrheit unmöglich
zurücknehmen und mich zum Lüg=
ner machen.
2., Nimmt P. Scherbel seine Dewahr=
heiten ~~betr~~ im großen und ganzen-
d. i – gibt P. Scherbel zu, daß er nicht
immer bei der Wahrheit blieb, so
werde auch ich den „Lügner" von
ihm abnehmen. ____
Ich denke gerecht zu handeln; will
aber auch Frieden, wenn ich helfen
kann.
dies zeichnet mit Achtung
Carl Goth.

22. Max End to Mr. Chas Goth, February 12, 1890

[Envelope:]

Mr. Chas Goth,
West= Middleton,
Dane Co.,
__ Wisc. _

C. H., Ills., den 12" Febr. 1890
Lieber Vater!
Anbei der Brief des Advo=
katen über die Angelegegenheit mit
der Lümpengemeinde. Er schreibt
fast ähnlich so wie ich in meinem

letzten brief. Nimm das beiliegende und sende es an H. Wittenburg; Ihr braucht ja nicht in die Kirche zu gehen; könnt hingehen, wo Ihr wollt; es ist gerade um den Begräbtnisplatz. Ich kann dir nicht alles schreiben, was ich dir sagen wollte.

Mit herzl. Gruß

J.F.H. M. End

23. Document written by C. Goth, included in letter from February 12, 1890

--Erklärung –

Auf die wiederholte Aufforderung Ihrer Committees folgende letzte und entgültige Erklärung:

Er war unschicklich, zu und vom Prediger als “Lügner” zu reden; doch ist der Pastor Scherbel allerdings nicht immer bei der Wahrheit geblieben während seines hierseins.

Das ist mein bescheid, und der ist unveränderlich. Genügt das nicht und bleibt der Ausschlußbeschluß stehen, so weiß ich, wo die Gerichte sind. Denn in der Gemeindeordnung steht nichts, daß mit dem Austritt resp. Ausschluß man seines Anteils am Kirchen= und

[Pg. 2]

begräbtniseigentum verlustig wird d.h. es stand nichts davon als ich eintrat in ein Rechte. –

Und wäre es, so würde es nicht stehen vor den Gerichten des Staates Wisconsin.

Gezeichnet

C. Goth.

24. Max to parents, May 10, 1895

Campbell Hill, Ills.
den 10n Mai 1895

Lieber Vater und Mutter:
Gestern abend
den 9" d.M. Abend 's ½ 5 hat der Storch
ein 15 #. schweren Jungen gebracht.
Sowohl Theona als auch der kleine
sind so wohl, wie es den Umstän=
den nach nur sein kann. die ge=
burt ging hart, der Arm lag ver=
kehrt, ging aber glücklich. Ich theile
euch auch noch mit, daß Schwiers=
Mutter wieder mit dabei war u.
daß sie wieder die erste war, die
sagte: "O, et is ja e lütte[s] boy!"
Bald mehr. Mit herzlichen Gruß
die Euren
Max & Theona

25. Maria Frederich to Mrs. Ent, August 30, 1901

Jefferson Ag 30 1901

Liebe Freündin.
Ein ganz es Jahr ist es her seid
Ich den letzen Brief von dich erhielt
habe oft an eüch gedacht, aber damit
wußte Ich nichts von Eüre allen ergehen
und so hoffe Ich denn das es Eüch gut
geht besonders in betref Eüre Gesundheit
und der seltsame Sommer hat
rine schwitzen verlangt, ob mann
schafte oder nicht Ich dachte bei
Eüch möchte es mehr Geregent haben
und dadurch besser bei Eüch wan aber
Ich hab gelesen das in Dane Co vie=
weiden all vertroknet sind, hir auch
Montag hatten wir hir schönen Regen
und die weiden grünen heüt sieht
es wider nach Regen aus aber es
sieht immer ja aus als last Ihr von
Weiß garkeinen her, nun der liebe
Gott weiß, was er zu thun hat

[Pg. 2]

mit seinen Segen wie eine
seine lieben bösen kinder gut thut
er wil uns an sich denken machen
das wir nichts ohne Ihn thun können
und hat es auch wohl bei vielen
erreicht, frucht ist hir genug gewachsen
Hafer wohl leichter als sonst wir hatten
ja auch 50 Buschel Hafer und 30 Buschel
Rogen auf klein Stük aber dei Tüften
Kartoffel dei klein heft al werre
klein und dei sthäten heft so ganz
klein aber wie Ich mich freüe zu
die kleinen Schnoflok viel mehr
als sonst zu die großen gemüse ist
für eigne gebrauch wer lengsten hat
aber alles theüer, aber in Madison
ist es ja nach theüren Frau Pastorin
wan da eine Woch auf besuch,
die kartoffel waren hir bis 1 dal 60 cent
eine Zeit nun es geht schon mit das
vie füttern den halben Sommer
war wohl das schlimste, aber grade
Nass

[Pg. 3]

im ganzen ist doch nicht den Amerika
kann ja den bedarf nach ausland
hir allein deken mit weitzen und die Farmer
haben ja die guten jahre viel überfluß
gehabt und die nicht, haben ja kredit
und gut theil menschen verstehen
es ja auch noch, Dütschland mit wenig
kümt man auch aus, so schreibt dem
mal wie Ihr gerentet habt, Ihr hattet
ja immer viel den garten wird
Mitten mahl begassen haben
und wie geht es eüre groß bebi
den Larenz, [etwas] kann und thut
er alles und ist Fritz oder Martin
schon verhieratet und was machen
alle Sichersten von Ticher schreiben
garnicht viel, als das es da immer
stätischen wird und das da ja
neün Sekten Trechiger Auftauchen
wie hir ja so lange schon

und Ich weiß nicht ob Ihr von
Tante goth was wißt, Sie war

[Pg. 4]

Pfingsten hir und hatte Lust hir
wider zu Wohnen aber da Ihr letzes
Auge auch schmerzte so wolte sie
doch erst abwarten ob er bald
besser würde das eine Auge ist ganz
blind unser Ed u. Bertha haben
Ihr in Marinette besucht sie hat
es gut bei Ihre Kinder und Fritz und
wier machen auch gut aus im Stohr
aber Alte Leüte gewühnen sich wohl nie
recht ein in Ihre Lage, unser Vater
und Ich sind denn mit unsern John
Allein, alle waren hir im Sommer
alle sind wider weg Maria war
4 Wochen mit Ihre kleine Elsa hir
Sophia war 5 Wochen mit Ihr Mann
kam auch 5 Tage wärend die zeit
und Bertha war 2 Monath hir ist
seid 1 Monath wider hir nach Ed
und Ed war 2 Wochen auf Uhrlaub
aber in die 2 Wochen war er noch nach
Chicago u Milwaukee zu besuch es geht
Ihm gut da aber da ist alles besser gewachsen
Tante Goth hat Ed u Bertha auch besucht
so wie ich denn noch ja bisken von dir

[Pg. 5]

(upside down on top of page five, SML)

auch hat Eüre allerwelts Pastor ja
in Madison eine gemeinde gegründet
und hat da einen Eingesetz was mag
das für einen sein wo die Leüte wollen
ja antragen sein u. Mr Scherbel kann
was er will

---

und das schreiben Nädlens sind
gut zu wege und er schaft noch alle
Tage Ihr Jüngsten Sohn ist Agend
vun Maschienen und Windmülen und

das mehr, u Wilhelm ist mit
Sak u. Pak noch nach
Neilsville gemuwt hat 100 Akel
gut Land mit gute gebeüde 3
Meilen von Stadt gekauft ich glaub
er hat 3100 dal zu erst für 60 Aken
bezahlt mit die Gebeüde und später
hat er noch 40 Aker kauft 45 dal
Aker grade über sein Platz er hat
viel Bienen 100 Stöke hat tausende
von Pfunden Honig krigt, die sullen
da gut thun, pettels auch Milch in
Stat wo er von kauft hat der
that das schon, ach sagt Tante seine
Mutter alle so weit [weg]

[Pg. 6]

wil aber schrib Ihr sie solte
kummen künte nach geld dabei
machen dann der Storch hatte Ihn
so schönen Jungen gebracht der
wär für Ihn 20 dal wert bloß Ihn
zu sehen u. 10 dal kostete die Reise
nun, dann hat sie noch 10 dal übrig
Er schrib da het es mehr geregent
so viel Honig so viel heu holz Milch
und das mehr aber auch so viel eine
arbeit von hir muwen da mehrere hir
für ich eine kann verkauft 160 Aker zu
115 dal aker {…}ur Mutter ihre 2 Tochter
haben sich diesen Summer verheiratet
und haben ihn [bend], nun hat sie noch
eine, auch krigt unsere Stadt wasser=
werke der Spring ist schon über 400 fuß
tief den waser turm kant da hinter
die hohe Schule ganze herde Ithaliner
arbeiten davan hir waren keine
arbeiten die Beikgends gehen sehr gut
unser Vater sagt Ich soll eüch man schreiben
Ihr kent dis alles nicht mehr er ist gut
zu wege u shr[ei]ht immer klug und sind
Gott sei dank alle gesund bittte besser machen
als alles bald schreiben Maria Frederich

[Pg. 7]

3

aber fertig bin Ich doch noch nicht
unsere Kirche hat für 1500 doller
Malerei inseid erhalten und gröseren
Althar als der erste war für über
500 doller es wurde beschloßen wen
freiwillig nach beleiben so viel
geld beisammen käm solte die
Kirche aus gemalt werden und
so kamen denn bald 2100 dol
zusammen und so ist sie denn
schön gerstanden 2 große Bilder
das eine wo Jesus in Ölgarten
betet und ein Engel Pärkte Ihn
sehr sinreich und das andere
wo Jesus den Sinkenden Petrus
im Mehr die Hand reicht in
Fort Atkinson bauen sie auch so
große Kirche als der Ekstein jelegt
wurde waren wir alle mit
Boß hin Sophia war hir grade
mit Ihren Mann waren auch
mit so gott wil gehen wir

[Pg. 8]

(upside down on top of page eight, SML)

ich glaub wen Tante gesund so
himmlich ist das sie hir wider
wohnen wird und dann komt
Ihn doch auch mal her sie sagte
sie zog wider her u manchmal recht bald

(along side, SML)

ich laß eüch wissen
{alen kant doch}

---

zur einweihung hin Missiges fest
wird hir dieses Jahr nicht gefeiert
unser Pastor ist zu gut das er
denkt weil seine gemeinde doch

dis jahr viel geben hat drum
sei es nicht na gekrigt hette
er doch, unser Vater wan Weinah=
ten nach Brookside nach {…} ganze
woche hir er war ganz Brookside
als er heim kam doch wohnen mehr
Meklenburger nun aber ist auch
Türn an Mich John wan auch schon
sie u mir ist so zu sie als geh Ich
weinacht rauf nach {Laltow} wan
Ed u Sophia auch bisken hir
die sind gut zu wege so habt
denn viele grüße und der liebe
Gott bleibe bei uns allen mit seine
gnade
Maria Frederic

26. E. Hartmann to Theona End, May 6, 1915

[Envelope:]

Mrs. Theona End
Middleton Dane C.O.
Wisconsin

Campbel Hill den 6t Mai 1915

Geliebte Freundin
Es ist schon wied er um
eine geraume Zeit vervloßen
seitdem ich Ihre Karte
empfangen habe, und
doch nicht eher wieder zu=
beantworten, es waren aber
nicht meinen Absichten
so lange zu warten
aber es scheint als wenn
das schreiben fürmich eine
harte Arbeit ware.

[Pg. 2]

Liebe Freundin es freut
mich das sie noch immer
an uns denken wie geth
es Ihirm den noch immer?

hoffentlich gut, wir sind
ja Gott sei dank auch alle
munter vor paar Wochen
hatten wir beinahe alle
wehe Aug en und die
Grippe haben wir auch alle
gehabt werthe Freundin
wie sieths bei euch aus.

[Pg. 3]

ist es dort auch so trocken
hier ist es ganz merk würdig
trocken, und diese Tage so
kalt und stürmig wir warten
von einem Tag zum Andern
auf Regen, wollen hoffen
bekommen, da Weitzen bleibt
sehr kurz, Obst kriegen wir
von allem wieder viel
auch unsre Garten früchte
sind ziemlich gut. ich bin
auch jeden Abend am begießen
an Ar beit fehlt es uns auch
nicht denn eine von die

[Pg. 4]

Mädchens hab ich die meiste Zeit
man bei mir. Esther geth noch
zur Schule 2 bis 3 Woch en noch dann
ist sie wohl rus den Teatscher hatten
wir in Board wan kommen sie
dann noch mal uns zu besuchen.
ich wü^{n}schte sie kämen mal bald
mein Bruder in Deutschland hat auch sein
Sohn und 3 Schweigersöhn im Kriege
wie geth es den Ihre Brüder u Sh[wester]
hie mit will ich schließen
viele herzliche Grüße von uns
Allen zu Euch alle schreibt bitte
bald wieder ich verbleibe
Eure Freund[in] E. Hartmann

27. Postcard to Theona, December 2, 1915

[Address side:]

Mrs. Theona End.
206 North Br{…} St.
Madison
Wis

12-2-15

Dear Theona-
How did you find
Fritz? Better I do hope-
Martin said to write &
tell you to be sure & bring
the rifle. you can take
it apart & put in the
suit case. We are all
invited to Will Wollers
for dinner Sunday. so
you can come up there
instead of Freada's.-
Royce was home when
we got here. Everything
was all right. – have had
two invitations to go to
[Wahlks] Aid today. but am
home mending-
the hasle- Mabel-

28. May to Theona, May 27, 1917

[Envelope:]

Mrs. Theona End
Madison
Wisconsin

Donald Cass Route 6

Elmore May 27th 1917

Dear Sister Theona
Am wondering what you
think of me anyway, (the same old joke)
I suppose. We received your letters and card

am. glad you have things so nice for this
summer. We are all well as usual Aunt Rose
especialy, she gets along fine now, she was
down to Georgia's and stayed ten days, now
she wants to go over to Lucy Haver's and stay
a few days and then to Blue Earth. and
all around.
I just finished house cleaning yesterday
it seems I was a long time at it, but it was
slow work alone, with the other work too
I have the chickens all hatched have 190
they are all doing fine in spite so much
cold weather, yesterday it rained all day
We have only had two real warm days this
month, and a terrible thunder storm with
it.
This week I have to work in the garden again
our garden all came up, even the sweet corn
and cucumbers, after it had been in the ground

[Pg. 2]

four or five weeks.
Old Nellie had a nice little colt born on Leney's
birthday, it's a sorrel with two white hind feet
and a white strip in the face, it is a nice big
colt and full of mischief.
Charley has'ent had time to see about Minnie's
farm yet, he will have to have a discriptson
of the land first.
We had an offer of $10,000 for our place last
week, at first we had a notion to take it but
we would have to give possession in thirty days
now we want $300 an acre,
I have a feeling that Walter will be home
this week, then Pa will go up to Grantsburg
and look it over
Elmer answered my letter right away. They
are getting along fine, but lots of work they
probably have their place sold by this time
and they sold all their chickens they are not
going to keep any more as long as feed is so high
and sold their piano too
They settled up stairs in the depot but Elmer
had to keep watch of Marjorie all the time so
now they found a house and moved again

[Pg. 3]

where they have a big garden
Elmer has had hard work since going to Pe Ell
he went there the 23rd of Jan. and have just got the
books straightend up by the first of May, but now
he will have it easier and will have a man to help.
Nothing has happened up to Nettie's yet little Leah
has been very sick the doctor up there wants
her tonsils removed.
I believe you wanted Barbara's address
129 S – Broad St. Mankato Minn
And Walters address is Meriden Conn. Box 555
Walter is afraid he will be drafted. dear me
I wish that terrible war would end, but I
suppose we will all have to make the best of it, and
stand it, one like the other
There has been lots of things going on but I have't
went to any thing, only to church, only Friday to the
Cemetary Society, Aunt Rose went too.
Mrs. Sohn is busy as ever she had ducks &
geese hatching now. 6. yrs last Sunday we were
over to Mr. Geiglers to Freida's confermation they
had about 60 people to dinner with you could have
been there too, Georgia & Mrs Duesnell have just come

[Pg. 4]

P.S.
Monday
This has been the finest wash day we have
had this year.
Mr. Butterworth came on the noon train.
Aunt Rose is going over to Lucy's to night
Charley and I went to the Baccalaureate sermon
last night Mr Morse gave a fine address
Hope this will find you well, and I want
to thank you for all you did for me for I certainly
appreciate it, With best wishes and love from us
all. from Charley & May

29. Minnie to Aunt Theona, Oct 28, 1917

Schuyler Nebr. Oct, 28-17
Dear Aunt Theona

your letter of Oct 1st most gladly
recc'd and read with pleasure. I am here
to tell you that my proposition is still open
to you-altho we have the promise of a cook
to come on the job next Thrus. A.M. but don't
think when I say that- that you are with
out a situation if you want it. You can
step right in and take a hold as second
maid – since Luella was so "highly in sul-
teered."
At any rate we want you to come
out and spend the winter with us if you
don't want to except the job. I'm very
sorry to hear that you were called to
Minn. so suddenly on such a sad mission
but – such things present them selves
to both rich and poor alike, we have
no choice in the matter- This may
not find you in Madison yet to
which place I am sending it but
the girls will either keep it for you
or send it as they see fit. as I
don't know your address.

[Pg. 2]

I told Mrs Fuller what you wrote and she was willing to wait for you
until you could come if you'd only come then, and she said she'd
guarantee you 40^{00} per She didn't blame you for not wanting to pick up
and break up the camp to coming away right away. She was perfectly
satisfied to take a chance on your cooking. theirs is very plain too
Mr. F can't have such fancy cooking. and if it is on the table he
thinks he must have it. consequently just plain foods. I'm sure
you can fill the bill. I was with her to day to see another widowed
lady, who was promised to come Thurs, and give it a trial. she may
have cold feet by the time you get here then you can give it a
trial of if she likes it and you'd just as soon you can take
second work. then we'll have a bunch that will jibe better
then having some of those 18 to 20 yr. old children mixed in it.
I sincerely hope your trip to Minn. won't stop you from
coming out here any way we will be so glad to have you.
We have had our first wintery day here to-day. my clothes froze
stiff hanging them out. and the dust blew a gale wind about
55 per hour. We have cleaned house butt it don't do much good as its
so dry here- It hasn't rained any here since the Aug 16th to speak of

[Pg. 3]

and with a high wind in this sand
it makes it very interesting.
I hope to here soon that you
are about ready with Aunt Tense
or Olive (or both-) we'd like to have
them all come but I know that
won't do because Aunt Tense would
"Get afraid" and meet herself going
back home before she got farely
started- So perhaps its wise to leave
some one at home- if she comes
with you- we will be pleased to see
any or all of you-so come when
you can.
With love to you from
Mama and I
I am your well wishe{r}
Minnie

30. Barbara to Theona End, April 18, 1918

Envelope:

Mrs. Theona End
Verona, Wis

R. F. P #3

Elmore, Minnesota
Thursday eve.

Dear Aunt Theona & all:
I have been going to write to
you for some time, but never seem to
get around to it. I have so many
letters waiting to be answered. Ioah
and I were to Minneapolis last week
visiting Nettie, we had a nice visit,
& papa & Mr. Butterworth got along
nicely while I was gone. Mr. But-
terworth left today, I guess he in-
tends to be gone all summer, so papa
& I are here alone now. We rec'd
a letter from Walter stating that
he has enlisted in the Merchant

Marine Corp, so he won't be home
this summer. It seems strange
not to plan on his coming home for
vacation.
We have been having a strong
nasty wind for the past few
days, & yesterday it started to rain

[Pg. 2]

about noon, but luckily my washing
had already dried, so I brot
the clothes in and ironed them
all the same day. Today I baked
two kinds of bread, oat-meal &
white.-had fine luck with both.
We like the oat meal bread so
well, and it takes so little time to
make it.
We have 10 hens sitting, four to
come off next week. Papa sent
Aunt Mable the eggs she wanted while
I was gone. He says that I should
tell you we have a Red Cross
hen in our flock now, so maybe there
will be a few "off-chickens"- Our
hens have done splendid. We found
over a hundred several times- now,
of course they are setting and we
don't get so many eggs,- I got 60
tonite. I want to put in some
garden soon, and finish cleaning
up the yard. _ This wind scattered

[Pg. 3]

everything again.
Mrs. Sohn comes over every day.
& I am giving Rosie music lessons.
The Sohn's send their best regards.
I rec'd a letter from Ruth, after
she rec'd that yoke I made for her,
saying that the yoke was much
too large, and can't possibly use it.
It doesn't seem possible, as it fit
me all right.

I suppose you folks are all busy
with the spring work as every
one else. Papa has started plowing.
and is testing his seed corn.
I wonder if you know that Nettie
has moved. Yes, that park bought
out all those lots where they lived.
so they are living at 2628 Ulyssus St. now
Well, I shall have to cut all
my letters short tonight, so as to
git them all written. Hoping this
finds you all well. I close with
best regards from us both.
Barbara

31. E. Sohn to Theona End, July 23, 1918

[Post card]

Mrs. Theona End
Verona
Wiss

(sideways, SML)

July 23-18
I wish you ahappy
birthday and menny
more to come
Mrs. E. Sohn

32. Barbara to Theona End, February 2, 1919

Elmore, Minn-
Feb 2, 1919

My dear Aunt Theona: -
No doubt you
will be surprised to
hear from me- have
been going to write you
for so long but never
seem to get at it.
I suppose you have
been having the same

kind of weather as
we have. Nice warm
spring like days and
no snow whatever. Even
Walter writes of the

[Pg. 2]

same weather out there in
Conn., while Ruth writes of
the terrible rains they are
having. Says their town is
like a lake. So guess Minn.
is best after all. Next in
interest is the "Flu"?- Ian't
it terrible the sorrow and
despair it is causing all over
our country. Thus far, Father
and I have escaped it, but
suppose our turn is coming.
No we haven't been inoculated.
We have just been lucky
enough not to take it, for
we both have been exposed.
It seems to be dieing out
around here now. Hope it
won't reappear again. Elmer
& Marjorie both were real
sick with it, but a letter from
there last week reports them
all well again.
I suppose you folks are
all thru with but chering.
We still have ours to do. Have
been waiting for colder
weather. It has been

[Pg. 3]

raining & freezing here
all day. and from the
sound of it, it is still
raining. So don't suppose
we can go at it yet
tomorrow. I dread my
job so. I want to get

it over with.
My hens aren't doing
a bit well this winter.
got 21 eggs tonite, and
they just started to lay.
Eggs were 50¢ here last
week.
Uncle June and Aunt
Eliza were here making
us a short visit a
short time ago.
Am enclosing a
draft for your interest
money from Mr. Reece-
and papa says to tell you that your time
deposit in the bank

[Pg. 4]

here is just about
due. What do you
want done with it?-
Do you want it left
in another year or
shall we send it to you?
Let us know soon.
We rec'd the papers
you sent relative
the bank robbery. We
saw it in our paper
the following day
after it happened.
That surely was awful.
Did you folks lose
anything thru it?

[Pg. 5]

How is Uncle Fritz getting
along. Haven't heard from
him for some time. And
did. Uncle Frank's folks all
have the Flu?- Give them all
our kindest regards when
you see them. We would
like to see all of you

folks. Don't suppose I
would hardly know the
youngsters there. They are
all growing so fast- I
suppose they are all
going to school every day.
Well, I must close as
I have several letters to
write tonite.
Hoping this finds you
all well. and with
best regards to you all.
I remain-
Your niece-
Barbara
Sohn's have sold their
place – and are moving
off the 1st of March. We
hate to see them leave.

33. Barbara to Theona End, March 11, 1919

Elmore, Minn
Sunday eve 7:30

Dear Aunt Theona & all:-
Rec'd your letter in
due time. and was
glad to hear from you
so promptly, and that
you arrived home safe.
Papa rec'd the sausage
in fine shape.- & says to
thank Eldon very much
for it. – Mr. Butter worth
& papa think it is fine.
Was surprised to see Mr.
Butterworth arrive the
day you left, he has
been with us ever since.
and of course. is company
for us, and naturally
keeps me busy cooking
We are eating the smoked
hams now. they are fine.

[Pg. 2]

I washed my big washing
last Thursday, - got it all
dry in fine shape,- Elmore had
planned on a big Red Cross
sale. for last Saturday – but
when Saturday come it was
raining that morning, by noon
it had turned to sleet & snow
& hail, - and thundered &
lightnened. and by evening
we were having a genuine
blizzard. – and so of course
the sale was post poned –
The sun shone today, but it
was cold, and didnt thaw
much. Funny weather we are
having. Yes, our hens are
still gaining, we never get
below 50, - about an average
of 55 per day, - but they are
only 25¢ now, - I have about
30 dozen to sell. Sohn's hens
are slacking up, - so they
don't get "more as that" any
more, - Mrs. Sohn sends her
best regards to you. she has
finished that pair of socks,
and is going to start another
pair, if I'll do the purling.
Aunt Georgia had finished
her tenth pair.
We had a little bad luck
Thursday morning – our old
Nell took sick and lost her
colt. So we won't have a
new coltie this spring –
We have another new calf tho

[Pg. 3]

Aunt Rose was up to Teona's
a few days last week, and
now she has gone to Fair-
mont to live with Nan, I

wonder how long it will
last. We rec'd a letter
from Walter, saying that
when that box arrived.
it had been broken into,
and the good meat all
gone, and part of the
flute, what was left of
the flute was badly damaged.
It just made me sick
when I read it. – We put in a $50.00 claim for it. Hope
we get it, I also rec'd
a letter from Mr. Willard
at Heron Lake, asking me
to please come back and
work for him again He
isn't satisfied with his new
girl. Well, I must close
and write to Walter.-
Hoping you are all well,-
best regards to all,-
from all
Barbara

2. Krueger Collection, Originals held by the Wisconsin Historical Society Library. Most of the collection (especially the English letters) was previously transcribed by Angela Bagwell and Mike Olson, in their manuscript. German transcriptions included here have been added by me, as well as Alex Krueger's memory album and the 1921 letter to the Dodge County Citizen. All other transcriptions included here are included due to additions or alternate interpretations, indicated by underlined segments. Bagwell & Olson's transcriptions are left-aligned and include line numbers, but no page breaks. Transcriptions done by me have added spacing to mimick the original spacing, and I have added line and page numbers to show page breaks.

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113. Auguste Stark to Alexander Krueger, March 5, 1934
114. Ernestina Goetsch to Alexander Krueger, May 22, 1936
115. Martha Wendorf to Alexander Krueger, April 28, 1939
116. Ernestina Goetsch to Alexander Krueger, October 25, 1939
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120. Rena Goetsch to Alexander Krueger, September 30, 1940
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122. Everett Krueger to Alexander Krueger, March 2, 1941
123. Gustav Koch to Alexander Krueger, August 1, 1941

1. Postcard from Ferdinant Volkmann to August Krueger, July 15, 1877, Pr. du Chien (186-187)

Pr. du Chien, July 15th
77

Werther Schw. August
dein werthes Schreiben erhiel[t]
den Inhalt hat mich gerade
nicht sehr erzetzt, du hatten schreiben
bitte, Beteffs der 500 muß auch
einen Misverständniß b{r}uhen
sont mußte ich an End noch vor
dir als Lügner stehen u als solcher entlarvt
zu sein, u der möchte ich nicht {zum}
Nachträglich den besten Glück
wünsch zu deinen neu geborenen
Töchterlein.

Wir, Lydia u ich grüßen dich
dein Frau freundlichst

dein geringer
Ferdinant Volkmann

2. F. Volkmann to August Krueger, Dec 31, 1877, Pr. du Chien, (188-189)

Pr. du Chien, Wis December 31st 1877

Mein lieber Schwager August!
heute ist der letzte Tag im Jahr, 1877
und ich fühle mich verpflichtet ein
Lebenszeichen von mir zu geben
Ich wünsche dir und dein leuten deinen
ein glückliches segensreiches neues
Jahr, 1878? Wir möchten mit dem dichter
von herzen singen: Jesus soll die Loosung
sein da ein neues Jahr erschienen
Laßt uns keine alten Sünden u. Zorn
mit ins neus Jahr nehmen. Wir
wollen alles Böse ins Meer der
ewigen Vergessenheit werfen,
und an Nichts Vergangenes mehr denken
Verzeihe mir wenn ich dich beleidigt hab
Lydia u. ich sind Gott sei dank recht
munter in unseren schönen Missisi[ppi]
Thal u. hinter unseren schönen B{…}
Dampfboot passieren noch täglichen
denk {…} (rest of line illegible due to crease, SML)
kennt unser Correspondence weiter fort {…}
entschuldige den Mark auf der ersten Seite mein[e]
Feder hatte geleckt weil zuviel Tinte daran
war Lydia kam her u wischt {…}
Nur die besten gruß an dich u. deine
liebe Frau u. Alle von Lydia und mir
von deinen geringsten Schwager
F. Volkmann

3. Memory Album of Alex Krueger, 1882-1887, other entries undated

(page numbers appear here as written in pencil into memory album, SML)

p. [2] SC 230
Mein Kind wen dich die
Bösen Buben Loken, so folge
ihnen nicht.
Des herrn Furcht, ist Anfang
zum Lernen, die Ruchlosen ver

achten Weißheit und zucht.
dein Groß Papa Wi. F. Goetsch.

p. [3] SC231

Wer sich gern läßt strafen,
der wird Kluch werden; wer aber
ungestraft sein will, der bleibt
ein Narr.
Ein weiser Sohn ist seines Va-
ters Freude, aber ein thörich-
ter Sohn ist seiner Muter
Grämen, deine Groß Muter
Charlotte Goetsch

p. [4] SC232

Wen Hühner stehn und
gakern, muß nach den
Nest du sehn,
Wen Läster Mäuler wispern
ist um din Ruf geschen!
deine Tante
Hanna Goetsch

p. [5] SC233

So Treu und beständig geh
Täglich Ich hin
zur Schule mit {…} lust und zu friedenen
Sinn
Ich pfif und ich sang so frisch und
So frei
So Ernst und so Munter wie
Vögel im Mai,
U.E. Goetsch

p. [6] SC234

Bleib nur getreu den
Lehren die deine Väter
ehren dan wird dir
Muth nicht fehlen um
deinen Geist zu stählen
dein Vater
August Krueger

p. [7]

Honest is the
best Palicey

Your father
August Krueger
In the year 1882 March 5th

p. [8]

Kaum komt er in die Weldt hinein so lernt er
schon das böse schreien und in der Schule fängt
er dan das A. B. C. zu lernen um dann lernt er mit
die Schulzeit und das Rauchens kumt mit ach und
grues und auf der hochschule am ende manch
nüchdiches er {…}ahs Student dann lernt mit
einem Magdelein das süße küßen er und
Ferien drauf lernt fü {…} er als bald sich
in das Weites algewaldt das ehr glück
nicht bilig sei das er auch so nebenbei als
Stadtrath in der sitzung da lernet er zu machen
sagen ja und nent man ihn Großväterlein
lernt er der Enkel Reitpferd sein zum
Schlüße lernt er als Greiß das man am
Ende gar nichts weiß
dein Papa
August Krueger

p. [9]

Take a littel Wife the
pretter the better pat her cheek
and wen she wants to kiss you
let her
Your Sister
Saraphena Krueger

p. [10]

Allex you must always
Try and do right
And obey your Parents
Your Unkel
Albert Krueger

p. [11]

To alex,
May your life be long and pleasant
May your enemies be few,
May your friends be just as many,
As the sparkling drops of dew.
Your cousin
Sarah Goetsch

April 3rd 1882

p. [12]

Remember me, your loved one, A.H.G. Aug the 12 1882

My pen is poor,
My ink is pale,
My love to you
will never fale.

p. [13]

To Alex
I love coffee
I love tea
I love you if you love me
Your Cousin
Adolph Goetsch
Aug 3rd 1882

p. [14]

Alex:
Love many, trust few, and always
paddle your own canoe.
Your cousin
Ida Goetsch
Watertown Wis. April 4th 1882

p. [15]

Januar 23 -1883

Alex
Ehre Vater,
und Mutter
auf das du lang
lebest im Lande das
dir der Herr dein
Gott giebt.
dein Onkel Herman Götsch

p. [16]

Never cross a bridge till you
come to it,
Is a proverb old, and of
excellent wit.
Your uncle
Henry Krueger

Watertown, Wis.,
Jan 1. 1884

p. [17]

To Alex
"Beautiful faces
are they that
wear the light
of a pleasant spi[ri]t there.
Ida Buelke.
1886

p. [18]

To Alex,
When you are sitting
all alone and thinking of
the past remember that you
have a friend that will
forever last
your Friend
H. Bentert
Dec. 1 1887

p. [19]

To Alex,
Remember well and bare
In mind A faithful friend
Is hard to find but if you
Find one kind and true
Change not the old one
For the new.
Mary Loock.

p. [20]

To Alex
Remember me when far far off,
Where the woodchucks die,
With the hoocking coughf.
Your Friend
Isabella Bentert
Watertown Dec 2 1887

p. [21]

Es ist auf Erden kein besser List
dann wer seiner Zungen nie Meister ist

Viel wissen und wenig sagen Nicht
antworten auf alle Fragen Rede
wenig und mach [es] wahr, Was
du borgst bezahls baar Laß
einer jeden war er ist So
bleibst du auch wohl wer du bist.
deine, Tante Ernestina

p. [22]

Veilchen, Rosen, Tulpen
Nelken, Alle diese
blumen welken
Marmohr zer = bricht
Aber unser freundschaft nicht,
deine T.H. G
Aug the 12 1882

p. [23]

Wer dich lieber hat als ich der
schreibt Ruh hinter mich Ernestina Goetsch
Alex Krueger and his girl

4. Wil. Götsch to August Krueger, Juneau, 12 J. 1884 (191)

Juneau 12 J. 1884

Lieber August sage
Mutter das die
Neu mañ hier ist, wen
sie am donnerstag in
Watertown ist, den
komt die Neumañ
um 10 ½ Uhr u Schekt
ihr geld, sie wird wohl
bei Beurkans sein
um 11 Uhr, ~~oder~~sie wil
sich recht lange auf halte
sie wil sie gerne sehen
Wil F Götsch

5. Heinrich Krueger to brother August Krueger, Watertown, Oct 18, 1884 (SC 170-171)

Whitewater, Wis.,
Oct. 18, 1884
Lieber Bruder,

deinen Brief,
von Oct. 10, habe ich erhalten.
Neues ist hier nicht pasiert
so kan ich dieses Mahl nicht
viel chreiben.
Ich bekam diese Woche
einem Brief von Bertha,
die waren noch alle recht
gesund.
Mein Gelt-beutel hat
ein Loch gekri^{c}ht und
ehe ich mir versah war
das Geld beinah allens
rauß. Ich habe jetzt noch
einen ganzen dollar.

[Pg. 2]

Wen du kanst. Kanst
du mir $55.00 schicken.
Ich muß Wright noch $45.00
vür Bord bezahlen, den
kan ich "einpacken" bis
Weinachten.
Ich bin noch richt gesund
und hoffe das selbe von euch
alle.
Grüße Vater und G. Mutter
von mich.
Schreibe bald wieder,
dein Bruder,
Heinrich Krüger.

6. Henry Krueger to Alexander Krueger, 1885

[1] HENRY KRUEGER TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, 1885
Slide 171.[64]

Alex, I received your letter
also. I cannot think of
anything to write to you
at present, but in a short
time I am going to write

[64] I have kept the original headings from Bagwell & Olson, with letter numbers in brackets indicating the numbering of their manuscript.

a ł very long letter ~~to~~
~~you~~ that will take you a
whole week to read it.
I think you have to write
{i}nce more before I give you
that long letter.
Sarah must write
also.
Henry Krueger

7. W. Goetsch to his Schwager, Cresco, Jan 2x 1886 (SC 173)

Cresco Jan 2x 1886

Lieber Schwager
August die Box hab
e ich heute erhalten
ich schickte letzte woch
e rein {…}den war sie noch
nicht hier; wir habe
n so viel Schnee hier
wie noch nie gewesen
ist und immer Sturm
seit dem 2 Januar
es ist kaum zum duch
kommen. gesund sind
wir hier alle gestern
habe ich Emil Bigalk
gesehen zum ersten mah
l das er zurück ist von
da gesund sind wir
alle vielle grüße
von uns alle
Schwager W. Goetsch

8. Ernestina Goetsch to Alexander Krueger, December 20, 1886

[2] ERNESTINA GOETSCH TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, DECEMBER 20, 1886
Slide 172.

Juneau, Dec the 20
Dear Nephew Allex
I send you a hatband
to your 14th Birthday.
it is a very, Little presant,
but it is something to Remember.

I would like to come doun but
i cant
I wish you a Happy,
Birthday.
Your Aunt
Ernestina Goetsch
best Love to all

9. Susie Hasenflicker to Alexander Krueger, 1887

10. Henry Krueger to Alexander Krueger, February 25, 1887

[3] HENRY KRUEGER TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, FEBRUARY 25, 1887
Slides 175 - 177.

Whitewater, Wis.,
Feb. 25, 1887
Dear Alex,
I just had a
sleighride and a very
good one too.
Sleighing is very good
here in the city and
I tell you it is nice
to go sleighriding in
the evening as I have
done to-night.
I wasn't all alone
when I took my sleigh-
ride to-night.
The little boys here
in school have a good
deal of sport riding
down hill.
Our school is on a
steep hill, and the boys
start on top and go
down like lightning.
for about as far as
from your house to
grandpa's house; and
on their way they have
to cross a fence.
The three lower boards
are {kracked} off, and
the upper board is

left on; and the little
boys say it is "just
heaps of fun" to go
under that board
and see how high you
can put your head
without running
your head against
it.
Some of the boys have
snow-shoes on which
they slide down.
If you hav'n't got any
snow-shoes yet, you
must make yourself
some for the{r}e the can
be got out of it a
great deal of fun.
How are you getting
along in school?
I hope you are having
a go time in school.
{I} suppose Sarah is
getting the prizes
always yet, and you
are always spelled
down “dat mann
imma so wigt"
I am in the same
condition that you
are in, they are always
spelling me down “dat
imma so rocht un dampt"
Now it is nine o'clock,
and I have to hitch
up the horse and get
Miss Cook home, she went
to a party.
To-morrow is Saturday,
and then I have
to split some wood.
I have to stop; and
I hope to hear from
you soon again.
I received your letter,
+ also the pretty valen—

tine.
Have you received many
this year?
Your uncle,
Henry Krueger.

11. Albert Goetsch to August Krueger, 1888

[6] ALBERT GOETSCH TO AUGUST KRUEGER, 1888
Slide 183.

Brother= in Law August
I take my pen to let you
know that I am Uncle again
they say it is a little boy
light hair and blue eyes.
I did not see him yet and aint
going to till he comes and gives
me a visit last Satuerday
Buelke and I dehorned his cows
I held em and he sawed {done}.
A good job I dehorned the little
calve we dident fix no sta{n}cel
for them at all I tell you I
had a tough ride that tuesday
I almost frose I got home after
six oclock I got 6.70 pounds brand to
get yet I would have ben down this
week if I knew that hanna wasent
coming yet let me know when
she is there Your Brother=in Law
Albert {A} Goetsch

12. Albert Goetsch to Sarah Krueger, January 21, 1888
13. Postcard from H. W. Adams to "dear friend" Elgin, Ill, Feb 1888 (SC 179)

Elgin, Ills. Feb / 88

Dear friend,
I am in receipt of your
{…} order for "The School Reader"
for which please accept my thanks-
The unexpected large demand for the
paper has delayed the January issue
The next number is due in March and
we hope to get it out very close to the

first of the month and will mail same to
you promptly trust you will pardon the
wait. Thanks, H.W. Adams

14. E.S. Goetsch to August and Mary Krueger, Juneau, Feb 20, 1888 (SC 184-185)

Juneau Feb 20th 1888

August and Mary Krueger
Lieber Schwager und Schwester
wir sind alle gesund und
hoffen von euch das selbe.
Uns ist am Samstag den
18ten Febray ein kleiner Sohn
geboren es hat hart gehalten
Morgens von halb 6.-bis Abens
5 Uhr gedauert ich hatte
eine Hehbamme von Clyman
4 meile von Hustisford geholt.
eine zeimlich kluge Frau,
und Anna ihre Großmutter
kam am Freitag schon, Anna
und Baby sind munter,

[Pg. 2]

Anna last euch grüßen
Sie sagt May soll man kommen
und besuchen ihr und dem
kleinen. Un-land Oder Schreb{…}
dies ist alles vür dies
Mahl es Grüßt euch euer
Geringer E. S. Goetsch

15. August Krueger to Alexander Krueger, February 13, 1891

[7] AUGUST KRUEGER TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, FEBRUARY 13, 1891
Slides 192 - 193.

Juneau Wis
Feb. 13-91
My dear Alex
I am well yet the
night before last I staid
at Buelkes and last night
I staid at Grandfathers

there have bin 3 caces
tried one beteen father
and Son and the other
was a railroad case
and yesterday a case
between two Newspaper
Editors I am on this
last case we {have}
set yesterday in the
and to day we h{a}lfto
go agin. I think to day
we will git backt up
Inclosed I send you
the the postel card
from the Hustisford
Ins. Co. you better go
and pay the Insurence
$4.40 about my coming
I cant say anything
I wil write agin to
morrow, If the roads
are good you may try
if you can and git a load
of wood in the forenoon
so that Edd will have some
work next week for I
will not git him this
week so thay say.
my best regards to
you all
Your father
August Krueger
You can come to Watertown in
the after. if you are ther at 4 you have
(vertically up the side, SML) time to pay the insurece

16. Sarah Krueger to August Krueger, April 20, 1891
17. Arthur Volkmann to August Krueger, 1892

[12] ARTHUR VOLKMANN TO AUGUST KRUEGER, 1892
Slide 201.

Watertown Wis 1892
Dear Uncle Ougust
I got my knife yet

It is very mudy[65] here
we sold our horses yesterday
There are green trees all
around the year I like it
better here
Arthur Volkman
Evenston Ill

18. Fred Volkmann to Alexander Krueger, 1892
19. Mary Volkmann to Sarah Krueger, March 28, 1892

20. Fred Volkmann to Alexander Krueger, March 28, 1892

[10] FRED VOLKMANN TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, MARCH 28, 1892
Slides 199 - 200.

Evanston
Illnois
March
28
Deares Alex we are all well
we sold the horses to day on
monday for $180 I hovent no work
to do now I just need to saw a little
wood we baugh some nice wood
for $4 a cord and got old stumps
for nothing our old Millie is very
afraid of the train and other gray
horse we sold ran a way from
that man he is very surry he bought
it he broke the new carrage all up
in pieces my fathe got hurt by the
horse he has been laying around a
baught a week old Millie jumped
righ on his heel its swelled up very
thick we are glad we got red of them
we had a nice konsort in the
babtist curch a trip to China we
all got in free they have us
a ticked for nothing the other peop{le}
hado pay fifty cents for a tickett
and for chirldren twenty-five cents
this is a beautiful town very nice

[65] Bagwell & Olson interpreted as “mudly”.

buildings I wis_ you could see this
city some day I wish you would
come and see us some d{a}y our
house is west of Evanston its one
of the old k{…}k house the a fence
on top of the house we live up—
stairs and old woman living down
~~dou~~ stairs who gets s{...}ll every
day {+} my mother alway ~~gets~~ goes
to town with her some times
I hope your are all well and not
sick I dont like to be sick ~~I~~ we got
a postle card to day the old uncle
Goetsh was dead my mothe felt
very bad ~~t~~ when she herd it
we live on washington
street
F. V.

21. Albert Goetsch to Alexander Krueger, September 9, 1892

[13] ALBERT GOETSCH TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, SEPTEMBER 9, 1892
Slide 203.

Juneau Sep 9/92
Well Alex I am
comming to Watertown
the 13 in the evening
to leave Wednesday
morning early
for Milwaukee
I suppose you
will be there
if nothing happens
Mother + Father and
{Ma/Be}rtha Wille and Sony
is coming along
Albert Goetsch

22. Ernst Goetsch to August Krueger, February 24, 1893

[14] ERNST GOETSCH TO AUGUST KRUEGER, FEBRUARY 24, 1893
Slide 205.

Juneau Feb 24th 1893
Dear Bro-Law August I
intended to come dawn to get
that Oats but I have to give it
up in acount[66] the roads are to poor.
dont wait for me I have to sow
my own again every thing else is
all right Best regards to all
E. S. Goetsch

23. Arthur Goetsch to Alexander Krueger, May 24, 1893

[15] ARTHUR GOETSCH TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, MAY 24, 1893
Slide 220.

Dear cousin Alex I
received your letter long
a t{ime} ago I think you
are mad already because
i dident write you sooner
It is raining here again to
day we are through with
corn planting yesterday
I was toold slosan {...} is dead
he died the 19th of may when
you see Ida you can tell
her that ald slosan is dead
I went to school four days
and we have such a cross
teacher and now I h{ai}nt
going any more last Friday
i was down to the prairy
we took six Cows down
to the herd and six we
have home yet, that will
do for this time fore I dont
know any more your cousin
Arthur Goetsch

24. Ferdinand Volkmann to August Krueger, August 22, 1893
25. Sarah Krueger to August Krueger, August 27, 1893
26. August Krueger to Mary Goetsch, August 29, 1893

[18] AUGUST KRUEGER TO MARY GOETSCH, AUGUST 29, 1893

[66] Bagwell & Olson corrected spelling of "account", E.S. Goetsch uses only one <c>.

Slides 211 - 212.

Chicago Ill
August 29-93
Dear Mary
We wanted to go to St. Joseph
This morning on the Lake
Michigan. But it was
such a storm on the Lake
that we was afraid to
go so we have bin around
all day in Chicago and
seeing sights we was to
the Aditorum Mussium[67] and
to Amors pacing house[68]
and to the Olimagarine[69]
factory and to Bufflo Bills
show. To morrow morning
if nothing hapens we will
take the Steamer to St.
Joseph. And I will write
you as soon as we git
there. We have a notion
that we will send
our Satchel home
by Express so that we
don't have to cary it
around with us. Now
I will adress it to
Charles Goetsch and
you can git it from
him and take it home
if Nothing hapens I
think we will be
home Saturday If not
I will let you know.
But if we can stap off
with our ticket in
Milwaukee I will let
you know Volkmans
and family are well
and send there bestregads

[67] Likely referring to the Chicago World's Fair Exhibit in the Auditorium Theater/Building.
[68] Likely Armour's Packing House, a large meatpacking plant.
[69] Armour also had an oleo-margarine factory, which may have been intended here.

good Night
August
Lydia
Sends you these flowers

27. August Krueger to Sarah Krueger, August 30, 1893

[19] AUGUST KRUEGER TO SARAH KRUEGER, AUGUST 30, 1893
Slide 214.

St. Joseph Mich
Aug. 30 – 93
Here we are acrost
the [lake] of Michagen all
well and are going
down to see Aug
Habel I will
write you later
Your Father
Aug Krueger

28. W. Götsch to August, Juneau, Sept 19, 1893, (SC 216)

Juneau 19 Sep 93
Lieber August eben deinen
Brief erhalten. Ich habe mir
auch so verkältet Kan aber
rum gehen es ist schon am über
gehn. Mutter ist etwas schlecht
davon sie so Kerten schap und
in Kopf schwindlich sie get vum
die Macht mir viel Elend u
Trubell in Kan noch lange
so Taumler u kan auch bald
alle sein am besten warn es
es Martha hat auch ziemlich
damit zu thun wen Märi
Scharrf ist so soll sie wan
sich Stille halten, sie kan nicht
helfen, den Dokter sagte es
gestern sich Könte nicht gehol=
fen werden sie wär zu alt.
er konte {…} geb u. zur
Schlafen. Gruß W. Götsch

29. Albert Goetsch to August Krueger, September 15, 1893

[20] ALBERT GOETSCH TO AUGUST KRUEGER, SEPTEMBER 15, 1893
Slide 218.

Juneau Sep 15/93
Dear Brother in Law
August, I did not have time
To answer your letter before
I have ben buisy thrashing
and making hay but now
I am all done I thrashed
wheat 81 Bushels barley 759
Oats 430. well how is the
world's fair, I think of
going soon Thusday
the old sittlers meet here
in Juneau from dodge
you want to come up
I suppose you got lots
of time well this is
all for this morning
your Brother in Law
Albert

30. Alexander Krueger to August Krueger, November 24, 1893

[21] ALEXANDER KRUEGER TO AUGUST KRUEGER, NOVEMBER 24, 1893
Slides 221 - 222.

Madison, Wis. 1893.
November 24.
My dear parants and sister
I and Willie
arrived here in Madison allright
we got here at 10.30.
it was snowing yit as we
got here but afternoon it
stoped we had our dinner in
the depot and at 12 o'clock we
started to look at the city
so we looked around till
2 o'clock and then we went
into the capitol looked
over all the rooms and
chambers and then went
into the art gallary thene.

we stayed in about two
hours I would have
stayed longer in the art
gallary but Willie got
tired of it I regestered
in the gallary but Willie
would not do it he seems
though if he dont care
much for art and old relics.
I liked the city very much
now it is about half past
four and we are in the depot
and I am writing Willie is
reading the paper, the train
leaves at 6.35 for Cresco
we got our parcels checked
in the depot
The folks are all going
with sleds here.
Best regards.
From Alexander.

31. William Goetsch to August Krueger, November 28, 1893
32. Fred Volkmann to August Krueger, December 1, 1893

[23] FRED VOLKMANN TO AUGUST KRUEGER, DECEMBER 1, 1893
Slide 228.

I wrote right
away when
your letter
come
write soon.

December 1-1893
Chicag Ill
Dear uncle August we recei
ved your letter this morning at
9 oclock and wanto know that
he had an opration on him they
did not oprate him yet he is very
sick with the lung feaver the doctors
said that he can die any hour or
minnute momma and Alas Goetsch
is staying whith him right a
long. the hofto hold ice on his head

such a heat he has got he is sitting
up in bed all the time for the pains
the gave him something for to sleep
But it did not help him anything
a tall. I am going to school every day
i am in 5 reader and also
going to evening School grandpa send us
5 chickens for thanksgiving last year
we had turkey from Alex. I hope you all
had a very nice thanksgiving we are well
so far and hope you are the same.
my best re{c}ards to you all
T.V.C.I. Mr Fred Volkmann
Chicago Ill. 399 Southport and Wrightwood
Ave

33. Alexander Krueger to August Krueger, December 14, 1893
34. George Volkmann to August Krueger, December 16, 1893

[25] GEORGE VOLKMANN TO AUGUST KRUEGER, DECEMBER 16, 1893
Slides 231 - 232.

Chicago Ill.
December 16 1893.
Dear uncle Auguest
I an going to
school every day and
sundays I go and
see my sick papa
Christmas is coming
soney and I an
going to get a
pair a skates
Christmas
I wish I could come
to you next summer
too help you on the
farm and watch the
cows.
George Volkman
399
We had to pleas Georg
he wented to write
you a letter for

Christmas.[70]

35. Fred Volkmann to Alexander Krueger, December 16, 1893

[26] FRED VOLKMANN TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, DECEMBER 16, 1893
Slides 233 - 234.

December 16-1893
Chicago
Illinois
Dear cousin Alex I heard
you was in Iowa I is very
good skating here now in
Chicago But it didend skate
yet this winter I ant got
any skates my mother w{ant}
buy me any I want get anything
this christmas I am to school
every day and evening school
also I am in fourth reader
is was quiet bad stoopy
wether here yesterday and
it is putty cold to day I hope
you will have a good Christmas
my papa is pretty sich
this week they took him to
doctors school room and they
took about a quart of water
out of his side 3 days ago
we got our cow yet she
gives about 5 quarts of milk
yet a day she eats one bale
of hay every week we
pay 50 cents a b{o}le for our
hay hay is wery dear this
year we are all well so
far and hope you are the
same write soon cousin
Alex my best regards to you.
Fred Volkmann
to Chicag Ill
397 Southport
and Wright

[70] A different author begins writing at line 20.

wood
Ave
F.V.
F.V.

36. Alexander Krueger to August Krueger, December 22, 1893
37. William Goetsch to Alexander Krueger, January 12, 1894
38. Ferdinand Volkmann to August Krueger, January 25, 1894

[29] FERDINAND VOLKMANN TO AUGUST KRUEGER, JANUARY 25, 1894
Slide 239.

Cook Co Il Chic - Jan 25 94
Ward 20
Dearest August. I am hardly
able to write. I am very sick
now, when I try to stand on
my legs, I drop right down
I am operated 3 weeks ago
on my right side, it is running
yet, they operation on the
Stomach the Doctors cann{o}t
undertake, because I am to
weak. I am suffering
terrible pain day and night
I can sleep but little, there
is no more hope now
I hope thee Lord will soon
relieve me, I cann{o}t tell you
how much pain I suffer and
nobody can help me
Excuse me for this little
I cannot write any more F.V.

39. Albert Goetsch to August Krueger, January 30, 1894
40. Fred Volkmann to Alexander Krueger, March 20, 1894

[31] FRED VOLKMANN TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, MARCH 20, 1894
Slides 244 - 246.

Chicago March 20 / 94
Dear cousin Alex I must sit
down and write you a few
lines that we got home alright
the train conductor diden't
charge me any bor{d} in the

train I dident see you
in W<u>o</u>tertown we dident
stay long anough to see
every body I went to see
Willie buelke in Juneau
and Albert and Earnst
Uncle Albert let us have his
rifle and we whent in
woods to shoot birds it was
a windy birds day and
we only got two birds
I stay over night with
Willie Buelke till the next
morning I took the 10 oclock
train and mamma
met me in the train
and we went right to
Chicago we didint
hofto change cars a tole
I herd you was in
Iowo {city} how did you
like I hope you catched
quite pile of robits I seen
a picture by willie
Buelke were you and
Willie Buelke was and
Willam Goetsch with
about a dozen robits
on the picture there
must be good hunting
in Iowa that you shoot
so many robits in
the summer I will
come to W<u>o</u>tertown
again and visit you
all I will Bring a
rifle with me I then we will see
if we can shoot anything
in <u>w</u>otertown
I'd like to move to
Wotertown all to gother
but mother dont want{o}
I dont care for chicago
any more It is to dirty
and smokey
and isen't healthy fore one

I diden't grow a bit in
Chicago yet I think I
grow better on a farm
so you must write
my mother a good letter
and beg her to come to
Wisconsin When
I was in wotertown
I tought to myself Ibe
better for me were
all my cousins and
friends are I must stop
write and feed the cows
best regards you all
Fred Volkmann 397 Southport Chicago
Write as soon
as you
have time
back to me
how are you
getting along
an the farm
now I suppose
y have everthing
fixed up nice
next summer
I will come and
see you all
in Wotertown
Write soon
F.V.

41. Louis Will to Alexander Krueger, April 15, 1894

[32] LOUIS WILL TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, APRIL 15, 1894
Slides 248 - 249.

Milwaukee April 15, 1894
My dear Friend
I must write
you a few lines wich I ought
to have done long ago. I am
well yet and hope that you
are the same. I tell you I
had quite a time to find a
job untill finally I got my

old job again. For it is very
hard to find a job here for
manny men go shoveling here
for less than a dollar a day.
I started to work April the 9th
and thursday I was out to
Watertown we had a little to
do out there. we got through
with our work about 11 o'clock
and so I had to spend the rest
of my time till five o'clock down
town. So I went to see our
Friend Eddie he told me that
Fred Muster was dead and that
it was about out with Bella
and Severn and I suppose the
same with Minnie and Thurow.
I also met Emil Po{n}tz and
we had a couple of games
of pool. He told me that he
had a job so about half and
half for a man living in
Sussex I suppose you are
about done with sowing.
Tomorrow we are going to
stake out a track where there
is about from one to two feet
of water were we will be wearing
hipboots. Our office is down
at Merrill Park station but
the first of May we are going
to move into Union Depot.
George is just gone over to get
apint of beer for dinner is ready
and I wont to go down town
this afternoon this will be
all for this time hoping to
hear from you soon.
I remain as ever
Your Friend Louis
My address is Louis Will
493-14 Ave
Milwaukee
Wis

42. Wil. Goetsch to son William, Juneau, May 3 1894 (SC 224)

Juneau May 3 / 1894

Lieber Sohn William
so eben deinen Brief u
den Draft mit $30 er=
halten Wir haben hier gleich
vals viel Regen wie dort.
du schreibst von Meinen
Komen Ich wäreso weit
Gesund Ich denke mit
Mutter dort Ich mir
Nicht auf Machen, sie ist
sehr sterken Schwach einen
Tag besser u den kindern
Schlimer sie macht mir
viel Trubel u sorgen so
wie Gott es [f]ärt so Müßen
wir uns fügen, alles andere
ist Munter, Frede Volkman
ist bei Bulke, wie Lida dort
macht weiß ich nicht Gruß
an alle Vater Wil. Goetsch

43. Albert Goetsch to August Krueger, May 26, 1894

[33] ALBERT GOETSCH TO AUGUST KRUEGER, MAY 26, 1894
Slide 251.

Juneau May 26 / 94
Dear Bro in Law your letter
received and see that you was
sick and well again we are all
quite well except the childern
had a bad cold well this
was a bad week for corn
mine aint up i am draging
it now little pigs I got 26
at present and 2 more sows
coming in yet you got to wait
about 4 weeks yet if you want
a good half blood they are only
A week old 10 I weaned of the
full bluds {Vieh} the half
blood are going to make the
best hogs I am buisy at present

that cold weather put us back
grain looks good best regards
to all Albert Goetsch

44. Albert Goetsch to August Krueger, June 20, 1894
45. Albert Goetsch to August Krueger, August 10, 1894
46. Ida Buelke to Ernest Buelke, August 10, 1894
47. Albert Goetsch to August Krueger, October 9, 1894

[37] ALBERT GOETSCH TO AUGUST KRUEGER, OCTOBER 9, 1894
Slide 256.

Juneau Oct-9th / 94
Dear Brother in Law August
I received your Letter and
you can get the corn
eny time now. We was
to Huelsburg we went[71]
Saturday and come home
yesterday we was rained
in while clover
I thrashed 13. bushels
and it is worth about
$11.25 A bushel now
I will do just as well yet as
if I sowed it to other
grain the best regards to all
Albert Goetsch

48. August Habel to August Krueger, January 16, 1895

[38] AUGUST HABEL TO AUGUST KRUEGER, JANUARY 16, 1895
Slide 257.

St Joseph Januarey 16th, 1895
August Kruger
Dear Friend I shall be over
and I will Com and See You
I will probabley be there Nex week
from your Friend
August Habel

[71] "we went" initially written as "wewent", but the author drew a slash between we and went to indicate it should be written as two words.

49. Lilian to Sarah Krueger, September 3, 1895

[39] LILIAN TO SARAH KRUEGER, SEPTEMBER 3, 1895
Slides 259 - 261.

Office of
Joseph Schlitz Brewing Company[72]

Milwaukee Sept 3 1895
My dear cousin Sarah I expect to are beginning
to think that you will not hear from me but it
was time that was lacking for me to write the
only reason for there wanting to have me come home
so immediately was that I should have that place
was I angry when I came home and found out what
the matter was well I should say so the place where
I am is not a block away from home which makes it
quite nice There was an increace in the family
monday and oh dear the work, I expect they got
Earnie home by this time, was Ida there I have not
written to here yet either, ma and pa were out to
Sheboygan a week ago sunday They went on the steamer
well The sixteenth The fair will start hope to see you
out here if you cant come then come out semi Sennial
day The seventeenth of Oct Mil- great celebration excursions
from all over That will be finer then the fair, I have
often thought of you since I got back dont feel angry
because I did not write sooner, I suppose your
neighbors have all got through thrashing by this time,
How are yours sweet-hearts out there especialy Herman B.
I did have such a nice time out to your place it
is very healthy out in the country any way I feel better
now then what I did befor I left Mil- ma was glad
as I brought those nice eggs she sends her most
heart full Thanks and I again to your mamma for
The lov[e]ly present she gave me will draw to a close hoping
to hear from you at early reply best regards to the
family with kind wishes I am your true cousin.
Lillian
997 7 St.
The man I work for travels for the Schlitz-Brewing Co.

50. Albert Goetsch to Alexander Krueger, September 24, 1895

[72] Letterhead.

[40] ALBERT GOETSCH TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, SEPTEMBER 24, 1895
Slide 263.

Juneau Sep 24 / 95
Dear Nephiew
I received your letter
and sa that you got
home but I beat you.
I thought of taking A rest
till noon but as I got
home the Clover huller was
there I had to pick rite in
I never was so tired this summer
I thrashed 26 1/2 bushels of Alsike[73]
from 4 acres you better tell
your pa to come to Beaver dam
they are going to have the best
fa~~r~~ir[74] they ever had I am going
thursday and I like to see
him come your Uncle Albert
Juneau Wis

51. Henry Krueger to Alexander Krueger, April 26, 1896
52. H. Bigalk to Alexander Krueger, October 15, 1896

[42] H. BIGALK TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, OCTOBER 15, 1896
Slides 266 - 267.

Florenceville Ia.
Oct. 15. 1896
Dear Cousin Alex
I thought I
would write you a few
lines to let you know
that I am well and hope
you are the same. I am
going to school every
day. I am in the second
reader. I am learning
hard to be a Professer.
Those doves you gave me
are alive yet. They laid two
eggs and they were rotten

[73] Alsike is a type of clover.
[74] The author writes “farr” and then adds the dot over the first <r> to make it an <i>.

I got one dog. I call him
Fido. I got four cats. I
call one Pussy and one
Mollie one susen one
T-o-m I got two little
calves one is a bull. The
other is a cow. My sisters
are getting along well
one is as fat as butter.
the other is a runner. I got
a dandy new suit
I look like a dude.
My pa is gone thrashing
every day. Uncle Otto
is painting his house.
I must stop now fore it
is late already. right soon
Best
regards
to all
your
cousin
Henry
Bigalk

53. Alexander Krueger to August Krueger, December 1, 1896

[43] ALEXANDER KRUEGER TO AUGUST KRUEGER, DECEMBER 1, 1896
Slides 276 - 277.

