

*Jana Weiß, Margaret M. Blevins,
Hans C. Boas, and Verena Sauer*

Towards a Roadmap for Exploring Past and Present Texas German Voices: A Case Study of German-Indigenous Relations

Introduction

German immigrants began trickling into Texas as early as the 1820s when Texas was still part of Mexico. The influx swelled enormously during the Republic years and, except for a brief pause during the Civil War, continued unabated throughout the 19th century. By the turn of the century, Germans formed one of the largest European ethnicities in Texas. The story of German immigration to Texas is compelling on many levels and yet, German American migration to the Southwest has not received as much scholarly attention as the migrations to the East Coast or the Midwest have.

In this paper, we explore how linguists and historians can work together, using a variety of written and oral sources to investigate questions relating to the Texas German dialect and history.¹ After providing an overview of the history of German migration to Texas (Section 1), we introduce available resources such as the recordings from the *Texas German Dialect Project* (Section 2). Next, we take 19th century Texas German-Indigenous relations as our case study (Section 3). Through linguistic and historical lenses, we showcase how the uses and connotations of the term *Indianer* and the associated synonyms have evolved over time. We place special emphasis on the depiction of “Indians” in the (passed down) story of the kidnapping and return of Herman Lehmann in the 1870s.

Please note that this is not a classic research paper, presenting original research. The sources presented here are neither quantitatively nor

qualitatively sufficient for a comprehensive linguistic or historical analysis of German-Indigenous relations, nor do we make claims of representativeness. Instead, our paper aims to inspire future research to pay more attention to the translocal Atlantic ethnic lens and to take into account a variety of sources that have previously not been tapped into.² Moreover, our paper seeks to (re)open an interdisciplinary dialogue, between linguists and historians (and beyond, including other fields such as anthropology and sociology) on Texas German history, identity, culture, and language. In our conclusion, we will point out how digital humanities may help us realize possible future research initiatives.

1 German Migration to Texas

Economic and political hardships in German-speaking central Europe during the 1830s and 1840s sparked an increased interest in immigration to Texas (and elsewhere). Friedrich Ernst is considered the “Father of German immigration to Texas” by virtue of a letter he sent back to family and friends in the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg.³ In April 1831, Ernst received a league of land from the Mexican government, located on Mill Creek in present-day Austin County. Here, he established the town of Industry. In February 1832, less than a year later, Ernst wrote a letter in which he praised Texas as a land well-suited for German settlers where good farmland was readily available and practically free for the asking. His letter was widely circulated in German-language newspapers, sparking a keen interest in the region. Dozens of German speakers began to settle in south-central Texas, lured by stories of freedom and opportunity.

Shortly thereafter, Germans began settling in a second area: the Texas Hill Country. After declaring independence from Mexico in 1836, the Republic of Texas revived the former Mexican land grant system to attract immigrants from central and northern Europe in order to help the young country build up its infrastructure, expand its farming operations, support an army to defend itself against Mexico, and create a buffer zone against American Indian raids.⁴ A decade after Ernst’s letter, a corporation of German noblemen also known as the *Mainzer Adelsverein*,⁵ set up operations to support Germans interested in emigrating to Texas. While the whole endeavor was ill-conceived and overly ambitious, coming close to descending into a complete debacle of staggering proportions, the *Adelsverein* managed to introduce close to 7,000 German emigrants into Texas between 1844 and 1848.

Most of the German-speaking immigrants coming to central Texas under the auspices of the *Adelsverein* during the 1840s settled in the Texas Hill Country, founding towns such as New Braunfels, Fredericksburg, Boerne, and

Comfort. Subsequent waves of migrants after the Civil War helped establish further German settlements, leading to the emergence of what is known today as the “German Belt” of central Texas, as shown in Figures 1 and 2. German-speakers continued to compose a considerable portion of the Texas population. For example, many former German businessmen, tradespeople, and professionals near San Antonio relocated to the city, so much so that by 1880, about a third of the population of San Antonio spoke German.⁶

The two main areas of German concentration contrasted in important ways. The Germans in the south-central counties of Austin, Fayette, and Colorado created (initially) islands of German language and culture that were located amongst the dominant Anglo settlements. The settlements in the Hill Country, however, were isolated and had a true frontier experience, which included frequent interactions with Native American tribes, principally the Comanches. These interactions offer a fascinating and important contour to the story that will be explored in Section 3.

By 1907, there were about 75,000 to 100,000 Texas Germans, and by the beginning of the 20th century, about one third of all Texans were of German ancestry. According to Heinz Kloss, the number of German speakers in Texas peaked at around 159,000 in 1940. Since then, that number has declined, mainly because Texas German parents did not pass their language on to their children because of anti-German sentiments during the two World Wars.⁷

While it was still common to find monolingual Texas German speakers in many communities across central Texas well into the 1950s, language shift to English was in full swing during the 1960s, leading to a further decline of Texas German in both public and private domains. The first quarter of the 21st century has seen a drastic decline in the number of Texas German speakers, dropping from an estimated 8,000 to 10,000 speakers in 2000 to only about 2,000 to 3,000 in 2025. Today, the youngest speakers of Texas German are in their late 70s, and current projections estimate that Texas German, after being spoken in the Lone Star State for almost 200 years, will go extinct sometime during the 2030s.⁸

2 Overview of Texas German Primary Sources

2.1 From Family Papers to Poems and Interviews: A Wide Range of Sources

German-speaking settlers in Texas and their descendants were prolific writers and record-keepers. Written Texas German sources are scattered across the state, nation, and abroad, in various large and small archives and hidden in dusty attics in private homes. According to the *Texas Archival Resources Online*, there are hundreds of collections pertaining to Texas German history, housed in dozens of repositories throughout the state.⁹ The collections are

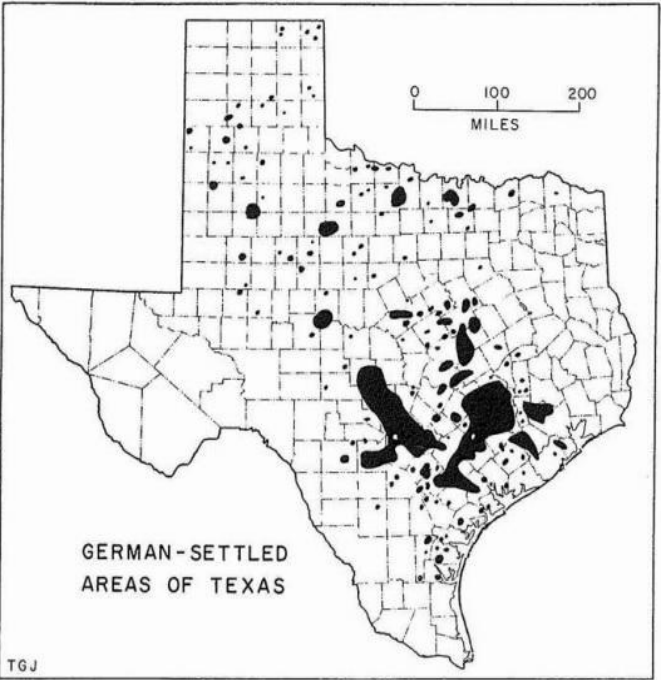


Figure 1: German-Settled Areas of Texas.¹⁰



Figure 2: The German Belt of Texas.¹¹

often family papers and letters, but also include scrapbooks and diaries. The *Portal to Texas History* also includes thousands of materials pertaining to Texas German history, in particular hundreds of German-language newspapers.¹² The *Dolph Briscoe Center for American History* at the University of Texas at Austin is home to several collections of written Texas German materials.¹³ In addition to these collections at large institutions, there are numerous smaller, local collections in museums, libraries, and churches across the state, as well as with private individuals and families. This wealth of material lends a richness to the possibilities for teaching, research, and outreach, but since they are disseminated among dozens of places, it can be difficult to have a firm grasp on what is available.

To complicate research further, there are also Texas German materials housed outside of Texas, such as the *Solms-Braunfels Archive* (SBA) at Yale University, which is a collection of the *Adelsverein's* (handwritten) extensive reports and correspondence documenting their experiences in Texas. The SBA is one of the most detailed and extensive records about Texas in the mid to late 1800s, and is often overlooked as it is primarily written in German.¹⁴ Other (inter)national collections contain materials relating to German immigration to the United States more generally, sometimes also to Texas specifically. Such collections include the German Historical Institute's *Auswandererbriefe aus Nordamerika* and *German Heritage in Letters*; the Library and Archives of the Max Kade Institute at the University of Wisconsin-Madison; and the *Auswandererbriefe* collection at the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, a collection of hundreds of immigrant letters, including those from German-speakers in Texas to their relatives in Germany.¹⁵

With respect to the kinds of primary sources available, Texas German materials span a wide range of genres, such as official reports, meeting minutes, guidebooks for prospective immigrants, historical and/or scientific descriptive literature, travel literature and sketches of pioneer life, letters, diaries, memoirs, newspapers, poetry, novels, musicals, and dramas.¹⁶ Texas Germans wrote (non)fiction for both private and public audiences within Texas, the wider United States, and German-speaking Europe.

In addition to this abundance of written records, the *Texas German Dialect Project* (TGDP) contains hundreds of hours of Texas German oral histories. The TGDP was founded in the fall of 2001 by Hans C. Boas at the University of Texas at Austin. Its goal is to preserve records of the spoken Texas German dialect for future generations, to provide information about Texas German for public and educational interests, and to use the collected materials to improve educational programs about language, history, and culture. For over 20 years, members of the TGDP have been conducting oral interviews with the remaining speakers of Texas German.¹⁷ These recordings are freely

available in the online *Texas German Dialect Archive* (TGDA Online).¹⁸ The narrative interviews in Texas German are also transcribed and translated. In 2025, the TGDA Online contained over 250 hours of publicly accessible interview recordings from over 700 Texas German speakers, and it has been accessed by thousands of people around the world.¹⁹

Given the rich history of Texas Germans, the archived oral history interviews are a treasure trove from both a linguist's and a historian's perspective. So far, these interviews have mostly attracted linguists,²⁰ but could also be of value to historians. They add information not accessible in the written word, and open up new research questions of, for example, ethnic (inter)generational knowledge circulation and memory. Many Texas German speakers interviewed by the TGDP recount how the populations of their hometowns have changed by inward and outward migration since the 1940s, and how these changes have affected the use of languages and the presence of German American culture in the communities. Another recurring theme in the interviews is the many different types of daily hardships encountered by the first generation of German speakers settling in Texas and how these experiences had long-lasting effects on the self-identification of German settlers and their descendants.

