



Crowd of Black and German Texans gathered on Washington Street, East side of the town square in La Grange (ca. 1895). Photograph by Louis Melcher. Courtesy of Fayette Heritage Museum.

The German Lives of Black Texans: Language and Interethnic Relations

by David Huenlich¹

Herman Braesicke was “a witty old guy, full of bull” from Austin County, where nearly everyone in his white community still spoke German in the 1940s. He had just arrived in Brenham, one county up, where he was to see his doctor. Getting out of the car, Braesicke spotted a heavy-set black woman walking down the sidewalk. Seizing the opportunity to live up to his reputation, he turned to his driver: “*Emma, guck doch bloß! Die ist fett genug zum Schlachten!*” (Emma, look! She is fat enough to be slaughtered!) Amusement gave way to embarrassment when the black woman dryly replied in German: “*No, nich ganz.*” (No, not quite.)²

Similar anecdotes circulate in various forms across Texas German communities: a black veterinarian startling his clients with a consultation in German, a shopkeeper in disbelief when African Americans place their orders in German, or the milkman of the nearby freedom colony stopping by for breakfast and a chat *auf Deutsch*.³ Cases of German-speaking African Americans in Texas have also been reported in academic work. In a few instances, speakers are identified by name.⁴ For a long time, the assumption was that these cases were exceptions. Recent evidence suggests, however, that several hundred African Americans spoke German across Central Texas for several decades. While locally these speakers may have been anomalies, from a broader angle they were representative of a pattern that included other immigrant languages such as Czech and Polish.⁵

In the past eight years, my wife and I spent a total of ten months collecting memories of Black German speakers along the so-called ‘German Belt’ from Austin County in the East to Gillespie County in the West. With help of local historians, over forty cases came together in a fairly short time. So far, thirty-three speakers were identified by name, twelve cases remain

obscure. Only four (former) speakers from the list were still alive in 2021, three agreed to be interviewed. After decades of not using the language, none were proficient enough to produce more than a few German phrases during the interviews. However, family, friends, German-speaking neighbors, and co-workers confirmed that most of the speakers on our list were proficient enough to entertain conversations in local Texas German dialects. There is reliable evidence that several were entirely fluent.⁶

The reasons Black Texans acquired and used German are closely linked to their lives in German-speaking communities. The woman in Brenham responded to a specific insult, but her ability to understand and answer in German could have been rooted in business, curiosity, education, family, friendship, romance, self-protection or survival. Mirroring these motives stand the social relations between African Americans, German-speaking immigrants, and their descendants over the course of the last 170 years. Several authors have acknowledged the ambiguity that existed in the relationship between African and German Americans before and after the Civil War. Even Hollywood pays homage in Tarantino's Blaxploitation Western *Django Unchained* (2012) where Germans are simultaneously depicted as allies and enslavers of Black people. In Texas, academic disagreements have revolved around the partaking of Texas Germans in slavery and the Confederate cause.⁷ By now, it seems sufficiently clear that German Texans were voluntarily involved in slavery and fought for the Confederacy but that most were (albeit passively) opposed to both. During Reconstruction, Black and German interests aligned with each other for a brief period at the State level, and for several decades in some Texan counties. Thereafter, Afro-German relations faded or oscillated between better and worse.⁸ Black Texans who spoke German crossed ethnic lines and provide us with a unique angle on this serpentine road of race relations and cultural adaptation.

Black German speakers have also been documented elsewhere in the United States, for instance in the work of Mark Loudon.⁹ In most cases, such as in New York or several Southern

States, there is a direct link to slavery – again, cases in point for Tarantino’s fictional narrative which features a German-speaking Broomhilda. In Texas, by contrast, slavery can only explain a fraction of the instances of African Americans speaking German. Spanning from slavery to the presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson, this article not only presents biographies of Black Texans living among Germans but also details the motives and circumstances under which they acquired and used the German language. The accounts underline the ambiguity that existed in race relations between Afro-Texans and their immigrant neighbors, while giving further credence to a “special talent for learning languages by ear” which German contemporaries sometimes attributed to Black people.¹⁰

Language, geography and quantitative distributions

When Mr. Braesicke got out of his car in Brenham, German had been a Texan language for over a century. The first immigrants speaking German dialects arrived in the 1830s in Austin, Fayette and Washington County mainly from the Northern German Lowlands. In the 1840s, the *Adelsverein*, a German migration company with aristocratic management, brought thousands of Germans from Middle Germany (especially the Duchy of Hessen-Nassau) to Texan shores. From there they settled inward along the Guadalupe River to the Texas Hill Country.¹¹

Early on, the German-speaking population included various ethnic backgrounds: Wendish migration from Lusatia (formerly in Prussia) started in the 1850s. Many Moravians and Bohemians from the Austrian Hapsburg Empire followed in the footsteps of German migrants. They taught and wrote in German besides their native Czech. Poles, Jews and Alsatians also used German as a *lingua franca* in trading, schooling, and communal activities in and around San Antonio.¹² An estimated 75,000 to 100,000 German speakers lived in Central Texas at the turn of the century. The 1940 census report projected roughly 160,000 German speakers in

Texas from a 5 % sample, 71,000 of which would have had native Texan parentage. Transmission of the language to younger generations had slowed significantly at the time. Even though over 200,000 Texans indicated to speak German in the 1970 census, Boas warns against an overinterpretation of such numbers: Most of the speakers were only using German occasionally and many were no longer fluent.¹³ However, the language was still in use and it was still being understood – and as the Brenham anecdote shows, not only by German Texans.

Central Texas is the area where the Southern Black Belt buckles up with the much smaller Texas German Belt. African Americans had arrived in the region as enslaved people beginning with the colonization of Texas by Anglo settlers from the American South. The illegal slave trade into Texas continued into the 1860s.¹⁴ As a result of voluntary and involuntary migration, no other region of the U.S. has been co-inhabited by German and African Americans for a longer period (over 150 years). After the Civil War, three regional heritage distributions emerge: In South Central Texas, there was a strong African and solid German heritage (25 % German-born mother, 39 % Black in the 1880 Census), the middle of Central Texas was a third African (32 %) and had a very low German presence. Westward, in the Hill Country around 42 % had a German-born mother. We can further break up these regions by county and order them by distributions: the strongest difference on top, and the most balanced distribution at the bottom.¹⁵

Counties by region	N total in 1880	% Black in 1880	% German-born mother in 1880	% Delta in 1880 (absolute value)	% Black loss by 1980
East (mixed)					
Washington	27,565	53.4	19.23	34.17	-31.3
Colorado	16,673	46.1	21.05	25.05	-27.84
Austin	14,429	27.3	38.33	11.03	-12.74
Fayette	27,996	31.3	25.04	6.26	-22.34
Lee	8,937	21.89	23.16	1.28	-5.75
Middle (heavily African)					
Bastrop	17,215	42.44	7.03	35.41	-25.21
Caldwell	11,757	34.31	3.4	30.91	-18.82
Gonzales	14,840	32.76	3.03	29.72	-21.13
Travis	27,028	31.82	8.73	23.08	-21.13
Hays	7,555	19.52	2.38	17.14	-16.53
Lavaca	13,641	25.07	13.42	11.66	-17.46
West (heavily German)					
Comal	5,546	4.87	80.78	75.91	-3.89
Gillespie	5,228	2.52	62.93	60.41	-2.27
Kendall	2,763	6.33	34.74	28.41	-6.21
Mason	2,655	1.54	24.48	22.94	-1.25
Blanco	3,583	4.69	13.4	8.71	-3.88
Guadalupe	12,202	28.32	27.86	0.45	-21.7

Table 1: Proportions of African and German heritage in 1880 along the German Belt and exodus of the Black population by 1980.

Map 1 provides a simplified visual of these regional distributions combined with the cases of Black German speakers we found for the 20th century. The East was the most viable area for Afro-German interactions, and the home of most Black German Speakers. While Germans were not typically plantation owners, there were several German slaveholders in this area. Theoretically, slavery might explain why we can still trace many of the Black German speakers to this area.

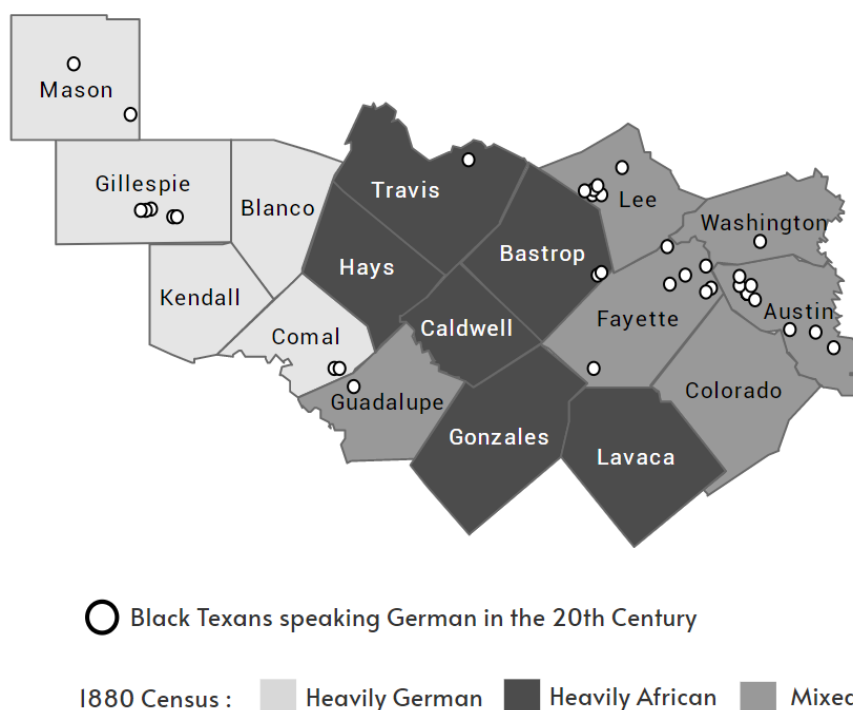


Figure 1: Map of the Texas German Belt with locations of Black German speakers

Few Germans lived in Hayes, Caldwell or Gonzales County in 1880. Accordingly, few Black Texans spoke German here. However, along the county borders of Bastrop there were several German-speaking Blacks living in freedom colonies with German neighbors. In these rural enclaves, the two groups enjoyed a high degree of conviviality into the 20th century that requires closer examination. Remnants of slavery do not explain these cases.