Madison, Wis. Dec 1. 96
Dear parants + sister
I suppose you got
the postal I wrote yesterday. I have changed
my boarding place. The first place was to
cold without a stove. Now I am rooming
at 1220 University Av. I room to-gather with
a Mr Thompson from Manitowac County. He
is a Norwiegen about my age. We got a nice big
room heated + lighted for $2.00. $1.00 a peace
We are boarding at 1210 University Av. at $2.50
a week. Three meals I had at 228 Mills there
I had to pay 20¢ a meal because I left
There were also to many boarders, some 25 men
to eat and 8 to room the place where I
stayed overnight I had to pay 29¢. My

expences have been so far $1.20 train, $8.00
at the school, $1.95 for a white suit + white cap +
one checkered jacket and black cap. 3¢ ink
$11.87 in all but I did not pay any board at my
new place. I will pay at the end of the week
also for the room rent. The school opens to-morrow
morning. I tell you I look fine in my white
suit and cap. The Dairy students have to get two
white suits. We only one white and one blue.
Some 160 students registered up to 12 AM
to-day. I can write you all about it the later
part of this week. Address all my mail
to 1220 University Av. Madison Wis.
It is snowing pretty fast here will soon
have sleighing. This forenoon I and my
room-mate went to see the capitol
Now I will close and mail this letter.
I will write to-morrow night Some of
the boys told me that we have ~~school~~
6 days in the week.
Answer soon
Your son
Alexander Krueger

54. Alexander Krueger to August Krueger, December 5, 1896

[44] ALEXANDER KRUEGER TO AUGUST KRUEGER, DECEMBER 5, 1896
Slides 269 - 274.

1220 University Av.
Madison Wis
2 P.M. Dec. 5. 1896
Dear Parants & Sister
I received your
letter this noon and saw from it that you
are all well. This morning our whole class
went down to the farm to judge stock but
there was to big a crowd and so they only put
the First Section to work. I belong to the
Second and so that put me free to-day
This forenoon I and two of our boys looked
all over the machine-shops where they have
the forges and the carpenter work and from
there we went over to the Capitol and into
the museum. This afternoon we are going to
stay home in our room.

I see from your letter that the
root cutter is a success in the line of cutting. and that you have killed old Bill.
Money goes away here like lightning.
everything is so very expensive here. I will
just show you how much I spent.
Railroad fare $1.25 Trunk delivered .37¢ Ink 3¢
Note book .5¢ One white suit $1.35 One blue jacket +
cap .60¢ For incidental fee $5.00 For takeing Dairying
a fee of $1.00. A breakage deposit of $2.00 (returnable)
Tobbaco .5¢ For meals .60¢ For nights lodging .29¢ Notebook
25¢ Shaving cup .10¢ Shoebrush + blacking .30¢
Note book .10¢ Agricultur Physics book $1.00 Stamps 12¢
Street car fare when it rained .5¢ Deposit for locker
key .50¢ (returnable) Each of us students has got
a locker. One in the Horticulture building +
one in the Dairy school or Hiram Smith's Hall.
The one in the Dairy school we got free, but the
one in the Horticulture Building we had to
deposit .50¢. This locker is a little box in the
wall about three feet high one + a half foot square
with hooks, for our overcoat and our hats, overalls,
jackets and also books. Each student has got a
key to lock up his clothes. Each key is numbered
and so is the locker and every seat in the lecture
room is numbered. We must each occupy the
same seat as our number of our key. I have
key No. 5 for Dairy School and key No. 28 for
Agri + Horticultur Labritory [locker] I almost have my
key ring full of keys.
I think I will also take blacksmithing I
can take it if I want to. It is not in the
First years course. but we have libary work
every third afternoon, that is only sitting in the
room and studying whatever we like. I think
I will drop that and take blacksmithing. If I take
blacksmithing alone I must pay a fee of abaut
$1.66¢ or 1/3 of $5.00. To take all the shop work will
cost $5.00 that is also carpenter work + turning.
The board has not arranged everything the
way it should be.
We have got to study very hard some studies
are hard to catch on. Surveying is pretty tough
we must learn how to use the levels for
laying tile and all about Surveying but I think
it is very useful.

Once a week we will have bookkeeping by
Mr. Moore. He ordered some text books. they
will cost 95¢ each when we get them.
Last night we all met and organized a
Lituary Soiciety. here we must have a
book called Robert's Ruls of Order this will
cost .50¢ more. I did not pay any board or
room rent I must pay next Tuesday that
will amount to $3.50. When I have my first
weeks board paid I will have $9.50 left out of $28.00. The
greatest expence is over. I am sure I will
come to $75 or $80 before I get through.
If I will like the school father on as well
is I like it so far, I will not be sorry I
went. I will send you to-day a Schedule of
our studies which you my look over and get
some idea what we learn each day in the week
When I need money I will let you know I
think I will get along for a while yet.
We also have a darkey in our course. His name
is Parks. He is from South Caralina. A smart
feller. He is here to take the long course but is in
with us till Spring. That one from Central
America has gone back (that is what I was told)
it was to cold for him. He could not stand the weather.
You better send me my black shirt. I will use it if
I take shop work. Many of the boys wear black + wollen
shirts. I think you can send it by mail if it dont cost too much
A person can not wear a white shirt longer
than one week. I am going to save my other
shirts for Sunday. I will put on my wollen
shirt Monday.
Prof. Henry teaches us feeds + feeding
Prof. Goff plant life and Labritory work
Prof. King Agriculture Phys. Prof. Craig
all about horses and breeding animals. We only got
lessons on the horse so far. Mr. Steveson judging
cattle + horses Mr. Moore bookkeeping and the one
that gave us lessons in testing milk his name I
did not find out yet. Mr. Jones gives us
instructions in surveying. This Mr. Jones
he rented all of this upper flat where I and
Anders Thompson room, and we rented this
one room from him. Mr. Jones batches or does
his own cooking. The lady in the lower flat
told me that Jones is to be married before

Christmes so we can figuer on a {...}
I have not met Hattie Goetsch yet. I
don't know wether she is here or not
Mr. Moore told us that the Short Course
boys could enter the Gymnasium and take
exercises in any way and also take baths. All
those that enter must pay a fee of $1.75 I am not
in it. I can use that money some other way
I take my exercises in walking up and down
street.
The first morning Prof Henry gave us
a lecture on how we should eat He said we
were like a lot of ~~H~~hogs. He ~~gave~~ told us we should
eat as little as passable, go away from the table
a little hungry, we take lots of exercises. He said
walking ~~was~~ is the cheapest exercise. That is
what he done as he went to colleage.
Now I have described to you as good as I
can about the school and all the rest.
My roommate is sleeping on the bed.
He is in a bad fix, his money is all gone. He
wrote home for some, but it has not come
His home address is Clark's Mills, Manitowoc Co.
Wis. He did not have enough to buy any suits
so he must go without them. His Father sent him
away ^from^ home with about $18.00 I suppose they
had no idea what it would cost. We have one student
in the Dairy course from Winipeg, Manitoba, Canada
and one from the state of Washington. I wrote this
letter a little fast so you must not expect good penmanship
Answer soon Alexander Krueger
your son

55. Alexander Krueger to August Krueger, December 10, 1896

[45] ALEXANDER KRUEGER TO AUGUST KRUEGER, DECEMBER 10, 1896
Slides 278 - 281.

Money wanted
$10.00
1220 University Ave.
Madison, Wis Dec.10.96
Dear Parants + Sister
I received Sarah's
letter + papers yesterday at noon, and saw that
you are getting along nicely. I am doing the

same but plenty of work. I wrote you the
last letter I wrote that I was going to take
forge work. I will start in tomorrow
afternoon. I will work at the forge every
third day. Three hours a day. My cash run
pretty low. I had to Pay $2.00 to enter the
shop, and for $1.00 I had to by tools. I bought
one folding rule and one compass cost me $1.00
The compass is shaped like[75] this for measuring
iron bolts and the like. I had to pay .25¢ for
a locker key (returnable with close of term)
and had to buy one blue jacket for working
in the shop for .60¢ That cost me
$3.25 to enter the forge work. I also had to
buy me a pair of new shoes for $1.40 I got a
pair of No. 9 shoes. My sunday shoes were to
small for every day's wear. I must have about
$2.00 more for books. I have just $4.25 left
My board and room rent is due Tuesday 12 P.M.
When I pay that I will have .75¢ left. Try
and send me $10.00 Saturday Dec. 12. Then I
think I will have enough till I come home.
I will be home Christmas. They will not have
school on Christmas, and if they have any on
Saturday I don't care I will miss that. I have
spent $23.86 so far, and out of this I spent
only 5¢ church, 5¢ cigar, and 5¢ car fare 5¢ Tobaco 20¢ what
I could have saved. Here in Madison it costs
a dollar every time a man turns around.
I got a very nice book from Prof. Henry, it is the
Thirteenth Annual Report of the Agricultur ex-
periment Station of 1896. It is all bound in cloth
Every Short course student got one free. I asked
him if I could not get another one to send
home, and he told me I could not get any
for $1.00 a piece. They have so few of these
books on hand. They sent many to foreign countries
He said if any student lost his book he could
not get another one
To-day I have been stock judgeing. We got
through at 4 o'clock. After we left the farm
I and some of our boys took a walk around
town for exercise. Whenever I eat two hearty
meals and have no exercise I can feel it in

[75] Hand drawn picture of a compass.

my stomach. I never beleaved it that eating
much and no exercise would have such and ef-
fect on a man, as it has.
My apples are starting to rot pretty fast.
I and Anders are eating all we can. At first
we were quite-saveing with them but it is of
no use. I get pretty nice board but I dont get
my fruit so the apples come in nicely
We have been experimenting with beans
in the Horticultur Labrotary as to absorbing
water. We first measured the beans a 100 beans
in one can. filled the can with damp soil and
pressed it down, very much, and a 100 beans
in another can with the same kind of soil
but only mixed them loosely with the soil
then we let them stand for a day and there
we sifted the soil all from the beans and
measured them again and we found that
the packed soil had swelled the beans about
4 to 5 centimeters more than the loose soil.
I think that our cornplanter with the solid
wheel is better then Albert's with the opening
Our experiment shows that pressed down soil
will geminate seeds quicker then loose soil
We have made many other experiments which I
will tell you when I get home
All the things we make at the forge
belongs to us. But we must keep them in
our lockers till the end of the term. then
they will all be examined and our standing
given according to our work.
Here is quite a good deal of robbing going on
in this city. One man was held up this week
his money stolen and bullet fired through his
neck. Hold-ups most every night. The police
has been dressed in citizens cloths ever since
I have been here trying to catch the thiefs, but have
not succeeded yet. Most of our boys stay in their rooms
evenings or not stay out late. Now I must close
and look over my studies. One of the students gives
lessons in arithmetic twice a week evenings for $1.50 for eight
weeks. I would like to take it but it costs money and time.
Best regards to all. Answer soon. From
your son Alexander Krueger

(added along top of page 3, SML)

Tell Sarah she may send II me some papers that she thinks
will be of any interest to me. but do not send to many I will have
time sundays to read and some evenings

56. Alexander Krueger to August Krueger, January 6, 1897

[46] ALEXANDER KRUEGER TO AUGUST KRUEGER, JANUARY 6, 1897
Slides 282 - 285.

1220 University Av.
January 6. 1897
Madison, Wisconsin
Dear Parants + Sister
I received your
letter Jan. 1-97 and saw that you were all
well at that time. I am well.
I just come home from the Washburn
Observatory I went to look at the stars
with the big telescope. It is open to visitors
every first and every third Wensday night in
each month. There was a very big crowd
I had to wait about an hour before my
turn came. The 4 of Jan. I and Eddie Hartman
were at the great inaugural ball. The
Govenar was inaugarated the 4. The ball was
held on the big Gymnasium floor. I think
the floor is abaut 5 times as big as Turner
Hall floor. I never saw anything as beautiful
as that. Everything was lighted with
electric light many palms and arches
The Governor sat in some arch and anybody could go and shake hands with him
There were many thousands of people. After
they got through hand shaking they had the
Grand march. Scofield[76] took the lead and then
all the rest of the high officals. I never saw
ladies dressed so fine all in ball dresses
and so were the men. The dance was free to everybody, but the common folks only went and
looked on. I + Eddie were on the balcony. We
stayed till 10 o'clock.
I also have some other news to write
my partner has left me. He went togather

[76] Edward Scofield was the 19th governor of Wisconsin.

with another Norwiegen and they rented
A room on Dayton St. the two of them pay
$4.00 a month but furnish their own fuel
The reason he left is that he and that other
boy are going to batch do their own house
keeping. They are going to buy a little oil
stove to cook and fry. The one he went
togathor with claims he can live on 77¢
for the whole week. That would make $1.27
for one man board and room without fuel.
Anders Thompsons Fathor wrote he should
try and get cheaper room or board. It
cost the old man to much. He wrote for
money and the old man thought he spends it
foolishly. I think if I go next winter
I will rent a room and do my own cooking
or get a house keeper. One of our boys
who came with his wife rented two rooms
one bed room and a room to live in. I was to
see him a number of times and we played
cards for a change. He claims that it does
not cost him more then $3.00 a week he pays
$6.00 for the rooms a month.
I am getting more intrested in school
every day. Bookkeeping is very hard to
learn. We got a few pointers on grafting
Prof. Goff says he can give us one lesson in
grafting. It comes in the Second year
course. I could go in with the second
year boys for that lesson but then
I must drop Creamry, Blacksmithing or
horse + cattle judgeing. I don't like to drop
any of the three. We boys are pressing
the Prof. to give us a little in grafting
I dont know if I can stay in my rooms
or not. I tryed to get a partner again
but it is kind of hard. Those that I want
I cant get and those I can get I dont want.
Mr. Jones only gets $1.00 a week instead of $2.00
I can get some other rooms but I dont like to
move I will stay till he tells me to go I use
just as much fuel + light as two so he dont
make much on $1.00 a week. I am a little
lonesome but I think I will get used to it
if I stay. We got two new boys in our
class yesterday. But they have lost quite a little

by coming so late. Last night Mr. Jones
Nephiew stayed overnight with me slept with
me and also tonight. I sent you some
papers on cow diseases I suppose you got
them I think they may come handy some
time. I suppose you will have trouble
to read my swriting I am in a hurry.
Answer soon and tell me when
aunt Hannah is or will be in Madison
so that I can go to the depot and see her
Answer soon. When I change I will let
you know. From your son
Alexander Krueger

57. Alexander Krueger to August Krueger, January 14, 1897

[47] ALEXANDER KRUEGER TO AUGUST KRUEGER, JANUARY 14, 1897
Slides 287 - 288.

1220 University Av. Jan-14-1897
Madison, Wis.
Dear Parants I
received your
letter to-day and Sarah's last Monday.
I am well with more work then I can do.
To-morrow we will have two examinations
one by Prof. Henry + one by Prof. King. The
last examination we had by Prof. Henry I
only got 70 for my standing. Many of the
boys did not pass at all and those that got
60 are all right. 60 is the lowest standing
The highest got by Prof. Henry was 90 by a
fellor by the name of Schuknecht. I got
74 in judgeing Light Horses. This week
Tuesday we finished judgeing Draft Horses
but I did not get my standing yet
Yesterday we started with sheep. The old
shepard showed us how to throw a sheep
and how to milk them and how to feel
over them for judgeing them. I am very
well aquinted with the shepard. My best
friend Gust Koch rented his room from
Mr. Kleinh{e}tz the shepard. I was over to his
place a number of times and had a talk with
him. This Mr. Koch is from Illinois He is a
minister's son Evangelisch. He is 22 years old

a very nice boy. We two are always togather
Today I and Gust were in the machine shops
and made some hooks for a singlethree
hooks for the tugs to hook in. One I spoiled so I
had to make another one. The bad one I took
home it is all right it only has not got the
right shape.
Some of the boys droped some studies they
could not study all. Some dropped shop work. I
would not let that go because it is a change
and not studying all the time. I only wish
Herman Bentert and some of my smart friends
would be foolish enough and go to school
here they would find out what education
means. I thought I knew quite a little before
I come but I am getting Dummer right
along. Some boys have dropped Physic's they
did not know enough. I am satisfied if I
get 70 for my standing or even less. Here are
many boys that are high school graduates and[77]

58. Alexander Krueger to August Krueger, January 19, 1897

[48] ALEXANDER KRUEGER TO AUGUST KRUEGER, JANUARY 19, 1897
Slides 290 - 291.

(vertically along top of page, SML)

I also send some
blanks which we
must fill out every
time we work in the
Dairy Hall so you can
see what we have to
figur aut. pretty hard
before a person knows
it well
1220 University Av. Jan-19-97
Madison, Wis.
Dear Parants + Sister
I received Sarah's
letter to-day and also your last letter. About aunt
Hannahs stoping here. Last night I and my friend
Mr. Koch were down and told Hattie I + Hattie are going

[77] Rest of letter missing.

to the depot togather She said I should let her know
when Aunt Hannah was comming. But she knew it
her Mother had written her. Last Sunday
forenoon I was to the Unitarian church and in the
evening I was to the Preyspeterian church and
listened to a lecture by Rev. Studd on China
Mr. Studd has been a Missinairy in China for ten
years. He told us how the Chinese farm, travel,
live, about their charactar and how they buy their
wives and how children are treated. He says when
ever a baby boy is born all the relatives
come togather and have a good time and they do everything to make him grow up to be a man. but
when a girl is born he says they often kill
or drown them nobody cares for them He told us
how they press the feet of the women. Some six
different ministers were there the Paptist + Methodist
and some others they sat on the {Kounzal} to listen to
Rev Studd Last night four law students went
out with an ice boat they broke through and one of
them drownded. They run in an open place. They got him
out this morning at 11 o'clock. We could see the men
on the ice searching for him, from the windows
of Agricultur Hall. He was from South Dakota.
This is the second one that was drownded, one drownded
New Years day also with an ice boat. School is going
on as usual. I saw from Sarahs letter that
Willie Bingman died from blood poisoning. It is to bad for
Willie that he had to leave this World so soon. Sarah never
wrote how he poisoned his blood. I see you have more
company then ever. I will send you two picturs of
Dairy Hall + Agri. Hall and also question list so you
can see what kind of examination questions we get
I will send two more picturs some time one of stock judging
and one of Labrotary work and you can see if you can find me on
them. I spend some money on picturs but I must have some
to show the boys. We will have our class pictur taken
some time. The picturs will come to $2.00 but they are nice
to show folks. You may send me some ten dollars or more
Saturday or next week. I have some $7.00 left. Money goes fast.
I will answer Sarahs letter some time. Best love to all
answer soon Alexander Krueger

59. Alexander Krueger to August Krueger, January 25, 1897

[49] ALEXANDER KRUEGER TO AUGUST KRUEGER, JANUARY 25, 1897

Slides 292 - 293.

1220 University Av. Jan. 25 1897
Madison, Wis.
Dear Parants
I received your
letter Sunday and also the money order.
It is very cold here. Sunday morning
it was 18 degrees below zero + this morning
23 below zero. It has been pretty cold in my
room the windows face west and the wind was
also west. The water for washing and my
ink were frooze solid this morning I had to
use a stick of wood to break the ice in the
water pitcher This morning some boys had
their noses and ears frozen while going from
South Hall to Agri. Hall.
Sunday forenoon I was to the Unitarian
church and Sunday-night I and Gust Koch
were to the Evengical church. Sunday night
we took the street car for it was to cold to walk.
The church is on the other side of the capitol
Last Thursday I had some company in
school Hattie Goetsch, Reynhold Tielo from
Milwaukee Lake Mills. Miss + Mr. Smith some of Hatties
friends. They came to see me just when I was
dressed in my blue jacket and dissolving
some blue vitoral[78] over a gas flame in a dipper
for a Bourdeaux mixture. I asked the Prof. to
excuse me and I showed them all over the
Agricultur Hall and Dairy building. We did
not go to the stock farm Saturday on account of the
snowing. We all went down to the depot with our dinner
in paper as we got there Stevenson did not want to go,
so 18 of us boys made up our mind to have some
fun so we took a 5 mile walk south of Madison
to the State Fish Hatchery. It was worth seeing how
fish hatch. We ate our dinner in the fish building. They
have one building where fish are in glass boxes just
as at the Worlds Fair. I tell you I was pretty tired when
I c{o}me home 10 miles walk, coming home we had to go
against a snowstorm. We had all the exercise we wanted
that day. Last week we had examination in Veternairy Science
I got my standing this morning 93% out of 100%. From Prof. Henry

[78] Blue vitriol; known as copper(II) sulfate today.

we havent got yet. On draft horses I got 81 3/4 on book-keeping I got
one time 90 one time 80 and once only 55 It is one of my hardest studys
This last time we got Dairy Lectures by Dr. Babcock twice a week I{n} that
Habbeger is picked out of factory business I got a letter from Prof. H. Krueger
Friday. Best love to all answer soon A. Krueger.

60. August Krueger to Alexander Krueger, February 3, 1897

[50] AUGUST KRUEGER TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, FEBRUARY 3, 1897
Slide 294.

Watertown Wis Box 148
Feb. 3 1897
Dear Alex the picture
I recived it is allright
and looks very nice
I tryed to find you on
the picture but I could
not I will look at it
more closer at home
I am in town to have
the horses shod and
I want to git anather
load of wood this
afternoon I will
write you more
next Saturday
best regads
your father Aug. Krueger

61. Alexander Krueger to August Krueger, February 19, 1897

[51] ALEXANDER KRUEGER TO AUGUST KRUEGER, FEBRUARY 19, 1897
Slides 297 - 298.

1220 University Av.
Madison, Wis.
1 P.M. Feb. 19. 1897
Dear parants + sister
I received your letter
and money order from Juneau and also received
the letter Sarah wrote + the picturs.
The money came just in time I just had
90¢ left. I am going stockjudgeing this afternoon
and when I am throug I will go up to the
post office and cash my order and also get

me some caugh remidy. I have had a cald
for two weeks.
I have also a new boarding place
again. The place at Mrs. Rowe where I was
last that was a club boarding place. The
dairy boys left Thursday noon and so that
broke up the club. I only paid $2.01 at the
club for board per week The place I and
Koch board now is on Julia St. about two
blocks away from where I room must pay $2.50
per week. This is my 4th boarding place in
Madison.
I received a letter from Clara Krause
yesterday.
Streets are very muddy here snow
mostly gone.
I think we will have no school
Monday it is Washingtons birthday
Now I must stop and judge a
hog at the farm
Answer soon again
My love to all
Alexander Krueger.

62. Alexander Krueger to August Krueger, February 20, 1897

[52] ALEXANDER KRUEGER TO AUGUST KRUEGER, FEBRUARY 20, 1897
Slides 301 - 302.

(vertically across page one, SML)

The 11 of Feb. all of our
class were down to Edgerton
to the meeting of the Wis.
Dairymens association. It was
a fine trip R.R. fare 75¢
round trip. All the dairy
boys were also down In
all 116 from the U.W.
attended the meeting

1220 University Av.
Madison, Wis.
1 o'clock P.M. Feb. 20–1897
Dear parants
I received your letter

and money order this forenoon. I have got more
money then I need now. I think I will have
some 8 or 9 dollars to bring along home.
I was down town yesterday and got me
some Beechams pills and took a good dose
last night and this morning I beleave that
has cured my cold some I felt bad
yesterday but to-day I am feeling better
I beleave it is some sickness. Most of our
boys have it some are over and others
are getting it.
This forenoon I was down to the farm
and judged 3 hogs Everything is hogs now.
I got a poor standing on dairy cows. I only
got 76 1/2 I expected more on cows. On sheep I
got 73 3/4 On veterinary science my average was 81 1/2
Yesterday afternoon as were through judgeing I
went up to Nielsons the photographer and got our
class pictur it looks very nice. It will be a hard
job to get it home it is to big to put in my
trunk it is 18x22 inches and my trunk is only
14x27in. I don't look very good on it I have
to small eyes. But there are more of the boys
that have small eyes. The sun shone on the
snow quite a little and so some of us got small eyes.
We have 7 instructors on the pictur <u>with us</u> all except Prof Henry
Prof. King + Prof. Goff. They were to lazy to go up to the
capitol This afternoon we have a
lectur by Prof. Babcock on creaming. Examinations
are comeing fast now. Monday we have one on drainage
I don't expect to get much Mr. Jones left for
Mineral Point yesterday. He got a telegram from home
that his father was very sick. He left his young
wife home with me. to take care of her. – One of
Walds girls stayed over night with her. We had a little
rain this morning. snow is mostly gone. After the lectur
I will go and cash my order and mail this letter.
sent uncle Charley two books you may ask him if he received
them or not. he never let me know. My love to all
answer From your son Alexander Krueger.

63. Fred Volkmann to Alexander Krueger, March 25, 1897

[53] FRED VOLKMANN TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, MARCH 25, 1897
Slide 304.

Flarenceville Io/ Mar 25
Dear cousin Alex
I received your letter a
quite a while ago but I for
gat to write you we are all
well and hope same of you
I am houling milk Now I
am malking {$1.50.c} a day
I am going haul all sumer
in summer I will molke
$2.60c a day I shoot quite
a few robbits this winter I
shoot about 5{0} this winter.
we had quite good sleighing
here this winter but now
the roads are getting pretty
bad We have 5 horses now
and 10 head of cattle I dont
know very much news now
Will write you next time
Fred Volkmann

(vertically along side, SML)

Write soon again D. Causin

64. Wil Götsch to son, Juneau 23 Jul 1897 (SC 306)

Juneau 23. Jul 1897
Mutter ist zimlich
Schwach. den Kopf {…}
hält sie nicht lage mehr
aus Albert seine frau ist
zimlich besser, wen du
noch ein mahl Muter be
suchen wilst must
komen es ist so weit
nicht es ist schlim̄ {…}
ihr es ist zimlich
Trubel
Dein
Vater
Wil Götsch

65. William Renk to Alexander Krueger, April 23, 1898
66. Sarah Krueger to Alexander Krueger, November 8, 1898

[55] SARAH KRUEGER TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, NOVEMBER 8, 1898
Slides 312 - 328.

Florenceville, Iowa
Nov. 8. 1898.
Dear brother,
I will write you
a letter today and tell you
about my trip. I will start
at the beginning and tell <u>you</u> what
we did every day and where
we were.
We got to Madison at 10.30,
ate our lunch, and had our
valice's checked, and then went
to the capitol, there was a man
there who took us through the
building, but I would not want
to go through with him the
second time because he seemed
to be a genuine flirt, he was
alright untill we got up to the
dome then he asked us wether we
were married, and he says he
wanted to show us the city in
the afternoon, but we told him
that we wanted to call on
some friends, there and so he
did not come with us, from
there we went to Scince Hall
but did not get into the musium
I knocked at the Janitors room
three times but nobody opened
and so we went out again and
from there went to the green
house, but the gardener seemed
kind of queer to me, I asked
<u>him</u> if we could see the building
he says yes we could look at
it, but that was all he said
to us, we went through the
building our selves, from there
we went to the dairy building,
but <u>the</u> butter maker never looked at
us when we come in, but there

was another young man he came
up to us. I asked him that we
would like to see the building
he said there was not much
to see just now, but he would
show it to us and he did show
us all the rooms, from there
went to Mrs Rowe, I
had no trouble in finding the
place. I knocked at door and
a lady come, and I though
to my self when she opened
the door that it was Mrs.
Rowe, and sure enough it
was. I asked her if Mrs.
Rowe lived there, she says
"Yes I am Mrs. Rowe my
self," and when I told her
who I was, then she told us
to come in, and was friendly
and good to us, it was about
half past one when we got there
and they were just eating dinner
I heard her husband talking but
did not see him. Mrs Rowe
said that a boy was boarding
by her, he is one of last years
boys his name is Schulte. Mrs.
Rowe said that you knew
him well, he had been to the
war and now is boarding
there to regain his health,
I heard him talk but did
not see him, we stayed there
till three oclock then Mrs.
Rowe treated us to some
cake and apples, and told
me that when I go home
again, then I should stop
a few day by her, well we
went from there to see Mrs.
Klienhietz, I rang the bell and
a fine looking boy came to the
door. I asked him wether Mrs.
Klienhietz was home, he said yes
and he went and called her

when I saw her coming, I knew
at the first glance that it was
her, because you described her
so often to me, that I knew
her well I told her that I
was, "Mr. Krea si swester,"
and she was as friendly as
you said she would be, the
three little girl were home when
we got there, but after we were
there about half an hour, then
the three other girls came
so I saw the whole family
except Mr. Klienhietz he
was down at the farm. I
asked her wether she got your
picture, and she said yes, they
got it and that her husband
intended to write to you soon.
they also got Kock's wedding
picture, but Mrs. Klienhietz
said that you had the nicest
looking wife. and she said that
she always though that I
would be married to Koch
because you and he wereso
much together and he had
been down to our place,
and she says another thing
was, that you and Kock always
got letters, and when she took{s}
them upstairs, she always
looked at the addresses and
the writting seemed to be
so much alike, that she
though, I always wrote a
letter to you and also to
Kock, Mrs. Klienhietz has two
University roomers, has them
since the school began. she says
that is all she wants this winter
and she told me to tell you
to come and see them this
winter and stay by them, she had
lots of room for you. she also
told me that when I go home

that I should stop by her and
stay all night with them, well
we left there at about half past
four, and then we went to
Scince Hall again, and I knocked
at the Janitor door again, but
nobody opened, so we went out
again, and from there we went and
took a look at the stores around
the capitol, and then it began
to get dark, and so we went
down to the depot, and got
on the train 6.45 and we got to
Prairie du Chien at 9.55.
and we got of and looked around
but saw nobody that we knew,
and we just started to walk into
the depot. then Fred Hoffman
met us, and we started to his
home he was there with a double
buggy and two horse's. they live
three and a half miles from the
depot. for about two miles we
went on level ground and then
we started to go up hill for
about a miles, it is the longest
hill that I ever went up.
they leave the horse's rest a few
times when they go up, and
when they go down they tie
one wheel so that it wont
go round, well we got to Roth's
at eleven oclock, and they got
a nice supper for us, and then
went to bed, and the next day
in the afternoon, Ida, Emma
Roth and I walked about
two miles to a bluff called
Brisbor's point[79] it is a very
high bluff. it is about two hund-
red feet higher then the city
when we were up there we could
look all over the city and surrounding
country. that bluff is one of the

[79] Brisbois Point, Prairie du Chien, WI.

most noted bluffs around there
because, three people are burried
there. and there is a high mounument,
put up there in memory
of them, we walked down
that bluff a little ways and
we sat down to rest, and then
Ida took mine and Emma
Roths picture. we took the
plate to the Photagrapher
Saterday, we will get it the
latter part of this week I
will send my pictures home
and you can all take a look
at it,
The next day we three girls
started away in the morning
and went across the bluffs
to Frank Rotes place aunt
Tilly old home, we got there at
about ten oclock, and at eleven
oclock, Fred Hoffman came with
the team and showed us the
city. it is one of the oddest
city's that I have ever seen.
most of the building's are old and
odd looking, the schools are
very nice buildings and the
St. Marys Convent is a nice
building. I also saw the ruins
of Fort Crawford, and also the
artission wells, the main street
in Prairie du Chien, is a different
street then I have ever seen
because there are springs on each
side of the street and a stream
of flowing water running
each side of the street.
Well I gave a descripsion of the
city as well as I could, the third
day, Fred and us three girl went
on the buggy, and Albert and
Frank Roth went on there wheels
and we all went down to the
river fishing. we drove about
ten miles before we got to

the place were we intended
to fish, we took some lunch
along and unhitched the horses
and had a regular picnic
there, but we did not get any
fish, they would not bite.
Roths got a nice farm and
also nice buildings except
the house that is a poor
looking building. I think
you would be surprised
if you would see Fred
becaused he is a different
boy alltogether then he was
was when he was by us. he is
full of fun and keeps talking
right along, they all seem to be
nice boys we had lots of fun
with them every evening when
the boys were all in the house
there are six of them, three
of the boys are nice singers
they sang songs every evening
and there sister played the
organ. we were up till
twelve every evening, well we
went away Saterday morning
at 7.5. Fred took us to the
depot, and we had to wait
an hour at McGreger and
an hour and a half at Calmar.
and we got to Cresco at
2 P.M. Aunt Tina and
uncle Amil were at the
depot, and Amil took us to
a hotel and we had a fine dinner.
John and Fred Bigalk were
also in Cresco and also
Mrs. Hilke and Ella and
Nellie they invited us to come
and see us maybe we will
go some time this week. uncle
William was also in Cresco.
and he invited us to come and
see them Sunday. and so aunt
Tina, her hired man, Ida

and I all went to church
Sunday forenoon, there we met
the whole relation. aunt Lydia
aunt Hannah, Amanda; Ida
Arthur, Alex, Eddie, Willie,
Lorenia, aunt Amelia and
Ida. and uncle William, and
also Henry Fisher, and we
all went to aunt Bertha
for dinner, and had a good
time that afternoon, we went
back to aunt Tina again
and we went to aunt Hannah
yesterday afternoon we are here
at the present time writting
this letter. it is almost noon
now and I have been writting
for the last two hours. we are
going to aunt Lydia this afternoon
and see her intend to stay
there the next night. I have
also seen uncle Gottlieb and
that in a very funny way.
when we came from Cresco
last Saterday, we saw a man
sitting on a wagon in a rocking
chair and Amil said that
is the way the people go riding
here and we all started to
laugh. and just then the
man looked around. and Tina
said it was Gottlieb. she did
not know that it was him
else we surely would not have
laughed the way we did. I
asked aunt Lydia wether he
was mad but she said he was
not so it is allright. Well
dinner is almost ready and
so I will close Goerge Volkman
is going to take this letter to
Florenceville this afternoon
this is the longest letter that
I have ever written. I must
tell you yet that the
people are very good to us

and I have enjoyed my trip
very much so far.
Aunt Hannah sends her
best regards to you and Tina
and she says you and Tina
should come to see them.
Well Good by and I
hope to hear from you
soon, and write me all the
new. Your sister Sarah Krueger

(vertical along left side, SML)

uncle Otto just came for dinner and he sends the best regards to you.

(vertical along right side, SML)

leave papa read this letter. Did papa get the postal cards and letter?
Alex please keep this
letter. it will always
remind me of the trip.
I want to read it again when
I come home.

67. William Renk to Alexander Krueger, February 2, 1899
68. Geo Fels to Alexander Krueger, April 5, 1899
69. Henry Krueger to Alexander Krueger, April 6, 1899
70. Ernestina Goetsch to Alexander Krueger, April 26, 1899

[59] ERNESTINA GOETSCH TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, APRIL 26, 1899
Slides 332 - 333.

Florenceville April 26
Deear Nefphew Allax
We recived you card
Some time ago and seen
that you was all well
and are bleest with a pare
twine babays teel Tina
she must take the best
care of them we wished
you very much luck and
joy and be shure and find
some p{u}dy names I dont
see that Sarah dont anser
~~y~~ my Letter teel hir the

Tuliphes she brout me
they are up nise our griles
are p{u}dy ~~p{u}dy~~ well atpresnt
i had Esther out twise
yesterday to cresco and
last sundy to chuch
she looks p{u}dy pale get
with seeding we are most
done a day and a half we'll
finesh we lost 2 colts to
day 1. 4. yeas old and the
other a sucking colt both
had distemper I have quite
a bother with my finger where
that pese of the medle is in
I was to the Dr yesterday
to cresco he told me i shuld
leave it go for a while get
he thought the mele work
more tou{w}ards the skin
it is p{er}dy deep en the flesch
it hirts me quite bad by
spels Aunt Hannah is
w{e}ll so far get but
expecting most any day.
somting on the road
by Aunt Lydia it is
p{u}dy late i must come
to a close for this time
besst regards to all
write soon your
Aunt and u{n}cle
Amil Bigalk
Tina

71. William Renk to Alexander Krueger, June 13, 1899
72. Ernestina Goetsch to Alexander Krueger, January 11, 1900

[61] ERNESTINA GOETSCH TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, JANUARY 11, 1900
Slides 338 - 339.

Florenceville
Jan the 11
1900
Dear Alax and Tina
We wish you all a Happy

New Year your letter
we recived and amil seen
that you are all well get
hopeing these fe{w} lines
may find you all the
same I thank you very
much for the nise
picture you send and
all to Sary teel hir I
thank hir very much
teel hir i will send
hir a little priesant
as soon as I get to Town
i will send the hair
flour from Grad Mothers
hair to your Mama you
can tiel hir last week
Amel was up to S.T.
Paul and Mina Aplious[80]
he looket at the cuntry
around there but he
dident like it a taul
the w{e}ther is fine here
the snow is gone Amel
gat Henry a fiddle for
Chrismus he is plaing
all the time scheit de
kat de scheznach af
I gat lots of woork I board
the teacher agin but
I feel strong and well
I get a long fine the
little girls dont make
so much truble no more
so I must come to a close
best love to you and
wife and all the rest
write soon Tina
and Amel
Bigalk

73. Alexander Krueger to Florentina Will, May 6, 1902

[62] ALEXANDER KRUEGER TO FLORENTINA WILL, MAY 6, 1902

[80] Minneapolis

Slide 341.

Chicago, Ill. May 6. 1215 o'clock.
Dear Tina
I arrived safe at Chicago. Uncle Ernest
was at the depot to meet me. We walked to
the other depot togather. Erna goes along with
them. The train leaves here at 1,30 P.M.
Every thing well so far.
Your Alex.

74. Josie Rozen(eke) to Sarah Krueger, June 17, 1902
75. William Buelke to Alexander Krueger, July 15, 1902
76. Ernestina Goetsch to Mary Goetsch, August 22, 1902

[65] ERNESTINA GOETSCH TO MARY GOETSCH, AUGUST 22, 1902
Slide 349.

Cresco Iowa R.FD. No. 2. August the 22 1902
Dear Sister Mary i must let you know
how we are all geting along. Hannah has
a Little girl it was borne yester day
the 21. She is real well and also the
baby i waid it it waid 8. lbs. i am
a p{u}dy good niers i am over there part of
the time and she has a Hird girl and and
{Otto} is to home this week we get throug stack
ing to day. Albert Wein{haut} have a little
boy. borne to day but she is very sick they dont
know if she will get well agin so best love to
you all your sister Tina Bigalk
Write son

77. Clara Goetsch to August Habel, September 21, 1902
78. Paul Goetsch to Alexander Krueger, December 3, 1902

[67] PAUL GOETSCH TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, DECEMBER 3, 1902
Slides 353 - 359.

Trade Mark Blue Ribbon Fruit Exchange Paul C. Goetsch, Prop. South Calera, Ala17
Adress 5322 - 1st Ave Woodlawn Ala
or
c/o Drennen & Co Silk and Dress Goods Dept
B'ham Ala.
~~South Calera~~, B'ham Ala., 12/3 19018
Mr Alexander Krueger.

Watertown Wis.
Dear Alex, your welcome letter came
to me as a pleasant surprise, and to
show my appreciation will not delay
in answering. I am certainly glad that
you did well this year, this will give you
new stimulus and ambition for the com-
ing year. As for my self the past season has
been one of reverses, disappointments and
severe trials. Contrary to my hopes and
expectations the crops through the middle
of our state from North to South were very
poor, and more or less all over the south,
resulting from lack of rain; and a very prolonged
drouth. In fact some of the natives
claim it to have been the worst year they
ever experienced. The result of it all was,
"I looked me up a job for to make a living."
I came to B'ham and had the refusal
of four positions, I accepted one with Drennen,
since then, I have been placed at the head
of the dress goods and silk depts', as dep't manager
and buyer at 75^{00} per month. Now here
is where my story dont read so good, I had
all my goods shipped on to B'ham, and sent
my wife and babies on in advance. Our
plans were to board with a family I knew,
(Steussys' who used to live in Watertown,) and store
our furniture until we had time to find
a suitable place. When I reached B'ham
several days later I found Ellen in bed,
just having under gone an operation, which
if it would not have been attended to at
once would have caused blood poisoning
and death. No sooner had she got well, when
both children took sick with some stomach
and bowel disease, and kept growing worse.
In the mean time we found a house, and
had just moved in, when Ellen got sick,
which developed into typhoid fever, I had
her taken to a hospital, and had the chil-
dren cared for in a private family. All three
were at the point of death at one time, when
Russell finally commenced to improve and
so did Ellen. But our dear little Dorothy grew
worse, and two weeks ago Sunday (on the 16th)

she was called home for eternal rest.
A beautiful little funeral service was held
at our house, and we had the remains of
our lost one interred in Wood lawn cemetery.
Ellen could not be removed from the hospital,
so did not get a farewell look at the dear
one, and had not seen her for three weeks
previous. The Tuesday following, I brought
Ellen home, since which time she has been
gaining. Russell too is getting on very
nicely now. So you see my experience has
been very bitter. Every week as I get my
salary, most of it goes toward paying bills
which accumulated. I do not like the dry
goods business here, as well as in Milwauk-
ee, and will likely not stay after next spring
or fall, or before, if a good job came my
way. I still have my 20 acres at So Calera,
and am having it cared for by Mr Frank
whom you met. I shall not do any more
farming for two or three years; or until my
orchards are in full bearing, this is nothing
but a fruit country. I was surprised to learn
that Will Wendorf was still in Costa Rica,
I wish you would send me his address at
once, as I should like to write to him.
I may want to take a trip down there my-
self, if I can get a job to match his.
My uncle is now at Calera with his
wife, she has a store there, and he bought
a hotel for $3000^{00}. They say she is playing
the deuce with him, says she only married
him for his dough, and was sick of her bar-
gain ten days after. I have heard different things
like this from several reliable sources, and
from what I've seen of her she is none to
good. I would like to go back to our old Mil.
until my place here is in full bearing but
Ellen wouldnt listen to going back to live.
She says she'd like to visit all her friends,
but wants to ~~lif~~ live in the south.
I dont know if Carlos has his picture or
not, he says his brother called for it at Calera,
and he had not seen him. Your clippings on North-
ern Wisconsin were interesting and very true, but
the one on Johnson grass is way off, as I

have seen too much of it, and its habits.
Thorsby they say made a very good fruit
crop in spite of the dry summer, which
I can readily believe as fruit was
the only thing I had, and some was very
fine. Dont ever mention again about your
making trouble, as I really believe that
both Ellen and I enjoyed your visit even
better than you yourself, and wish you
could have stayed longer. We prize the photos
very highly, in fact they are priceless now
as this collection contains the only pictures
we have of that sweet little angel which has
left us. I had taken orders for some of
the others, but as the niggers paid no de-
posit I would not take any chances.
I wish you would see if you still have the
negative of my little girl, if you have I
should like to order several in my next
letter. I am making my letter quite
a long one, but as they have been few
and far between, hope you wont tire,
reading it. I swapped my mare for
a mule which Frank is now using
at South Calera, as part of the arrangement
I made with him. My buggy I swapped
for another mule which in turn I swap-
ped for a beautiful 4 year old mare and
got some difference besides. This gave me
a pretty good price for my buggy as my
colt will bring me 75 or $80 in spring.
The postmaster at Longview is keeping
her for her feed, he uses her only for
riding to and from work. I would give
a good deal if I had it to spend, just
to see all my old Northern friends + kin,
and have a look at old Watertown.
I hope you will write me soon in fact
I would like to have you write me at
once, Will Wendorf's address. Ellen begs to
be remembered to you all. Remember me
especially to your folks, on the strength
of my first full crop of fruit, I will likely
come back to pay old Watertown and my
former stamping grounds a genuine old
visit. If you take the "Western Fruit Grower," look

up my article in the August number. I must
close now with kindest regards and best wishes
Sincerely ~ Paul Goetsch

(across top of page above line 102, SML)

I am going to have
sent to you a pretty book-
let on the Georgia Fruit
belt. This is a fore runner
of what our district will
be some day.

79. Hannah Goetsch to Alexander Krueger, January 20, 1903

[68] HANNAH GOETSCH TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, JANUARY 20, 1903
Slide 360.

Cresco Iowa R. F. D.
No 2
Dear Alax
Jan 20th1903
I must let you know
that I recived the pictures
wich are very nice and all
the toys. are anough for
{twoo} more ours got quite
a little for Christmuss to.
the weather is fine to day
Otto is shoping wood Fri{t}ty
~~F~~Volkmann helps him
he has to work now to suport
his Family. she seems to be
all wright as far as I know
her, but time will tell we
are all up and around
Emma & Florence{s} have a cold
best regards to all I will
write a letter later I will tell
you more
{best} thanks for the pictures
H. Ge.

80. **Hannah Gericke (Goetsch) to Bro-in-law, Cresco, IA, July 5, 1903 (SC362)**

Cresco Iowa

July 5, 1903
R.R. {…}
Lieber Schwager u Familie
hiermit zur Nachricht
das unsere Selma das ist
unser Baby heute morgen
um 4 Uhr zur ewigen
Ruhe eingegangen ist
Beerdigung findet statt
am 7 vormittags
Besten Gruß hermit
von Otto und Hannah
Gericke

81. Hannah Goetsch to August Krueger, March 22, 1904
82. Sarah Krueger to August Krueger, July 4, 1904

[70] SARAH KRUEGER TO AUGUST KRUEGER, JULY 4, 1904
Slide 367.

East Troy. Wis.
July. 4. 1904
Dear parents,
I am here today with Sam
and Addie, they are celebrating here it
is eight miles from Goetsch's. it is noon
and we just had lunch. last night we were
at H. Goetschs on the way home got caught in
the rain. will write a letter later. Sarah Krueger

(written across top left corner, SML)

I am having
a good time here
Hope you
are all well
Good by

83. B. Krueger to August Krueger, November 22, 1904

[71] B. KRUEGER TO AUGUST KRUEGER, NOVEMBER 22, 1904
Slide 369.

Watertown Wisc.
Nov. 22.nd 04
Dear Uncle Aug.

I want to let you know
that we do not want
the calf. Pa said we have
cattle enough now. We
bought a cow for $40.
Ma is sick in bed since
last monday already
she has bowel trouble.
The doctor was out a
couple of times already.
she is some better
again. Your nephew
B. Krueger

84. Albert Goetsch to August Krueger, June 7, 1905
85. Gustav Koch to Alexander Krueger, June 29, 1905
86. Albert Goetsch to Alexander Krueger, February 6, 1906

[74] ALBERT GOETSCH TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, FEBRUARY 6, 1906
Slide 379.

Madison Feb 5 1906
Dear Nephiew Alex
well I got to Madison
alright and got {...}
good room and Board
all By my self
if you come I will
have room for you
well to morrow
morning our school
comences I wonder
if Ill get a licking or
get to stand in corner
well this is all for
this time. Your uncle
Albert Goetsch
112 Bruen St
Madison
Wis

87. Albert Goetsch to Alexander Krueger, February 13, 1906

[75] ALBERT GOETSCH TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, FEBRUARY 13, 1906
Slide 381.

Madison Tues. Feb 13/
Dear nephiew I just rec'd
your card and see that you
got home alright we are having
a bad snow storm today
I was to Evensvill Sat. and
found the old place about the
same the only difference I see
that they inlarged the house
I got back sunday noon they
wanted me to stay till monday
morning but I dont like to
bother people to much sunday
afternoon I visited Mr Rowe
for an hour they wanted me to
stay for supper but I tought
as l[ong] as they did not have room
for me for the time that I am
in Madison I pay for my meal
so you can see that I am kind
of a contrary fellow last Eve we
had a meeting of our own no
Prof. to Bother with the time past
about as fast as I Ever s[ee] it
go Every body made a little speach
that {was} something you ought to
heard me your uncle
A A Goetsch
I wrote as much as I could get on the card

88. Katharina Renk to Florentina Will, May 21, 1906

[76] KATHARINA RENK TO FLORENTINA WILL, MAY 21, 1906
Slides 383 - 385.

May 21st 1906
Sun Prairie,
Wis.
Mrs. A. Krueger,
Watertown, Wis
Dear Friend:
I suppose you
will be surprised to hear
from me but a bad
penny always comes
back. As I am going to

Milwaukee I thought that
I would spend next Sunday
May 27th with you if it is
convenient for you. I will
come on the afternoon passenger
train which starts from
here at 1.35 p.m. on Saturday
next. I think it reaches
Watertown about an hour
and a half or two hours
later. Mr. Krueger will
know. Now if it will
inconvenience you at
all don't hesitate to say
so and I will go straight
through to Milwaukee.
We have been waiting
for a long time to have
an oppertunity to enter-
tain <u>you</u> but are always
doomed to disappointment.
so I thought I would
impose on you again
and on Miss Krueger.
Remember I will not
be offended if you tell
me you are not
prepared for company
as this is often the case
on the farm I know.
Hoping to see you or
hear from you soon
I am Yours Sincerely
Katharina Renk

89. Katharina Renk to Florentina Will, August 17, 1906

[77] KATHARINA RENK TO FLORENTINA WILL, AUGUST 17, 1906
Slides 392 - 393.

Wm. F. Renk. H.J. Renk.
Shropshire Park Farm
Renk Bros., Proprietors.
Breeders of Fancy Shropshire Sheep[81]

[81] Letterhead

Sun Prairie, Wis., August 17 1906

Dear Mrs Krueger
Recived Mr Krueger postal today
and see that you got home safe and
sound suppose you childern were
glad to see you. Well this was
a very stormay day just finished
threshing ~~tod~~last night I talk
with Katie today over the phone
she said she and the girl had
just a dainty time Monday.
Mr and Mrs Henry Renk were
present with a baby girl this
morning she had a hard time
of it she was sick tow days
and one night send for the Doctor
yesterday at 8 oclock and the kite
was born at ten this morning.
We were the picnic Wednesday the
papers said fifteen hundred people
visited the park well Ill have to close
-over
Will want to write
your friend
Mrs W Renk

90. Sarah Krueger to Alexander Krueger, September 19, 1906

[78] SARAH KRUEGER TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, SEPTEMBER 19, 1906
Slides 395 - 402.

Cresco, Iowa.
Sept 19. 1906
Dear brother + family
I received your
letter, papers and postal from
Milwaukee, suppose you had
a good time at the fair have
you been to the Watertown fair?
I guess I will go to the fair
next week to Preston, Bigalks
and Blatters are going they all
asked me. I will go where ever
I have room. Preston is 18 miles
from here.

Well, aunt Hannah and family
is gone, moved to Cresco yesterday.
had 8 loads without the
wood that is there yet, sold
there cow for $33. dollars, the
young chickens aunt Lydia took
for .20 cents a piece, the old
chickens Blatter took to Cresco
today. I guess they get .08 cents
a lb. I helped aunt Hannah
pack two days, aunt Lydia
and Tillie helped also. that
was work I tell you, I was
sick and tired of it, she wanted
me to go with her to Cresco
and help unpack but I would
not do it. Aunt Tina went
along, and will stay till tomorrow
Tillie is also there, I am keeping
house at Bigalks, I baked and
ironed today, the girls are gone
to school, Henry and I were
alone for dinner uncle Amel
was gone to Harmony to the
mill uncle Otto was here last
night, he is a queer man. I
am allways glad when he is not
around, aunt Hannah is his
slave just like always, she
worked so hard Monday, that
she was all broken down, yes-
terday she could not bend down
her back was so bad, aunt
Lydia and Gotlieb went there
at sunrise to work, they all
like aunt Hannah, for him
they would not do it.
Aunt Lydia, uncle Wm. and I
had a great time yesterday by
moveing, we tied a bottle under
one wagon. a lantren under one
and Otto old shoe under another
and put flowers on all the
horses, had to do it when
Otto was not looking, I tied
a bottle on John Bigalk wagons

and uncle Wm tie a cup under
it but when Otto seen it, he
cut it of and threw away.
on Amels wagon we put a
broom on one side and the
old mop on the other, but
when Otto came along, you
ought to have seen how he
threw it, every body was jolly,
but uncle Otto looked as
sour as a p__pot, I thought
he would be mad at me, but
he talked allright to me this
morning, and if he is mad I
don't care a snap about it
he is to sober to be happy
Last Saterday we had a big
surprise on Gericke's, there
were about 50 people. they knew
nothing about it. it surprised
them when we all got on the porch
and walked in. aunt
Hannah got a fine rocking chair
for $2.75 and a rug for $3.00.
and $1.10 in money they gave
to old Mrs. Gericke. all the
people brought nice things to eat.
I know aunt Hannah liked it
very much that the relatives
and neighbors thought of her
and gave her such nice presents
uncle Otto acted allright that
night but I know that he
did not kike it, for he told
Mrs. Hilke that he hoped
that the people would keep
away and not come and surprise
them.
Last Sunday it rained here
all forenoon I have not been
to church as long as I have
been out here, that Mass
that I heard at Bristol
has to last a long time.
Sunday afternoon it cleared up
and then all of Bigalks, aunt

Hannah and the girls, and Blatters
and I all went to Oddessa
Spring, it is very pretty there
but we only stayed there a
little while, it began to
thunder and so we had too
hurry home. To night it
is thundering and raining
again, it was very hot here
today,
Uncle Wm has the found-
ation for his barn finished.
uncle Otto did not build it.
he has another job in Cresco
the jail is finished.
I received a dandy letter
from Sarah Goetsch today
just ask her about it.
also a postal from her and
another postal from Ida.
Uncle Amel seen Mr. Red{e}cal
in Harmony today, he wants
me to come and visit them.
The first time that I was
in Cresco. I met and had an
interduction to Otto Volkman.
I have enough by just
seeing him. uncle Amel says
that he is the stinggest man
in the state of Iowa.
At aunt Hannah surprise
I had an interduction to
Lorena's fellow he seems to
be a nise man, I think she
will be married soon Goetsch's
keep it a secret, Lorena will
move on Owen's farm, near home
Charley Krueger lived there.
he is moveing on aunt
Hannah's old farm, he moved
some things today, they told
him to leave by the first of
Oct. and I am sure they will not
leave the house emty very long
Arther Goetsch and wife
were not at Hannah party

the Stork is on the way there
Amanda was not there, she
cannot take her boys out
in the evening so far, the
rest of Goetschs were all there,
To bad Otto Lierman's wife
died and left those little children,
Is Martha Wendorf home yet?
I sent her a postal some time ago,
I received papa's letter, Are
they getting along allright without
me? I am well, hope you are
all the same, I will be gone from
home six weeks next Saterday, I
will stay a while yet unless you
need me at home then I will come
Regards to all, Answer soon, Your sister Sarah.

(written upside down on top of page 1, SML)

Tell Edgar and Jennie to answer
my letter, I will write a few
postals yet. and then it is time
to go to bed.

91. William Renk to Alexander Krueger, October 12, 1906

[79] WILLIAM RENK TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, OCTOBER 12, 1906
Slides 404 - 405.

Wm. F. Renk. H.J. Renk
Shropshire Park Farm
Renk Bros., Proprietors
Breeders of Fancy Shropshire Sheep[82]
Sun Prairie, Wis., 10-12 1906
Freind Alex,
I rec'd your welcome letter
today and was glad to
hear that you folks were
well. We sold 400 tons
Oderhucker barley[83] to Olds
at 70¢ per for uncleaned

[82] Letterhead
[83] Oderhucker is a variety of sixrowed barley used in brewing, according to the Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Ontario School of Agriculture and Experimental Farm, 1896.

right from the bin +
the balance of the car
with oats at 37. ¢ fresh
from bin.
We have always sent him
the car + he paid us
after it arrived I guess
the fellow is reliably
alright but wants to
buy as close as he can
We are busy now shipping
out sheep. am selling
about 12 to 13 every week.
Wm. F. Renk. H.J. Renk
Shropshire Park Farm
Renk Bros., Proprietors
Breeders of Fancy Shropshire Sheep[84]
Sun Prairie, Wis., 10-12 1906
Freind Alex,
~~I rec'd your welcome letter~~
~~today and was glad to~~
~~hear~~
I wish I was down at
your place now + could
help you eat some of
those apples you get.
We had a nice time that
Sunday we were together
but I think it is about
time that you ordered
some more furniture or
else you might get out of
practice.
Well Ive got 6 more letters
to write tonight so I
guess Ill have to stop.
Mrs sends her regards to
{Wm R} + the rest of the family.
Your Freind
Will

92. Sarah Krueger to Alexander Krueger, October 18, 1906

[80] SARAH KRUEGER TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, OCTOBER 18, 1906

[84] Letterhead

Slide 407.

Cresco, Iowa.
Oct.18.1906
Dear brother:
I received your letter, and
seen from it, that you allways have
lots of company. Last Sunday
afternoon, Henry got one from Cresco.
Monday and Tuesday uncle Amel
thrashed, 14 hundred bushel grain,
and 100 bushel thymoty[85] seed.
Yesterday I sewed at John Bigalks
This morning it rained here. it
is clearing up now, and so uncle
Amel, aunt Tina and I want
to go to uncle Wm, and see
his new barn. If it is good
weather Saterday. then Goerge
Volkmann wants to go to the
Prairie. he will take the double
carriage. I don't know yet who
else will go besides me. I will
write you a letter soon. Hope you
are all well. Your sister Sarah.

93. Ernst Goetsch to August Krueger, February 15, 1907
94. Ernst Goetsch to August Krueger, April 19, 1907
95. Alexander Krueger to Florentina Will, February 14, 1908
96. Alexander Krueger to Florentina Will, February 15, 1908

84] ALEXANDER KRUEGER TO FLORENTINA WILL, FEBRUARY 15, 1908
Slide 415.

R#2 Cresco Iowa
Feb. 15 – 1908
Dear Tina Edgar + Jennie
This is Saturday morning
last night we were to the
intertainment at the Court house
Farmers insitute. To-day, uncle
William is coming to town I think
we will go out home with him
They are also expecting Blatter's.

[85] Timothy Seed.

This last night I was at
Aunt Hannah's. Mrs. Kunie
was also here ovr night.
Arthur Volkmann stayed over
night here. he is going back
to his school tomorrow.
Sunday Bigalk's are coming
to uncle Williams Probably we
will go along to Bigalks.
Jose Bigalk was in town yesterday
and had some teeth filled I
phoned out to Henry Bigalk
last night and fooled him.
Henry is coming in to-day. We did
not eat all our lunch took some
along for Emma + Florence. It is
eleven o'clock now I will take this
card to Post office. Alex Krueger.

97. William Buelke to August Krueger, April 2, 1908

[85] WILLIAM BUELKE TO AUGUST KRUEGER, APRIL 2, 1908
Slide 408.

Juneau Wis April 2-08
Uncle August.
Suppose you heard that {Pa…}
the minister traded his property, for a farm
about 3 1/2 mils south of Juneau. I think it
is 186 acres. All hill and marsh. heard
90^{00} an acre. is only a few rods from the rail
road track. Are you coming up for that Golden
wedding, hope so, Mr. Lind{ence} is anxious to
have you. I will see that you folks get out
there. have lots of horses. please let us know
when you come. Pa is going {also}
Wm Buelke

98. Jennie Krueger to Florentina Will, June 15, 1910
99. William Renk to Alexander Krueger, October 8, 1912
100. Henry Krueger to Alexander Krueger, July 16, 1915

[88] HENRY KRUEGER TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, JULY 16, 1915
Slides 429 - 430.

385 Twenty-seventh Av.,

Milwaukee, Wis.,
July 16, 1915.
Dear Alex,
Your parents came in yesterday afternoon.
This morning we went to see Dr. Bach.
Dr. Bach examined your father's eyes. He
said that a cataract was on his right
eye and another cataract is forming on
his left eyes. In a short time he can't
see on his left eye either.
The cataract on his right eye can
be removed and then he can see as
well as ever.
We went to St. Mary's Hospital and
engaged a room for a week. Your
father's eye will be operated upon at
7:30 o'clock to-morrow morning.
Then he has to stay in bed for a
day. After that he can sit up and
walk about.
This afternoon we will take him to
the hospital in our automobile.
We went out riding yesterday
after supper with your parents.
I will write you again
after the operation.
Your uncle,
Henry Krueger.

101. Henry Krueger to Alexander Krueger, July 18, 1915

102. F. J. Ewald to Alexander Krueger, Benton Harbor, MI Dec 1 1919 (SC 435-6)

Benten Harbor Dec 1 – 1919
Lieber August Krüger
Ich dein alter Freund will
versuchen ein par Zeilen
an dich zu schreiben, wie
du das Letzte mahl schriebst
waren diene augen besser
ich hatte du kanst genuch sehen
das du alien auch gehen kanst
wie ich höre Wohnst du in der
Stadt und dein Sohn wohnt auf
der Farm, ich hoffe es gefeld dir
in der Stadt so gut wie mir

ich habe in meinem Leben nie
Bessere Tage gehabt als jetzt
ich denke dein Faulheit gewert
sich einen an wen mir die Zeit
lang wird dan mus mein
Schwiger Sohn mus am Morgen

[Pg. 2]

per Otto heraus sollen und dan
Hake ich über Tag und das thut
mir gut ich kan noh den ganzen
Tag die Hake gut handhaben
ich gaube ich kinte mit dir und
auch mit dein Karl um die welte
Haken den das was meiner
Lieblings arbeit auf den Farm
nun Lieber August des Lieben
Gott hat uns ein langes Leben
gegeben u viel gutes gethan
Thausend mahl als was verdient
haben, meine Frau u ich sind
noch recht krestag,
ich wünsche wir kenten uns noch
einmal hir im Leben sehen das
wirde mir Freuen.
herzlichen Gruß an dich u
deine Frau u Kinder
dein alter Freund
F. J. Ewald

103. Mathilda Heiland to Alexander Krueger, March 14, 1920

104. Letter to paper announcing golden wedding, 1921

[Envelope:]

Record of Mr. & Mrs. Aug. Krueger
Cityson[86] Paper
1852-1880[87]
Golden Wedding

[Pg. 1]

[86] Likely Dodge County Citizen newspaper in Beaver Dam, 1865-1924.
[87] These dates do not coincide with the wedding and anniversary dates.

Mr. & Mrs. August Krueger
810 Jones were agreeably surprised
yesterday afternoon and evening
by there children, grandchildren
and a number of relatives it being
there Golden wedding anniversary
August Krueger and Mary Goetsch
were married Feb. 17 1871 in the
town of Emmet and lived on
the Krueger Home Stead
44 years. coming to
Watertown 6 years ago.
Mr. and Mrs. Krueger are
the parents of two children
Alex Krueger who lives on
the old Krueger Home Stead
and Mrs. John Bhend of
120 N. 9 St this city.