From a linguistic perspective, there has been a growing interest in learning more about earlier linguistic developments of the German dialect(s) in Texas during the 19th and early 20th centuries. However, the oldest speaker interviewed by the TGDP was born in 1915, which only allows an estimation of some of the linguistic properties of Texas German in the early 20th century using the apparent time method.²¹ To overcome the dearth of information about earlier stages of Texas German for which we have no interview recordings, the TGDP has started looking at written sources as alternative options. Here, the historian's perspective and expertise in working with these materials plays a decisive role.

Taken together, these written and oral sources provide a rich source of information on a plethora of topics, such as the founding of settlements and pioneer life, climate (changes), the 1848 European revolutions, slavery, and relations with the local tribes, especially the Comanches. To showcase this range of Texas German primary sources, we selected a variety of German-language documents dealing with German-Native American relations in Texas in the next section (Section 2.2). While this is not a complete list of available sources on the topic, our selection highlights the variety of materials. Analyzing a multitude of sources (from various authors and genres) allows for the needed nuance in deciphering the complex and evolving relationship between German immigrants and Native Americans on the Texas frontier, shaped by conflict, negotiation, and cultural exchange. It should also be

noted that our source selection represents a strictly white, Texas German perspective. In Section 3, these sources will be taken up again to illustrate how these can be used for an investigation and discussion of Texas German-Indigenous relations, from both a historical and a linguistic perspective.

2.2 Examples of Texas German Sources Relating to German-Indigenous Relations

One of the key sources of 19th century immigration are letters. Prominent scholars in the field, such as Walter Kamphoefner and Ursula Lehmkuhl, have repeatedly pointed out that letters have played the most decisive role in the decision to migrate.²² As mentioned in Section 1, in 1832, Friedrich Ernst wrote one of the first letters by a German speaker who had settled in Texas. His letter played a crucial role in placing Texas on the map for many Germans and it also seems to be the oldest surviving source where the relationship between German settlers and Native Americans in Texas is described. It was printed in the local newspaper and subsequently published in Detlef Dunt's (1834) *Reise nach Texas*, leading to its wide circulation.²³

Ten years later, in 1842, the aforementioned *Adelsverein* was set up with the goal of obtaining a land grant agreement with the state of Texas. Despite poor planning, underfinancing, and hardships, the *Adelsverein* managed to secure land through the Fisher-Miller grant. As part of this agreement, they needed to settle German migrants within that land grant, allowing them "a foothold in the trans-Llano region."²⁴ In the following years, Germans settled in the Hill Country, which was much more of a wild west frontier than where Ernst had settled. Whereas early German migrants had settled in south-central Texas, the *Adelsverein* began pushing to the north-west, an area inhabited by several, potentially hostile American Indian tribes, most notably the Penateka of the Comanche Nation (Figure 3). The area was largely unsettled by Mexicans, Texans, and Anglo-Americans.

Subsequently, Native American-German interactions intensified, especially to the west in the Hill Country. One of the reasons Texas was interested in settling immigrants in the western portions of the state was to create a buffer and assert territory rights, protecting central, southern, and eastern parts of the state from Native Americans and Mexicans. Thus, German Americans were part of the wider colonization efforts and the violent displacement of American Indians, supporting at first, Texas independence from Mexico, and later U.S. nation-building. In her (unpublished) 2013 dissertation, *Immigrant Settlers and Frontier Citizens: German Texas in the American Empire, 1835-1890*, Julia A. Brookins makes the latter point quite

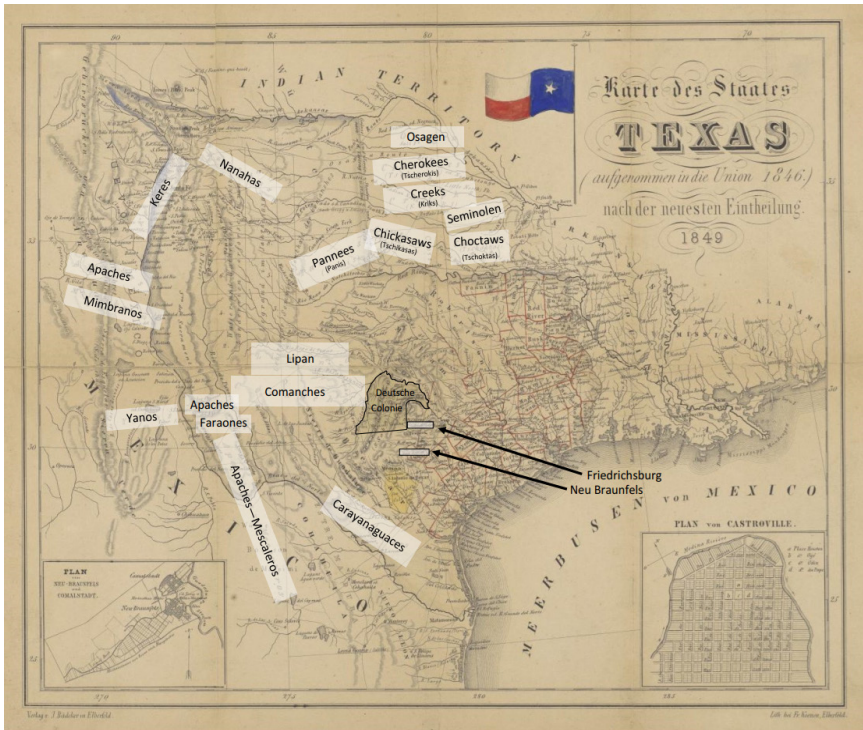


Figure 3: Koenen, Fr. *Karte des Staates Texas aufgenommen in die Union 1846: nach der neuesten Eintheilung* (1849).²⁵

clear: Germans in Texas “advocated for U.S. territorial conquest in spite of its deleterious consequences for other minority groups—particularly native Tejanos, Mexican immigrants, and indigenous Indians.”²⁶

Throughout their efforts, the *Adelsverein* kept meticulous records and produced advertisement materials to encourage and prepare people to travel to Texas. Since the land grant area was quite far inland and within Comanche territory, information about Native Americans was included in their reports and letters. Native Americans were such an important and common subject in their reports that the index within the transcription of these records contains 11 pages of Native American-related topics, including a section subdivided by tribe (see Figure 4). This makes these documents, commonly referred to as the Solms-Braunsfels Archives, one of the most thorough records of Native Americans in central Texas in the mid-1800s and thus, central to any study of Texas indigenous history.

Indianer-Stämme: (Fortsetzung)

Comanche (Fortsetzung): Vertrag durch Prinz Solms mit den Comanche XLVIIIa, 129;

Furcht vor den Comanche unbegründet LVI, 186; freundlich gegen die Colonisten XLIV, 118; in freundschaftlichster Stimmung XLVIIIa, 129; befreien einen, von andern Indianern gefangenen Ansiedler LXX, 117; machen Magazin-Requisitionen XLIV, 118; holen für \$ 1000 Geschenke XLVIII, 136; Beschaffung der Geschenke für dieselben XLVIII, 136;

Gefahren durch die Comanche LXVIII, 12; stehlen Vieh XLI, 170; stehlen der San Saba Expedition Pferde LIV, 77; greifen die Emigranten an LVI, 42; Ueberfall der Comanche VII, 186;

folgen der San Saba-Expedition heimlich LIV, 76; wenden sich an die Regierung in Austin, um v. Meusebachs Ueberschreiten des Llanos zu verhindern LIV, 77; bringen der San Saba Expedition eine Serenade LIV, 79;

Creeks-Indianerstamm: LXVIII, 123; LXX, 125; ihre Anzahl LXVIII, 123; ihre Kultur betrft. LXVIII, 123;

Crick-Indianer: LXX, 125;

Delawares: LXVIII, 200; XLI, 169, 170; LIV, 38; LVI, 186; LVIII, 176, 177, 178; LIX, 120, 124; LXVIII, 123; LXX, 23; 125; Jim Shaw ist ihr Häuptling LIV, 77, 79; sollen gegen die Comanche benutzt werden LIV, 38; sollen in der Nähe des Grants angesiedelt werden LVI, 186; sollen sich in der Colonie niederlassen um für die Emigranten zu jagen LIX, 121; sind die Friedensvermittler zwischen den Indianern und den Ver. St. sowie Texas LIX, 120;

Pankos (?) V, 170;

Poks: LXVIII, 123;

Texas-Indianer: LXVIII, 123;

Was: LXVIII, 123;

Wikapocs: LXVIII, 123;

Lipans: LXX, 125; unter ihren Häuptlingen Castro und Placco halten sich in der Gegend von San Antonio auf und leben in Frieden mit den Ansiedlern LXX, 124; (Lipans) von Sant Anna aufgehetzt, durchstreifen die Gegend von Rio Grande und Mueces, rauben und plündern LXX, 126; wollen mit den Comanches verhandeln und Verträge abschliessen XLVIIIa, 171; ihr Häuptling besucht den Prinzen Solms XLVIIIa, 170, 171; Lipanis(siehe vorstehend) X, 40; VII, 186 (siehe vorstehend) (Lipans); (Lipanz) (siehe vorstehend) (Fortsetzung) VII, 186; Lipans VI, 14;

Figure 4: Indianer Stämme 'Indian tribes' index excerpt from Solms-Braunfels Archive. This indicates where references to various topics can be found in the 70-volume collection.²⁷

The Solms-Braunfels Archive also includes reports about the expedition led by John O. Meusebach, second commissioner-general of the *Adelsverein*, who successfully negotiated the infamous Meusebach-Comanche Peace Treaty (1847).²⁸ To this day, the peace treaty has gained (albeit disputed) legendary status as it was never broken.²⁹

In addition to their own reports, some of the personnel of the *Adelsverein* also produced promotional materials and guides to encourage migration. One prime example is the book by the first commissioner-general, Prince Carl Solms-Braunfels' (1846) *Texas*.³⁰ He describes his experiences of the country and its Indigenous and Anglo-American people. Such promotional texts were relatively widespread in the mid-19th century.

