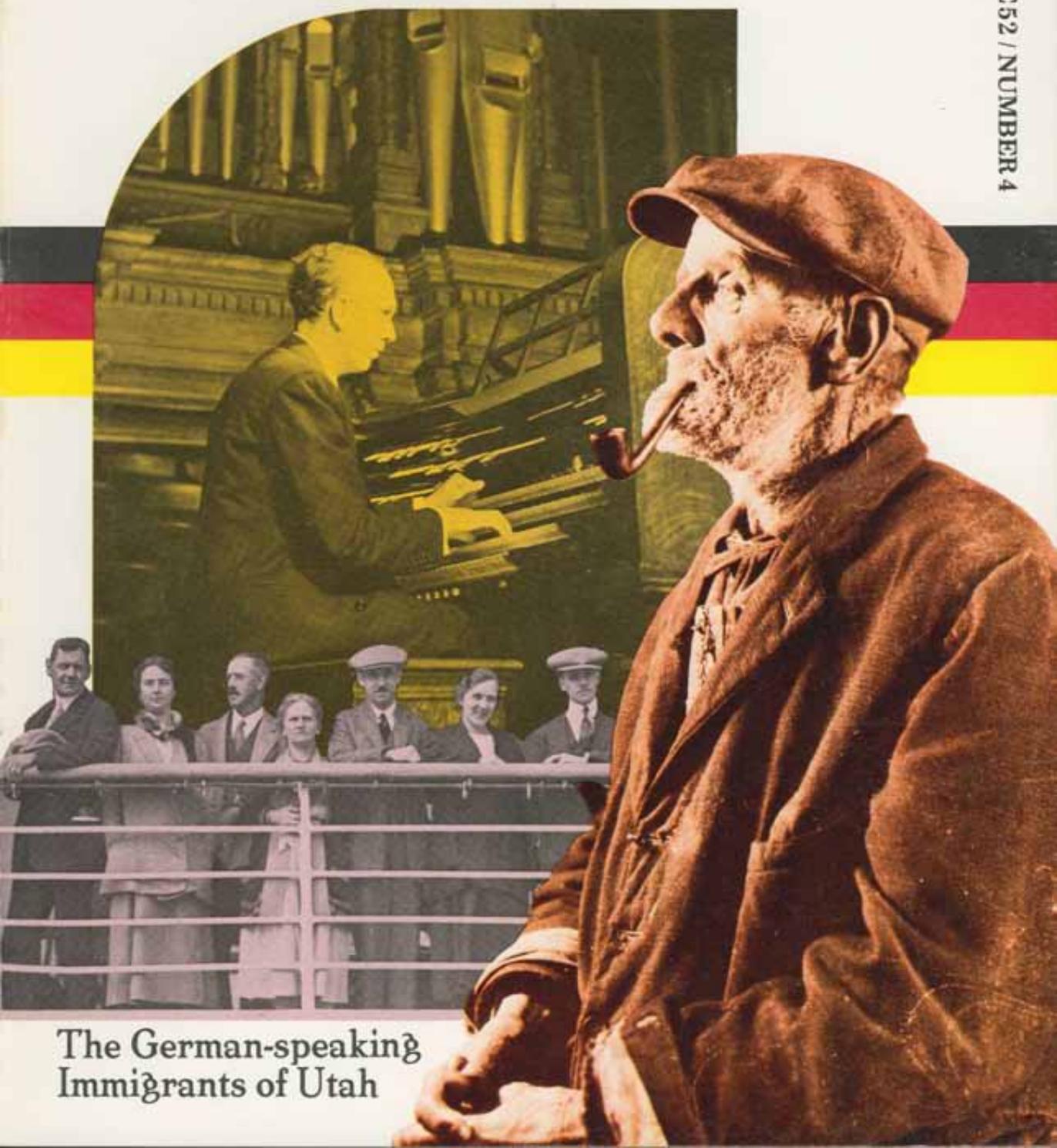

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The German-speaking
Immigrants of Utah



For many German-speaking immigrants Liverpool was the point of departure for the U.S. and, ultimately, Utah. USHS collections.

Die Auswanderung

BY DOUGLAS D. ALDER

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE AMERICAN WEST was mainly the result of individual enterprise, but there were also group experiments. This individual versus group dichotomy can be seen by contrasting the fortune seekers who rushed to the California gold fields with the Icarians who went to the Napa and Sonoma valleys to set up a utopian community.¹ One could similarly contrast the thousands in

Dr. Alder is professor of history and geography at Utah State University.

¹Robert V. Hine, *California's Utopian Colonies* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1953), chapter 4. Interestingly, these Icarians came to California from Nauvoo, Illinois, a town they occupied in 1849 after the Mormons departed.

Texas and Oregon who came as individual homesteaders with the groups led by Stephen A. Austin to Texas or those whom Jason Lee brought to the Willamette Valley of Oregon.