[Pg. 2]

They have four grand children
Edgar Krueger, Mrs. Ernest
Brentzmann, and Irene & Marcil
Bhend, who were all present at
the celebration.
Mr. Krueger was born in
Germany Sept 13. 1845 and
came to America with his
parent at the age of 5 year.
He has always live in Wisconsin
excepting five years when he was
a sailor and captain of a fishing boat on
Lake Michigan, work for Fred Ewald.
Mrs. Krueger (Mary Goetsch Maiden name) was born
in the town of Emmet April
22 1852 and has always lived
in Wisconsin.
A six oclock dinner was
served, the table and dinning room were
decorated in Gold and green, the guests

[Pg. 3]

T. Tomas Bonner

Amil Bigald
Fred Ewald {Samen Wellbeger}
Albert Goetsch
Otto Gericke
Henry Krueger
Resford Krueger
Evret Krueger
Henry Fisher
Ernest Buekle
Aug Buelke
Herman Goetsch
Ernest Erdman
Frank Geone
Ernest Goetsch
Arthur Habel
Mrs. Aug. Habel
G. Blatter
Wm Goetsch

(vertically on right side, SML)

B.O. Gening
A Binning
John Stark
Henry Begalk

[Pg. 4]

all departed at a late hour, having
spent a very enjoyable time
wishing the worthy couple
many more wedding anniversari[es]
Those present were Mr. & Mrs.
Alex. Krueger; Mr. & Mrs. John
Bhend, Mr & Mrs. Charles
Goetsch, Watertown, Mr. & Mrs.
Albert Goetsch, Mr. Aug Buelke
Mrs Henry Fisher, Juneau,
Mr. Otto Gericke, [C]resco, Iowa,
Henry Krueger Milwaukee.
Mr. & Mrs. Ernest Brentzmann
Albert Krueger, Edgar Krueger
Irene & Marcel Bhend.

105. Alexander Krueger to Florentina Will, January 24, 1922

[91] ALEXANDER KRUEGER TO FLORENTINA WILL, JANUARY 24, 1922
Slide 440.

Tuesday 1.45 PM.
Dear Tina + Edgar
Well I got here allright
I am drawn on the first
case. This case will take two
or three days. Albert Gennerman
is also a jurrior from
Ashupun we are staying
at Buelkes. The case I am
on may last several days.
this morning is was
15 below zero We are all
excused untill to morrow
afternoon at 2 o'clock,
on account of the county
board meeting. Folks
here are all well.
Hope you are all the
same.
Alex.

106. Alexander Krueger to Florentina Will, January 27, 1922
107. Edgar Krueger to Alexander Krueger, February 4, 1923
108. Edgar Krueger to Alexander Krueger, February 20, 1923
109. Alexander Krueger to Florentina Will, July 21, 1923
110. Alexander Krueger to Florentina Will, October 24, 1927
111. Fred Dewald to Alexander Krueger, February 3, 1928

[97] FRED DEWALD TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, FEBRUARY 3, 1928
Slides 455 - 457.

Inglewood, Feb. 3rd 1928
Dear Cousins:
Received your letter Tuesday.
Sure were pleased to hear
from you. Have been wanting
to write ever since our return.
On arriving here, discovered
that our furniture was not
only water-soaked, but completly
destroyed by the fire.
What was left of it consisted
of the gas range, two iron cots, an

iron bed, a wooden bed and chefferet
that were scorched and retouched
by them that they could be used in an emergency;
two trunks that were scorched but the contents
were only soiled by chemical water.
All we could collect from the company
was 100^{00}. We figured to replace our
loss will cost us over 2000^{00}.
If we brought suit against them it
would linger in the courts for several years and at
the end we (would have) no more after settling all expenses.
We rented one room in a suburb called
Inglewood. We are not buying any more
furniture until after we build which I
think will be sometime this year.
With all this experience we just put
off writing.
We had very little rain this winter
although this is our rainy season but it
is raining a little to-day, other wise the
weather is warm. Mrs. Flerlage of
Milwaukee was visiting her sister in
Los Angeles but left on Monday for home.
Were pleased to hear all the
news that we read your letter twice.
We heard about Charlie Goetsch.
He seemed so interested about California
that he gave us an address of a friend of his
to look up. Ernest Wittie was quite
young so that was too bad.
We think Ernst and Jennie will
like it in Milwaukee as it is quite
a nice city.
Had not heard about Bill Corbett
until Tuesday when we received your
letter and one from Ed. Wendorf stating it.
Martha remembers Lehman.
How do they ever expect to pay off
that church with such a small membership?
With best wishes to you all.
Fred and Martha
622 E. Regent St.
Inglewood, Calif.
Write soon again.

112. Martha Wendorf to Alexander Krueger, December 17, 1928

[98] MARTHA WENDORF TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, DECEMBER 17, 1928
Slides 459 - 461.

3466 Floresta Ave
Los Angeles Callif.
Dec 17/28
Dear Folks,
Have not heard from you
for a long time, but I believe I owe
you a letter Flora! Well will write
you instead of sending a xmas
card. We are now back in L.A.
We lived in Inglewood just one
year, we built our own bungalow
started August the 15th and
moved in November 1st we have
5 rooms so there is room here
when you come to see us
the house is of white stucco
finished with red tile roof, and
painted trim in brown; my kitchen
is cream walls with orchid tile zink
with purple trim, woodwork painted
green we have an electric refrigerator,
my breakfast room is cream walls
green wood trim, Jazz ceiling in orchid
and green. dining room is also jazz
ceiling and brown and cream walls,
front room is jazz through out in
brown and cream, I have 2 bed rooms
one is panneld painted in green and
the other is stipeled in orchid and
yellow woodwork through out the
rest of the house is stained and varnished.
the bath room is orchid walls with
light yellow tile side walls, 4 feet
high. floor is of black and white basket
weave, tile, and includes a shower.
garage is 20 feet wide and 18 feet deep.
lot is 56x108. it is on a sort of
knoll and we can see a good part of L.A.
including the mountains. as for news
there is not much to write we are
haveing some of our rains now, had a
good shower last night, which makes

it quite cool. we have a beautifull large
fire place which burns wood
and coal. Ruth and Alice are going
to Port Limon Costa Rica to see
Gust, they will leave her 28th of
Jan by boat direct to Limon
How are you all, I heard H. Scholz died
and Mrs and W. Hasse. what was
their last ailment I hope you will
not let me wait as long as I did you
When I came back here and saw what
was left of our furnature I did not
feel like writing very bad, and so the
time passed. How is June and Bertha
and all the rest of the neighbours
hope to hear from you soon
with best xmas wishes
Martha,

(vertically on right side, SML)

and a happy New Year

113. Auguste Stark to Alexander Krueger, March 5, 1934

[99] JOHN STARK TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, MARCH 5, 1934
Slides 468 - 481.

Osmand.-5.Mar. 1934
Dear Cousin + Famly!-
We have recieved
your wonderfull letter, also
the nice pictures, for whitch we
say many thanks,
you were saying, of surprising us,
you certainly did, but never the
less, we all sure were very glad
to hear from you folks, + injoyd
the letter + pictures very much,
We are all well, + hope this finds
you all the same,
You know Alix “we are all getting
old, + this letter writing is getting
kind a hard for me, but I will
try + do the best I can,
as we see by your letter, you are

still living on your old home
place, + your Son living on the
same place, that is sure fine
+ we seen what a beautiful big
barn you build, + Silo also.
it certainly cost a lot of monay.
ouer boys cant think enough about
your big barn, there are big
barns in this country + silos also,
but they dont use the silos no
more, takes to much corn of the
fields, + then there are no corn-
stalks for the stock to go in
over winter, you folks dont have
no other Stock but milk cows, + here
they are fatning to many cattle
we have creamreys + butter factury
but no cheese fac. like you have
there, yes "we see you are making
lot more with you milk, then we
do, we cant make that much here
with cream, you folks sure make
lot of monay with your milk,
we often talkt a bout it, + wonderdt
why people coulden start cheese
fact. here, then we farmers could
get more far ouer milk, + maybe
do better too, there is some awful
good milk stock in this country
too, but everybody sells cream,
+ they cheat the poor farmer just
awful, yes "the poor farmer is always
the looser, no matter what you do,
or how you do it, they always get
the best of you,
Well we are not no big farmer
any more, I think you have heard
that we lost every thing, first ouer
nice farm, + an top of that, where
sold out by the Bank, poor crops
+ poor prices, brought on every thing
had $300 left, + with that the boys
started up a gain, ouer neighbors
+ good friends helpt us a long, + now
now the boys are doing fairly well,
we dont want to complain now, we

are all so nice + well this winter
+ thank ouer dear Lord for it,
for I know he has helpt us +
answerd ouer prayers often, in
ouer sad houers of troubles,
the boys now have 6 working horses
3 milk cows + are all fresh now,
3 hieffers one year old + these 3
little calfs, then they got 6 brute
sows, + 30 fall pigs, + they got all
the mashinery what they need now
except no grain binder, they
always help the neighbors, + then
they cut ouer grain, so they think
they get a long a gain, ofcourse
they only rent 160 acers , they dont
have, enough mashinery to run
a big farm, but if they have
good luck one more year, then they
will try + rent a big farm a gain,
+ what they have got now, is all
payd for, they are sure tickelt
+ satisfied that they done so nice,
+ the Bank that sold us + lot of other
out, is broke now, had to close
its doores this winter, so we where
glad we where out of it,
well “we see dear cousin, you follks
diden have a big famly, only the
two, + it sure is nice that you
folks can always be together on
week end, we have 5 children 3
boys 2 girls, the youngest a girl
+ she is mairred, she will be
mairred 21 years already her Maw’s
name is Geo. Heering, he was manager
of the Lumber yard here in Osmond
for 8 years, then they sold out,
+ he lost his job, he could get
jobs a gain, but they where always
so far a way from here, + she
diden like to go, so he diden take
em, + so he is doing Carpenter work
they have 3 children one boy is
19 years, + is in the Forresterion
work, he registert last May, he

was way out in Organ, + now he
is back in Kansas, he is head
Clerk for the Co. + gets $36. a month
he was only in 2 months whe he was
second Clerk, he wanted to go
to Colege so bad, but his Dad diden
have nothing to send with, + we
where sold out, + coulden help him
either, so he work around, till
he got in this, besids this work
he is taking a corensponding
course thrue mail, he want
to get a higher pasation
+ his oldest Sister is 17 years
+ is teaching her second year,
the first year she got $60 a month
+ had 16 children, + 6 eight graders
+ they all passed, she was only 16 yrs
at that time, she got the same
school back, + has 15 children this
year, + only gets $45. a month, but
the law in Nebr. was made, that
all teachers had to take a drop
on salray during this depresoin
lot of teachers woulden take no
drop, but Dorothy said, yes "I take
the drop $45. is better then sitting
at home doing nothing, besids
that, she works every Sat + Wens. at
the Penney Store, + besides that, she
finger waves hair evenings 3 to 4
a week always helps a little, + is a big
church worker, teaches Sundays schools
she will be 18 years in March 23
she is saven her monay to
go 6 week to College this
Sumer, + the youngest girl is
11 years + is in the 7 grade, she
is helping her mama quite a bit
they live in Plainveiw Nebr. it
is 15 mils from Osmond, so you
see they dont live far from us,
yes "I often wish we had a camar so
we could take ouer own pictures
we sure would send you folks some
pictures too, but as we dont have

no camrra we cant do it,
Well we sure have a mild winter
here this year, it was pertty cold
for a couple of day but it diden
last long, last Sunnday we had
a snow storm, had 5 in of snow
+ here Sat the 3 of March we
had rain, a dandy rain, I wonder
what it will be to morrow,
you where saying, you well
remember, when the Grosse lived
in Hustisford, I dont think you
was there very often, I do remember
when we dug fish worms, for when
Uncle Aug. Kruger came, he would
alway say, now girls have you got
lot of worms dug, you bet, we always
had plenty for him, for he always
give each of us girls 10¢, you might
know, we always run for him,
for he never left ouer house,
without giving us girls 10¢. but
Uncle Carl Goetsch only give each
a pennie, we diden like that so
well, you where so little at that
time, I diden know you could
remember, I think I was 12 years at
that time, + you were only 6 or 7
years, but those 10¢ I never for
got, we always had to save it, to
buy pencils for school, yes those
where wonderful times, + how
fast they go,
Well "now here I am a gain,
I diden get this letter finnish, so I will
do it now, I want to tell you a little
a bout my Brothers + Sister, brother Frank
lives 50 mils farther north from us, they
thought, they would loose there farm too
but as far as I know now, he thinks they
can safe it, I was sure glad when we heard
it, Frank is getting to look pertty old, + his
wife too, ofcourse they raised a very large
famly had 14 children, one girl died when
she was 18 years old, they have 13 left, 6 are
mairried, has 15 grandchildren, they all

live close around there folks, except 2
the oldest boy lives at Brugston Nebr.
he is mairried + has famly + one boy is Clerk
in an Omaha Nebr. Hotel, but he is
not mairried, Brother Frank is 71 years old his wife 65
then my youngest Brother Emil.
he lives in Beemer, Nebr. they have 2 girls
+ are both mairried, one is a farmer,
+ one lives in Omaha runs, a beautiy palor
Emil is 58 year + his wife is the same,
then my youngest Sister Dora she lives
in West Point, Nebr. she is a widow, her
Man died 4 years ago, she has 2 children a
girl + a boy, the are both mairried, the girl
lives in Mc Cook, Nebr. her Man is county
Agent there, they have one child, + her
Boy is Princple in Brancroft School,
they have one child, my Sister has her own
home, she rents her down stairs + lives
upstairs by her self, but she dont make
nothing rent is to cheap she only gets $15
a month, + she has high tax to pay, her tax
this year was $62. so you see she dont have
much to live off, so this is all a bout my
Sisters + Brothers,
I sure was very much surprised to hear
that old Hustisford is getting so
City fied, + about that Iland, my
that certainly enterrested me very much
who "ever thought, that it would come
to that, yes "I very much would like
to see that all once more, but what
is the use to wish, when it cant be done,
but I like to hear so much of my old
home, yes "those days are past + gone,
I am so sorry to hear Sarah is not
well, I dont understand why she cant get
helpt, O "we do hope she will get well
enough to make this trip once more
+ how we do wish you folks would
all come + visit us, + get better
acquanted, O "how often I have wished
for your Parents to once come + visit
us here, but no they woulden come, this
is no mild cuntry, this is a good cuntry,
do make up your mind + come with your

own famly + children, if Sister Sarah cant go
but we sure would like to have
them come, we injoyd there visit so
much, + stay a week or more
Well now Mrs. Krueger we dont know
each other personly, but I will write
a few lins to you too, now what do
you do every day? I spose it is a foolish
quetion to ask, where there is no end to
the work on the farm, we are piecing
quilts Tillie + I, Tillie is my oldest girl
+ she sure is a good girl, she always sees
that mama has good care, yes "we sure
have good childres, that are taking such
good care of us, now I was saying we
are making quilts, got 3 done redy to quilt
the names are, one is the road to California
+ one is the, Sun flower, + one grandmother's
flower garden, the we got a few more
spotted, but we cant start no more this
winter, as it is very near chicken time, I set.
my own incubator, + hatch my own chicks
I got 270 hens for laying, we get as
high as 140 eggs a day, but we dont
get such good price as you folks, right
now they are 11¢ a day. cream 25¢ butter
24¢ potatoes $1.25 a bus. corn 32¢ Oats 30¢
Barly 35¢. hogs $3.65 lb. cattle 31/2 calfs
I dont know, praire hay $5. ton alfalfa
$5. ton, well I guess I told you folks
all I could this time, next time more
it took me 2 days to write this, but
you have to excuse all my mistakes
I will send Brother Frank your letter
for I know he will be glad, to hear
all a bout you folks + a bout Hustiford
Now Mrs. Krueger I hope you will write
me a few lins too next time Alix
writes, I am not so young, I was 67 years
+ John is 73 years, so you see how old we
are, I will close hope to hear from
you all soon a gain, with best
regards to you all + to Behnd + the
Goetsch girls, we remain as ever
Your cousins Auguste + John Stark

114. Ernestina Goetsch to Alexander Krueger, May 22, 1936
115. Martha Wendorf to Alexander Krueger, April 28, 1939
116. Ernestina Goetsch to Alexander Krueger, October 25, 1939
117. Tillie Stark to Alexander Krueger, December 3, 1939
118. Jennie Krueger to Jay Hatfield, December 16, 1939
119. Tillie Stark to Alexander Krueger, April 18, 1940

120. Rena Goetsch to Alexander Krueger, September 30, 1940

[106] RENA GOETSCH TO ALEXANDER KRUEGER, SEPTEMBER 30, 1940
Slide 494.

Sept. 30, 1940
Dear Cousin, -
Just a line to let you
know my father passed away
Sunday morning, Sept. 29, 4:10.
Funeral Services are to be
held Thursday, Oct. 3-
Rena Goetsch (youngest daughter of Ernest)
(Please let Bhend know)

121. Esther Goetsch to Alexander Krueger, November 11, 1940
122. Everett Krueger to Alexander Krueger, March 2, 1941
123. Gustav Koch to Alexander Krueger, August 1, 1941

3. Lomira Collection, originals are housed by the Lomira Historical Society.

Lomira Collection Index

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11. Rev. W. Yost to Rev. J. Fritsche, January 1899[88]
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13. G. Fritsche to Mr. John L. Fritsche, March 23, 1899

[88] Excluded from analysis; typed, form letter

14. H.K. Mulford to Dr. A.G. Fritche, June 22, 1899[89]
15. A.G. Fritsche to Mr. John Fritsche, August 1, 1899
16. Sarah to Rev. J. L. Fritsche, November 12, 1899
17. C. Kuschke to Mr. John Fritsche, November 14, 1899
18. G. Fritsche to Mr. John L. Fritsche, December 8, 1899
19. A.G. Fritsche to Mr. John Fritsche, December 10, 1899
20. A.G. Fritsche to M. J.E. Fritsche, December 10, 1899
21. Germania Publishing Co. to Mr. John L. Fritsche, December 17, 1899[90]

1. Phillipp Schneider to his sister, November 11, 1864

[Pg 1]

Pine Bluff, Ark
November 10
Dear Sister
heute erhielt ich mit Freude [den]
brief, den du den 18 October ge[schrie]
ben hast, und ersah daraus das
du noch gesund bist, was mich
von grozen Freud, ich bin
noch imer recht Gesund,
wirh hatten verder noch li[ttle]
rock zugehen, und das 29 Iowa
solte hierher in unseren platz
der Genral Solomon schafte scho[n]
den ganßen Somer fer uns[er]
Regiment zubekomen, und
General Clayton will uns
aber nicht gehen laßen, ehr
Telegrafirte noch den Ge[n]
Steel, das ehr 2 von den Illin.
Regiments lieber her gebe a[ls]
uns, es ist aber auch so da[s]
28 Wisconsin rult die gan[ze]
Stadt, {Profest} gart thuen w[…]

[Pg. 2]

die Pontoon brüke, die Sägemühl
die Schreiner Schop, die Scheniede Schop
die Schule, und die Kirche, die Post
Office, und die Printen office

[89] Excluded from analysis; typed, form letter
[90] Excluded from analysis; typed, form letter, advertisements, bulletin, etc

die Comasarry Store, und mit
einem wort gesagt, das ganße
ist gerult by the 25th Wis. Vol=
lunteer, und dehalb will uns der
Post Commanter, Clayton, nicht
gerne gehen laßen, liebe schwester
ich gehe alleweil mehr in die Kirche
als ich je gegangen bin, es ist
das Sondags 3 mal Kirche und
3 mal die woche, lezten Sondag
wahr ich 2 mal be idem Jacob, und
von dort gingne wihr nach der Kirche,
befor ich Sergeant wurde muste
ich unßerem Captan versprechen
das ich nicht mehr Kart wolte spie
len es deßhalb nicht aufgebe,
wechem Sergeant zuwerden, aber
ich thäte, oder hette mihr vohr

[Pg. 3]

genomen doch nicht mehr
um geld zuspielen, ich habe g[…]
nichts verlohren beim spielen, aber
es ist mihr vieleicht doch besser wen
ich nicht mehr vohr geld spiele,
lieber Schwester was wird dan
die Kühle Tante machen, wen
ihre 2 Söhne nach den South
gehen müßen, und das Linchen
und alle die junge werden […]
ihre Mäner nach der Saut gehen
laßen müßen du kanst froh
sein das du noch Ledich bist,
der Krieg wird auch wieder ein
mal ein Ende nehmen, und
wihr in Frieden beisamen
sein könen, nuhr gedult die
zeit komt bald, liebe Schwester
ich und der Jacob Goelzer, bet[…]
einen brief vom Valentin Graf
9 Wis. Vol. ehr sagte das sie wahr
scheinlich den 8 Nov nach haus
gingen, ich hette gewünscht, mihr

[Pg. 4]

hetten noch ein mal sie sehen können
ehe sie nach haus wehren, ich hette gerne mein
rivulfer nach haus geschikt, und auch was
Kleider ein paar Paßen, ein wollene Bländkit
und dergleichen, jezt will ich dier zuwißen
thun wie unßern Lection abgelaufen ist, der
McClalan erhielte keine Stime nicht, ehr hatte
viele Stime erhalten in unßerem Regement, wen
ehr nicht durch die Copper heat Platform
Nomawtet wehre wreten ich bin auch aus vohr
Frieden, aber das man dem Jef Daves seinen
willen thut, das thut es auch nicht, den wihr haben
schon zu viel soldaten verlohren und die
Rebels zu weit getriben um jezt auf einmal
auf zu geben und den Rebels ihren willen zu
thun, wen du mihr schreibst, so schreibe mihr wie
die Lektion in Milwaukee abgelaufen ist,
ich will jezt mein schreiben schlüßen in der
Hofnung das es dich und auch alle so gesund
antrift wie es uns verlat, jezt noch 1000
Grüße von mihr und dem Jakob
an dich die Margaret Kühl, das staatse Bete
ihn und alles was nach mihr fragt Amen
es hette es balt vergeßen die Strümpfe habe ich richtig
erhalten ich denke das die mihr dießen winter
an Piket gut bekomen werden gesternund
heute haben wihr aus unßerem Regement keine
Pikets brauchen zustellen warscheinlich gehen
wihr dieße woche doch noch nach litte Rock. Amen,

yours truly
forever
Brother
Phillipp Schneider

[Note 1]
in der Zeitung
was ich dier schikte
hatte ich 2 Rüpfe
baum wolle grade
so wie sie wechst ich
wünschte du hetest sie bekomen

[Note 2]
Margaret ich solte
denken wen ich die

Nomber von deinem
Herr seiner brief box
wüste und thäte sie auf
die Atreße schreiben an dich
wehre besser

2. Phillipp Schneider to his sister, December 07, 1864

Lomira – December 7, 1864

Liebe schwester
heute den 7 Dez. 1864
Gestern bekam ich den brief, den
du am 23 lezten monat geschrieben
hast, und ersah daraus das du
noch Gesund bist, ich bin auch
noch recht Gesund, und alle den
Germentown boys sind noch
Gesund das lezte hembt
habe ich aber noch nicht, ich
denke es ist von hier nach Pine
Bluff, wihr erwarten aber heute
noch ein burt, der Karl Blum
ist auch noch Gesund, du kanst
seiner schwester sagen, ehr ist
heute auf duty, sonst hette
ehr auch einen brief an sie ge
schrieben, ehr leßt sie vielmals
Grüßen, Liebe schwester
ich hofe das du und das
Kühle Knetche die Federn
bekomt wihr schikten den
8 lezten monat davohr,

[Pg. 2]

von dem Geld was du mihr
schreibst das weist du gut
genuch wie es ist, der Mutter
darf ich nicht mehr trauen
oder glauben den sie hült
ihr wort nicht bei mihr,
wihr sind und warten auch
wahrscheinlich noch nicht be
zahlt, und bis dort sie werde

ich sehen, wie ich es mache
du brauchst weider niemant
nichtts davon zusagen, denen
vühle Grüße von mihr an dich
und grüße mihr das Finks
macht auch recht luftich die
Feuerdag Amen,
Phillipp Schneider

es Freud mich sehr das
du deine briefe jezt selber
schreiben und leßen kanst,

3. Phillipp Schneider to his sister, December 12, 1864

Little Rock, Ark.
December 12, 1864
Liebe schwester,
Gestern wahr ich auf Piket
es wahr sehr kalt, lezte Nacht
aber wihr hatten ein dichtig
es Feuer, an dem Picket Posten
ich bekam auch den brief den
Du den 1 Dezember geschrieben
hast, es Freud mich sehr, Das
du imer noch Gesund bist
und so lang auf einem Platz
bleibst, es ist doch viel schöner
als wie wen es hieß, die
Schneiders Kretchs ist schon
wieder auf einem antern
Platz den brief den du
den 17 Nov. mit dem lezten
hembt geschikt hast, habe ich
auch erhalten ich bin sehr
zufrieden damit, wen ich
sie verkaufen wolte so könte
ich 16 Thaler vohr die 2 bekomen,

[Pg. 2, left page of scan]

aber ich will sie selber
tragen, sie sind so viel wert
vohr mich, als vohr jemand antern
Liebe schwester wihr haben
schon etliche Tage zimlich

kaltes wetter, wihr denken
wenichstens so, den es frohr
Eis, was man hier nicht ge-
wont ist, wihr bauhen imer
noch an unseren Parake
und werden sie auch diesen
monat auch nicht ferdich
bringen, wihr sind bis jezt
noch in den alten Paraken
was die 36 Jowä darin wahrm
haben aber sehr wenich blatz
darin, ich wahr auch bei
der 27 Wis. Regt, die sind
noch alle munter, die garten
die Rählrod auf der antern
seite dem Arkansas river
wen du wieder schreibst, so
schreibe mihr, ob du den

[Pg. 3, right page of scan]

Valentin Henrich ge
sehen hast, in dem 9 Ws,
es ist jezt bloß noch 8 monat
und etliche Tage vohr uns
und dan komen wihr auch
nach haus, aber ich denke
wihr wihr müßen noh ein
mal maschihren nechstes Früh
jahr, aber ich bin froh das
der alte Steel nicht mit
uns geht. den ehr ist Super
seadet by General Rennolds
was das vohr ein General
ist wissen wihr noch nicht,
ehr wird aber sein wie sie
alle sind, der General Glay
ton ist noch einer von den
besten was wihr noch unter
wahren ich werde dier
(Little Rock)
eine Zeitung schiken, was
dem General Clayton sein
danksprach davon ist, vohr
das 68 [28?]Wis, da kanst du

[Pg. 4, left page of scan]

schon was ehr von uns
denkt, ich will jezt Schlüßen
mit vühlen Grüßen, von mihr
und dem Jakob, an dich,
und alle die Germentown Mädchen
und alles was nach mihr frage
ich hofe das dieße paar zeilen dich
so gesund antrift wie sie mich
verlaßen, wen du wieder
schreibst, so lege kein Pabier
mehr hinein, den ich habe Pabir
genuch, schreibe lieber alles voll,
Nieichkeiten, ich danke
dier viehlmals vohr die 2
hembten, und wen ich zurük
kome werde ich es recht machen
Amen
auf Baldiche
Antwort wartet
dein Bruder
Phillipp Schneider

4. Phillipp Schneider to his sister, December 29, 1864

Little Rock, Ark.
December 29th 1864
Liebe schwester,
Ich habe schon etliche Tage
zurück an dich schreiben wollen
aber imer keine zeit gehabt,
auch heute bin ich an Camp
guart, muß mihr aber die zeit
nehmen und dier ein paar
zeilen schreiben, und dier
zuwißen thun das ich imer
noch frisch und gesund bin
aber wihr haben alleweil
sehr viel zuthun wihr sind im-
mer noch an unseren winter
qwartier zubauen und schafen
auch an den Schanzen, beseits
das viele Piket und guart duty
Liebe Schwester die Weinachten
sind vohrbei und über morgen

ist es Neujahr aber es
sind schlechte Feuerdag vohr
uns, den die boys haben kein geld,

[Pages 2 and 3 missing]

[Pg. 4, left page of scan]

Liebe schwester, mit den grösten Freuden
erhielt ich _ briefe von dier, es freude mich sehr
das ihr die Federn erhalten habt, und das sie
euch so gut gefallen, du brauchst mihr weider nichts
mehr zuschiken, du hast schon genuch an mihr ge,
then, die briefe was du an mich schreibst freuen
mich mehr alles alles antere was du mihr schiken
köntest, wen du einmal nach haus kanst, so kanst
du mihr das seitene Sakduch, was in meinem Ruve
ist schiken das was du mihr geschikt hast, habe ich verlohren,
sehe auch als einmal nach meiner kleidnung
streuhe etwas snub Tabak in die Pelzkap, das die
Mothen nicht hinein kawen wie es heist so soll auch
wieder geträht werden, dar werden die Germantowner ihr
Geld los, wen keener selbst gehen will und kaufen
ihre Leute imer, es ist Freulich hart vohr manchen
aber es sind auch viele who ich gerne sehen thäte
wen sie jeden tag geträft würden, liebe schwester
wen wihr von hier vort selten gehen, den denke ich werde
ich mein Neuen oferrrk mit der Adams Eapres, heim schiken
ich habe ihn erst lezte woche von unserem Leutenant
gekauft, ich will jezt schlüßen, in der hofnung das diese
zeilen dich so gesund antrefen wie sie mich und uns alle
verlaßen, jezt noch vühle grüße von mihr und dem Enkell
und dem Gorge Bauer an dich, und alle Freunde
und bekante, Amen, auf Baldiche Antwort
wartet dein dich forever
Bruder
Phillipp Schneiders

Ich und wihrs
alle wünschen dier,
und alles was nach
uns Fracht, ein
Glücklich Naujahr
und haben das wihr
uns bald Mündlich
sprechen kenen,

ich schike dier auch wieder ein
buch hebe sie alle gut auf auch eine
little rock zeitung gerade alleweil
sind 36 schuß abgefeuert wertan
weil savann gefallen ist den
21. December bully for Scherman
schike die paar Englische
zeilen an den {k}ohepf

[bottom left, vertically written]

dieße Seite habe ich den
30sten Geschrieben, über
morgen ist Neujahr,
so good by
for this time

5. John S. Roeseler to Rev. John Fritsche, May 28, 1898

Prairie du Sac, Wis.
May 28, 1898

Lieber Schwiegervater!
Inliegend sende ich
$18^{\underline{00}}$ Intressen für
die $300^{\underline{00}}$ die ich von
Schwiegermutter ge-
borgt habe und
$24^{\underline{00}}$ Interessen auf
die $400 die ich von dich geborgt habe
die Schwiegermutter ihre
Interessen waren schon
am 17^{n} Mai fällig
u. dein sind am 11^{n}
Jni fällig. Ich wollte
die Schwiegermutter
ihrr schon längst senden
aber mein schulden
in Minnesota hat nur
die Intressen auf die
$1300^{\underline{00}}$ einen Monat

[Pg. 2]

nach der zeit ge-
schickt. ich habe es

jeden Tag erwartet
aber es kam u. kam
nicht. hätte ich gewußt
das er mich so lange
würde warten lassen
so hatte ich Geld anders
wo geborgt u. hätte
meine Intressen ge=
sandt. Ich hoffe die
Schwiegermutter ent-
schuldigt diese verspä-
tung wenn sie die
Ursache weiß.
Wir sind “Gott sei dank”
alle bei mäßiger
Gesundheit aber Sarah
kann diesen sommer
nicht hier kommen
weil ihr das doctor das Reisen verboten
hat

[Pg. 3]

könnt ihr uns
nicht besuchen!
Seid so gut u
besucht uns und
wenn ihr nicht
alle auf einmal
könnt so können
doch vielleicht ettliche
auf einmal u.
die übrigen spater.
Es freut uns zu
hören das Alvin
schon wieder so weit
hergestellt ist. Wir
hätten eine sobaldige
Hofnung kaum erwartet
nach einer so ernstlichen
Erkrankung.
der liebe Gott hat
Wunder gethan. Ihm
sei dank für seinen

[Pg. 4]

Segen u hülfe.
Seid alle
herzlich von
uns gegrüßt

John S. Roeseler

6. John S. Roeseler to Rev. John Fritsche, June 13, 1898

Prairie du Sac, Wis. June 13, 1898

Lieber Schwiegervater!
Ich habe 28 Lots hier in
Prairie du Sac von Mr. Clifford
gekauft und habe meine Madison
Lot an ihn für 425^{00} darauf
verkauft und auf das übrige
das ich ihn noch schuldig bin
eine Mortgage zu 7 pro cent
Intressen gegeben die ich
zu irgend einer Zeit abzahlen
kann Wenn Franzler u dürr
ihre Noten abzahlen wollen
so wäre ich willig das Geld
zu irgend eine Zeit anzunehmen
wenn die Zeit auch noch nicht
ausgelaufen ist. Es bezahlt sich
nicht für mich nur 5 pro cent
Intressen auf mein Geld zu
bekommen wenn ich selber
7 pro Cent zahlen muß.
Sei so gut u. sprich mit
ihnen vielleicht ware es ihnen
Gefällig das Geld abzuzahlen
Wir hatten eine Nasse
Lager versammlung.
Papa war sehr erstlich erkrankt
so daß man das schlimmste
befürchten konnte aber er
ist jetzt gut auf der besserung
war heute schon wieder ein

[Pg. 2]

wenig auf und so wird
er hoffentlich bald wieder
hergestellt sein.
Habt ihr die drafts bekommen
die ich gesandt habe? Ich
bin mit die Geld geschichte etwas
in ein durcheinander gekommen
willst du so gut sein und
mir im reinen sitzten
weil ich sehr mit geschäften
überhäuft war habe ich nicht
Zeit gehabt über die Sache nach
zu denken u jetzt da ich ein
wenig mehr zeit habe habe
ich mit die Papa mehr überlegt
u bin zu dem entschluss gekommen
ich muß dir noch Intressen schuldig
sein. Sei so gut u laß mich
wissen ob das folgend richtig
ist. Auf die Note die $400 die im Juni
völlig ist hast du mir die Intressen
von den 11n dez 1896 zum 11 Juni 1897
erlassen u so ware ich dir am
11n Juni 1898 $24^{00} Intressen auf
diese Note schuldig gewesen die ich
gesandt habe. die andere Note war
auf 15 Monate geschrieben vom 11 dez 1896
bis zum 11 März 1898 auf diese Note
habe ich dir am 16^{n} Jan 1898 die Mühleis
Note vertauscht u da hast mir $100
darauf aus bezahlt u die ganze
Intressen gesandt. Auf diese Note
wäre ich dir am 11 Jan. $26^{00} Intressen

[Pg. 3]

schuldig gewesen die du hättest
sollen zurück behalte aber
die du nicht zu rück behalten
hast. So ware ich dir nach meinen
Rechnung noch diese $26.^{33} (bis zum 16 Jan.)
Intressen schuldig.
Wenn es sich so verhält so
bitte ich dich um entschuldigung
daß ich diese fehler gemacht
habe du hast mir dazu verleitet

dadurch daß du mir dazumals
als mir die Noten aus getauscht
haben nicht gleich die Intressen
zurück behalten hast. Ich kann
mihr ve_stehen wir du es berechnet
hast. Oder hast du vielleicht gerechnet
daß die Note bis zum 11n März
laufen sollte bis die 15 Monate
um wären wenn so dann
ware ich dir natürlich noch
mehr schuldig dann machte es
32^{00} Intressen anstatt 26^{33}
Ich bitte dich laß mich wissen
welches von den obrigen nach deiner
Rechnung recht ist. du kannst
mir glauben daß ich nicht durch
Absicht diesen Fehler begangen
habe. Ich will es so gleich recht
machen so bald ich im klaren darüber bin.

[Pg. 4]

Ich habe dich den Mühleis seine
Note überreicht wenn ich nicht
irre aber ich habe vergessen
was wir verabredet haben mit
deiner Note zu thun. hast du dießelbe
noch in deinen besitz oder ist sie
zerstört worden.
Ich hätte diese dinge gern
im klaren damit fernere
Mißverständnisse vermieden
werden.
Sarah fühlt nicht sehr gut
wir haben jetzt eine Magd
so daß sich Sarah schonen u in
acht nehmen kann
hoffentlich seid ihr alle wohl
u stattet uns bald einen besuch
ab.
Mit gruß
dein John S. Roeseler

7. John S. Roeseler to Rev. John Fritsche, June 26, 1898

Prairie du Sac, Wis. June 26, 1898

Lieber Schwiegervater!
dein werthes schreiben
vom 20 d. M. kam uns zur hand
waren froh zu hören daß ihr
noch gesund seid u. daß ihr viel
zu thun habt daß wollen wir
gern glauben.
Ich become am 31^{n} Juli
$450 eine von meinen Noten
ist dann völlig u. $200 habe
ich schon geborgt u. auf die
[line illegible due to crease]
ich noch die $100^{00} von dürr be-
komme die du mir abkaufen
willst dann habe ich Geld
genug die Mortgage abzuzahlen
Inliegend sende ich die beiden
Noten die ich unterzeichnet habe
Ich habe $1400 für die 28 Lotten
bezahlt. Meine Madison Lot
habe ich zu $425^{00} angerechnet
und dann habe ich $775 raus
bezahlt Will gelegentlich
dann welche von den Lotten verkaufen.
Nun wir danken auch
vielmals für die $40^{00} die ihr
uns habt zu gut kommen lassen
Jetzt kann ich verstehen warum
du damals nicht die Intressen
zurück behalten hast u so fühle
ich erleichterung

[Pg. 2]

Ich fühlte unruhig darüber
daß ich nach meiner Rechnung
noch bei euch in Schulden
war u. fürchtete was ihr
wohl dazu denken möchtet
daß wir dieses so lange hatten
hinschlüpfen lassen ohne es
in richtigkeit zu bringen
doch jetzt fühle ich erleichtert
dann du hast mir den stein
vom herzen gerollt.

Kellers sind gesund Ja br-
Keller mit Pohlmann in
Company bauen das Prediger-
haus Jetzt sind die Maurer
am “Plastering”
Papa ist wieder gesund
u läßt auch grüßen. Oskar
u. Edna wachsen tüchtig u.
sind lustig u. vergnügt.
wir haben 7 gute Führen schönes
heu auf unsere Lotten gemacht
haben auch 30 Quart ERdeeren
eingemacht die wir auf unser
Land ge__gen haben u. 8 Quart
“rhubarb” u. 2 Quart stachelbeeren
wenn ihr keine erdbeeren habt
so will euch sarah welche von ihre
geben. Im fall ihr viele frischen
habt so möchte sarah gern welche
davon haben u. ihr könnt sie roh
oder eingemacht senden wie
es euch am besten passend ist

[Pg. 3]

Wenn ihr sie einkocht dann
könnt ihr welche 2 Quart und
welche 1 Quart “cans” für uns
kaufen u. sarah wird euch
dann für die cans zucker
u. s. w. später bezahlen
Nun ich muß schließen
sonst wird es mir zu spät
den ich will so Gott will
morgen nach Milwaukee gehen
u. dort mehrere Tage bleiben
denke bis donnerstag wieder
nach Sauk zurück zu sein.
Seid alle herzlich von
uns gegrüßt. Wir danken
nochmals für alle das gute
daß ihr uns von Zeit zu Zeit
erwießen habt u wünschen
euch gute Gesundheit u. Gottes
Segen u. schutz. Wir hoffen
daß es euch möglich werden

wird uns diesen Sommer
noch einen Besuch abzustatten
Am 4n Juli haben wir
hier im Park eine große
Feier u. wir erwarten
euren Besuch zu diesem Feste
dein John S. Roeseler

8. A.G. Fritsche to Mr. John Fritsche, November, 3, 1898

Chicago, 11-3-98
Mr. John Fritsch,
Lomira, Wis.
Dear Parents & Brother,
I am still well and
we are kept quite busy at
college at present.
Next Sat. we are going to
start dissecting and we are
expected to finish that within
about 6 wks.
My money is mostly all gone
again i.e. after I have
paid my room-rent for this
month and so I must ask
you again to please send
me some. About 25 or
30 dollars, I think would be
enough to last till Xmas
vacation.
But I think if you can
send me about 15 or 20 dollars
at present that will do for
some time and then I can
send for some more later
on. It don't make any
difference if you can

[Pg. 2]

send only about $15 as I
don't need so much at once
Send whatever you wish.
The weather is very fine here
this week, the best we have
had for a long time.

We had very much rain
here this Fall.
To-day one of our Profs. told
us we would have two
weeks vacation instead of
one wk. as it is given in
the catalogue i.e. for our
Christmas vacation and so
I think the vacation will
begin about the 17th of Dec
till the 2nd of Jan.
Last Sat. night was college
night & about 2500 to 3000
students met down town in
the central music Hall, after
the exercises were over we had
a parade on the streets.
Must close, looking to hear from
you soon. With best wishes &
regards to all.
Yours,
A. G. Fritsche,
187 S. Lincoln St.

9. Gust. S. Klaetsch to Mr. John E. Fritsche, November 30, 1898

Canova, S.D. Nov 30 98
To J.E. Fritsche
Lomira, Wis.
Dear Friend John,
Your kind letter came
to hand yesterday and was
glad to hear from you again.
Well now I must tell you about
the big Wolf chase they had
out here last Saturday.
there was two big grey wolves
came along the Creek and so
one of our neighbors boys took
after them Horse back and
run after them for about 2
miles and then they took after
them with a Horse and Buggy
and they got within about 20
Rods of them when one of the
Boys shot at one and broke

[Pg. 2]

his leg and then they run
them about 6 miles more when
they got close enough to shoot
at them with the Shot-Gun
when they gave him two charges
more before they finished him off
but it was a bouncer it weighed
50 lbs and measured 5ft from
tip of nose to the end of tail.
Well I have changed places
again I am working for
Uncle Sam now. I am
carrying Mail now six days
out of a week, and I make a
round trip of 39 miles every day
and I have 6 Horses to drive
and I get into three different
Post Offices twice every day
I tell you what it is they are
pretty strict in that business
a fellow that hauls the mail
[line missing due to smudged scan]

[Pg. 3]

Road for anything only Mail
matter, nor turn off from the
road. and there is nothing
excuses a fellow from going except
high water.
Well now don't you start into
fits if I tell you that I am go-
ing to get married next Friday
evening, but so it is I am go-
ing to marry a Poetess.
So_ you better come and see the
performance. I shall look for you
We reorganized our Litrary Society
and will have our first-regular
meeting Friday evening, we are go
to have a high old time. I can
promis you, we will carry out
a splendid Program, and then

wind up with a Basket Socill
so you an me are not going to
let our Stomach's suffer, I just
tell you what it is! folks, out

[Pg. 4]

here are a good deal more for
getting up a little excitement then
they are out in Wisconsin now
we will have Litrary every two
weeks and of course we have to
get together two or three times
in between time to practice
and then we have a high old
time, I only wish you could be
out here this winter and if
you would not enjoy yourself it
would not be my fault, now I just
promise you that.
Tonight there is a Raffle in
Canova, one of the boys from
here went but as I did not buy
a number I thought it would
be best for me to stay at home
it is a three year old colt
that is to be Raffled off.
I got two numbers on a Fiddle
that is to be Raffled off prelly

[Pg. 5]

soon of course I expect to get
it and then I will start to
play for dances Ha. Ha. Ha.
Well I wish I had your
Banjo out here for I know that
I could sell it for you for there
is a couple of Yankie out here
they are both Banjo players and
good dancers I tell you.
If I get a chance to see them
I will talk them up to buying
it. I am going to start to
take Music lessons pretty soon
for I am right in the house

with one of the best music teacher
in the state, and the best of
all is that it is a young lady
into the bargain. I tell you
we have lots of fun some days
I would get a good jacking
up if she knew that I was
writing about her but paper is

[Pg. 6]

silent.
Well as to that song I can
not sent it for I have not got
it here for my Trunk is at my
old place yet but you shall
have it some time or other.
Well you will have to excuse
my poor writing for I got it
right on my lap. Do as you
please about the Banjo if you
want to send it out here I
will agree to sell it for you
for $6.50 for I know that I
can get that for it
Well now I must close for
this time. give my love to
all the folks and don't for-
get to write to your old chum
Gust. S. Klaetsch
Canova
S.D.

Canova Dec. 1st- 1898
Well I am going to let you
know how the Raffle last-night
the Horse went for 6 do. one
fellow had 17 numbers and then
did not get the Horse.
The violin was Raffled off
too that went for 8 do but I
did not get it so you see I
will not be able to play for
dances. Well now I must go
and get my team ready to go
with the Mail, I am on the

Road from 9 a. m. till 5.30 P. M.
so you see I'm not at home
very much. Well so long to
you for this time
your Friend
Gust.

10. Sarah to Mr. John L. Fritsche, December 19, 1898

Prairie du Sac, Wis.
Dec. 19 – 98

Dear parents:
I will herewith let you know that the
children I and grandpa and Mrs. Giesner will
come Dec. 24. So would you be so kind
and get us with a lumberwagon or bob-
sled from Knowles.
Your daughter
Sarah

11. Rev. W. Yost to Rev. J. Fritsche, January 1899[91]

12. John. S. Roeseler to Rev. John Fritsche, January 13, 1899

Prairie du Sac, Wis. Jan 13, 1899
Liebe Eltern!
Sarah die kinder und
Großvater sind glücklich
heim gekommen.
Oskar hustet immer noch
ziemlich schlimm so daß
man schier nicht anders
denken kann als daß
er doch der Stickhusten
ist. Er wird öfters
oft ganz <u>braun</u> und
flau beim husten u
er scheint als ob er sticken
müßte. Oefters kommt
ihm dann auch Blut
aus Mund u. Nase. Manch
mal muß er sich auch brech<u>en</u>
Edna ihr husten wird

[91] Excluded from analysis; typed, form letter

auch anscheinend von Tag
zu Tag immer etwas
schlimmer. Sarah ihre
erkältung ist ein ganz
theil besser iht aber doch
immer noch nicht ganz
darüber. heute me___
sie sie müste wieder
von frischen etwas kalt
dazu bekommen haben
Letzte Nach hat es ziemlich
geregnet u. gethaut u.
heute ist es immer noch
so feucht u. nebelig Wetter
so daß es den Anschein
hat als ob der schnee
alle wieder fortgehen
würde
(over)

[Pg. 2]

Ich studier fleißig
täglich bereite mich
vor 6 Geschichtlich Vorträge
in Sauk City zu halten
die Graduierten der Sauk
City High School haben mich
ersucht so zu thun und
ich habe eingewilligt
Mein erster Vortrag wird
über “Amerikanische Entdeckung
u. Kolinsirung” sein
der 2tn die Revolution
3tn Andrew Jackson
4tn John C. Calhoun
5tn Henry Clay and
Daniel Webster
6tn Abraham Lincoln
sonst habe ich noch keine
Arbeit. __e Stellen sind
mir von Chicago School
Supply Department Stores
angeboten worden aber
ich habe sie nicht ange-
nommen.

Hoffentlich trifft euch
dieses mein Schreiben
bei guter Gesundheit.
Mit grusz von Sarah,
Edna, Oskar, Freddie und
mich an euch allen
will ich für dieses Mal
schließen
John S. Roeseler

13. G. Fritsche to Mr. John L. Fritsche, March 23, 1899

Milwaukee 23/3-99
Liaber Brüder John!
Ich sendte dir die Mortgage
wohl erwarte ich, daß du hia
wirst erhalten haben.
doch hätte ich gern Gewißhen
hierüber, daher erliabe
mir ein statig auf einlia
gendar Postkarte zu senden.
Wir sind soweil gesund.
Hat also mit Frühlings
Anfang noch schnee gegeben
und wer es nun immer
kann, fährt fleißig Schlitten.
War lezten Sonntag bei
unßerm Emanuel in Green=
field dia stiege der Evange=
lischen Gemeinschaft in Wis.

[Pg. 2]

das mehrste war man
jetzt dort noch hat vom evang.
werb und wehen ist eine alte
Kirche ungefähr nach dem __uchen
der in Lomira Antre, einen
Kirch hof, wo viel mehr Todte
liagen als man in der Kirche
Lebentige hat. Dort liagen
auch Prediger nebst Angehörigen:
Eßlingers, Schäfers, Herle,
Schwentes, Schwester Schwantes
abar, irre ich nicht, liagt in
Iowa. Ach ja, unsere ev.

Gemeinschaft kann hüf an manchen
Orten nur aus der Vergangen=
heit frächten. Unser Neffe Ema=
nuel wird hier in Greenfield
auch nuhr länger bleiben, da
seinen Zeit abgelaufen ist.
duh u. dia l. deinen
grüßend in brüderlicher Liaba
Gustav

14. H.K. Mulford to Dr. A.G. Fritche, June 22, 1899[92]

15. A.G. Fritsche to Mr. John Fritsche, August 1, 1899

Valparaiso, Ind.
August 1st, 1899.
Lieber Vater,
dein Brief und das Geld
habe ich heute Morgen erhalten
und es ist alles richtig gekommen
Ich danke auch dafür.
Ich habe gemeint es sei etwas
nicht gans rightig weil ich so
lange nicht von euch gehoert
habe doch ich habe alle richtig
jetzt bekommen.
Heute Morgen hat es hier
etwas geregnent doch getzt
ist es wieder schön Wetter
und es ist nicht so warm
als es war eine woche
zurick. Ich habe jetzt
ziemlich viel zu thun weil
die schule jetzt zum ende
kommt und so viel arbeit

[Pg. 2]

Morgen fängen die Examen
an und ich habe so an
6 oder 7 zu bestehen.
diese werden, diese und
nächste Woche gehalten.
Es sind so om 70 in meine

[92] Excluded from analysis; typed, form letter

Klasse und in die ander_
Klassen sind auch ein
gans theil.
die Pocken sind jetzt ungefähr
vorbei und in pest haus
sind fast keine mehr.
Es wahren so om 26 dor
doch es war nicht so schlimm
Es ist keiner gestorben u.
die meisten haben keine
Märke. Etliche waren
ziemlich krank aber die atten
mehr Angst als sonst etwas.
Ich gedenke bis om 15 oder
16 Aug. zu Hause kommen.
Hertzlichen Gruß an alle
dein Sohn
A.G. Fritsche

16. Sarah to Rev. J. L. Fritsche, November 12, 1899

Sheboygan Wis., Nov. 12. – 1899

Liebe Eltern und Bruder:
Wir haben schon immer auf einen
Brief von auch gewartet, aber
haben gedacht ihr würdet uns
bald wohl besuchen diesen Winter
Könnt ihr uns alle besuchen
jezt kostet euch die reise
nicht mehr für alle als nach
Sauk für einen. erst hatten wir
im Sinn euch an dank=
sagung Tag zu besuchen, aber die
zeit ist so kurz könnten erst am
Donnerstag kommen und müssen
Montag wieder fort können ver{heiht}
gleich nach Weihnachten kommen
wan Ferien ist Oscar, und Edna
gehen jeden Tag zur Schule.
könt ihr nicht zu dannksagung
Tag kommen.

[Pg. 2]

Heute hatten wir Virteljahrs

versamlung Onkel Gustav hat
für uns geprädiget er war
lezte nacht bei uns, von der
General Konfrenz ist er
nach dekote gereist da von
er bei all die verwanten
er hat uns manches von
dekote erzählt ich kann es
euch erzählen wan ihr uns
besucht.
Sonseit gefällt es uns ganz
gut hier in Sheboygan.
Wir sind zwei Wochen zurü=
ck in ein anderes haus
gezogen haben jetzt wider
alles in ordnung, unsere
Addresse ist 1404 North fifth St.

[Pg. 3]

schreibt bald, seit alle viel
mahls von uns alle gegüßet
in liebe eure
Tochte Sarah.

J.S. Roeseler
1404 North fifth St.
Sheboygan
Wis.

17. C. Kuschke to Mr. John Fritsche, November 14, 1899

Temple Tex. Nov. 99
Lomira wis.
unkel John.
deinen Brief vom 18 Oct.
habe ich erhalten, und war
froh wieder mahl von euch
zu hören. das ihr noch alle
gesund seid und das es euch
noch wohl get wir sind soziem=
lich Gesund meine Frau wahr
eine Woch ziemlich krank aber
wieder auf der besserrung ist
unsren Kardel seine Familige
wurde letzem Monat auch in

Traugrigkeit versetz in dem der
Todes Engel beiihnen einkerte
und ihr kleines sönlein
aus ihrer mite nahm

[Pg. 2]

aus Erfarung weist du ja wie
solcher scheiden Traurichkeit
verursacht, doch die kleinen
sind bei den Lieben Gott
ambesten aufgehoben sind
von aller erden mühen u.
sorgen enthoben und für
immer erlöst auf ewig erlöst.
Auch wird die Stunde für
einr oder das andre. Von uns
schlagen wohl und wen wir
bereit sind und den Bürgen
schein haben das alle unsern
schulden mit dem Blute
Jesu durch strichen sind dan
las kommen was will wen
wir uns sagen können kom
her Jesu ich bin bereit…

[Pg. 3]

nun unkel John ein=
liegend sende ich einer
Check von 35 Tohler für die
Intresen und auch eine
neuhe Note für Winter 3
Jahre zu 6 ½ pr cent sei so gut
und schicke mir die allte
Note wied zurück

Vile Grüse von uns allen
an deine Liebe Familige
und las bald wieder von
dich hören
Achtungs voll
dein Neffe
C. Kuschke
Temple
Tex.

18. G. Fritsche to Mr. John L. Fritsche, December 8, 1899

Milwauke 8. Debr. 1899-

Lieber Bruder John!

Möchte dich ersuchen mir bald den datum von den beiden Noten zu schreiben die ich dir ausstellte, damit ich die Sachen ordnen kann wie ich es versprach. Ich habe nicht die genaue Zeit notiert. Als beliebe es wir zu schreiben.

Heute (mittwoch) balt genug morgen früh 7 Uhr soll ich am Depot sein um den Zug nach Plymouth zu nehmen. John wenn men alt wird, verliert sich auch die Reiselust, namentlich in frähen (frühen) kalter Morgenstunde. Aber was hilft es? Man muß frih ins un= mendliche Reisen Fügen. Und was ist gegen des Mannes Reisen, der schreibt= ich bin oft garnicht" Einestheils bin ich recht zufrieden daß ich noch arbei ten und reisen kann. Und wenn

[Pg. 2]

geistlichen Brüder auf dem district sind sehr resignirt auf die Arbeit bei ½ j. rast. Zählte ich meine erbed= ungstreden (predigten zu schreiben oder zu sagen kommt mir imer so etwas bedeutsam vor) im Januar über und brachte 31 heraus. Nebst= dem giebt es noch manche und man= cherlei Arbeit. Aber wo bleibt die Ernte fragt man sich auch oft? Auf unser ganzer evangelischer wissen {sie scheine} dieses Jahr im Schlummer versunken zu sein und wir be= dürfen wohl euer weckenden genoldes um zur besinnung zu komen.

Bruder Julius schrieb kuzlich nur wußte sich recht erfriedigen über den galinden Dakota win= ter zu äußern. Er wird im

nächsten Briefe wohl nöthig haben
eine vermehrte wetter auflage zu
berichten. Ueber seine schulden
scheint er nun {hinnsag gestiefelt}

[Pg. 3]

zu sein. Sie haben irre ich nicht,
neun shulden für 160 Axker für
seine Jungen gekauftes Land gemacht.
den {_arschulde beste} werde ich wohl
zu dieser Zeit heim.
Wir sind mäßig gesund, wer=
de von Plymoath am nächsten
Freitag nach dem äußersten Norden
meiner districts, nach Two Rivers
reisen und will's Gott, dort Sonntag
zubringen.
Viele Grüße an dich und
die l. deinen dein dich l. bruder
Gustav.

19. A.G. Fritsche to Mr. John Fritsche, December 10, 1899

Chicago, Ill. 12-10-99
Liebe Eltern u. Bruder,
Ich habe euren Brief
bekommen und auch das Geld
und es hat mir gefreut
mal wieder von euch zu
hören. Ich bin noch immer
gesund und habe noch so
viel Arbeit als wie
immer. Es gehet jezt nahe
zum schluß diesen Termin
und so jiebt es ziemlich viel
zu thun. Ich denke ich
werde noch 4 oder 5 Examen
zu bestehen haben vor
Weinachten.
Wir hatten zwei Examen
ein par Wochen zurick.
Es ist hier jezt dreckig
und das Wetter ist so
nebelig und bisweilen Regnent
es etwas.

[Pg. 2]

die Ferien Weinachten
beginnet am 23 Dec. und
ich denke ich werde zu
Hause kommen.
Viel Roeseler's kommen und
so das ihr alle zuhause
kommet oder seit so denke ich das
ich auch zu hause will gehen.
Wenn alles gut gehet so
will ich dann am 23^{en} Dec.
zu hause kommen.
die Ferien dieses Jahr
ist nur etwas über eine
Woche.
Ich danke auch herzlich
für das Geld und
ich habe es alles wichtig
bekommen ohne Trubel.
Nun ich muß schließen
für heute.
Mit hertzlichem gruß an
euch alle.
Euer Sohn u. Br.,
A. G. Fritsche
187 S. Lincoln St

20. A.G. Fritsche to M. J.E. Fritsche, December 10, 1899

Chicago, Ill 12-10-99
M. J. Eo. Fritsche
Lomira, Wis.
Dear Brother,
As I expect to come
home I thought I would
hereby notify you that
if you had any dirty
collars and want me
to get them laundered for
you that you want to
send them down right
away when you get
this, as there is not
much time left till you

sent them & get them
laundered so I can get
the {wools} down with my
last laundry before Xmas
etc. etc .etc. etc.
Anything else you want

[Pg. 2]

me to do for you
let me know as for
example get a work box
for Xmas present for
Mamie or work the
box probably this year
So let me hear
soon from you, so that
I may attend to
your business affairs
to the best of my
ability.
Your bro.,
Alvin

21. Germania Publishing Co. to Mr. John L. Fritsche, December 17, 1899[93]

Old Franklin Township Historical Society Collection

Only two of the letters in this collection were written in the United States, and both outside of Wisconsin (during the Civil War). However, these documents are worth including as a collection because they shed light on communities in Sauk Co., WI.

1. Johann Heinrich Diehl, Certificate of Good Conduct, 1842

Führungs Attest

Vorzeiger dieses, der Musketier Johann Heinrish Diehl
der 8ten Compagnie des königlichen Preußischen 35ten
Infanterie Regiments/3ten Reserve :/ 25 Jahr 6 Monat
alt, 3 Jahr u Monat gedient, hat sich während seiner
dienstzeit bei genannter Compagnie im moralisches von dienst-
licher Bejahung zur vollkommenen Zufriedenheit seines Vorgesetzten geführt

[93] Excluded from analysis; typed, form letter, advertisements, bulletin, etc

und keinerlei Kater von Seufen erlitten.

Mainz den 25ten November 1842

[Unterschrift] Schiomer
Hauptmann und Compagnie Chef.

[Translation]

Certificate of Good Conduct

The presenter of this, the musketeer Johann Heinrich Diehl,
of the 8th Company of the Royal Prussian 35th
Infantry Regiment/3rd Reserve:/ 25 years 6 months
old, who served 3 years and / months, conducted himself
during his term or service in the aforementioned company
morally in official affirmation to the complete satisfaction of his
superior and suffered no hangovers from drinking.

Mainz the 25th of November 1842

[Signature]
Captain and Company Head

2. Johann Heinrich Diehl, Vacation Pass, 1842

Urlaubs = Pass

Vorzeiger dieses, der Mustketier Johann Heinrich Diehl
von der 8ten Kompagnie des Königlichen Preußischen 35ten Infanterie Regi=
ments/:3ten Reserve:/ aus Würgendorf Kreis Siegen Regier=
ungs=Bezirks Arnsberg 5 Fuß 6 Zoll groß von schlankere Körperbau
und braunen Haaren, welcher am 18ten Mai 1817 geboren, und am 1ten
December 1839 zum aktiven Militair= diensten eingetroffen ist
mithin bis jetzt eine aktive Dienstzeit von 3 Jahr u Monat erreicht hat,
wird mit unbestimmten Urlaub nach Würgendorf Kreis Siegen
des Regierungs=Bezirks Arnsberg entlassen und geht, wann derselbe
nicht wieder zu den Fahnen des Stehenden Heeres einberufen werden sollte, am 1ten
December 1844 zum ersten Aufgebote der Landwehr über. Nach der Ankunft
in dem vom ihm gewählten Aufenthalts=Orte, hat dies derselbe bei dem Feldwebel des
Land=
wehr=Bezirks unter Vorzeigung dieses Urlaubs=Paßes zu melden, auch bei etwaigen
Aufenthalts=Veränderungen, so wie bei vorkommenden Reisen, die Meldung jedes=
mal zuwiederholen, es mag der Bezirk verlassen werden oder nicht, wo erstern Falls
diese Meldung sowohl bei dem Feldwebel des zu verlaßenden Bezirks, als bei dem
Feldwebel des Bezirkes, in welchem der neun Aufenthalt belegen ist, geschehen muß.

der Musketier Diehl hat bei den Schießübungen die
nachstehenden Prämien erhalten.
Ueber seine Führung ist demselben ein besonderes Attest ertheilt.
Gibt durch erworbene diesntkenntniße so wie durch sein bisheriges
gutes betragen die Erwertung, daß er sich künftig zum
Landeswehr Unteroffizier eignen wurde.

Gegeben Mainz, den 25ten November 1842
[Unterschrift]
Oberst Regiments Kommandeur

Ankleidungsstücken hat derselbe
bei seinem Abgange mit erhalten
Ein Tuchjacke
Ein Paar Tuchhosse
Eine Feldmütze
Eine Halsbinde
(für den Marsch ausreichend)

Mit Verpflegung ist derselbe versehen, bis den 2ten December 1842
Hinsichte der kleinen Montirungsstucke ist mit demselben vorschrifte würdig abge=
rechnet worden.

Wugendof
Siegen den 5 Decbr 42.
[Unterschrift] [Unterschrift]
Hauptmann und Kompagnie Chef.

[Translation:]

Vacation Pass

Presenter of this, the Musketeer Johann Heinrich Diehl,
from the 8th Company of the Royal Prussian 35th Infantry Regi-
ment/3rd Reserve/ from Würgendorf in Siegen County of the administrative
district Arnsberg. 5 foot 6 inches tall, with slim physique
and brown hair, who was born on the 18th of May 1817 and
who arrived for active military service on December 1st 1839.
And who consequently has achieved an active service time of 3 years and zero months,
is released for non-specified vacation to Würgendorf in the county of Siegen
of the administrative district of Arnsberg and if not recalled
to the flags of the standing army, crosses over to the first contingent of the
state army on December 1st 1844. After his arrival
at his chosen destination, he must report this to the sergeant of that
administrative district's army and show this vacation pass as well as for possible
residential changes and for future trips the report of this pass should be

repeated each time. The district may be left only when this report is first shown to the sergeant of the district being vacated and to the sergeant of the district in which the new residence is documented.

The musketeer Diehl received the following premiums during target practice.

A special certificate was given to the same [Musketeer Diehl] about his conduct. Due to skills acquired through service as well as his previous good behavior he is given the evaluation that he would be suited for corporal in the future.