In the Texas Hill Country, the German presence was overwhelming in many places. Speaking German was almost obligatory for anyone who wanted to make professional inroads in New Braunfels (Comal Co) and Fredericksburg (Gillespie Co). As we will see, however, people of African heritage in this region learned German for other reasons as well. Many anomalies accumulate in this region during and after the Civil War.

One transitional area deserves mention: African Americans and Germans were almost at par in Guadalupe County because of the plantation economy along the Guadalupe River. We would expect more Black German speakers here, but the growth of San Antonio drastically changed local demographics. So far, we only heard one anecdote providing evidence for a German-speaking Black population in Seguin.¹⁶

Between 1880 and 1980, population patterns drastically changed. The last column in Table 1 shows the percentage points by which the Black population dropped in every county within 100 years.¹⁷ As throughout the rural South, stagnant economic conditions and violence led to a staggering exodus during this Great Migration.¹⁸ The example of “Aunt Sarah” Thompson shows that Black German speakers were among those who left the region (see Figure 2). It is likely that few returned, and many vanished from local memory.¹⁹ We cannot recover this information with census data because language questions were directed at immigrants or native speakers. The 1940 census included a question asking for the “Language spoken at home in earliest childhood” but the intention was to link European heritage groups to ‘foreign mother tongues’.²⁰ An example to which I return

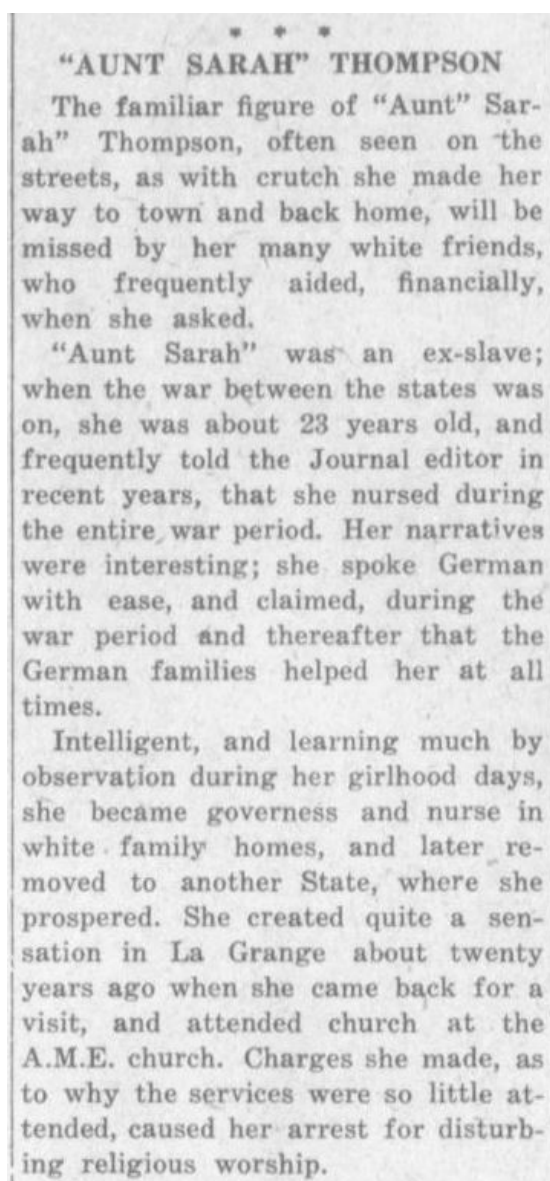


Figure 2: The example of “Aunt Sarah” shows that some ex-slaves spoke German and left the region during the Great Migration.

below shows that Blacks were removed from the sample if they did not meet the expectation of being native English speakers.

The 1970 census more broadly inquired about a “language other than English” spoken in the respondent’s home. Given that second languages are usually acquired and spoken outside of the home, the question should not have concerned most Black German speakers. Nevertheless, the results are revealing: In contrast to the many decades that list no German-speaking African Americans, the count in 1970 rushes up to 1496 native born blacks with German in the household. Due to confidentiality restrictions, we can only look at county groupings. They point to offspring of mixed marriages in urban environments (Dallas, Houston) and military areas (German Air Force Command in Fort Bliss near El Paso, Fort Hood Army Post near Killeen). However, 866 native African Americans of native parentage indicating they spoke German in their home in 1970 raise a question mark. Of these speakers, 199 still lived in a rural environment.²¹ The data suggests that German played a larger role in families of African heritage than previously acknowledged and that we could have documented more cases of Black German speakers only a few decades ago. The next sections give insight into the biographies of speakers as well as the regional circumstances and motives for learning and speaking German.

South Central Texas: Slavery, Economic Dependence and Ethnic Boundaries

In the early 1990s, grad student Cornelia Küffner conducted a hand count of slave schedules and tax rolls in Austin, Fayette and Colorado county from 1840 to 1860. She showed that at least 61 Texas-Germans kept over 300 African Americans enslaved as domestics and workers.²² The question immediately arises whether German-speaking Blacks in the 20th century are simply the outcome of a prolonged relation between Black families and German

landowners – in other words, a by-product of slavery. A travel log from 1849 by Steinert confirms that acquiring German was not uncommon for Black enslaved people:

Cruel treatment, like that described by writers in the past, supposedly does not occur here. However, treatment is cruel in individual cases. I even heard of Germans that treated their Negroes so mercilessly that they ran off. They learn German easily, otherwise they speak English. I met several Negroes who spoke German.²³

Unfortunately, Steinert relayed no information as to where he encountered these speakers. However, the largest plantation established by Germans in Fayette County fits the description of harsh treatment resulting in an escape: Nassau Plantation of the German *Adelsverein* had been founded seven years prior by the first representative of the society in Texas, Count of Boos-Waldeck, providing the nutritional basis for the large-scale German migration project into the Texas Hill Country almost 200 miles further West. It could be that Steinert encountered slaves from Nassau in 1849, thereby learning that the atrocities regularly associated with slavery also had taken place at Nassau: The enslaved lived in make-shift shacks on dirt floors, one woman perished under these conditions within the first year of being purchased. Several slaves – men and women – were brutally abused by the overseer as evidenced by the scars they showed to German witnesses several years later. Several of the enslaved escaped these conditions.²⁴ Initially, eleven slaves were held captive at Nassau. The number grew to 25 by 1848. Some of the eleven children very likely had German biological fathers.²⁵

As Kearney points out, Nassau Plantation was not a side note of German migration to Texas. Rather, it was the epitome of a “bizarre inconsistency” between rhetoric and reality of the *Adelsverein*'s endeavors: Officially, the society proclaimed to be opposed to slavery. Yet, it depended on the plantation to support the growing number of immigrants arriving at the Gulf coast after 1844. This contradiction probably is the main reason we do not know more about the interactions between the enslavers and the enslaved. For instance, John O. Meusebach – the progressive minded General Commissary of the society between 1845 and summer 1846 –

depicted slavery as a mockery to liberty on the cover of a sketch book. On the back, he rhymed: “Texas forever *spräch ich gern*” (I would love to say ‘Texas forever!’), had I not seen the slaves “*von Fern*” (from afar) (Figure 3). However, Meusebach’s interactions with the enslaved were likely up close and personal during a four month stay at Nassau plantation in 1846.²⁶ Did he speak German with the enslaved? While we can assume that German was spoken at the plantation, we do not know who spoke it with whom.

Nassau remained property of the *Adelsverein* until it was overwritten to Otto von Roeder in 1850 in satisfaction of debt. Von Roeder then parceled the land off to various aristocratic German families. From letters it appears that at least some slaves



remained with these families.²⁸ By 1860, 75 slaves were being held by seventeen Germans in Fayette County (2.3% of the German population).²⁹ This was certainly a lower proportion than among the Anglo population where 407 owners (34 % of the Anglo population) listed 3485 people as human property. However, a German-speaking Black community born out of slavery need not have been large. The enslaved were deliberately kept isolated, and Germans were interconnected, creating a Germanophone environment.

The scenario of Black people depending on their former German enslavers is further corroborated in Austin County: Industry, often labeled the ‘cradle of German migration’ to Texas, was settled in 1833 predating the Texas Revolution, by German entrepreneur Friedrich Ernst.³⁰ Several Germans in Industry held slaves, and their numbers grew over time. For

instance, the most prosperous owner enslaved 5 people in 1844, 10 in 1845, 14 in 1850 and 21 by 1859.³¹ In most German towns 70 % to over 90 % of the population were opposed to seceding from the Union, but Industry voted almost unanimously for Secession (86 of 88 votes). Over 50 enslaved people lived on German farms there at the outbreak of the Civil War.³²

In the 1960s, Glenn Gilbert, a young adjunct professor at the University of Texas visited Industry with the goal of audio-recording local varieties of German for his Texas German Atlas. After he met some Black German speakers in the community, he explicitly asked a great-granddaughter of Friedrich Ernst by the name of Schroeder about the phenomenon. Without mentioning a link to slavery, she answered that “some can speak German well... some can also speak Bohemian,” and added that a few had farms of their own but most worked as farm hands in the surrounding areas of Industry.³³ Very likely, Schroeder was also referring to Ben and Lilly Williams. Both were born approximately 25 years after the Civil War and raised their family in an area between Industry, Nelsonville and New Ulm known as New Bremen. According to various accounts, over half of Ben Williams’ family were fluent speakers of German, and some also knew Czech.³⁴

Ben and his wife Lilly worked the cotton fields of Germans. Ben later worked in street construction, but continued to service surrounding German farms as did several of his sons. When Ben Williams passed in 1981, his sons Nealy, Phillip, Bennie B, Woodie Lee, Albert, Chris, and Eddie were all speakers of the local Texas German dialect. Lillie Mae Davis, a daughter of Ben still living in New Bremen today, remembers how her father would teach his children German words “for fun” without compulsion or structured lessons. Cornelia Küffner had a chance meeting with 66-year-old Woodie Lee Williams in the former ‘Colored Section’ of Industry in 1994. Woodie, who had worked in the hog slaughter business of local Texas Germans of Industry, was in the middle of slaughtering around fifty chickens with his family when Küffner showed up. Yet, he interrupted his work and welcomed the chance to speak

German. Küffner was “impressed by the fluency” which exceeded that of many Texas Germans she had met. His German sounded “as if his ancestors had come from the North German lowlands.”³⁵ Woodie further shared that his family had descended from German-owned slaves, and that he and his brothers acquired the language as children.