The most numerous and long-lived group settlements in the West were clearly those of the Mormons in the Great Basin where thousands of Latter-day Saints gathered from Europe and North America.

Those emigrants who came from German-speaking lands in Europe to the Great Basin are examples of both the individual and the group undertaking. For example, the Mormon-sponsored emigrants from Germany, Switzerland, and Austria who came prior to World War I were generally transported in groups. Most often they traveled directly from Central Europe to Utah with the guidance of church emigration agents all the way to the Great Basin. German-speaking people of other religious persuasions came to Utah also, but generally they came individually and indirectly, often living several years in other parts of the United States prior to their move to Utah. Following World War I the group system of the Mormons ended. Thereafter, those who chose to come on their own initiative had to arrange their own finances and their own travel.

Whether they came individually or in groups their story must impinge on many more Utahns than those six thousand plus now living in the state who themselves were born in Europe, because today 190,000 Utahns claim to have German ancestry — one eighth of the state's population.²

Though Utah is a rather remote spot and not as well known for preserving German culture as the American Midwest, there is nonetheless a Utah-German connection. It is not unusual for anyone in Utah to listen to the German hour Saturday mornings on radio or buy European specialities at Siegfried's Delicatessen. Businesses like Buehner Block, the old Schneitter's Hot Pots near Midway, the Homespun Restaurant in Leeds, the now defunct Auerbach's department store or the memorable Bamberger Interurban Railroad, and the continuing Deutsches Theater in Salt Lake City testify to the presence of German enterprise.

²The 1980 census data have not yet been completely published but are available through the Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce. Unfortunately, the Swiss nativity figures are not being compiled separately. People of German nativity in Utah numbered 5,950 and Austrian natives, 292. The 1970 census showed 566 Swiss. The 1980 data show 9,755 people over the age of eighteen who speak German in the home and 1,633 between the ages of five and seventeen. One supplementary report has been helpful: "Ancestry of the Population by State: 1980," p. 56.

The Swiss Choir establishes a subtler point: that much of what is commonly called "German" may in fact be from a neighboring land — Switzerland or Austria — that is German-speaking. Some German-speaking Utahns were even born in German portions of present-day Poland or Czechoslovakia. So for the purposes of discussion here the German-speaking emigration to Utah includes all these groups.

ORGANIZING THE MORMON EMIGRATION

The German-speaking Mormon emigration began in 1853, a decade after British and Scandinavian emigrants had begun the trek.³ The organization, financing, routing, and destinations had become much more definite by 1853, and the Germans benefited by it. As soon as the missions gained a solid footing in Germany, the Liverpool shipping office was ready to handle their emigration business.

³For a history of Mormonism in Germany see Gilbert Scharff's *Mormonism in Germany* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1970).

Schneitter's Hot Pats in Midway, where many Swiss settled, is now the Homestead resort. USHS collections.



Once the Mormon agent in Liverpool knew when a departure would be possible, he notified the mission president in Switzerland where the work was strongest. In later years he informed the German leaders of departures too. Prior to that notification, the two carried on a correspondence concerning the amount of church financial aid available and the number of emigrants registering. On the Continental side, the mission president acted as subagent. He encouraged the members to gather to Zion, publicized detailed instructions, and received deposits of money. He was responsible for registering all the passengers with the Liverpool office and accompanying the travelers to that city.

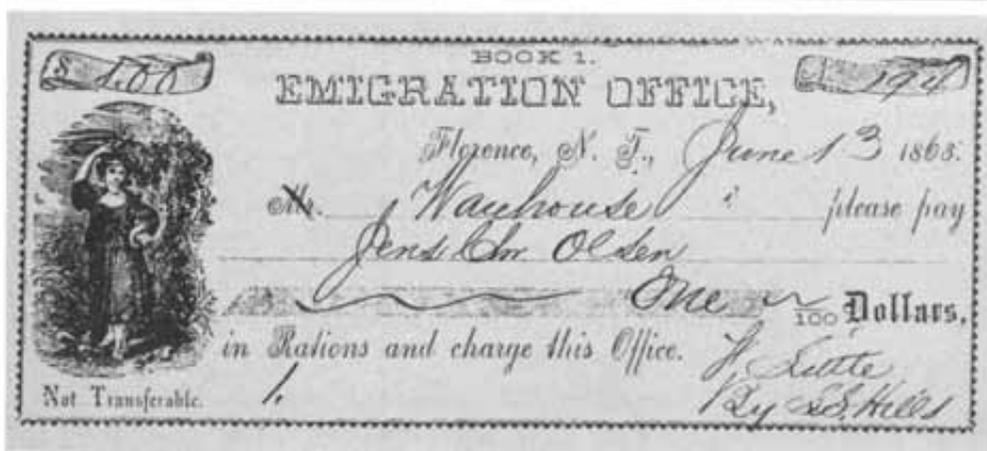
Upon arrival in Liverpool the emigrants made such purchases as were recommended and attended a meeting of all the Mormon passengers traveling on the ship. The European mission president presented a regular ecclesiastical organization for their sustaining vote. Then he bade them farewell and they were on their way. They were met at the port in America by a Mormon agent who had arranged their further transportation, either to the outfitting point before the completion of the railroad or directly to Salt Lake City after 1869. When they reached Salt Lake City, Ogden, or any other Utah destination, they were met either by relatives and friends or the German LDS Organization, which was charged with the task of receiving and helping new arrivals.¹ On at least four occasions the German mission president did an end run, chartering ships that left from Hamburg, avoiding the Liverpool office.