Besides the reports and promotional materials of a single immigration company, there exist numerous accounts about Native Americans in German-language newspapers in Texas, from the beginning of immigration to more than a century later. In general, German American newspapers peaked in the early 1890s, when they made up almost 80 percent of all foreign language newspapers in the U.S. For Texas, Karl Arndt and May Olson list a total of 137 German-language publications, including daily and weekly newspapers as well as periodicals.³¹ According to Boas, these "publications covered a diverse range of topics, including news, religious topics, cultural matters, and literature, while at the same time presenting varying political views, from the abolitionist San Antonio Zeitung to the proslavery *Demokrat*."³²

Likewise, Native Americans captured Germans' artistic imaginations and inspired poetry, historical fiction, and art. For example, German Texan poet Fritz Goldbeck wrote a poem titled "*Ausrottung der Büffel*" 'Eradication of the Buffalo' about the sharp decline of the buffalo population and its negative impacts on Native Americans in the area.³³

In addition to contemporary accounts on Texas German-Native American relations, there are also sources from a slightly more removed position such as memoirs. One example is the reminiscences of Mathilda Doebbler Gruen Wagner. Her family immigrated to Texas in 1851, and she was born in Fredericksburg in 1856. Her memoirs depict the struggles of growing up on the frontier.³⁴

The fascination with Native Americans and German-Indigenous relations is also echoed in the 21st century in oral history interviews with Texas German speakers in the TGDA Online. Almost 50 Texas German interviewees mention *Indianer*.³⁵ One of the stories that several interviewees reference is the story of Herman Lehmann. In 1870, Herman Lehmann, a 10-year-old first generation Texas German who lived near Loyal Valley (about 20 miles north of Fredericksburg), was kidnapped by Apaches. He lived with them for several years, then lived with a Comanche tribe. Lehmann rejoined

his family in 1878, after which followed a long period of readjustment. In 1927, Lehmann wrote a book about his life and experiences called *Nine Years Among the Indians*.³⁶ Lehmann's story offers a unique opportunity. It has been documented and recounted for over 100 years by different people (himself, family members and other contemporaries, such as newspaper reporters and Texas Germans today) in different sources (memoirs, newspaper articles, oral histories). The story allows us to connect and reconstruct the TGDA Online oral histories with written sources to explore ethnic sites and practices of memory-making.

This introduction to the diversity of Texas German primary sources from a range of authors, genres, and time periods underscores the depth and breadth of material available. The following section looks at some of the materials in more detail, demonstrating ways in which these sources can be used for future research.

3 Case Study: Exploring German-Indigenous Relations on the Texas Frontier

After a brief overview of previous historical and linguistic research pertaining to German-Indigenous relations in Texas (Section 3.1), we explore the evolution of Texas German-Indigenous relations: First, by looking into the use of the term *Indianer* across genres in the 19th century (Section 3.2), and second, by linking this to 20th and 21st century ethnic memories of Texas German-Indigenous encounters in newspaper accounts and oral history interviews (Section 3.3).

In exploring the evolution of the discourse around *Indianer* in the Texas German context, it is important to note that once the German-speakers came to Texas, many of them stayed here for generations. This means that their interactions with and attitudes about Native Americans were likely influenced by their interactions with the dominant society, their Anglo-American neighbors. This differs from the evolution of the discourse around *Indianer* in continental Europe, where German speakers did not have the same experiences.³⁷

3.1 Previous Research on Texas German-Indigenous Relations

So far, only a small circle of researchers has focused on German-Indigenous relations on the Texas frontier.³⁸ Two reasons for this might be language barriers (of German and of the Indigenous languages) as well as the lack of awareness of the rich source materials as laid out in the previous section. Over the last two years, anthropologist David J. Gelo and German

studies scholar Christopher J. Wickham have published three books relating to our case study: In *Comanches, Captives, and Germans: Wilhelm Friedrich's Drawings from the Texas Frontier*, they present the astonishing finding of three 1848 paintings by Texas German artist Wilhelm Friedrich, meticulously reconstructing its background captivity story.³⁹ In *The German Texas Frontier in 1853*, Gelo and Wickham analyze the first year of the *Neu-Braunfeler Zeitung*, started by famous Texas German botanist Ferdinand Lindheimer.⁴⁰ Through his newspaper, Lindheimer advocated for the rights and concerns of German settlers. Lastly, Gelo and Wickham report on an 1851 article by Heinrich Berghaus in the *Geographisches Jahrbuch*, which aimed to establish linguistic connections between Comanches, Shoshones, and Apaches.⁴¹ Together, these works expand our knowledge of Comanche history and the German-Indigenous experience, offering valuable insights into the challenges and complexities of intercultural relations on the Texas frontier.⁴²

However, while Berghaus' article demonstrates a Texas German interest in Native American languages and cultures and is evidence of contact for a short number of years, it does not offer any evidence of German language influence on Native American languages or vice versa. To date, there is no significant research on the linguistic outcomes of contact between Native Americans and German-speaking immigrants in Texas. While English had a considerable influence on Texas German since the earliest days of German settlements, primarily in the form of English words and phrases borrowed into Texas German,⁴³ there do not seem to be any traces of Native American languages in Texas German, except for a few borrowed words that entered via English (for example, *tomahawk*, meaning a war hatchet, derived from Algonquian).⁴⁴ The fact that there are so few words borrowed from Native American languages into Texas German can be seen as an indication of the relatively low degree of intensity of contact between the two speaker groups, and potentially the low perceived prestige of Native American languages for German-speakers.⁴⁵

Analyzing written and oral sources, spanning from the early 19th century to the present day requires a reflection on handling different genres, subjectivities, and positionalities. For example, from a linguistic perspective it is important to acknowledge that the early sources were established at a time when there was no uniform orthographic standard in German-speaking countries. This means that if a researcher looked for a particular term, they may need to use multiple spelling variations. Likewise, from a historical vantage point, we need to critically reflect on how people in the past have invoked sameness and/or difference to include or exclude and to (dis)empower. As Nancy Shoemaker rightly pointed out in her Presidential Address at the 2019 meeting of the *American Society for Ethnohistory*, "how historical actors

deployed sameness and difference is complicated by unexpected twists and turns.”⁴⁶ In our discussion of German-Indigenous relations, we do not want to perpetuate western constructs of Native Americans as the “exotic Other,” replicating the discourse of civilization versus savagery. Rather, we seek to find balance showing how Texas German discourse shifted between the two poles, depending on a variety of factors such as the colonizing agenda and (non) resistance of the tribes. The doctrine of discovery legitimized the subjugation, exploitation, and dehumanization of Indigenous peoples, resulting in racialized practices and policies of dispossession and extermination.

The following questions guide the next two sub-sections: (1) how has Texas Germans’ language use surrounding Native Americans evolved over the centuries, reflecting their interactions and (white) perceptions over time?; (2) Given the rich body of sources, how can these resources be fruitfully connected for future research?

3.2 The Evolution of Texas German-Indigenous Relations in the 19th Century and Use of the Term “Indianer” across Genres

Since the 16th century, German writers have grappled with the question of who “the Indians” were. While the interactions between Native Americans and Germans in Texas decreased throughout the 19th century, the topic and idea of Native Americans remained an important part of their collective imaginations and understandings of Texas. As Texas Germans commented on such themes as trade, conflicts, and captives, they invariably used the term *Indianer* but also sometimes differentiated between different tribes. Throughout, the widespread idea of the “noble savage” informed their discourse, going back to Enlightenment philosophers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau. As Vine Deloria explains, as a term “that both juxtaposes and conflates an urge to idealize and desire Indians and a need to despise and dispossess them,” it has remained ambiguous ever since.⁴⁷ Related, several scholars have repeatedly argued that outside views of “the Indian” do not represent Native Americans per se, but rather Germans themselves and their projections of longings and anxieties.⁴⁸ Our selected sources discussed below reflect the Texas German understanding of Native Americans in the 19th century.

From the beginning, Native Americans were a topic of note for Germans writing home and were an important consideration for potential emigrants to Texas. For example, as Ernst encouraged his Oldenburg family and friends to join him in Texas, he sought to soothe their fears by telling them how Native Americans would (according to him) interact with and interfere (or not) with German immigrants. As Ernst portrayed the Texan landscape, he

characterized most tribes as friendly and peaceful. He supported this claim by saying that the members of the tribe hunted animals and traded with furs, with “trading” having a positive connotation. He also implied that the settlers seemed to have power over the Native Americans (and that the settlers exploited it), mentioning a particular tribe’s displacement and noting their resistance:

Up higher on the rivers there are beautiful areas, and silver has been found there; it is merely a matter of driving off an Indian tribe which resists individual visits. Several Indian tribes are moving about peacefully like Cossacks, hunting deer, of which they sell the hides.⁴⁹

Ernst seemed to acknowledge that Native Americans were not a monolith, but rather that there were different groups, although he did not go so far as to name specific tribes. Since Ernst neither glossed nor provided any additional explanation, he probably assumed that his intended audience was familiar with the term *Indianer*, as German speakers had been immigrating to North America for some time by this point and had shared stories about their experiences. The very fact that Ernst discussed Native Americans in his letter highlights that the presence of Native American tribes was central to a potential émigré’s decision whether to make Texas their new home.⁵⁰

Solms-Braunfels’ *Texas* is a good indicator of the increasing awareness of indigenous diversity. Similar to Ernst, Solms-Braunfels had self-serving interests, but instead of being more of an informal text (a personal letter), his book was designed to give potential émigrés more information about the conditions in Texas, with the aim of appearing to be a neutral, authoritative text.⁵¹ To this end, he created a more elaborate and detailed systematization of Native American tribes. An entire chapter discusses the inhabitants of Texas, referring to the original inhabitants as *Indianer*.⁵² While Solms-Braunfels, like Ernst, divided the tribes into the categories “friendly” and “hostile” according to their attitude towards the colonists, he went on to provide more detail.⁵³ The tribes who had submitted to the government were considered “friendly,” such as the Lipans and Tonkahuas. These were explicitly characterized as “pleasant”: “When they please a settlement with their pleasant visitation, they show great talent in begging, and the more you give them, the more they covet.” Those who had refused to submit and “wandered in the mountains of the west” were considered hostile. The hostile tribes, such as the Comanches and Wakoos, were described as “stealing,” “murdering,” and “plundering.” Solms-Braunfels referred to the Comanche tribe as “the most dangerous and numerous.”⁵⁴

Like Ernst, Solms-Braunfels had an interest in collecting information that he perceived as integral to the Germans' survival and success in the foreign land. Interest in categorization and differentiation was common at the time.⁵⁵ By collecting the names of Native American tribes, describing them, and categorizing them, Solms-Braunfels externally defined otherness.