Mainz, the 25th of November 1842
[signature]
Highest regimental commander

Pieces of clothing given to the same [Musketeer Diehl]
at his departure
one cloth jacket
one pair of cloth pants
one forage cap
one necktie
(enough for the march)

The same (Musketeer Diehl) is also supplied
with provisions until the 2nd of December 1842.
In regard to the munitions, is settled
according to regulation.

Wugendorf
Siegen, December 5th 1842
[signature] [signature]
captain and company chief

3. Julianna Hehseberger, Baptismal Certificate 1852

Tauf - Schein

Vür den Taufbriefe den evangelischen kirchengameinda
Scharten Tom II pag. 73. eine seinen ztare amtlis bestättigt
wird Julianna, einb ehelihe Tochter der Joseph Hehse=
berger Schneidermeister und Iuwohuar haim Kronberger
in Kronberg No 4 und dessen Eheweibes Elisabeth geb.
Hehenberge, den 7ten Februar 1837 Jahr, Eintausend
acht hundert Sieben und dreißig geboren und
im darauf folgenden Tage, im Beiseze der Metzger
und der Meyderker Maier und Meier gute ga

Ert von dem Gefertigten in hieseger Bad Schauhe
nach evangeilsch chr istlichen Rites Aug. Conf.
getauft worden ist.
Druk und dessen enstehende Fertigung
Pastorat Scharten d. 19ten Juli 1852
_____ artin Sääte
Pastor

[Translation:]

Baptismal-Certificate

For the baptismal letters of the evangelical church community
of Scharten. Tome II pag. 73 one of his (?) officially confirms that
Julianna, legitimate daughter of Joseph Hehse-
berger, tailor and jeweler from Kronberg
at Kronberg N0. 4 and his wife Elisabeth, born
Hehenberge, the 7th of February 1837 year, one thousand
eight hundred thirty seven was born and
in the following days in the presence of the butcher
and the dairy farmer and my property was hon-
ored by the (?) in the local place Bad Schauhe
according to evangelical christen rites. Aug. Conf.
was baptized.

Writing and its emerging production
Pastorate Scharten the 19th of July 1852.
[name]
Pastor

4. Christian Diehl to his family, 1863

Mr. Christian Diehl
U.S.A. Hospital
ward 33 Chestnut Hill
Bett 53 Philadelphia
PA

obiges ist die
Adresse an mich

Juni den 21te 1863

Liebe Mutter Brüter Schwäster
Schwager und Schwägerinen.
Ich muß euch wider selbst einmal ein par

zeilen schreiben sonst denket ir das immer
noch Ich bin am Kabutgehen, wie und
wo ich ferwundat bin das wist ir ga
meine Wunde ist schon zimlich geheilt
und Schmärzen habe ich gar keine mer.
Liebe Mutter ich häte schon früher geschriben
aber durch unser umher mufen konde ich
nicht gut wir sind fon Brukisteschen
Hosbital nach Waschington gemuft und
da waren wir fiataga dan musten wir
witer nach Baltemor fon Baltemor
nach Filadälfia fon da noch zän Meile
weiter in ein schönes Hosbital.
Libe Muter ir fracht ob ich Kleiter
und zuesen genug habe zu eßen habe
ich hir mer als ich esen kan und beser
als ich es zu hause haben kan und

[Pg. 2]

Kleiter bekomen wir für gede woche
ein rein Hämbt vier unter hose und
strümpfe und ein Rok das liferd das
Hospetal und kost uns nichts,
Gält haben wir nach der Schlacht
fa_ zwei Monat gekricht.
Ich denke wan wir gezt witer mufen
dan wirt geter in seine eigener Nat
geschikt dan wärte ich warscheilich
nach Madison komen, das schreiben
get noch schlächt mid mir durch das
lange bät ligen sind die hände zimlich
ziterich geworten und durch die
pflasterei im gesich kan ich auch nicht
gut sen, ich werte euch nächestens mal die
geschichte beser beschreiben
Ich wil nun mein schreiben schlisen und
ich wünsche das euch die par zeilen bei
guter Gesundhat anträfen und Grüße
euch ale filtausend mal.
Schreibt mir balt witer und
schikt mir einige Postäms. Ch. D____.

[Translation:]

Mr. Christian Diehl
U.S.A. Hospital
ward 33 Chestnut Hill
bed 53 Philadelphia
PA

The above is the
address to me

June the 21st 1863

Dear Mother, Brothers, Sisters
Brothers-in-law and Sisters-in-law.
I myself have to write you a few lines
or you'll still think
I am wearing out, how and
where I was wounded, you know
but that my wound is pretty much
healed and I don't have any more pain.
Dear Mother, I would have written sooner
but through our moving around I could
not well. We moved from _____
hospital to Washington and
we were there four days then we had to
go to Baltimore. From Baltimore
to Philadelphia from there another 10 miles
farther in a nice hospital.
Dear Mother, you asked if I have
clothes and sweets enough to eat
I have here more than I can eat and better
than I can have at home and

[Pg. 2]

beyond that, for each week we
receive a rain shirt, four under pants and
socks and a coat that is distributed by
the hospital and doesn't cost us anything,
After the battle we
got money for two months.
I think if we have to move again
then everyone will be sent
in his own ___ then I will probably
come to Madison, writing
is going poorly with me and my hands
have grown shaky through the

long lying in the bed and the
bandages in my face, I can't see well.
I will tell you the story better next time.
I now want to close my letter and
I wish that these few lines reach you
in good health and greet everyone many
thousand times.
Write me back soon and send me some
post stamps. Ch. D____.

5. Peter Beaver Diary, 1864

febwary the 27 AD 18__
inlistet and left my
deare famly and i got
home on the 4 of march
and i left my seet
famly on the 10 of march
march the 13 we had
_____ when in over carriet
March the 14 Balthy
_euhisel went to
the hose spitel
james Bolden died
march the 14 AD 1864
March the 16 AD 1864
james Cartter and
john Sloter jent
to the hose spittel
March the 17 AD 186_
_adam fry jent

[Pg. 2]

Henry wels died march
the 18 AD 1864
Drawd ower choles march
the 19 march the 19
Baldy Neuhisel came
t_ his Brricks
john .C. Slater
dide nite march
the 22 AD 1864
isral daren died
march the 24
james Smith taken

to the hosespittel
April the 3 more
_____ Com___ A died the
3 of April.
Gorge w moone died
april the 15 AD 1864
Andrew j wood
____ April the 17
wood diad

[Pg. 3]

campeny A drwd
thire mony April
the 15.
April the 12 i was
a poind a seerten in
Campne A
April the 19 i luck
the mumps April
the 24 Seck meade
was taken to the
hose spittel john
wood was taken
to town gorge M
rite was ta to
town on the 24
of April
gorge M rite died
April the 24
April the 25 john
wood diad

[Pg. 4]

April the 25
i came home to see
my deare famly and
left h_me ____seet
home to 28 of of
April AD 1864
Cempne A drawd
thire armes may the 6
Bansman Norses dead
may the 7 we left
canp and on the

10 of may and came
to pitsburg on the
12 and we came to
baltmore on the
13 and we came to
washiton on the
14 we left Wasiton
on the 16 of may
for frerick burg

[Pg. 5]

we landet bell
plane we lefet belle
on the ~~18~~ 17
for fredrick burg
and on the morning
of the 18 we heurd
them fite whare
we campdt in the
wildners specotvill
put left thire and
2 mile on the 19
thare was a man shot
on the 21 day of may
we disgard his colthes
in the 19 masejiues
regmnet and we
left on the 20
and mach 30 miles
and thrw op brest
warkese and on

[Pg. 6]

the 21 we thrwe
up brest warkse all
(at mill and Stasen)
day and we hord them
fite every day on the
23 we left that place
and march 6 over
river and there was fitein
on the 24 all are day
and on the 25 we was
fiteing all day and

on the 26 we coments
fiteing agan may the
27 james ~~mat~~ makenlies
kild & Danijel a Dibel
mordly wondet gorge
~~fra~~ fares wondet gorge
rely Henry awuther
wondet danijel a dibel
died the 27 we lift
____n orer river on the

[Pg. 7]

(june)
27 day and march 36 milese
to powr munkey river
the 28 we crost the
powr munky river and
march 14 miles and
threw brest warkes
on the 31 we left lume
over town and campt
in the woods and we
had croming in brow
at 10 oclock on the 30
and fot all day
the 31 we comments
fiteing at 4 clock
in moring at junesis
hile and kep in
de all til knite
june the 1 we commnts
fiteing at 4 oclock
in the morning

[End diary]

[Modernization, line numbers removed]

February the 27th 1864
Enlisted and left my dear family and I got home on the 4th of March and I left my sweet family on the 10th of March.

March the 13th we had [undecipherable].

March the 14th Balthy Neuheisel [Balthasar Neuheisel] went to the hospital.

James Bolden [Bolton] died March the 14th 1864.

March the 16th 1864 James Cartter [?] and John Sloter [John C. Slaughter] [went] to the hospital.

March the 17th 1864 Adam Fry went [undec.]

[Pg. 2]

Henry Wells [William H. Wells] died March 18th.

Drew our clothes March the 19th.

March the 19th Baldy Neuhisel [Balthasar Neuheisel] came to his barracks.

John C. Slater [John C. Slaughter] died in the night of March the 22nd 1864.

Isreal Daren [?] died March the 24th.

James Smith taken to the hospital April the 3rd. More [of] Company A died the 3rd of April.

George W. Moon died April the 15th 1864.

Andrew J. Wood [died] April the 17th. [undec.]

[Pg. 3]

Company A drew their money April the 15th.

April the 12th I was appointed a sergeant in Company A.

April the 19th I [got] the mumps.

April 24th Seck Meade [Ezekiel Mead] was taken to the hospital. John Wood was taken to town.

George M. Rite [Wright] was ta[ken] to town on the 24th of April.

George M. Rite [Wright] died April the 24th.

April the 25th John Wood died.

[Pg. 4]

April the 25th I came home to see my dear family and left home sweet home on the 28th of April 1864.

Company A drew their arms May the 6.

Bansman Norses [Benjamin Norris] died May the 7th.

We left camp on the 10th of May and came to Pittsburg on the 12th and we came to Baltimore on the 13th and we came to Washington on the 14th.

We left Washington on the 16th of May for Fredericksburg.

{Pg. 5]

We landed at Belle Plaine and we left Belle on the 17th for Fredericksburg and on the morning of the 18th we heard them fire where we camped in the wilderness [undecipherable] but left there and [marched] 2 miles on the 19th.

There was a man shot on the 21st day of May.

We discarded his clothes in the 19th Massachusetts Regiment and we left on the 20th and marched 30 miles and threw up breastworks and on…

[Pg. 6]

…the 21st we threw up breastworks (at Mill and Station) all day and we heard them fight every day.

On the 23rd we left that place and marched 6 [miles] over river and there was fighting on the 24th all our day and on the 25th we were fighting all day and on the 26th we commenced fighting again.

May the 27th James Makenlies [James C. McIntyre] was killed and Danijel A Dibel [Daniel A. Dibol] was mortally wounded. George Fares [George W. Ferris] wounded, George Rely [George G. Reeley] wounded. Henry [Oberwether] wounded.

Danijel A Dibel [Daniel A. Dibol] died the 17th.

We left [undecipherable] over river on the…

[Pg. 7]

… 27th day of June and marched 36 miles to [the] Pamunkey River.

The 28th we crossed the river and marched 14 miles and threw [up] breastworks.

On the 31st we left [undec.] over town and camped in the woods and we had [undec.] at 10 o'clock on the 30th and fought all day.

The 31st we commenced fighting at 4 o'clock in the morning at Junesis [?] Hill and kept on until night.

June the 1st we commenced fighting at 4 o'clock in the morning.

[End diary]

6. Christian Johann Diehl, Confirmation Certificate, 1874

Confirmationsschein

Christian Johann Diehl geb. 15 Merz 1859
wurde nach empfangenen Unterrichte aus dem Worte Gottes
nach Anleitung des Heidelberger Katechismus,
am 26 April 1874 in dem Gotteshause der
evang. reformirten kirche in Sauk City
confirmirt
und zum heiligen Abendmahle zugelassen.
Solches bezeuget unter erneuerter Anwünschung des
göttlichen Segens und mit ernstlicher Hinweisung auf
Römer 5, 1-2

Bewahr' mir, Herr! durch Deinen Geist
Den Glauben, der sich stark beweist
Der nach dem neuen Wesen ringt!
Und edle Lebensfrüchte bringt!
Dann bleib' ich o heer Jesu Christ
In Dir, der Du mein Leben bist
Dann sieg' ich über Welt und Noth,
Bin Dein im Leben und im Tod.

von deinem Seelsorger

Harrisburg Pastor F. Künzler
am 26 April 1874

[Translation:]

Confirmation Certificate

Christian Johann Diehl born the 15th of March 1859
was confirmed on the 26th of April 1874
after receiving lessons of the word of God

according to the direction of the Heidelberg Catechism
in the chapel of the Reformed Evangelical Church
in Sauk City
and was permitted to the holy sacrament.
Such is attested under renewed acceptance of the holy
blessing and with earnest allusion to
Romans 5:1-2.

Save me, Lord! Through your spirit
the belief, which strongly proves
which rings for the new being!
and which brings noble life!
Then I stay oh Lord Jesus Chris
in you, who are my life,
then I will prevail through world and misery,
I am yours in life and in death.

from your minister

Harrisburg Pastor F. Künzler
on the 26th of April 1874

7. Emma Bertha Diehl, Baptismal Certificate, 1877

Taufschein

Herrn Heinrich Diehl
aus Preussen Deutschland wurde
von seiner Ehegattin Julia geb. Hehenberger
aus Oestreich Europa
am 7. November 1875 in Harisburg Wis.
eine Tochter geobren, welche am 22. Juli 1877
die heilige Taufe
empfing und den Namen: Emma Bertha

Taufzeugen waren:
Mr. Chr. Scholl und
Miss Emilie Fischer

Solches bescheinigt mit seines Namens Unterschrift
J. J. v. Grüningen
evangl. reformirter Pastor in Sauk City u
am 11 Aug. 1877 Harisburg

[Translation:]

Baptismal Certificate

Unto Mr. Heinrich Diehl
From Prussia, Germany
and his wife Julia nee Hehenberger
from Austria, Europe
on November 7, 1875 in Harisburg, WI
a daughter was born, which on the 22nd of July 1877
received Holy Baptism
and the name: Emma Bertha

Baptismal witnesses were:
Mr. Chr. School and
Miss Emilie Fischer

This is confirmed with his name by signature
J. J. v. Grüningen
evangelical reformed Pastor in Sauk City and
on the 11th of Aug. 1877 Harisburg

8. Michael Haherfellner to Julie Diehl, December 11, 1906

Wien den 11. dezember 1906.

Liebe July!

Ich habe deinen mir so <u>überaus lieben</u> brief mit
großer Freude erhalten und begrüße dich, deinen Wunsche
genniß mit dem Freundschafts-Vort <u>du</u>._ denke dir
nahezu 60 Jahre ist es, daß wir von einander nichts
mehr näheres wissen jezt erst das wir alt sind
finden wir uns durch einen zufall wieder. ich erinnere
mich noch recht gut auf dich, deine Eltern, den Johann
und Mathias den Josef velcher so liebensvürdig ist und
mir öfter schreibt kannte ich hier nicht __auf den Michael
Hehenberger der bruder deins und meines Vaters
erinnere ich mich auch noch. __ Was habt Ihr dort in
Amerika inzvischen alles durchgemacht ? _____ und
ich hier! _____ da gebe es gegenseitig viel ja recht viel
zu erzählen _____ meines Wissens bin ich hier nur mehr der
Einzige Abkömmling von die Hehenberger, alles ist schon
todt, mit diese Jahre vie vir sind lichtet es sich schon, sehr
venige werden mehr so alt__ auch ich bin schon ganz
grau, bin 69 Jahre alt, aber noch immer doch so
ziemlich zufrieden mit meiner Gesundheit.

[Pg. 2]

du hast keinen Begriff velche Freude ich und meine Frau
mit deiner Fotografie haben, mit meiner Frau
würdest du dich sehr leicht sprechen, sie ist aus Wels
und versteht die Landwirtschaft gut, sie hat auch schon
viele Hühner aufgezogen, sie ist ganz verleibt in
dich, sie spricht so oft von dir und sagt immer wenn nur die
Julia näher wäre, daß ich mit ihr sprechen könnte. hast du
nie eine Sehnsucht nach deiner alten heimath hier?____
komme du zu uns in deine Alte schöne Heimath wier
laden dich mit Freude ein, und heißen dich herzlich
willkommen. du hast mich angeboden zu dir zu kommen
was mich herzlich freut und ich dir dafür bestens dank.
leider wird das Unmöglich werden, daß ich mit diese
Jahre noch nach Amerika reise, Für mich ist es ein
fremdes Land und die Klimatischen verhältnisse sollen
nicht so günstig sein, weil so manche viele familien
wieder zurückkommen, weil ihnen das Klima
dort, nicht gut thut. die Witterung ist hier ange=
nehm wier haben nur einen Grad kälte. Und die-
sicherheit verhältnisse lassen dort sehr viel zu
wünschen übrig. Ich staune, daß du eine solche
Wirtschaft nur mit einem Knecht beherrschen kannst
hier wäre daß unmögliche, ein Glück ist es, daß
du zu diener Stutze einen so braven Sohn hast

[Pg. 3]

Wie viele Kinder hast du? und was sind sie alle?
hoffentlich geht es allen gut was ist der Mathias?___
der ist schon über 70 Jahre alt, ist er verheiratet, hat
er Kinder? Wier sind Kinderlos, ein Mädchen haben
wier gehabt, diese hat auch Julia geheisen, ist uns mit
6 Jahre an der Tifteritis / schwere halskrankheit/
gestorben var ganz gesund unter 3 Tagen,
darüber sind vier heute noch trostlos.
Ich besitze jetzt im Südböhmen kohlenfelder, für welche ich
in Verkaufs=Verhandlungen stehe_ kommt dieser
Verkauf zu Stande, dann ziehe ich mich zurück den
Winter verbringen wier dann in Wien und den Sommer
auf dem Land. daß hängt jetzt von den Bedingungen
des Verkaufes ab.__ soviel kann ich dir sagen, daß
man sich hier auch viel durchmacht. Ich war 4 Jahre in
Verona, Italian als Verpfligs=Bäckermeister, später in
Linz, und Salzburg, und seit 1884 in Wien.

du bist schon so lange Witwe von wo ist dein Mann
gebürtig gewesen? die Fotografie von uns liebe
Julia bekommst du später wier haben jetzt nur solche
aus früherer Zeit wier lassen uns neu aufnehmen.
Ich und meine Frau wünschen dir und deinen Kindern
recht glückliche Weihnachtsfeiertage und ein glückliches
Neues=Jahr daß du recht lange in Gesundheit
und Frieden am Leben erhalten bleibst.

[Pg. 4]

dasselbe wünschen ich und meine Frau den
übrigen Verwandten. Ehe ich schliesse entschuldige
liebe Julia, daß ich deinen liebe Brief so lange
nicht beantwortet habe, weil ich mit der Adresse
an dich in unklaren war, erst der Josef hat mir
diese geschrieben.
In der Erwartung, daß du uns liebe Juli recht blad
wieder viel von dier und den deinen und von dort
vo du bist, shcreibst, begrüßen ich und meine Frau
dich recht herzlich, ebenso deine Kinder, als
dein Vetter
Mich. Haherfellner

Meine Frau last dich vielmals grüssen, und sie wir
dir selbst einmal schreiben

[Envelope:]

Wohlgeboren

Frau Julie Diehl

Spring Green, Wis.

Nord=Amerika

[Translation:]

Vienna, the 11th of December, 1906

Dear July!

I received your extremely dear to me letter with
great joy and send you greetings and wishes
that you enjoy the friendly words. Can you

believe that it is almost 60 years that we have known nothing more particular about each other. And now only where we are old and through a coincidence did we find each other again. I remember very well you and your parents, and Johann and Mathias. Joseph, who is so agreeable and writes me often, I didn't know here. I also remember Michael Hehenberger, the brother of your and my father. What all have you lived through there in America? ------ and us here! -------- there would be a lot on both sides to tell. ---- As far as I know, here I am the only descendant of the Hehenbergers, all of the others are already dead. In the number of years where we are, it lightens up already (there become less), only very few become so old __ even I am very gray already. I am 69 years old, but still quite content with my health.

[Pg. 2]

You have no idea what joy I and my wife have had with your picture. I think you would get along very well with my wife. She is from Wels and knows a lot about agriculture. She has also raised many chickens, and she's completely in love with you. She speaks so often of you and always says, "If only Julia were nearer, so that I could speak with her." Do you ever have longing to come here to your old homeland?--- Come here to us and your old, beautiful homeland. We warmly invite you and would heartily welcome you. You have invited me to come to you, which sincerely gives me joy, and I think you very much for it. Unfortunately, it is impossible, that I would travel to America at this age. It is, for me, a foreign land and the climate is not supposed to be favorable, because so many families are coming back again because the climate there is not good for them. The weather here is agreeable, it is only as cold as 34 degrees Fahrenheit. And the safety affairs are not very good there. I can't believe that you can run such a farm with only one farmhand. That would be impossible here, but it is lucky, that you have such a good son.

[Pg. 3]

How many children do you have? And what are they all?

Hopefully they are all doing well. What is Mathias? He is already older than 70. Is he married? Does he have children? We are childless. We had a girl, her name was also Julia, but she died at age 6 with diphtheria (a bad throat sickness) She was very healthy and 3 days later, died. We are still inconsolable about it. I own some coal fields in South Bohemia (Czech Republic) for which I am currently in sales negotiations. If this sales comes through, then I will pull myself out of business. In the winter, we will stay in Vienna and in the summer we'll live in the country. But that is all dependent on the sale. --- this much I can tell you, that we too have made it through a lot here. I was in Verona, Italy for 4 years as a mandatory master baker, then in Linz, and Salzburg, and since 1884 in Vienna.
You have been a widower for a long time. Where is your husband originally from? The photograph of us, dear Julia, will be sent to you later. We only have pictures from earlier days. We'll have a new one taken.
My wife and I wish you and your children a very merry Christmas celebration and a happy New Year, that you may long remain healthy and live peacefully.

[Pg. 4]

My wife and I wish the same to the rest of your relations. Before I close, I apologize, dear Julia, that I didn't answer your letter for so long, because I was unsure of the address until Josef sent it to me.
In expectation that you, dear Juli, will write a lot to us again soon, of you and yours and from there where you are, my wife and I send you heartfelt greetings, also to your children.

your Cousin
Mich. Haherfellner

My wife sends many greetings and that she will write you herself sometime.

[Envelope:]

Esquire

Mrs. Julie Diehl

Spring Green, WI
North America

9. Michael Haherfellner to Julie Diehl, January 16, 1907

Wien den 16. Jänner 1907
Liebe Juli!
deinen mir und meiner Frau so überaus vertvullen
lieben Brief, mit der schönen Gratulationskarte und den
guten Wünschen zu den Weihnachten und Neuen Jahr mit
herzlicher Freude und dank erhalten. Dieser hat sich mit meinen
Brief gekreuzt, ich hoffe daß dieser mein Brief in deinen Besitz
sich befindet? Aus deiner Schreiben entnehme ich daß du vegen
den Leuten viel Kümmer hast die Arbeitsleute dort,
scheinen sehr schwer zu bekommen sein und dann so anspruchs-
voll dass es fast nicht zu erschwingen ist, es muß schrecklich
schwer sein, dort eine Landwirtschule zu führen? daß könnte
ich nicht verbrengen. Er ist bei uns hier auch schon ganz
anders als früher die Leute sind jetzt auch besser bezahlt
als einstens aber noch immer nicht überzahlt. __ zudem steht
man auf Niemanden wenn einer nicht bleiben will macht
es nichts, man bekommt leicht Ersatz dafür, und venn man
die Leute gut hält bleiben sie gerne. Wie groß ist denn
dein Besitz nach österreichischen Joch?

[Pg. 2]

du scheinst dich dort noch immer viel zu plugen
daß sollst du nicht mit diese Jahre wie wir sie haben
heißt es sich pflegen wir lange nach 5-10 höchstens
15 Jahre, daß wir noch leben dann ist es aus!
Meine Bekannten sind alle todt auch meine Freunde,
der letzte intime Freund, ein grßer Geschäftsmann.
er hat den größten Wein Export nach Amerika gehabt.
<u>ist mir</u> vor einigen Jahren gestorben in der Scharten
haben wir gar Niemand mehr. der Pfarrer Ringe vehler
[entire line indecipherable]
gestorben. und jetzt kann man nicht in die Scharten
fahren um sichs anzusehen, wie es früher war und wie es
jetzt ist.—am besten ist es im Frühjahr wenn die Bäumen
blühn da ist es herrlich im ganzer Blumengarten und
dieser <u>angenehme Duft</u>, schön, ja viel schöner ist es, als
vor 60 Jahren. Wir sind jetzt schon gewohnt in Wien zu
leben Wien ist die schönste und gesündeste Stadt der Welt.
Du hast Recht aus unseren Heimath geht Niemand nach
Amerika und von hier auch Niemand, und wenn schon

Mancher hin ist, kommt er gerne wieder zurück. Ich glaube es dir gerne liebe Juli daß in dir manchmal die Sehnsucht erwacht nach dieser schönen Heimath. Du hast ja doch schon mehr Begriff gehabt davon als Ihr ausgewandert seit.

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ob du Wels in deiner Jugend gesehen hast, weiß ich nicht diese Stadt ist gar nicht mehr zu kennen, so schön ist sie ver= baut. Wenn du allein wärst und keine Kinder hättest so würde ich sagen, komme her und bleibe hier, verbringe den Abend deines Lebens hier in deiner alten, schönen gesunden Heimath mit uns. Wir haben am Sylvester Abend auf dein und deiner Kinder "Wohl! ein gutes Glas Wein getrunken und dich sowie deine Familie "hoch Leben" lassen. Wir sprechen fast jeden Tag von dir besonders Abends wenn wir so traulich beim Abendessen beisammen sitzen. Jedes Jahr im Sommer kommen Amerikaner Alte und Junge nach Wien da fahren sie 4 Spännig durch die Stadt auch mit anderen Wägen auf den Bock der Kutscher, velcher schön und luftig <u>blasen</u> thut du heisst es, er! dass sind wieder Amerikaner, haben auf den Wägen, und im Hotel wo sie wohnen ihre Fahne, Flagge ausgesteckt. Es freut mich sehr dass deine Kinder mir gerne schreiben möchten, aber sie können nicht deutsch und ich kann weder englich sprechen noch lesen. du schreibst 3 mal in der Woche kommt die Post! in Wien kommt die Post 5 mal täglich ins Haus. Deine Schrift liebe Juli ist schön noch ganz jugendlich und noch eine Errinnerung an die Scharten wenn ich nicht irre, bist du zu Herrn Trautenberger in die Schule gegangen

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welcher in der Schule meistens den braunen Hund bei sich gehabt hat, kannst dich noch vieleicht daran erinnern? In der Erwartung daß dich mein Schreiben in bester Gesundheit antrifft und du uns mit einen lieben Schreiben wieder recht bald erfreust begrüße ich <u>dich</u> und deiner Kinder recht herzlich ebenso die herzlichsten Grüße an dich und deine Kinder von meiner Frau.

dein Cousin
Michael Haherfellner

abgeschickt den 18. Jänner 1907.

[Translation; line numbers do not match original]

Vienna, the 16th of January 1907

Dear Juli!

We joyfully received your letter which is so precious to my wife and I, including the congratulatory card and the warm wishes for Christmas and the New Year. This must have crossed with my letter. I hope that my letter has found its way to you? From your letter, I see that you have many worries because of the farmhands there. They appear to be very difficult to get and very challenging so that it is almost not possible to afford them. It must be terrible difficult to run a farm there? I could not do it. Here it is very different than it used to be. The people here are also more well paid than they once were, but not paid too much. And also, no one cares about another. When one doesn't want to stay, it doesn't matter, you can easily find a replacement. And when you can pay the people well, they will gladly stay. How big is your farm there according to Austrian measure?

[Pg. 2]

You seem to do a lot of plowing there yet. You shouldn't do that at our age. As we have done, it is taking care of oneself for another 5-10, at most 15 years, that we will live, then we are done! My acquaintances are all dead and so are my friends. The last close friend I had, a great businessman. He had the largest wine export to America. But he died on me a few years back. In the town there is no one else. Pastor Ringe was [entire line indecipherable] died and now you can't drive into the town to see it, as it was before and how it is now— it's the best in the spring when the trees bloom. Then it is lovely in the whole flower garden and this enjoyable smell is beautiful, much more beautiful than it was 60 years ago. We are now quite used to living in Vienna. Vienna is the most beautiful and healthiest city in the world.

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I don't know if you have been to Wels in your youth, but this city is no longer recognizable. She's been so beautifully built up. If you were alone and didn't have any children, I would say that you should come here and stay and have the time of your life in your old, beautiful, healthy homeland with us. For New Years Eve we raised a glass to you and your children and your family and wished you well. We talk about you almost every day, especially evenings when we are together for dinner.

Every year in the summer, many Americans, old and young, come to Vienna. They drive four-in-hand through the city and with other wagons on the box of the coach, which blows beautiful and airy and then you know! There are Americans again, they have flags on their wagons and hanging from their hotels where they stay. It makes me happy that your children would like to

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who often had the brown dog with him in school. Can you maybe remember that?
In the expectation that my letter will reach you in the best health and that you will please us with another letter very soon, I send very warm greetings to you and your children, and the warmest of greetings to you and your children from my wife as well.

your Cousin
Michael Haherfellner

sent the 18th of January 1907

10. Michael Haherfellner's wife to Julie Diehl, January 16, 1907

Wien d. 16. 1. 1907
Liebe Frau Tante!
In deinen Schreiben
habe ich ersehen daß du
mit mir bekant sein wilst
doch brieflih, daßelbe auch ich
fürs erste verzeih mein
Du wort, ich hofe daß wir
gute friend bleiben bis
in Tod.
Liebe Tante dein Bild hat
uns so erfreit, sehe dich
./.

[Pg. 2]

so oft an, habe dich gleich
so lieb gehabt, ich glaube
wir würden uns sehr gut
vertehen wen wir Näher
währen. Schade daß liebe
Tante so weit fort bist,
ein großes Opfer hast du
deiner Eltern u Gaschwister
gebracht, nach meiner
Meinung hätest du daß
Glük auch hier Erreicht
wie in Amerika.

./.

[Pg. 3]

Daß Sprichwort sagt Nähre
dich redlich u bleibe in
deinen Heim[94]. (Glück) ist doch
alles Bestümung u Gott
weiß uns überall.
Liebe Tante uns get es gut
nur sind wir allein, unser
Kind ist Tot, was dir mein
Mann schon geschriben hat
hat auch Julianna geheisen
bin oft noch recht traurig
darüber. ___ Wir sind auch schon
alt, mein Mann in 37 u ich
in 38 Jahr geboren.

./.

[Pg. 4]

[Page 4 missing]

Envelope:

Wolgebaren

Frau Julie Diehl
Spring Green, Wisconsin
Nord Amerika

[Translation:]

Vienna, the 16th of January, 1907

Dear Mrs. Aunt!

In your letter
I have seen that you
would liked to be
acquainted with me
but by letter, the same
I would also like.

[94] She's quoting part of Psalm 37 "bleibe im Lande und nähre dich redlich", in a literal sense, expressing that the writer thinks the addressee should not have left her home. This does not exactly translate to the English version, but "dwell in the land and enjoy safe pasture", is what is alluded to.

For the first, excuse
my “you” (informal” word,
I hope that we will
be good friends
until dealth.
Dear Aunt, your picture has
made me so joyful, I look at it

[Pg. 2]

very often. I liked you
very much right away. I think
we would get along
very well if we were
closer. It’s too bad, dear
aunt, that you are so far away.
You brought you parents
and siblings a great
sacrifice, and in my opinion
you would have also
found your luck here as
in America.

[Pg. 3]

The sayings goes, “feed yourself
honestly, and stay in your home”. Luck is all
determination and God knows us
above all else.
Dear aunt, we are doing well,
our child is dead, which my husband
already wrote to you. She was also
called Julianna. I am still often
very sad about it. We are also
already old. My husband was born in
[18]37 and I in [18]38.

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[Page 4 missing]

[Envelope:]
Esquire
Mrs. Julie Diehl
Spring Green, Wisconsin
North America

11. Michael Haherfellner to Julie Diehl, May 1, 1907

Wien, den 1. Mai 1907

Liebe Julie!

Deinen lieben langen und ausführlichen Brief haben wir mit großer Freude erhalten. Entschuldige, daß ich dir, diesen so lange nicht beantwortet habe, die Ursache war verscheidener Art, die viele Arbeit in Abwicklung meiner Kohlenfelder dann war meine Frau wieder sehr krank und so manches Andere.
Also du hast meinen Brief zu Weihnachten erhalten worüber du und deine kieben Kinder so erfreut gewesen seid, daß freut uns sehr. Du bist eine recht glückliche Mutter, deine Kinder scheinen dich sehr zu lieben daß muß dir Freude machen wie ich aus deinen Schreiben entnehme seid Ihr dort alle zusammen eine große, glückliche Familie? daß muß Euch das Leben angenehm machen. In so einem guten Einvernehmen im fremden Land zu leben, ersetzt dir einen großen Teil deiner Heimath. dir liebe Julie geht es also sehr gut daß ist angenehm zu hören und freut uns wirklich wenn du trotzdem öfter traurig bist, liebe Julie so begreifen wir auch dieses und wir glauben die Ursache zu erraten. es sind die Erinnerungen an deinen lieben, guten Mann, nicht wahr? die werden recht oft wach-

[Pg. 2]

umsomehr, da er für dich und deinen Kindern so ein guter Mann und Vater war daß du sagen konntest Ihr ward die Glücklichsten, daß können wenig Leute sagen. der Name “Bismark” in Deutschland, wird dir auch bekannt sein, dieser hat das deutsche Reich gegründet, hat es von Nichts, bis zum Fürsten gebracht er würde von einer hohen Persönlichkeit über sein Glück befragt da sagte er, er habe im Leben nur 3 glückliche Stunden gehabt. Es geht also deinen kindern auch recht gut, diese haben eine Käserei? daß muß sich gut rentieren. Und mit dem kleinen Flachs= köpfchen, Eueren Liebling habt Ihr alle eine große Freude daß glaube ich gerne wir freuen uns schon auf ihre Fotografie Unsere Fotografie bekommst du später. Du hast schon eine große Farm 240 Acker! ein Acker ist etwas kleiner als bei uns ein Joch ist—bei uns sind weniger Landwirthe welche einen so großen Besitz haben dann ist das Erträgniss klein=

weil hier ganz anders gearbeitet wird-dazu sind auch hier die Arbeistleute shon zu theuer und nur acht Stunden Arbeits= zeit. mir ist daß ganz Fremd, mit so wenig Leute einen so großem Besitz zu beherrschen, die Maschinen müßen ja noch bedient werden. Ihr seit dort sehr viele Hehenberger und Diehl, könntet blad einen ganzen Staat gründen! Ich möchte Euch alle gerne besuchen, und mir deinen großen Besitz besichtigen aber das große Hoffen sollte nicht sein__oder ich um 30 Jahren jünger! hier weiß ich nur den einen Vetter

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Hehenberger in der Scharten der Gemeinde Sekretär war mit diesen habe ich verkehrt leider ist auch dieser gestorben mein Bruder war Kränklich ist vor cirka 30 Jahre fort, seither weiß ich nichts auf jedenfall, auch todt. Weisst du liebe Julie die Adresse noch von dem Haus wo Ihr gewohnt habt? __ ich kann mich nicht mehr erinnern und den Mädchennamen von deiner Mutter? wann ich dieses weiß und nach Wels komme würde ich in die Scharten fahren und mich noch näher erkündigen ob noch Hehenberger und noch Verwandte von deiner Mutter dort leben. Den Mathias geht es dort auch gut den Kindern von Michael auch, daß ist wirklich sehr erfreulich. Wenn du hier geblieben wärst, würdest du auch keine Taglöhnersfrau sein wie viele weiß ich daß sie wenig oder nichts gehabt haben und haben veiche Grundbesitzer und Müllner geheiratet daßelbe hätte auch bei dir der Fall sein können alles ist Zufall und Glück. Es ist hier heute auch ganz anders. mehr Steuern größere Arbeitslöhn aber sonst ist alles gut geregelt und überall alles verschönert. Wegen zwei Schweizer habe ich mich ungesehen, diese sind hier vas die verläßlichen sind in den Meierhöfen der Klöster bei den großen Herrschaften und einzelnen großen bauernhöfen angestellt sind sehr gut gehalten und bezahlt die gehn nicht nach Amerika. Es gehen nur Ungarn, Croaten, viele suchen sich davon in Amerika Geld zu verdienen dann kommen sie wieder zurück von deisen ist aber Niemand anzuempfehlen sie sind faul und unverläßlich, solche Leute könnte ich dir nicht anrathen! __ hätte ich noch

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Besitzungen so würde ich zwei solche Schweizer gut aus= grabieren und wenn ich zu ihrer Tüchtigkeit überzeugt wäre, sie die dann schicken leider habe ich keinen Besitz mehr, will mir auch keinen mehr nehmen, habe viele Geschäfte und Besitzungen gehabt, auch sehr viele Sorgen wenn ich meine Sachen jetzt abge= wickelt habe, will ich dann Ruhe haben. Es tut mir sehr leid, daß

ich dir diesen Diesnt, einen tüchtigen Schweizer zu schicken, nicht
erweisen kann, wie gerne möchte ich dir es thun. Für deine Briefe
liebe Julie bezahle ich nichts, ich hoffe daß auch meine Briefe richtig
markirt sind, und daß auch du nichts dafür nachzuzahlen hast
bitte schreibe mir auch darüber! ja! hier vird ein Brief nach
Amerika auf den Post gewogen und nach dem gevicht ist dann
zuzahlen. Wein habt Ihr auch einen guten, ja? Hier haben vir
sehr guten Wein, Grinzinger Nahsberger Gumpoldskirchner,
Vöslauer, Pfaffstättner und andere, diese Weine sind berühmt aber
auch sehr guten Äpfelmost. In Linz war jetzt eine Kost=Aus=
stellung nur für Most- von der Scharten, Efferding, St. Florian
sind viele ausgezeichnet vorden, wegen ihren guten Most. __
habt Ihr dort keinen Apfelmost? der ist so gesund daß er hier
von der, Ärzten den kranken verschreiben wird. Wir haben in der
Zeitung gelesen, daß in Amerika heuer ausnahmsveise, die
Hühner so viele Eier gelegt haben, wie noch nie diese wurden
nach New=York geschickt! –daß wird dir eine Freude gemacht haben
bei uns sind die Eier viel theuerer wie bei Euch, 35 Stück kosten einen
Gulden! __Hast du alle deine Shweine gut verkauft! ja

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habt Ihr heuer auch so ein schlechter Frühjahr? vir haben fortgesetzt
kaltes Wetter und Regen, im Geberige sogar noch Schneefülle, und
so zwar, dass in manchen Gegenden der Verkehr stockt! __ und fur[cht]
bare Überschwemmungen, auch Stürme die Telegrafenverbind[ung]
Wien-Triest muss unterbleiben im Salzburg stürmt und schne[it]
es wie mitten im Winter, das Wetter hat schon großen Schaden ang[e]
richtet, auch die Feldfrüchte und Obstbäume sind in Gefahr, Ober=
österreich ist auch von diesen Wetter betroffen, die Obstbäume leiden es
wäre dies ein großer Schaden Für die Mostgevinnung, den bekann[t]
ist der Oberösterreichische Most der Beste! das wird wieder eine Theuerung
in den Lebensmitteln machen! du hast vieleicht im eueren Zeitungen
gelesen, das der Weiner-Männer-Gesang-Verein= bestehend aus
300 herrn und 40 Frauen sich auf der Reise nach Amerika befinden!
in New-York im Hotel "Rojal" vohnen sie! die Amerikaner freuen,
schon sehr auf die "deutschen Wiener Sänger" die drüben auf das herzlichs[t]
empfangen verden! diese sind um 21. April hier veg, und sind derzeit au[f]
hoher See! auf dem großen Atlandische Ocean! venn sie nur gutes
Wetter haben keine Stürme! hast du weit nach New-York?
Nun schliesse ich und hofen und vünschen, das dich und alle
deine Lieben, mein brief in bester Gesundheit antreffen
wird. Vas mich betrifft, geht es noch mit meiner Gesundheit
aber bei meiner Frau, vill es gar nicht mehr gut verden. Mit recht
herzlichen Grüßen an dich und deine Kinder so auch an der klein[e]
muntere Flachsköpfchen dein Vetter

Mich Haherfellner

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sich meinen Grüßen in herzlicher Veise an, es hat sie
sehr gefreut, daß du ihr separat geschrieben hast sie
wird dir auch schreiben wenn sie sich mehr erholt hast._
Zum Schlusse vünschen wir dir und
allen den deinen Fröhliche Pfingstfeiertage!
Onkel Georg ist schon lange todt und von seinen
Söhnen weiß ich nichts!_ Es grüßt dich nochmals recht
herzlich dein Cousin
Michael Haherfeller

[Translation; no line numbers]

Vienna, the 1st of May 1907

Dear Julie!

We joyously received our dear, long and detailed letter. Please excuse that I did not answer it for so long. There were many causes of different kinds, the much work in relation to finishing up the sale of my coal fields and then my wife was very sick again and a couple of other things.
So you received my letter from Christmas and you and your children were happy about it. That gives us joy. You are quite a happy mother, you children seem to love you a lot and that must make you happy. As I see from you letter you must all be a big happy family? That must make your lives comfortable. To live in such comfortable situation in a foreign land must replace a large part of your homeland. You, dear Julie, are doing well and that is good to hear and we are very happy about it, even if you are often sad, dear Julie, we understand and suppose we know the reason. It is the memories of your dear, good husband, isn't it? The memories come up often.

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even more so, because he was such a good husband to you and father to your children. You can say that you were the happiest, which only few can say.
The name "Bismark" in Germany, which will also be known to you, this man founded the empire, came from nothing and took himself to ruler. He was asked by a noble person about his luck and he said he had only had three lucky hours. So your children are doing quite well, they have a cheese factory?

[95] This page feels very out of place. It starts as if it were a continuation from another letter, but the date fits—Whitsunday 1907 would've been mid June, so perhaps it's just an unusual start to this page.

That must be very profitable. And with the little towhead, your favorite, you much all have much joy. I gladly believe that. We are very happy about your picture. You'll get our picture later. Your farm is a big 240 acre farm! An acre is a bit smaller than our measurement is, but there are few farmers by us who could have such a large farm and which would make a profit, because here the work is much different. The farms hands are too expensive and only an eight hour work day. That is very strange to me, to have such a large farm with so few people, the machines even have to be taken care of. There are many of you Hehenbergers and Diehls there, soon you'll be able to found your own town! I would love to visit you all, and to see your big farm, but that great hope will not be—or if I were 30 years younger! Here I only know the one cousin

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Hehenberger in the town, he was the community secretary and I spent time with him, but he is unfortunately also dead. My brother was very sickly and has been gone about 30 years, since then I don't know anything about him, but he's certainly also dead. Do you still know, dear Julie, the address from where you used to live? I can't remember it. And the maiden name of your mother? If I knew this, and went to Wels then I would ask around if there were still Hehenberger or relatives of your mother living there. Mathias is doing well there and the children of Michael also, which is very happy. If you had stayed here, then you also wouldn't be the wife of a day laborer like so many I know who have little or nothing, but many also married land owners and millers, which I think could have been the case for you. It is all chance and luck. Today things are all different here. There are more taxes and more pay, but otherwise everything is well regulated and everything has been improved everywhere. About two Swiss, I looked around, but the ones around here that are dependable are employed in the dairy farms and cloisters by the large land owners and the large farms. They are well paid and they won't go to America. The only ones going to America are Hungarians and Croatians. Many search for their luck earning money in America and then they come back again. But of these, there are none to be recommended, they are lazy and undependable. I could never suggest such people to you! If I still had

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properties then I would dig up two good Swiss, and when I was convinced of their efficiency, then I would send them, but unfortunately I have no property anymore, and I don't want to get any. I've had many business and properties, but also many worries and when my things are finished off, then I want my peace and quiet. I'm very sorry that I can't do this service for you, to send you a dependable Swiss, but I would do it so gladly. For your letters, dear Julie, I pay nothing, I hope also that my letters to you are correctly marked and that you don't have to pay anything to receive them. Please let me know! Yes! Here, when a letter is sent to America, it is weighed at the post office and then you pay according to the weight. Do you have a good wine? We have very good wine here, Grinzinger, Nahsberger, Gumpoldskirchner, Vöslauer, Pfaffstättner and others. These wines are famous, but we also have a very good apple cider. There was a food fair for only for cider from our town (Scharten), Efferding, St. Florian, many were distinguished

because of their good cider. Do you have apple cider there? It's so healthy that here the doctors prescribe it to the sick. We read in the newspaper that in America this year, as an expection, the chickens laid so many eggs, like never before, and they were sent to New York! I bet that made you happy. Here eggs are much more expensive than by you. 35 cost a Gulden! Did you sell all of your pigs? yes?

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Did you also have such a terrible spring? We have continuous cold weather and rain. In the mountains there are even still snowfalls and such that in some areas traffic stops! and terrible floods and even storms. The telegraph connection Vienna-Triest has stopped. In Salzburg it is storming and snowing like the middle of winter. The weather has already done great damage, also the field fruits and fruit trees are in danger, Upper Austria is also hit by this weather. The fruit trees are suffering and this would be terrible for the cider production, then it is well known that Upper Austrian cider is the best! It will make food more expensive! You maybe read in your newspapers that the Vienna Men's Choir, consisting of 300 men and 40 women is on a trip to America! They are staying in New York in the hotel "Royal". The Americans are excited that the "German Vienna Singers" will be received there. They left here on April 21st and are on high seas at this time! On the great Atlantic Ocean! If only they have good weather and no storms! Is it far from you to New York?

I'll close for now and hope and wish that you and all of your dear ones will receive this letter in the best of health. My health is still ok, but that of my wife is not good and doesn't want to get better. With many heartfelt greetings to you and your children and also the little, cheerful towhead. your Cousin

Mich Haherfellner

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my greetings in heartfelt manner, she was very happy that you wrote to her separately. She will write you more when she is feeling better.

Finally, we wish you and all of yours a happy Whitsunday/Pentecost celebration! Uncle Georg has been dead a long time and I know noting of his sons. Warm greetings to you! you Cousin

Michael Haherfeller

5. Turn Collection, published in "A Turn of the Century Courtship: Mom and Dad's Letters", edited by Ann Marie Godfrey and Leone Hoffman, 1998.

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70. Mary Heidtmann to William Hoffman, October 16, 1901
71. Alwina Schlegel to Mary Heidtmann, October 21, 1901
72. Anna Wallschlaeger to Mary Heidtmann, October 25, 1901
73. William Hoffman to Mary Heidtmann, October 27, 1901
74. Alwina Schlegel to Mary Heidtmann, October 31, 1901
75. William Hoffman to Mary Heidtmann, November 6, 1901
76. Mary Heidtmann to William Hoffman, November 8, 1901
77. Mary Heidtmann to William Hoffman, November 14, 1901
78. Mary Heidtmann to William Hoffman, November 23, 1901
79. Mary Heidtmann to William Hoffman, November 27, 1901
80. Mary Heidtmann to William Hoffman, December 6, 1901
81. Alwina Schlegel to Mary Heidtmann, December 12, 1901
82. Alwina Schlegel to Mary Heidtmann, December 17, 1901
83. Mother to Mary Heidtmann, December 18, 1901
84. Freada to Mary Heidtmann, December 18, 1901
85. Freada to William Hoffman, December 18, 1901
86. Mary Heidtmann to William Hoffman, December 19, 1901
87. William Hoffman to Mary Heidtmann, December 20, 1901
88. Freada to Mary Heidtmann, December 21, 1901
89. Mother to Mary Heidtmann, December 21, 1901
90. Walter Heidtmann to Mary Heidtmann, 1901
91. Mother to Mary Heidtmann and William Hoffman, November 10, 1906
92. Ernest Heidtmann to Mary Heidtmann and William Hoffman, April 28, 1907
93. Mother to Marie, April 28 1907
94. Emma to Mary Heidtmann and William Hoffman, May 20, 1907
95. Mother to Mary Heidtmann and William Hoffman, December 2, 1907
96. Freada to Mary Heidtmann, November 10, 1908

97. F.K. to Mary Heidtmann, December 19, 1908
98. Freada to Mary Heidtmann, December 19, 1910
99. Freada to Mary Heidtmann, January 5, 1910
100. Brother and sister to William Hoffman, January 6, 1910
101. S. W. Heidtmann to brother & sister-in-law, Ju/31/xx

Appendix 2: Biographies and individual data

Written collections are in alphabetical order. Audio collections are chronologic then alphabetically arranged; first recordings from the 1940s, then 2013.

This appendix has two sections. The first is a compilation of brief biographies for each speaker/author/collection collector. The second section is individual data for each speaker/author. Numbers of speakers/authors aligned chronologically according to the date of their source data.

1. Individual brief biographies by collection, kinship charts for each written source collection

1. Written collections
    a. Goth
    b. Krueger
    c. Lomira
    d. OFTHS
    e. Turn

Each written collection's biographies are followed by recreated kinship charts which show the relationship between authors of and other mentioned in the collection. Names in bold are authors in the collection. Names with a star are central figures in the collection, either the collector or the recipient of the bulk of the documents.

2. Audio collections
    a. Seifert Collection
    b. Stratman-Thomas Collection
    c. Litty-Evans Collection

Goth Collection

1. **Johann Soltow**, friend of Carl Goth. Living in Chicago in 1867. Also familiar with Carl's son, Wilhelm and someone named Beckman. Works in a factory where train cars are made.

2. **Friedrich Schmalfuß**, friend of Carl Goth, living in Nebraska City in 1869. Just traveled from Wisconsin to Nebraska. Is a farmer. Has a young daughter named Emma and sons named Fritz and August. August works as a cowboy, herding cows. Bought a 36-acre farm all the necessary tools/supplies from a German who is moving back to Missouri.

3. **Charles Stolte,** also known as C.H., Charley, and Carl. Born Nov 1857 in Middleton, WI to Sophie Stolte Goth and John Stolte (d. 1859). Farmer. Lived in Middleton and Reedsburg, WI; Elmore, MN. Married May Bailey Feb 24, 1881 in Middleton. Wrote in both German and English. Census records tell he had at least 3 children: Elma Elisha, Walter Ray, Barbara S. Stolte Matthews.

4. **William J. Stolte**, born in Mecklenburg, Germany in Dec 1850 to Sophie and John (Johann) Stolte (d. 1859). Worked as a carpenter and farm implement salesman. Lived in Reedsburg and Sparta, WI. Died May 8, 1925 in Blue Earth Co., MN. Married to Georgiana Bailey (sister of May) Nov 28, 1876. Children: George and Albert.
5. **May Bailey Stolte**, born May 29, 1861 in Wisconsin to Elisha Bailey (b. 1820 in NY) and Barbara Ann (b. 1833 in Ohio). Married to Charles "Carl" Stolte, Feb. 24, 1881. Lived in Elmore, MN. Sister of Georgiana Bailey, wife of William J. Stolte.

6. **Max End,** pastor, lives in Campbell Hill, IL. Married to Theona Goth. Pastor at St. John's Lutheran Church 1887-1890. Writes letters to his father in law, several revolve around problems with Pastor E(rnst F.). Scherbel of the First German Evangelical Lutheran Church in Middleton.

7. **Theona Goth End,** married to Rev. Max End in 1887. Lived in Campbell Hill, IL. Born July 26, 1866 in Middleton, WI to Carl Goth and Sophia Stolte Goth. Mother of Hortensia and Lorenz. Hortensia died in infancy. Died Sept 3, 1939.

8. **W.J. Wittenburg,** secretary for the First German Evangelical Lutheran Church in Middleton. Corresponds with Carl Goth in regards to Rev. Max End and issues with Pastor E. Scherbel.

9. **Sophie Goth,** nee Dorothee Sophia Catherine Leuth. Born Nov. 26, 1825 in Mecklenburg. Married John (Johann) Stolte (d.1859). Immigrated to US in 1854. Married Carl Goth in 1860. Lived in Middleton, WI. Children: Wilhelm (b. 1851), August (b. Dec 14, 1854), Charles (b. 1857), Frank/Franz Carl (b. May 30, 1860), Fritz W. (b. Jan 1862), Theona (b. July 26, 1866), Sophie M. (b. 1868), Martin C. (b. Aug. 30, 1871). According to 1900 Census does not speak English. Died Dec. 3, 1906.

10. **Johann Joachim "Carl" Goth,** born Sept 23, 1828 in Mecklenburg. Farmer. Immigrated to US in 1857. Married Sophie Stolte in 1860. Had ties to First German Evangelical Lutheran Church in Middleton. According to 1900 Census he does speak English. Died Jan 3, 1904.

11. **Maria Frederic,** acquaintance of Theona End. Writes from Jefferson, WI. German exhibits multiple vernacular features. Possibly Maria Sophia Fredricke Grant Goth, wife of Jürgen Christian Goth – uncle of Carl Goth.

12. **Mabel Olive Denu Goth,** born Aug 19, 1883 in Mazomanie, WI to John. A. Denu and Olive Wilmarth. Married Martin Goth Jan 1, 1906. Writes to Theona Goth.

13. **E. Hartmann,** friend of Theona End, from Campbell Hill, IL.

14. **Minnie Blumenthal Stolte,** niece of Theona End. Born Aug 1881. Writes from Schuyler, Nebraska. Step-daughter of August Stolte. Daughter of Carl Adolph Blumenthal and Wilhelmina Reinke.

15. **E. Sohn,** friend of Theona End from Elmore, MN.

16. **Barbara S. Stolte Matthews,** born June 22, 1896 to May Bailey and Charles "Carl" Stolte in Iowa. Married Luther E. Matthews. Lived in Elmore, MN. Died May 29, 1971. Corresponded with "Aunt" Theona.

Figure A2-1. Kinship chart of John Stolte and Sophie Stolte.

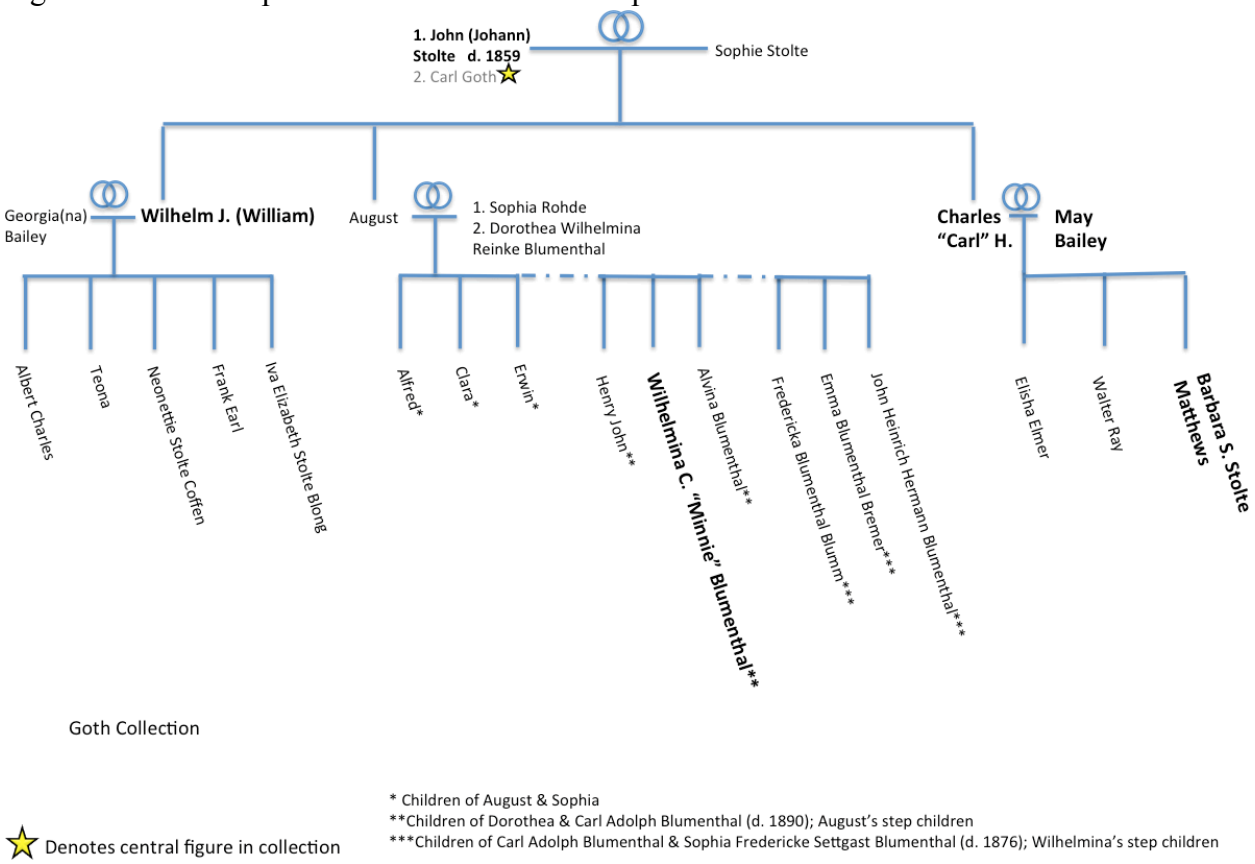
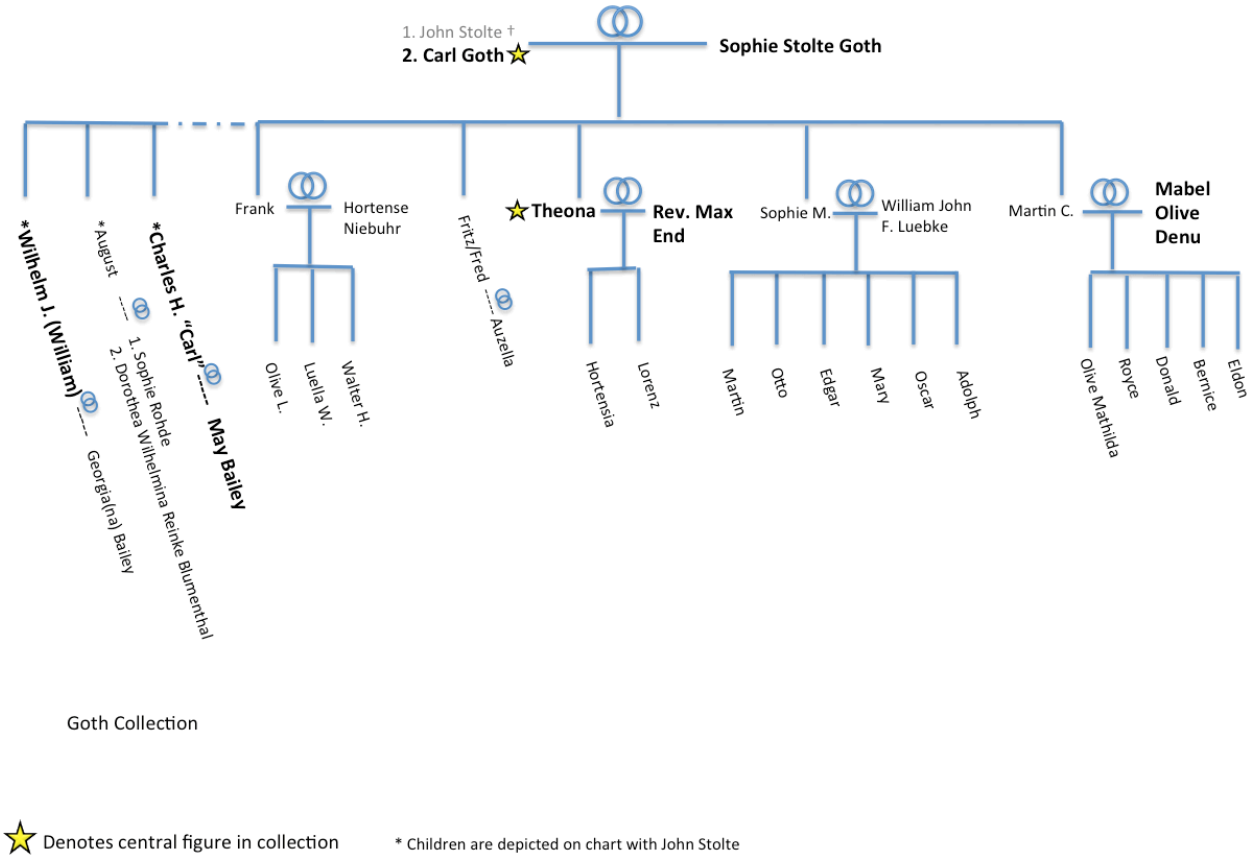


Figure A2-2. Kinship chart of Carl Goth and Sophie Stolte.

