

31. *Sinai*, September 1862, 231-33. On Syracuse: Bertram Korn, *American Jewry and the Civil War* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1951), 117-18.
32. *ISZ*, August 15, 1862. *Sinai*, September 1862, 231-33 (Hecker's speech). *Allgemeine Zeitung für das Judentum*, October 7, 1862. Alfred Theodore Andreas, *History of Chicago* (Chicago: A. T. Andreas and Co., 1884-86) 2: 231-33.
33. *ISZ*, August 20, 1862.
34. Liebmann Adler, *Fünf Reden: Gehalten in der Israelitischen Gemeinde Kehilas Anshe Maarab hierselbst an wichtigen nationalen Gedenktagen der Ver. Staaten* (Chicago: Illinois Staatszeitung, 1866).
35. Adler, *Fünf Reden*, 6. Original German version: "Dank dir, o Gott, für die Rettung dieses freien Landes vor dem Untergang. ... Willst du, o Volk, nicht ein Land lieben, für dessen Erhaltung Alles einsetzen, in dem du so viel gilst? in dem du mit einer so unbegrenzten [sic] Macht bekleidet bist?"
36. For this aspect the annual reports of the UHRA are the main source, see especially *First Annual Report of the UHRA* (Chicago, 1860). For the other ethnic charity-organizations mentioned see Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago* (New York: Knopf, 1937, 1940, 1957), 2: 20-23. *Ibid.*, 3: 30.
37. Jews in Boston set up an institution comparable to Chicago's UHRA in 1864; Susan Ebert, "Community and Philanthropy," in *The Jews of Boston*, ed. Jonathan Sarna and Ellen Smith (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1995), 211-37. Detroit's Jews only did so in 1899—with limited success; Robert Rockaway, "Ethnic Conflict in an Urban Environment: The German and the Russian Jew in Detroit, 1881-1914," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 60 (1970/71): 133-50. For the tradition of Jewish welfare and its impact on Jewish communities in Germany and England see Liedtke, "Jewish Welfare in Hamburg and Manchester."
38. For this argument see especially Adler, *Fünf Reden*.
39. On the insurance boycott see: *Chicago Tribune*, April 12, 1867. For a general treatment see Frederic Cople Jaher, *Scapegoat in the New Wilderness: The Origins and the Rise of Anti-Semitism in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994).
40. Executive Board of the United Hebrew Relief Society of Chicago, ed., *15th Annual Report to the Delegates of the UHRA for the Year 1873-1874* (Chicago: Max Stern, 1874). Adler's speech was printed in (the original) German and an English translation.

*Celebrating Ethnicity and Nation: American Festive Culture from the Revolution to the Early 20th Century.* Ed. Jürgen Heideking, Geneviève Fabre and Kai Dreisbach.

Chapter 9

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## DEMONSTRATING THE VALUES OF 'GEMÜTHLICHKEIT' AND 'CULTUR'



### *The Festivals of German Americans in Milwaukee, 1870-1910*

Heike Bungert

"THIS AFFAIR IS nothing less than a social gathering ... where lager is drunk ad infinitum and tobacco smoked ad nauseam, while songs are sung and comic performances indulged in from an impromptu stage."<sup>1</sup> Such was the image many contemporaries had of celebrations organized by German immigrants in the United States. Obviously, this is not all there was to the phenomenon of German-American festivities.

Festivals<sup>2</sup> are an important subject for study, since their staged symbols,<sup>3</sup> myths,<sup>4</sup> and rituals<sup>5</sup> reflect the mentality of specific, often otherwise inarticulate groups.<sup>6</sup> As forms of collective representation and regeneration<sup>7</sup> or cultural memory,<sup>8</sup> festivals reveal expectations and wishful thoughts, as well as collective fears. Being dense forms of communication, celebrations have polyvalent meaning.<sup>9</sup> All researchers agree that festivals, as a necessary temporary release from everyday life,<sup>10</sup> build up a sense of community and give meaning to life.<sup>11</sup> Celebrations, Eric Hobsbawm has shown, are essential as "invented traditions."<sup>12</sup> They are particularly important for transplanted people, as Geneviève Fabre has noted.<sup>13</sup> They connect the individual with

the group, the past with the future.<sup>14</sup> Whether one views celebrations as an orderly tranquil affirmation of the existing order,<sup>15</sup> or as a regenerative excess and escape from reality,<sup>16</sup> or, what seems most appropriate, as a mixture of both,<sup>17</sup> they mirror, on the one hand, the existing social structure and, on the other hand, contribute to the formation of social, political, and cultural conditions.<sup>18</sup>

With the increased interest in cultural history, festivals have become a popular subject of study. Whereas historians—as compared to sociologists and anthropologists—are latecomers in this field, some work has already been done on national and regional festivities in nineteenth century Germany,<sup>19</sup> on festivals during the American Revolution and the early American republic,<sup>20</sup> and on American pageantry.<sup>21</sup> Yet, apart from an excellent essay by Kathleen Conzen,<sup>22</sup> there is no literature on the intersecting point between both nationalities, on the festive culture of German Americans.

Taking Milwaukee as a case in point and looking at four festivals spaced over a period of thirty years, the present article seeks to answer the following questions.<sup>23</sup> How did German Americans view themselves and their past? Which perception of the United States do the celebrations reveal? What values were emphasized in the discourse on German contributions to the emerging American national character? How did a sense of common ethnicity<sup>24</sup> develop among immigrants with diverse regional origins? How did the festivals change over time?

For a long time, Milwaukee, called the “German Athens,” was considered the most German of all American towns. Settlement began in the 1830s, and Milwaukee received its first city charter in 1846. After the failed European revolution of 1848, Germans poured into the city. Other settlers came from the Northeastern United States, England, and Ireland; from the 1880s onwards, they were joined by Poles and Italians. The Germans, though, until the late 1890s represented more than a third of the total population.<sup>25</sup> Even in 1910, three quarters of the population were of foreign white stock, 53.5 percent of Teutonic background.<sup>26</sup>

Milwaukee was to be the backdrop of four big festivals. In 1871, German Americans all over the United States rejoiced over the German victory in the Franco-Prussian War. They organized huge celebrations that put German-American festivals of the 1840s and 1850s on a new plane. Being able to draw on the strength of a newly unified Germany, the immigrants for the first time consciously used social symbols—or in Pierre Bourdieu’s words symbolic capital—to put an end to their being derided as “Dutchmen.”<sup>27</sup> At the same time, they endeavored to use the festivities to bind together the local German-American community and to instill self-respect in it.<sup>28</sup> Before, different associations had participated in each other’s celebrations; also, singers

and gymnasts had staged national festivals. Yet the German peace jubilee was on a different scale: English-language newspapers across the country admitted that this was one of the biggest parades they had ever witnessed.<sup>29</sup>

The official celebration in Milwaukee took place on Whitmonday, May 29, 1871. A uniform celebration all across the United States had been prevented by weather conditions.<sup>30</sup> On Saturday, a rather tedious festival play and the reading of a congratulatory address to the German parliament opened the celebration.<sup>31</sup> On Whitsunday, only two private picnics were held to avoid offending Puritan America. On the following day, more than 100,000 people from all walks of life and all trades, including many Anglo-Americans, crammed the streets to make the jubilee into a real popular festival (*Volksfest*). Many businesses closed, stores, taverns and private residences were amply decorated, and municipal authorities officially recognized the German festival by greeting the day with cannon fire and by riding in the parade. Only women were excluded: they were barred from marching in the procession but were celebrated in speeches and images as republican mothers of valiant sons and as faithful brides tending to hearth and home while waiting for the return of the successful soldiers. They were also asked to decorate the windows of their homes.<sup>32</sup>