Besides this increased category-based and tribe-based detail, Solms-Braunfels also used synonyms such as "redskins" for the term "Indian" in addition to the specific tribal names, thus expanding the vocabulary of the readership. He also described the terms *Indian fighter* (Indianer-Fechtern) and borrowed Native American terms such as *Tomahawk*, which were most likely borrowed via their Anglo neighbors. This kind of information reflects early contact and exchange with Anglo settlers.⁵⁶

While these findings echo previous scholarship on white-Indigenous relations, they also add an important ethnic and class lens. Solms-Braunfels' categorization fits into Karen O. Kuppermann's study of early encounters between the English and Algonquians along the East Coast. Like Anglo-Americans, Texas German descriptions of Native Americans became less favorable once they resisted colonialism.⁵⁷ However, it was only a year later, in the spring of 1847, that Solms-Braunfels' successor, Meusebach, successfully negotiated a non-government peace treaty with the Penateka Comanches, opening more than three million acres of land to (unharmful) settlement. Whereas Solms-Braunfels was a prince, who was very conscious of his standing in German aristocracy, Meusebach was a Prussian bureaucrat, who renounced his title as Baron after migration.

The peace treaty greatly aided Fredericksburg's survival and was symbolic of the communal approach of the Germans. It was "an anomaly in the history of nineteenth century Indo-white relations."⁵⁸ Texas Germans seem to have adopted an unusually sympathetic approach, which Matthew Babcock aptly comments on: "The fact that Germans sought permission from Comanche before settling on their land places them in sharp contrast to most Anglo Texans of the era."⁵⁹ In general, treaties made with indigenous peoples were frequently broken, resulting in further land dispossessions by settlers.⁶⁰

Meusebach, however, should by no means receive the sole credit for the "successful" treaty. For a more critical and comprehensive view, we need to look at sources by the Penateka-Comanches, who played an equally major role, but that is beyond the scope of this paper.⁶¹

Possibly having this special treaty in mind, some German settlers favorably compared their "special" relations to those of Anglo-American settlers with indigenous tribes. For example, in his letter written on June 18, 1851 in New Braunfels, Gustav Eisenlohr argued that interactions with Native Americans were by and large peaceful, and that (the fear of) conflict was partially

manufactured to benefit primarily Anglo settlers: “The Indians do trouble the borders to Mexico and the north, but here, where their main hunting ground used to be, we live as safe from them as you do in Emmendingen under the protection of the mayor of Baden.”⁶² Eisenlohr also expanded the conversation around *Indianer* by looking at the larger power structures at play, such as the Texan government and economic interests, while he further underscored that New Braunfels itself was incredibly safe and instead highlighted potential ulterior motives for maintaining fear of Native Americans:

It seems that one does not want to be completely rid of the Indians [...] because many have their advantage in the fear of the Indians. [...] [The ranger] earns a nice amount of money, but without Indians there is no need for a ranger, so it is in this interest that at least the fear of the Indians is maintained. Then the government needs a lot of food for the Indian troops [rangers] and horses, so the farmer can always sell his products at good prices to the government [...]. If the government no longer needs rangers, it no longer needs grain and the farmer can no longer benefit from it as much. [...] I have yet to see an Indian.⁶³

When looking at this excerpt from a linguistic perspective, the three main subjects (*Indianer*, *Ranger*, and *Farmer*) are all borrowed from English into German. This reflects how the characters at play were fundamentally different concepts than those people were familiar with in the German-speaking lands, and as such, terms for them needed to be borrowed rather than using German terms. Yet, like Ernst, Eisenlohr felt no need to describe what an *Indianer* was for his audience, but he did feel the need to explain what a *Ranger* was: “a kind of border hunter,” which implies that the latter, although technically in existence since 1835, and unofficially since 1823, had not been discussed enough in the German lands to be self-explanatory. When he referred to *Rangers* later, he used the term *Indianertruppen* ‘Indian troops,’ highlighting that the main purpose of this group was adversarial to Native Americans.

Although he lumped all Native Americans into a single category rather than referring to them by tribe, Eisenlohr seems to have been acutely aware of the dispossession and subordination of Indigenous peoples. He was university educated, a Protestant pastor, and had participated in the failed 1848 Revolution, after which he had fled to the U.S.⁶⁴ Due to his liberal, democratic leanings, it is perhaps not surprising that he was critical of larger, potentially manipulative governmental power-structures.

By the mid-1800s, the concept of *Indianer* denoted several meanings for German Texans, including vague and self-interested descriptions, to categorizations with more explicit definitions and criteria to support the success of German colonization. Some voices recognized larger political and economic pressures at play, others echoed more caricatured depictions of Native Americans, both positive and negative. This range in discussions was both influenced by the period when the works were written as well as the genre and the function of the texts, with more personal recollections, such as letters, potentially reflecting more sympathy and nuance than “official” texts, such as handbooks.

Towards the end of the 19th century, Texas Germans also reflected on *Indianer* in art, depicting both the romanticized expulsion of Native Americans, thereby aligning with their Anglo neighbors, and the romanticized melancholy of their loss. In musicals and poetry, the authors distanced themselves from everyday language, using numerous synonyms (“redskins,” “red man,” “savages,” and “red jackals”) in place of the term “Indians.” In this way, the authors avoided everyday language for poetic effect. The goal was not to inform the reader, but rather to evoke the reader’s associations and convey emotions.

In Hermann Seele’s *Texas Fahrten*, a Texas German musical which probably dates from the 1880s, he writes about the “Indian Long Grass Fight,” a battle between Texas Rangers and an unnamed Native American tribe.⁶⁵ This rendition of events follows two Germans who join with the Texas Rangers to attack a Native American group. It contains several derogatory terms for and descriptions of Native Americans: “redskins,” “savages,” and “red jackals.” Given the migration status of Texas Germans, portraying Native Americans as “savages” served to imagine a civilized self, over time joining the “civilized” white Anglo-American U.S. society.

Accordingly, Seele’s description of killing Native Americans was bloodthirsty: “Hurrah! Let’s go after those red jackals! / We’ll slaughter all of them as a feast for the buzzards. Hurrah!” and “Do you see smoke rising up over there, / Moving along like fog? That’s a sign / That the redskins hidden over there, / Believe that they’re safe. But tomorrow, / Not a trace of them will be found!” When they are not in battle, the imagery surrounding the Texas Rangers is an idyllic nature: “Below, they looked roundabout, / Onto a blossoming prairie, / Which, wreathed in blue by mountains, / Was glistening in the lovely radiance of morning.”⁶⁶ The musical also likened one of the characters, Ranger Hays, to an eagle, a sharp-eyed apex predator. The fact that the Germans joined Anglo Texan Rangers, and that Native Americans and Rangers were described as such, also reflects how German-Texans had increasing contact with and influence from their Anglo neighbors.

In contrast, the 1895 poem “Eradication of the Buffalo” by noted German Texan poet Fritz Goldbeck, stylized Native Americans as “redskins” but also as victims of the settlers rather than as perpetrators.⁶⁷ Goldbeck lamented:

Once here lived the red man,
With wife and child he drew near,
He also followed the buffalo trail,
But he only sought his nourishment.
How long will it last,
The red man has disappeared
And with him the last game,
Which still satisfies his hunger.
Nature gave in abundance,
Which will be destroyed by culture,
It advances with a firm step,
Taking along with it forests, game, and meadows.⁶⁸

Following the trope of the “noble savage”, the “red man” is depicted in harmony with nature, using it only as a source of food and not exploiting it. He is portrayed as a so-called child of nature who lives in a symbiosis. The (supposedly cultured) conquerors destroy everything and are sharply differentiated from the Native American, also referencing the dialectic of “good” versus “evil.”

Both the musical and the poem can be seen as artistic reflections on the end of the Texas-Indian Wars in 1875, when the last free band of Plain Indians, Comanches, surrendered and moved to the Fort Sill reservation in Oklahoma. Closely related, both sources might also represent a general trend: the farther away the indigenous population was (i.e., no longer in direct competition for land and resources), the easier it was for Native Americans to be idealized. By the end of the 19th century, 70 years after German speakers had begun settling in Texas, most of the Native Americans in Texas had been killed or forcibly (re)moved to reservations.

3.3 Remembering 19th Century Texas German-Indigenous Relations

In the previous sub-section, we looked at discussions around *Indianer* during the time that Germans and Native Americans were in contact in Texas, and shortly thereafter. Throughout the 19th century, however, western expansion had forced Indian tribes out of their homelands. By the end of the century, the American Indians Wars drew to a close as assimilation and Americanization efforts intensified.⁶⁹ As we move on chronologically in this

sub-section, we trace the memories of Texas German-Indigenous relations into the 20th and 21st century, passed down and remembered in various formats, such as personal reminiscences, scholarly works, newspaper articles, and oral history recordings.

To this day, one of the most commonly referenced and remembered stories is the successful Meusebach-Comanche Peace Treaty. Those remembering the treaty usually praise Meusebach without mentioning the role the Comanches played.⁷⁰ In his *History of the German Element in Texas, from 1820-1850* (1913), Moritz Tiling recounted the story, focusing on violence by Native Americans:

We cannot but admire the courage of von Meusebach, who, with a few followers, fearlessly penetrated into the unknown territory, but must also give due credit to the able and skilled manner in which he dealt with the ferocious and warlike Comanches, inducing them to sign a treaty, which opened the hitherto forbidden land to German settlements.⁷¹

Tiling was an instructor in history at the Houston Academy and his text was intended to inform. Yet, reflective of early 20th century historiography, his language is ridden with vivid and sensational descriptions to evoke heightened emotions in the reader. By focusing on the “civilized” German settlers, conquering the “ferocious” natives, he wanted to pay tribute to the achievements of the first German settlers and portray the dangers and adversities to which they were exposed. It is also telling that, after his synopsis of the treaty, Tiling immediately lists nine instances of Native Americans killing or kidnapping German settlers, with no reflection in the opposite direction. It is as if he was providing additional justification or evidence for the Germans’ invasion into Native American lands.