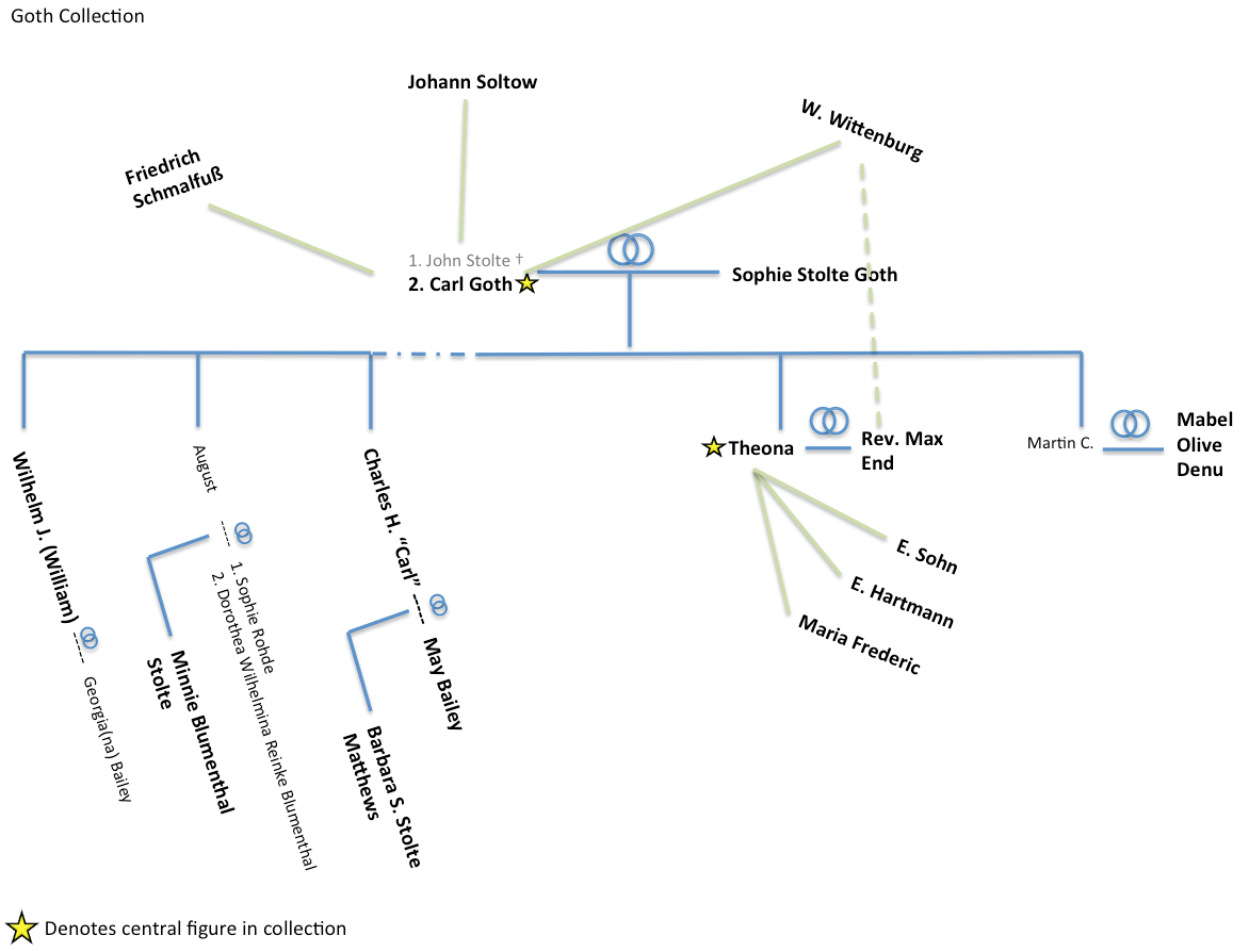


Goth Collection

★ Denotes central figure in collection

* Children are depicted on chart with John Stolte

Figure A2-3. Kinship chart of Carl Goth and Sophie Stolte with addition of non-familial authors.



Krueger Collection

1. **Ferdinand Volkmann,** born ca. 1850. Brother in law to August Krueger. Married to Lydia Goetsch. Lived in Prairie du Chien, WI and Chicago, IL. Died ca. 1894.

2. **Adolph Goetsch,** cousin of Alex K.

3. **Albert Krueger,** born 1859 in Dodge Co, WI to Wilhelmina (b. 1820 in Germany – d. 1870 Dodge Co.) and Wilhelm Krueger (b. Jan 4, 1819 in Pomerania – d. May 23 1908 in Dodge Co.). Worked as a carpenter. Father to Selma, uncle of Alex. Lived in Dodge Co.

4. **August Krueger,** born Sept. 13, 1845 in Germany to Wilhelmina (b. 1820 in Germany – d. 1870 Emmet, Dodge Co.) and Wilhelm Krueger (b. Jan 4, 1819 in Stargard, Pomerania – d. May 23 1908 in Dodge Co.). Came to US at age 5. Lived in Watertown, Juneau, Madison, WI. Attended college at UW-Madison. L1 German, L2 English. Writes in both languages. Worked as a farmer, ship hand and fisherman. Married Mary Goetsch Feb. 17, 1871. Died June 11, 1923.

5. **Dorothea Marie Charlotte Liermann Goetsch,** born Nov 11, 1819 in Germany to Miss Brumond and Fred Learman. Married to Wil. F. Goetsch, grandmother of Alex K. L1 German, unknown if also speaks English. Died Aug 30, 1899.

6. **Ernestina Elizabeth "Tina" Goetsch,** born December 1860 in Wisconsin to Charlotte and Wil. F. Goetsch, both of Prussia. Sister of Mary Goetsch. Aunt of Alex. Married Amil Biglalk ca. 1887. Lived in Juneau, WI, Florenceville, IA, Cresco, IA and Duluth, MN. Mother of Henry A., Josephine C., and Esther M.

7. **Herman Bentert,** born 1874 in Theresa, Dodge County, WI. Friend of Alex Krueger, brother of Isabella Bentert.

8. **Herman Götsch Goetsch,** born ca. 1851 to Charlotte and Wil. F. Goetsch. L1 German, L2 English. Lived in Dodge Co., but later (after 1905) in California.

9. **Ida Goetsch,** born Feb 16, 1872 in Watertown, WI to Emilge/Amelie Krueger (b. Dec. 28, 1847 in Germany) and Charles/Carl Goetsch (b. Sept 26, 1844 in WI; salesman). L1 German, L2 English. Worked as music teacher. Lived in Watertown. Died Jan 27, 1940.

10. **Isabella Bentert,** born 1872 in Theresa, Dodge County, WI. Friend of Alex Kreuger, sister of Herman Bentert.

11. **Mary Loock,** born Dec 11, 1874 in Emmet, Dodge Co., WI to Wilhelmina Schumacher (b. Sept 3, 1846 in Germany – d. Dec 27, 1914 in WI) and Friedrich Ernst Wilhelm "Fred" Loock (b. Oct 29, 1836 in Germany – d. March 2, 1910 in Dodge Co., WI). Paternal grandparents Sophia Charlotte Koepsell (b. 1800 in Greifenberg, Pomerania – d. 1886 in Dodge Co., WI) and Carl Bogislav (b. 1809 in Greifenberg, Pomerania – d. 1876 in Dodge Co., WI). Friend of Alex Krueger. Married John August Friedrich Brendemuehl in 1892. Children: Edna Mallow and Loretta Brendemuehl. Died in Watertown, WI July 22, 1965.

12. **Sarah Goetsch,** born Dec 22, 1868 in Watertown, Jefferson, Co. to Emilge/Amelie Krueger (b. Dec. 28, 1847 in Germany) and Charles/Carl Goetsch (b. Sept 26, 1844 in WI; salesman). Sister of Ida Goetsch and cousin of Alex K. Died Feb. 6, 1950.

13. **Ern(e)st Goetsch,** born in Wisconsin in Nov. 1858 to Charlotte and Wil. F. Goetsch. Uncle of Alex K. Married Anna Schumacher ca. 1887. Lived in Juneau, WI, Mukwonago, WI, and Cresco, IA. Father of Samuel, Adelia, Effie, Erna, and Modelia.

14. **Ida Buelke,** born March 1876 to Martha S. Goetsch (b. WI) and August Chas. F. Buelke (b. Germany, immigration year 1868). Cousin of Alex K. Married Henry F. Fischer Aug. 15, 1900. Children: Dorothy and Edith. Died ca. 1946.

15. **Wilhelm Frederich Götsch/ Wil. F. Goetsch,** born July 27, 1820 in Germany. Mother was Chr. Nass (b. Jan 2, 1782 in Poland – d. April 25, 1860 in Lebanon, WI). L1

German. Father in law of August Krueger. Married Charlotte Goetsch. Died May 12, 1902 in Oak Grove, Dodge Co., WI.

16. **Hannah Lena Goetsch Gericke,** born 1862 in WI to Charlotte and Wil. F. Goetsch. Aunt of Alex K. Married Ottto Gericke (b. 1860 in Germany). Lived in Cresco, IA. Children: Emma Louise and Florence L. Died Aug. 12, 1936 in Portland, Oregon.

17. **Sara(phena) Krueger,** born July 3, 1875 in Emmet, WI to Mary Goetsch (b. April 22, 1852 – d. July 17, 1922) and August Krueger (b. Sept 13, 1845 in Germany – d. June 11, 1923 in Emmet, WI). L1 German, L2 English. Lived and traveled in Juneau, WI, Watertown, WI, Florenceville, IA, East Troy, WI, and Cresco, IA. Married John Bhend.

18. **Henry (Heinrich) Krueger**, born 1861 in Dodge Co., WI to to Wilhelmina (b. 1820 in Germany – d. 1870 Dodge Co.) and Wilhelm Krueger (b. Jan 4, 1819 in Pomerania – d. May 23 1908 in Dodge Co.). Attended university and became a professor in Whitewater. Lived in Watertown. Married May Josephine Maxon (b. Feb 11, 1962 in Walworth Co. – d. 1930). Uncle of Alex K. Died in 1922.

19. **William E. Goetsch,** born ca. 1848 to Charlotte and Wil. F. Goetsch. Uncle of Alex. Married Bertha Krueger in 1872. Lived in Cresco, IA and Limesprings, IA. Died 1935.

20. **Susie Hasenfliker,** lived in Juneau, WI. Friend of Alex K.

21. **Albert Goetsch,** born July 19, 1864 in Emmet, Dodge Co., WI to Charlotte and Wil. F. Goetsch. Lived in Juneau. Married Mathilde "Tillie" Voth (b. 1865 – d. 1953). Had seven kids, including Florence Charlotte Goetsch Olson, Frank Albert, Inez May Goetsch Senneff, Anson Dewey, Elmer Allen, and Gilbert Arthur. Died unexpectedly from a horse kick July 5, 1921.

22. **Arthur Volkman,** son of Lydia Goetsch and Ferdinand Volkman. Cousin to Alex K. Lived and wrote from Evanston, IL; later Cresco, IA.

23. **Mary Volkman,** daughter of Lydia Goetsch and Ferdinand Volkman. Cousin to Alex K. Lived and wrote from Evanston, IL.

24. **August Ferdinand "Fred" Volkmann,** son of Lydia Goetsch and Ferdinand Volkmann. Cousin to Alex K. Lived and wrote from Evanston, IL; Chicago, IL, and Florenceville, IA.

25. **Arthur Goetsch,** cousin of Alex K.

26. **George Volkman,** son of Lydia Goetsch and Ferdinand Volkman. Cousin to Alex K. Lived and wrote from Chicago.

27. **Alex(ander) Krueger,** born Dec. 21, 1872 in Emmet, WI to Mary Goetsch (b. April 22, 1852 – d. July 17, 1922) and August Krueger (b. Sept 13, 1845 in Germany – d. June 11,

1923 in Emmet, WI). L1 German, L2 English. Farmer. Married Florentina "Flora" Will in 1898. Lived in Madison, Juneau, Watertown.

28. **Louis Will**, born Sept 9, 1871 in Ixonia, Jefferson Co., WI to Florentina Wendorf (b.1842) and William Will (b. 1845) originally from Pomerania. Brother of Florentina Will, Alex Krueger's wife. Lived in Milwaukee, worked as a surveyor. Died 1935.

29. **August Habel,** born July 6, 1845 in Prussia to Sophia (1823-1900) and Johann Habel (1820-1891). Friend of Alex K. Lived in St. Joseph, MI. Married to woman named Ernestina. Died Dec 4, 1899. Siblings: Julius (b. June 2, 1861 – d. Oct 5, 1922 in Hustisford, WI, and Emilie Habel Pieper (b. May 2, 1863 in Dodge Co., married William Pieper, d. Sept 14, 1892 in Dodge Co.)[96].

30. **Lillian Krueger,** cousin of Alex K. Worked for a man traveling for Schlitz Brewing in Milwaukee.

31. **Henry Albert Bigalk,** born Oct 19, 1887 in Cresco, Howard, IA to (Ernest)tina Elizabeth Goetsch (b. Dec 1860 in WI) and Amil August Bigalk (b. July 1863 in WI), farmer. Cousin of Alex Krueger. Lived in Florenceville, IA, worked as farm laborer. Married Jennie Belle Goldsworthy (Oct 22, 1913). Died April 2, 1947.

32. **William Renk,** born Oct 12, 1875 in Dane Co., WI. Attended university with Alex K. Lived in Sun Prairie, WI. Married Katherine/Caroline. Died Feb. 2, 1964 in Dane Co.

33. **Geo W.F. Fels,** born 1869 in WI. Son of Maria (b. 1841) and Jacob (b. 1842) Fels. Parents both born in Germany. Father was a post office clerk. Lived in Milwaukee. Worked as a surveyor. Married to Ida Will, brother in law of Alex Krueger by marriage (married his wife's sister). Father to Hattie (b. 1892) and Flora (b. 1893). Died 1951.

34. **Clara Goetsch,** cousin of Alex K. Niece of August Habel.

35. **Josie Rozen(eke),** friend of Alex K.'s sister, Sarah. Lived in St. Joseph, MI.

36. **Paul Goetsch,** born in WI in 1877 to Ottilie and Herman Goetsch (b. 1851 in WI), cousin of Alex K. Married a woman named Ellen and eventually moves to South Calera, Birmingham, AL.

37. **William Buelke,** born Aug 10, 1877 in WI to Martha Sara Goetsch and August Buelke. Cousin to Alex K. Farm laborer. Married Rose (b. June 2 1879 – d. Sept 19, 1978) in 1903.

38. **B. Krueger,** cousin of Alex. Writes from Watertown.

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[96] Sibling relevance due to location where they lived; potential family memeber interviewed in 2013.

39. **Gustav C. Koch**, born 1875 in Illinois. His father was from Germany. Attended college and remained good friends with Alex K. Lived in Fairmont, MN. Designed and patented (?) a shelf bracket. Married twice: Emma (b. 1871 in IL – d. 1903) and Minnie Beckman (b. in Germany) died in 1941. Children: Paul, Edgar, Lydia, Emma, Talitha, Frances.

40. **Katharina/Caroline Renk**, born April 10, 1882 in Columbia, WI. Father was Joseph Derr. Wife of Alex K.'s friend William. Married to William F. Renk May 28, 1901. Lived in Sun Prairie, WI. Children: Walter, Wilbur, Robert, Marion. Died Feb 10, 1927 in Dane Co.

41. **Jennie Kreuger,** born March 31, 1899 in Dodge Co., WI to Florentina "Flora" Will (b. Aug 11, 1873 in Ixonia – d. Dec 12, 1960) and Alex Krueger (b. Dec 21, 1872 in Emmet, WI – d. Feb 22, 1948). Lived in Watertown and Milwaukee. Twin of Edgar Krueger. Married Ernest Brentzmann in 1921.

42. **F. J. Ewald**, former employer of August Krueger. From Benton Harbor, MI.

43. **Mathilde Heiland,** lived in Wausau, WI. Cousin of Alex Krueger.

44. **Unknown**, author of 1921 letter to Dodge County Citizen

45. **Edgar Krueger,** born March 31, 1899 in Emmet, WI to Florentina "Flora" Will (b. Aug 11, 1873 in Ixonia – d. Dec 12, 1960) and Alex Krueger (b. Dec 21, 1872 in Emmet, WI – d. Feb 22, 1948). Attended university. Lived in Emmet, WI and traveled to Cresco, IA. Twin to Jennie Krueger. Married Elna Sommerfield (b. April 9, 1898 – d. May 14, 1976) of Tomah, WI in April 1929. Father of Shirley and Robert.

46. **Fred Dewald, "**cousin" of Alex K. Lived in Inglewood, CA.

47. **Martha Wendorf**, born ca. 1892 in WI. Cousin of Alex K. Lived in Los Angeles, CA.

48. **Auguste Grosse Stark,** lived in Osmand, NE. Cousin of Alex Krueger. Married to John Stark.

49. **Tillie Stark,** born 1891 to Auguste Grosse and John Stark in Nebraska. Lived in Neligh, NE. Cousin of Alex K.

50. **Esther Mae Bigalk Clark,** born March 22, 1895 in Cresco, IA to Tina Goetsch (Dec 1860) and Amil Bigalk. L1 English. Cousin to Alex. Married Roger Leonard Clark. Died Feb 24, 1986.

51. **(And)rena Goetsch,** born ca. 1906 in Wi. Daughter of Anna and Ernest Goetsch. Cousin of Alex. Lived in Berkeley, CA.

52. **Everett W. Krueger,** born Feb 28, 1899 in Milwaukee, WI to May Josephine Sophie Maxon and Henry Krueger (b. 1861 in Dodge Co.). Married to Mildred (b. 1898- d. 1982). Writes from West Allis, WI.

Figure A2-4. Kinship chart of Mary Goetsch and August Krueger.

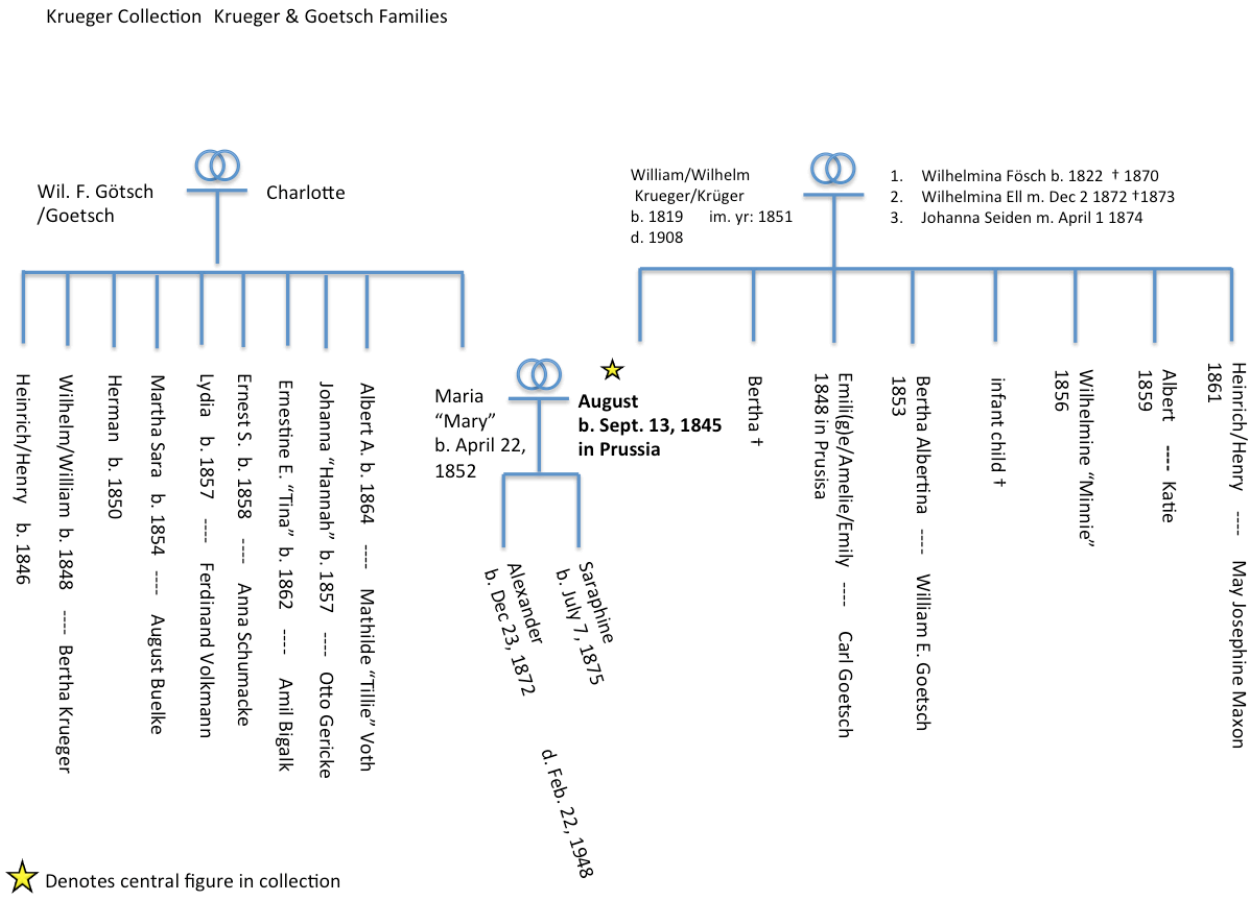


Figure A2-5. Kinship chart of Carl Goetsch and Emily Krueger.

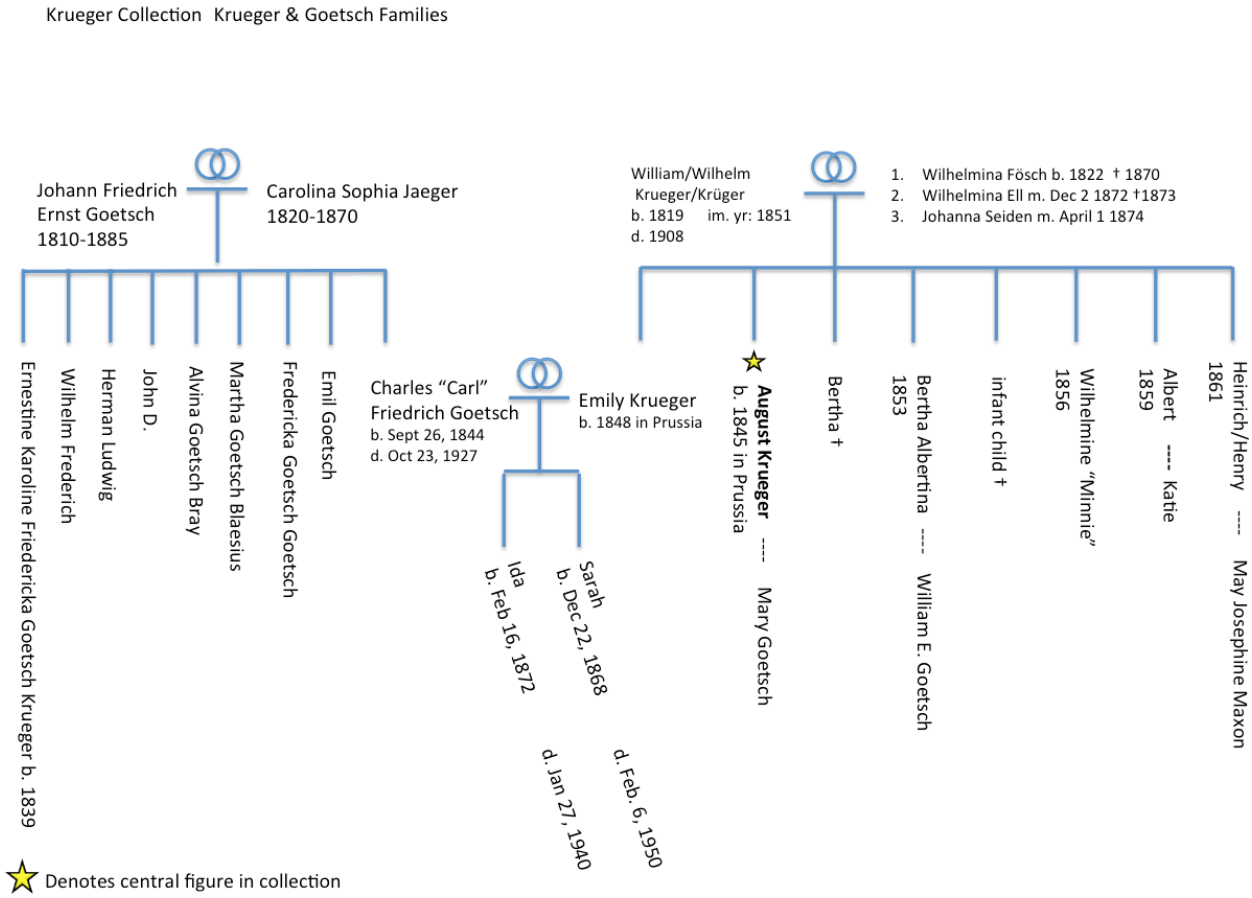


Figure A2-6. Kinship chart of William E. Goetsch and Bertha Albertina Krueger.

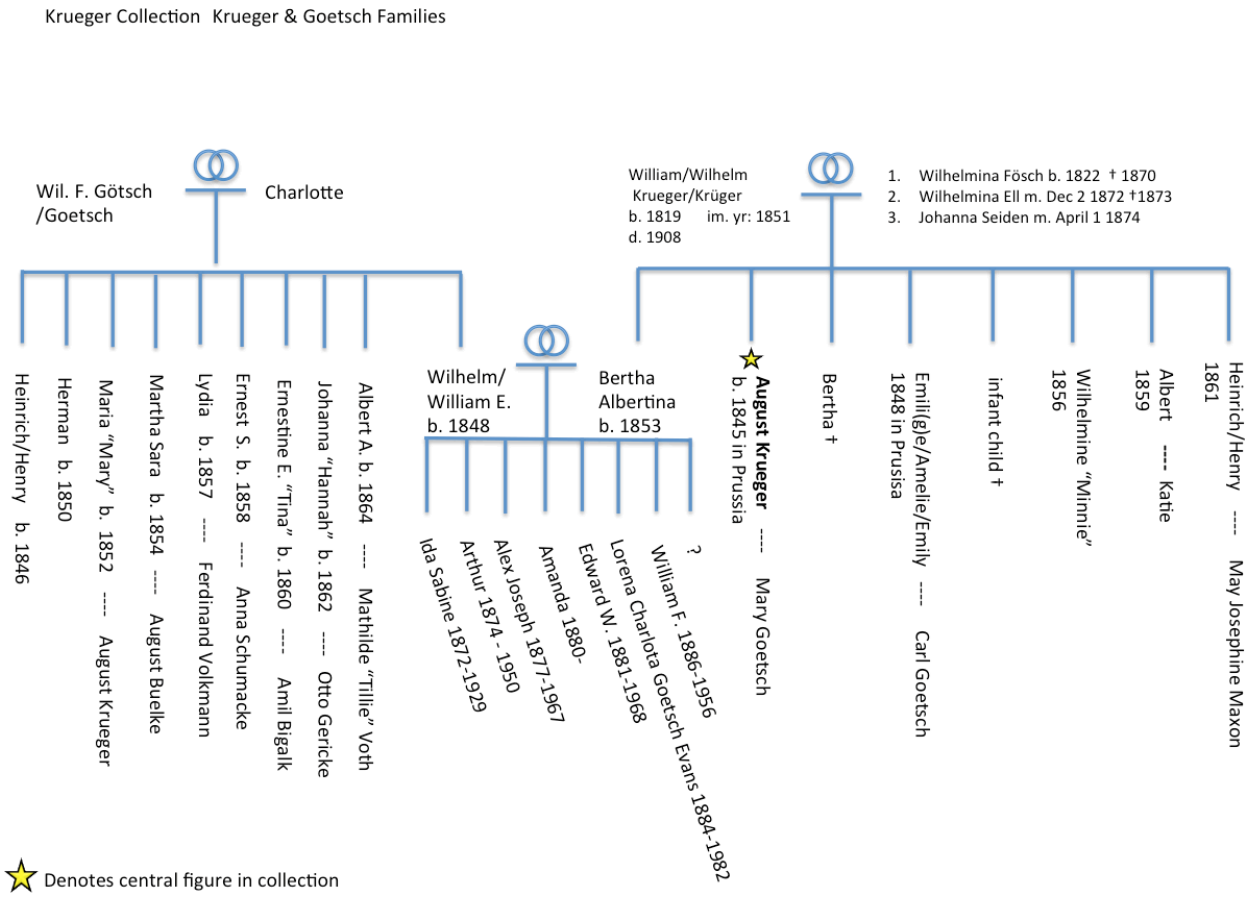


Figure A2-7. Kinship chart of Katie and Albert Krueger.

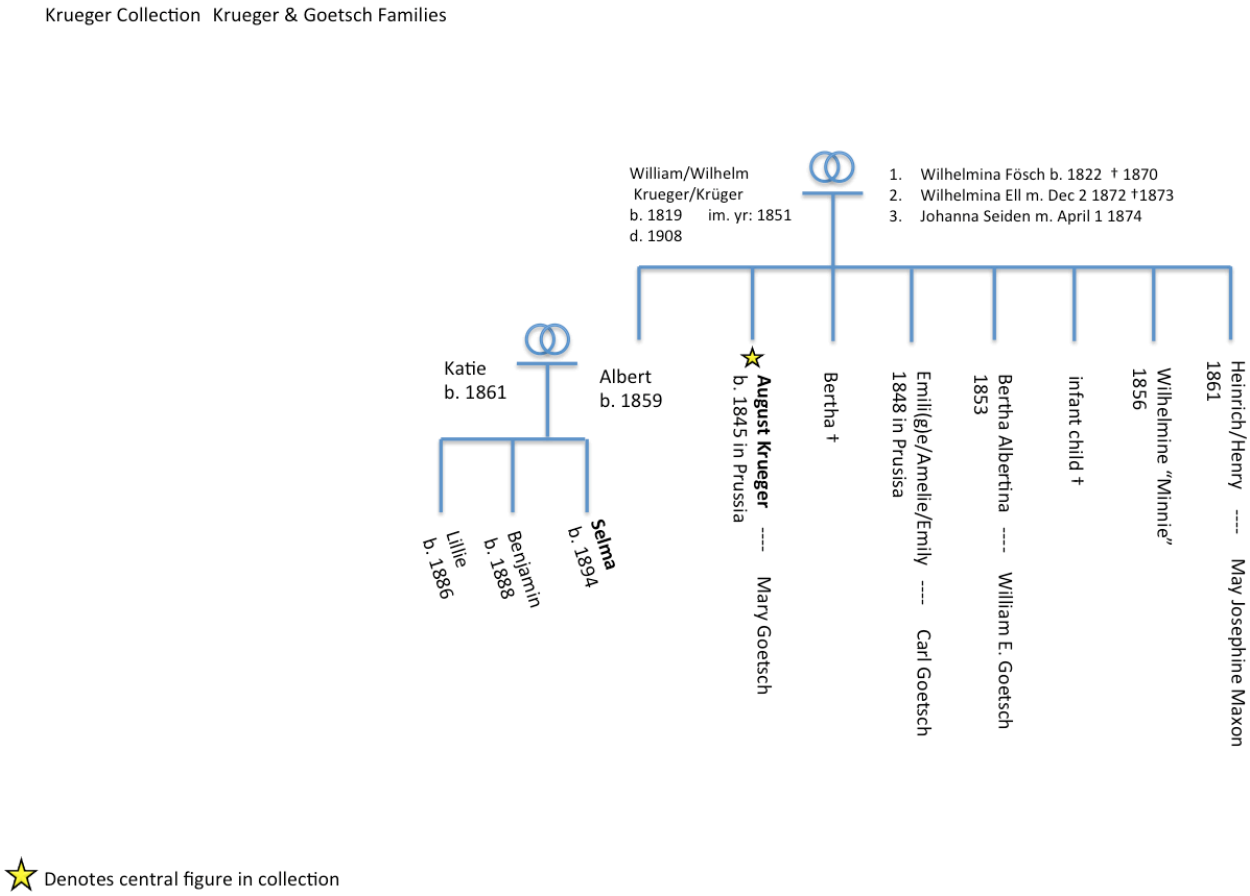


Figure A2-8. Kinship chart of May Maxon and Henry Krueger.

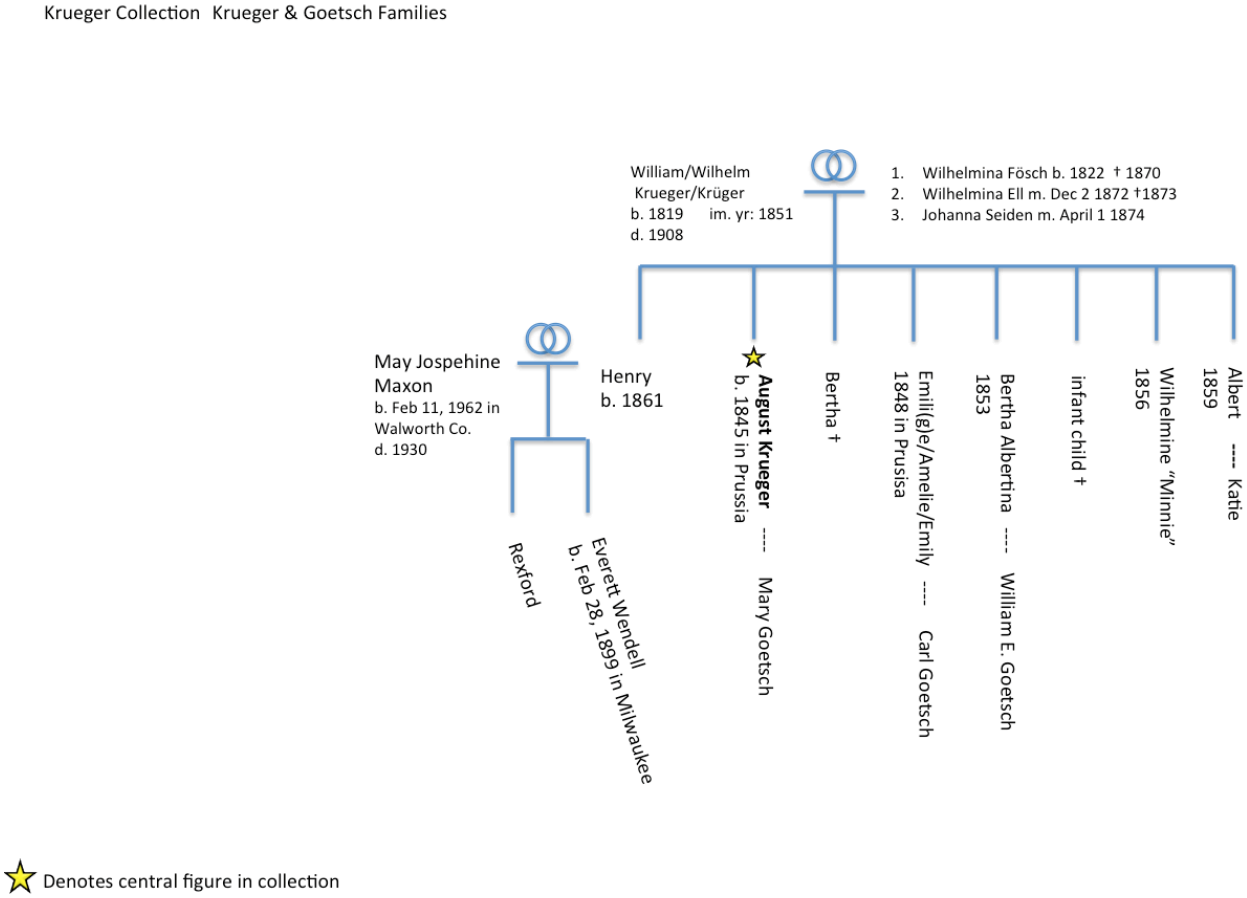


Figure A2-9. Kinship chart of Martha Goetsch and August Buelke.

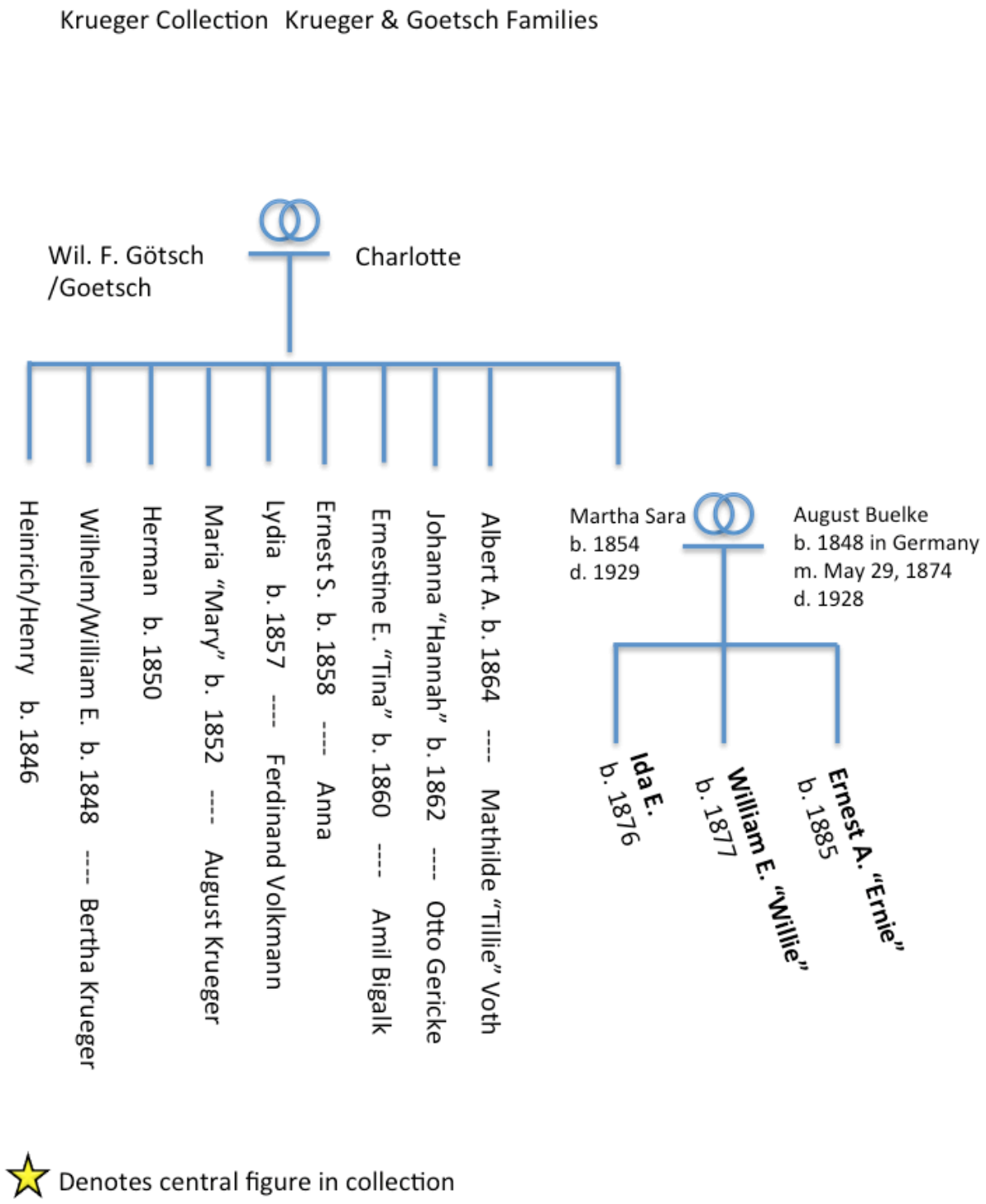


Figure A2-10. Kinship chart of Lydia Goetsch and Ferdinand Volkmann.

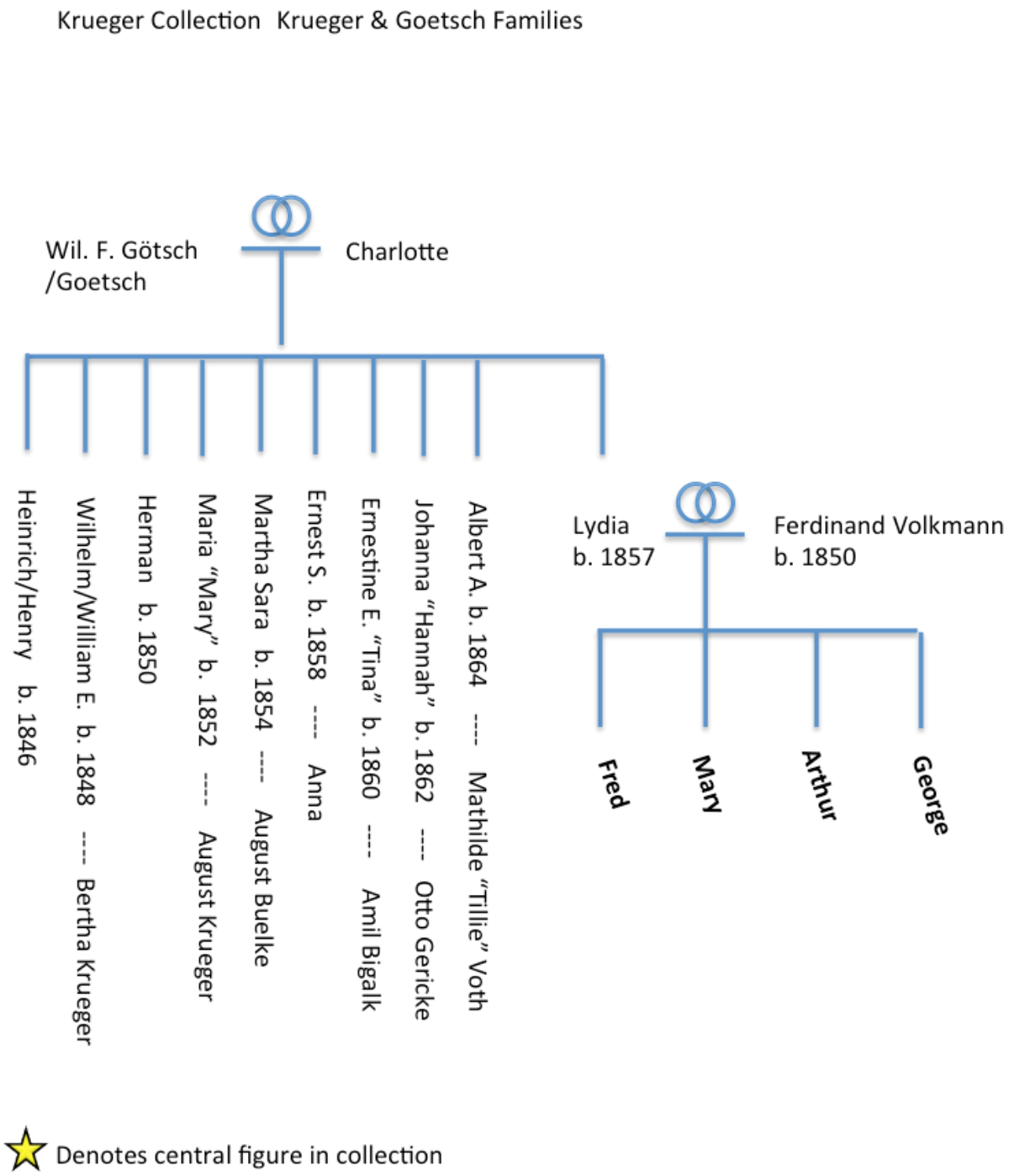


Figure A2-11. Kinship chart of Ernest S. Goetsch and Anna Schuhmacher.

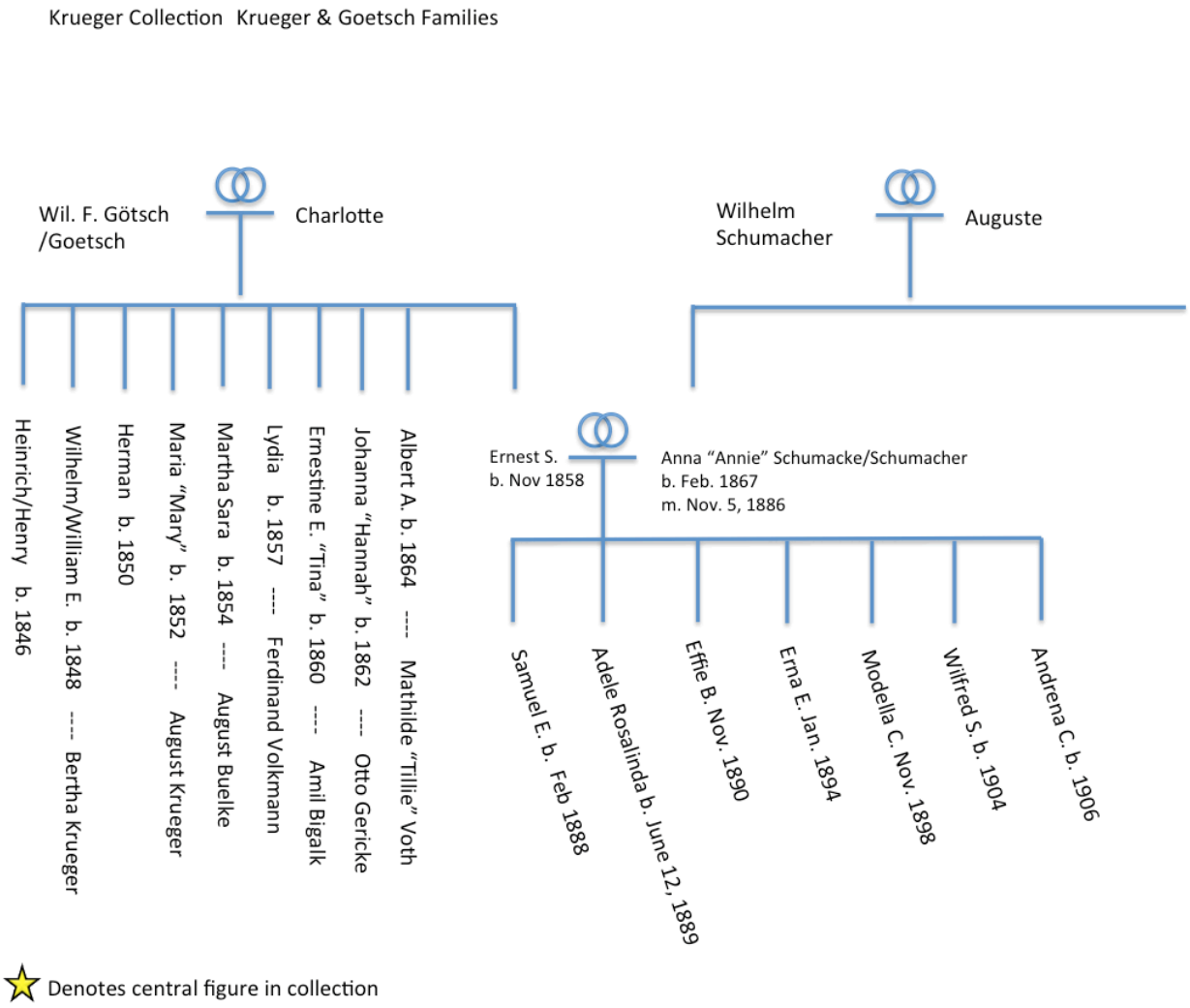


Figure A2-12. Kinship chart of Tina Goetsch and Amil Bigalk.

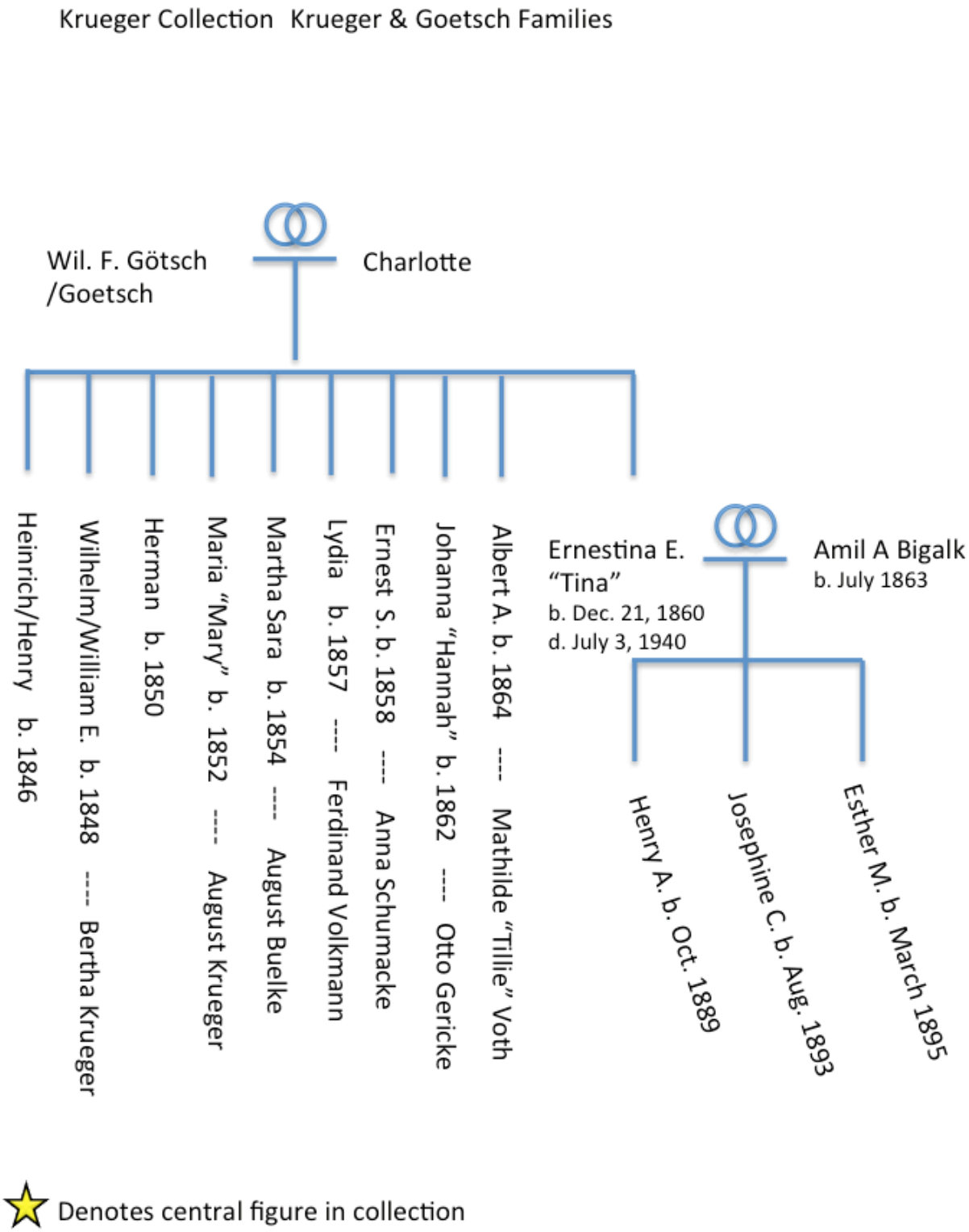


Figure A2-13. Kinship chart of Hannah Goetsch and Otto Gericke.

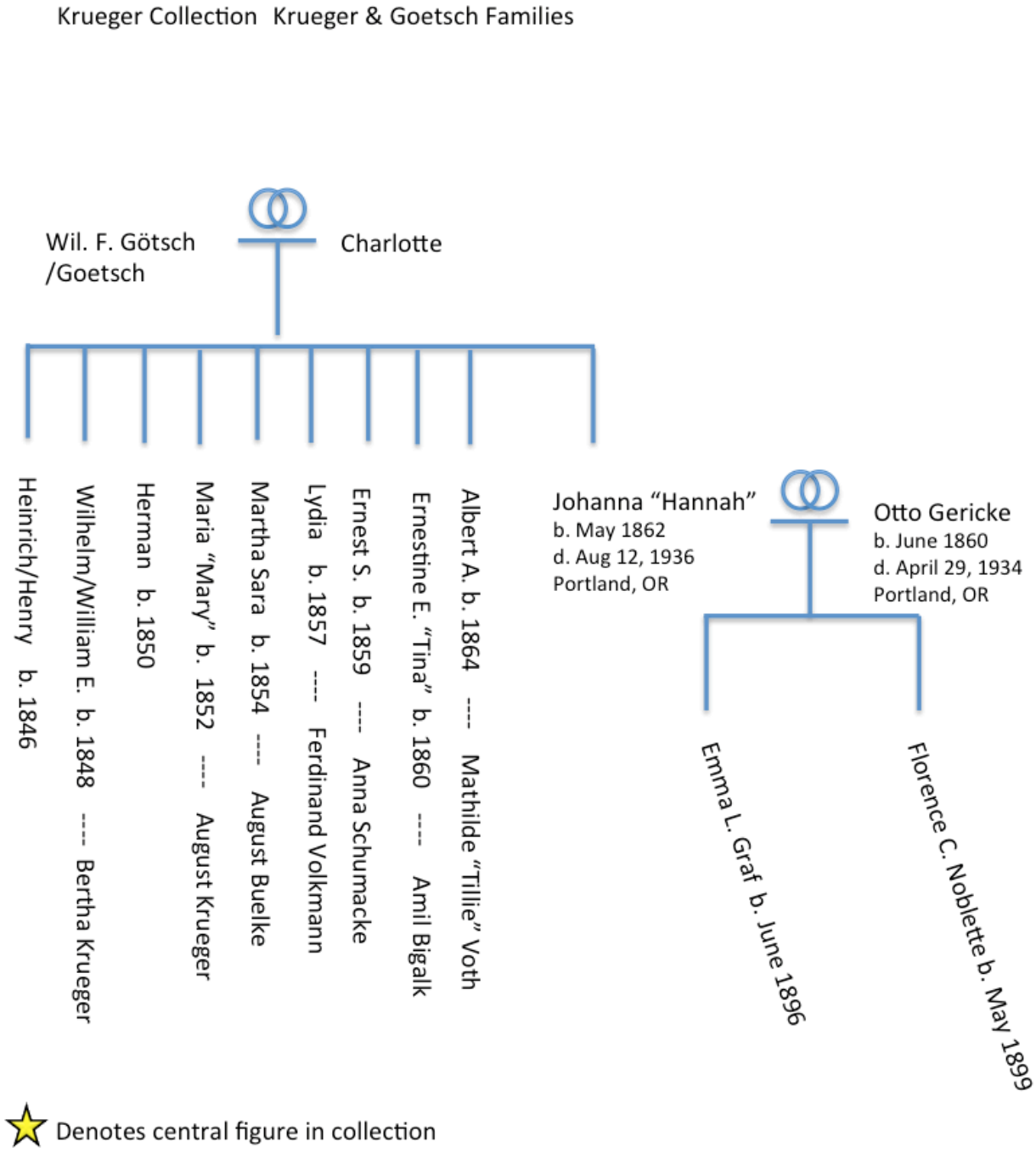


Figure A2-14. Kinship chart of Albert Goetsch and Tillie Voth.

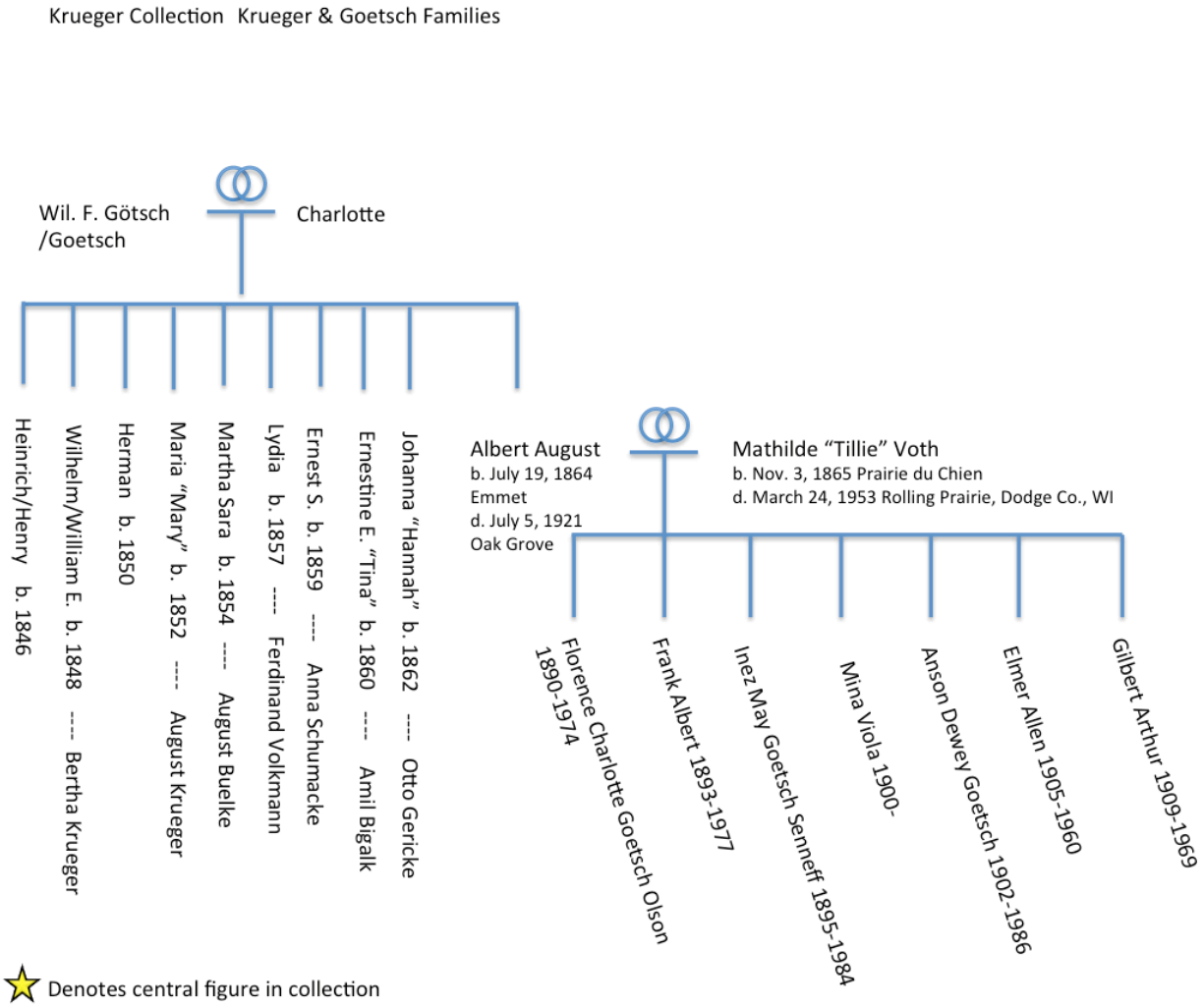
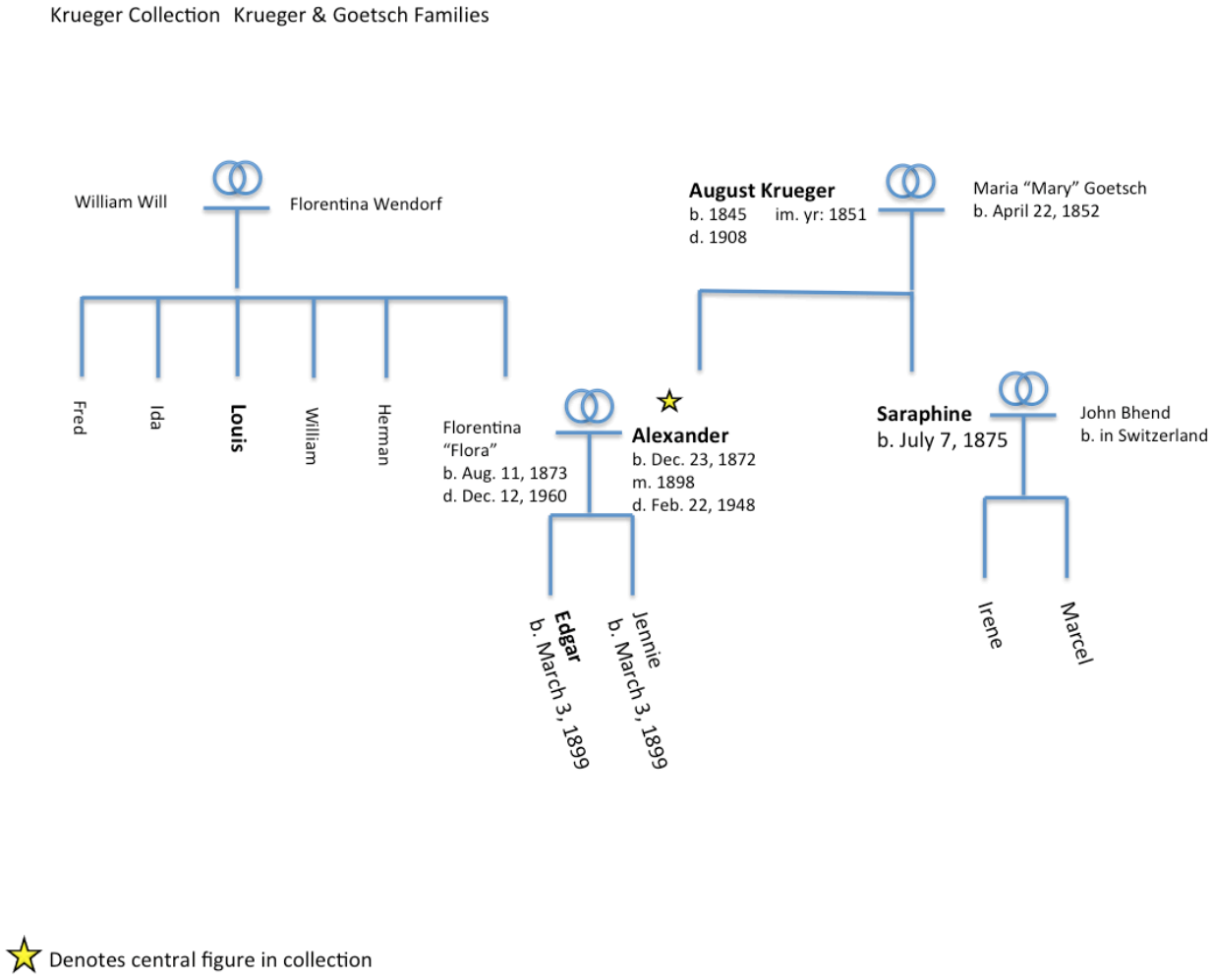


Figure A2-15. Kinship chart of Flora Will and Alex Krueger.



Lomira Collection

1. **Phillipp Schneider**, Civil War letters found in collection, but unclear how or if related to Fritsche family. Born ca. 1838 in Germany. Schneider served as sergeant in 28th Wis. Regiment, Company g. He was mustered out August 23, 1865. His letters are addressed to his sister, who is still single at the time he writes. He has an Aunt Kühl(e) who has at least two sons who are not yet in service; also mentions a Margaret Kühl, perhaps a daughter of Aunt Kühl. Schneider belongs to a group of soldiers referred to in the letters as the "Germantown Boys". Friends with Jacob H. Goelzer of Germantown, who served with him (mustered in Aug. 21, 1862 and mustered out Aug. 23, 1865), as well as Valentin Graf of the 9th Wis. He mentions Carl Blum (mustered in Aug. 17, 1862, mustered out Aug 23, 1865) of Pewaukee to his sister. His sister knows Carl Blum's sister. Mentions George Bowers of Muskego, WI (mustered in Aug. 21, 1862, mustered out Aug 23, 1865); George may know Phillipp's sister.

2. **A.G. Fritsche**, son of Rev. John L. Fritsche & Louise, born 1878 in Wisconsin. First name Alvin. In college in Chicago in 1898. In Valparaiso, IN for some time in 1899. Is eventually a doctor. Died in 1939, buried in Milwaukee, WI.