The main event of the day, the procession, strung out for six miles<sup>33</sup> and consisted of 170 wagons in six divisions, each preceded by a musical band to mark the requisition of public space<sup>34</sup> not only visibly but also audibly. The very precise movement of these bands was noted as a German characteristic. Militia companies, including German Civil War veterans, gymnastic clubs, and sharpshooters were followed by fraternal orders, singing societies, mutual benefit associations, and church clubs. In a manner reminiscent of the Federal Processions of 1787-88 and of early modern guild processions in Germany,<sup>35</sup> German artisans demonstrated their skills and distributed their produce: the butchers roasted an oxen; the printers made copies of the patriotic German songs “Watch on the Rhine”, “What is the German’s Fatherland?” as well as of a festive song composed by themselves; the locksmiths proudly produced the key to unity. The artisans were followed by floats of firms in related trades that had made Milwaukee famous, such as breweries, machine shops, and corn mills: among them could be seen even a few Anglo-Americans businesses, who participated for advertising reasons.<sup>36</sup> The parade also included some topical floats; their semi-fictional or invented symbols<sup>37</sup> were to become staple fare for German-American festivities in decades to come: the Kyffhäuser mountain with King Barbarossa; the Watch on the Rhine; Germania; Arminius the Cheruskean; Gambrinus, the king of beer; and finally, particular to the 1871 celebration, twenty-five white-clad “virgins” representing the twenty-five German states. Values stressed as typ-

ically German—as in many festivals to come—were loyalty (*Treue*), both to the old and the new home country, discipline, industry, German customs, culture, and German intellectual and cultural achievements (*der deutsche Geist*). After the parade, emotional orators delivered patriotic speeches that enlarged upon the triple purpose of the celebration: to evince sympathy with the German Empire, to demonstrate strength vis-à-vis other national groups in the United States, and to achieve unity among the German Americans.<sup>38</sup>

The plea for unity was a leitmotif of the celebration, thus revealing the actual lack of ethnic identity. Speakers stressed the parallelism between the strength Germany had gained by unification and the potential power German Americans might attain if they declared union among the German-American community to be their historic mission in America.<sup>39</sup> The second striking feature of the celebration was the frequent use of martial and nationalistic vocabulary. Former revolutionary Friedrich Hecker sent a letter extolling Germany as the most powerful country in Europe. Even the formerly socialistic gymnasts talked about having squashed the French enemy by iron force, and the Catholic *Seebote* proclaimed: “The highest good is the sword!”<sup>40</sup> Banners advised of the necessity to redeem the Germans yet outside the new empire. Only a handful of critical voices could be heard: with most of the former forty-eighters and freethinkers among the gymnasts wishfully stating that unity was the immediate precursor of freedom,<sup>41</sup> it fell to the predominantly working-class South Side gymnasts to carry a banner: “Break the despotic yoke; liberty is still missing.”<sup>42</sup> As to its outreaching effect, the peace jubilee of 1871 was considered quite successful. It “forced Anglo-Americans to take cognizance” of the increased political weight of the German Empire and of the importance of German Americans as an ethnic group.<sup>43</sup>

The appeals to unity in 1871, however, did not bear fruit. Twelve years later, parts of the German-American press and the North American Gymnastic Union attempted to motivate German communities outside of Philadelphia to celebrate an event that seemed to be a natural rallying point for all German Americans: the two hundredth anniversary of the first German settlement in the United States.<sup>44</sup> Only after constant prodding by the *Milwaukee Freie Presse* did the Swabian mutual benefit society on September 12 publish a call for a bicentennial celebration on October 7.<sup>45</sup> While the German-American press in general did not report extensively on the festival, attendance seems to have been satisfactory. The German clubs managed to set up a parade of reportedly five thousand marchers. In contrast to 1871, the parade contained an entire division of Catholic societies who apparently felt more at ease celebrating German-American history than the German Empire. Once again, some businessmen used the parade for advertising

purposes, which was frowned upon by the English-language newspapers. The historical scenes depicted on floats were chosen rather randomly and incoherently, probably due to the lack of time to prepare. Thus, George Washington with the two German generals DeKalb and Steuben strangely preceded the ship Concord with the first German immigrants of 1683.<sup>46</sup> Afterwards, the Germans celebrated informally in parks. In the evening, they met for poems, singing, and tableaux vivants.<sup>47</sup>

The festival focused on three motifs: unity of the immigrant community, pride in their achievements, and their specific German-American identity. All three themes, nevertheless, were idealized concepts rather than reality. They were used by established upper middle class German Americans to forge a common bond connecting the new massive immigration from Germany, which was mainly economically motivated, with the older group of emigrés that had left Germany mostly for political reasons.

Unity evidently had not yet been forged within the past twelve years. The press and German-American organizations constantly had to admonish their compatriots to forget differences of religion, politics, and social standing and some associations declared their participation but one day before the festival.<sup>48</sup> In the parade, no trade associations and only few mutual benefit associations and members of the Knights of Labor participated, while several of the historical floats depicted local or individual rather than German-American symbols; thus, a float with the founder of Württemberg, The Swabian duke Eberhard im Bart, seemed slightly out of place.” The admission fee for the afternoon’s “popular fest” and the evening’s official celebration largely barred low-income Germans from attending, leading to vociferous complaints and preventing unity across class lines.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, the freethinkers and gymnasts were somewhat reluctant to celebrate before all of their ideals had been firmly established in the American republic. Finally, despite several admonitions by the press and the festival committee, the majority of Milwaukee’s Germans did not decorate their houses for the occasion, thus disclosing their lack of interest in the bicentennial.<sup>50</sup>

The nationwide celebration was also intended to boost the immigrants’ self-confidence. Thus, the organizers demanded that German-American achievements be recognized in United States history books. By making their fellow Germans aware of the contributions of “German America” to the development of the American nation, the self-proclaimed spokesmen of the immigrants wanted their compatriots to stand up to Anglo-Americans, to maintain their native language, and to pass on German traditions and culture to their children. But again, the constant repetition of German-American achievements indicates that self-confidence among the German immigrants was still lacking.<sup>51</sup>

Finally, the festival was intended to establish the German immigrants' right to an identity of their own. The specific German-American ethnicity was illustrated in a simile that would recur time and again while Germany was the immigrants' mother, the United States was their bride.<sup>52</sup> Proud of their heritage, the organizers emphasized the courage, diligence, and perseverance of the German pioneers, their love of freedom and struggle against slavery and oppression, their contributions to culture, music, and science, and, lastly, their sociability, heartfelt emotions (*Gemüt*), and aestheticism as a corrective to crass American materialism.<sup>53</sup> Yet, the festival organizers had to tread carefully. Continually stressing their patriotism and loyalty to the United States, they voted against inviting the German consul.<sup>54</sup> The propaganda directed at native-born Americans, however, did not accomplish its goal. While the mayor in his speech praised the quick assimilation of the immigrants, Milwaukee's English-language press demanded a final end to German "clannishness."<sup>55</sup>