In addition to Tiling’s biased historical account, another type of source to consider is the genre of memoirs. In her reminiscences written in 1937, Mathilda Doebbler Gruen Wagner, who was born in Fredericksburg in 1856, highlights the regular trade with American Indians. Referring to the 1847 treaty of her hometown, she mentions that friendly relations soon changed once “the settlers started driving them out as though they were cattle. Then they [Indians] became mean and would steal and sometimes kill. [...] The whole town was aroused by the Indians then.”⁷² Although she does not reflect much on white violence against Native Americans, Wagner seemed to have at least noticed it and framed the violence against settlers as having occurred as a reaction to earlier mistreatment rather than being some kind of inherent behavior.

Stories of Meusebach, of peace turned sour, of conflict, and retaliations involving stealing and murder, are also taken up by Texas German descendants several generations later. Texas German speakers interviewed by the TGDG continue to share memories about German-Indigenous relations. In the currently available TGDA Online transcriptions (Version 2.0 / November 2024), containing 495 interviews, *Indianer* are ambiguously presented as “wild,” uncivilized perpetrators, friends, and/or victims.⁷³ About one third of the stories that mention *Indianer* describe them negatively. In 31 interviews, there are reports of murder or theft committed by *Indianer*, for instance, “they killed my great-grandfather and scalped him.”⁷⁴ There are also reports of the general danger of Native Americans and how to protect oneself from attacks:

Once, she saw the Indians and immediately brought the children into the house and locked the door. She brought the big pot of beans that was boiling [...] and when the Indians came, wanting to come in the house, she threw the beans out of the window and the Indians ran away.⁷⁵

Related, several interviewees discuss white violence. As they refer to the attacks and murders of the tribes by the settlers, some point out that *Indianer* also fought back: “The Indians stole a horse. [...] They went after the Indians and found them. They shot one or two dead. But [...] the Indians shot him dead too.”⁷⁶

At the same time, several interviewees mention that their ancestors lived peacefully with the indigenous peoples and coexisted amicably. About one fifth of the interviewees emphasize the friendly relationship between the two groups. For example, a couple of interviewees report that peaceful coexistence prevailed and that both groups benefited from each other: “There were the Germans, the first German colony was in Industry. They were friendly to the Indians.”⁷⁷ Furthermore, at least five interviewees mention the 1847 peace treaty, for example: “Yes, Meusebach went up [...] four miles [...] four miles to the west of San Saba. And [he] made peace with the Comanche Indians. And that is the only peace that was kept [...] in the United States.”⁷⁸

This suggests that the TGDG interviewees, like their 19th century ancestors discussed in Section 3.2, continue to differentiate between “friendly” and “hostile” Native Americans, but instead of linking the categorization to tribe affiliation, modern Texas Germans make these differentiations on a case by case basis, depending on the story at hand.

While many of the reminiscences shared in the TGDG are personal stories recalled by a single person, some stories achieve a kind of “legend” status, such

as the peace treaty or of the kidnapping and return of Herman Lehmann, which is discussed in more detail below. These more broadly known stories seem to play a larger role in the general Texas German history and identity.

In 1870, a band of Apaches kidnapped 10-year-old Herman and his younger brother Willie from their home on Squaw Creek, located between modern day Cherry Spring and Doss, northwest of Fredericksburg. As one Texas German speaker, who is distantly related to Lehmann, recounts,

Herman was with the Indians for nine years, first with the Apaches and then with the Comanches. And a Comanche Chief, Quanah Parker [...] adopted him. [...] And strangely enough [...] [Herman] was found after nine years with the Indians on a reservation in Oklahoma. [...] [The person who found him] wanted to bring him back [to his family in Texas] but the Indian, he wanted—Indian Lehmann didn't want to go back. [...] But nevertheless, he went with the soldier. [...] When his mother saw him, she said "No, that is not my son." [...] [He was] dressed as a pure Indian and everything. But he recognized her. [...]. And the Indian then remembered that [...] he had a scar from an injury as a child. [...]. His sister said: "Mama, that is Herman. [...]" And then she knew that he was her son. [...] He had completely forgotten the [German] language. [...] But then later, Herman got married and sometimes he stayed with his family, and sometimes he went up to visit the Indians. He was torn between two worlds. Terrible.⁷⁹

This excerpt is a highly interesting source for linguists and historians alike. While the speaker primarily uses the general term *Indianer*, they also refer to specific tribes, Apache and Comanche, which were central to Lehmann's story. It is unclear where they got the information from. It is possible that the speaker makes a distinction between Apaches and Comanches when recalling Lehmann's story simply because that is 'how the story is told' (i.e., these details are in the story as it has been passed down, and how they themselves heard it). On the other hand, the fact that the speaker made this distinction could potentially be influenced by the times the speaker grew up in, with a rise in tribal awareness, especially since the Red Power movement of the 1970s.

On a cognitive-linguistic level, the term "Indian" evokes a knowledge frame in which domains such as appearance ("dressed like a pure Indian and everything"), language ("had completely forgotten the [German] language"), and places ("Squaw Creek"; "reservation in Oklahoma") are mentioned

in explicit statements. This shows that the interviewee has a multifaceted concept of *Indianer*. At the same time, the speaker also uses *Indian* as a kind of title, “Indianer Lehmann,” highlighting Lehmann’s transformation and assimilation into Native American life, almost as if he had become a new person.⁸⁰ It could also reflect the dichotomy the speaker remarks on later, that Lehmann was split between two worlds (perhaps there was an “Indian Lehmann” and a “German Lehmann”), like two sides of the same coin.

This might reflect a positive use of the term “Indian,” regardless by whom exactly, Lehmann himself or generations after. Interestingly, the very site where the Lehmann family lived was called Squaw Creek. “Squaw” is a derogatory term for a Native American woman or wife.⁸¹ It is reflective of German-Indigenous contact because this location was likely given this name because of its proximity to Native American territory. Likewise, it is reflective of German-Anglo contact because it is a term that the Germans in Texas most likely borrowed from their Anglo-American neighbors.

If we delve further into the TGDA Online, we find several more (slightly different) recollections of Lehmann’s story from distant family members and acquaintances:

Her uncle [i.e., the uncle of an acquaintance of the interviewee] was one of the last people who was captured by the Indians out there in the Hill Country. And he published a book—Herman Lehmann, you know, he got captured by the Indians. [...] And she still has his so-called “crown” and everything in her little room there.⁸²

Here, the speaker uses both the German term *Indianer* (“war eine von die letzten, das gefang ist geworden von die Indianer”) and the English term *Indian* (“ders got captured by die Indians”). It is possible that the speaker’s use of *Indian* may have been sparked by their use of the English verb *captured*, which shortly precedes their use of *Indian*, activating their English lexicon. It also appears that Native-American-related vocabulary does not appear to be very active for this speaker as they use the English term “crown” rather than the more specific term *headdress* or *war bonnet*.⁸³

On a cognitive-linguistic level, compared to the previous speaker, the domains of the knowledge frames evoked by the term “Indian” are similar, but less extensive and vaguer: appearance (“crown”) and spaces (“out there in the Hill Country”). At the pragmatic level, it is also noteworthy that some intra-sentential code-switching takes place, i.e., the speaker switches from German to English within the sentence (“ders got captured by die Indians”).

This may be an indication that they lacked vocabulary to express what they wanted to say. The exact function of the code-switching, however, is unclear. That being said, there is a short pause before the code-switching takes place, which could indicate that the interviewee's internal processes of language production are disturbed here (i.e., they were searching for the right word).

Further linguistic and historical research into Lehmann's story should also seek to make connections to other sources. Two examples for further inquiry could be comparisons of the TGDG interviews to his own writings and memoirs⁸⁴ as well as to German- and English-language newspapers. For instance, the *Freie Presse für Texas* reported on aspects of his experiences and reintegration in 1901, roughly twenty years after Lehmann had returned to the Fredericksburg area. The article indicates Lehmann's continued closeness with Native American life, while also referring to his time "as a prisoner" of the Native Americans.⁸⁵

— Der als „Indianer Lehmann“ bekannte Deutsch-Texaner Hermann Lehmann ist kürzlich wie die „N. Braunf. Btg.“ berichtet, von einer Reise zu den Kiowas und Comanches im Indianer-Territorium, bei denen er seine Jugend als Gefangener zugebracht hat, nach Loyal Valley in Mason County zurückgekehrt. Er sagt, daß ihm als einem Adoptirten der Comanches bei der bevorstehenden Vertheilung der Ländereien in der Reservation sein Antheil ausgetheilt werden wird.

As reported by the *New Braunfels Zeitung*, the German-Texan Herman Lehmann, known as "Indianer Lehmann," recently returned to Loyal Valley in Mason County from a trip to the Kiowas and Comanches in Indian Territory, where he spent his youth as a prisoner. He says that as a Comanche adoptee, he will be given his share in the upcoming distribution of lands on the reservation.

Figure 5: Robert Hanschke, *Freie Presse für Texas*, (San Antonio, Texas), February 4, 1901⁸⁶

Likewise, a Comal County Fair advertisement in the *New Braunfels Herald* in 1928 suggests that his strong connection with Native Americans persisted for his entire life.⁸⁷ Even at the age of 70, Lehmann was a main attraction at the county fair, demonstrating Native American sports and dances, as the information under "Indian Exhibition" in Figure 6 suggests.

If one were to look at these materials through the lens of text types, the two newspaper reports from the *Freie Presse für Texas* (1903) and the *New Braunfels Herald* (1928) could be categorized as informative texts. Their primary function is to inform the reader, for instance, about Lehmann's trip back to the reservation or about the Comal County Fair. Accordingly, the

Sophienburg

Welcome to the Comal County Fair

October 5, 6 and 7



Races
More harness and running horses than were ever on the grounds before.

Rodeo
Fog Horn [Clancy] with 15 professionals, women, men and children, in front of the grandstand each night. Also, stunts between races.

Carnival
Roy Gray Shows and Rides. Attractions Day and Night.

Indian Exhibition
Herm. Lehmann, captured by Indians when a boy, now over 70, will show Indian sports and dances each day

All Stores Closed at Noon Friday

Night and Day Attractions

All Stores Closed at Noon Friday

Agricultural, Live Stock, Poultry, Automobile and Industrial Exhibits. See the Baby Beeves now being fattened by the Boys' Club. See the passenger train exhibited by the Missouri Pacific Railroad—only a little more than 100 feet long. See what your friends and neighbors have to exhibit.