To the Mormons in Europe the trusted Mormon missionaries were the strongest advertisement for the so-called gathering to Zion. Mormon elders in German-speaking Europe served not only as preachers but also as agents for the individual converts whom they baptized. They often provided a link between the new members and some specific town or employment in the Utah-Idaho area.

Undoubtedly some missionaries were overly enthusiastic, perhaps even painting an unduly optimistic picture of the Zion in the mountains. Whenever this was the case the church inherited some embittered Europeans in Utah whose letters back to the old country bore words of disillusionment. Some of these emigrants even returned to the "Heimat" to criticize Mormonism.² This does not suggest that such salesmanship was intentionally misleading.

¹*Der Stern*, 15:204.

²*Die Reform*, 1:45, and *Millennial Star*, 67:536.



Certificate issued in 1863 allowed emigrant to draw \$1.00 worth of rations from the Mormon warehouse in Florence, Nebraska. USHS collections.

The missionaries returned to that same Zion and knew they would have to live with the people they encouraged to emigrate. They received no bounty as did some land scheme promoters.

Though some criticized the voyage and the new Jerusalem in the Rocky Mountains, many more remained totally devoted to the "gathering." In an 1861 letter describing his journey to Salt Lake City, Ulrich Loosli wrote of the improved economic condition he and those with him experienced. They had become property owners and successful farmers, but he hastened to add, one should not come to Zion for improving living standards. Then he changed ground and mourned for his oppressed brethren in Europe: "Wie arm dass die Schwizer sind and sie gut wie es haben konnten" (How poor the Swiss are and how good it could be for them).⁶

FINANCING THE EMIGRATION

Mormon leaders explored many avenues to finance the emigration.⁷ They encouraged travelers to deposit their personal funds with the church in Europe instead of risking theft along the way. On arrival in Utah immigrants were able to receive their deposits in cash or kind. This allowed the church to amass funds in Europe without sending them from Utah. Sometimes church leaders permitted their European agents to divert tithing money into the emigration fund.

⁶*Der Darsteller*, 4:117.

⁷Richard Jensen, "The Financing of Mormon Immigration in the Nineteenth Century," unpublished paper from the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute of Church History, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

Drives were undertaken in Utah to raise donations for emigration, and members in the Rocky Mountains were urged to sponsor and even finance the voyage of Europeans. Sometimes the agents helped immigrants find employment along the way to finance the trip. They also set up a savings program to help emigrants accumulate funds for their fare. The church provided some loans and in rare cases offered welfare help to transport needy people without charge. Some early immigrants who came on a contract labor system arrived privately, such as young Fritz Zaugg who came to work for a farmer named Christian Hirschi in Park Valley.⁸ Zaugg later brought the rest of his family to Utah through his earnings there.

The Perpetual Emigrating Fund sponsored by the church was a system of lending the fare for the trip to worthy members with the agreement that they would repay their expenses to the fund to enable the next Latter-day Saint to make the journey. The fund was notoriously in arrears, suggesting that the obligation to repay was strained by the meager incomes of those who arrived. People traveling on church funds were often those whose friends or relatives had made advance deposits to the fund in Utah in the name of the prospective emigrant.

THE VOYAGE

Up to 1869 the voyage was long and tedious. The travelers were told repeatedly that they must travel light; only 100 pounds per adult were allowed on the wagons of the church teams. For the ship each emigrant had to furnish a wool blanket for his bunk as well as his eating utensils and dishes. Although the food on the ship was furnished, it was suggested that a few supplements be taken along. Pickled cucumbers and onions were especially recommended, as well as dried meat. Guns and powder were forbidden on the voyage. They were not needed until the outfitting point was reached and were provided there. One article in the German LDS publication *Der Stern* gave such practical suggestions as to bring some toys for the children and a bottle of bicarbonate of soda, which it claimed freshened the stale water on the ships.⁹ If printed instructions had been the Saints' only preparation they would have been well informed, but they also had personal contact with Utahns daily, which made them a very well instructed group.

⁸Douglas D. Alder, "Fritz Zaugg, Teenage Emigrant," *Beehive History* 8, 1982, pp. 10-12.

⁹*Der Stern*, 2:70.