Ten years later, the immigrants had grown more self-confident. This was particularly true for the subgroup of German-American gymnasts in Milwaukee, who organized the twenty-second national festival of the North American Gymnastic Union in Milwaukee in July 1893.<sup>56</sup> The Union, formed in 1850, worked for social and political reforms, intellectual and political liberty, and the conservation of German mores and virtues.<sup>57</sup> It held national festivals every two or four years. The growth of the movement as well as the attraction of German-American festivals were demonstrated when more gymnasts than ever before attended the celebration in Milwaukee.<sup>58</sup> Two big processions and smaller bands of gymnasts parading through town with musical instruments throughout the festival assured that Milwaukee's population stayed aware of the ongoing celebration.<sup>59</sup>

The two parades as well as the gymnasts' mass exercises were to demonstrate the virtues the gymnast, or *Turner*, movement had brought to the United States: unity, equality, manliness, and discipline. The competitions between individual gymnasts and gymnastic clubs in the eyes of both German and American observers in addition proved the dexterity, athleticism, endurance, and team spirit of the active gymnasts making them ideal soldiers for the American republic. In their banners, floats, and performances, the gymnasts showed their attachment to their country of immigration but also their pride in their achievements and their place of origin thus underlining their pride in their dual identity.<sup>60</sup>

Although Milwaukee's English-speaking population was conspicuously absent from the festival,<sup>61</sup> the English-language press devoted considerable space to the celebration and public officials greeted the gymnasts whose role in boosting Milwaukee's economy was clearly recognized.<sup>62</sup> An afternoon

gymnastic performance by three thousand boys and girls from Milwaukee's public schools, a novel feature in a gymnastic festival, demonstrated the inclusion of German gymnastic ideals into the American curriculum.<sup>63</sup>

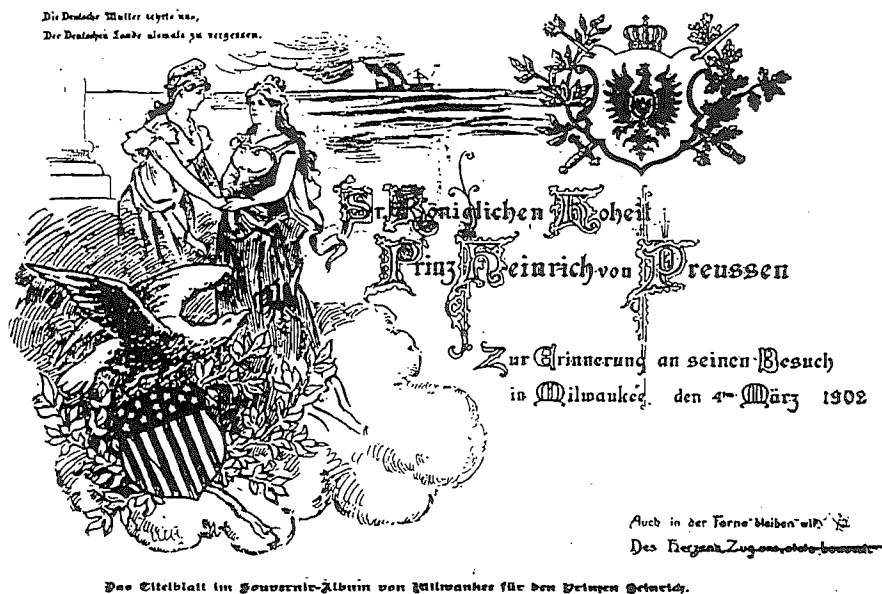
For the gymnasts themselves, the festival also served to renew their impetus to strive for their goals. During the social get-togethers, the gymnasts played pranks and performed funny carnivalesque parades,<sup>64</sup> i.e. indulged in the excessive elements necessary for celebrations to provide real regeneration. The merrymaking<sup>65</sup> was an important ingredient of the celebration for the organizers because it was seen as a typically German trait and provided *Vergemeinschaftung* (creating community).<sup>66</sup> Accordingly, one morning was reserved for excursions or *Turnerfahrten*, which sought to make the immigrants familiar with their new home country. Additionally, the excursions provided the open space necessary for ritual or symbolic activities.<sup>67</sup> Finally, the excursions catered to the German romantic attachment to nature.<sup>68</sup>

Even women gymnasts were allowed to participate in an unprecedented way. Their marching in the parade aroused much curiosity and admiration from both English- and German-speaking spectators. Women in the female mass exercises were praised for their dainty yet precise performances as well as for their endurance and self-confidence.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, women helped raise money, prepared food, and welcomed the guests. They presented the winning gymnastic clubs with laurel wreaths and demonstrated their supportive roles as wives and daughters as well as the unity of German Americans. In a standardized rite, they presented a flag to the male gymnasts; in their accompanying poem, they used the same ideological vocabulary as their male counterparts, thus trying to assert their right to an equal role.<sup>70</sup>

Whereas the festival demonstrated the self-confidence of the gymnasts, it still revealed some rifts in the German-American community.<sup>71</sup> Conflict broke out over the location of the festival grounds.<sup>72</sup> In addition, each gymnast group proudly showed its local pride with every club wearing differently colored hatbands, and the *Turners* from Denver and Rochester even brought their own beer.<sup>73</sup> The adaptation<sup>74</sup> of the second generation of German-Americans was demonstrated by the fact that most of the younger participants spoke English off the athletic grounds and assembled for baseball games.<sup>75</sup> Because of the Columbian World Exposition in Chicago, which took place simultaneously, general interest in the festival was somewhat less than expected,<sup>76</sup> and in the end, the organizers were left with a deficit of nearly 21,000 dollars.<sup>77</sup>

German-American festivals reached their height and most nationalistic phase at the turn of the century. This is demonstrated by the spirit in which German Americans greeted Admiral Prince Henry of Prussia, the brother of Emperor William II, in February and March 1902. For the Emperor and the

Foreign Office, Henry's goodwill tour was to improve German-American relations. They were primarily interested in his meeting influential Americans and speaking to the American population in general. For diplomatic reasons, Henry was to avoid any impression that he was visiting his German compatriots. In addition, German Americans did not present an important target group for the German government, who considered them too Americanized and mostly lower class.<sup>78</sup>



Germania Abendpost, March 1, 1902.

Henry's tour included half a day in Milwaukee.<sup>79</sup> Weeks in advance, Milwaukee Germans discussed possibilities to entertain the royal guest. Despite pleas for unity, a dispute erupted between the Musical Society, who had scheduled a concert for the evening of Henry's visit, the German theater, and the organizing committee.<sup>80</sup> In the end, the committee, consisting of prominent citizens, many German-born, decided on two long drives through the city, showing the prince Milwaukee's public, commercial, and private buildings. In addition, the festival was to be popular and democratic (*volkstümlich*) with people being admitted to the official reception for the prince on a first come first serve basis.<sup>81</sup> German-American endeavors to point out to Milwaukeeans that a grand celebration for the visiting royalty

was required out of courtesy proved successful, as thousands of spectators lined the streets.<sup>82</sup>