GET YOUR SEASON TICKETS NOW AND AVOID DELAY AT THE GATE

Figure 6: Comal County Fair advertisement, *New Braunfels Herald*, September 28, 1928⁸⁸

in the 1903 article, the tribe (“Comanches”) to which Lehmann returned is clearly named. In the 1928 article, on the other hand, the author decided that a territorial designation was not necessary, as the point is simply that Lehmann had learned Native American traditions and methods “from the source,” to emphasize the advertised demonstrations’ authenticity. The intended audience would presumably not be able to or care to differentiate between Comanche and Apache dances. Or, perhaps Lehmann demonstrated things from both traditions, and in order to save valuable advertising space, the author simply used the hypernym “Indian.”

The transition from lived experience to commercialized (educational) show is common for many cultures, especially for Native American tribes.⁸⁹ Exploring this transition in Lehmann’s life adds an ethnic perspective to further explore the idea of “playing Indian.” As Deloria notes, “[p]laying Indian is a persistent tradition in American culture [...]. It is, however, a tradition with limitations. Not surprisingly, these cling tightly to the contours of power.”⁹⁰ As several scholars have pointed out, the discourse around “the Indian” has been at the heart of defining and imagining U.S. identity. Over the last decade, research has been extended to how this played out abroad, especially in German-speaking Europe. Native Americans became a central part “of the German frame of reference for America [who] appear[ed] alternatively as cavalier, mystical children of nature, as freedom fighters against

colonial oppression, and as racially conscious elite soldiers engaged in a clash of cultures.”⁹¹ All of these were not “authentic” but (re)invented, racialized, and gendered images serving the needs of the people invoking them. Thus, analyzing Lehmann’s life and the memory surrounding his life addresses a research gap by offering an ethnic and localized perspective.

Analyzing memories such as those around the Meusebach-Comanche Peace Treaty and the capture and release of Herman Lehmann provide fruitful entryways into investigating German-Indigenous relations in the Texas Hill Country over the span of three centuries. How have the retellings of the treaty and captive story changed over time? How does the language surrounding both stories compare to other (multilingual) reports about Native Americans in that area at the time? Are there any (written) records of these events from the Comanche/Apache perspective? More research is needed to support our brief, cursory analysis.

4 Conclusion and Outlook

We seek to inspire further, more elaborate research on Texas German history and language, regarding Texas German-Indigenous relations and beyond. In our conclusion, we reflect on potential avenues for future research as well as on benefits and challenges of interdisciplinary work.

By connecting and comparing written and oral sources such as letters, reports, maps, memoirs, poetry, musical drama, newspapers, and interviews, we gain a more comprehensive picture of the migrant perspective. In addition to making connections across genres, there are also opportunities to explore these themes through the lens of mediality (for example, audio recording vs. written text).

Likewise, there are plenty of opportunities to make comparisons across events, which exemplify Indigenous-European-settler contact. “American social and political policy toward Indians has been a two-hundred-year back-and-forth between assimilation and destruction.”⁹² As laid out above, since the 1820s, Texas Germans have followed this development, but also stand out in their relations with indigenous tribes. While some of the reasons for the decline in relations were outside of the control of Texas Germans (such as the death of the influential Comanche chiefs and peace advocates Santana and Mopechuopo), we should also pay attention to the collapse of the *Adelsverein* and the changing patterns of German settlement and hunting in the area.

Another fruitful approach might be to examine the experiences and stories of people from various ethnic backgrounds such as Mexicans or Czechs who lived with Native American tribes, as well as to explore other variables, such as age, gender, how long they lived with Native Americans, which tribe(s) they lived with, how they were treated when (and if) they returned

to their original communities and so forth.⁹³ Related, as already mentioned, including an indigenous perspective is paramount. For example, Lehmann's adoptive Comanche father, Quannah Parker, was also a child of mixed parentage (his mother Cynthia was captured by the Comanches as a child and later married his father, Chief Peta Nocona). Thus, delving into Lehmann's story from the perspective of his adoptive family and culture sheds light on the deep, generations-long contact between Comanches and white settlers.

Lastly, it would also be fruitful to explore how the use and discourse around *Indianer* has changed over time in German-speaking Texas circles, and how this compares to the use and discourse in Anglo-Texan circles as well as in German-speaking central Europe.⁹⁴ One of the things that makes investigating German-Indigenous relations in Texas interesting is that there is no standard Texas German definition of *Indianer*, and thus it is challenging to know whether the connotation of *Indianer* aligns more closely with German ideas of Indigenous peoples or with stereotypically Anglo-American ideas of "Indians," or whether the term has a different connotation somewhere in the middle. Notwithstanding, the Texas German perception of *Indianer* has expanded: in the TGDG interviews, indigenous people are also portrayed and categorized as victims, albeit rarely. This usage was not yet widespread in the 19th century and can be seen as the result of a process of reflection of U.S. society at large.

With respect to pinpointing the exact meaning of *Indianer* in the minds of Texas Germans, this task can be rather demanding because Texas Germans did not produce language-standardizing texts such as dictionaries. However, it might be worthwhile exploring how the term *Indianer* evolved in German dictionaries. After all, those traveling to Texas were interested in guidebooks and any other materials which may have helped them in their new home, such as dictionaries, maps, and letters from people who had already made the move. For example, Carl Naubert's 1883 *Langenscheidts Notwörterbücher* collected important information for emigration to the U.S., including key words, phrases, cultural concepts, and information about Native Americans. This *Notwörterbuch* was specifically aimed at "Germans going to America, or any foreigner there who understands German" and was intended to provide information about the "customs and habits that differ from those of other countries."⁹⁵ How did definitions and notions of *Indianer* travel across the Atlantic, and how did they change once people stayed in the U.S.?

Interdisciplinary cooperation is important in order to pursue a holistic approach that takes into account multiple perspectives. That being said, connecting historical and linguistic approaches has its difficulties. One of the challenges we faced was the wide difference in available previous research on our case study of Indigenous-German relations. While historians have been discussing Native Americans and the (white) discourse around them for

decades, linguists have barely scratched the surface in Texas German research. Thus, we did not start at the same place with respect to available previous research to pull from.⁹⁶

In addition, the two disciplines have different jargons, and even when the jargon overlaps, the underlying concepts might not. For example, both historians and linguists are familiar with discourse analysis, but the methodology behind it might diverge.⁹⁷ As we were writing this paper, it became clear that we followed a slightly different argumentation structure and highlighted different examples. While both disciplines need a large range and number of sources to be able to build strong analysis, sources that might be particularly useful for historians might be of less interest to linguists and vice versa. This underscores the need for a wide variety of source materials to be made available in order to support interdisciplinary research.

In our view, one of the greatest benefits of interdisciplinary work that outweighs the above challenges is becoming aware of different perspectives, methods, and additional sources. In research on Texas German, linguists have primarily focused on using interview and speech recording data, while historians have primarily used written sources. Using both spoken and written sources broadens and deepens the kinds of research possible. For example, from a linguistic perspective, there are audio recordings starting around the 1960s. In order to gain a better understanding of the changes that occurred within Texas German in its first one hundred years of existence, written records are indispensable. From a historical perspective, if one is interested in how certain stories are (dis)remembered and passed down, it is very helpful to have access to oral histories.

Furthermore, a wide variety of materials relevant to a particular question can be hidden in plain sight, just in different fields. For example, if someone was interested in looking at the words people use, how they use them, and the connotations that come with them, both linguists and historians have literature pertaining to this: James Merrell discusses terms used in the context of Native American studies scholarship and how biases can be hidden in common terminology such as *settler* and *wilderness*.⁹⁸ From a linguistic perspective, it would be possible to construct a componential analysis, which seeks to break down the semantics of words into individual features (for example, *Indianer* are [+living in North America] [-civilized], etc.).⁹⁹ It would also be possible to look at the discussions around *Indianer* from the perspective of conceptual metaphors, which can be used to explore how metaphors “structure how we perceive, how we think, and what we do.”¹⁰⁰ All of these approaches could be used synchronically (at a single point in time) or diachronically (over a particular stretch of time) and would provide insights into what is associated with the concept of *Indianer* and how that structures and colors our discourse.¹⁰¹

Last but not least, another example of overlapping interests in the two disciplines can be seen in discussions around differentiation by particular groups such as Apache and Comanche rather than lumping them together under the umbrella terms “Native Americans” or “Indians.” From a linguistic perspective, it could be interesting to apply approaches inspired by perceptual dialectology, which looks at how non-linguists perceive variation in language, and use it to look at how people perceive variation within ethnic groups, for example, if, how, and when people differentiate between Native American groups, and the associations they have for them. It is a common finding that people tend to differentiate more between groups they are more familiar with, and tend to make more generalizations across groups they are less familiar with and have less contact with.

As mentioned in Section 2, one of the challenges of researching Texas German history, culture, and language is that there are so many different sources across dozens of large and small institutions, as well as owned by private individuals. In an effort to preserve the latter, TGDGP members have scanned hundreds of Texas German family letters, diaries, and other hand-written notes from Texas Germans over the last six years. Going forward (and given the needed funds and personnel), the TGDGP plans on further collecting and digitizing these materials.¹⁰²

Connecting information from the TGDGP’s oral history interviews with historical Texas German documents allows us to trace the dynamics of the migration and assimilation process, in particular with regard to ethnic memory cultures and the historical development of certain linguistic features of present-day Texas German. Ideally, we envision a transdisciplinary digital archive, which would allow researchers access to a wide variety of primary sources on the Texas German experience. Besides the digitized documents, such a website could also feature short contextualizing essays, work by (under)graduate students, and lesson plans with selected sample documents highlighting how the collection can be used in teaching.¹⁰³

At the same time, we need to be aware that different disciplines require different information, such as transcriptions, linguistic annotations, translations, and subject/topic tagging. Transcriptions can be particularly challenging, as many documents are handwritten in a script that has not been widely taught for almost 100 years. This can only be done as a collaborative endeavor, among scholars, with other institutions, and with citizen scientists.

The University of Texas at Austin
Austin, Texas

Universität Wien
Vienna, Austria

Notes

1. We would like to express our gratitude to James Kearney and Patrick Wolf-Farré for providing feedback on our first draft. Kearney, in particular, has provided invaluable advice on what he has arguably rightly called “one of the most dramatic immigration stories in all North America in the 19th century” (personal correspondence July 2024).

2. The focus here is on written and oral sources. Please note that Texas Germans also left behind a visible legacy of, for instance, architecture, art, and food traditions.