3. **John S. Roeseler,** super intendant of schools in Sauk City. Son of Friederich Roeseler and Caroline Klaetsch, born Nov. 25, 1859. Son in law of Rev. John L. Fritsche. Married to Sarah Fritsche, father of Oskar, Edna, and Freddie. Purchased 28 lots in Prairie du Sac from Mr. Clifford. Franzler & Dürr owe him money; Mühleis also discussed in relation to loans. Also knows family Keller. Died June 29, 1942, buried in Lomira, WI.

4. **Gust. S. Klaetsch,** born August 14, 1871 in Wisconsin. Friend & former neighbor of Rev. John L. Fritsche. Lives in South Dakota in 1898 and works as a mail carrier. Will be married in 1898. Wants to take music lessons and learn the banjo. Died March 21, 1958 in Canova, South Dakota.

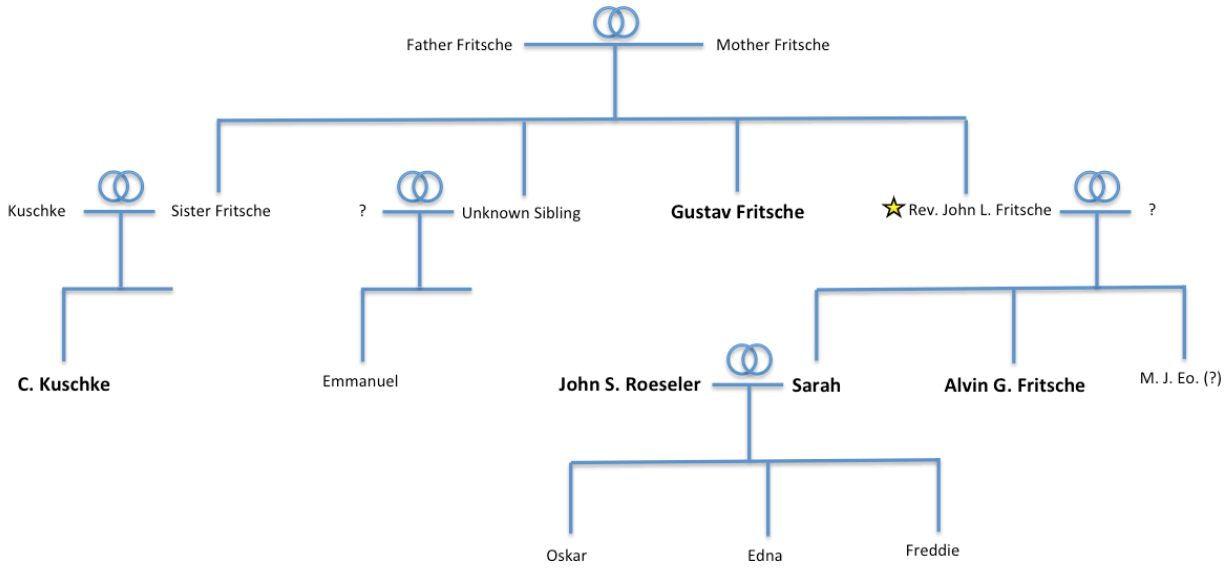
5. **Sarah Fritsche Roeseler**, Born April 17, 1866, daughter of Rev. John L. Fritsche and Louise (born in Canada). Married to John S. Roeseler June 27, 1889. Mother of Oskar, Edna, and Freddie. Lived in Prairie du Sac, but also has connections to and wrote at least one letter from Sheboygan. Died Sept. 10, 1944, buried in Lomira, WI.

6. **(Carl Wilhelm) Gustav Fritsche,** brother of Rev. John L. Fritsche. Born 1837 in Germany. Also works as a pastor. Lives in Milwaukee, but has traveled to South Dakota, as well as regularly to Plymouth, Milwaukee, and Two Rivers, WI. Mentions nephew Emmanuel who lives in Greenfield in 1899.

7. **C. Kuschke**, nephew of Rev. John L. Fritsche. Born 1870 in Wisconsin. Married and living in Temple, TX in 1899.

***Rev. John L. Fritsche,** father of A.G., M. J. Eo., and Sarah. Born 1836 in Germany. Lived in Lomira, WI. Brother of Gustav Fritsche, uncle of Emmanuel. Is or was a reverend at time letters are received. Corresponded with son in law, John. S. Roeseler, in regards to loaned money; included mentions of families Keller and Mühleis. Died in 1904, buried in Lomira, Dodge County, WI.

Figure A2-16. Kinship chart of Rev. John L. Fritsche.



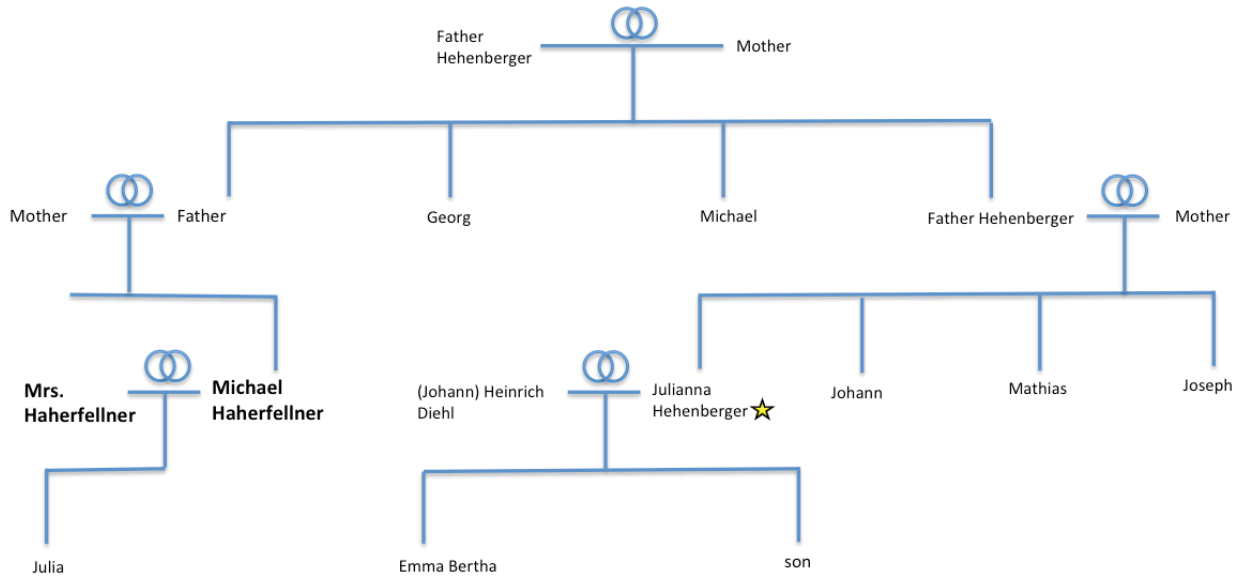
Lomira Collection

OFTHS Collection

1. **Christian Diehl**, wounded in Civil War, mostly recovered by June 21, 1863. Born ca. 1838 in Prussia (1870 Census, Diel). Expected to be released back to Madison soon at that time. Corporal in K Company of Wisconsin 26th Infantry. Possible relation to Jacob & Peter Diehl, both privates in D. Company of the Wisconsin 20th and 3rd Infantry respectively.

2. **Peter Beaver,** born in Bedford Co., Penn. Resident of Franklin, Sauk Co. Born June 16, 1824. Was a farmer and stonemason before enlisting in army. Mustered in March 1, 1864. Mustered out July 12, 1865. Was a sergeant in A Company of Wisconsin 36th. Several other Beaver's are listed as having served, relationship unknown. His diary is mostly a list of troop movements and deaths. Unclear if or how this diary is related to other docs in collection, other than being found in same location. Died March 16, 1894. Buried in Spring Green, WI.

Figure A2-17. Kinship chart of Julianna Hehenberger.



OFTHS Collection

☆ Denotes central figure in collection

Turn Collection

1. **Herman Hoffman,** born in 1868 in WI as oldest of five children to Sophia (b. 1842) and August (b. 1827) Hoffman of Poland/Germany (immigrated in 1857). Highest education level was completed at age 12. Farmer. Married a German immigrant, Anna (b. 1874, immigrated 1875), in 1902. Lived in Ripon, WI. Had two children: Viola and Elmer.

2. **Carl Friese**, born in Germany, year unknown, est. 1870-1875. Suitor of Marie in 1898/1899. Friend of Heidtmann family. Worked in lumber camps and at brewery in Marquette. Father still lived in Germany, remarried at age 70 to a 30 year old in 1899. Writes in both German and English.

3. **Bertha Marie "Mary" Heidtmann Hoffman,** born 1875 in Green Garden, MI, third daughter of Christiane and Carl. Worked in Milwaukee as a servant. Courted by Carl Friese until 1899, then William Hoffman. Marries Will Hoffman, Dec. 24, 1901. Letters written around age 25 while living in Milwaukee. Mother of seven: Vera, Leone, Gladys, Orville, Irene, Marion, Charles.

4. **William Hoffman,** born Sept. 29, 1875 in Ripon, WI as youngest of five children to Sophia (b. 1842) and August (b. 1827) Hoffman of Poland/Germany (immigrated in

1857). Completed 8th grade. Farmer. Corresponds with Marie Heidtmann while she lives in Milwaukee. Married Marie Heidtmann Dec. 24, 1901. Father of seven: Vera, Leone, Gladys, Orville, Irene, Marion, Charles. Died May 11, 1931.

5. **Theodor "Ted" Schegel,** born in 1877 in WI as third of 12 children to Gottlieb (b. April 1840) and Auguste (b. July 1852) Schlegel from Prussia. Farmer. Friends with William Hoffman. Not married according to 1930 Census.

6. **Walter Ernest Heidtmann,** born Aug. 3 1892 in Green Garden, MI, ninth child of Christiane and Carl Heidtmann. Writes to his sister Marie in Milwaukee at about age 9-10, has completed 3rd grade. Died in 1914.

7. **Christiane Auguste Konradina Siedentopp Heidtmann, "Mutter",** born 1852 in Germany. Married Dec. 4, 1870, immigrated to US June 28, 1871. Lived in Green Garden, Marquette County, Michigan. Only writes German, but census records say she also spoke English. Died in 1937.

8. **Natalia Wilhelmina "Minnie" Heidtmann Borchert**. Born in West Branch Township, MI in 1874, second child of Christiane and Carl Heidtmann (b. 1835 near Rostock). Married to Ernest Borchert in 1899. Lived with Ernest father from Germany, who only spoke German in 1900.

9. **Alvine Schlegel,** born 1876 in WI as second of 12 children to Gottlieb (b. April 1840) and Auguste (b. July 1852) Schlegel from Prussia. Worked as a servant in Milwaukee. Lived with her Aunt Bertha. Best friend of Marie Heidtmann. Married Frank Tuch/Franz Tuch.

10. **Anna Wallschlager Hoffman,** born Oct 1877 in WI to Augusta (b. Aug. 1845, immigration year 1861) and August (b. July 1835, immigration yr. 1853) Wallschlager of Germany. Married August Hoffman in 1901.

11. **Freada Marie Heidtmann Koepp,** born 1882 in Green Garden, MI. Sixth child of Christiane and Carl Heidtmann. Married to Wilhelm/William Frederick Koepp in 1905. Had at least 4 children: Orville, Frederick, Edward, Sonny. Writes in both German and English. Died in 1960.

12. **Ernest Carl Heidtmann,** born 1877 in Green Garden, MI. Fourth child of Christiane and Carl Heidtmann. Married Emma, an immigrant from Germany, in 1908.

13. **Emma G. Heidtmann,** born in 1885 in Germany. Immigrated to US in 1904. Married Ernest C. Heidtmann in 1908. Lived in Green Garden, MI. According to 1910 Census, spoke German and English. Mother of five children: Emma M., Bertha M., Gertrude, Roy, Ernest.

Figure A2-18. Kinship chart of Carl Heidtmann and Christiana Siedentopp.

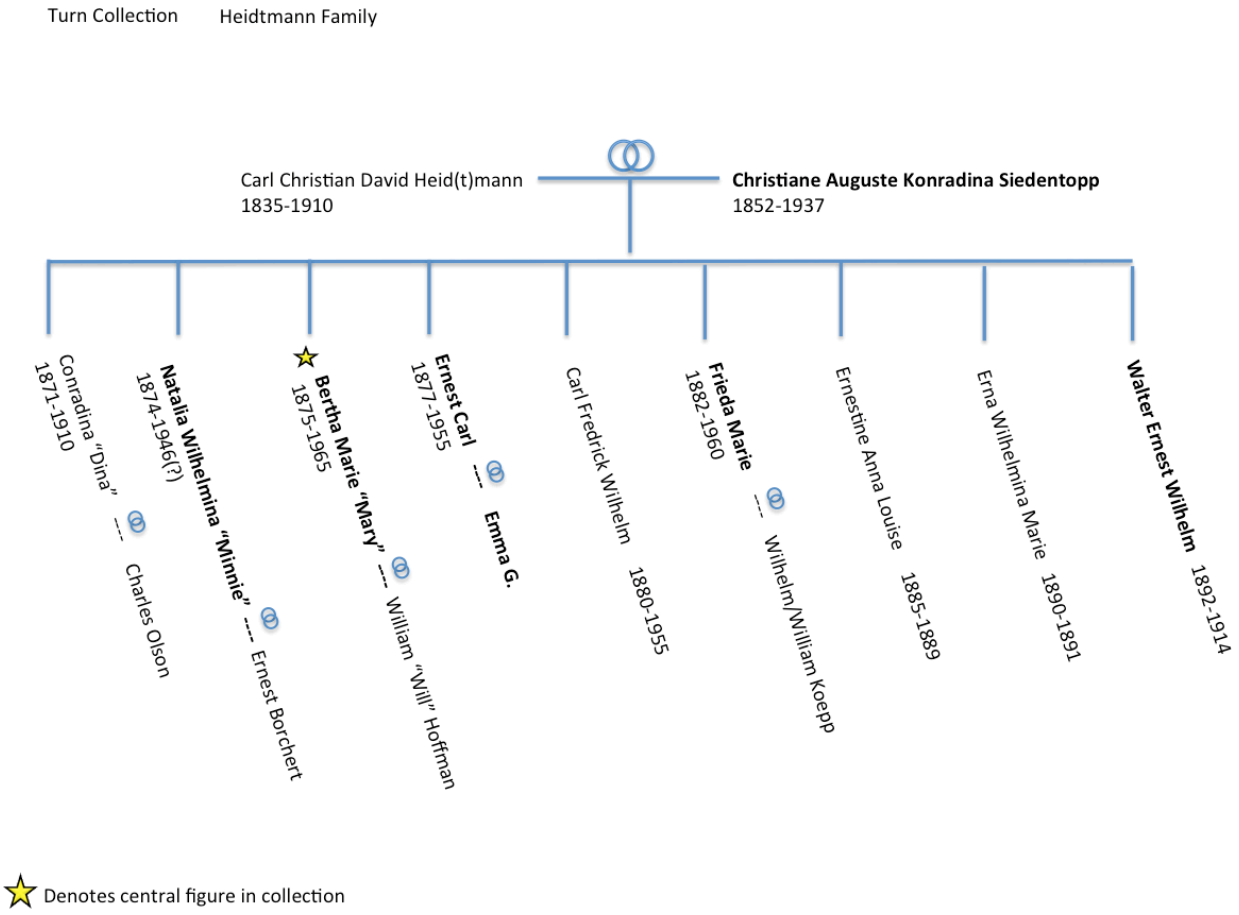


Figure A2-19. Kinship chart of Gottlieb and Auguste Schlegel.

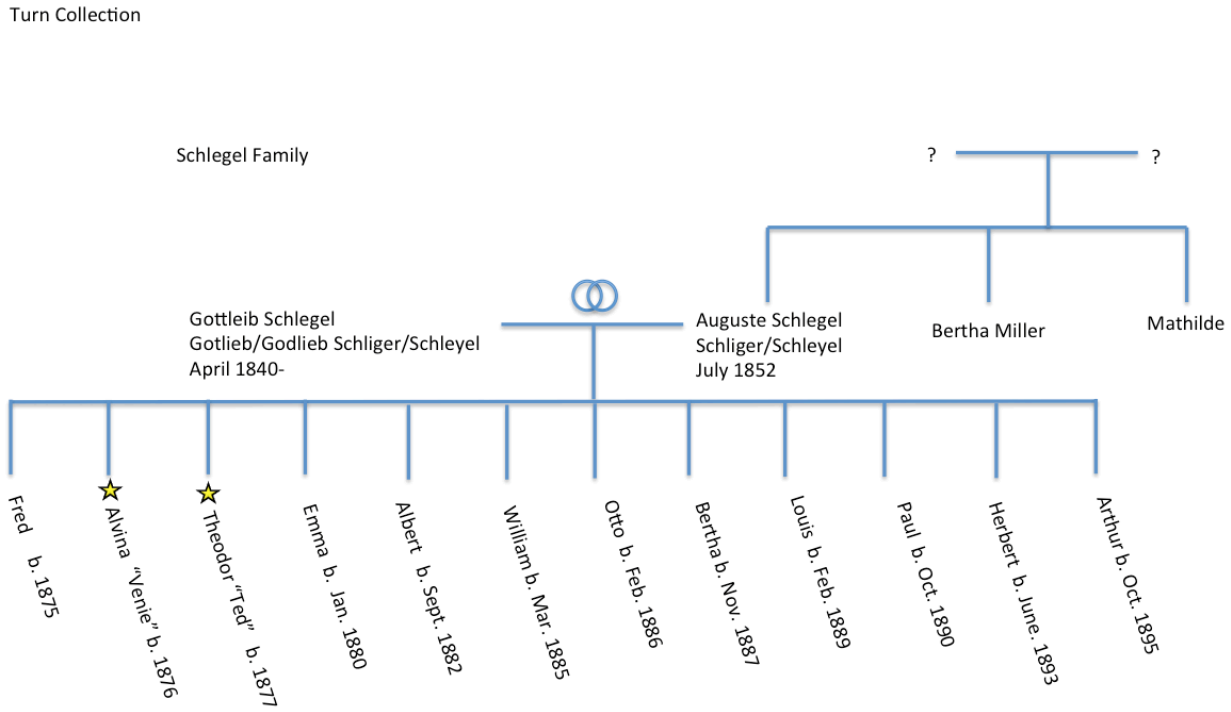


Figure A2-20. Kinship chart of August and Sophia Hoffman.

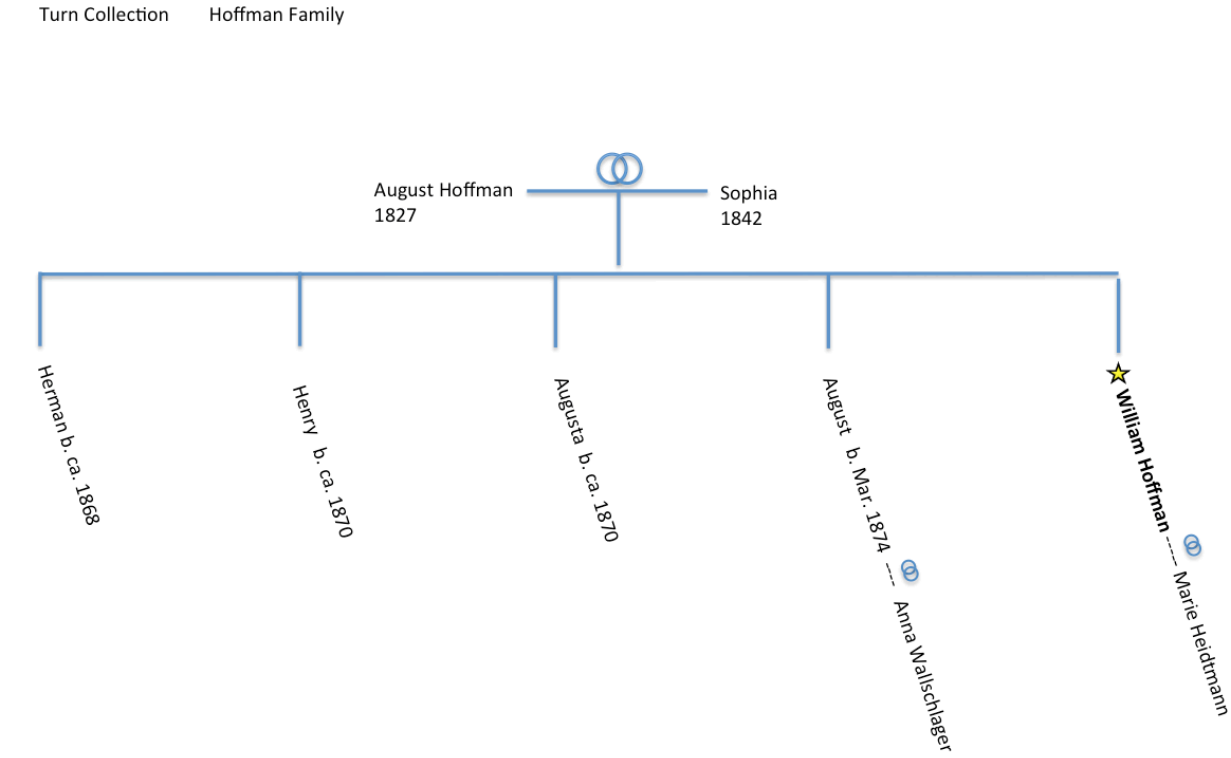
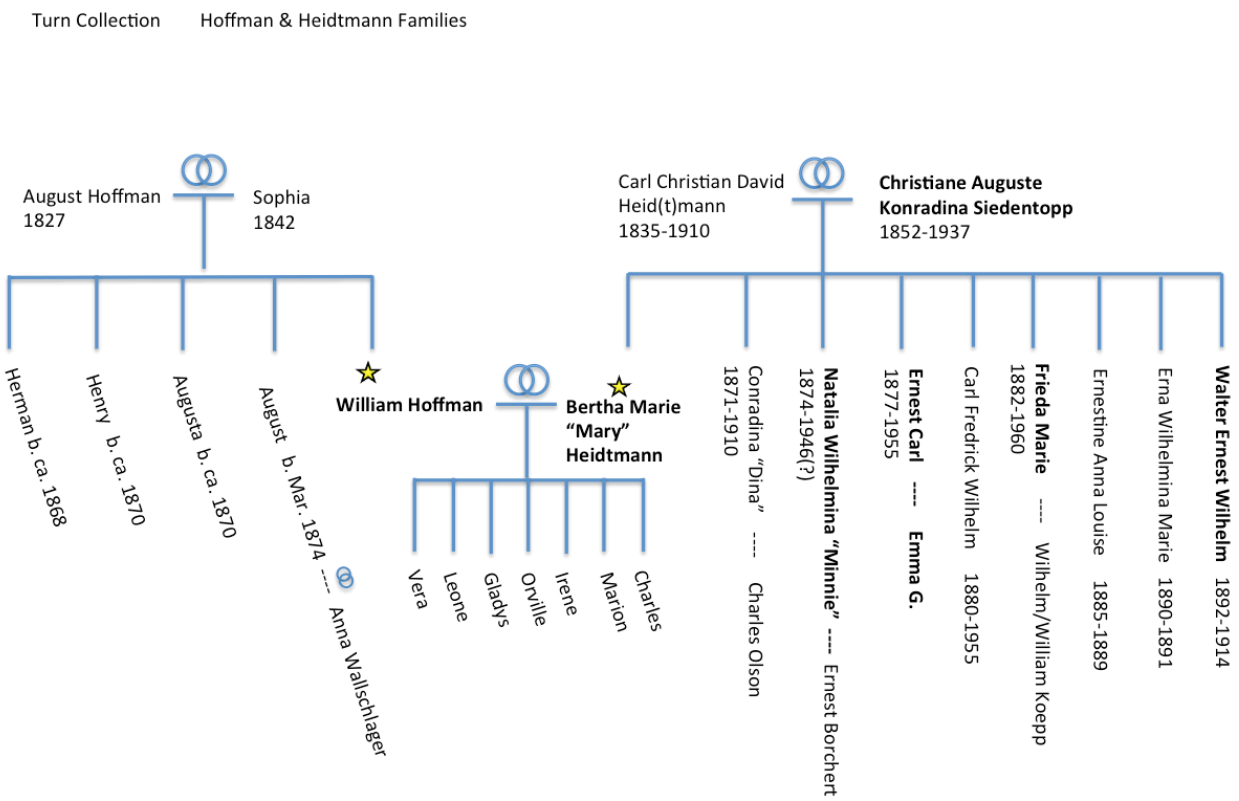


Figure A2-21. Kinship chart of William Hoffman and Mary Heidtmann.



Seifert Collection

1. **Eugene** was born in 1881 in Lebanon, Dodge Co., WI. His parents were both born in Wisconsin, but their parents were born in Germany. He was a third-generation bilingual German-English speaker. He attended school from 8-14. It was half English, half German. His occupation is listed in the 1900 Census as farm laborer. Married a second-generation bilingual German-English speaker named Emma in 1904. At the time of his interview in the late 1940s, he believed that in Lebanon there isn't anyone who doesn't at least understand German. Even Mr. Jones speaks Platt. He describes the German-speaking region as being at least half German as far as Ixonia (which he says was once Welsh) and past Hustisford up to Horicon. He says all the people older than 50 speak it and at least half of the young people (those under 30 or 25) understand, but will respond to you in English. The German region goes as far as Sullivan, he thinks. He can distinguish between different lexical items as being German, Pomeranian or Bruchish. He died in 1963.

2. **Anna M.** was born in Cazenovia, Richland Co., WI in 1881. One of her parents was born in Wisconsin, the other in Germany. She had relatives in Hillpoint, Loganville, and Cheeseville. Her parents and grandparents lived in Cheeseville. She married Alfred M., a

second-generation German-English bilingual, at age 22. They lived in Madison, WI. She died in 1972.

3. **Norbert** was born May 7, 1907 in Cleveland, Centerville Township, Manitowoc Co., WI. Completed 8th grade. His parents (Robert T. V. and Bertha S., Town Mosel) were both born in Wisconsin, lived in Centerville their entire lives, but his mother's parents were born in Germany (1910 Census). His father was a carpenter, his paternal grandfather (Richard) a farmer. His paternal grandmother was Pauline L. His maternal grandmother was Marie H., he never met his maternal grandmother. He was first a farmer, then a carpenter, then an enameller and then finisher. Listed in 1940 census as an enameller for sanitary fixtures. He attended country school and took one year of business college (or rather three months every year), but did not go to high school. He was confirmed in German. He was a third-generation bilingual German-English speaker (according to census records). He says at the time of the interview the area where he's from is all German. The V. family originally came from Saxony, the L. family, too, he thinks. He and his wife, Elsie (nee. G.) still use German around the home when the kids shouldn't know. He died in 1976.

4. **William M**. was born in Ashton in Springfield Township, Dane Co., WI in 1918.

Stratman-Thomas Collection

1. **Caspar,** b. 1861. Recordings were made in Madison, WI in 1946.

2. **Ella,** b. 1870 in Wisconsin. Her parents and husband were all born in Germany. Recordings made in Mayville, WI in 1946. First visit to Palmgarten (garden) at about age 7. Her father was cooper there. She and her brother sang songs for the German Männerverein in Milwaukee. She was about 12 years old at the time of the Newhall House Hotel fire (Jan. 10, 1883), she recalls seeing the fire and sings a song recounting the events. She died in 1963.

3. **CYT**, b. 1872, member of the Winnebago Tribe, Wisconsin Dells, WI.

4. **Mrs. Starr**, Mary Agnes B. H. was born in 1902 in Oconto, WI. She was a teacher and a sorority-house mother at UW-Whitewater and UW-Madison. Her obituary says she could sing in 8 languages. Her grandmother was from Ontario. Recordings made in Waukesha in 1946. She died in 1999.

Litty-Evans Collection[97]

1. **Lucinda** was born in Lebanon, WI in 1927. She completed high school and worked as a secretary or office assistant. Her parents were cheese makers. Her family was from Pomerania. She is a second-generation German-English bilingual. Her parents were both born in what is modern-day Poland.

[97] All names given in this section are pseudonyms because the speakers are still living.

2. **Bob** was born in Hustisford, WI in 1929. He completed high school and was a factory worker and a farmer. His father was a fur farmer. His father's family was from Beckum, near Hamburg, Germany. His father was born in Germany, his mother was born in Wisconsin, one of her parents was born in Germany, the other in Wisconsin. He was a second/third-generation German-English bilingual. Bob died in 2015.

3. **Mike** was born in Hustisford, WI in 1941. His baptismal certificate is in German. Mike went to church in German, he says Susan had more German-speaking friends than he did because he lived in town (Hustisford) and all the Germans lived in Lebanon. But according to Susan, the church in Hustisford had German service/Abendmahl longer than in Lebanon. He completed college via the GI bill, he served for three years in Europe so he could go to college after and later worked as a banker. He can read and write German. He has had some schooling in German later in life. His parents were farmers. His family originally came from Pomerania. He is a third generation German-English bilingual. He is married to Susan.

4. **Susan** was born in Lebanon, WI in 1944. Her baptismal certificate is in German. When she was in school, everything was in English. Her family attended German church services and she remembers having German-speaking friends. Her family pretty much switched to English-only after "Großma" and "Großpa" died. She completed high school and worked in a nursing home. She is the sister of Brenda and daughter of Linda. She can read and write German. Her parents were cheese makers, as were her grandparents. Her family comes from Pomerania. She is a fourth generation German-English bilingual. She is married to Mike.

5. **Esmerelda** was born in 1935 in Franklin Township, Sauk Co., WI, where she lived until age 14. Then she moved to Reedsburg, WI. She completed high school and worked at a grocery store and as a rural letter carrier. Her parents were farmers. She is a third-generation monolingual American English speaker. Her grandfather came from Bavaria in 1871. Her parents still spoke fluent German, but she never learned any.

6. **Ralph** was born in 1930 in Westford Township, Richland Co., WI. He completed high school and worked as a farmer. His parents were also farmers. The first generation (his grandparents) started their family farm in 1874. He is of German and "Bohemian" descent. His grandmother's family spoke "Bohemian". He is a third-generation monolingual American English speaker.

7. **Bryan** was born in Hustisford, WI in 1941. Lived in Mayville until about age 10. When his family moved here, he remembers going to the local store and says that you could always hear German at Bartsch's and Gillich's stores. He completed college and worked initially as an engineer, but he and Melissa later had a catering business. Keeping the family recipes and especially food traditions alive is very important to Bryan. His parents were farmers and has family form Germany, Norway and Hungary. He is a third generation monolingual American English speaker. Bryan recollects that part of the reason Melissa's father chose to speak English over German was because he was out in the English world and didn't want to be German.

8. **Melissa** was born in Hustisford, WI in 1942. She completed high school and worked as a receptionist and then in her & Bryan's catering business. Her parents were cheese makers. Her family was originally from Pomerania. Her father spoke mostly English, her mother mostly German. Her father was able to speak German, but chose English because it is what he used when working. Although she didn't remember the difference, she remembers that one of her parents' families spoke High German and the other spoke Low German. Her oldest sister went through a German elementary school and was confirmed in German, as were a couple of her other siblings. She is a fourth generation monolingual American English speaker. Melissa did remember some words and phrases, but appeared more a "rememberer" rather than a speaker.

2. Individual data

Goth Collection

1. Johann Soltow; 114 words; German

Table A2-1. Johann Soltow written data vernacular form count.

		Manner of Articulation	Standard	Vernacular	NS Type
German	Syllable Initial	Stop		1	detzemper
		Fricative			
		Affricate		1	detzemper
	Syllable Final	Stop			
		Fricative			
		Affricate			

Table A2-2. Johann Soltow written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1867	de**tz**emper	dezember	Bagman	Bachmann
	detzem**p**er	dezember	Bekmann	Beckman
	Zents	cents	verdind	verdient
			nich	nicht
			waß	was

2. Friedrich Schmalfuß; 611 words; German

Table A2-3. Friedrich Schmalfuß written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1869	getauert	gedauert	blos	bloß
	Weitzen (x2)	Weizen	schliesen	schließen
	Kardofel/Kardoffel (x3)	Kartoffel		
	ein bar	ein Paar		
	weider	weiter		
	Kardoffelbaks	Kartoffelbugs	Kardoffelbaks	…bugs

3. Charles Stolte; 988 words; German

Table A2-4. Charles Stolte written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1881	wieter	wieder	gansen	ganzen
	witer (x2)	wieder	wilt	wild
			stat	stadt
			schlegt	schlecht
			weis	weiß
			grüse	grüße
1883			birnt	burnt/burned
			fullbloted	fullblooded
1887	vünder	Pfunder	jetz (x10)	jetzt
	vert	Pferd	groser grose	großer große
	geflanzt	gepflanzt	haber (x2)	Häfer
	vingsten (x2)	Pfingsten	sint (x3g)	sind
	feife	Pfeife	gros grosMutter grosVater	groß großmutter großvater
			vert	Pferd
			gekricht	gekriegt
			schliesen (x2)	schließen
			grüse (x2)	grüße
			gerechengt	reregnet
			Pfert	Pferd
			glüch	Glück
			kömpt	kommt
			bid	bett
			möchlich	möglich

Other:
fersprochen for versprochen
ferdorben for verdorben
for genommen for vorgenommen
fiele for viele
ferkauft for verkauft
lengst for längst
erzelen for erzählen
gesehn/geseht for gesät
nechsten for nächsten
gekoltewetet
tiem for team (of horses)
fuß (two feet high)
dies zeit von Johrs (this time of year)

4. William J. Stolte; 433 words; German

Table A2-5. William J. Stolte written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1883	Vader	Vater	jetz	jetzt
	dod	Tod	Stiefens	Stevens
			nichs	nichts
			nodwandig	notwendig
			schletz	schlecht
			herzlige	herzliche
			grüze	grüße
			rachent	regnet
1884			grosen	großen
			Pfunt	Pfund
			kint	Kind
			aben	abend
			hold	holt(e)
			sied	siet
			Alberd	Albert
			gröseren	größeren
			Vieleherzlieg	Viele herzlich
			grüse	grüße

Total words: 433

Other:
fom for vom
fiel for viel
for for für
naues; neues
helt for hält

5. May Bailey Stolte; 975 words; English

Table A2-6. May Bailey Stolte written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1883			of	off
1917			discriptson	description

Other:
see if Charleye side boarde is there yet

6. Max End; 982 words; German

Table A2-7. Max End written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1888			Scribtum	Scriptum
1890			Begräbtnisplatz	Begräbnisplatz
			begräbtniseigentum	Begräbniseigentum

Other:
abzukommen (to come up, for a visit)
Max quotes a neighbor's mother: O, et is ja e lütte[s] boy!

7. Theona Goth End; 176 words; German

Table A2-8. Theona End written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1888			kosted	kostet

Other:
Bäsenstiel for Besenstiel

8. W.J. Wittenburg; 354 words; German

Table A2-9. W.J. Wittenburg written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1888			bezügligt	bezüglich
			unterzeignen	unterzeichnen
			schlegt	schlecht
			deudsch	deutsch

9. Sophie Goth; 450 words; English

Table A2-10. Sophie Goth written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1889	trasher	thrasher	send (x2)	sent
	surch	church	tolt	told
			woudend	wouldn't

10. Carl Goth; 182 words; German, no vernacular forms

11. Maria Frederic; 1,200 words; German

Table A2-11. Maria Frederic written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1901	weitzen	Weizen	seid (x2)	seit
	gerstanden	erstanden	Rogen	Roggen
	jelegt	gelegt	Agend	Agent
			gemuwt	gemoved
			pettels	peddles
			muwen	moving
			waser	Wasser

Other:
Freündin, eüch (x4), Eüre (x4), heüt, freüe, theüer, theüren, neün, Leüte gewühnen, gebeüde (x2)
lengsten for längsten
Dütschland
kümt
groß bebi (grandbaby)
Stohr
künte for könnte
het for hätte
inseid for inside
Boß (bus)

12. Mabel Goth; 80 words; English; no vernacular forms

13. E. Hartmann; 237 words; German

Table A2-12. E. Hartmann written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1915	Weitzen	Weizen		
	Teatscher	Teacher		

Other:
vervloßen for verfloßen

14. Minnie Stolte, 508 words; English

Table A2-13. Minnie Stolte written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1917			insulteered	insulted

Only vernacular form in quoting something someone else said.

15. E. Sohn; 10 words; English; no vernacular forms

16. Barbara Matthews; 1,283 words; English

Table A2-14. Barbara Matthews written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1918			brot	brought

Other:
Funny weather we are having. (1919)

Krueger Collection

1. Ferdinand Volkmann; 218 German words, 227 English words

Other:
Loosung for Lösung
passieren for "pass by"
kennt for könnt
it is running yet

2. Adolph Goetsch; 13 words; English; no vernacular forms

3. Albert Krueger; 12 words; German; no vernacular forms

4. August Krueger; 143 German words, 441 English words

Table A2-15. August Krueger written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1882-1887			Weldt	Welt
1891			caces	cases
			halfto	have to
			backt	backed
1893			pacing	packing
			acrost	across

5. Charlotte Goetsch; 35 words; German

Table A2-16. Charlotte Goetsch written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1882-1887			Kluch	klug

6. Ernestina Goetsch; 64 German words, 808 English words

Table A2-17. Ernestina Goetsch written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1899	shure	sure	Nefphew	nephew
	get (x3)	yet	Tuliphes	tulips
	somting	something	brout	brought
			nise	nice
			pese	piece
			medle	metal
			mele	metal
			flesch	flesh
1900	get (x1)	yet	nise	nice
			send	sent
			looket	looked
			Chrismus	Christmas
1902			throug	through

Other:
with seeding we are most done
leave it go
to home (zu Hause/ to huus)

7. Herman Bentert; 21 words; English

8. Herman Goetsch; 18 words; German

Other:
giebt for gibt

9. Ida Goetsch; 10 words; English

10. Isabella Bentert; 14 words; English

11. Mary Loock; 29 words; English

12. Sarah Goetsch; 25 words; English

13. Ernst Goetsch; 122 German words, 128 English words

Table A2-18. Ernest Goetsch written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1888			Abens	Abends

Other:
vür for für
last for lässt

14. Ida Buelke; 99 words; English

15. Wil. F. Goetsch; 311 words; German

Table A2-19. Wil. F. Goetsch written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1893			schwindlich	schwindelig

Other:
gleich vals for gleichfalls
vum for vom
Trubell/ Trubel

16. Hannah Goetsch Gericke; 61 German words, 222 English words

Table A2-20. Hannah Goetsch written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1903	shoping	chopping	Fri{t}ty	Freddy
	~~F~~ (olkmann)	Volkmann[98]		

[98] Self-corrected in letter.

17. Sarah Krueger; 3,160 words; English

Table A2-21. Sarah Krueger written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1893			importend	important
1898			Kock (3x)	Koch
			though (2x)	thought
			of	off
			Rotes	Roths
			descripsion	description
1906	thymoty	Timothy	tie	tied
			of	off
			nise	nice
			emty	empty

Other:
quotes an acquaintance of her brother's, "Mr. Krea si swester"
three little girl
they leave the horse's rest
us three girl
was by us (as in stayed with us)
I must tell you yet
leave papa read this letter

18. Henry Krueger; 1,060 English words, 103 German words

Table A2-22. Henry Krueger written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1884	chrieben	schreiben	Gelt-beutel	Geld-beutel

Other:
vür for für
von mich for von mir
uses German quotes in English letters; "dat mann imma so wigt" and "dat imma so rocht un dampt"

19. William E. Goetsch; 62 German words, 100 English words

Table A2-23. William E. Goetsch written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1894			send	sent

20. Susie Hasenfliker; 232 words; English

Table A2-24. Susie Hasenfliker written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1887			frose	froze

21. Albert Goetsch; 1,046 words; English

Table A2-25. Albert Goetsch written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1888			calve	calf
			frose	froze
1894			of	off
1906	tought	thought		

22. Arthur Volkmann, 28 words; English

Other:
I got my knife yet. 1892

23. Mary Volkmann; 176 words; English

Table A2-26. Mary Volkmann written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1892	put	but	nicker	nigger
			nickers (x2)	niggers

Other:
three nickers boys
we can with the train (no verb)

24. Fred Volkmann; 1,100 words; English

Table A2-27. Fred Volkmann written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1892	curch	churc	Deares	Dearest
	recards	regards	baugh	bought
			fathe	father
			righ	right
			babtist	Baptist
			ticked	ticket
			hado	had to
			tickett	ticket
			mothe	mother
			Alas	Alice
			hofto	have to
			send	sent
1893	wery	very	didend	didn't
			sich	sick
1894	tought	thought	hofto	have to

Other:
konsort for concert
we got our cow yet
5 quarts of milk yet a day

25. Arthur Goetsch; 116 words; English

Other:
I think you are mad already because…

26. George Volkmann; 67 words; English

27. Alexander Krueger; 5,833 words; English

Table A2-28. Alexander Krueger written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1896	Prespeterian	Presbyterian	cloths	clothes
	Paptist	Baptist	Evangelisch	Evangelic
			drownded (3x)	drown
			throug	through

Other:
it was snowing yit
and the one that gave us lessons in testing milk his name I did not find out yet (word order)
by Prof. Henry, by Prof. King, etc. instead of having a class or exam with Prof Henry.

28. Louis Will; 280 words; English

Other:
I am well yet

29. August Habel; 20 words; English

Table A2-29. August Habel written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1895			Nex	next

30. Lillian Krueger; 318 words; English

Table A2-30. Lillian Krueger written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1895			increace	increase

31. Henry Bigalk; 153 words; English

32. William Renk; 859 words; English

33. Geo Fels; 26 words; English

34. Clara Goetsch; 24 words;

35. Josie Rozen(eke); 35 words; English

36. Paul Goetsch; 1,184 words; English

Table A2-31. Paul Goetsch written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1902			drouth	drought
			~~lif~~	live[99]

37. William Buelke; 181 words; English

38. B. Krueger; 55 words; English

39. Gustav C. Koch; 1,202 words; English

40. Katharina Renk; 289 words; English

[99] Self-corrected in letter.

Table A2-32. Katharina Renk written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1906			talk	talked
			present	presented
			send	sent
			kite	kid

41. Jennie Krueger; 1,152 words; English

Table A2-33. Jennie Krueger written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1939			thinks	things

42. F.J. Ewald; 95 words; German

Table A2-34. F.J. Ewald written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1919			genuch	genug
			gefeld	gefällt
			noh	for noch

Other:
kinte for könnte
kenten for könnten
wirde for würde

43. Mathilda Heiland; 60 words; English

44. Unknown, 1921 letter to Dodge County Citizen; 361 words; English

Table A2-35. Unknown author Krueger Collection written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1921			Cityson	citizen
			live	lived
			work	worked
			Bigald	Bigalk
			Resford	Rexford

Other:
5 year for 5 years

45. Edgar Krueger; 262 words; English

Table A2-36. Edgar Krueger written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1923	taw	thaw	twelf	twelve

46. Fred Dewald; 325 words; English

47. Martha Wendorf; 645 words; English

48. Auguste Stark; 2,132 words; English

Table A2-37. Auguste Stark written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1934			of	off
			talkt	talked
			wonderdt	wonderd
			coulden (x2)	couldn't
			helpt (x3)	helped
			answerd	answered
			calfs (x2)	calves
			mashinery (x2)	machinery
			payd	payed
			tickelt	tickled
			diden (x8)	didn't
			work	worked
			want	wants
			eight	eighth
			woulden (x2)	wouldent
			safe	save

Total words: 2,132

Other:
her Man (Mann, husband Ger?)
Iland for Island (referring to Zuckerinsel)

49. Tillie Stark; 466 words; English

Table A2-38. Tillie Stark written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1939			drouth	drought

50. Esther Bigalk Clark; 56 words; English

51. Rena Goetsch; 25 words; English

52. Everett Krueger; 213 words; English

Lomira Collection

1. Phillip Schneider; 1,607 words; German

Table A2-39. Phillip Schneider written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1864	Schop	shop	grozen	großen
	dichtig	tüchtig	ganßen ganße	ganzen ganze
	Paracke	Baracke	gart guart guart duty	guard
	ferdich	fertig	Commanter	Commander
	blatz	Platz	unßerem (x2) unßern	unserem unseren
	Glayton	Clayton	deßhalb	deshalb
	Pabi(e)r (x2)	Papier	Ledich	ledig
			gedult	Geduld
			rivulfer	revolver
			jezt (x2)	jetzt
			balt	bald
			Atreße	Adresse
			hembt (x2) hembten	Hemd Hemden
			genuch (x3)	genug
			niemant	niemand
			luftig	luftich
			Freud freude	freut freute
			leßen	lessen
			antern (x2) antere	andern andere
			wenichstens wenich	wenigstens wenig
			ferdich	fertig
			garten	guarden
			noh	noch
			dieße (x2)	diese
			Nieichkeiten	Neuigkeiten
			Baldiche (x2)	baldige
			beseits	besides
			seitene	Seiden
			Fracht	fragt
			wertan	werden

Other:
vohr for für (for?)
verder – Dutch?
fer - for English, shafte fer unser Regminet zubekomen
gerult – ruled; ist gerult by the 25th Wis.
Sondag(s) – Dutch?
hette for hätte (x4)
nach den South gehen (not go south, but go to The South)
nach der Saut gehen
mihr hetten – wir hätten
Blänkit
die Rebels
schlüßen for schließen (x3)
verlat – Dutch?
Piket for Pickett
letter closings often in English: yours truly forever brother, so good by for this time
die Germantown boys
leßt for läßt
hült for hält
vühle/vühlen for viele/vielen (x3)
Feuerdag (x2) – Dutch?
zimlich for ziemlich
Rählrod
mashihren for marschieren
nechstes for nächstes
Super seadet for superseded
beseits for besides
Sakduch – Dutch?
kawen for kauen
keener for keiner
selten for sollten
Naujahr for Neujahr
kenen for können
bully for Scherman

2. A.G. Fritsche; 737 words; German

Table A2-40. A.G. Fritsche written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1899	getzt	jetzt	gans (x2)	ganz
	jiebt	gibt	jezt	jetzt
			seit	seid
			hertzlichem	herzlichem
			sent	send

Other:
zurick for zurück (x2)
Trubel

3. John S. Roeseler; 1,483 words; German

Other:
Jetzt sind die Maurer am “Plastering”
“rhubarb”
welche 1 Quart “cans” für uns
wieder fon frischen etwas kalt dazu bkeommen (a cold)

4. Gust. S. Klaetsch; 868 words; English

Table A2-41. Gust. S. Klaetsch written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1898			sent	send

5. Sarah Fritsche Roeseler; 221 words; German

6. Gustav Fritsche; 458 words; German

Table A2-42. Gustav Fritsche written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1899			lebentige	lebendige
			balt	bald
			erbedungstreden	Erbetungsreden

Other:
Liaber for lieber
erliebe for erlaube
einliagendar for einliegendar
liagen for liegen
dia for dir
Liaba for Liebe
frähen for frühen
frih for früh
kurzlich for kürzlich
galinde for gelinde

7. C. Kuschke; 185 words; German

Table A2-43. C. Kuschke written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1899			Traurichkeit	Traurigkeit
			Grüse	Grüße

Other:
Familige for Familie (x2)
Check von 35 Tohler
Intresen

OFTHS Collection

1. Christian Diehl; 122 words; German

Table A2-44. Christian Diehl written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1863	Kabutgehen	Kaputtgehen	Brüter	Brüder
	ga	ja	mufen (x2)	moven
	gede	jede	konde	konnte
	gezt	jetzt	gemuft	gemuvt
	geter	jeder	fracht	fragt
	Hosbital (x2) Hospetal	Hospital	Kleiter (x2)	Kleider
			zuesen esen	zu eßen eßen
			beser	besser
			Hämbt	Hemd
			liferd	liefert
			Gält	Geld
			gekricht	gekriegt
			wirt	wird
			mid	mit
			ziterich	zitterig
			geworten	geworden
			gesich	Gesicht
			werte	werde
			schlisen	schließen
			balt	bald
			witer	wieder
			Postäms	Poststamps

Other:
ferwundat for verwundet
fon for von
fiataga for vier Tage
fa for vor
filtausend for vieltausend
Schwäster for Schwester
Filadälfia – Philadelphia
zän for zehn
bät for Bett

2. Peter Beaver; 566 words; English

Table A2-45. Peter Beaver written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1864	Seck	Zeke (Ezekial)	carriet	carried
	put	but	drawd drwd	drew
	disgard	discard	choles	clothes
			a poind	appointed
			landet	landed
			lefet lift	left/leave
			campdt campt	camped
			coments comments commnts	commenced
			mordly	mortally
			wondet (x3)	wounded
			crost	crossed
			kep	kept

Other:
seerten for sergeant
Baltmore for Baltimore
Washiton/ Wasiton for Washington
Frerick burg for Fredericksburg
Masejiues for Massachusetts
regmnet for regiment
brest warkese for breastworks
powr monkey for Pamunkey (River)

Turn Collection

1. Herman Hoffman; 89 words; English

Table A2-46. Herman Hoffman written data vernacular form count.

		Manner of Articulation	Standard	Vernacular	NS Type
English	Syllable Initial	Stop	18	0	
		Fricative	6	0	
		Affricate	0	0	
	Syllable Final	Stop	23	0	
		Fricative	12	0	
		Affricate	0	0	

2. Carl Friese; 6,268 English words, 106 German words

Table A2-47. Carl Friese written data vernacular form count.

		Manner of Articulation	Standard	Vernacular	NS Type
English	Syllable Initial	Stop	715	1	1 Lenition, "Washingdon"
		Fricative	340	0	
		Affricate	20	2	1 Lenition, "yust" 1 Other
	Syllable Final	Stop	729	13	1 Other 1 Fortition 10 Hypercorrection, "bid" for *bit*, "spend" for *spent,* "send" for *sent,* "thing" for *think* 1 FON "sent" for *send*
		Fricative	443	6	4 Other, lack of plural marker 1 Pronunciation Orthography 1 Hypercorrection, "have" for *half*
		Affricate	18	0	
	Total		2,265	22	

Table A2-48. Carl Friese written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1900	yust (x3)	just	use	used
	vergive	forgive	sent	send
	somethimes	sometimes	have'd	haven't
			send	sent
			of	off
			expences	expensive
			correspondens	correspondence
			mentioned	mention
			ancious	anxious
			present	presence

Other:
we leave it go
Alwina

3. Mary/Marie Heidtmann; 15,009 words; English

Table A2-49. Mary Heidtmann written data vernacular form count.

		Manner of Articulation	Standard	Vernacular	NS Type
English	Syllable Initial	Stop	426	0	
		Fricative	232	0	
		Affricate	17	0	
	Syllable Final	Stop	530	6	6 Other
		Fricative	295	3	3 Other
		Affricate	13	0	

Table A2-50. Mary Heidtmann written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1900			sence	sense
			diden	didn't
1901	shure (x8)	sure	becaus	because
	discusted	disgusted	sence	sense
			advise	advice
			ourself	ourselves
			all thoug	all though
			promt	prompt
			upp (x2)	up
			hear	heard
			use	used
			ask	asked

Other:
case of the Grip (Grippe?)

4. William Hoffman; 11,629 words; English

Table A2-51. William Hoffman written data vernacular form count.

		Manner of Articulation	Standard	Vernacular	NS Type
English	Syllable Initial	Stop	469	0	
		Fricative	210	0	
		Affricate	14	0	
	Syllable Final	Stop	634	35	7 Pronunciation Orthography, "promiest" for *promised,* "mist" for *missed,* "happent" for *happened* 25 Other, missing/extra past participle forms, additional final t 3 Lenition, "nex" for *next*, "contened" for *contented*
		Fricative	265	11	2 Pronunciation Orthography 9 Other, additional final e,t; lack of plural marker
		Affricate	14	0	
	Total		1,606	46	

Table A2-52. William Hoffman written data tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended
1901	discusted	disgusted	enought (x3)	enough
	conscerned	concerned	contened (x4) contended	contented
	preasous	precious	explain	explained
	disanation	destination	talk (x2)	talked
	shure	sure	insure	insured
	knap	nap	arranged	arrange
	Confeady	Confetti	thing	think
			manage (x3)	managed
			comford	comfort
			usted	used
			happent (x8) happant (x6)	happened
			healt (x3)	health
			importain (x6////)	important

			agence	against
			promp (x2)	prompt
			some think	something
			ourselfs	ourselves
			intened (x2)	intended
			hire man	hired man
			our selfe (x3)	ourselves
			your selfes	yourselves
			enjoyed (x2)	enjoy
			arrange	arranged
			tract	track
			doupt	doubt
			fing	find
			insulted	insult
			sich	sick
			promist	promised
			arron	errand
			surprise	surprised
			expire	expired
			stop	stopped
			arived	arrive
			hat	had
			throught	through
			agemsed	against
			succeeded	succeed
			difference (x11)	different
			greates	greatest
			crasy	crazy
			discurage	discouraged
			perform	performed
			slave	slaves

Other:
ackadence for accidents
cearton/cearant/scearant for certain
a due for adieu
last two letter
(un)coveanous for (in)convenient
aspectily for especially
stay to home (zu Hause)

5. Ted Schlegel; 1,118 words; English

Table A2-53. Ted Schlegel written data vernacular from count.

		Manner of Articulation	Standard	Vernacular	NS Type
English	Syllable Initial	Stop	216	0	
		Fricative	108	0	
		Affricate	8	0	
	Syllable Final	Stop	327	0	
		Fricative	143	1	1 FON, "freeses" for *freezes*
		Affricate	8	0	

6. Walter Heidtmann; 177 words; English

Table A2-54. Walter Heidtmann written data vernacular from count.

		Manner of Articulation	Standard	Vernacular	NS Type
English	Syllable Initial	Stop	48	0	
		Fricative	18	0	
		Affricate	2	0	
	Syllable Final	Stop	33	1	1 Hypercorrection, "reid" instead of "write"
		Fricative	22	4	3 Other 1 Pronunciation Orthography, "post ofis"
		Affricate	0	0	

7. Christiane Heidtmann "Mutter"; 1,417 words; German

Table A2-55. Christiane Heidtmann written data vernacular from count.

		Manner of Articulation	Standard	Vernacular	NS Type
German	Syllable Initial	Stop	414	4	1 Lenition, "Madraze" 3 Other
		Fricative	313	5	5 Other, no /v, f, w/ distinction
		Affricate	31	3	2 Lenition, "su", "Flügen" 1 Pronunciation Orthography "Madraze"
	Syllable Final	Stop	324	2	1 Other, dialectal form 1 Pronunciation Orthography
		Fricative	249	26	3 Other 23 Hypercorrection, "dig", "gemagt", "Woge"
		Affricate	3	0	
	Total		1,334	40	

8. Minnie; 256 words; English

Table A2-56. Minnie Heidtmann written data vernacular from count.

		Manner of Articulation	Standard	Vernacular	NS Type
English	Syllable Initial	Stop	48	0	
		Fricative	28	0	
		Affricate	0	0	
	Syllable Final	Stop	74	1	1 Other, dialectal form
		Fricative	29	0	
		Affricate	1	0	

9. Alvina Schlegel; 2,341 words; English

Table A2-57. Alvina Schlegel written data vernacular from count.

		Manner of Articulation	Standard	Vernacular	NS Type
English	Syllable Initial	Stop	515	3	2 Other 1 Pronunciation Orthography
		Fricative	251	1	1 Pronunciation Orthography
		Affricate	18	0	
	Syllable Final	Stop	573	9	5 FON, "intent" for *intend* 2 Lenition, "inconvenion" for *inconventient* 1 Pronunciation Orthography 1 Other
		Fricative	351	4	4 Other
		Affricate	25	0	
	Total		1,733	17	

10. Anna Wallschlager Hoffman; 296 words; English

Table A2-58. Anna Wallschlager Hoffmann written data vernacular from count.

		Manner of Articulation	Standard	Vernacular	NS Type
English	Syllable Initial	Stop	40	0	
		Fricative	38	0	
		Affricate	2	0	
	Syllable Final	Stop	80	2	1 Hypercorrection, "send" for *sent* 1 Other
		Fricative	25	0	
		Affricate	9	0	

11. Freada Heidtmann Koepp; 1,434 English words, 22 German German

Table A2-59. Freada Heidtmann Koepp written data vernacular from count.

		Manner of Articulation	Standard	Vernacular	NS Type
English	Syllable Initial	Stop	269	0	
		Fricative	147	0	
		Affricate	3	0	
	Syllable Final	Stop	351	2	1 Other, transposed letters 1 Pronunciation Orthography
		Fricative	179	0	
		Affricate	13	0	
German	Syllable Initial	Stop	7	0	
		Fricative	5	1	1 Other (hiermit as fiermit?)
		Affricate	0	0	
	Syllable Final	Stop	4	0	
		Fricative	0	1	1 Other, archaic spelling
		Affricate	0	0	

12. Ernest Heidtmann; 171 words; German; no vernacular forms

13. Emma Heidtmann; 242 words; German

Table A2-60. Emma Heidtmann written data vernacular from count.

		Manner of Articulation	Standard	Vernacular	NS Type
German	Syllable Initial	Stop	55	0	
		Fricative	47	0	
		Affricate	6	0	
	Syllable Final	Stop	46	2	1 FON, “Gelt” 1 Lenition, “aben”
		Fricative	28	5	2 Hypercorrection, “deg”, “Wog” 3 Other, archaic spelling
		Affricate	4	2	2 Other

Seifert Collection

1. Eugene

Table A2-61. Seifert Collection: Eugene VOT measurements.

Speaker	Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Average in ms.	Standard Deviation	Min/Max ms.	Range in ms.
Eugene M.	German	Fortis	19	70.79	13.16	39.8/87.2	47.4
		Lenis	20	49.93	13.18	30/80.6	50.6

Table A2-62. Seifert Collection: Eugene FON measurements.

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of pulsing to consonant ratio
German	spread	41	88.33	99.59	0.89	8.12	0.08
	unmarked	2	59.8	48	1.25	0	0

2. Anna M.

Table A2-63. Seifert Collection: Anna M. VOT measurements.

Speaker	Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Average in ms.	Standard Deviation	Min/Max ms.	Range in ms.
Anna M.	German	Fortis	7	56.61	29.08	15.1/89.4	74.3
		Lenis	2	46.6	9.19	40.1/53.1	13

Table A2-64. Seifert Collection: Anna M. FON measurements.

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread	3	138.3	62.7	2.21	20.6	0.33
	unmarked	2	137.7	121.85	1.13	78.65	0.65

3. Norbert

Table A2-65. Seifert Collection: Norbert VOT measurements.

Speaker	Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Average in ms.	Standard Deviation	Min/Max ms.	Range in ms.
Norbert V.	English	Fortis	10	54.53	15.75	34.8/82.3	47.5
		Lenis	1	32	n/a	n/a	n/a
	German	Fortis	3	25.17	9.07	14.7/30.7	16
		Lenis	10	33.02	15.45	13/59.9	46.9

Table A2-66. Seifert Collection: Norbert FON measurements.

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean % of pulsing to consonant
English	spread	2	69.6	92.45	0.75	13	0.14
	unmarked	1	144	86.4	1.67	0	0
German	spread	8	111.3	119.14	0.93	8.68	0.07
	unmarked	2	66.8	62.85	1.06	32	0.51

4. William M.

Table A2-67. Seifert Collection: William M. VOT measurements.

Speaker	Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Average in ms.	Standard Deviation	Min/Max ms.	Range in ms.
William M.	German	Fortis	10	81.78	11.85	58.8/103.7	44.9
		Lenis	11	37.85	8.06	28/51.2	23.2

Table A2-68. Seifert Collection: William M. FON measurements.

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of pulsing to consonant ratio
German	spread	15	98.58	95.15	1.04	22.4	0.24
	unmarked	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Stratman-Thomas Collection

1. Caspar

Table A2-69. Stratman-Thomas Collection: Caspar VOT measurements.

Speaker	Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Average in ms.	Standard Deviation	Min/Max ms.	Range in ms.
Caspar M.	English	Fortis	4	50.6	31.89	19/70	51
		Lenis	6	29.73	13.78	19/52	33

Table A2-70. Stratman-Thomas Collection: Caspar FON measurements.

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread	2	100.4	114.95	0.87	0	0
	unmarked	3	188.57	99.33	1.9	54.4	0.55

2. Ella

Table A2-71. Stratman-Thomas Collection: Ella VOT measurements.

Speaker	Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Average in ms.	Standard Deviation	Min/Max ms.	Range in ms.
Ella F.	English	Fortis	7	47.29	22.71	19/76.4	57.4
		Lenis	3	29.23	8.96	19/35.7	16.7

Table A2-72. Stratman-Thomas Collection: Ella FON measurements.

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread	9	91.54	92.76	0.99	17.9	0.19
	unmarked	4	107.53	44.88	2.4	44.88	1

3. CYT

Table A2-73. Stratman-Thomas Collection: CYT VOT measurements.

Speaker	Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Average in ms.	Standard Deviation	Min/Max ms.	Range in ms.
CYT	English	Fortis	17	49.32	13.29	27.1/82.6	55.5
		Lenis	14	38.11	11.89	23.3/58.3	35

Table A2-74. Stratman-Thomas Collection: CYT FON measurements.

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread	22	118.25	76.59	1.54	31.4	0.41
	unmarked	19	144.67	77.34	1.87	58.87	0.76

4. Mrs. Starr

Table A2-75. Stratman-Thomas Collection: Mrs. Starr VOT measurements.

Speaker	Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Average in ms.	Standard Deviation	Min/Max ms.	Range in ms.
Mrs. Starr	English	Fortis	14	54.9	10.66	41/74.2	33.2
		Lenis	7	17.45	11.07	-43.2/38	81.2

Table A2-76. Stratman-Thomas Collection: Mrs. Starr FON measurements.

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread	6	98.82	75.5	1.31	25.52	0.34
	unmarked	2	147.05	46.65	3.15	0	0

Litty-Evans Collection

1. Lucinda

Table A2-77. Litty-Evans Collection: Lucinda VOT measurements.

Speaker	Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Average in ms.	Standard Deviation	Min/Max ms.	Range in ms.
Lucinda	English	Fortis	8	73.9	35.4	27.7/148	120.3
		Lenis	10	17.41	8.98	0/34.5	34.5
	German	Fortis	18	82.4	23.77	48/137	89
		Lenis	34	27.72	31.69	-55/118	173

Table A2-78. Litty-Evans Collection: Lucinda FON measurements.