The prince was welcomed at the train station by a reception committee and state and city officials. Outside the station, Henry was greeted by the salute of 1,200 members of German warriors' clubs from all over Wisconsin. That Milwaukee's German-American population chose to be represented by former soldiers is indicative of their adherence to the German Empire's growing nationalistic and militaristic spirit. German newspapers even praised those veterans, who in 1848 had helped suppress the revolution.<sup>83</sup> The prince's visit sparked the foundation of two new veterans' associations pledging to uphold the Hohenzollern tradition.<sup>84</sup> At the official reception at Milwaukee's exhibition hall, attended by 15,000 Milwaukeeans, the two German-American speakers were a former member of Congress and, once again, a representative of the German veterans' clubs. In his speech, the latter stressed that many of the recent German immigrants had fought in the German Wars of Unification and that most immigrants were still profiting from the soldierly virtues they had learned in the German army, "the best school of life." The mayor and the governor in their speeches underlined the impact of German immigrants in shaping American commerce, agriculture, industry, science, literature, and art, and praised the harmonizing influence of the German on the Puritan, commercial Yankee character. Both speakers recognized the right of German Americans to feel attached to Germany *and* the United States. After watching a show demonstration by Milwaukee's fire department, Henry attended a banquet at Milwaukee's best hotel with 300 invited guests, where he emphasized the important role of German Americans in ensuring harmonious relations between the two countries. He also praised the beauty of Milwaukee's women, though he was only briefly introduced to the wives of some prominent citizens because the rest of Milwaukee's female population was barred from official functions.<sup>85</sup>

According to the press, the visit was a resounding success, despite Milwaukee's cold weather which caused the prince to alter some of the arrangements.<sup>86</sup> Only the freethinkers and some of the gymnasts voiced criticism and derided their compatriots for their subservience to the monarch they had fled in Germany,<sup>87</sup> and Polish-Americans for obvious reasons abstained from the festival.<sup>88</sup> For many German Americans, the prince's visit had one important result: for the very first time, their role in defending the American republic, educating its citizens, and contributing to its culture and customs had been officially recognized. German-American journalists took great care to underline that all of their English-language colleagues stressed the German Americans' part in American nation-building.

With even Anglophile newspapers running pro-German comments, prospects for the future looked bright.<sup>89</sup>

In conclusion, some characteristics of German-American festivals stand out. First, since commemorations consist of only few elements and are by nature conservative, as Duvignaud has shown,<sup>90</sup> there was a fixed canon of topoi, which was recognized both by the immigrants themselves and by their American compatriots.<sup>91</sup> This canon can be interpreted, following Jan Assmann, as a new form of cultural coherence providing individual and collective identity in times of stress.<sup>92</sup> It consisted of: the compatibility of love for Germany with loyalty to the United States; the cultural contributions of German Americans to the development of the United States, i.e. their right to participate in American nationalism; the orderliness of their celebrations; the specific German talent for celebrating, socializing, having fun, and providing companionship as contrasted with American bigotry and so-called muckerism; and finally the frequency of German-American festivities.

The festivals mentioned as well as the myriads of smaller German-American celebrations<sup>93</sup> all adhered to a common schedule: visiting guests were marched from their points of arrival to the festival hall in little parades, marking the separation of the celebrants from ordinary life and resembling the medieval *adventus* of the king in town.<sup>94</sup> After a welcome by municipal authorities, which represented some token recognition of German-American identity, the liminal phase of the festivities began, which included speeches, singing, tableaux vivants, often gymnastic performances, and carousing. The main feature was usually a parade to some picnic ground to alert American compatriots to the German-American celebration and to foster community. The participants were reincorporated into their daily routine by a closing gala ball.<sup>95</sup>

Second, although festivals especially in the early stages of German mass immigration revealed underlying divisions of the German-American community, they served as the primary vehicle to create a specific German-American identity. German-Americans established a whole inventory of festivals; they equally participated in American festivals and stayed in contact with Germany by inviting German clubs to their festivals and by visiting national festivals in Germany.<sup>96</sup> In their own celebrations, German Americans tried to merge German and American national traits, symbolically represented by the German and the American flags and the figures of Germania and Columbia. With growing self-assertiveness, German Americans believed that they combined the best of both worlds and were the only ethnic group on a par or even superior to the Anglo-Americans. By constructing their own specific cultural memory, which proved that they were a distinct group, and by displaying it publicly, German Americans managed to preserve their ethnicity

even if they increasingly had to include English speeches and American pastimes into their festivals. Their specific dual German and American identity also explains why in the end despite some differences in their celebrations, the workers and the middle classes, the Catholics and the Protestants, the Swabians, Bavarians, and Low Germans, men and women, all shared a basic common festive culture.<sup>97</sup>

Third, there was a significant change over time. German-American festivities became bigger, more numerous, and increasingly commercialized.<sup>98</sup> Festival cigars and beer, lotteries and souvenirs increasingly gave way to professional amusement park stands. In the history of German-American festivals, 1871 can be regarded as a first turning point with German Americans starting to become prouder of their ethnicity. The 1890s served as a second watershed, when German Americans, though still mainly defining their ethnicity culturally, as stated by Kathleen Conzen,<sup>99</sup> began to adopt more nationalistic symbols and discourses.<sup>100</sup> Yet, the pull towards a separate German identity was constantly offset by the immigrants' emphasis on having made important contributions to the development of the American nation, which paradoxically partly rendered their festivals vehicles to integrate German Americans into mainstream America. Thus, German Americans with the help of their festivals were able first of all to create a however tenuous German-American community and, second, to maintain it as a separate, both German and American, identity.

## Notes

1. *New York Times*, September 15, 1864, 8/3.
2. The terms "festival" and "celebration" will be used interchangeably throughout the article.
3. Symbols give life its meaning, Clifford Geertz, *Dichte Beschreibung* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1983), 136, and filter the permanent from the passing, Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Die Aktualität des Schönen* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1977), 62.
4. Myths can be seen as collectively transmitted and remembered forms of expressions, compare Robert David Sack, *Conceptions of Space in Social Thought: A Geographic Perspective* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980), 144; Dietrich Harth, "Revolution und Mythos: Sieben Thesen zur Genesis und Geltung zweier Grundbegriffe historischen Denkens," in idem and Jan Assmann, eds., *Revolution und Mythos* (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer, 1992), 29; they reduce complexity, represent the most important medium of imagining community, and function as an essential part of cultural memory, Jan Assmann, "Frühe Formen politischer Mythomotorik: Fundierende, kontrapräsentische und revolutionäre Mythen," in Harth and Assmann, *Revolution und Mythos*, 39, 42.