Lillie Mae’s daughter Linda (Woodie’s niece) explains that the family was economically dependent on Germans in sharecropping relations. They continued to work from farm to farm, with ample opportunities to use the language. Speaking German was a simple fact of everyday work life. The dependency on local German employers did not mean, however, that the family had not carved out its own space with leading roles within the Black community. Woodie was a well-known preacher and delivered memorable Sunday sermons. The encounter with Küffner suggests that he held education in high esteem: From his house he brought out a German-English dictionary, and a book in another language – possibly Czech. He proudly presented the books to Küffner as “*meinen Besitz*” (my possessions).³⁶ At least one of Woodie’s brothers, Albert, served in World War II where he became exposed to Standard German. Woodie thought of his brother’s German as “better” than his own. Albert later moved to Round Top – very close to Nassau Plantation. Having been in Germany set Albert apart from many of his German Texan contemporaries – a repeated theme in post-War German-Black interactions as we will see.³⁷

When a group of Blacks spoke German in another German community, it usually left locals astonished, curious, perhaps even insecure. Gene Hackemack, a native of Burton, remembers a scene during which older Texas Germans interviewed several Black German speakers at a beer table at the Harmel Auto Garage in Burton in the early 1950s.³⁸ Albert and Woodie’s niece Linda recalls vividly how her uncles took delight in the reaction of Texas Germans at a local store: “Some of the white people would be speaking German. And [my uncles] would kind of look at them and start laughing and then they would start talking to them in German, too. And

that would just shock them that they knew how to speak German, too.” Towards Küffner, Woodie also mentioned that by the early 1990s the Germans of Industry avoided speaking German, especially with Black people.³⁹

Economic dependence may explain why the Williams held on to German for so long, but what Glenn Gilbert, the young professor from Austin, found next reveals more complexity. On his trips, he henceforth inquired about Black German speakers and got similar answers: yes, there were Black German speakers who also spoke Czech.⁴⁰ Whereas the link between Industry and slavery seems straightforward, Czechs often arrived as migrant symbionts, establishing themselves in the footsteps of Germans. Due to their economically weaker position, they almost never had the means to own slaves. Rather, they often served Germans.⁴¹ A narrow focus on slavery misses an important development in rural Texas: the blurring of ethnic lines that took place before emancipation and despite Jim Crow.

In rural New Bremen, for instance, German, Czech, and African Americans had lived closely side by side for over 100 years by the 1960s. Myrtle Swearington (née Davis) and her sister-in-law Lillie Mae Davis (née Williams) were in their nineties during our interviews in 2019. Both could recall black children in the area that lived with their fathers in Czech families and “didn’t even know how to talk English”. As Lillie’s daughter Linda puts it: “There were plenty of mixed kids, but no mixed marriages.” The close association across color-lines lead to trouble: Not far away, in Colorado County, some Germans referred to Czechs as “white niggers.”⁴² German farm folk were likewise accused and punished for mixing: a farmer from a German family New Bremen remembers that once he started school in New Ulm and his all-white class learned that he mainly had Black friends, he was labeled a “nigger-lover” and thrown out of a classroom window.⁴³

In spite of such events, rural closeness between the three ethnic groups often prevailed as reflected in the biography of Lee Cooper. In 1920, as a 13-year-old, he lived together with his

grandfather Mac Davis and two of his cousins in the only Black household surrounded by German and Czech neighbors near Cat Spring.⁴⁴ Mac Davis had been born into slavery in 1854. Whether he was enslaved by Germans is unclear. Lee Cooper's youngest son John believes that "German folks" played a role in Lee's upbringing. He likely acquired German and Czech before adulthood. He also was not the first in the family to speak German: Lee's uncle Richard Davis who would become his next-door neighbor in later years also spoke German.⁴⁵



Figure 4: Sealy Livestock Auction/Port City Stockyards (year) where Lee Cooper aka 'Shortie' worked as the trilingual 'hog guru'.

In the late 1930s, around the age of thirty, Lee Cooper had an unlucky encounter with the law, and was in a desperate situation to provide for his growing family of six. A former co-worker recalled that he was barely surviving before he secured a job with local business magnate Colbert A. Mewis who owned the Sealy Livestock Auction (Figure 4). After a few menial tasks for the company, Mewis realized that Lee could be employed more beneficially. Mewis had the best hog selling facility in the region with sales numbering between 800 and 900 every Wednesday in the early 1940s. Many of his customers came from small family farms and communities with a hog raising tradition and pork eating habits. They spoke German and Czech. Lee was fluent in both and could cater to these customers in their native languages. A

man of short stature, Lee became known as ‘Shortie,’ the trilingual head man of the hog auction. Work was hard: Lee arrived on Tuesday night from New Bremen to receive the hogs, ran the auction in three languages on Wednesday and ended his workday at 3 or 4 am in the morning. After several years, Lee’s economic situation had improved so that he was able to move his family to Sealy – closer to work and into a more comfortable home. When Mewis sold the Sealy auction to the Sartwelle family in 1968, Lee was a seasoned “hog guru.” The late Bubba Sartwelle (1940-2021) gladly kept him on the team for his experience but also for his linguistic abilities: “Shortie was an asset, because he could converse with all the Germans,” he recalled in a phone interview with me in June 2021, adding that Lee Cooper was a jovial worker, never in a bad mood. John still lives in Sealy and recalls watching his dad at the auction. And yet, his father’s attempts to teach him his most important assets failed. John never learned German or Czech: “I just couldn’t get my tongue around it.”⁴⁶

Acquisition at an early age was not a prerequisite for communicating in German. “*Ich bin ein Deutschverderber*” (I spoil the German language) is one of the first things Deloris Parker (Figure 5) shares about her German skills. Even if her memory of the language is weak, her pronunciation betrays false modesty. Her biography points to an unusual aptness to handle multilingual situations without formal language training. Deloris grew up in Kenney, Austin County, and had many German Texan friends, none of whom could speak the language. In the 1960s at the age of 16, Deloris started an after-school-job at the Sweetbriar Nursing Home in Belleville, just around the time when many of the German native speakers of Austin County became increasingly reliant on professional health care.⁴⁷ At the time, nurses were confronted with the fact that many older Texans were either entirely monolingual in German and Czech, or felt were reverting to their childhood languages as they aged. A colleague of Deloris recalled how a senior could not remember the English word for toilet paper and helplessly cried for “*Arschpapier!*” Thankfully, she figured out the cognates.⁴⁸ Surrounded by the most fluent

Texas German speakers possible at the time, Deloris decided to learn their language: “Most of the time if they was sad or something like that, I would ask ‘*Was is los?*’ I would say ‘*Guten Morgen,*’ ... ‘*was is los mit de?*’... you know ‘what was wrong’ and they would answer me back and tell me what was wrong or if they wanted me to go get them a cup of coffee or a sandwich or something like that...” Bit by bit, Deloris learned: “I knew what [the patient] was saying: you know, if she was cold or she was sad or she wanted me to comb her hair... I just knew, you know, and then I listened closely to learn how to say it.” Equipped with her invaluable language skills, Deloris remained at the nursing home for 13 years routinely using German during her eight-hour shifts.⁴⁹



Figure 5: Deloris Parker (2021) conversing with the author’s children in Sealy: Some Black German speakers had German-speaking family - Deloris strictly learned by ear.

Over the years, Deloris saw the speakers at the nursery die away one by one. Today, in her seventies, she still works as a caretaker for the elderly. At the time of our interview in 2021, Deloris had not used German for several decades. Recently, she found a chance to reactivate some of her memory with two female Texan German patients who use German occasionally. She emphasizes, however, that the ‘Dutch’ they speak is not Standard German: “the High Dutch I couldn’t speak it, only a few words”.⁵⁰ So what did Deloris speak? Was it the local Texas German dialect? Or a simplified version such as a pidgin or learner variety? Without

substantial language recordings, it is nearly impossible to answer the question. Most likely, speakers like Woodie, Lee and Deloris differed in the way they spoke German according to the functions the language fulfilled in their ‘German lives’, from fluently dialectal to simplified and heavily contextualized.

A look at Deloris’ family also points to another factor that influenced the ability to learn German. Deloris has family members who speak Spanish and Polish, and her grandmother spoke a Choctaw variety at home. Her uncle who had served in WWII also spoke German: “[W]e would chat with each other in German, and nobody in the family’d understand.”⁵¹ Deloris’ account of a heavily multilingual environment is reminiscent of historic research on African American multilingualism. Linguist Mark Loudon has evaluated run-away ads and reports from the 18th and 19th century with the preliminary result that the enslaved often spoke or acquired French, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Dutch or even Gaelic depending on circumstances and needs. Acquiring European and Creole languages served to create cohesion on multilingual plantations; while Blacks influenced the respective languages with their own idioms. There also are reports of Black people acting as interpreters of Native languages.⁵² The practice of informal language acquisition in African American communities did not end with the Civil War. It is remarkable that in most cases we documented – from East to West – German was not the only language besides English spoken in the respective Black families.

Along the County Lines: Freedom Colonies, Conviviality and Class Experiences

The German lives of Black Texans in Austin County have in common that they were full of hard work, and that knowing German had professional advantages. However, the degree to which one entered into work relations with Germans was a matter of choice for other Black Texans – especially those living in so-called ‘freedom colonies’ or ‘freedmen towns.’ These communities sprung up across rural Texas after emancipation and were intended to provide a

maximum of autonomy and security during the turbulent post-War period. Several characteristics were in common: Nestled in the brush, protected from sight, a group of freed people (often from outside Texas) had acquired cheap river floodlands, or forested hinterlands. To avoid intrusive inquiries by the white man's institutions, locations close to the county line were preferable. Minimally, the colony consisted of small-scale family farms surrounding a church building, a cemetery, and a school. In a seminal study, Thad Sitton counted over 500 of these autonomous settlements in Texas. Andrea Roberts of the Texas Freedom Colony Project emphasizes that most of the colonies are not found on official maps, and many still exist without being publicly recognized.⁵³

Not all freedom colonies were idealized self-sustaining units, however. Oftentimes, they were situated several miles down a gravel road from a white community, and in some cases, even property patterns were interlocking with European American neighbors. Remarkably often, the choice of immediate neighbors in Central Texas fell upon German and Czech communities. Moab close to Fedor (Lee Co at the border of Bastrop Co), Center Union close to Winchester (Bastrop Co at the border of Fayette Co), Flat Prairie close to Burton (Washington Co at the border of Burleson County), and Armstrong near Flatonia (Fayette Co at the border of Gonzales County) are examples.⁵⁴

In 1996, David Collins, a local historian from the freedom colony of Doak Springs, stopped at the Stuermer Store in Ledbetter, at the border between Fayette and Lee County. He wanted to review the ledgers of the century-old German store to see whether any of his African American ancestors traded or purchased goods at the store. From Lillian Stuermer Dyer (1917-2015) he learned that Henry Shields, one of his distant relatives by marriage, had worked at the store:

“[S]he indicated that Henry Shields was a longtime employee of the Stuermer's Cotton Gin operations and transported several bales of cotton each year by wagon train to La Grange, Texas for shipment to U.S. and overseas markets. She did not know where he lived when he retired; however, she did mention to me with emphasis, that he spoke perfect German.”⁵⁵

How Shields acquired German is not clear. Interlocking neighborhood patterns may explain the fluency.⁵⁶ More importantly, Collins found that the Stuermer Store had served all his ancestors in six surrounding freedom colonies.