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread	6	99.62	91.73	1.09	4.97	0.05
	unmarked	7	158.33	207.91	0.76	26.36	0.13
German	spread	14	94.95	144.03	0.66	8.9	0.05
	unmarked	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

2. Bob

Table A2-79. Litty-Evans Collection: Bob VOT measurements.

Speaker	Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Average in ms.	Standard Deviation	Min/Max ms.	Range in ms..
Bob	English	Fortis	12	44.77	29.60	0/85	85
		Lenis	8	-12.5	26.56	-35/19	54
	German	Fortis	9	36.78	32.98	-51/78.5	129.5
		Lenis	4	-32.13	58.47	-147/19	166

Table A2-80. Litty-Evans Collection: Bob FON measurements.

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	unmarked	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
German	spread	38	117.52	100.96	1.16	33.04	0.33
	unmarked	4	131.75	74.58	1.77	79.87	1.07

3. Mike

Table A2-81. Litty-Evans Collection: Mike VOT measurements.

Speaker	Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Average in ms.	Standard Deviation	Min/Max ms.	Range in ms.
Mike	English	Fortis	15	55.24	21.03	26/93.6	67.6
		Lenis	9	17.69	44.56	-100/41.8	141.8
	German	Fortis	29	61.53	21.26	-89.8/50.6	140.4
		Lenis	24	0.82	40	26/101	75

Table A2-82. Litty-Evans Collection: Mike FON measurements.

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread	5	80.22	79.38	1.01	17.12	0.22
	unmarked	2	93.15	94.25	0.99	94.25	1.0
German	spread	11	87.54	78.85	1.11	12.06	0.18
	unmarked	1	156.7	89.3	1.75	0	0

4. Susan

Table A2-83. Litty-Evans Collection: Susan VOT measurements.

Speaker	Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Average in ms.	Standard Deviation	Min/Max ms.	Range in ms.
Susan	English	Fortis	13	59.65	18.77	24/85.6	61.6
		Lenis	12	21.48	23.74	-34/70.9	104.9
	German	Fortis	25	64.48	12.53	39/96.1	57.1
		Lenis	13	-16.26	36.91	-75.5/43	118.5

Table A2-84. Litty-Evans Collection: Susan FON measurements.

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread	8	119.61	82.95	1.44	6.33	0.08
	unmarked	3	133.83	74.07	1.81	0	0
German	spread	9	117.83	103.94	1.13	3.56	0.03
	unmarked	1	64.2	57.5	1.12	0	0

5. Ralph

Table A2-85. Litty-Evans Collection: Ralph VOT measurements.

Speaker	Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Average in ms.	Standard Deviation	Min/Max ms.	Range in ms.
Ralph	English	Fortis	25	32.72	37.78	-139/70.1	209.1
		Lenis	7	20.59	42.8	-73.4/48	121.4

Table A2-86. Litty-Evans Collection: Ralph FON measurements.

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread	4	82.93	107.6	0.77	32.88	0.31
	unmarked	7	72.31	63.2	1.14	50.09	0.81

6. Esmerelda

Table A2-87. Litty-Evans Collection: Esmerelda VOT measurements.

Speaker	Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Average in ms.	Standard Deviation	Min/Max ms.	Range in ms.
Esmerelda	English	Fortis	31	57.13	31.09	-52/136.7	188.7
		Lenis	17	6.9	38.62	-118/33.8	151.8

Table A2-88. Litty-Evans Collection: Esmerelda FON measurements.

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread	11	109.42	83.85	1.3	5.64	0.07
	unmarked	6	120.42	76.57	1.57	39.4	0.52

7. Bryan

Table A2-89. Litty-Evans Collection: Bryan VOT measurements.

Speaker	Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Average in ms.	Standard Deviation	Min/Max ms.	Range in ms.
Bryan	English	Fortis	14	55.23	23.44	24/117.9	93.9
		Lenis	10	10.18	46.35	-85/67.8	152.8

Table A2-90. Litty-Evans Collection: Bryan FON measurements.

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread	9	100.88	95.71	1.05	17.32	0.18
	unmarked	6	186.93	140.63	1.33	67.38	0.48

8. Melissa

Table A2-91. Litty-Evans Collection: Melissa VOT measurements.

Speaker	Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Average in ms.	Standard Deviation	Min/Max ms.	Range in ms.
Melissa	English	Fortis	10	51.55	20.17	16/83	67
		Lenis	7	8.61	12.54	-16/19	35

Table A2-92. Litty-Evans Collection: Melissa FON measurements.

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of % pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread	3	89.57	139.17	0.64	19.46	0.14
	unmarked	4	151.43	195.68	0.77	46.55	0.24

Templates:

Table A2-93. Template Written Sources vernacular form count, English.

		Manner of Articulation	Standard	Vernacular	NS Type
English	Syllable Initial	Stop			
		Fricative			
		Affricate			
	Syllable Final	Stop			
		Fricative			
		Affricate			

Table A2-94. Template Written Sources vernacular form count, German.

		Manner of Articulation	Standard	Vernacular	NS Type
German	Syllable Initial	Stop			
		Fricative			
		Affricate			
	Syllable Final	Stop			
		Fricative			
		Affricate			

Table A2-95. Template Written Sources vernacular tokens.

	word/syllable initial		word/syllable final	
Year	actual	intended	actual	intended

Table A2-96. Template audio VOT measurements, bilingual.

Speaker	Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Average in ms.	Standard Deviation	Min/Max ms.	Range in ms.
	English	Fortis					
		Lenis					
	German	Fortis					
		Lenis					

Table A2-97. Template audio VOT measurements, English.

Speaker	Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Average in ms.	Standard Deviation	Min/Max ms.	Range in ms.
	English	Fortis					
		Lenis					

Table A2-98. Template audio VOT measurements, German.

Speaker	Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Average in ms.	Standard Deviation	Min/Max ms.	Range in ms.
	German	Fortis					
		Lenis					

Table A2-99. Template audio FON measurements, bilingual.

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread						
	unmarked						
German	spread						
	unmarked						

Table A2-100. Template audio FON measurements, English.

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of pulsing to consonant ratio
English	spread						
	unmarked						

Table A2-101. Template audio FON measurements, German.

Language	Token Type	# of tokens	Mean vowel duration in ms.	Mean consonant duration in ms.	Mean vowel to consonant ratio	Mean pulsing in ms.	Mean of pulsing to consonant ratio
German	spread						
	unmarked						

Appendix 3: Census data by county 1880-1910

The following counties are home to authors who wrote prior to 1920. Counties where speakers were born are also listed.

1. Cook, IL
2. Jackson, IL
3. Porter, IN
4. Howard, IA
5. Berrien, MI
6. Marquette, MI
7. Faribault, MN
8. Otoe, NE
9. Colfax, NE
10. Miner, SD
11. Bell, TX
12. Crawford, WI
13. Dane, WI
14. Dodge, WI
15. Fond du Lac, WI
16. Jefferson, WI
17. Manitowoc, WI
18. Marathon, WI
19. Milwaukee, WI
20. Monroe, WI
21. Oconto, WI
22. Richland, WI
23. Sauk, WI
24. Sheboygan, WI
25. Walworth, WI
26. Waukesha, WI

Color Key:

Blue	-	Krueger Collection
Green	-	Goth Collection
Yellow	-	OFTHS Collection
Orange	-	Lomira Collection
Red	-	Turn Collection
Aqua	-	Seifert Collection
Pink	-	Stratman-Thomas Collection
Purple	-	Litty-Evans Collection



Map A3-1. State map with counties depicting speaker and author birth locations, Illinois.

Table A3-1. Cook Co., IL foreign-born population by home country

Country	1880 Pop.: 607,524	1890 Pop.: 1,191,922	1900 Pop.: 1,838,735	1910 Pop.: 2,405,233
Russia/USSR	0	7,736	24,479	128,369
Germany	93,698	178,547	189,653	203,315
Poland	0	25,336	46,658	N/A
Czechoslovakia	12,097	25,222	36,690	N/A
England	17,327	32,563	33,915	33,222
Ireland	50,905	72,448	76,393	68,688
France	1,913	2,681	3,156	3,279
Italy	0	5,734	16,915	49,747
Norway	N/A	22,365	22,781	25,734
Sweden	25,742	45,607	52,721	68,775
Total	201,682	418,239	503,361	581,129

Table A3-2. Cook Co., IL foreign-born population percentages

Country	1880 Pop.: 607,524	%	1890 Pop.: 1,191,922	%	1900 Pop.: 1,838,735	%	1910 Pop.: 2,405,233	%
Russia/USSR	0	0.0%	7,736	0.6%	24,479	1.3%	128,369	5.3%
Germany	93,698	15.4%	178,547	15.0%	189,653	10.3%	203,315	8.5%
Poland	0	0.0%	25,336	2.1%	46,658	2.5%	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	12,097	2.0%	25,222	2.1%	36,690	2.0%	N/A	N/A
England	17,327	2.9%	32,563	2.7%	33,915	1.8%	33,222	1.4%
Ireland	50,905	8.4%	72,448	6.1%	76,393	4.2%	68,688	2.9%
France	1,913	0.3%	2,681	0.2%	3,156	0.2%	3,279	0.1%
Italy	0	0.0%	5,734	0.5%	16,915	0.9%	49,747	2.1%
Norway	N/A	N/A	22,365	1.9%	22,781	1.2%	25,734	1.1%
Sweden	25,742	4.2%	45,607	3.8%	52,721	2.9%	68,775	2.9%
Total	201,682	33.2%	418,239	35.1%	503,361	27.4%	581,129	24.2%

Figure A3-1. Foreign-born population; Cook Co., IL

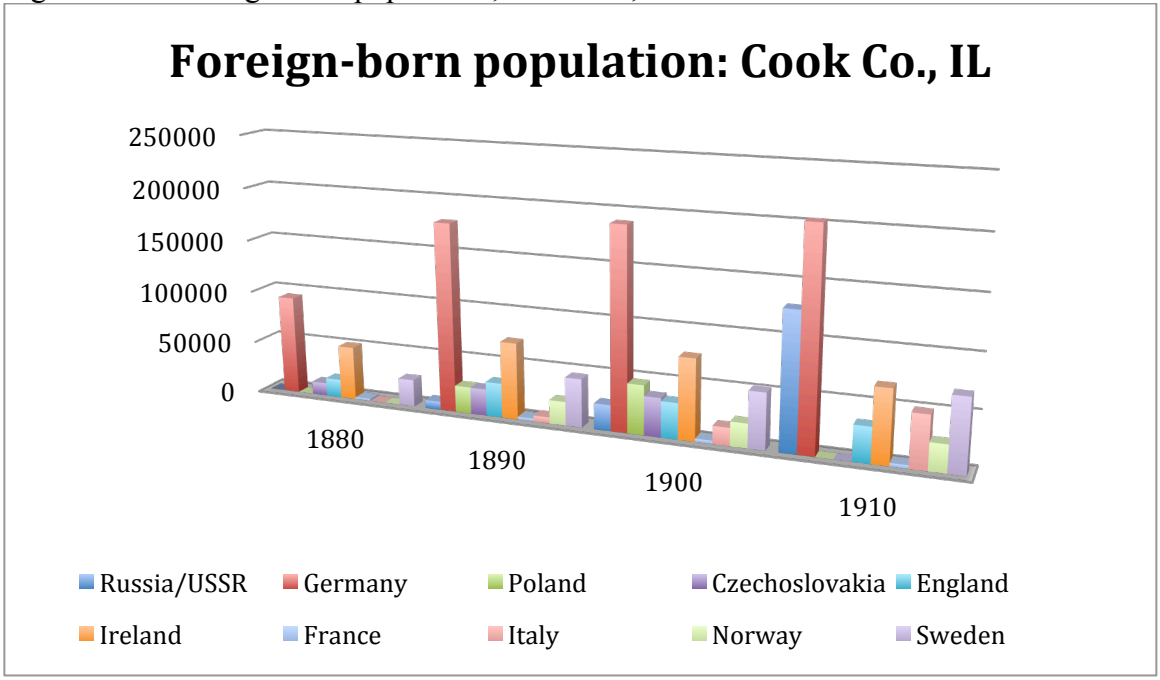


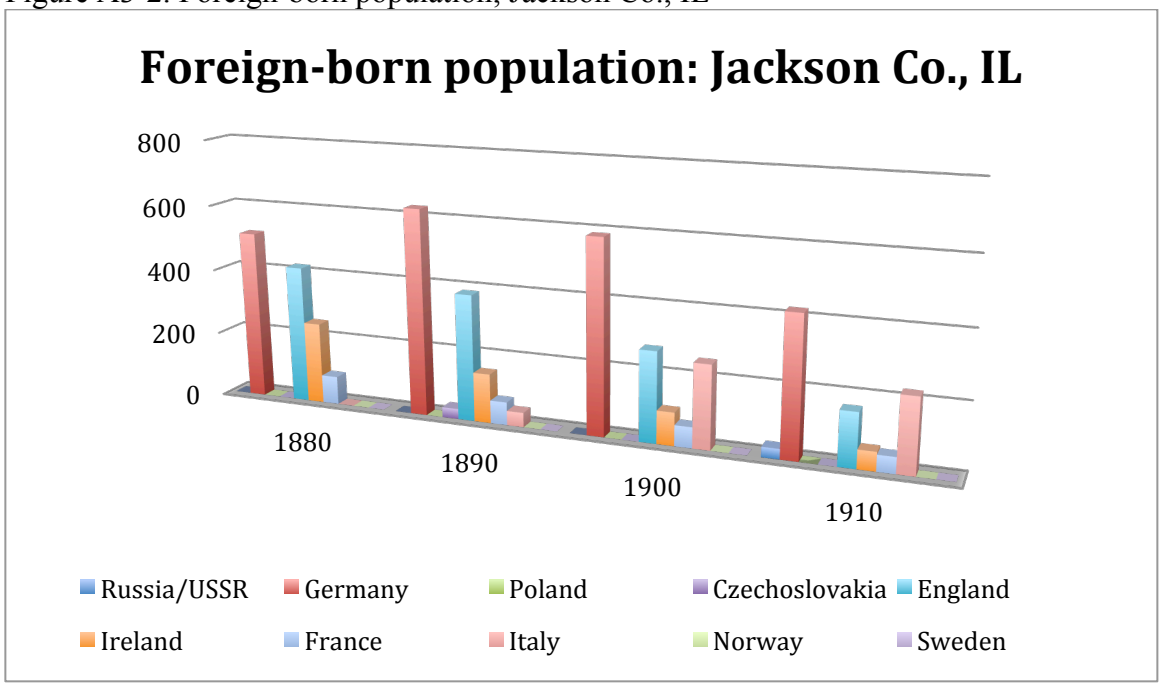
Table A3-3. Jackson Co., IL foreign-born population by home country

Country	1880 Pop.: 22,505	1890 Pop.: 27,809	1900 Pop.: 33,871	1910 Pop.: 35,143
Russia/USSR	0	0	0	31
Germany	513	628	587	422
Poland	0	0	0	N/A
Czechoslovakia	0	31	0	N/A
England	419	385	274	163
Ireland	248	150	100	57
France	86	70	63	49
Italy	0	44	252	225
Norway	N/A	0	0	0
Sweden	0	0	0	0
Total	1,266	1,308	1,276	947

Table A3-4. Jackson Co., IL foreign-born population percentages

Country	1880		1890		1900		1910	
	Pop.: 22,505	%	Pop.: 27,809	%	Pop.: 33,871	%	Pop.: 35,143	%
Russia/USSR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	31	0.1%
Germany	513	2.3%	628	2.3%	587	1.7%	422	1.2%
Poland	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	0	0.0%	31	0.1%	0	0.0%	N/A	N/A
England	419	1.9%	385	1.4%	274	0.8%	163	0.5%
Ireland	248	1.1%	150	0.5%	100	0.3%	57	0.2%
France	86	0.4%	70	0.3%	63	0.2%	49	0.1%
Italy	0	0.0%	44	0.2%	252	0.7%	225	0.6%
Norway	N/A	N/A	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Sweden	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Total	1,266	5.6%	1,308	4.7%	1,276	3.8%	947	2.7%

Figure A3-2. Foreign-born population; Jackson Co., IL





Map A3-2. State map with counties depicting speaker and author birth locations, Indiana.

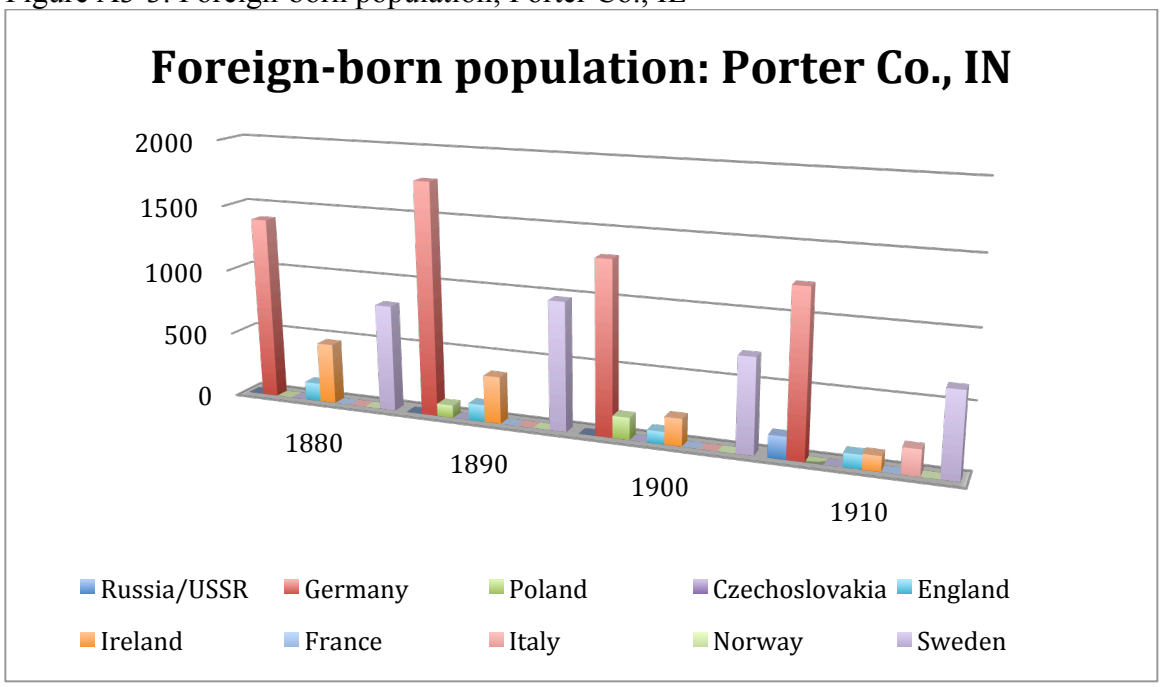
Table A3-5. Porter Co., IN foreign-born population by home country

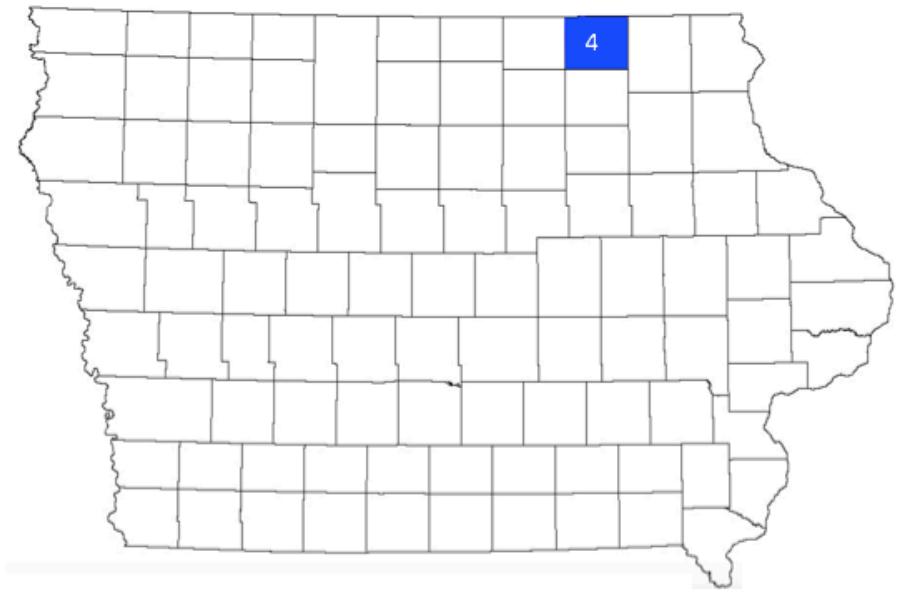
Country	1880 Pop.: 17,227	1890 Pop.: 18.052	1900 Pop.: 19,175	1910 Pop.: 20,540
Russia/USSR	0	0	0	168
Germany	1,393	1,770	1,311	1,236
Poland	0	95	167	N/A
Czechoslovakia	0	0	0	N/A
England	139	128	93	104
Ireland	463	358	207	113
France	0	0	0	0
Italy	0	0	0	194
Norway	N/A	0	0	0
Sweden	812	974	712	636
Total	2,807	3,325	2,490	2,451

Table A3-6. Porter Co., IN foreign-born population percentages

Country	1880 Pop.: 17,227	%	1890 Pop.: 18.052	%	1900 Pop.: 19,175	%	1910 Pop.: 20,540	%
Russia/USSR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	168	0.8%
Germany	1,393	8.1%	1,770	9.8%	1,311	6.8%	1,236	6.0%
Poland	0	0.0%	95	0.5%	167	0.9%	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	N/A	N/A
England	139	0.8%	128	0.7%	93	0.5%	104	0.5%
Ireland	463	2.7%	358	2.0%	207	1.1%	113	0.6%
France	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Italy	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	194	0.9%
Norway	N/A	N/A	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Sweden	812	4.7%	974	5.4%	712	3.7%	636	3.1%
Total	2,807	16.3%	3,325	18.4%	2,490	13.0%	2,451	11.9%

Figure A3-3. Foreign-born population; Porter Co., IL





Map A3-3. State map with counties depicting speaker and author birth locations, Iowa.

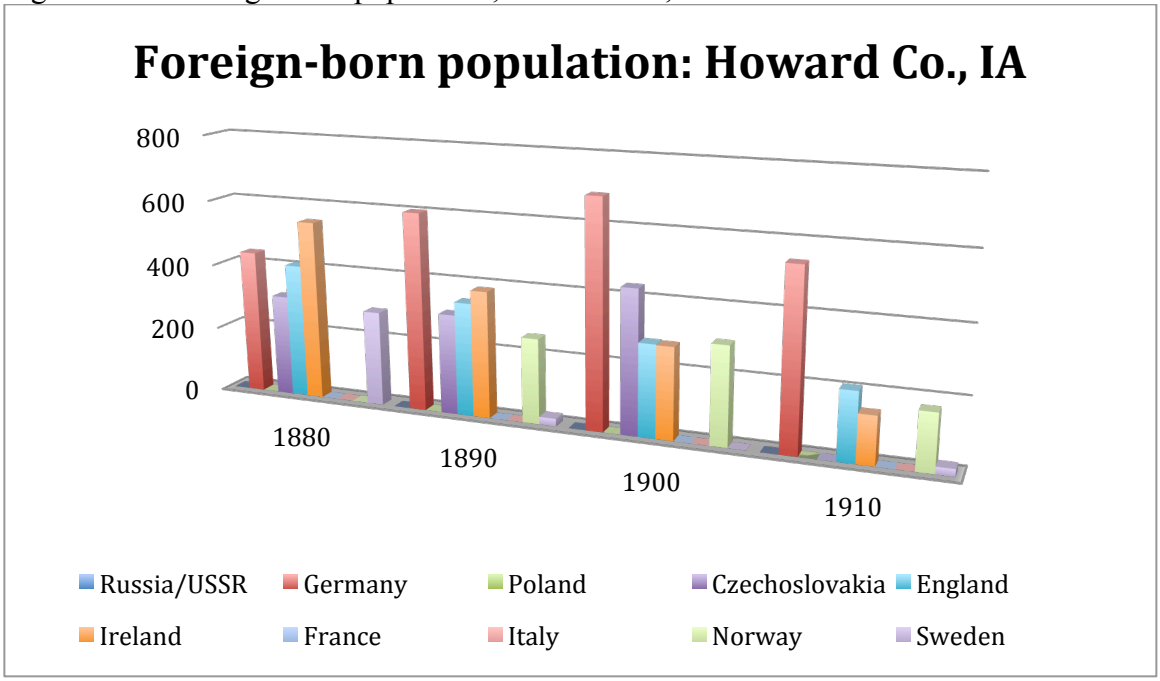
Table A3-7. Howard Co., IA foreign-born population by home country

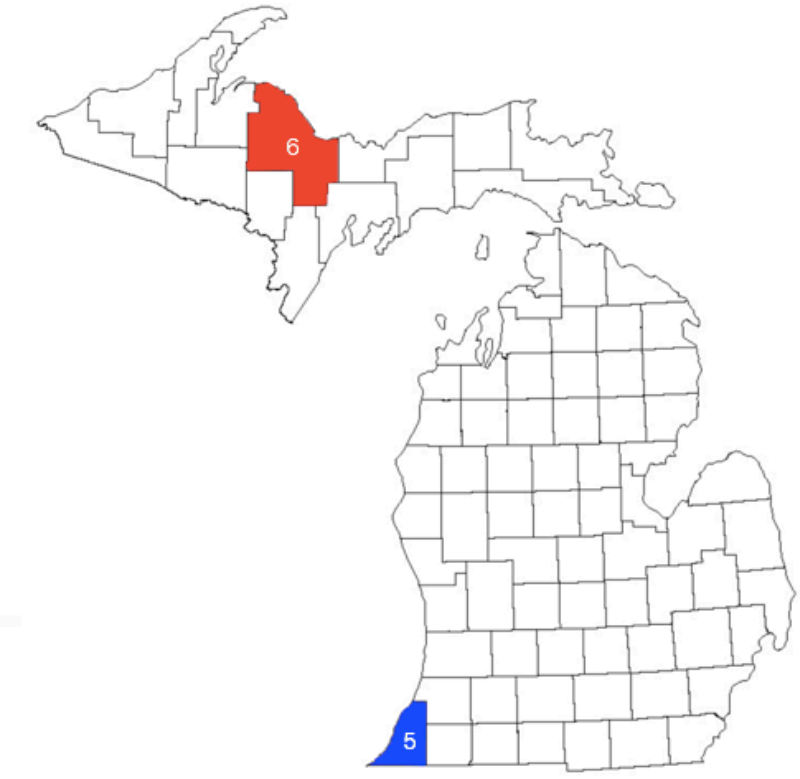
Country	1880 Pop.: 10,837	1890 Pop.: 11,182	1900 Pop.: 14,512	1910 Pop.: 12,920
Russia/USSR	0	0	0	0
Germany	438	601	687	541
Poland	0	0	0	N/A
Czechoslovakia	308	304	435	N/A
England	409	344	279	208
Ireland	547	384	277	145
France	0	0	0	0
Italy	0	0	0	0
Norway	N/A	258	298	173
Sweden	288	23	0	22
Total	1,990	1,914	1,976	1,089

Table A3-8. Howard Co., IA foreign-born population percentages

Country	1880 Pop.: 10,837	%	1890 Pop.: 11,182	%	1900 Pop.: 14,512	%	1910 Pop.: 12,920	%
Russia/USSR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Germany	438	4.0%	601	5.4%	687	4.7%	541	4.2%
Poland	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	308	2.8%	304	2.7%	435	3.0%	N/A	N/A
England	409	3.8%	344	3.1%	279	1.9%	208	1.6%
Ireland	547	5.0%	384	3.4%	277	1.9%	145	1.1%
France	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Italy	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Norway	N/A	N/A	258	2.3%	298	2.1%	173	1.3%
Sweden	288	2.7%	23	0.2%	0	0.0%	22	0.2%
Total	1,990	18.4%	1,914	17.1%	1,976	13.6%	1,089	8.4%

Figure A3-4. Foreign-born population; Howard Co., IA





Map A3-4. State map with counties depicting speaker and author birth locations, Michigan.

Table A3-9. Berrien Co., MI foreign-born population by home country

Country	1880 Pop.: 36,7851	1890 Pop.: 41,285	1900 Pop.: 49,165	1910 Pop.: 53,622
Russia/USSR	0	43	608	1,586
Germany	2,330	3,491	4,012	3,850
Poland	0	49	50	N/A
Czechoslovakia	0	0	0	N/A
England	484	439	451	393
Ireland	627	479	352	221
France	37	45	52	37
Italy	0	0	0	102
Norway	N/A	28	42	58
Sweden	135	202	242	315
Total	3,613	4,776	5,809	6,562

Table A3-10. Berrien Co., MI foreign-born population percentages

Country	1880 Pop.: 36,785	%	1890 Pop.: 41,285	%	1900 Pop.: 49,165	%	1910 Pop.: 53,622	%
Russia/USSR	0	0.0%	43	0.1%	608	1.2%	1,586	3.0%
Germany	2,330	6.3%	3,491	8.5%	4,012	8.2%	3,850	7.2%
Poland	0	0.0%	49	0.1%	50	0.1%	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	N/A	N/A
England	484	1.3%	439	1.1%	451	0.9%	393	0.7%
Ireland	627	1.7%	479	1.2%	352	0.7%	221	0.4%
France	37	0.1%	45	0.1%	52	0.1%	37	0.1%
Italy	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	102	0.2%
Norway	N/A	N/A	28	0.1%	42	0.1%	58	0.1%
Sweden	135	0.4%	202	0.5%	242	0.5%	315	0.6%
Total	3,613	9.8%	4,776	11.6%	5,809	11.8%	6,562	12.2%

Figure A3-5. Foreign-born population; Berrien Co., MI

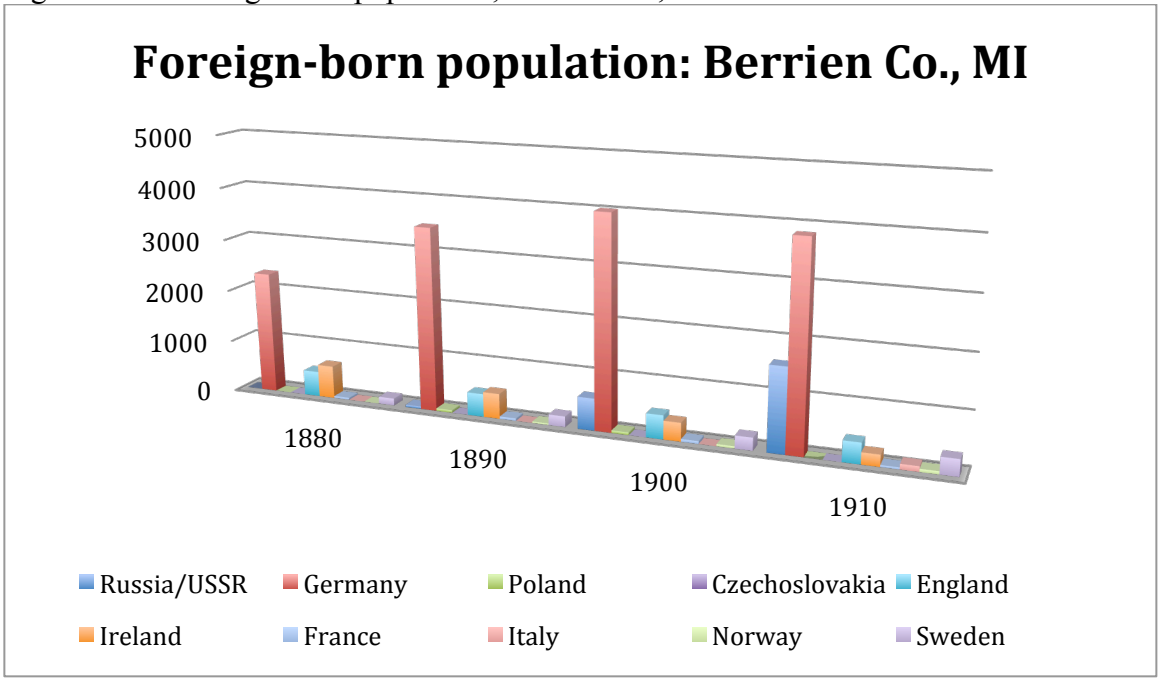


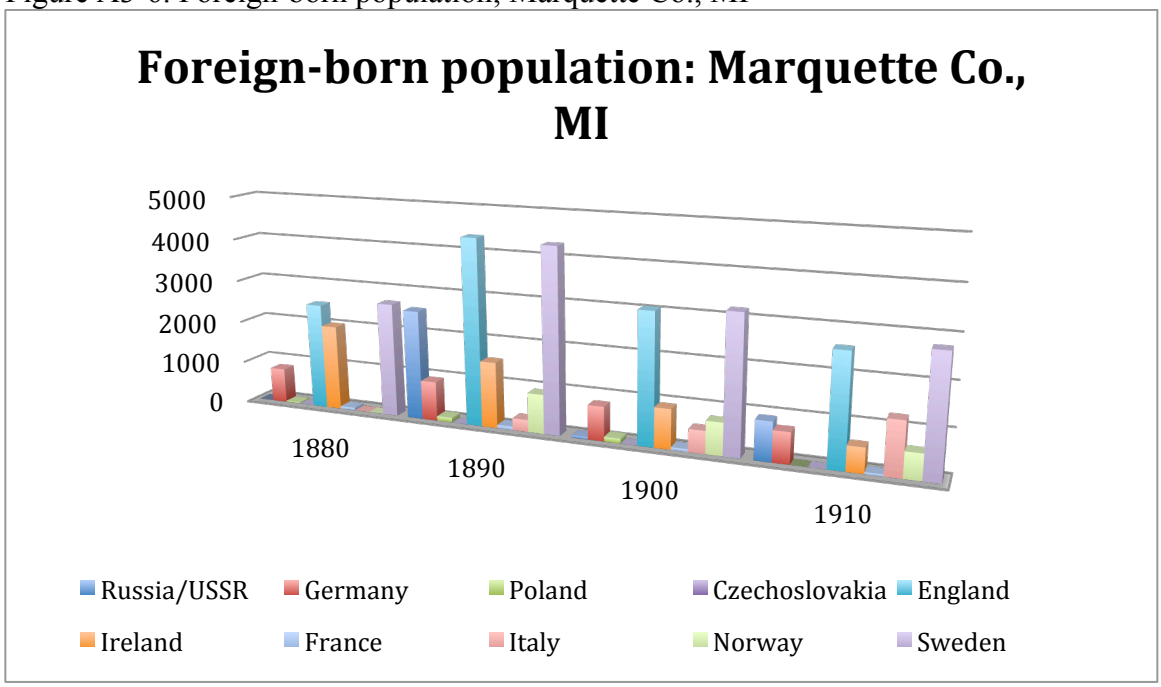
Table A3-11. Marquette Co., MI foreign-born population by home country

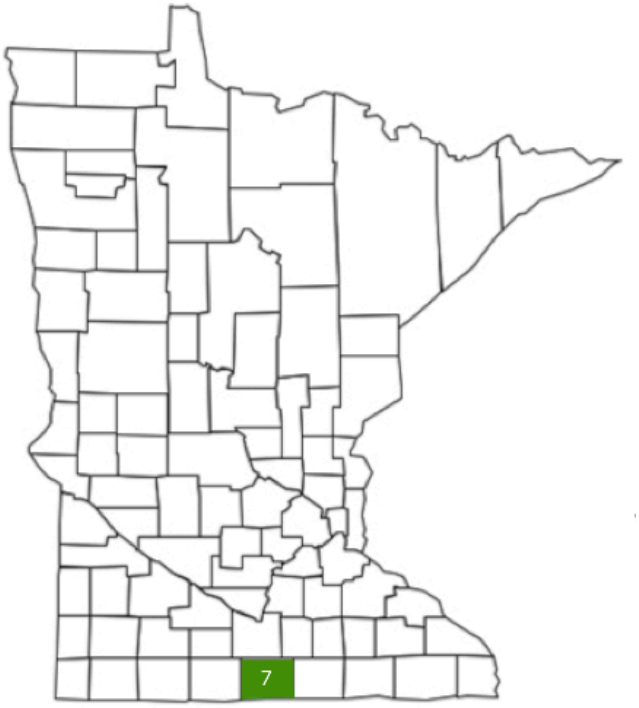
Country	1880 Pop.: 25,394	1890 Pop.: 39,521	1900 Pop.: 41,239	1910 Pop.: 46,739
Russia/USSR	0	2,563	50	907
Germany	818	926	802	719
Poland	29	110	113	N/A
Czechoslovakia	0	0	0	N/A
England	2,496	4,358	3,056	2,584
Ireland	2,005	1,543	926	578
France	61	79	64	47
Italy	0	282	526	1,251
Norway	N/A	918	757	597
Sweden	2,673	4,303	3,190	2,766
Total	8,082	15,082	9,484	9,449

Table A3-12. Marquette Co., MI foreign-born population percentages

Country	1880 Pop.: 25,394	%	1890 Pop.: 39,521	%	1900 Pop.: 41,239	%	1910 Pop.: 46,739	%
Russia/USSR	0	0.0%	2,563	6.5%	50	0.1%	907	1.9%
Germany	818	3.2%	926	2.3%	802	1.9%	719	1.5%
Poland	29	0.1%	110	0.3%	113	0.3%	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	N/A	N/A
England	2,496	9.8%	4,358	11.0%	3,056	7.4%	2,584	5.5%
Ireland	2,005	7.9%	1,543	3.9%	926	2.2%	578	1.2%
France	61	0.2%	79	0.2%	64	0.2%	47	0.1%
Italy	0	0.0%	282	0.7%	526	1.3%	1,251	2.7%
Norway	N/A	N/A	918	2.3%	757	1.8%	597	1.3%
Sweden	2,673	10.5%	4,303	10.9%	3,190	7.7%	2,766	5.9%
Total	8,082	31.8%	15,082	38.2%	9,484	23.0%	9,449	20.2%

Figure A3-6. Foreign-born population; Marquette Co., MI





Map A3-5. State map with counties depicting speaker and author birth locations, Minnesota.

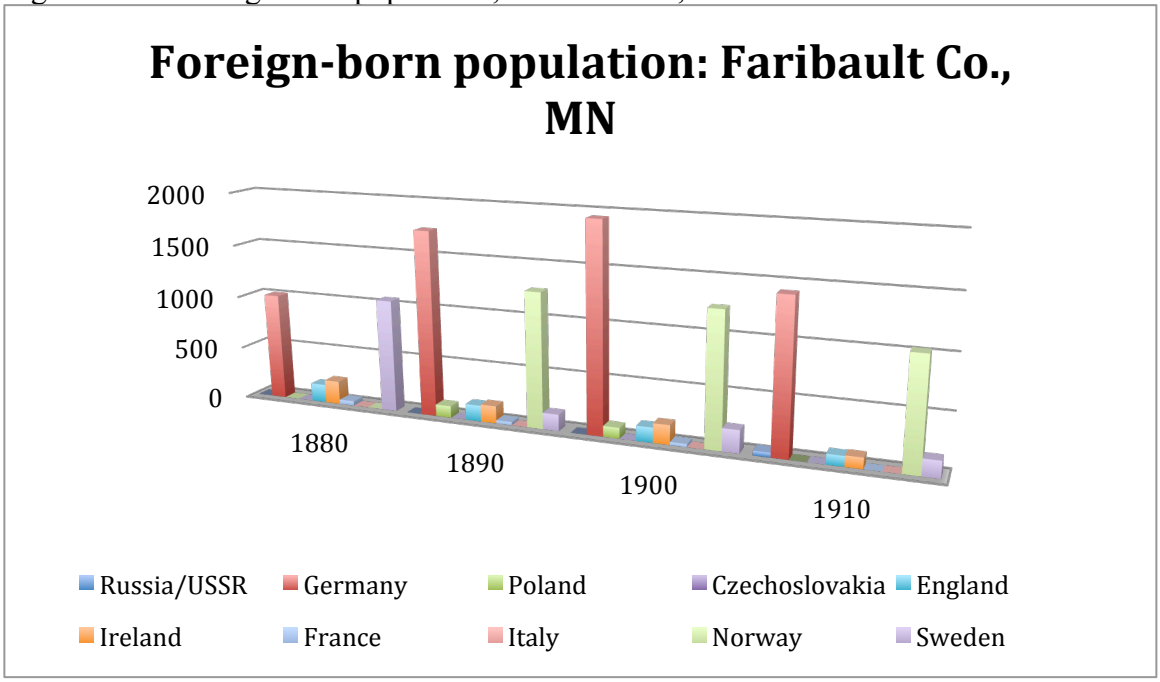
Table A3-13. Faribault Co., MN foreign-born population by home country

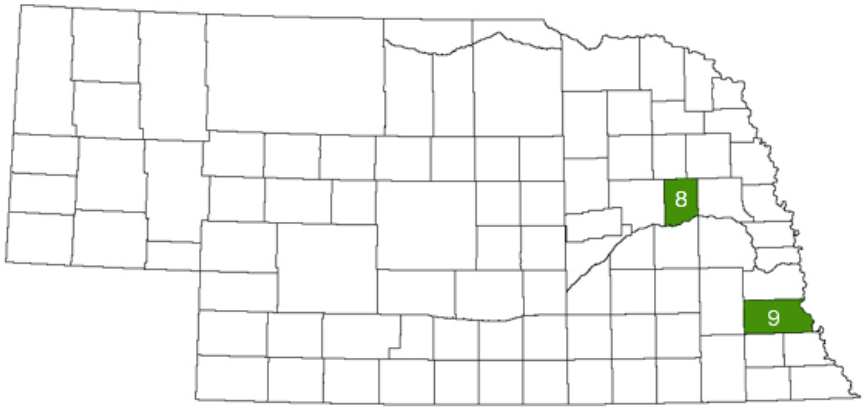
Country	1880 Pop.: 13,016	1890 Pop.: 16,708	1900 Pop.: 22.055	1910 Pop.: 19,949
Russia/USSR	0	0	0	44
Germany	1,012	1,740	1,942	1,419
Poland	0	111	101	N/A
Czechoslovakia	0	0	0	N/A
England	173	151	141	96
Ireland	220	163	182	102
France	42	30	28	0
Italy	0	0	0	0
Norway	N/A	1,264	1,250	1,031
Sweden	1,060	155	212	156
Total	2,507	3,614	3,856	2,848

Table A3-14. Faribault Co., MN foreign-born population percentages

Country	1880 Pop.: 13,016	%	1890 Pop.: 16,708	%	1900 Pop.: 22.055	%	1910 Pop.: 19,949	%
Russia/USSR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	44	0.2%
Germany	1,012	7.8%	1,740	10.4%	1,942	8.8%	1,419	7.1%
Poland	0	0.0%	111	0.7%	101	0.5%	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	N/A	N/A
England	173	1.3%	151	0.9%	141	0.6%	96	0.5%
Ireland	220	1.7%	163	1.0%	182	0.8%	102	0.5%
France	42	0.3%	30	0.2%	28	0.1%	0	0.0%
Italy	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Norway	N/A	N/A	1,264	7.6%	1,250	5.7%	1,031	5.2%
Sweden	1,060	8.1%	155	0.9%	212	1.0%	156	0.8%
Total	2,507	19.3%	3,614	21.6%	3,856	17.5%	2,848	14.3%

Figure A3-7. Foreign-born population; Faribault Co., MN





Map A3-6. State map with counties depicting speaker and author birth locations, Nebraska.

Table A3-15. Colfax Co., NE foreign-born population by home country

Country	1880 Pop.: 6,588	1890 Pop.: 10.453	1900 Pop.: 11,211	1910 Pop.: 11,610
Russia/USSR	0	0	0	22
Germany	528	824	793	608
Poland	0	0	0	N/A
Czechoslovakia	1,054	1,704	1,728	N/A
England	92	117	72	47
Ireland	152	152	115	72
France	0	0	0	0
Italy	0	0	0	21
Norway	N/A	28	0	0
Sweden	33	31	43	25
Total	1,859	2,856	2,751	795

Table A3-16. Colfax Co., NE foreign-born population percentages

Country	1880 Pop.: 6,588	%	1890 Pop.: 10.453	%	1900 Pop.: 11,211	%	1910 Pop.: 11,610	%
Russia/USSR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	22	0.2%
Germany	528	8.0%	824	7.9%	793	7.1%	608	5.2%
Poland	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	1,054	16.0%	1,704	16.3%	1,728	15.4%	N/A	N/A
England	92	1.4%	117	1.1%	72	0.6%	47	0.4%
Ireland	152	2.3%	152	1.5%	115	1.0%	72	0.6%
France	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Italy	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	21	0.2%
Norway	N/A	N/A	28	0.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Sweden	33	0.5%	31	0.3%	43	0.4%	25	0.2%
Total	1,859	28.2%	2,856	27.3%	2,751	24.5%	795	6.8%

Figure A3-8. Foreign-born population; Colfax Co., NE

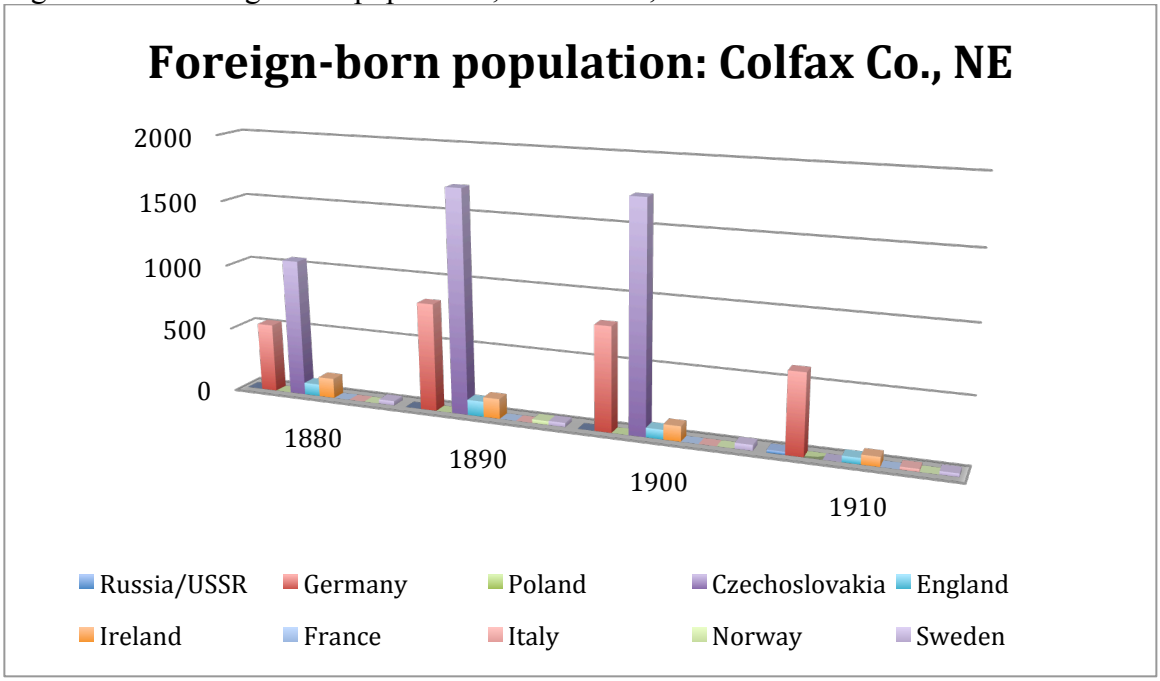


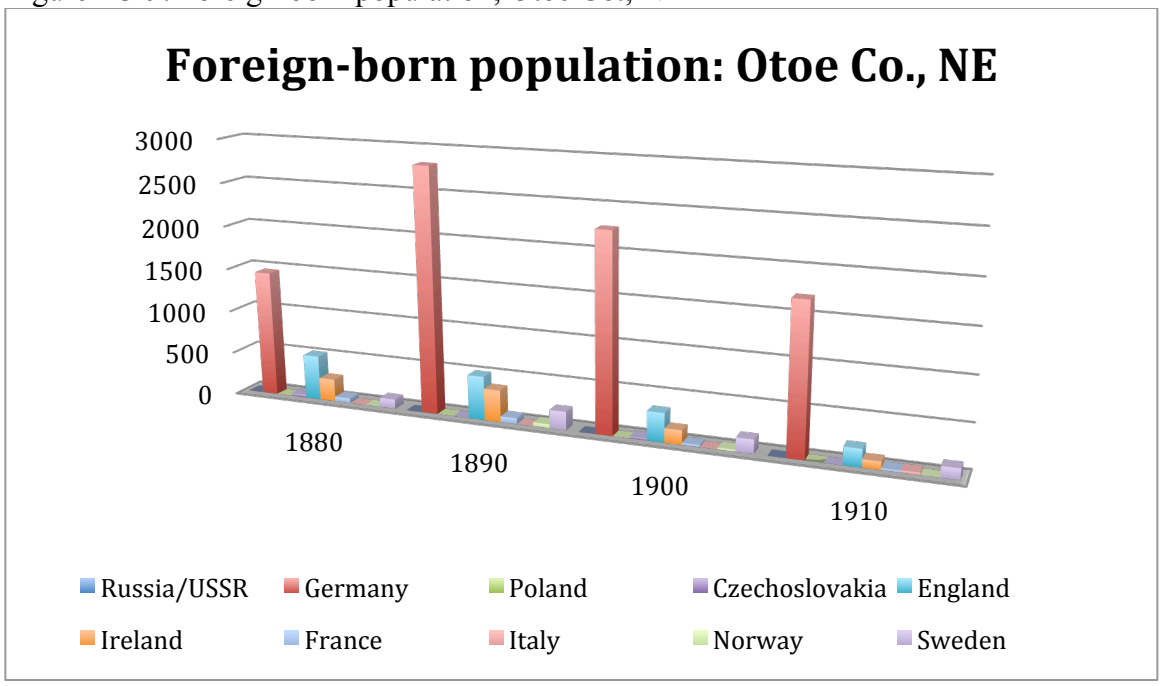
Table A3-17. Otoe Co., NE foreign-born population by home country

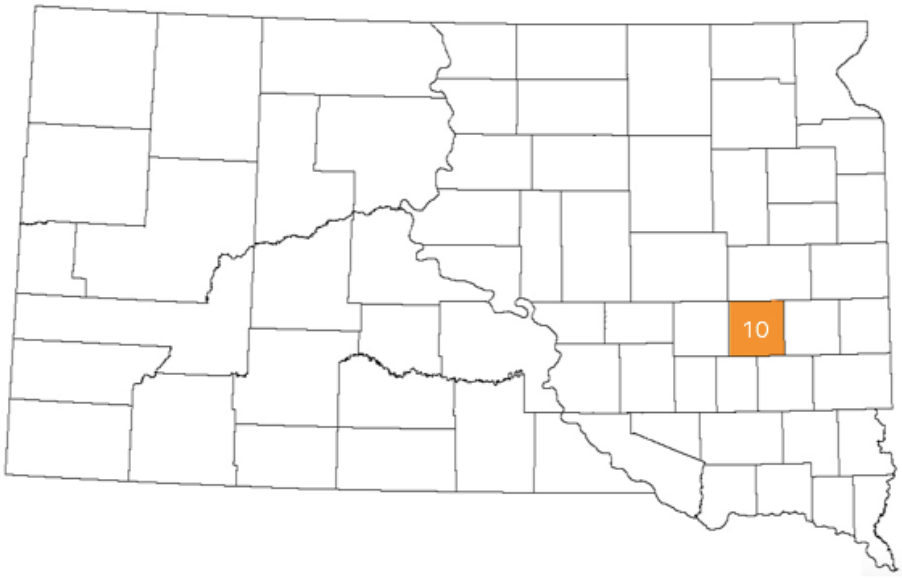
Country	1880 Pop.: 15,727	1890 Pop.: 25,403	1900 Pop.: 22,288	1910 Pop.: 19,323
Russia/USSR	0	0	0	0
Germany	1,454	2,816	2,259	1,704
Poland	0	0	0	N/A
Czechoslovakia	29	0	21	N/A
England	516	502	332	202
Ireland	259	365	163	92
France	54	66	24	22
Italy	0	0	0	26
Norway	N/A	44	20	0
Sweden	107	211	159	124
Total	2,419	4,004	2,978	2,170

Table A3-18. Otoe Co., NE foreign-born population percentages

Country	1880 Pop.: 15,727	%	1890 Pop.: 25,403	%	1900 Pop.: 22,288	%	1910 Pop.: 19,323	%
Russia/USSR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Germany	1,454	9.2%	2,816	11.1%	2,259	10.1%	1,704	8.8%
Poland	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	29	0.2%	0	0.0%	21	0.1%	N/A	N/A
England	516	3.3%	502	2.0%	332	1.5%	202	1.0%
Ireland	259	1.6%	365	1.4%	163	0.7%	92	0.5%
France	54	0.3%	66	0.3%	24	0.1%	22	0.1%
Italy	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	26	0.1%
Norway	N/A	N/A	44	0.2%	20	0.1%	0	0.0%
Sweden	107	0.7%	211	0.8%	159	0.7%	124	0.6%
Total	2,419	15.4%	4,004	15.8%	2,978	13.4%	2,170	11.2%

Figure A3-9. Foreign-born population; Otoe Co., NE





Map A3-7. State map with counties depicting speaker and author birth locations, South Dakota.

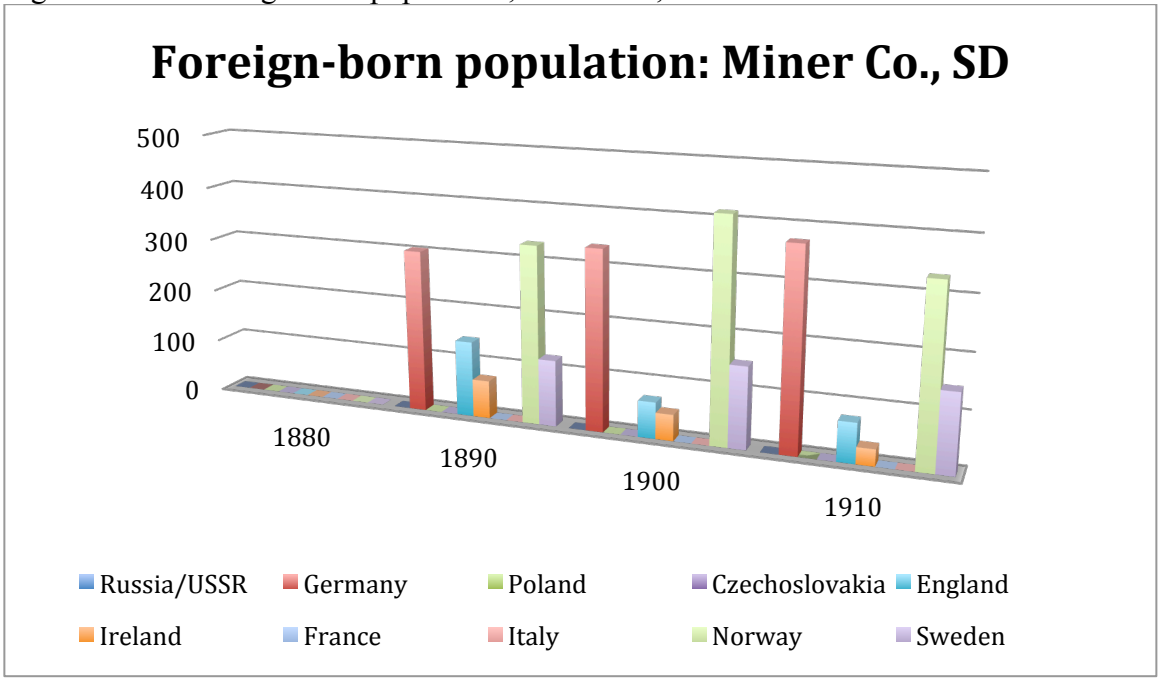
Table A3-19. Miner Co., SD foreign-born population by home country

Country	1880 Pop.:	1890 Pop.: 5,165	1900 Pop.: 5,864	1910 Pop.: 7,666
Russia/USSR	0	0	0	0
Germany	0	304	337	373
Poland	0	0	0	N/A
Czechoslovakia	0	0	0	N/A
England	0	142	68	74
Ireland	0	71	49	31
France	0	0	0	0
Italy	0	0	0	0
Norway	N/A	333	414	332
Sweden	0	124	152	147
Total	0	974	1,020	957

Table A3-20. Miner Co., SD foreign-born population percentages

Country	1880 Pop.:	%	1890 Pop.: 5,165	%	1900 Pop.: 5,864	%	1910 Pop.: 7,666	%
Russia/USSR	0	N/A	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Germany	0	N/A	304	5.9%	337	5.7%	373	4.9%
Poland	0	N/A	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	0	N/A	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	N/A	N/A
England	0	N/A	142	2.8%	68	1.2%	74	1.0%
Ireland	0	N/A	71	1.4%	49	0.8%	31	0.4%
France	0	N/A	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Italy	0	N/A	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Norway	N/A	N/A	333	6.5%	414	7.1%	332	4.3%
Sweden	0	N/A	124	2.4%	152	2.6%	147	1.9%
Total	0	N/A	974	18.9%	1,020	17.4%	957	12.5%

Figure A3-10. Foreign-born population; Miner Co., SD





Map A3-8. State map with counties depicting speaker and author birth locations, Texas.

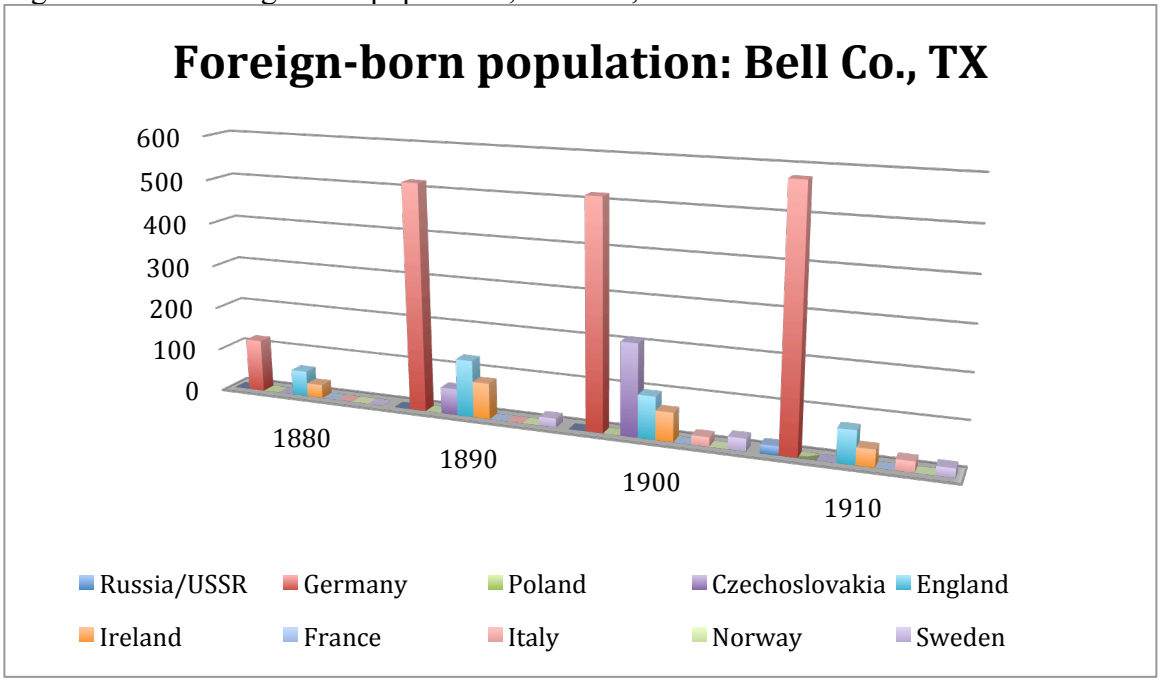
Table A3-21. Bell Co., TX Foreign-born population by home country

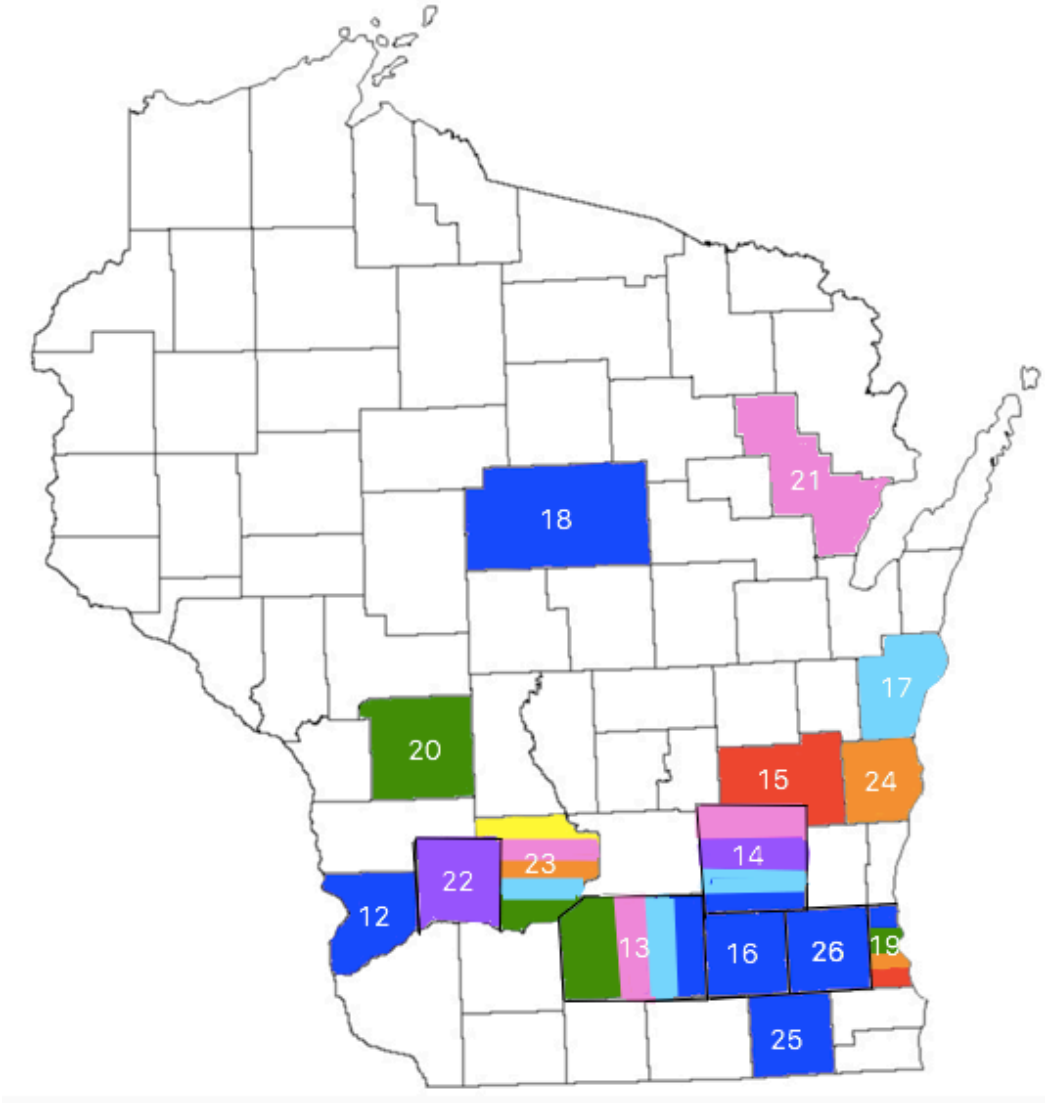
Country	1880 Pop.: 20,518	1890 Pop.: 33,377	1900 Pop.: 45,535	1910 Pop.: 49,186
Russia/USSR	0	0	0	20
Germany	121	519	517	577
Poland	0	0	0	N/A
Czechoslovakia	0	60	210	N/A
England	59	130	97	75
Ireland	31	82	66	39
France	0	0	0	0
Italy	0	0	21	24
Norway	N/A	0	0	0
Sweden	0	20	28	20
Total	211	811	939	755

Table A3-22. Bell Co., TX Foreign-born population percentages

Country	1880 Pop.: 20,518	%	1890 Pop.: 33,377	%	1900 Pop.: 45,535	%	1910 Pop.: 49,186	%
Russia/USSR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	20	0.0%
Germany	121	0.6%	519	1.6%	517	1.1%	577	1.2%
Poland	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	0	0.0%	60	0.2%	210	0.5%	N/A	N/A
England	59	0.3%	130	0.4%	97	0.2%	75	0.2%
Ireland	31	0.2%	82	0.2%	66	0.1%	39	0.1%
France	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Italy	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	21	0.0%	24	0.0%
Norway	N/A	N/A	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Sweden	0	0.0%	20	0.1%	28	0.1%	20	0.0%
Total	211	1.0%	811	2.4%	939	2.1%	755	1.5%

Figure A3-11. Foreign-born population; Bell Co., TX





Map A3-9. State map with counties depicting speaker and author birth locations, Wisconsin.