5. Rituals can be seen as either cultural representations of fixed social reality, Harry Pross, "Ritualisierung des Nationalen," in Jürgen Link and Wulf Wülfing, eds., *Nationale Mythen und Symbole in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts: Strukturen und Funktionen von Konzepten nationaler Identität* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1991), 101, or as oscillating between structure and antistructure, cp. John J. MacAloon, "Introduction: Cultural Performances, Culture Theory," in idem, ed., *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals toward a Theory of Cultural Performance* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1984), 3; both positions, however, agree that rituals bring order to culture, serve social continuity and establish collectivity, *ibid.*; Sally Falk Moore, "Epilogue: Uncertainties in Situations, Indeterminacies in Culture," in Barbara Myerhoff and idem, eds., *Symbol and Politics in Communal Ideology: Cases and Questions* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975), 221; David Chaney, "A Symbolic Mirror of Ourselves: Civic Ritual in Mass Society," *Media, Culture, and Society* 5 (1983): 120. Rituals humanize space while myths humanize time, cp. Harvey Cox, *The Feast of Fools: A Theological Essay on Festivity and Fantasy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), 71.
6. Frank-Michael Kuhlemann, "Mentalitätsgeschichte," in Wolfgang Hardtwig and Hans-Ulrich Wehler, eds., *Kulturgeschichte Heute* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 208; Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Charlotte Tacke, "Die Kultur des Nationalen," in Hardtwig and Wehler, eds., *Kulturgeschichte Heute*, 264.
7. Emile Durkheim, *Die elementaren Formen des religiösen Lebens*, trans. Ludwig Schmidts (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1981), 471, 509.
8. For Assmann, cultural memory is socially constructed and embraces, but is not equivalent to, tradition and communication; its function is to reproduce group identity via circulation and repetition especially in the form of festivals, Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich: Beck, 1992), 23, 35; Jan Assmann, "Der zweidimensionale Mensch: das Fest als Medium des kollektiven Gedächtnisses," in idem, ed., *Das Fest und das Heilige. Religiöse Kontrapunkte zur Alltagswelt* (Gütersloh: Verlag Hans Mohn, 1991), 23-24.
9. Don Handelman, *Models and Mirrors: Towards and Anthropology of Public Events* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 9; Hermann Bausinger, "Ein Abwerfen der grossen Last ...": Gedanken zur städtischen Festkultur," in Paul Hugger et al., eds., *Stadt und Fest* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1987), 252. For Bausinger, festivals include order and chaos, organization and spontaneity, tradition and innovation, the construction of sense and sensualness, separation and harmony, partialness and totality, *ibid.*, 254-66.
10. E.g. Assmann, "Der zweidimensionale Mensch," 13-17; Odo Marquard, "Moratorium des Alltags: Eine kleine Philosophie des Festes," in Walter Haug and Rainer Warning, eds., *Das Fest* (Munich: Fink, 1989), 684-91.
11. Winfried Gebhardt, *Fest, Feier und Alltag. Über die gesellschaftliche Wirklichkeit des Menschen und ihre Deutung* (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 1987), 12; Gadamer, *Die Aktualität*, 31; Geertz, *Dichte Beschreibung*, 96. If one follows Johan Huizinga, who posits that the community of a festival or play has the tendency to become permanent, one could even argue that associations and clubs, so characteristic for German-American life, grew out of festivals, not vice versa, compare idem, *Homo Ludens: Versuch einer Bestimmung des Spielelementes der Kultur* (1938; Amsterdam: Pantheon 1940, 21).
12. Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in idem and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1-7.
13. Geneviève Fabre, "Essai introductif: Lieux de fête et de commémoration," *Revue française d'Etudes Américaines* 51 (1992): 9.
14. Durkheim, *Die elementaren Formen*, 509.
15. Josef Pieper, *Zustimmung zur Welt: Ein Theorie des Festes* (Munich: Kösel, 1963).
16. Roger Caillois, *L'homme et le sacré* (1938; Paris: Gallimard, 1950); Jean Duvignaud, *Fêtes et civilisations* (Paris: Librairie Weber, 1973); Durkheim, *Die elementaren Formen*.
17. Assmann, "Der zweidimensionale Mensch," 17; Cox, *The Feast of Fools*, 22; Gerhard M. Martin, *Fest und Alltag: Bausteine zu einer Theorie des Festes* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1973), 29. For good, albeit differing summaries of festive theories compare Gebhardt, *Fest, Feier und Alltag*; Hugger, "Einleitung: Das Fest," in idem et al., eds., *Stadt und Fest*, 9-24. Thus, festivals are basically ambivalent, cp. Bruce Willems-Braun, "Situating Cultural Politics: Fringe Festivals and the Production of Spaces of Intersubjectivity," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 12 (1994): 78.
18. Max Weber, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*, vol. 1 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1978), 252; Geertz, *Dichte Beschreibung*, 123; Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 6. Thus, I am not convinced by Don Handelman's argument that most festivals are events that "present the lived-in world" and have no impact on the lived-in worlds of peoples, compare Handelman, *Models and Mirrors*, 41-42.
19. Cf. e.g. Manfred Hettling and Paul Nolte, eds., *Bürgerliche Feste* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993); Dieter Düding, Peter Friedemann, and Paul Münch, eds., *Öffentliche Festkultur. Politische Feste in Deutschland von der Aufklärung bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1988); Ute Schneider, *Politische Festkultur im 19. Jahrhundert: Die Rheinprovinz von der französischen Zeit bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges (1806-1918)* (Essen: Klartext, 1995).
20. Jürgen Heideking, "Die Verfassungsfeiern von 1788," *Der Staat* 34/3 (1995): 391-413; Simon P. Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997); David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).
21. Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986); David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1990); Mary Ryan, "The American Parade: Representations of the Nineteenth-Century Social Order," in Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 131-53.
22. Kathleen N. Conzen, "Ethnicity as Festive Culture: Nineteenth-Century German America on Parade," in Werner Sollors, ed., *The Invention of Ethnicity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 44-76.
23. This paper forms part of a book-length project to investigate the extent, forms, and transformations of German-American festivities from 1848 to 1925.
24. I am using Kantowicz's definition of ethnicity as "a collective, inherited, cultural identity, buttressed by social structures and social networks, and often formulated in opposition to competing social groups". Edward R. Kantowicz, "Ethnicity," in Mary Kupiec Cayton, Elliott J. Gorn, and Peter W. Williams, eds., *Encyclopedia of American Social History* (New York: Scribner, 1993), 454. The *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* names six criteria for ethnicity: common historical origin, some conception of cultural and social distinctiveness, a role as a unit in a larger and diverse system of social relations, a manifest or latent network of associations, some acknowledgment of one's own diversity, and some attachment to a set of historically derived group symbols, Harold J. Abramson, "Assimilation and Pluralism," in Stephan Thernstrom et al., eds., *The Harvard Encyclo-*

*pedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1980), 151.