A close interdependence also existed in Moab and Center Union. In both cases, the German-speaking neighbors of Black families were Wends, a Slavic group of Lutherans from Lusatia, Germany, that arrived near Giddings (Lee County) in the 1850s. Chain migration lasted into the later 19th century, and many Wends had limited means upon their arrival. Mary Lehmann was born in December 1930 and speaks fluent German to this day. Her father Martin Reinhard was a second generation Wend in Texas, and rented property within the Center Union community from another. The few Wends in Center Union were surrounded by African Americans who were often doing economically well. Segregation was observed when it came to churching and schooling, but otherwise relations were unusually relaxed. Walter Davis, the immediate Black neighbor, became Martin Reinhard's friend. Walter had grown up next to another Wendish family, and possibly knew German from them. Mary recalls Walter coming to their home after driving out milk in the colony, sitting at the table for breakfast and speaking both German and English with her father. Another Black neighbor would occasionally drop by to read the Bible in English to Mary's family. Other Wendish and Black neighbors kept contact by mail when they were traveling.⁵⁷

Interestingly, in German, Mary refers to African Americans with the term "*die Gefärbten*". *Farbe* means color, and *gefärbt* literally means 'dyed'. To my knowledge, *Gefärbte* is not used as a racial term elsewhere. Common names in Standard German for African Americans were *schwarz* (black), *farbig* (colored) or *Neger* (the old pendant of Negro, now considered pejorative). Assimilated Texas German communities made habitual use of the N-Word. Mary's use of *Gefärbte* is a remnant of a community that created a new term altogether – perhaps because new experiences required new terminology.

Another family of Center Union that spoke at least some German raises interesting aspects of perception: Onzelo and Jannie Carr (Figure 6) were immediate neighbors and frequent customers of the Goebel store. Mike Rehling, the last family member to run the store, recalls speaking German with Onzelo on a few occasions. Unlike most of his German-speaking neighbors, Onzelo had been to Germany as a young man during World War II and – like Albert Williams or the uncle of Deloris Parker – he had apparently used German in Germany. The sojourn as a victor in uniform posed a contrast to the subservient existence many Blacks lead in the Jim Crow South. When speaking to Mike, Onzelo referred to Germany as the “*Vaterland*” (‘fatherland’), hinting at his experience and the lack of experience of many of his German Texan neighbors.⁵⁸



Figure 6: Jannie and Onzelo Carr, Courtesy of Sheila Carr

The German abilities of Jannie Carr were also discussed in the Goebel family because of a shared ‘party line’ that did not allow for private phone calls. Mike recalls the moment his aunt realized that using German for privacy was useless, because Jannie Carr would be able to understand. Census records show that Jannie was born into a Black community in Lee County in 1926. By 1940, her family had moved, and was surrounded by German-speaking families. She lived among German speakers at least until she was 26.⁵⁹

Whether Jannie and Onzelo spoke German fluently is not clear, however. Their daughter does not think they did. It could certainly be that ‘little German went a long way’ in the Wendish community. The evaluation of language abilities based on contradicting accounts is nearly impossible. Even if the Carr’s did not know German fluently, the pattern is clear: There were German speakers in the freedom colonies. Several cases of Black Texans who “spoke

fluent German” are documented for Moab, another freedom colony (Figure 7). Black and German Texan landowners in the community confirm it. However, none of the speakers are still alive.⁶⁰

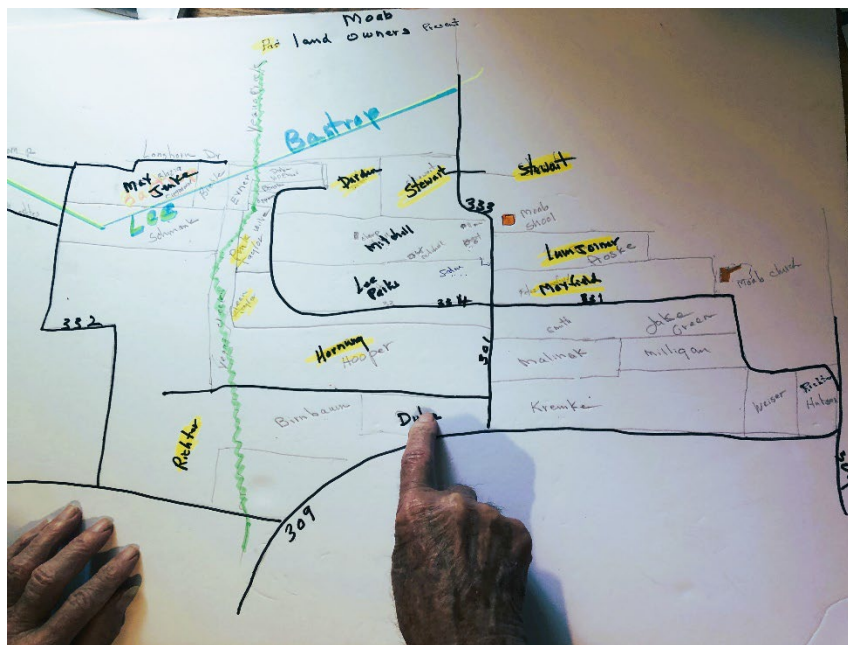


Figure 7: The former mayor of Lexington, W. O. Exner, explaining mixed property patterns in Moab to the author in 2021. His family owns property in Moab, and several neighbors were Black German speakers.

Apart from rural neighborly relations, socioeconomic class was also a common denominator bringing German immigrants and Blacks together. An anecdote in the life of Anna and Fortunat Weigl who emigrated to Austin, Texas, from Bad Aibling, Bavaria, can illustrate this. After arriving in 1913, Fortunat occupied menial jobs. Taking up a loan, he managed to secure an acre of property near today’s St. David’s hospital for his family, where they lived in a shack without electricity and running water.⁶¹ The family was surrounded by German and Black neighbors, and not far away, there was a freedom colony on today’s Swisher Street.⁶²

Upon the American entry into World War I in 1917, Weigl was fired from a job at a lumber company because he was German. Fortunately, other Germans provided the Weigls with work. To be able to better provide for their family, Anna and Fortunat decided to buy a cow although

they did not know how to care for it. Their son Herbert Weigl Sr. who was a schoolboy at the time remembers:

“They were trying very hard one evening and the cow wasn't cooperating too well when they looked up and saw leaning against the back fence was a big, tall black man who was just laughing and laughing and laughing. Poppop said to Mother in German: ... look over there that black man is laughing at us. The black man answered in perfect German: The way you go about this who wouldn't laugh? Come on, he said, let me show you how to do this.”⁶³

James McCradic, the amused Black man from the neighboring freedom colony, told Anna and Fortunat that he had grown up with a German family in Pflugerville. After he taught the Weigls how to take care of their cow, their food problems were solved.

The meeting between the Weigls and James McCradic is instructional about upward mobility: McCradic was born in Texas six years after emancipation. His parents were enslaved people from Virginia and Alabama. How he ended up with a German family is unknown. In 1900 he worked as a teamster in Downtown Austin. In 1920, when Swisher Street was home, his family had grown to seven children, and he worked as a laborer in a public garden, as did two of his adult sons. The Austin City Directories from the 1940s show that he still lived on Swisher Street another 20 years later, when he was 71 years.⁶⁴

By contrast, the Weigl family made leaps towards prosperity, rapidly improving their situation in the early 1920s. In 1922, Fortunat founded his renowned Weigl Iron Works. Taking out a loan, he became the first to possess an automobile on their block, and subsequently moved his family to a better part of town. The Iron Works expanded, survived the depression, and stayed in business for over five decades with many Weigl ornaments adorning important buildings across Texas to this day.⁶⁵

We can speculate that McCradic was able to observe the ascent of his German immigrant neighbors – in spite of their prior status as ‘alien enemies.’ Upward mobility of the same kind was out of reach for a Black Texan in the 1920s. This was an iterative experience: In 1871, the

year James McCradic was born, one of the first Black senators of Texas for the 12th legislature made a public speech in response to plans to bring more German immigrants to Texas.

Matt Gaines was a Radical Republican who had first relied on German support but now hardly hid his disaffection with German immigration:

"They pay a man a salary of \$3500 per annum to bring Dutch here to work the land that we cut the trees from, and pulled the stumps out of it. They sell land to the Dutch on credit with ten per cent interest, but a colored man cannot buy it on four months or forty months at fifty per cent interest." ⁶⁶

Like many other Blacks and Germans, McCradic and the Weigls cooperated as neighbors. And yet, concerns about discrimination grew out of real experiences. As soon as German immigrants found profitable niches in Texan society, the common experience with African Americans at the lower rungs of the social ladder came to an end. The rural exodus of Black people from many freedom colonies further contributed to the two groups drifting apart in their outlook.

The Hill Country: Resistance, Education and Civil Rights

In several ways, the Texas Hill Country is another important area for the Black German experience. At the eve of the Civil War, one could easily ride in a crescent shape from Menard to Medina County, communicating only in German. Mason County was almost half German, as were eastern Kerr and southern Blanco County – let alone Gillespie and Comal County were speaking German was a matter of survival. Much of Bexar County was German, and San Antonio was a trilingual city. ⁶⁷ For the small minority of African Americans in the Hill Country, contact with Germans, their customs and their language was inevitable, leading to a whole range of biographies that were heavily influenced by ethnic contact.