3. “Father of German immigration to Texas” is engraved on his tombstone (Hugh E. Meredith, “Ernst, Johann Friedrich,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed July 2, 2024, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/ernst-johann-friedrich>).

4. By following the guidelines of the *National Museum of the American Indian*, we are using the terms Native American, American Indian, and Indigenous interchangeably (<https://americanindian.si.edu/nk360/faq/did-you-know>, accessed July 2, 2024). Whenever possible, we use the tribal name.

5. The *Mainzer Adelsverein* was also known as the *Mainzer Verein*, the *Texas-Verein*, and the *Verein zum Schutze deutscher Einwanderer in Texas* (‘Society for the Protection of German Immigrants in Texas’). For more information, see Rudolph Bieseke, *The History of the German Settlements in Texas 1831-1861* (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1930); Louis E. Brister “Adelsverein,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed June 18, 2024, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/adelsverein>.

6. Terry G. Jordan “Germans,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed April 7, 2025, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/germans>.

7. Marcus Nicolini, *Deutsch in Texas* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004), 42; Heinz Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition* (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1977), as cited by Christa Schwartzkopff, *Deutsch als Muttersprache in den Vereinigten Staaten. Teil III: German Americans: Die sprachliche Assimilation der Deutschen in Wisconsin* (Stuttgart: Steiner-Verlag-Wiesbaden, 1987), 78. For more information on the influence of anti-German sentiments on language, see Joseph C. Salmons “Issues in Texas German Language Maintenance,” *Monatshefte* 75, (1983): 187–196; Hans C. Boas, *The Life and Death of Texas German* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009). Other factors contributing to the decline of German in Texas include greater mobility due to better roads built from the 1930s onwards and in- and out-migration of English and German speakers in the areas settled by German immigrants (see Joseph C. Salmons and Felecia A. Lucht, “Standard German in Texas,” in *Studies in Contact Linguistics: Essays in Honor of Glenn G. Gilbert*, eds. Linda L. Thornburg and Janet M. Fuller (New York: Peter Lang, 2006), 167–188; Boas and Marc Pierce, “Texas German,” in *North American Varieties of German*, ed. Mark L. Loudon and William D. Keel, Yearbook of German American Studies Supplemental Issue, vol. 6 (Lawrence: University of Kansas Libraries, 2025): 159-90.

8. Texas German is particularly interesting because it is a unique new world dialect that is different from any other extraterritorial variety of German in the world. It is the result of speakers of different European dialects of German brought to Texas in the 19th century interacting with each other over multiple generations, resulting

in a unique mixture of German dialectal features and regional variation, together with a significant influence from English affecting the vocabulary and structure of Texas German. Note that Texas German is not a single, homogenous dialect—it is an umbrella term for a range of different German varieties spoken by descendants of German-speaking immigrants in Texas. For more details, see Glenn Gilbert, *Linguistic Atlas of Texas German* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1972); Boas, “Texas German Dialect,” in *Germany and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History*, Vol. 3., ed. Thomas Adam (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2005), 1029–1035; Boas and Matthias Fingerhuth, “I am proud of my language but I speak it less and less!” – Der Einfluss von Spracheinstellungen und Sprachgebrauch auf den Spracherhalt von Heritage-Sprechern des Texasdeutschen,” *Linguistische Berichte* 249 (2017): 95–121; Boas 2009. The drastic drop in numbers of Texas German speakers over the past few years is largely due to the Covid-19 pandemic, which led to many elderly speakers passing away.

9. <https://txarchives.org>.

10. Terry G. Jordan, “The German Element in Texas: An Overview,” *Rice Institute Pamphlet - Rice University Studies* 63 (July 1977): 3.

11. Terry G. Jordan, “The German Settlement of Texas after 1865,” *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 73 (October 1969): 200.

12. <https://texashistory.unt.edu>.

13. See the *Dolph Briscoe Center for American History* research guide to “German American Resources,” <https://briscoecenter.org/research/online-reference-tools/subject-guides/german-american-resources>.

14. The “Archiv des Vereins zum Schutz deutscher Einwanderer in Texas,” which accounts for most, but not all, of the SBA, is housed at Yale’s Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Center. The center also has the “Friedrich Armand Strubberg collection.” Another portion of the original documents is held at the *Dolph Briscoe Center for American History* (UT Austin). Typewritten transcripts and a comprehensive index of the SBA are available at the Dolph Briscoe Center, the Texas State Library and Archives (Austin), and the Sophienburg Archives (New Braunfels). These transcripts and the index are much more accessible than the original handwritten documents. Moreover, related materials are available at institutions such as the Texas General Land Office (GLO) Archives and Records (Austin) and Southern Methodist University (Dallas). Since the *Adelsverein* was trying to satisfy the terms of a contract with first the Republic of Texas and then the State of Texas, it was necessary to document what they had accomplished. The result is that the GLO houses an extraordinary amount of detailed information about the immigrants introduced by the society.

15. See <https://www.auswandererbriefe.de>; <https://germanletters.org>; <https://www.uni-erfurt.de/forschungsbibliothek-gotha/sammlungen/handschriften-und-nachlaesse/auswandererbriefe>. Note that analyzing historical letters has the added advantage of giving a more complete picture of all types of members of society (not just educated men), including women, children, less educated, and less wealthy people. For more information, see Stephan Elspaß, *Sprachgeschichte von unten: Untersuchungen zum geschriebenen Alltagsdeutsch im 19. Jahrhundert*, vol. 263 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2005).

16. Selma Metzenthin-Raunick, *Was haben die deutschen Einwanderer und deren Nachkommen in Texas auf dem Gebiet der Dichtkunst geleistet?*, MA Thesis (Austin, University of Texas at Austin, 1922); Metzenthin-Raunick, "A Survey of German Literature in Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 33 (October 1929): 134–159; Metzenthin-Raunick, *Deutsche Schriften in Texas*, 2 Volumes (San Antonio: Freie Presse für Texas, 1935, 1936).

17. When Boas began his position as Assistant Professor of Germanic Linguistics at UT Austin in 2001, he first learned of the existence of Texas German, that it was in the process of dying out, and that there had been no significant research conducted on the dialect since the 1970s. The goal of the TGDP interviews is to elicit spoken Texas German (and some English) and to gather biographical information about the speakers' lives. More specifically, TGDP members conduct several types of interviews: (1) sociolinguistic (oral history) interviews in Texas German, (2) translations of English words, phrases, and sentences into Texas German, and (3) biographical interviews (in English), which elicit relevant metadata information about each speaker, such as their language use and attitudes. See Boas 2021. The translations are based on Fred Eikel, "The New Braunfels German Dialect," PhD diss. (Johns Hopkins University, 1954); Glenn G. Gilbert, *Linguistic Atlas of Texas German* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972); Susan G. Guion, "The Death of Texas German in Gillespie County," in *Language Contact across the North Atlantic*, ed. Per Sture Ureland and Iaian Clarkson (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996), 443–463.

18. <https://tgdp.org/dialect-archive>. Boas, Pierce, Karen Roesch, Guido Halder, and Hunter Weilbacher, "The Texas German Dialect Archive: A Multimedia Resource for Research, Teaching, and Outreach," *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 22 (September 2010): 277–296; Boas, "Zwei Jahrzehnte digitale Dokumentation und Erforschung eines aussterbenden deutschen Auswandererndialekts: Das Texas German Dialect Project (2001–2021)," *Zeitschrift für deutschsprachige Kultur und Literatur* 30 (2021): 229–268.

19. About one third of the oral history audio is currently available online. It is only made public once it has been transcribed and transcription is ongoing. Biographical interviews are not publicly available.

20. See Boas 2009; Roesch, *Language Maintenance and Language Death: The Decline of Texas Alsatian* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2011); Pierce, Boas, and Roesch, "The History of Front Rounded Vowels in New Braunfels German," in *Germanic Heritage Languages in North America*, ed. Janne Bondi Johannessen and Salmons (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2015), 118–131; Boas and Fingerhuth 2017.

21. See William Labov, *Principles of Language Change, Volume 1: Internal Factors* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994); Salmons and Lucht; Boas and Katrin Fuchs, "Zum Einfluss des Standarddeutschen auf das Texasdeutsche im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Empirische und methodologische Probleme," in *Germanistische Sprachwissenschaft um 2020: Variation – Norm – Identitäten*, ed. Alexandra Lenz and Albrecht Plewnia (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2018), 283–304. Copies of Texas German recordings from the 1960s were donated to the TGDP by Glenn Gilbert. These recordings can be used to help paint a picture of what Texas German sounded like 40+ years before

the earliest TGDP recordings.

22. See Walter D. Kamphoefner, *Germans in America: A Concise History* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021), esp. 48, 64–65. Unfortunately, reflecting the scarce scholarship, Kamphoefner does not deal with German-Indigenous relationships in his overview on Germans in the U.S. On letters, see also Ursula Lehmkuhl, “Auswandererbriefe als kommunikative Brücken. Wege und Formen der (Selbst-)Verständigung in transatlantischen Netzwerken,” *Zeitschrift für Mitteldeutsche Familiengeschichte* 52 (April/June 2011): 65–84; Lehmkuhl, “Reading Immigrant Letters and Bridging the Micro-Macro Divide,” *Studia Migracyjne* 40/1 (2014): 9–30; Lehmkuhl, “Das Genre Auswandererbrief,” in *De Gruyter-Handbuch Brief*, 2 vols, ed. Marie Isabel Matthews-Schlinzig, Jörg Schuster, Gesa Steinbrink and Jochen Strobel (De Gruyter, 2020), 639–653.

23. Detlef Dunt’s *Reise nach Texas* (Bremen: Viehe, 1834), 4–16. Dunt’s book is available in translation: *Journey to Texas, 1833*. Translated by James Kearney. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017.

24. Daniel J. Gelo and Christopher J. Wickham, *Comanches, Captives, and Germans: Wilhelm Friedrich’s Drawings from the Texas Frontier* (Kerrville: State House Press, 2023), 10. While gaining a strong foothold in the region may not have been the *Adelsverein*’s goal from the onset—different *Adelsverein* members had different ideas for how to approach settlement in Texas—it became their main goal within several years. The terms of the grant were to survey and locate 1,000 families. The grant was issued in 1842, renewed in 1843, and the deadline was extended in 1844. That year, Fisher sold an interest in the contract to the *Adelsverein*. In the next year, Fisher and Miller sold their rights in the grant to the society (Rudolph Biese, “Fisher-Miller Land Grant,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed May 30, 2024, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/fisher-miller-land-grant>).