25. There were 71,000 in 1870 and 115,000 in 1880. Bayrd Still, *Milwaukee: The History of a City* (Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1948), 112, 329, 572-75.
26. *Ibid.*, 258-59, 453, 572-75.
27. Cp. Pierre Bourdieu, *Zur Soziologie der symbolischen Formen* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1991), 60; Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey, "Kulturelle und symbolische Praktiken: das Unternehmen Pierre Bourdieu," in Hardtwig and Wehler, eds., *Kulturgeschichte Heute*, 120; *Banner und Volksfreund*, March 2, 1871, 3/1; March 19, 1871, 3/1; *Milwaukee Seebote*, June 5, 1871, 1/1.
28. *Banner und Volksfreund*, March 19, 1871, 3/1; April 30, 1871, 3/1; *Milwaukee Seebote*, June 5, 1871, 1/1.
29. *Milwaukee Sentinel*, May 2, 1871, 1/5; May 30, 1871, 4/2-3; *New York Times*, April 11, 1871, 1/7; *Evening Post*, April 10, 1871, 4/1-2.
30. It is interesting to note that in many places victory was celebrated either on Easter Monday (New York, Baltimore) or on Whitmonday (Milwaukee, Chicago, Manitowoc, Kenosha); the German communities evidently were looking for a religious connotation and at the same time trying to avoid angering their compatriots by celebrating on a Sunday, compare *Milwaukee Sentinel*, March 21, 1871, 4/1; *Banner und Volksfreund*, March 2, 1871, 3/1; March 17, 1871, 3/3; May 13, 1871, 3/5; June 4, 1871, 3/1-2; *New York Times*, April 11, 1871, 1/7, 2/1-4; *Evening Post*, New York, April 10, 1871, 4/1-2.
31. *Milwaukee Sentinel*, May 15, 1871, 4/3; May 29, 1871, 4/1.
32. *Milwaukee Seebote*, June 5, 1871, 1/1-3; *Banner und Volksfreund*, May 23, 1871, 3/4-6; May 18, 1871, 3/5; May 25, 1871, 3/4; May 26, 1871, 3/1; May 28, 1871, 1/2; May 31, 1871, 2/2-7, 3/1-5.
33. According to the *Sentinel*, it was only three miles long, *Milwaukee Sentinel*, May 30, 1871, 4/2-3.
34. I define public space following Stephen Carr as the common ground where people carry out the functional and ritual activities that bind a community together both in daily life and in periodic festivities, Stephen Carr et al., *Public Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), xi. For Habermas' more discursive concept of public sphere and recent criticism of it, compare Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1971); Craig Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992). Geographers emphasize especially that the public sphere can only exist via material space, cp. Don Mitchell, "The End of Public Space? People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy," *Annals of the Association of American Geography* 85 (1995): 108-33. Access to public space is highly contested, compare e.g. Peter Goheen, "Negotiating Access to Public Space in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Toronto," *Journal of Historical Geography* 20 (1994): 430-49.
35. Cp. Heideking, "Die Verfassungsfeiern," 391-413; Gisela Jaacks, *Festzüge in Hamburg 1696-1913: Bürgerliche Selbstdarstellung und Geschichtsbewußtsein* (Hamburg: Hamburger Museums-Verein, 1972), 1-12.
36. *Banner und Volksfreund*, May 16, 1871, 3/2; May 31, 1871, 2/2-7, 3/1-5. Some American firms had also decorated their buildings, *Milwaukee Seebote*, June 5, 1871, 1/3, or put advertisements in the newspaper that their goods had become cheaper with the end of the war, *Banner und Volksfreund*, May 26, 1871, 3/6.
37. Hobsbawm, "Introduction," 7.
38. *Milwaukee Seebote*, June 5, 1871, 1/1-7; *Milwaukee Sentinel*, May 30, 1871, 4/2-3; *Banner und Volksfreund*, May 28, 1871, 2/2-4, 3/2-5; May 31, 1871, 2/2-7; June 1, 1871, 2/2-3.
39. *Milwaukee Seebote*, May 29, 1871, 1/4; *Banner und Volksfreund*, May 10, 1871, 3/2; May 21, 1871, 2/2; May 31, 1871, 3/1-5.
40. *Milwaukee Seebote*, 1 January 1871, 1/9; *Banner und Volksfreund*, 28 May 1871, 2/2-4; 31 May 1871, 2/2-7, 3/1-5.
41. *Milwaukee Seebote*, June 5, 1871, 1/1-7; Horst Ueberhorst, *Turner unterm Sternbanner* (Munich: Heinz Moos, 1978), 121; the same happened in Germany, cp. Dieter Langewiesche, "... für Volk und Vaterland zu würgen ...": Zur politischen und gesellschaftlichen Rolle der Turner zwischen 1811 und 1871," in Ommo Grupe, ed., *Kulturgut oder Körperkult? Sport und Sportwissenschaft im Wandel* (Tübingen: Attempto, 1990), 58; *Gedenk-Blatt an das Deutsche Friedens-Fest in Milwaukee, Wisc., vom 27. bis 29. Mai 1871 und an den Deutsch-Französischen Krieg* (Milwaukee: Herold, 1871), Pamphlet 57-542, 2, State Historical Society Wisconsin, Madison, WI.
42. *Milwaukee Seebote*, June 5, 1871, 1/4.
43. E.g. *Milwaukee Sentinel*, May 30, 1871, 4/2-3; *Gedenk-Blatt*, 1; *Banner und Volksfreund*, June 8, 1871, 3/2.
44. *Milwaukee Freie Presse*, March 22, 1883, 4/4; June 15, 1883, 4/1-2; August 29, 1883, 4/3; August 31, 1883, 4/2-3.
45. In later years, most German communities would celebrate German day on October 6.
46. *Milwaukee Freie Presse*, October 3, 1883, 5/2-3; October 8, 1883, 4/2-3.
47. *Milwaukee Freie Presse*, October 3, 1883, 5/2-3; October 8, 1883, 4/2-3; *Sentinel*, October 8, 1883, 1/1-2.
48. *Milwaukee Freie Presse*, October 6, 1883, 5/2-3.
49. *Milwaukee Freie Presse*, August 23, 1883, 2/2; September 11, 1883, 4/2; September 13, 1883, 4/2; October 3, 1883, 5/2-3; October 6, 1883, 5/2-3; October 8, 1883, 4/2-3; *Seebote*, October 4, 1883, 4/2; *Sentinel*, October 8, 1883, 1/1-2. There were a lot of complaints about the admission fee charged in the afternoon as well, *Sentinel*, October 8, 1883, 1/1-2.
50. *Freidenker*, October 14, 1883, 1/1-3; *Milwaukee Freie Presse*, September 24, 1883, 5/3; October 4, 1883, 1/3; October 8, 1883, 4/2-3.
51. *Milwaukee Freie Presse*, March 22, 1883, 4/2; May 29, 1883, 4/1-2; June 15, 1883, 4/1-2; August 31, 1883, 2-3; October 8, 1883, 1/3-6, 2/1-2; *Freidenker*, October 7, 1883, 1/1-2; *Seebote*, October 11, 1883, 4/2-3.
52. *Milwaukee Freie Presse*, October 8, 1883, 1/5; *Freidenker*, October 7, 1883, 1/1; *Seebote*, October 11, 1883, 4/2-3. This image supposedly was first used by Carl Schurz, Philip V. Bohlman, "Music in the Culture of German Americans in North-Central Wisconsin," Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, Urbana, 1979, 70.
53. *Milwaukee Freie Presse*, March 22, 1883, 4/2; May 29, 1883, 4/1-2; August 31, 1883, 2-3; September 1, 1883, 4/1-2; October 8, 1883, 1/3-6, 2/1-2; *Freidenker*, October 7, 1883, 1/1-2; *Seebote*, October 11, 1883, 4/2-3.
54. *Milwaukee Freie Presse*, May 29, 1883, 4/1-2; October 6, 1883, 5/2-3; October 8, 1883, 1/3-6, 2/1-2.
55. *Milwaukee Freie Presse*, October 8, 1883, 1/3; October 9, 1883, 5/2; *Sentinel*, October 8, 1883, 1/1-2; October 9, 1883, 6/2.
56. Milwaukee had already hosted the seventh and seventeenth festivals in 1857 and 1877, cp. Heinrich Metzner, *Geschichte des Turnerbundes* (Indianapolis: Verlag Zukunft, 1874), 52; *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei III/6* (1894), 272-73. The program for the 1893 festival is described in detail in 1893 *Nord Amerikanischer Turner-Bund, 26tes Bundes Turn Fest Milwaukee-Wisc.* (Milwaukee: Evening Wisconsin Co., 1893), in *The Immigrant in America*, Unit 5, Reel 148, Item 6, 17-23.