Matt Gaines, the Black senator quoted above, is the first example (Figure 8). He had been raised enslaved in a Spanish and French-speaking environment in Louisiana. When the estate

owner Martin Despallier passed away, Gaines repeatedly tried to escape as a teenager. In 1859, he was sold to C. C. Hearne, a planter of Robertson County, Texas.⁶⁸ Here, he remained for several years, learned to speak English while “the harbinger of liberty was continually sweeping the horizon of his vision”, as *The Daily Journal* wrote in a biographical sketch in 1870. With the Western frontier in reach, another escape in 1864 brought him to Menard County where Rangers apprehended him and left him in Fredericksburg – a predominantly German city at the time. Here, “he was not guarded closely, for he worked six months in a blacksmith shop.”⁶⁹

By law, any recaptured run-away had to be publicly proclaimed. Sheriff Ernest Shaper of Fredericksburg ran the following ad on a weekly basis:

Notice. The State of Texas, County Of Gillespie... a runaway Negro Boy, of dark complexion, calling himself “Bob,” about five feet high, weighing about 120 pounds, and is about 27 years of age... speaks English, French, and a little German... says he belongs to Mr. Charles DeSpallyar, on Bayou Elimore, near Aleganoria, Rapides Parish, La. The owner or his agent can get the said Negro boy, after proving property... Ernest Shaper, Sheriff Gillespie Co., Fredericksburg, Oct. 26, '64.⁷⁰

For several reasons, Bill Page, a Texas A&M library researcher who discovered the ad, thinks ‘Bob’ is Matt Gaines: Bob has the same height and approximate age as Matt. In 1864, there is no other matching record for a French-speaking captive with the specific Louisiana roots. Very likely, Gaines wittingly claimed to belong to the late Charles DeSpallier – a son of Martin DeSpallier who had fought and died in the Battle of the Alamo.⁷¹ After working in Fredericksburg for several months it was not surprising that he spoke “a little German.” In any

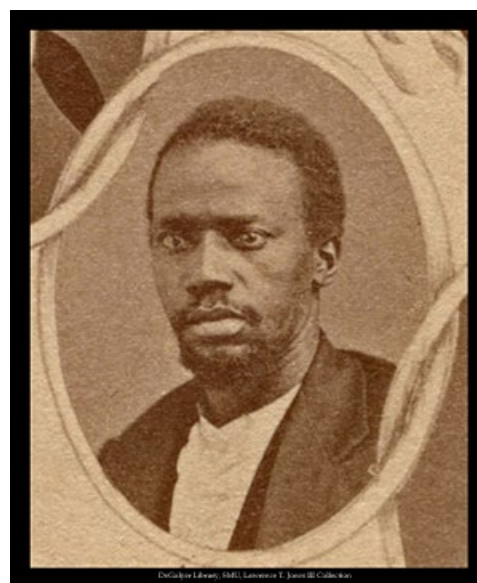


Figure 8: Matt Gaines (ca. 1870)

case, the characterization would have further obscured his identity. *The Daily Journal* provides

another interesting detail: “His position being rather unsafe he went into the mountains to keep sheep, where he remained until the war closed”. With remarkable freedom in choosing his whereabouts, it was unlikely that Gaines could be located.⁷²

What appears like serendipity should be understood in context. Slavery and secession were unpopular in the Hill Country before and during the war. In 1860, there were 815 enslaved people in the region, 5.2 % of the population. Most slaves were working on Anglo farms, only four Germans in the region owned a total of sixteen slaves. Some Germans participated in slave lending, but most showed no interest or voiced clear opposition to slavery. Among Anglo settlers, views about slavery and secession were mixed. In any case, a war that drained labor from a region of self-reliant ranchers was an existential threat. By 1862, Apache and Comanche raids were on the rise, further weakening frontier defenses. Settlers substituted military service with enlistment with local militias or – if they politically sympathized with the Union – by avoiding conscription altogether. Some went even further, as the notorious example of the Battle of the Nueces and the subsequent Nueces Massacre show.⁷³ When Gaines arrived in the region, a total of 67 Unionists and 17 secessionists had been killed in armed confrontation, vigilante lynchings, and acts of retaliation. The ethnic lines of violence were hard to miss: forty-two of the Unionist deaths were German Texans. Governor Murrah restored order by relying on local Unionists in Confederate uniforms. In turn, the region became even more attractive to draft evaders, refugees, and run-aways – both white and black.⁷⁴

Gaines was not the only Louisianan who reached the frontier in 1864: John Philipps was a fifteen-year-old free man of African origins who escaped the Confederate draft in his state and ended up near Fredericksburg. His native tongue was French. During his first decade in the area, he worked as a cattle rancher for the Moore family of Willow City, northeast of Fredericksburg, where he learned English. Possibly, there was a palpable air of tolerance that

kept John from migrating yet again after the war. In a far-reaching decision for generations, he chose to stay.⁷⁵

Gaines had other plans. He turned back eastward and resettled in Washington County where a strong German presence along with a Black majority formed the backbone of Radical Republicanism. Gaines ran for Texas Senate and prevailed against a respected Black opponent: Ben O. Watrous had represented Washington County at the Constitutional Convention of 1868-1869. With the Black vote split, both candidates had to appeal to white voters. Gaines' experiences in Fredericksburg may have paved the way for German support. He served along several German representatives in the Davis administration. Joint legislative initiatives included the formation of a state police, border security, and the funding of public education.⁷⁶

Initially, German Radicals were not opposed to the idea of integrated public schools. Word got out that black and white children were attending the same schools in the Hill Country. Four or five students named "Henry, Laura, Minnie, Ovie and George Washington, whose parents were freed slaves" were listed among the sixteen students of Meusebach Creek School south of Fredericksburg. German and English were languages of instruction.⁷⁷ Such precursors of school integration soon met with insurmountable obstacles. The prospect of racial mixing caused hysteria among white conservatives in both political parties.⁷⁸ A school tax and compulsory schooling only passed into legislation after the new superintendent Jacob DeGress gave assurance that segregated schools would be the norm. DeGress was a German and had dealt with ex-Confederates throughout his career as the inspector general of the Freedmen's Bureau.⁷⁹ Very likely, he was being pragmatic to attain the goal of public education at all. Champions of racial equality like Gaines were disappointed by this type of 'German pragmatism.' For African Americans, the interests of a group as diverse as the German-speaking population were difficult to untangle. Racial attitudes covered a vast range: Many

conformed to views of white supremacy, but a strong minority took opposite views going as far as rejecting or violating miscegenation laws.⁸⁰

In the mid-1870s, John Phillips met a girl of Afro-German descent named Mary Dearing. Her origins are somewhat mysterious: In 1860, she was listed as an eight month old ‘Mulatto’ girl on the Gillespie County slave schedule – the youngest of the county’s 33 enslaved people.⁸¹ Her grandson Dr. Paul Phillips writes that “Mary Dearing was born to Wash Dearing and his wife in December 1859” that the mother was “of German descent” but that otherwise “little is known about her early childhood”. He added:

The passing of time has probably erased forever the relationship between Wash Dearing, his wife, who was German, Amilia (Millie) and James Tinker. These ancestors ... were all at one time slaves on the Doss Brothers slave farm east of the township of Fredericksburg, including vast acres of good bottom land on the north and south sides of the Perdenales river, south to Cain City and probably east to Stonewall, Texas.⁸²

That a white German woman would have been enslaved by the Doss brothers is unlikely—although the enslavement of German women is not entirely unheard of.⁸³ Mary could have been a foundling, a half-orphan or her mother could have been of part-German heritage. Throughout the census years, Mary listed her mother as having been born in Texas. As a 10-year-old, she lived on the former Doss property with the Tinkers (probably her aunt and uncle) under the surname Dearing. Her father Wash Dearing was her immediate neighbor.⁸⁴ At the age of 16 or 17, Mary married John Phillips, who was 11 years her senior. With him, she laid the foundation for a community of African Americans that spoke German in Fredericksburg and were often labeled *Schwarze Deutsche* (Black Germans).

The couple lived together for close to 40 years, and acquired property around Fredericksburg before a turbulent divorce in the late 1910s deprived them of much capital. Mary moved back with her aunt Minnie Tinker to take care of her until she passed in 1933.⁸⁵ Apparently, after a truce, John resided in the same house with Mary and Minnie before he died in 1929.⁸⁶ When Mary deceased 12 years later, she was buried next to John. Interestingly, the family decided

that the inscribed maiden name on the grave should be “Duering” – a common German name with an umlaut ‘ü’. The name sounds like ‘Dearing’ when pronounced in Texas German.

German influences on the Black community of Fredericksburg are also apparent elsewhere. The Tinkers, Dearings and Phillips inculcated German culinary habits: Sausages were cured and smoked the same way as in other households, and *Kochkäse* – a regional specialty of the Nassau area – was on the menu.⁸⁷ The most indicative connection, however, was that several of John and Mary’s children learned to speak German fluently. It is likely that the acquisition took place gradually in interaction with white neighbors, by the influence of spouses – or they were taught by Mary if she indeed knew to speak German.

The oldest daughter in the Phillips household was Emilia. She married Jim Fasselmann, a man one year her junior with Afro-German origins from Cherry Spring. Jim’s origins and upbringing are a contested matter. Descendants of Jim believe that a German Lutheran Pastor fathered him with an African American maid and that Jim then was given up for care into another German family. The Pastor’s descendants have countered this version of the story, saying that Jim was born to a German mother and Black father who both were servants at a neighboring farm. The Pastor then took care of mother and son until the mother got married to another German. The pastor’s family continued to raise Jim because the German father rejected him. Both versions are supported in part by census data but neither version seems conclusive. Jim’s surname remains unexplained, and the records about his upbringing are spurious.⁸⁸ Of all hints, Jim’s dialect is most peculiar.

Several sources attribute Jim with a dictum related to the ethnic pressure Germans faced during the Wars. Counting himself in with the other Germans, Jim supposedly told the mayor of Fredericksburg: “*Mir Deutscha müssa zusammasticka!*” (We Germans must stick together!).⁸⁹ Over the years, the anecdote diffused into many versions. The morphology in the above rendition is marked by a 3rd person plural *mir* and endings *-a*, both typical features of

Southern German dialects, not of the Texas German dialect of Fredericksburg which is influenced by Middle German. The Lutheran Pastor was from Mecklenburg in Northern Germany. If true, Jim might have stayed with speakers of a Southern German dialect for a longer period of time during his childhood or teenage years.

Whatever Jim's origins, German was his first language. However, as one Texas German put it "*das hat grad nich richtig ausgesehen, wenn een schwarzer Mann deutsch geschwätzt hat*" (It didn't look quite right, when a black man spoke in German.)⁹⁰ During the 1940 census, enumerators had to sample a question on the "Language spoken in home in earliest childhood." Jim was 58, Emilia was 59, and their son Albert was living at home with 26 years of age. The census taker chose Jim, wrote down his name and prematurely inserted English as the earliest language. Then something happened, and he changed his mind: He crossed out Jim and replaced him with his son Albert. Apparently, Albert had to step in as a 'native English speaker.' (That Albert was also bilingual probably escaped the census taker.)