The length of the voyages in the steerage vessels averaged four to five weeks, with some as long as seven weeks. Health problems were very common and many deaths were recorded.¹⁰ Voyages that succeeded in arriving at their destination without experiencing at least one death were considered outstanding. Heinrich Reiser described a difficult voyage of the *William Tapscott* in May and June of 1860 with 83 German-speaking Saints among the 730 European Mormons aboard:

We received our foodstuffs raw and had to cook them ourselves. The kitchen was too small for 100 persons so we considered ourselves lucky if we got something to eat once a day. We saw no bread, only sailor's zwiebach that was so hard we could break things with it, and had we not brought some fruit (dried) and wurst with us, we could have suffered greatly, as we neared New York many were near death; some did die in that city and others died on the journey to Florence, Nebraska.¹¹

The menu on board, though sufficient, must have been somewhat repetitious. A record for 1859 reports the following allotment per week for each person over eight years old (the same sufficing for two persons under that age): 3½ pounds of zwiebach, which was used mostly for soups, 1 pound flour, 1½ pounds oatmeal, 1½ pounds rice, 1½ pounds dried peas, 2 pounds potatoes, 1¼ pounds beef, 1 pound pork, 1 pound sugar, a little tea, salt, mustard, pepper, and vinegar.¹²

After 1868 the number of days on the water was reduced considerably because the church began chartering steamships, which cut the voyage time to about twelve days. By 1869 immigrants could also travel by rail to Utah. The cost of the whole trip was cut to \$75 and to three weeks in time. This reduction brought many changes, the most significant being that the health of the companies was not put under such peril.

Although the tide of the British emigration began to decline as the German rose, the church-sponsored emigration continued, including the shipboard organization into wards. The presence of missionaries and conference presidents in the companies and agents at the ports kept the emigration flowing smoothly. Under the close supervision of experienced travelers, the emigrants could avoid being fleeced at inspection stations and railroad terminals. Costs

¹⁰*Der Darsteller*, 1:108.

¹¹*Der Stern*, 32:202.

¹²*Der Darsteller*, 4:2.

were kept at a minimum until the church-sponsored emigration was stopped by 1914.

Arrival at the Castle Garden inspection point was memorable for most newcomers. Babette Kunzler in 1859 left this warm remembrance:

When we arrived in New York Brother Lark, representing Brother Canon [*sic*] who could not come, was already there. We were taken to a hotel. The presidency of the mission decided that it would be wise for us to remain in New York for the winter. Since it was too expensive to remain in the hotel another housing arrangement was sought as fast as possible. . . . Already all of our brothers and sisters have work. Those with trades are in demand, especially the shoemakers. I have also been promised work. Maria Stahl is also employed by the family where I am to help and she is satisfied and does not wish to return. . . . On the first Sunday we were taken to a hall where more than 300 Mormons were gathered. Oh, how my soul was stirred by the sight. . . .

Brother Maser [*sic*] gave an address to us Swiss which did us good and at the same time evidenced his keen mind. He also troubled himself to speak to each of us individually. For years I have wished to know this man and now I have experienced it. . . . On Tuesday evening we had a German meeting in our house. Brother Canon spoke in English and Brother Maser translated into German but I could understand Brother Canon fairly well. We must all learn English this winter because it is so essential.¹³

Babette's experience was not typical in that she stayed in New York. Most companies were put immediately on the train and sent off to the outfitting posts if they arrived before 1869 or directly to the valley thereafter. Ulrich Loosli left a glowing record of his crossing in 1860 and concluded with this optimistic advertisement:

In Switzerland there are some who consider this trek a tremendous difficulty but I say in truth that in twenty years I have never worked less than I did on this trip and I had more to do than the others!¹⁴

Heinrich Reiser's report of the trek in the same year was quite the opposite:

. . . We had to wait in Florence a whole month until our wagons arrived and not until July were we able to begin the difficult journey over the plains of North America. Some of our Swiss brothers and sisters had to go by handcart. Usually two adults, mother and father, pulled the cart with two children as well as foodstuffs and clothes in it. It made me weep to see such a group depart.

The trip lasted three months and many lost their lives during this time. Almost every evening we had to dig a grave and toward the end

¹³*Der Darsteller*, 4:4.

¹⁴*Der Darsteller*, 4:117.

the deaths occurred often during the night by lantern light so that we had to dig the graves in the morning also because no one could be left behind to do that.¹⁵