57. Klaus Zieschang, *Vom Schützenfest zum Turnfest: Die Entstehung des Deutschen Turnfestes unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Einflüsse von F.L. Jahn* (Ahrensberg: Czwalina, 1977), 182-95; Ralf Wagner, "Zwischen Tradition und Fortschritt: Zur gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Entwicklung der Deutsch-amerikanischen Turnbewegung am Beispiel Milwaukeees und Chicagos, 1850-1920," Ph.D. diss., University of Munich, 1988, 4-50.
58. *Freidenker*, July 30, 1893, 4; *Sentinel*, July 21, 1893, 1/3-4; for the size of the other festivals compare *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei I to III* (1892-1894).
59. 1893 Nord Amerikanischer Turner-Bund, 26tes Bundes Turn Fest Milwaukee-Wisc., 17; *Freidenker*, July 30, 1893, 4; August 6, 1893, 4/3-4; *Sentinel*, July 21, 1893, 1/3-4; July 22, 1893, 1/2-3; July 25, 1893, 1/1-2. For the second and bigger parade, The *Sentinel* spoke of ten thousand marchers, but admitted these numbers to be exaggerated, July 23, 1893, 1/7.
60. *Berichte des Beobachtungs-Ausschusses beim 28. Bundesturnfest des Nordamerikanischen Turnerbundes abgehalten in Philadelphia, Pa., in den Tagen vom 21. bis 24. Juni 1900* (Milwaukee: Freidenker Publishing Co., 1900), in *The Immigrant in America*, Unit 5, Reel 148, Item 4, 18; 1893 Nord Amerikanischer Turner-Bund, 26tes Bundes Turn Fest Milwaukee-Wisc., 31; *Milwaukee'r Abend-Post*, April 12, 1893, 2/2; July 13, 1893, 2/3; July 15, 1893, 2/2; July 18, 1893, 2/2; July 25, 1893, 1/4, 8/4-5; *Freidenker*, July 30, 1893, 4; *Sentinel*, July 21, 1893, 3/3; July 23, 1893, 1/1; July 24, 1893, 1/1-2; July 25, 1893, 1/1-2; Ueberhorst, *Turner*, 142.
61. *Sentinel*, July 26, 1893, 2/3-4. Two days earlier, the *Sentinel* had still underlined the cosmopolitan makeup of the audience, specifically mentioning Americans and Bohemians, cp. July 24, 1893, 1/1.
62. 1893 Nord Amerikanischer Turner-Bund, 26tes Bundes Turn Fest Milwaukee-Wisc., 17; *Freidenker*, July 30, 1893, 4; *Sentinel*, July 22, 1893, 2/1; July 26, 1893, 2/3-4.
63. *Milwaukee'r Abend-Post*, July 25, 1893, 8/4-5; Nordamerikanischer Turnerbund, *Offizielle Festzeitung für das 26. Bundesturnfest in Milwaukee, Juli 1893* 5 (March 1, 1893), 3; *Freidenker*, July 30, 1893, 4.
64. *Milwaukee'r Abend-Post*, July 25, 1893, 8/4-5; *Freidenker*, July 30, 1893, 2/1; *Sentinel*, July 24, 1893, 1/3; July 25, 1893, 1/1-2.
65. The active gymnasts mainly drank non-alcoholic beverages, cp. *Sentinel*, July 25, 1893, 1/1.
66. *Freidenker*, July 23, 1893, 1/1; August 6, 1893, 4/3; *Sentinel*, July 23, 1893, 1/3; for *Vergemeinschaftung* and *Vergesellschaftung* cp. Ferdinand Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft: Grundbegriffe der reinen Soziologie* (1887; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969).
67. Duvignaud, *Fêtes et civilisations*, 15-16.
68. Conzen, "Ethnicity as Festive Culture," 69. At later gymnastic festivals, the lack of opportunity to socialize was to evoke severe criticism, Ueberhorst, *Turner*, 143.
69. *Milwaukee'r Abend-Post*, July 22, 1893, II/1/6; July 24, 1893, 8/2-3; November 3, 1893, 5/3; *Freidenker*, July 30, 1893, 5/1; August 6, 1893, 4/1-2; *Sentinel*, July 22, 1893, 1/7, 2/1; July 23, 1893, 2/1; July 24, 1893, 1/3; July 25, 1893, 1/3. Officially, women were not allowed to participate in national gymnastic festivals before 1901, Ueberhorst, *Turner*, 143. They did not become equal partners until 1923, Gisela Bentz, "Vom Fischbein-Korsett zum Gymnastik-Anzug: Die Rolle der Frau in der Turnbewegung," in *Deutsche Turnfeste* (Homburg: Lippert, 1985), 36. Despite their professed belief in equality, the gymnasts had only admitted women into female sections of gymnastic clubs in the 1870s; they did not grant them full membership rights until after World War I, compare Wagner, "Zwischen Tradition und Fortschritt," 258-60.
70. *Milwaukee'r Abend-Post*, July 21, 1893, 2/4, 8/3; July 22, 1893, 2/4-5; *Freidenker*, July 30, 1893, 4; August 6, 1893, 4/2; *Sentinel*, July 26, 1893, 2/3-4; for women's roles in parades cp. Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 48.
71. *Nordamerikanischer Turnerbund: Offizielle Festzeitung für das 26. Bundesturnfest in Milwaukee, Juli 1893*, No. 6, March 1893, 8.
72. *Milwaukee'r Abend-Post*, March 31, 1893, 2/3; *Freidenker*, July 30, 1893, 4.
73. *Sentinel*, July 22, 1893, 1/2-3, 2/1; July 24, 1893, 1/3; July 25, 1893, 1/1.
74. Adaption is one of the steps in Barkan's model, Elliott R. Barkan, "Forum: Race, Religion, and Nationality in American Society. A Model of Ethnicity—From Contact to Assimilation," in *Journal of American Ethnic History* 14/2 (1995): 55-56.
75. *Sentinel*, July 21, 1893, 3/3; July 24, 1893, 1/1; July 25, 1893, 1/2; July 26, 1893, 2/4.
76. Ueberhorst, *Turner*, 142, n. 592; *Freidenker*, July 30, 1893, 5/1. The press reported between 15,000 and 20,000 spectators, *Sentinel*, July 22, 1893, 1/1; July 26, 1893, 2/3-4; *Milwaukee'r Abend-Post*, July 24, 1893, 8/2-3. This does not square with the sale of 13,000 tickets, even if one considers that Milwaukee's Turners and their families went in for free. The same newspaper report announced a lowering of the entrance fees, which is indicative of slack attendance, see *Milwaukee'r Abend-Post*, July 27, 1893, 2/2. Nevertheless, correspondents from several Eastern and Midwestern German-American papers attended the festival, *Sentinel*, 22 July 1893, 1/3-4.
77. *Milwaukee'r Abend-Post*, July 27, 1893, 2/2; July 31, 1893, 5/2; September 29, 1893, 5/4. In 1898, the North American Gymnastic Union offered to pay for the remaining 3,500 dollars, *ibid.*, July 11, 1898, 5/2.
78. No direct political results were expected, compare Chancellor Bernhard v. Bülow to Henry, January 30, 1902, ad A 207, R #3868, IA: Preußen, Acten betreffend Seine Königliche Hoheit Prinz Heinrich, Politisches Archiv (PA), Auswärtiges Amt, Bonn (AA); cp. also Reiner Pommerin, *Der Kaiser und Amerika* (Köln: Böhlau, 1986), 107-110; Alfred Vagts, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten in der Weltpolitik*, vol. 1 (New York: Macmillan, 1935), 149-50, 558; Ambassador Th.v. Holleben to Bülow, January 8, 1902, RM3/2368, Reise nach Amerika, 1902-1903, Papers of Admiral Tirpitz, Bundesarchiv, Militärarchiv.
79. Holleben to Bülow, January 16, 1902, A 821, vol. R 3868, IA, PA AA; Note Chancellor Bülow, January 19, 1902, 946, *ibid.*; Pommerin, *Der Kaiser*, 107-109.
80. *Milwaukee Herold und Seebote*, February 11, 1902, 1/1-2; February 14, 1902, 1/7; *Germania-Abendpost*, January 26, 1902, 1/1-2; February 12, 1902, 3/1-7; *Milwaukee Free Press*, February 21, 1902, 9/1.
81. *Germania-Abendpost*, January 24, 1902, 6/2-3; March 3, 1902, 4/2-3; *Milwaukee Herold und Seebote*, March 5, 1902, 1/1; *Milwaukee Herold und Seebote*, February 18, 1902, 5/4-5; *Milwaukee Free Press*, February 20, 1902, 9/3; *Sentinel*, March 5, 1902, 6/1.
82. *Germania-Abendpost*, January 15, 1902, 1/2-4; January 16, 1902, 1/1-2; January 19, 1902, 1/4; January 20, 1902, 1/1-2; March 4, 1902, 1/2-6; *Milwaukee Herold und Seebote*, March 2, 1902, 7/2-3; *Sentinel*, March 5, 1902, 1/1-7.
83. *Germania-Abendpost*, March 5, 1902, 1/7; *Milwaukee Herold und Seebote*, March 6, 1902, 6/3; *Sentinel*, February 26, 1902, 8/3-5; February 27, 1902, 8/2-4; March 1, 1902, 7/3-5; March 2, 1902, 7/2-6. Of course, the German Americans also wished to demonstrate to the Emperor's representative that they were still good Germans at heart and had been rendering services to their German fatherland.
84. *Germania-Abendpost*, March 3, 1902, 2/1; *Milwaukee Herold und Seebote*, February 28, 1902, 5/1; March 1, 1902, 4/6-7; March 17, 1902, 5/4.