During his life, Jim was able to observe changes in the racial attitudes in his vicinity – especially in Fredericksburg. He had been able to join the Lutheran church in Cherry Spring and was confirmed by his (foster) father. Once Jim got to know Emilia, he moved to Fredericksburg where segregation was observed in schools, pools, and even the cemetery. Jim remained Lutheran but his treatment changed. Elias Rode of the Cherry Spring congregation recalled seeing Jim on occasion:

My own first recollection of seeing Jim Fasselmann took place in Zion Lutheran Church [in Fredericksburg] when I was about ten,years old. Our family attended Zion often as we had worship services only every other Sunday at Cherry Spring. On this Sunday Holy Communion was served, the wine being distributed out of one, common cup. The pastor Rev. F. A. Bracher did not serve Jim Fasselmann as he did all the others. After serving all the others he took the bread and wine over to the left front side of the church where Mr. Fasselmann was seated and gave it to him. I felt then, as now, that this was discrimination.

With Emilia, Jim had six children: Alma, Claude, Hugo, Albert, Mary, and Rosa. Although the 1940 census suggests that this generation spoke English at home, grandson Billie

Fasselmann Fay told me in an interview that his grandparents also spoke German at home and taught all their children including his mother.⁹¹ Older people in Fredericksburg confirm that Alma, Billie's mother, conducted her daily business in German.⁹²

Emilia Fasselmann's brother, Paul Phillips Sr., the fourth child of John and Mary is another example of a well-known Black German speaker in the community. After John and Mary Phillips acquired land west of Fredericksburg, Paul worked for his father and spent nine years of his childhood and youth as a shepherd and herder on Mormon creek near the Doss Community. He learned to care for sheep and other animals, trained dogs, fended off predators, and developed a passion for hunting. Even more passionately, he pursued knowledge about animal health. Without being formally trained in veterinary medicine, Paul gradually gained a reputation in Gillespie County as a formidable animal healer. After a year of college, he returned and became the veterinarian everyone called on – German and non-German alike.⁹³ His grandson Paul Phillips III, army veteran and orthopedic doctor in Fredericksburg relays:

Even now, as I come back and I see patients, especially the older ones in their 70s, 80s, and 90s, they will tell me the stories of when they were children, of remembering my grandfather coming out and taking care of their horse or their cow or their... you know, whatever animal needed to be taken care of. And a lot of times, they would [remember] speaking in German, not thinking that my grandfather, Paul Sr., understood. And then when he finished, he would speak back to them in German, in fluent German.⁹⁴

In one instance, two women called Paul Phillips Sr to provide obstetrics to a cow. While the vet was at work, the women intentionally switched to German for a private conversation. Paul then conferred the bill in German. Judging by their reaction, the conversation must have been intimate, suggestive, or otherwise compromising: „*Da sind die beinahe umgekommen, weil der wusste' alles was die gesacht haben.*” (They almost perished because he knew everything they had said.)⁹⁵ Other anecdotes relate how the German clients of Paul Phillips were caught in a conflict of conscience between the laws of segregation, and their respect for the invaluable

services the Black German veterinarian provided. In many cases, clients breached the norms of racial separation and invited Paul Phillips Sr. into their homes for dinner.⁹⁶

Two streets – East and West of Fredericksburg – carry the names of the Phillips family, reminding people that Paul did not build a legacy alone: his close companion over the years was his wife Cora Phillips (*née* Burnum) coming from a African American family out of Boerne (another German town). She grew up East of Fredericksburg with her grandmother. Female duties in 19th century German society have often been summarized with the slogan *Kinder, Küche, Kirche* (children, kitchen, church). Cora filled the role beyond a stereotype. Besides raising children and grandchildren, and running the family farm with her husband, she made sure that Black church life continued in the minority situation. It was due to her intervention that Christian Methodist Episcopal Church on Main Street, the Black community church of Fredericksburg, was restored in the 1970s.⁹⁷ A bust of Cora and her husband stands outside the church structure on main street. Having recently undergone a second round of restorations, the church is currently seeing an increasing number of weddings and celebrations of Fredericksburg's African American heritage.

One of the children attending the Black community church during the 1950s was Paula Phillips, the granddaughter of Paul Sr and Cora Phillips. She entered the Black microcosm of Fredericksburg around the age of four when her father Paul Phillips Jr followed in the footsteps of his father and took up practice as the second Black veterinarian in Fredericksburg. Junior had pursued formal training at the Tuskegee Institute of Veterinary Medicine, part of what is now known as the historically Black Tuskegee University of Alabama – an institution he helped physically built after he returned from WWII.⁹⁸ Father and son shared a customer base on the two sides of Fredericksburg and interacted daily with German farmers. Paula remembers that “my father and my grandfather spoke German to one another. I can recall my grandmother, my father's mother, speaking German occasionally, and I know she understood it.”⁹⁹

By the time the third generation of Phillips and Fasselmans attended school in the 1950s and early 60s, there was a choice between the local ‘colored school’ or the integrated Catholic School St. Mary’s. The Black school was poorly equipped, and teachers were constantly changing. Who had the means sent their children to the German nuns. Several Phillips and Fasselmann kids peppered the classes at St. Mary’s in the 1950s. Paula Phillips and Billie Fasselmann Fay recall difficult years. Paula heard a long list of racial epithets, and kids in Billie’s class kept calling him “*Schwarzer, Schwarzer, Schwarzer*” (black one, black one, black one), until he asked his uncle what they meant. The uncle explained they were talking about his skin color and recommended that Billie respond with a German expression of gratitude: “*Leck mi an Arsch! Leck mi an Arsch!*” (Lick my ass! Lick my ass!).¹⁰⁰ Soon, a teacher grabbed Billie by the ear, and wanted to know who was teaching him German.



Figure 9: Paula as a member of the Fredericksburg Highschool Basketball Team (Fredericksburg High School yearbook, 1965, courtesy of Paula Phillips)

Paula learned to give selective responses in German when she sensed impolite secrecy or slander, but otherwise stayed out of confrontations. The first time she pushed back was during piano lessons as a twelve-year-old girl. She had been dutifully practicing classical tunes with a nun for five years and thought it was time for a favor in return: Through a local store she had

obtained sheet music and asked the nun to explain some popular cadences in a Motown adaptation of *The Exodus* to her. Possibly intuiting that the producer had turned the movie soundtrack into a soundtrack of social change, the teacher snatched the sheets from her hand, threw them on the floor, and said she would not teach her “that trash”. Paula’s shock grew into anger. “Then you don’t need to teach me ever again,” she told the nun and left.¹⁰¹

Several gusts of unexpected tail wind arrived for Blacks in Gillespie the following years. For the second time in the county’s history and earlier than most school districts in the vicinity, Fredericksburg ISD desegregated its schools.¹⁰² By the end of 1961, Paula was *the* Black student enrolled in the Fredericksburg High School. Her mother Thelma – a well-educated woman with a master’s degree from Tuskegee University in library science – wanted to ensure equal treatment for her children and decided that after-school-activities were key. Paula joined the basketball team, the volleyball team, the track team and became a cheerleader (Figure 9). The experience was at the same time joyful, exhausting, and at times excruciating. While she was making friends and actively partaking in the victories of her school, she also had to face insults by adults from the stands – sometimes even objects being hurled in her direction. Paula stoically kept smiling and continued trailblazing the way for her siblings and cousins.

Racial attitudes in Gillespie County were not uniformly hostile or benevolent – but in some ways unusual. When President John F. Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas in 1963, he was succeeded by a Texan from Gillespie: Lyndon B. Johnson was born outside of Fredericksburg, on a large ranch in the largely German community of Stonewall. During the ensuing presidential election of 1964, staunchly Republican Gillespie County voted Democratic the second time in history, supporting a president who held firm to Kennedy’s proposed Civil Rights legislation.¹⁰³ At the Johnson Ranch, many positions were soon staffed with African Americans. As a contemporary German Texan perceived it, with LBJ’s presidency African Americans came to Fredericksburg “*von alle Ecken*” (from all corners). Although there overall

were few, black children now entered the schools in visible numbers.¹⁰⁴ The new arrivals soon befriended the ‘Black Germans’.

Through Mary Davis, a cook at the LBJ ranch, Lady B. Johnson came to know Thelma Phillips.¹⁰⁵ In the mid-sixties, plans were being made to move the Fredericksburg library from the old *Vereinskirche* to the Court House. Thelma with her training in library science was assisting in the process. How things exactly unfolded is unknown, but by the time the new Court House library was inaugurated in 1967, Fredericksburg had one of the first professional Black librarians in Texas (Figure 10). Thelma was heading the new library which also included a collection of books in German relating to the community’s heritage which she was curating to create a ‘German room.’ In 1970, Thema took her career to the State level when she joined an Advisory Board to the freshly legislated Library Systems Act which coordinated the establishment of a state-wide library system. She remained head librarian of Gillespie until 1973.¹⁰⁶



Figure 10: Thelma Phillips receiving LBJ as an honored guest at the Fredericksburg Library in the early 1970s (Courtesy of the Phillips family).

In conclusion, the Hill Country raises questions of mutual influence. It was unusual for an enslaved person to choose his whereabouts in 1864, for a child of freedpeople to attend a mostly

white school in 1869, for a man with African roots to become a land-owning rancher in the 1880s – let alone for the county veterinarian or head librarian to be black in a white community in the 20th century. Was a certain racial egalitarianism that some immigrants envisioned still influencing the views of later generations? Or were Black people in the Hill Country more self-reliant and therefore more assertive? What influence did these surroundings have on LBJs racial views? Were the Johnsons quietly pulling their weight as civil rights legislation was implemented at the local level? Many questions remain to be answered – also regarding the ethnic entanglements and historic alliances in the Eastern German Belt. With the waning importance of the German language in Texas, the stories of German-speaking Black Texans were recorded too late to understand all linguistic matters at hand, but just in time to comprehend that the social dynamics at play are far more complex than a simple attribution to slavery and a subsequent intergenerational transmission of the language.