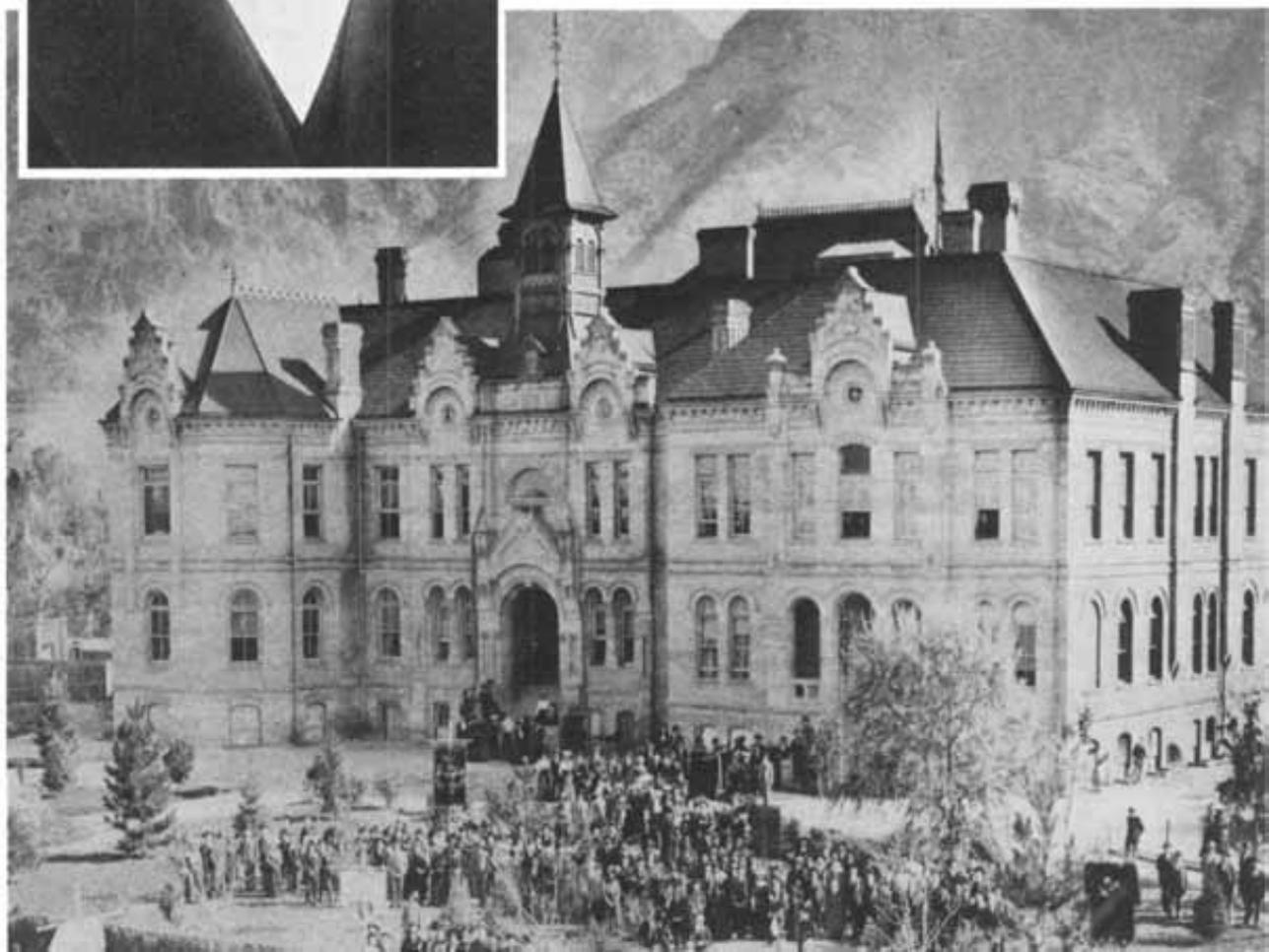


A difference in attitude may explain the contrast between Loosli's and Reiser's reports, but another factor is that the Loosli group lost only one traveler to death while those under Reiser's direction lost many, at sea as well as on the overland journey.

In 1870 Karl G. Maeser led the first German-speaking group to Utah by the quickened methods of steamship and railroad. The party departed

¹⁵*Der Stern*, 33:202.

A native of Saxony, Karl G. Maeser became a prominent educator in Utah and established Brigham Young Academy, below, in Provo. USHS collections.



from Liverpool July 14, 1870, on the steamer *Manhattan* and after landing in New York on July 26 continued by rail and arrived in Salt Lake City on August 5, 1870. The journey, which the first emigrants experienced as a nine-month ordeal, had been reduced to a twenty-three-day trip. Some hardships remained, but a way had been found to eliminate the deaths.

One of the best aspects of Mormon planning was the added thoughtfulness that made the arrival in Utah a thrilling experience for the immigrants. On at least one occasion the First Presidency met the train at Farmington and rode into Salt Lake City with the new arrivals, speaking to each one individually during the ride.¹⁶ Another record mentions that as the train entered Ogden at 4 A.M. the German Organization in that city was at the depot with sandwiches and refreshments for their compatriots.¹⁷

Occasionally an immigrant failed to meet his hosts at the depot. When fourteen-year-old Friedrich Zaugg came as a contract laborer, his company arrived four days earlier than planned and his intended master was not at the depot. He was petrified, partly because he could not speak English. So he got back on the train thinking that he had heard his destination, Park Valley, called out a few stops back. He was wrong, of course. The conductor had to put him off the train at the next stop, Morgan, Utah, because he had no ticket. The stationmaster there took the boy to a neighbor who spoke French. After a few tense days farmer Hirschi and the lad found each other and traveled by wagon three days to remote Park Valley where Fritz looked at the vast desert and queried, "Is this Zion?"