Table A3-23. Crawford Co., WI foreign-born population by home country

Country	1880 Pop.: 15,644	1890 Pop.: 15,987	1900 Pop.: 17,286	1910 Pop.: 16,288
Russia/USSR	0	0	0	0
Germany	679	690	553	383
Poland	0	0	0	N/A
Czechoslovakia	557	567	562	N/A
England	173	130	98	59
Ireland	769	548	348	158
France	25	0	0	0
Italy	0	0	0	59
Norway	N/A	801	786	651
Sweden	987	0	0	0
Total:	3,190	2,736	2,347	1,310

Table A3-24. Crawford Co., WI foreign-born population percentages

Country	1880 Pop.: 15,644	%	1890 Pop.: 15,987	%	1900 Pop.: 17,286	%	1910 Pop.: 16,288	%
Russia/USSR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Germany	679	4.3%	690	4.3%	553	3.2%	383	2.4%
Poland	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	557	3.6%	567	3.5%	562	3.3%	N/A	N/A
England	173	1.1%	130	0.8%	98	0.6%	59	0.4%
Ireland	769	4.9%	548	3.4%	348	2.0%	158	1.0%
France	25	0.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Italy	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	59	0.4%
Norway	N/A	N/A	801	5.0%	786	4.5%	651	4.0%
Sweden	987	6.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Total	3,190	20.4%	2,736	17.1%	2,347	13.6%	1,310	8.0%

Figure A3-12. Foreign-born population; Crawford Co., WI

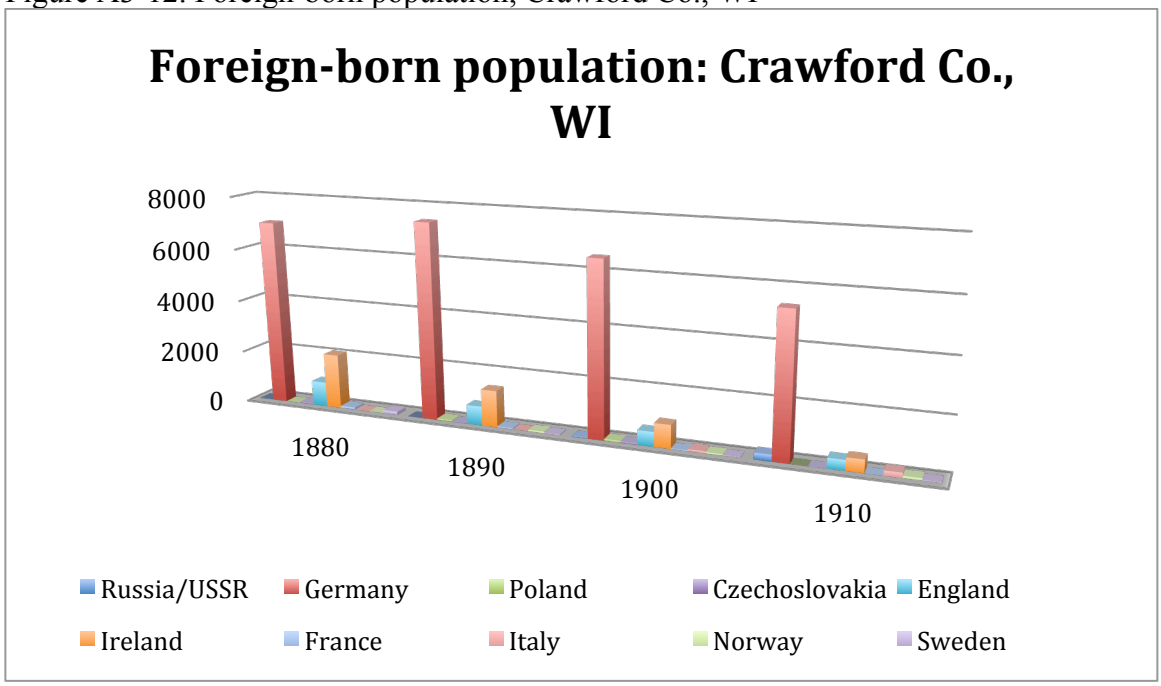


Table A3-25. Dane Co., WI foreign-born population by country

Country	1880 Pop.: 53,233	1890 Pop.: 59,578	1900 Pop.: 69,453	1910 Pop.: 77,435
Russia/USSR	0	0	70	335
Germany	5,490	5,658	4,981	3,983
Poland	0	0	0	N/A
Czechoslovakia	194	180	204	N/A
England	1,300	1,031	846	681
Ireland	2,217	1,685	1,163	698
France	162	97	99	61
Italy	0	0	0	346
Norway	N/A	6,728	6,288	6,258
Sweden	5,279	222	285	367
Total	14,642	15,601	13,936	12,729

Table A3-26. Dane Co., WI foreign-born population percentages

Country	1880 Pop.: 53,233	%	1890 Pop.: 59,578	%	1900 Pop.: 69,453	%	1910 Pop.: 77,435	%
Russia/USSR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	70	0.1%	335	0.4%
Germany	5,490	10.3%	5,658	9.5%	4,981	7.2%	3,983	5.1%
Poland	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	194	0.4%	180	0.3%	204	0.3%	N/A	N/A
England	1,300	2.4%	1,031	1.7%	846	1.2%	681	0.9%
Ireland	2,217	4.2%	1,685	2.8%	1,163	1.7%	698	0.9%
France	162	0.3%	97	0.2%	99	0.1%	61	0.1%
Italy	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	346	0.4%
Norway	N/A	N/A	6,728	11.3%	6,288	9.1%	6,258	8.1%
Sweden	5,279	9.9%	222	0.4%	285	0.4%	367	0.5%
Total	14,642	27.5%	15,601	26.2%	13,936	20.1%	12,729	16.4%

Figure A3-13. Foreign-born population; Dane Co., WI

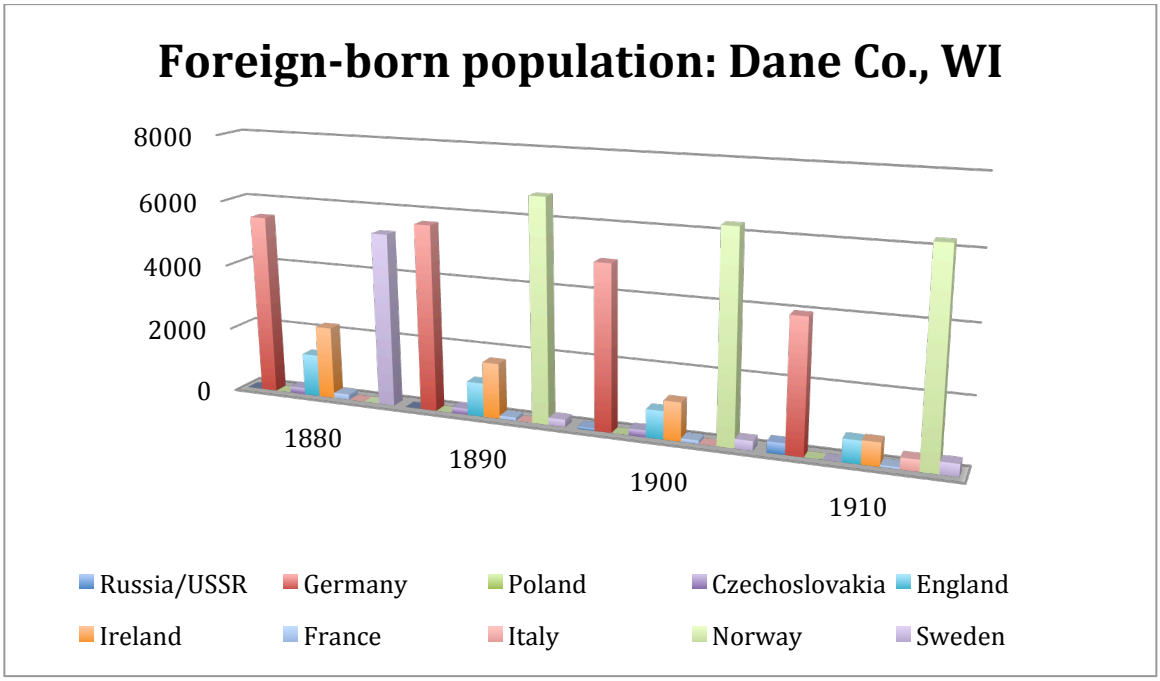


Table A3-27. Dodge Co., WI foreign-born population by home country

Country	1880 Pop.: 45,931	1890 Pop.: 44,984	1900 Pop.: 46,631	1910 Pop.: 47,436
Russia/USSR	0	0	25	298
Germany	11,184	10,984	8,868	6,920
Poland	0	257	222	N/A
Czechoslovakia	157	21	30	N/A
England	853	627	429	271
Ireland	1,572	984	576	256
France	129	74	36	26
Italy	0	0	0	74
Norway	N/A	180	93	78
Sweden	267	0	21	45
Total	14,162	13,127	10,300	7,968

Table A3-28. Dodge Co., WI foreign-born population percentages

Country	1880 Pop.: 45,931	%	1890 Pop.: 44,984	%	1900 Pop.: 46,631	%	1910 Pop.: 47,436	%
Russia/USSR	0	0%	0	0.0%	25	0.1%	298	0.6%
Germany	11,184	24%	10,984	24.4%	8,868	19.0%	6,920	14.6%
Poland	0	0%	257	0.6%	222	0.5%	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	157	0%	21	0.0%	30	0.1%	N/A	N/A
England	853	2%	627	1.4%	429	0.9%	271	0.6%
Ireland	1,572	3%	984	2.2%	576	1.2%	256	0.5%
France	129	0%	74	0.2%	36	0.1%	26	0.1%
Italy	0	0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	74	0.2%
Norway	N/A	N/A	180	0.4%	93	0.2%	78	0.2%
Sweden	267	1%	0	0.0%	21	0.0%	45	0.1%
Total	14,162	30.8%	13,127	29.2%	10,300	22.1%	7,968	16.8%

Figure A3-14. Foreign-born population; Dodge Co., WI

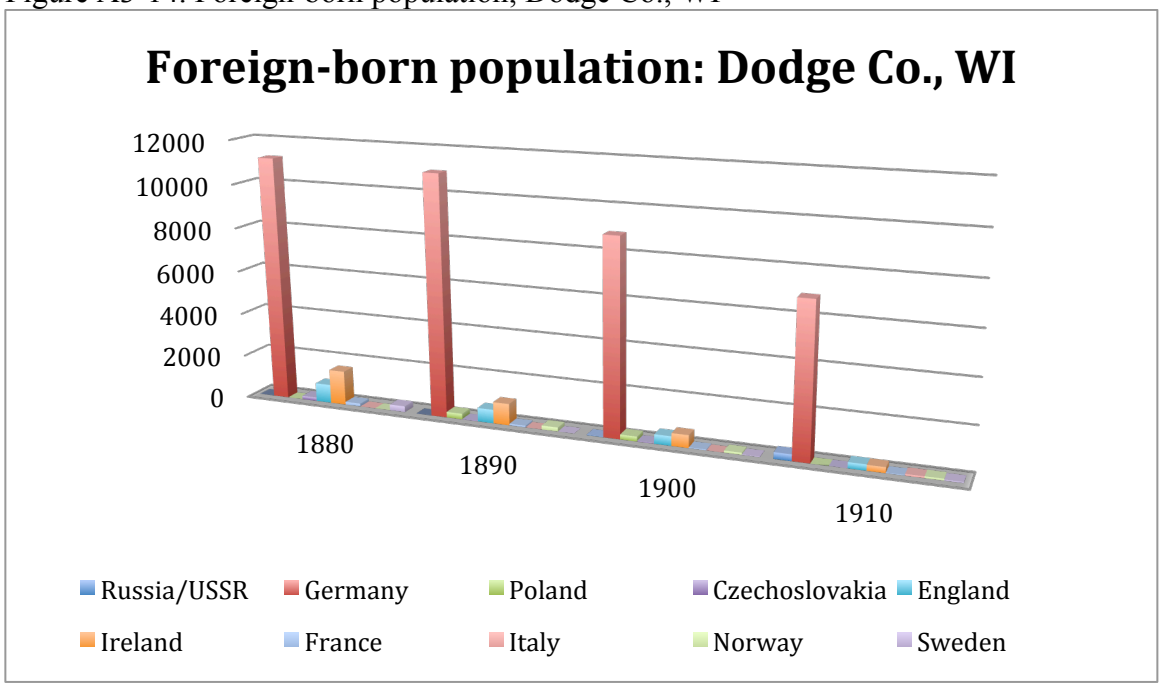


Table A3-29. Fond du Lac Co., WI foreign-born population by home country

Country	1880 Pop.: 46,859	1890 Pop.: 44,088	1900 Pop.: 47,589	1910 Pop.: 51,610
Russia/USSR	0	0	35	250
Germany	7,014	7,416	6,551	5,351
Poland	0	58	71	N/A
Czechoslovakia	38	23	53	N/A
England	944	722	550	385
Ireland	2,082	1,384	882	480
France	79	42	31	0
Italy	0	0	80	187
Norway	N/A	55	49	79
Sweden	122	25	22	26
Total	10,279	9,725	8,324	6,758

Table A3-30. Fond du Lac Co., WI foreign-born population percentages

Country	1880 Pop.: 46,859	%	1890 Pop.: 44,088	%	1900 Pop.: 47,589	%	1910 Pop.: 51,610	%
Russia/USSR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	35	0.1%	250	0.5%
Germany	7,014	15.0%	7,416	16.8%	6,551	13.8%	5,351	10.4%
Poland	0	0.0%	58	0.1%	71	0.1%	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	38	0.1%	23	0.1%	53	0.1%	N/A	N/A
England	944	2.0%	722	1.6%	550	1.2%	385	0.7%
Ireland	2,082	4.4%	1,384	3.1%	882	1.9%	480	0.9%
France	79	0.2%	42	0.1%	31	0.1%	0	0.0%
Italy	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	80	0.2%	187	0.4%
Norway	N/A	N/A	55	0.1%	49	0.1%	79	0.2%
Sweden	122	0.3%	25	0.1%	22	0.0%	26	0.1%
Total	10,279	21.9%	9,725	22.1%	8,324	17.5%	6,758	13.1%

Figure A3-15. Foreign-born population; Fond du Lac Co., WI

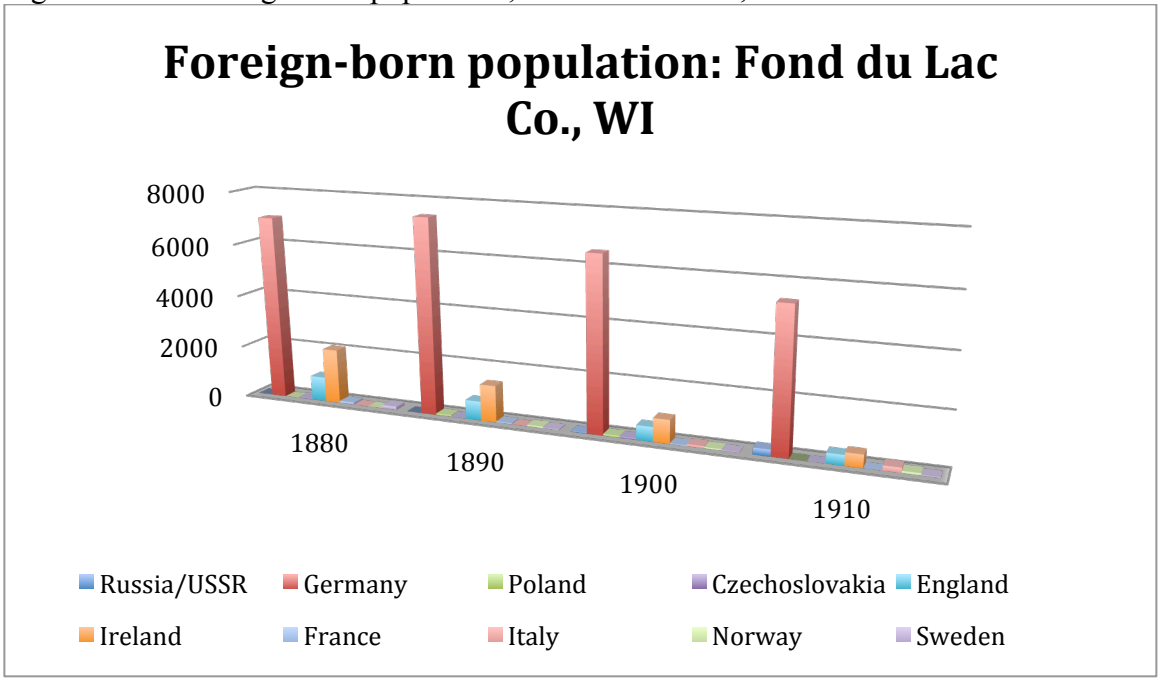


Table A3-31. Jefferson Co., WI foreign-born population by home country

Country	1880 Pop.: 32,156	1890 Pop.: 33,530	1900 Pop.: 34,789	1910 Pop.: 34,306
Russia/USSR	0	0	24	74
Germany	7,151	8,202	6,739	5,237
Poland	0	22	0	N/A
Czechoslovakia	394	109	135	N/A
England	733	617	435	280
Ireland	770	524	299	171
France	36	0	0	0
Italy	0	0	0	0
Norway	N/A	245	209	197
Sweden	275	0	25	0
Total	9,359	9,719	7,866	5,959

Table A3-32. Jefferson Co., WI foreign-born population percentages

Country	1880 Pop.: 32,156	%	1890 Pop.: 33,530	%	1900 Pop.: 34,789	%	1910 Pop.: 34,306	%
Russia/USSR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	24	0.1%	74	0.2%
Germany	7,151	22.2%	8,202	24.5%	6,739	19.4%	5,237	15.3%
Poland	0	0.0%	22	0.1%	0	0.0%	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	394	1.2%	109	0.3%	135	0.4%	N/A	N/A
England	733	2.3%	617	1.8%	435	1.3%	280	0.8%
Ireland	770	2.4%	524	1.6%	299	0.9%	171	0.5%
France	36	0.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Italy	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Norway	N/A	N/A	245	0.7%	209	0.6%	197	0.6%
Sweden	275	0.9%	0	0.0%	25	0.1%	0	0.0%
Total	9,359	29.1%	9,719	29.0%	7,866	22.6%	5,959	17.4%

Figure A3-16. Foreign-born population; Jefferson Co., WI

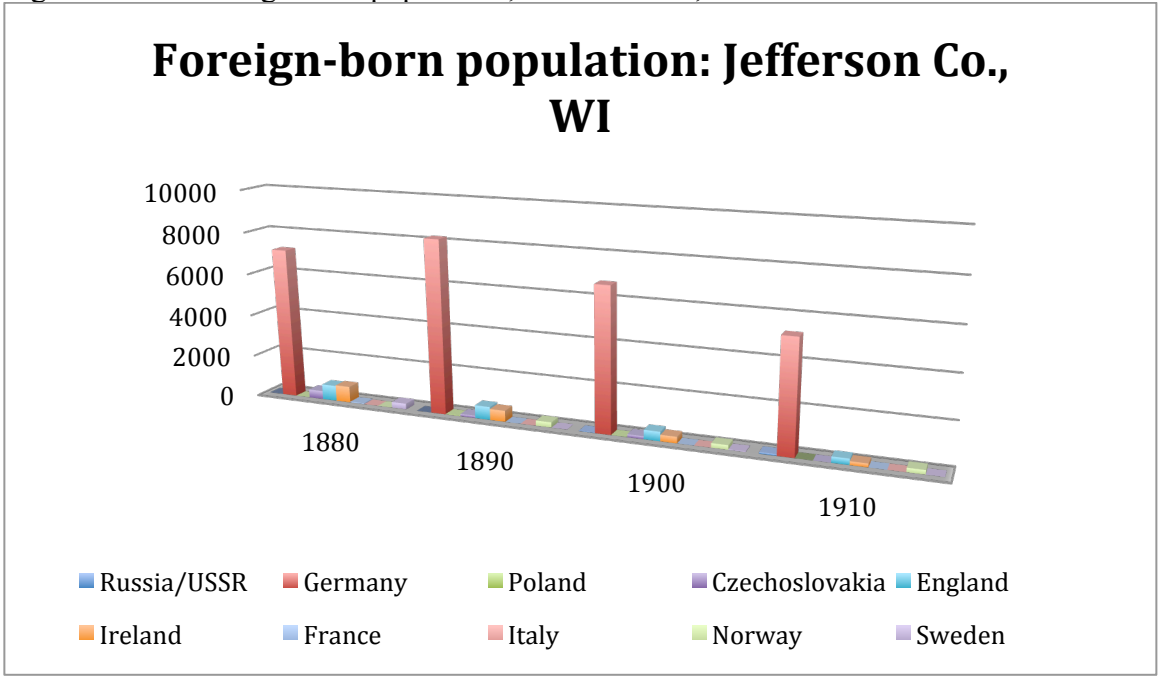


Table A3-33. Manitowoc Co., WI foreign-born population by home country

Country	1880 Pop.: 37,505	1890 Pop.: 37,831	1900 Pop.: 42,261	1910 Pop.: 44,978
Russia/USSR	0	0	0	197
Germany	8,494	7,956	5,923	5,060
Poland	0	563	673	N/A
Czechoslovakia	2,408	1,958	1,666	N/A
England	163	148	93	73
Ireland	833	578	317	168
France	0	0	0	0
Italy	0	0	0	74
Norway	N/A	900	670	463
Sweden	1,296	0	0	0
Total	13,194	12,103	9,342	6,035

Table A3-34. Manitowoc Co., WI foreign-born population percentages

Country	1880 Pop.: 37,505	%	1890 Pop.: 37,831	%	1900 Pop.: 42,261	%	1910 Pop.: 44,978	%
Russia/USSR	0	0	0	0	0	0	197	0.4%
Germany	8,494	22.6%	7,956	21%	5,923	14%	5,060	11.2%
Poland	0	0	563	1.5%	673	1.6%	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	2,408	6.4%	1,958	5.2%	1,666	3.9%	N/A	N/A
England	163	0.4%	148	0.4%	93	0.2%	73	0.2%
Ireland	833	2.2%	578	1.5%	317	0.7%	168	0.4%
France	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Italy	0	0	0	0	0	0	74	0.2%
Norway	N/A	N/A	900	2.4%	670	1.6%	463	1%
Sweden	1,296		0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	13,194	35.2%	12,103	32%	9,342	22.1%	6,035	13.4%

Figure A3-17. Foreign-born population; Manitowoc Co., WI

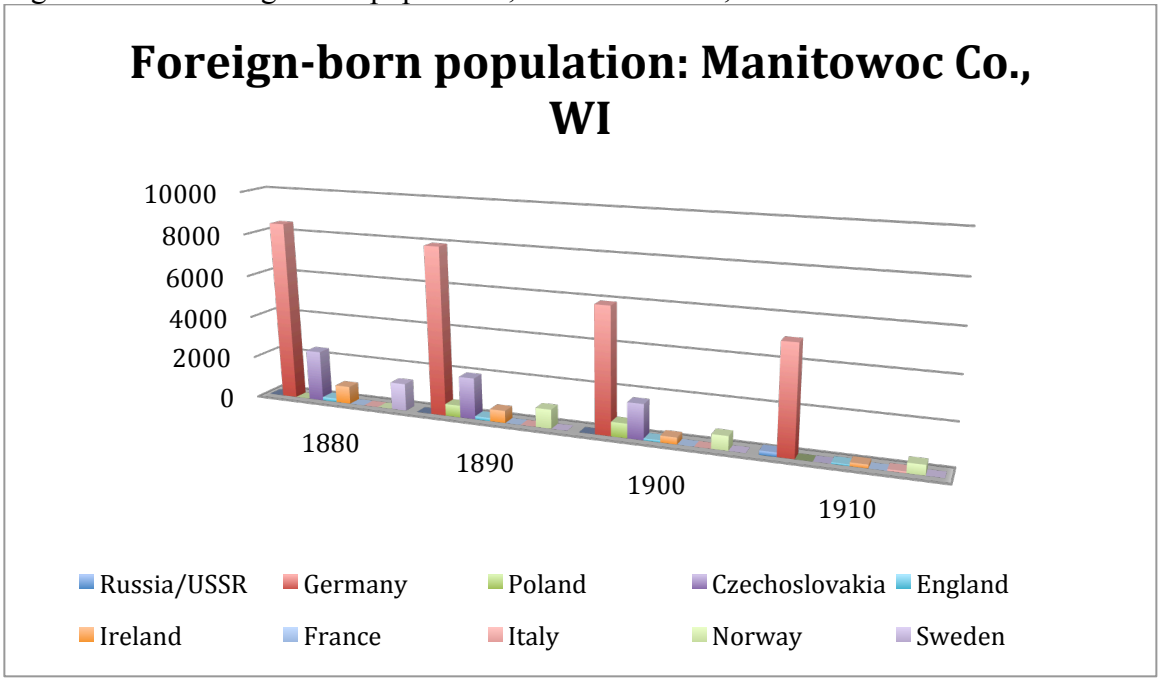


Table A3-35. Marathon Co., WI foreign-born population by home country

Country	1880 Pop.: 17,121	1890 Pop.: 30,369	1900 Pop.: 43,256	1910 Pop.: 55, 054
Russia/USSR	0	30	58	578
Germany	4,387	8,643	8,712	8,807
Poland	0	741	980	N/A
Czechoslovakia	81	161	369	N/A
England	123	161	98	74
Ireland	192	152	116	73
France	34	52	34	54
Italy	0	0	0	34
Norway	N/A	348	420	471
Sweden	367	308	304	295
Total	5,184	10,596	11,091	10,386

Table A3-36. Marathon Co., WI foreign-born population percentages

Country	1880 Pop.: 17,121	%	1890 Pop.: 30,369	%	1900 Pop.: 43,256	%	1910 Pop.: 55, 054	%
	17,121		30,369		43,256		55,054	
Russia/USSR	0	0.0%	30	0.1%	58	0.1%	578	1.0%
Germany	4,387	25.6%	8,643	28.5%	8,712	20.1%	8,807	16.0%
Poland	0	0.0%	741	2.4%	980	2.3%	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	81	0.5%	161	0.5%	369	0.9%	N/A	N/A
England	123	0.7%	161	0.5%	98	0.2%	74	0.1%
Ireland	192	1.1%	152	0.5%	116	0.3%	73	0.1%
France	34	0.2%	52	0.2%	34	0.1%	54	0.1%
Italy	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	34	0.1%
Norway	N/A	N/A	348	1.1%	420	1.0%	471	0.9%
Sweden	367	2.1%	308	1.0%	304	0.7%	295	0.5%
Total	5,184	30.3%	10,596	34.9%	11,091	25.6%	10,386	18.9%

Figure A3-18. Foreign-born population; Marathon Co., WI

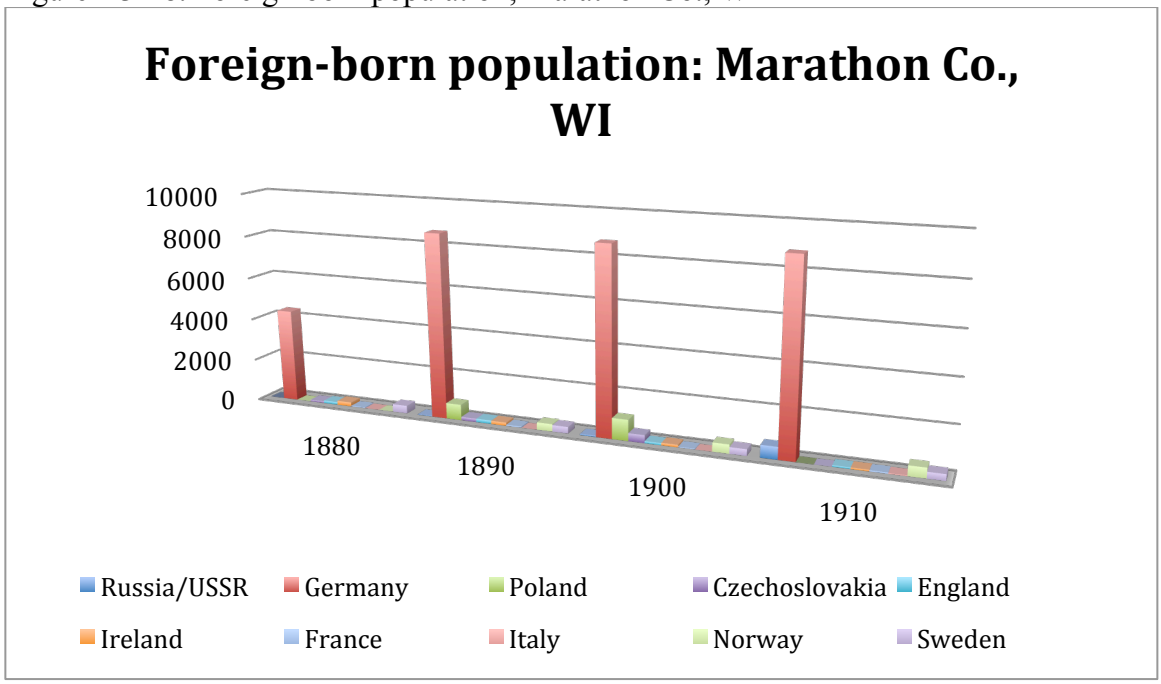


Table A3-37. Milwaukee Co., WI foreign-born population by home country

Country	1880 Pop.: 138,537	1890 Pop.: 236, 101	1900 Pop.: 330,017	1910 Pop.: 433,187
Russia/USSR	0	567	1,175	12,932
Germany	38,040	64,051	63,952	74,728
Poland	0	10,066	16,289	N/A
Czechoslovakia	1,611	1,517	1,806	N/A
England	2,435	3,086	2,853	2,771
Ireland	4,466	4,174	3,420	2,413
France	258	261	318	300
Italy	0	143	749	3,528
Norway	N/A	1,904	1,900	2,523
Sweden	1,250	386	759	954
Total	48,060	86,155	93,221	100,149

Table A3-38. Milwaukee Co., WI foreign-born population percentages

Country	1880 Pop.: 138,537	%	1890 Pop.: 236, 101	%	1900 Pop.: 330,017	%	1910 Pop.: 433,187	%
Russia/USSR	0	0.0%	567	0.2%	1,175	0.4%	12,932	3.0%
Germany	38,040	27.5%	64,051	27.1%	63,952	19.4%	74,728	17.3%
Poland	0	0.0%	10,066	4.3%	16,289	4.9%	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	1,611	1.2%	1,517	0.6%	1,806	0.5%	N/A	N/A
England	2,435	1.8%	3,086	1.3%	2,853	0.9%	2,771	0.6%
Ireland	4,466	3.2%	4,174	1.8%	3,420	1.0%	2,413	0.6%
France	258	0.2%	261	0.1%	318	0.1%	300	0.1%
Italy	0	0.0%	143	0.1%	749	0.2%	3,528	0.8%
Norway	N/A	N/A	1,904	0.8%	1,900	0.6%	2,523	0.6%
Sweden	1,250	0.9%	386	0.2%	759	0.2%	954	0.2%
Total	48,060	34.7%	86,155	36.5%	93,221	28.2%	100,149	23.1%

Figure A3-19. Foreign-born population; Milwaukee Co., WI

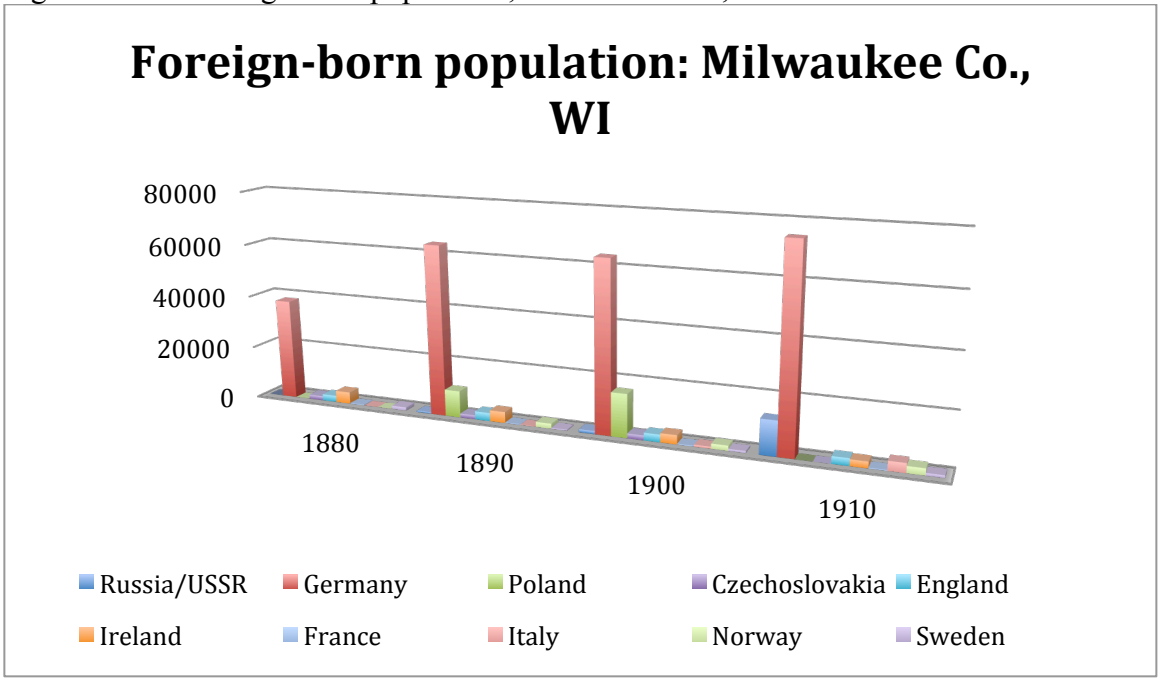


Table A3-39. Monroe Co., WI foreign-born population by home country

Country	1880 Pop.: 21,607	1890 Pop.: 23,211	1900 Pop.: 28,103	1910 Pop.: 28,881
Russia/USSR	0	0	0	54
Germany	2,431	2,944	2,936	2,498
Poland	0	29	0	N/A
Czechoslovakia	144	31	34	N/A
England	494	405	293	202
Ireland	740	513	368	234
France	24	0	0	0
Italy	0	0	0	36
Norway	N/A	837	787	636
Sweden	883	30	40	88
Total	4,716	4,789	4,458	3,748

Table A3-40. Monroe Co., WI foreign-born population percentages

Country	1880 Pop.: 21,607	%	1890 Pop.: 23,211	%	1900 Pop.: 28,103	%	1910 Pop.: 28,881	%
Russia/USSR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	54	0.2%
Germany	2,431	11.3%	2,944	12.7%	2,936	10.4%	2,498	8.6%
Poland	0	0.0%	29	0.1%	0	0.0%	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	144	0.7%	31	0.1%	34	0.1%	N/A	N/A
England	494	2.3%	405	1.7%	293	1.0%	202	0.7%
Ireland	740	3.4%	513	2.2%	368	1.3%	234	0.8%
France	24	0.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Italy	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	36	0.1%
Norway	N/A	N/A	837	3.6%	787	2.8%	636	2.2%
Sweden	883	4.1%	30	0.1%	40	0.1%	88	0.3%
Total	4,716	21.8%	4,789	20.6%	4,458	15.9%	3,748	13.0%

Figure A3-20. Foreign-born population; Monroe Co., WI

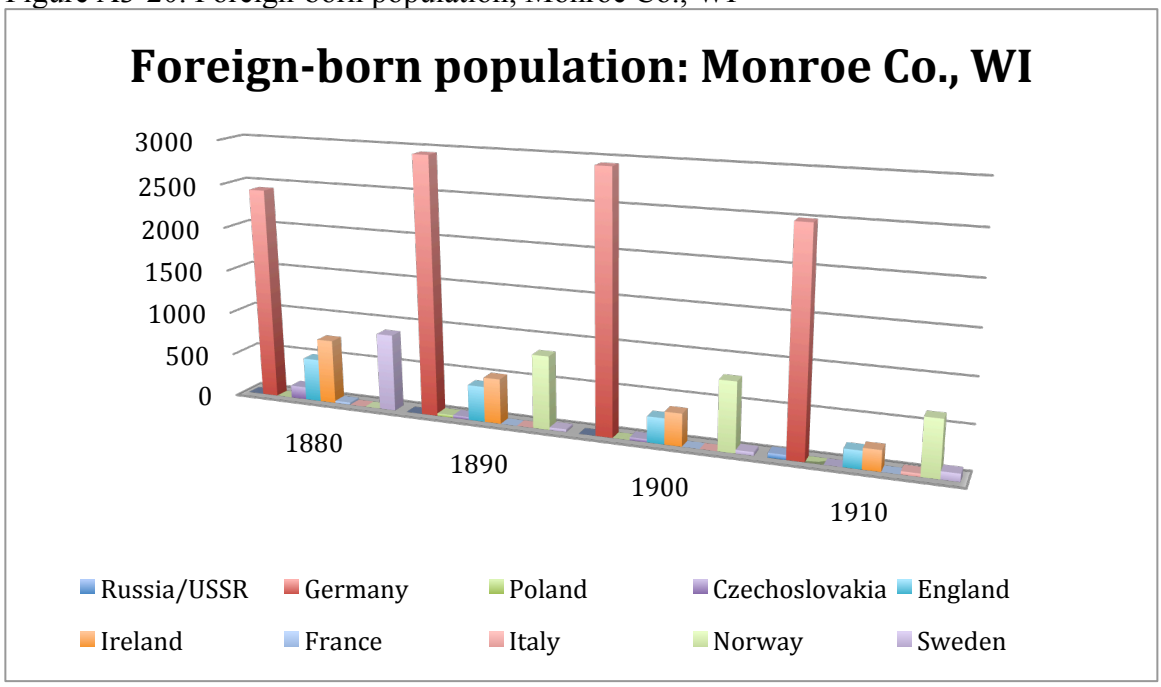


Table A3-41. Oconto Co., WI foreign-born population by home country

Country	1880 Pop.: 9,848	1890 Pop.: 15,009	1900 Pop.: 20,874	1910 Pop.: 25,657
Russia/USSR	0	0	0	726
Germany	850	1,806	1,983	2,236
Poland	0	76	415	N/A
Czechoslovakia	208	231	342	N/A
England	107	114	89	64
Ireland	325	259	178	105
France	0	82	0	0
Italy	0	0	0	0
Norway	N/A	193	184	208
Sweden	219	257	263	282
Total	1,709	3,018	3,454	3,621

Table A3-42. Oconto Co., WI foreign-Born population percentages

Country	1880 Pop.: 9,848	%	1890 Pop.: 15,009	%	1900 Pop.: 20,874	%	1910 Pop.: 25,657	%
Russia/USSR	0	0	0	0	0	0	726	2.8%
Germany	850	8.6%	1,806	12%	1,983	9.5%	2,236	8.7%
Poland	0	0	76	0.5%	415	2%	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	208	2.1%	231	1.5%	342	1.6%	N/A	N/A
England	107	1.1%	114	0.8%	89	0.4%	64	0.2%
Ireland	325	3.3%	259	1.7%	178	0.9%	105	0.4%
France	0	0	82	0.5%	0	0	0	0
Italy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Norway	N/A	N/A	193	1.3%	184	0.9%	208	0.8%
Sweden	219	2.2%	257	1.7%	263	1.3%	282	1.1%
Total	1,709	17.4%	3,018	20.1%	3,454	16.5%	3,621	14.1%

Figure A3-21. Foreign-born population; Oconto Co., WI

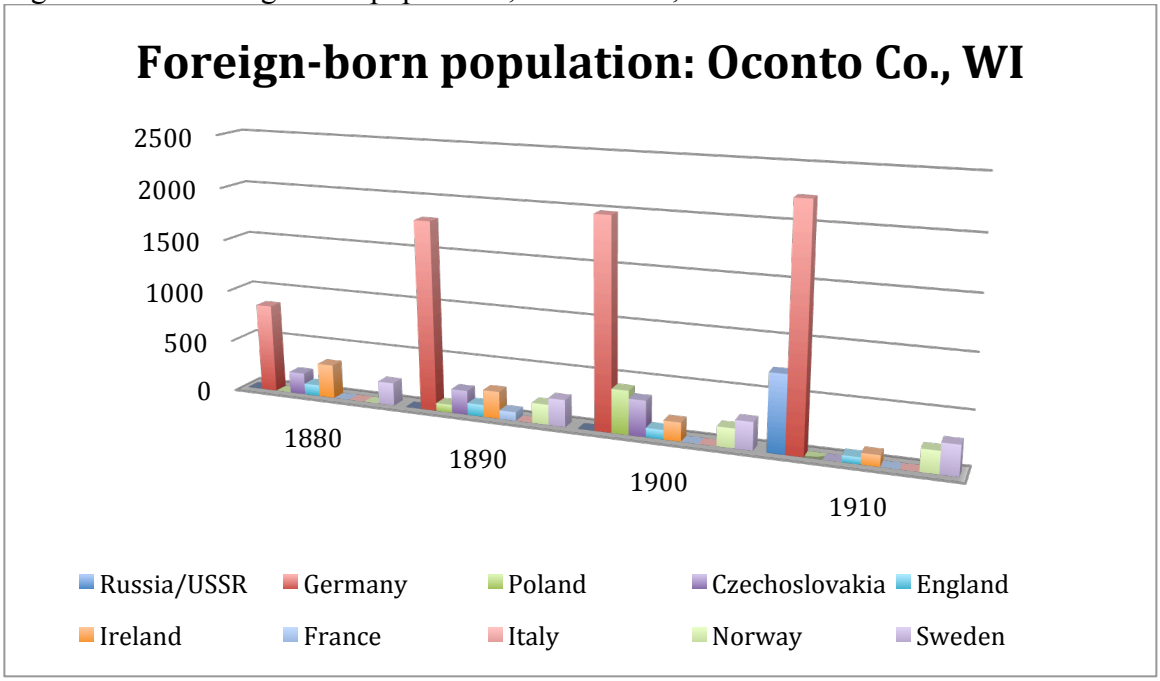


Table A3-43. Richland Co., WI foreign-born population by home country

Country	1880 Pop.: 18,174	1890 Pop.: 19,121	1900 Pop.: 19,483	1910 Pop.: 18,809
Russia/USSR	0	0	0	0
Germany	515	591	501	369
Poland	0	0	0	N/A
Czechoslovakia	103	129	139	N/A
England	250	218	143	86
Ireland	432	339	219	116
France	0	0	0	0
Italy	0	0	0	0
Norway	N/A	288	229	175
Sweden	283	0	0	0
Total	1,583	1,565	1,231	746

Table A3-44. Richland Co., WI foreign-born population percentages

Country	1880 Pop.: 18,174	%	1890 Pop.: 19,121	%	1900 Pop.: 19,483	%	1910 Pop.: 18,809	%
Russia/USSR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Germany	515	2.8%	591	3.1%	501	2.6%	369	2%
Poland	0	0	0	0	0	0	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	103	0.6%	129	0.7%	139	0.7%	N/A	N/A
England	250	1.4%	218	1.1%	143	0.7%	86	0.5%
Ireland	432	2.4%	339	1.8%	219	1.1%	116	0.6%
France	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Italy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Norway	N/A	N/A	288	1.5%	229	1.2%	175	0.9%
Sweden	283	1.6%	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1,583	8.7%	1,565	8.2%	1,231	6.3%	746	4%

Figure A3-22. Foreign-born population; Richland Co., WI

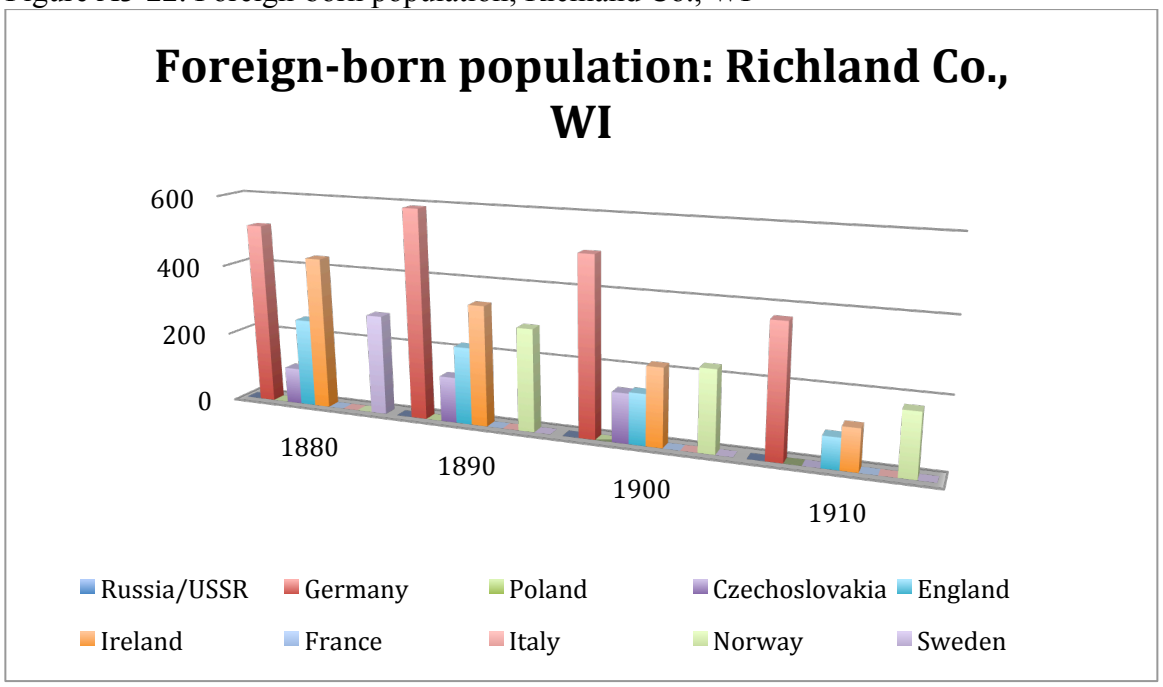


Table A3-45. Sauk Co., WI foreign-born population by home country

Country	1880 Pop.: 28,729	1890 Pop.: 30,575	1900 Pop.: 33,006	1910 Pop.: 32,869
Russia/USSR	0	0	30	46
Germany	4,315	5,210	4,498	3,647
Poland	0	0	34	N/A
Czechoslovakia	24	0	0	N/A
England	736	609	471	335
Ireland	905	662	424	226
France	86	78	51	42
Italy	0	0	31	31
Norway	N/A	123	115	117
Sweden	142	26	32	64
Total	6,208	6,708	5,686	4,508

Table A3-46. Sauk Co., WI foreign-born population percentages

Country	1880		1890		1900		1910	
	Pop.: 28,729	%	Pop.: 30,575	%	Pop.: 33,006	%	Pop.: 32,869	%
Russia/USSR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	30	0.1%	46	0.1%
Germany	4,315	15.0%	5,210	17.0%	4,498	13.6%	3,647	11.1%
Poland	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	34	0.1%	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	24	0.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	N/A	N/A
England	736	2.6%	609	2.0%	471	1.4%	335	1.0%
Ireland	905	3.2%	662	2.2%	424	1.3%	226	0.7%
France	86	0.3%	78	0.3%	51	0.2%	42	0.1%
Italy	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	31	0.1%	31	0.1%
Norway	N/A	N/A	123	0.4%	115	0.3%	117	0.4%
Sweden	142	0.5%	26	0.1%	32	0.1%	64	0.2%
Total	6,208	21.6%	6,708	21.9%	5,686	17.2%	4,508	13.7%

Figure A3-23. Foreign-born population; Sauk Co., WI

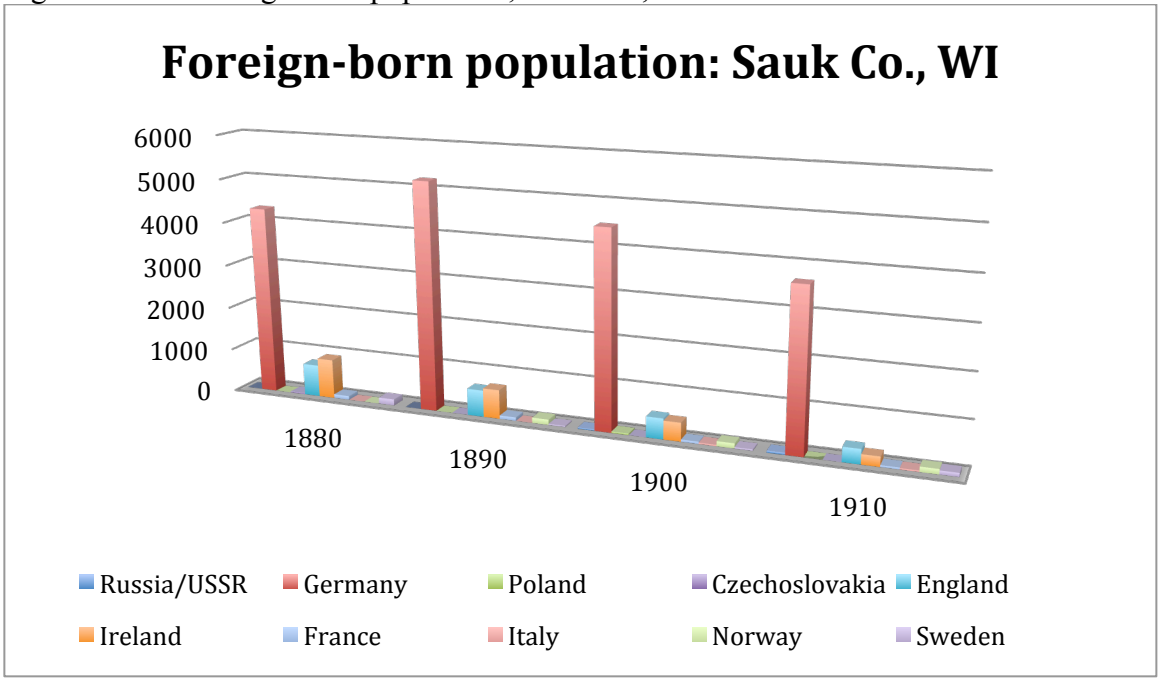


Table A3-47. Sheboygan Co., WI foreign-born population by home country

Country	1880 Pop.: 34,206	1890 Pop.: 42,489	1900 Pop.: 50,345	1910 Pop.: 54,888
Russia/USSR	0	56	236	1,684
Germany	7,742	10,761	10,067	7,632
Poland	0	0	53	N/A
Czechoslovakia	31	25	52	N/A
England	256	204	153	120
Ireland	751	535	330	168
France	86	31	21	0
Italy	0	0	0	50
Norway	N/A	199	150	124
Sweden	157	32	34	31
Total	9,023	11,843	11,096	9,809

Table A3-48. Sheboygan Co., WI foreign-born population percentages

Country	1880 Pop.: 34,206	%	1890 Pop.: 42,489	%	1900 Pop.: 50,345	%	1910 Pop.: 54,888	%
Russia/USSR	0	0.0%	56	0.1%	236	0.5%	1,684	3.1%
Germany	7,742	22.6%	10,761	25.3%	10,067	20.0%	7,632	13.9%
Poland	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	53	0.1%	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	31	0.1%	25	0.1%	52	0.1%	N/A	N/A
England	256	0.7%	204	0.5%	153	0.3%	120	0.2%
Ireland	751	2.2%	535	1.3%	330	0.7%	168	0.3%
France	86	0.3%	31	0.1%	21	0.0%	0	0.0%
Italy	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	50	0.1%
Norway	N/A	N/A	199	0.5%	150	0.3%	124	0.2%
Sweden	157	0.5%	32	0.1%	34	0.1%	31	0.1%
Total	9,023	26.4%	11,843	27.9%	11,096	22.0%	9,809	17.9%

Figure A3-24. Foreign-born population; Sheboygan Co., WI

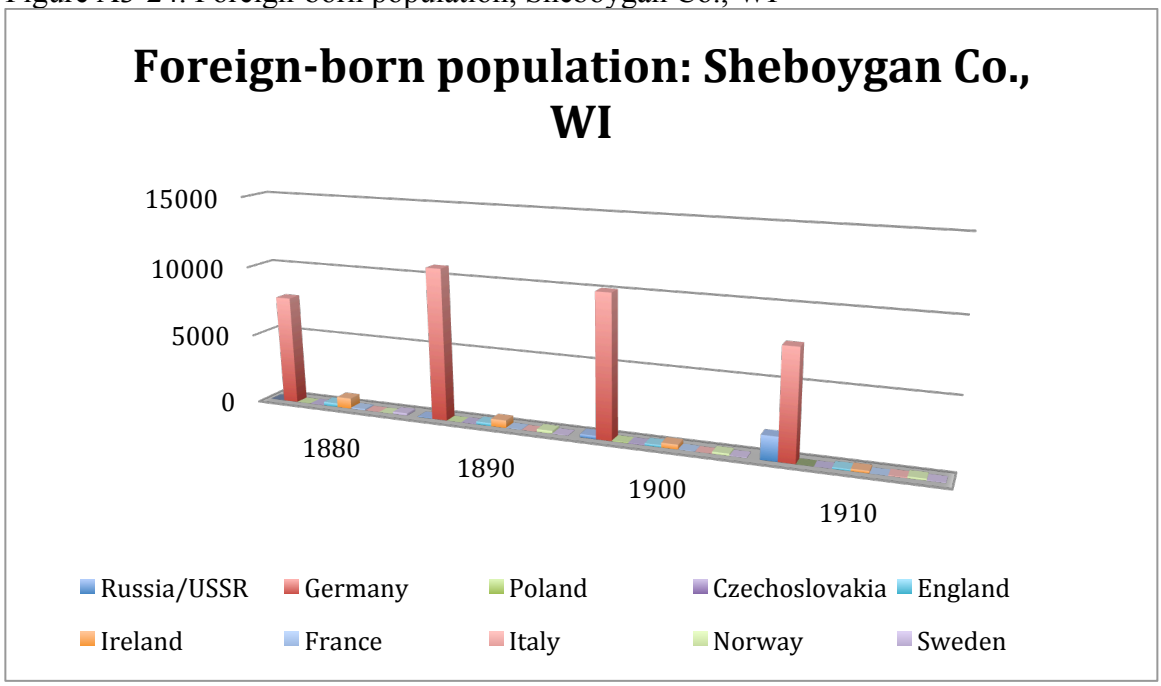


Table A3-49. Walworth Co., WI foreign-born population by home country

Country	1880 Pop.: 26,249	1890 Pop.: 27,860	1900 Pop.: 29,259	1910 Pop.: 29,614
Russia/USSR	0	0	0	107
Germany	1,296	2,284	2,354	2,034
Poland	0	0	0	N/A
Czechoslovakia	0	0	0	N/A
England	878	868	674	500
Ireland	1,422	1,112	831	491
France	91	35	0	0
Italy	0	0	0	38
Norway	N/A	515	375	315
Sweden	469	139	246	320
Total	4,156	4,953	4,480	3,805

Table A3-50. Walworth Co., WI foreign-born population percentages

Country	1880 Pop.: 26,249	%	1890 Pop.: 27,860	%	1900 Pop.: 29,259	%	1910 Pop.: 29,614	%
Russia/USSR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	107	0.4%
Germany	1,296	4.9%	2,284	8.2%	2,354	8.0%	2,034	6.9%
Poland	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	N/A	N/A
England	878	3.3%	868	3.1%	674	2.3%	500	1.7%
Ireland	1,422	5.4%	1,112	4.0%	831	2.8%	491	1.7%
France	91	0.3%	35	0.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Italy	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	38	0.1%
Norway	N/A	N/A	515	1.8%	375	1.3%	315	1.1%
Sweden	469	1.8%	139	0.5%	246	0.8%	320	1.1%
Total	4,156	15.8%	4,953	17.8%	4,480	15.3%	3,805	12.8%

Figure A3-25. Foreign-born population; Walworth Co., WI

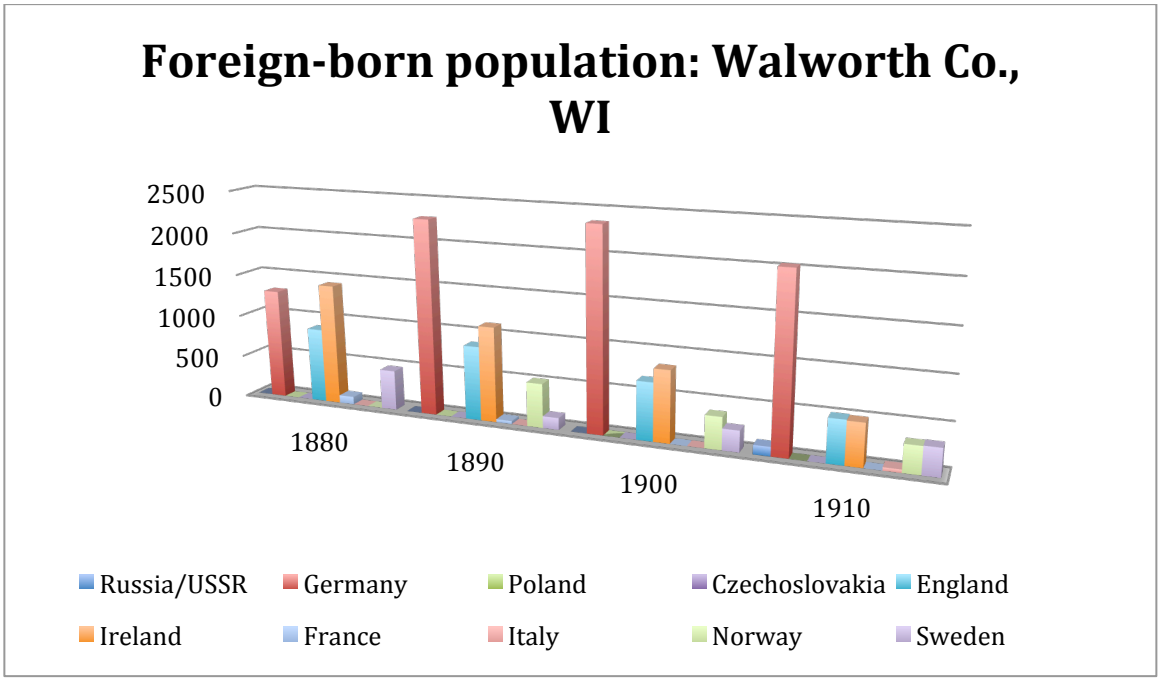


Table A3-51. Waukesha Co., WI foreign-born population by home country

Country	1880 Pop.: 28,957	1890 Pop.: 33,270	1900 Pop.: 35,229	1910 Pop.: 37,100
Russia/USSR	0	0	23	95
Germany	4,056	5,320	4,821	3,971
Poland	0	47	31	N/A
Czechoslovakia	48	0	28	N/A
England	1,737	1,445	1,103	868
Ireland	1,229	863	502	268
France	35	22	27	0
Italy	0	0	0	369
Norway	N/A	326	269	198
Sweden	360	56	69	73
Total	7,465	8,079	6,873	5,842

Table A3-52. Waukesha Co., WI foreign-born population percentages

Country	1880 Pop.: 28,957	%	1890 Pop.: 33,270	%	1900 Pop.: 35,229	%	1910 Pop.: 37,100	%
Russia/USSR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	23	0.1%	95	0.3%
Germany	4,056	14.0%	5,320	16.0%	4,821	13.7%	3,971	10.7%
Poland	0	0.0%	47	0.1%	31	0.1%	N/A	N/A
Czechoslovakia	48	0.2%	0	0.0%	28	0.1%	N/A	N/A
England	1,737	6.0%	1,445	4.3%	1,103	3.1%	868	2.3%
Ireland	1,229	4.2%	863	2.6%	502	1.4%	268	0.7%
France	35	0.1%	22	0.1%	27	0.1%	0	0.0%
Italy	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	369	1.0%
Norway	N/A	N/A	326	1.0%	269	0.8%	198	0.5%
Sweden	360	1.2%	56	0.2%	69	0.2%	73	0.2%
Total	7,465	25.8%	8,079	24.3%	6,873	19.5%	5,842	15.7%

Figure A3-26. Foreign-born population; Waukesha Co., WI