Another thing is clear: It was no secret to many of the remaining German speakers in Texans that at least some Black Texans in their midst also spoke German. Otherwise, we would be left without anecdotes and evidence. When Paul Phillips III, the grandson of Paul Phillips Sr, returned to Fredericksburg in 2018 and took up practice as the local orthopedic surgeon, he learned as much: At a Hill Country hospital, a senior patient with a broken hip was withdrawing and barely talking. Paul, being a vet of a different type, knew some German phrases from his military tours. He tried his luck and inquired: “*Wie geht’s?*” The man perked up and started rattling off in German. Paul Phillips III didn’t understand much, but the ice was broken.¹⁰⁷

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² 2109_Austin_Cat_Spring_Home_Kollatschny_HK.DH (Recordings at the Leibniz-Institute for the German Language in Mannheim, Germany, henceforth IDS). The term ‘Black’ was capitalized in this article wherever it refers to African heritage as opposed or in combination with German heritage.

³ To separate heritage from visual skin color, the term ‘Black’ was only capitalized in this article wherever it refers explicitly to African heritage as opposed to or in combination with German heritage.

⁴ Anecdotes: 190730_Gillespie_Home_BFasselmannFay_DH, 27:22 min (IDS); Email by Mike Rehling (Winchester, Fayette County); 112-500-1-0, 20:55 min (Texas German Dialect Archive, henceforth TGDA).

⁵ Some Black German and Czech speakers are mentioned in the following sources: (Hannan 1996, 14; Jordan 1980, 143; Kamphoefner 2016, 90; Küffner 1994, 8–9; Machann and Mendl 1983, 174)

⁶ Selected cases are introduced here: <https://www.afrogermantexas.info/bios>; For comments on fluency see: <http://www.fayettecountyhistory.org/ledbetter.htm#stuermer> (access August 15th 2023); 112-526-1-0 (recorded in Winedale, Fayette Co), 9:46 min (TGDA); (Küffner 1994, 8–9)

⁷ See Jordan’s (1989) remark that German attitudes towards Black Texans were “unremarkable” in every respect and Kamphoefner’s (1999) rebuttal: (Jordan 1989) (Kamphoefner 1999)

⁸ For a summary, see (Kamphoefner 2016). For details, see contributions in this special edition: (Kamphoefner 2008)

⁹ Mark L. Loudon, “African-Americans and Minority Language Maintenance in the United States,” *The Journal of Negro History* 85, no. 4 (2000); Mark L. Loudon, “African Americans and the German Language in America,” *Max Kade Institute Friends Newsletter* 30, no. 3 (2021).

¹⁰ Comment by the editors of the *Westliche Post*, St. Louis, on October 24th, 1875, p. 3 quoted in (Louden 2021, 13–14)

¹¹ (Jordan 1966, 31–59)

¹² Texas Wends: <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/wends> (access August 14, 2023); Poles speaking German in Texas: (Schlecht 1851; 1998, 70); Notable German speakers from other ethnic backgrounds in Texas include Henri Castro, the Jewish founder of Castroville and other settlements (<https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/castro-henri>, access August 14, 2023), and Carl Postl, a Moravian writer of several well-known Texas German novels (<https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/postl-carl-anton>, access August 14, 2023).

¹³ (Boas 2009, 2, 74); *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population. Nativity And Parentage of The White Population: Mother Tongue*. Bureau of the Census (1943), Table 2 Con., 20; *1970 Census of Population Texas- Volume I Part 45 Section I*, Chapter C, Table 49, 435.

¹⁴ See (Hammack 2016); also see an excerpt from the New Yorker Criminal-Zeitung in September 1860 here: <https://www.afrogermantexas.info/matagorda-bay>.

¹⁵ 1880 census data via the National Historical Geographic Information System (NHGIS), part of the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS). <https://www.nhgis.org> (access August 14, 2023).

¹⁶ The anecdote was conveyed at the end of a conversation at the Gass family farm in San Antonio by David Gass (a German speaker) to the author, his wife and his student Phoenix Macfarlane in April 2023. Briefly told, a black man from Seguin entered an office or a shop in San Antonio and conversed in German with a white clerk. After the black man left, the clerk turned to his flustered Anglo colleague and asked: “Have you never seen a black guy speak German before?” – “No”. David Gass added that you couldn’t grow up in Seguin in those days without learning German.

¹⁷ 1980 census data via NHGIS, calculations by the author.

¹⁸ (Wilkerson 2020)

¹⁹ (Benno Harigel 1938) Rox Ann Johnson from the Fayette Heritage Museum and Archives discovered this case.

²⁰ For the decennial census language questions, see here: <https://www.census.gov/topics/population/language-use/about/historical.html> (access August 14, 2023).

²¹ *1970 Census of Population Texas- Volume I Part 45 Section I*, Chapter C, Table 49, 435–436; *1970 Census of Population Texas -Volume I Part 45 Section II*, Chapter D, Table 142, 1291 (Note: ‘Negro’ category is not included in ‘Other Race’ but in ‘Total’)

²² (Küffner 1994, 15-16,123-126)

²³ (Steinert 1850, 213), translation adapted by the author from (Jordan 1977, 65)

²⁴ (Kearney 2010, 45, 67-68, 71, 84.)

²⁵ Besides serving as a corncrib for settlers, the site was also used as a pleasure retreat by officials of the *Adelsverein*. Neale Rabensburg and David Collins from the Fayette County Historical Commission introduced me to a peculiar discovery they made in the ledgers of the Zapp store, Round Top, Tx. Apparently, there was a young freedman by the name “Sergel” who bought at the store on credit in the 1870s. The name matches the surname two employees of the *Adelsverein* and neighbors of Nassau Plantation, Alwin and Erwin Sörgel. Kearney also touches on sexual relations in the manor house, see (Kearney 2010, 45 and 277n28-29) and 278n38.

²⁶ (Kearney 2010, 128)

²⁷ ATF0148, Artifacts collection. Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library and Archives Commission, https://tsl.access.preservica.com/uncategorized/IO_c625707c-8182-4a35-8c9a-82d9060daf4b (access, September 21, 2023).

²⁸ (Kearney 2010, 72)

²⁹ (Kamphoefner 1999, 443)

³⁰ James Lindemann and Ann Lindemann, “Industry, TX,” Handbook of Texas Online, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/industry-tx> (access August 20, 2023)

³¹ Cornelia Küffner’s count was checked against original records: “Texas, County Tax Rolls, 1837-1910”, FamilySearch, <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:VBM4-3SK> (access August 20, 2023), Chas Fordtran, 1859; Eighth Census of the United States: 1860 (Slave Schedule), Austin Co., Texas, 2302. (Küffner 1994, 124–25)

³² (Kamphoefner 1999, 446)

³³ (Louden 2000, 229); Interview between Glenn Gilbert (GG) and the daughter of Edward Schroeder (S): GTXG_E_023_SE_OE_A_00, 5:20 min (TGDA). The relevant transcript in German: GG : „Gibt es auch viele Neger hier, Schwarze?“ – S: „Ja, sind n ganz Teil hier!“ – GG: „Und äh... können die Deutsch sprechen?“ – S: „Ooh... welche ja! Welche können gut deutsch sprechen... Welche können auch böhmisch.“

³⁴ Interview with Lillie Mae Davis, daughter of Ben & Lilly Williams, Linda Maddison, granddaughter: 112-539-1-0 (recorded in New Bremen, Austin Co, 2015) (TGDA); Interview with Lillie Mae Davis, Linda Maddison, and a neighbor: 190801_Austin_New_Bremen_Home_LMDavis_DH (IDS); Linda Maddison also took me to the family cemetery near Shelby, Tx (Fayette Co) and shared details about her uncles that were not recorded.

³⁵ (Küffner 1994, 8–9)

³⁶ Phone conversation with Cornelia Küffner in October 2018.

³⁷ Phone conversation with Wayne Wagner in November 2021.

³⁸ Phone conversation with Gene Hackemack in September 2021.

³⁹ 112-539-1-0, 1:50 min, 9:10 min (TGDA), (Küffner 1994, 9)

⁴⁰ GTXG_E_054_SE_OE_A_00, 4:90 min (TGDA)

⁴¹ (Kelley 2010, 143)

⁴² Interview with Jim Kearney: 210917_Colorado_88Ranch_JKearney_DH (IDS), 34:30 min, 38:45 min.

⁴³ Interview with Myrtle Swearington; 190801_Austin_New_Bremen_Home_MSwearington_DH_2, 28:00 min (IDS); 190801_Austin_New_Bremen_Home_LMDavis_DH (IDS), 14:14 min, 19:45 min (IDS).

⁴⁴ Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Austin Co. (Cat Spring), Texas, Sheet # 6.

⁴⁵ 190801_Austin_New_Bremen_Home_MSwearington_DH_1 (IDS), 10:26 min (IDS); Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Austin Co. (Justice Precinct #5), Texas, sheet # 13; Interview with Johnny Cooper: 210721_Austin_Home_JCooper_AD.DH, 12:50 min (IDS)

⁴⁶ Notes from phone conversations with Herbert Kollatschny, Billy Jackson (former Mewis employee), and Bubba Sartewelle in May and June 2021; 210721_Austin_Home_JCooper_AD.DH, 12 min (IDS).

⁴⁷ Interview with Deloris Parker in September 2021: 210914_Austin_Sealy_Lunch_wDParker_AD.DH, 2 min onward, 26:04 min (IDS)

⁴⁸ Anecdote by caretaker: 210721_Austin_Sealy_Home_JCooper_Hazel_AD.DH (IDS)

⁴⁹ 210914_Austin_Sealy_Lunch_wDParker_AD.DH, 6:20 min onward (IDS)

⁵⁰ 210914_Austin_Sealy_Lunch_wDParker_AD.DH, 27:10 min (IDS)

⁵¹ 210914_Austin_Sealy_Lunch_wDParker_AD.DH, 11:35 min (IDS)

⁵² (Louden 2000)

⁵³ (Sitton and Conrad 2005); (Roberts 2020), excerpts also available at:

<https://www.thetexasfreedomcoloniesproject.com/what-are-freedom-colonies> (access August 18, 2023).

⁵⁴ Center Union, Moab and Flat Prairie are briefly described in the *Handbook of Texas Online*. There is no entry for Armstrong.

⁵⁵ David Collins, *African American Short Stories, Fayette County and Lee County, Texas* (self-published, 2016), 12; also: <http://www.fayettedcountyhistory.org/ledbetter.htm#stuermer> (access August 15, 2023).

⁵⁶ A name change may be involved: Shield’s wife Katie went by the last name of Rivers-Taylor, but it is unclear where the name Rivers originated. A search for Henry Rivers yields a 9-year-old black Henry Rivers with exactly the same birthdate as ‘Henry Shields’ growing up surrounded by Prussian families in Fayette County in 1880. It could be that the name ‘Shields’ was attributed to Henry later; Tenth Census of the United States: 1880, Fayette Co. (5th District), Texas, page # 50.