MORMON EMIGRATION POLICY CYCLE

For the first century of the LDS church's existence the doctrine¹⁸ of gathering the Saints to Zion remained significant. The motives of the German-speaking people in accepting this message and undertaking the trek to the new Zion in the Rocky Mountains could be analyzed as idealistic and materialistic. Perhaps the more important of the two was the idealistic — the desire to live among the Saints, to experience the temple covenants, to build up a literal kingdom of God on the earth. This was especially true in the early period when no temple was available in Europe. If people had been looking for a

¹⁶*Der Stern*, 3:45-47.

¹⁷*Der Stern*, 15:204.

¹⁸Doctrine and Covenants, 29:7-8.

way to escape poverty or to obtain land in America, they could have found a more appealing landscape than Utah. What a stark contrast the Great Basin presented to the beauty of Switzerland or the productivity of Germany.

The topic of emigration was continually held before the eyes of church members in the mission periodicals. Every volume of the German magazines for Mormons from 1853 to 1900 contained editorials, detailed instructions, sailing dates, emigrant lists, farewell letters, letters from the voyagers, and letters from German-speaking Saints living in Zion. This excerpt from an editorial in 1862 is typical:

It is an undeniable fact that there are many in this land and others and who claim to be Latter-day Saints, who, if they were so inclined to make the effort, could have already gathered with the Saints in Zion. How can this be? It comes simply from the fact that despite their assertions they don't actually believe the message which God has declared to them. These people have been repeatedly warned during the last thirty years concerning the suffering and devastation which would come over the peoples of the earth and which would also include the Latter-day Saints if they were not obedient to the voice from the heavens to flee out of Babylon. . . .

We feel to urge the Saints to exert every effort to flee to the gathering places of the Saints before the thunderstorm breaks. The Lord knows his own. He can and will protect them as long as they are at their duty, but those who could not keep His commandment to gather and do it not have no right and can make no claim to His protection.¹⁹

The gathering policy of the LDS church began to change in the latter part of the nineteenth century, perhaps because of conditions in Utah or because of the developing crisis between the Mormons and the federal government in the 1880s. As Utah began to fill up with immigrants it became increasingly difficult to find employment or desirable land for new arrivals, but missionaries and church leaders continued to support immigration even though some immigrants were finding Utah a hard place for a new start.

The U.S. immigration restriction laws of 1885 and 1887 raised some difficulties for Mormons because the legislation restricted entry of "paupers," and Mormon plans encouraged members to deposit their money in Liverpool at the church emigration office instead of carrying money on their persons. In 1891 the next restriction law specifically added polygamists to the exclusion list.²⁰

¹⁹*Die Reform* 1 (November 1862): 37-41.

²⁰*Acts of Congress*, March 3, 1891, c. 551 (Stat.), 26. See also *Senate Report 1515*, "Immigration and Naturalization of the United States," 81st Cong., 2d sess., 1891, *passim*.

Although Mormons did not practice polygamy in Europe, they did belong to an organization that advocated its practice and many would adopt it later upon arrival in America. A strong nativist movement in America resisted immigration of Greeks, Italians, and Slavs. This nativist attitude was easily linked to anti-polygamist efforts against the Mormons.

In Germany Mormon missionaries faced laws that specifically prohibited recruiting emigrants. This led to occasional arrests of missionaries. By the turn of the century church periodicals began warning prospective emigrants of economic difficulties in Utah; they also attempted to soothe government officials in Germany and Switzerland who were alarmed about the Mormon emigration which they saw as a system to lure young girls into polygamy. In 1907 the *Millennial Star*, the official voice of the church in England and Europe, editorialized:

While the Church to which we belong is not using any influence to persuade its members or others to emigrate but desires that many of them shall stay and build up the work abroad, this office is engaged in a legitimate emigration agency both for sea voyages and land transportation in America. Latter-day Saints intending to gather in Zion, and friends in Utah sending money to assist their relatives in doing so, will do well to book for their passage through this office.²¹

Following World War I church policy began to move rapidly toward discouraging emigration. Debates in the U.S. Senate over quota laws and attempts to win permission to proselytize in Germany were among the factors that led Orson F. Whitney, European mission president, to announce:

As concerning the emigration question in general, we can again declare that we do not encourage our members to emigrate. On the contrary we discourage them from emigrating and have actually had to endure some criticism from our members for doing so. But it is our considered intention to make our Swiss and German branches a bulwark for good and to found new branches and build new Church buildings.²²

Although this was official policy, the emigration continued. Many missionaries, even mission presidents, befriended local members and could not in conscience discourage them from emigrating. Prospects for marriage within the church were slim in Europe. Educational options for the Mormons in Europe were limited be-

²¹*Millennial Star*, 69:329.