85. *Seebote*, March 4, 1902, 1/2-3; March 7, 1902, 1/1-3; *Germania-Abendpost*, March 5, 1902, 1/5-7, 2/1-7; *Milwaukee Herald und Seebote*, February 25, 1902, 5/2-5; March 5, 1902, 1, 5/1-2, 7/3-6, 8/2-5; *Sentinel*, March 5, 1902, 1/1-7, 4/4-7; *Milwaukee Free Press*, March 5, 1902, 1, 2, 4, 5/1-3. Milwaukee's African Americans were also marginalized, but nonetheless able to present the prince with an aquarium of goldfish, *Milwaukee Herald und Seebote*, March 5, 1902, 7/5. Interestingly enough, the visitors from Germany interpreted the speeches very despondently as funeral orations for the German way of life in the United States (*Grabreden auf das Deutschthum*), cp. Admiral Fritz Graf von Baudissin, *Zusammenstellung von Tagebuch-Aufzeichnungen über den Aufenthalt in den Vereinigten Staaten*, 1902, manuscript graciously placed at my disposal by Baudissin's granddaughter, Christa Dempf-Dulckheit.
86. *Sentinel*, March 6, 1902, 2/4; *Milwaukee Free Press*, March 5, 1902, 4/4-5; *Germania-Abendpost*, March 5, 1902, 4/2.
87. *Freidenker*, January 26, 1902, 4/2-4; March 9, 1902, 5/2; *Germania-Abendpost*, January 16, 1902, 1/1-2, 3/2; January 17, 1902, 1/1-2. In the end, however, the Northside and the Southside Gymnastic Clubs both participated, whereas the Turnverein Milwaukee apparently abstained, cp. *Germania-Abendpost*, February 2, 1902, 1/3-4.
88. *Milwaukee Free Press*, March 5, 1902, 5/3.
89. *Germania-Abendpost*, March 9, 1902, 6/5 (copy from the *Baltimore Correspondent*); March 17, 1902, 4/4; March 22, 1902, II/6/3; *Seebote*, March 4, 1902, 1/2; *Milwaukee Herald und Seebote*, March 3, 1902, 4/2-3; March 11, 1902, 4/2-3; *Sentinel*, March 5, 1902, 6/1; *Milwaukee Free Press*, March 5, 1902, 4/4-5.
90. Jean Duvignaud, "La fête. Essai de sociologie," *Cultures* 3.1 (1976): 22.
91. E.g. *New York Times*, July 1, 1871, 4/2-3; August 10, 1871, 8/3. Many of these stereotypes were evaluated positively by Anglo-Americans, who from time to time praised the Germans for adding these characteristics to the American national character, *New York Evening Post*, August 5, 1871, 4/3; *New York Times*, October 9, 1883, 4/4-5.
92. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis*, 127.
93. For a description of the different festivals German-Americans celebrated see my forthcoming *habilitationsschrift* "Die Festkultur der Deutsch-Amerikaner im Spannungsfeld zwischen deutscher and amerikanischer Identität, 1848-1925."
94. Klaus Tenfelde, "Adventus: Zur historischen Ikonologie des Festzugs," *Historische Zeitschrift* 235 (1982): 45-84.
95. For liminality and the three major phases of rituals compare Arnold van Gennep, *Les rites de passage* (Paris: Emile Nourry, 1909), 14; Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (London: Routledge, 1969), esp. chs. 3 and 5; compare also Conzen, "Ethnicity as Festive Culture," 60-61.
96. Thus, the Milwaukee Turners attended the first gymnastic festival in Frankfurt in 1880, and the Milwaukee Männerchor toured Germany in 1913, see *Offizielle Festzeitung für das 5te allgemeine deutsche Turnfest zu Frankfurt a/M 1880*, No. 5, July 26; No. 8, July 29; No. 9, July 30, 1880; *Germania-Herald*, August 21, 1880, 6/1-6; April 29, 1913, 1/5-6; May 5, 4/3-4; June 2 to 24, 1913.
97. This was already recognized by Conzen, "Ethnicity as Festive Culture," 48. Workers celebrated in separate associations, used some different symbols and songs, and included more lectures; celebrations by parishes and church choirs always contained a service, a sermon, and some hymns. In Germany as well, the workers' celebrations borrowed from the middle classes, see Wolfgang Hardtwig, "Nationsbildung und politische Mentalität: Denkmal und Fest im Kaiserreich," in idem, *Geschichtskultur und Wissenschaft* (Munich: dtv, 1990), 297.

98. Even the prince's visit was used by businesses for publicity stunts, *Germania-Abendpost*, 5 March 1902, 8; *Milwaukee Herald und Seebote*, 5 March 1902, 10; *Milwaukee Free Press*, 4 March 1902, 2/2-4, 3; cp. also Davis, *Parades and Power*, 17.
99. Conzen, "Ethnicity as Festive Culture," 60.
100. This may owe both to a growing American nationalism, which stimulated the ethnic Germans to make their contribution to nation-building known, and to the fact that the more recent immigrants had left a united country, served in its army, and experienced Germany's growing economic and political power.