⁵⁷ Recorded conversation between Mike Rehling and Mary Lehmann, daughter of Martin Reinhard, in October 2019: 191001_Bastrop_Center_Union_Winchester_Home_MLehmann_MR (IDS); First and second Interview with Mike Rehling and Mary Lehmann at the Lehmann home in June 2021: 210623_Bastrop_Center_Union_Winchester_Home_MLehmann_DH.MR_1 (IDS), 210623_Bastrop_Center_Union_Winchester_Home_MLehmann_DH.MR_2 (IDS); Fourteenth Census of the

United States: 1920, Bastrop Co. (Precinct #5), Sheet # 4; Account about Wendish and Black neighbors writing letters relayed by an anonymous descendant of Center Union via email exchange with David Collins.

⁵⁸ 112-500-1-0, 20:55 min onward (TGDA)

⁵⁹ “Jannie Washington” in Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Lee Co. (Justice Precinct 5), Texas (Sheet # ??); Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Lee Co. (Justice Precinct 1), Sheet # 3 B; Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Lee Co. (Justice Precinct 1), Sheet # 7.

⁶⁰ Various interviews in Fedor, November 2015: 112-520_521-1-0, 11:40 min, 112-518-519-1-0, 11:45 min (TGDA); Three-part Interview with W. O. Exner & Bobby Patschke in Lexington, July 2021: 210718_Lee_Lexington_Home_WOExner_DH_1 - 3 (IDS); Interview with W. O. Exner and B.J. Spencer in Moab, July 2021: 210718_Lee_Moab_Home_BJ_Spencer_DH (IDS)

⁶¹ Frederic Weigl, *Weigl Family History Herbert Weigl Sr. 's Narrative*, Disc 1 (2003); (Weigl 2015).

⁶² This freedom colony could have been what has been called ‘Horst’s Pasture’ established on the former land of German butcher Louis Horst; (Mears 2009), 73-74; Joseph J. Jones, “Waller Creek (Travis County),” Handbook of Texas Online <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/waller-creek-travis-county> (access August 20, 2023).

⁶³ Weigl, *Weigl Family History Herbert Weigl Sr. 's Narrative*, 25:19 min;

⁶⁴ Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900, Travis Co. (Justice Precinct no. 3), Texas, Sheet # 5; Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Travis Co., Texas, Sheet # 19; Austin City Directories 1940 on www.ancestry.com: James McCradic shows up on 2706 Swisher St, p. 411.

⁶⁵ Weigl, *Weigl Family History Herbert Weigl Sr. 's Narrative* 28:00 onward, 31:12 min; (Weigl 2015)

⁶⁶ “Flake’s Bulletin” *Houston Daily Union*, 3 July 1871, 2.

⁶⁷ (Roland 2021, 25)

⁶⁸ (Malone 1994)

⁶⁹ “Hon. Matt Gaines.” *Daily State Journal* (Austin, Tex.), Vol. 1, No. 143, Ed. 1 Friday, July 15, 1870, 2 of 4. The Portal to Texas History.

⁷⁰ “Notice.” *The Weekly State Gazette* (Austin, Tex.), Vol. 16, No. 14, Ed. 1 Wednesday, November 16, 1864, 2 of 2. The Portal to Texas History.

⁷¹ An interview with Bill Page on identifying ‘Bob’ as Matt Gaines is eligible here: <https://www.afrogermantexas.info/bios/gaines%2C-matt>.

⁷² “Hon. Matt Gaines.” *Daily State Journal* (Austin, Tex.), Vol. 1, No. 143, Ed. 1 Friday, July 15, 1870, 2 of 4. The Portal to Texas History.

⁷³ (Roland 2021, 29–73)

⁷⁴ (Roland 2021, 75-104, 129-164), Casualties extracted from Appendix B “Casualties of Civil War Violence, 1862-1865”, 209-18.

⁷⁵ (Phillips, JR. 1993, 5–7)

⁷⁶ “Ben Watrous” exhibit at the Brenham Heritage Museum in June 2021; (Malone, 55, 62–63)

⁷⁷ (Roland 2021, 173; Walter 1939, 5); the quote comes from a brochure titled “Gillespie County Country Schools Driving Trail” by The Friends of Gillespie County Country Schools which includes Meusebach Creek School (#3) and lists George Washington as the fifth child. Census data shows that there were several school-aged children with the same or similar names listed as ‘Black’ or ‘Mulatto’ in the Pedernales Settlement between five to eight miles from the school. In 1870, the children were George Washington and Milly Miller (ages 8 & 9, listed as Black & Mulatto, same household), as well as Laura Washington (age 6, listed as Mulatto, different household). In 1880, Laura had four school-aged siblings named Mary, Henry, O’Brian and Jack (aged 15, 12, 10, 8, all listed as Black). They likely were born into slavery on the plantation of the Doss brothers, two of the seven Anglo enslavers in Gillespie County. The children would have had to cover a remarkable distance but could have attended Meusebach Creek School at different points during the Reconstruction years; Ninth Census of the United States: 1870, Gillespie County (“Pedernales Settlement”), Texas, # 63; Tenth Census of the United States: 1880, Gillespie County (“Pedernales Settlement”), Texas, # 16.

⁷⁸ (Malone 1994, 62–63)

⁷⁹ Michael E. McClellan, “DeGress, Jacob Carl Maria,” Handbook of Texas Online, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/degress-jacob-carl-maria> (Access August 21, 2023).

⁸⁰ The topic of interracial relations between Germans and Blacks in Texas merits its own study. Some of the relations are well explained by slavery, others are not. The Black Willrich and Horst families in Texas descend from long-term relations between young German men and young Black women that lasted around 15 years in each case. All the Horst children were born after emancipation. For the Willrich children, see “Silvey Braden” Ninth Census of the United States: 1870, Fayette County (Between Buckner’s Creek & Hallettsville Road), Texas, page # 32. See also, Collins, *African American Short Stories, Fayette County and Lee County, Texas*, 43-46. For the Horst children, see “Frances Densmore” Tenth Census of the United States: 1880, Travis County (Austin), page # 23. Attitudes of leniency towards mixed relations were publicly expressed in some German newspapers. For instance, August Willich (not Willrich) published an ad in his German Republican newspaper in Cincinnati

dispelling rumors that he “enjoyed the sweet pleasures of marriage in the arms of a dark-colored daughter of Africa.” Simultaneously he made clear that “we have no prejudice against color but we have not yet thought of marriage.” The ad was circulated in 1860 along with a call “to please tell our acquaintances that we are still available”, my own translation from “Hat keine schwarze Frau”, *Minnesota Staatszeitung*, 7 July 1860.

⁸¹ Eighth Census of the United States: 1860 (Slave Schedule), Gillespie Co., Texas, 1; (Phillips, JR. 1993, 10)

⁸² (Phillips, JR. 1993, 9–10)

⁸³ The well-known case of Salomé Müller in Louisiana is discussed in (Carol Wilson 1999) A German girl enslaved in Texas is described in (Struve 1896, 276–84)

⁸⁴ Ninth Census of the United States: 1870, Gillespie County (“Pedernales Settlement”), Texas, # 62.

⁸⁵ Michael Barr, “Freedom for Millie Tinker”, <http://www.texasescapes.com/MichaelBarr/Freedom-for-Millie-Tinker.htm> (Access August 26, 2023).

⁸⁶ (Phillips, JR. 1993, 15–23, 2-3)

⁸⁷ (Phillips, JR. 1993, 32)

⁸⁸ Interview with Billie Fay in 2019, Jim Fasselmann’s grandson: 190730_Gillespie_Home_BFasselmannFay_DH, 9:20 min (IDS), (Rode, JR. n. d.)

⁸⁹ (Nicolini 2004, 63)

⁹⁰ 115-706-5-2-a, 1:12 min (TGDA)

⁹¹ 190730_Gillespie_Home_BFasselmannFay_DH, 14:15 min (IDS)

⁹² 115-812-1-9-a (TGDA)

⁹³ Interview with Paul Phillips III in 2019, 190729_Gillespie_Clinic_DrPPhillipsIII_DH_1, 15:51 – 17:48 min, 18:14 min (IDS); (Phillips, JR. 1993, 25, 28, 35-42)

⁹⁴ 190729_Gillespie_Clinic_DrPPhillipsIII_DH_1, 18:33 – 19:12 min (IDS)

⁹⁵ 115-706-5-2-a, 1:01 min (TGDA): „*Da sind die beinahe umgekommen, weil der wusst’ alles was die gesacht haben.*” (translation by the author).

⁹⁶ E.g. 115-823-1-54-a, 0:42 min (TGDA)

⁹⁷ Interview with Paula Phillips 190807_Gillespie_Home_Baltimore_PaulaPhillips_DH, 50:44 min (IDS); Texas Historical Commission “Christian Methodist Episcopal Church”, Marker 10019 (Fredericksburg, 1977)

⁹⁸ 190807_Gillespie_Home_Baltimore_PaulaPhillips_DH, 2:08 min (IDS), (Phillips, JR. 1993, 83–87)

⁹⁹ 190807_Gillespie_Home_Baltimore_PaulaPhillips_DH, 1:23:10 min (IDS).

¹⁰⁰ 190730_Gillespie_Home_BFasselmannFay_DH, 19:53 min (IDS).

¹⁰¹ 190807_Gillespie_Home_Baltimore_PaulaPhillips_DH, 39.22 min (IDS).

¹⁰² Other German-dominated school districts had already desegregated earlier: New Braunfels in 1954 (only a year after Brown vs. Board of Education) or Schertz-Cibolo in 1958, for instance. But Fredericksburg was the only town in the upper Hill Country to desegregate before 1964.

¹⁰³ (Dallek 1999, 30-33, 111-121; Kamphoefner 1999, 453–54)

¹⁰⁴ 115-706-5-2-a, 1:37 min (TGDA)

¹⁰⁵ Email exchange with Paula Phillips in 2021; see also: 190807_Gillespie_Home_Baltimore_PaulaPhillips_DH, 1:28:00 min (IDS)

¹⁰⁶ Texas Library and Historical Commission. Texas Libraries, Volume 29, Number 4, Winter 1967-1968, periodical, Winter 1967; Austin, Texas, 290-294; Texas Library and Historical Commission. Biennial Report of the Texas State Library and Historical Commission: 1968-1970, report, 1971; Austin, Texas, 6-7.

¹⁰⁷ 190729_Gillespie_Clinic_DrPPhillipsIII_DH_1, 1:09:10 min (IDS)