²²*Der Stern*, 53:216.

to Salt Lake City on invitation from church headquarters to become chief German translator for the church. (It must be added, however, that he did so only after serving for many years prior to his departure as a leader in the Swiss mission and as president of that mission during World War II.)

As the worldwide depression struck in the 1930s, church leaders reaffirmed their advice to German-speaking Saints to remain in Europe, evidently unaware that the thunderstorm spoken of in 1862 was about to explode in Europe. Thus thousands of Mormons experienced the tragedy of Nazism and the consequent fears that their membership in the church could become a cause of political oppression. Unlike the Jehovah's Witnesses, Latter-day Saints did not experience persecution as a whole, although some Mormons were imprisoned, even executed.²⁴ Nonetheless, the Nazi experience and the succeeding Communist takeovers in Eastern Europe stimulated thousands of German-speaking Mormons to flee, immigrating to the United States and particularly to Utah and Idaho immediately following the war.

Thus the post-World War II immigration to Utah far exceeded any previous period. Beginning in 1947 when 62 members emigrated from the German-speaking missions, the number rose by 1958 to 710 who left in one year.²⁵ Alarmed mission presidents in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland issued a lengthy letter pleading for members to support church policy and remain in Europe where temples were now built.²⁶ Although they experienced frustrations in attempting to cap the gathering spirit that so many had worked so hard to promote, their efforts gradually succeeded. The church established stakes and seminary programs in Europe; in essence the full program came to Europe, undercutting the argument for emigration. Economic conditions changed and eventually reversed, with the European economy actually surpassing the American. Increasing numbers of German-speaking Mormons have seen it as their mission to remain in Europe. The German-speaking emigration has dwindled, but it is not over yet.

²⁴One such case has now become famous, that of Helmuth Heubner. See Alan F. Keele and Douglas F. Tobler, "The Führer's New Clothes: Helmuth Huebner and the Mormons in the Third Reich," *Sunstone*, November/December 1980, pp. 20-29. Thomas Rogers has recently privately published a play entitled "Heubner" in a collection, *God's Fools* (1983).

²⁵Douglas D. Alder, "The German-speaking Immigration to Utah" (Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1959), p. 123.

²⁶*Der Stern*, 4:343-46.



German LDS meetinghouse, built to serve German and Swiss immigrants – largely in Logan's Tenth Ward – was used in 1930s as a fraternity house by Sigma Phi Epsilon and later as a private theater for the Cache Valley Players. Courtesy of Special Collections, Utah State University.

INDIVIDUAL EXAMPLES

Most of the German-speaking immigrants to Utah did not participate in the pioneer experience of church-planned travel because the majority of German-speaking immigration to Utah has come since World War I. They made individual decisions to immigrate and found a legal sponsor in America — necessary for passage through the Immigration Service gates — who often offered financial support or employment. These immigrants seldom came in groups. Their story is often one of hardship, too, not so much in the actual travel as in the adjustment to the new land and new language.²⁷

Walter and Marie Koch of Logan represent the post-World War II generation.²⁸ Walter was a miner in Essen at age fourteen. Later he became a farm worker and then a metal worker in a factory. He experienced both World War I (beginning at age eight), in which his father died, and World War II when he was drafted at age thirty-eight. He remembers the inflation and social discord that brought

²⁷The most recent examination of the German immigrant story in Utah is Ronald K. Dewsnup, "German-speaking Immigrants and the State of Utah: A Brief History" (Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1983).

²⁸Walter Koch, "Reminiscences," Special Collections, Merrill Library, Utah State University, Logan.

Hitler to office as well as the horrors of war, especially several years of Russian prison camps.

Already after World War I the Koch family dreamed of immigrating to America, but Walter's widowed mother and her three sons could never afford the trip. She had joined the LDS church in 1916. Walter was influenced by its teachings and met his wife, Marie, from Cologne through the church. Their experiences in World War II were so severe that they determined to escape the Europe of Nazism and Communism at their first opportunity. When the Kochs and their two sons, Alfred and Helmut, finally arrived in America in 1946 Walter had difficulty finding work, learning the language, and fulfilling the requirements for citizenship. Now, however, the Kochs are proud property owners, respected citizens, and unabashedly happy. Their sons have had opportunities for higher education. Walter also was able to bring his aged mother to America for the last four years of her life.

Rolf Neugebauer did not experience the privations of a soldier or prisoner. He enjoyed a good education and developed an expert trade. Following his service as an LDS missionary in Germany, he looked toward a solid future in Germany's booming economy. His church leaders hoped that he would remain in Germany to become part of the leadership in the homeland. But Rolf's correspondence with a young woman missionary led to a decision to be married. He immigrated to Utah where he and Dixie Miskin were married in 1973. His move to the United States has actually been an economic detriment, but he is nonetheless delighted with the decision for he likes the openness of the American landscape and people. He brought his parents to Utah and then a brother.²⁹ In 1983 his last brother immigrated, even though he was well established in Germany.

Many other German-speaking people came to live in Utah besides Mormons. Simon Bamberger is the most prominent because he became governor of the state and a successful businessman.³⁰ Others include Richard Karl August Kletting, the architect of the Utah Capitol, and the William Behle family in medicine.

Eugene Santschi came to New York as a seventeen-year-old lad in 1876. He learned to work in manufacturing firms in Alton,

²⁹Ruth Harris Swaner, "It's Their Destiny: From the Grip of Russian Rule to America," *Cache Citizen* (Logan), August 10, 1983.

³⁰Kate B. Carter, comp. "The Contribution of Germany, Holland, Italy, Austria, France, and Switzerland to Utah," *Daughters of the Utah Pioneers Historical Pamphlet*, 1942, p. 266.

Illinois, and eventually moved to Carbon County in 1888. There he worked in manufacturing associated with mining. He served as a county commissioner and later moved to Washington, D.C., where he served as an officer in the general staff of the U.S. Army.³¹

A well-known immigrant in Cache Valley is Ed Gossner, who arrived in Wisconsin from Switzerland about 1930 and engaged in cheese making. He wanted to establish his own factory and undertook a tour to find a suitable place. When he visited Utah's Cache Valley he immediately recognized opportunity. He found dairy farmers willing to form a cooperative under his leadership. Later known as the Cache Valley Dairy Association, this organization became one of the nation's best known manufacturers of Swiss and cheddar cheese. Gossner later left the cooperative and established the cheese factory which is thriving under the direction of Ed Gossner, Jr., with father looking on.³²

³¹Noble Warrum, *Utah Since Statehood*, 4 vols. (Chicago and Salt Lake: S. J. Clark Co., 1919), 4:35.

³²Tape-recorded speech at Sky View High School, February 9, 1970, Smithfield, Utah, in author's possession.

German-born entrepreneur John Dern, above, and his son George H., below, helped to develop the mines at Mercur. George was governor of Utah during 1925-33 and secretary of war under Franklin D. Roosevelt. USHS collections.



Among the successful Germans is Henry Kissel who came to the United States at age eighteen from Bavaria.³³ After living in New York, Ohio, Nebraska, Kansas, and Washington, he settled in Ogden where he carried on his trade as a tailor. Paul Heitz came to the United States at age fourteen.³⁴ After farming elsewhere he settled in Tremonton in the 1880s, helped found the telephone company there, and eventually opened a very successful auto distributorship. One of the most illustrious German businessmen was John Dern, born in Haussen by Giessen in 1850, who came to America in 1865 and farmed in Illinois.³⁵ His enterprises expanded into grain, lumber, coal, livestock, and eventually banking. He served as a state senator in Illinois before his mining investments interested him in Utah. He moved his family to Utah where his son, George, became the state's sixth governor. Francis Fritsch, another non-Mormon German, came to Ohio in 1850 at age fifteen. First as a druggist and later as a banker he became affluent. In 1888 he moved with considerable wealth to Salt Lake City for his health and founded several businesses.

The common thread among these prominent German-born Utahns who were not Mormons is that they left Germany or Switzerland as teenagers. They came to America, usually alone, and started at the bottom of the ladder in pursuit of fortune. They lived in several places before coming to Utah and in many cases came to the Rocky Mountains with their career or fortune already under way. They were often attracted here by mining or the railroad.

Their story provides a strong contrast to the Mor-



Swiss-born artist John Hafen, USHS collections.

³³Warrum, *Utah Since Statehood*, 2:667.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 2:633.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 2:266.



Franz Pilz of Marianne's Delicatessen cooks bratwurst at 1983 Volksfest. Photograph by Gary B. Peterson, Photogeographics.

mon immigrants who came directly to Utah and arrived in poverty. Nonetheless, the Mormons have also produced people of high accomplishment from among the German-speaking. Karl Maeser was the first to achieve acclaim and is still known as one of the state's most famous educators. John Hafen achieved renown as an artist. Alexander Schreiner is an internationally known organist. John and Emil Fletcher became accomplished architects. Peter Prier is a successful violinmaker. In business there are names like Carl and Otto Buehner, Walter Stover, William Perschon, and Kasper Fetzer.

So the Germans have come to Utah and have remained here. Most of them were Mormons but a substantial group were not.

How the cycle has changed! Now more and more German-speaking Mormons are choosing to remain in Europe. Those who come are not doing so for opportunity, and their level of sacrifice is not comparable to earlier generations. Their travel has been reduced from weeks to hours. No one dies on the way. German-American ties remain very strong, not only genetically but personally. Nowadays, it is common for German-speaking Utahns to enjoy the good fortune of trips back to Europe, often more than once. Interestingly, the story is happening in reverse. Many Germans, Austrians, and Swiss people come to Utah for a visit and then return to Europe. So Utah and German-speaking Europe are in some ways even more entwined. The Utah-German connection has been a vital part of the state's history and voyaging back and forth is still very much alive.