25. Elberfeld, Germany, University of Texas at Arlington Library, *The Portal to Texas History*, accessed May 20, 2024, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph50370>. Native American groups named on the map are additionally highlighted for readability. In the original, “Deutsche Colonie” refers to the Fisher-Miller land grant. Please note that the locations of Fredericksburg and New Braunfels are not entirely accurate on the map, the grant was about 40 miles north of Fredericksburg.

26. Julia A. Brookins, “Immigrant Settlers and Frontier Citizens: German Texas in the American Empire, 1835-1890,” PhD diss. (The University of Chicago, 2013), vi. For a chronological narrative of fifty years of continuous frontier conflict, see Gary Clayton Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas: Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land 1820-1875* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019).

27. This index was not part of the original SBA. It was created by Biese and his team as part of their transcription efforts in the 1930s.

28. A report of what was said at the treaty negotiations is available in vol. 40 of the SBA, as well as an extensive report by Lt Bené of the trip to San Saba to meet with the Comanches and conclude a treaty. Unfortunately, Meusebach did not leave behind extensive records. The only available material is his “Answer to Interrogatories” (1893), https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Answer_to_Interrogatories. Ferdinand Roemer

left a detailed report in *Texas. Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf deutsche Auswanderung und die physischen Verhältnisse des Landes nach eigener Beobachtung* (Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1849), 319–329, with additional observations about Comanches, 330–346 (translated into English by Oswald Mueller, *Texas: With Particular Reference to German Immigration and the Physical Appearance of the Country, Described through Personal Observation* (San Antonio: Standard Printing Company, 1935, reprinted in 1983)). There is also a report 50 years after the event in the *Fest-Ausgabe zum 50-jährigen Jubiläum der Gründung der Stadt Friedrichsburg* (Fredericksburg: Robert Penniger, 1896), which was also published in translation by Charles L. Wisseman Sr. as *Fredericksburg, Texas ... The First Fifty Years* (Fredericksburg: Fredericksburg Publishing Co., 1971). On Meusebach, see Biesele; Irene M. King, *John O. Meusebach, German Colonizer in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967).

29. The treaty is accessible online. The original is exhibited at the local *Pioneer Museum*. In 1970, the original document was returned from Europe by Irene Marschall King and Cornelia Marschall Smith, granddaughters of Meusebach (Otto W. Tetzlaff, “Meusebach-Comanche Treaty,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed December 9, 2023, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/meusebach-comanche-treaty>).

30. Carl Solms-Braunfels, *Texas. Geschildert in Beziehung auf seine geographischen, socialen und übrigen Verhältnisse mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die deutsche Colonisation. Ein Handbuch für Auswanderer nach Texas* (Frankfurt am Main: Johann David Sauerländer, 1846). See also Brister.

31. Karl Arndt and May Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1955: History and Bibliography* (Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer, 1961). The German-language newspapers’ readership and ethnicity of content began to decline in the 1890s as mass migration ended (see Kamphoefner 2021, 129–133).

32. Boas 2009, 49; see also Salmons and Lucht 2007.

33. Fritz Goldbeck, *Seit Fünfzig Jahren. Prosa in Versen. Skizzen aus der Zeit der ersten deutschen Einwanderung in West-Texas in den Jahren 1844, 1845, und 1846*, part 2 (San Antonio: John Schott, 1896), 70–71. Another prominent artistic example is the work of Friedrich Richard Petri, who painted and sketched portraits of Native American life (see William W. Newcomb Jr. “Petri, Friedrich Richard,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed June 18, 2024, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/petri-friedrich-richard>); Newcomb Jr., “German Artist on the Pedernales,” *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (October 1978): 172; Newcomb, Jr. and Mary S. Carnahan, *German Artist on the Texas Frontier: Friedrich Richard Petri* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978). On the more fictional side, the novels by former colonial director of Fredericksburg, Friedrich Strubberg, stand out. After a scandal, he returned to Germany and wrote several historical novels based on his experiences in Texas dealing with the colony’s relations with the Comanches. One of his semi-autobiographical novels is *Friedrichsburg* (Leipzig: Friedrich Fleischer, 1867), which has been edited and translated by Kearney (Friedrich Armand Strubberg, *Friedrichsburg: A Novel* [Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012]). As Kearney points out, his work suggests his “sympathy for the existential plight of American Indians,” recognizing their unjust treatment. Strubberg became a best-selling author in the

German lands. In fact, some have claimed that Strubberg's *Friederichsburg* was one of the first 'westerns' ever written, and it has been argued to have been an inspiration for Karl May's famous works.

34. "Mathilda Doebbler Guen Wagner," in: Crystal Sasse Ragsdale (ed.), *The Golden Free Land: The Reminiscences and Letters of Women on an American Frontier* (Austin: Landmark Press, 1976): 156–188. Ragsdale included an excerpt from Winifred Schuetze Cade, *I think back: being the memoirs of Grandma Gruen* (San Antonio: Winifred Cade, 1937).

35. 48 Texas German speakers mention *Indianer*, 16 mention *Indian(s)*, 8 mention *Comanche(s)*, 4 mention *Apaches*. These numbers are likely to grow as more audio files are transcribed (see footnote 19).

36. See also Herman Lehmann, *A New Look at Nine Years with the Indians 1870-1879*, ed. John Marvin Hunter (San Antonio: Lebco Graphics, 1985), as well as A.C. Greene, *The Last Captive: The Lives of Herman Lehmann* (Austin: Encino Press, 1972). The Sophienburg Museum and Archives in New Braunfels has posted several blog posts about Lehmann: Keva Hoffmann Boardman, "Mom's cousin was an Indian captive," *Blog: Around the Sophienburg*, <https://sophienburg.com/moms-cousin-was-an-indian-captive>; Hoffmann Boardman., "The Herman Lehmann Show," *Blog: Around the Sophienburg*, <https://sophienburg.com/the-herman-lehmann-show>. See also Hoffmann Boardman, "Herman Lehmann, mother's cousin, was an Indian captive," *New Braunfels Herald-Zeitung* (August 4, 2019), https://herald-zeitung.com/life/herman-lehmann-mother-s-cousin-was-an-indian-captive/article_1fad663e-b566-11e9-a0ba-8bc40700cb3e.html; Phil Houseal, "Esther Lehmann: Herman's Story" (Full House Productions, January 8, 2014 and February 17, 2016); Esther Lehmann and Gerda Lehmann Kothman, "Reflections" #292, Sophienburg Museum & Archives.

37. See Colin G. Calloway, Gerd Gemünden, Susanne Zantop (eds.), *Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002); Frank Usbeck, "Clash of Cultures? 'Noble Savages' in Germany and America," in *Tecumseh, Keokuk, Black Hawk. Portrayals of Native Americans in Times of Treaties and Removal*, ed. Iris Edenheiser and Astrid Nielsen (Stuttgart, Dresden: Arnoldsche, 2013); H. Glenn Penny, *Kindred by Choice: Germans and American Indians since 1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

38. In 1927, Rudolph Biesele produced one of the first scholarly works on German-Indigenous relations ("The Relations between the German Settlers and the Indians in Texas, 1844-1860," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 31 (October 1927): 116–129). It took nearly 40 years for the next publication (Kenneth F. Neighbors, "The German Comanche Treaty of 1847," *Texana* 2/2 [1964]) and another 30 years for revisions (Klaus Hoerig, "The Relationship between German Immigrants and the Native Peoples of West Texas," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 97/3 [1991]: 423–450; Brian J. Boeck, "They Contributed Very Much to the Success of Our Colony: A New Source on Early Relations between Germans and Indians at Fredericksburg, Texas," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 105 [July 2001]: 81–91). John H. Brown's *Indian Wars and Pioneers of Texas* (Austin: L. E.

Daniell, 1880) and the online *Handbook of Texas* (written in the mid-1970s) provide encyclopedia entries. The most recent works have been published by Gelo and Wickham (see footnotes 39-41), Kearney 2012, and Matthew Babcock, "German-Comanche Diplomacy on the Texas Frontier: Assessing the Meusebach-Comanche Treaty of 1847," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 56 (2021): 57-71.

39. Gelo and Wickham 2023.

40. Gelo and Wickham, *The German Texas Frontier in 1853: Ferdinand Lindheimer's Newspaper Accounts of the Environment, Gold, and Indians* (Denton: UNT Press, 2024).

41. Gelo and Wickham, *Comanches and Germans on the Texas Frontier: The Ethnology of Heinrich Berghaus* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2018). Berghaus' article is based on lexical data collected by the Texas German settler Emil Kriewitz, who compiled a list of Comanche words with their German (and English) translations. Kriewitz had immigrated with the *Adelsverein* and lived with Comanches for three months. Fifty years later, Kriewitz wrote "Erinnerungen aus der Indianerzeit," a brief description of interactions between Germans and Indians in the Hill Country, in the *Fest-Ausgabe* 1896.

42. For an overview of the Comanche nation, see Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press: 2009).

43. See Glenn G. Gilbert, "The German Dialect Spoken in Kendall and Gillespie Counties, Texas," PhD diss. (Harvard University, 1963); Boas and Pierce "Lexical Developments in Texas German," in *Studies on German Language Islands* ed. Michael Putnam (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2011), 129-150; Ryan Dux "Classifying Language Contact Phenomena: English Verbs in Texas German," *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* (December 2017): 379-430.

44. Notably, the Algonquians did not live in Texas, so this was probably an earlier borrowing from contact with Anglos in the U.S.

45. This is probably also true in the other direction as well since Native Americans did not borrow many German words either. For example, Lyle Campbell states that "Native American languages have borrowed words from a number of European languages," and then lists Basque, Russian, Spanish, Dutch, French, Swedish, and English, but not German (*The Indigenous Languages of the Americas: History and Classification* [Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2024], 467).

46. Nancy Shoemaker, "2019 Presidential Address: Sameness and Difference in Ethnohistory," *Ethnohistory* 64/4 (2020): 537-549, 540.

47. Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University, 1998), 4.

48. See Usbeck 2013; Penny 2013. Frank Usbeck analyzes the discourse in German-speaking Europe where e.g., Germanic tribes were stylized as "the Indians of Europe," as Teutons resisting the Roman colonizer. This rhetoric was continued during the two World Wars (Germans as the subject of foreign conquerors / Germans as "Naturvolk"). Likewise, Glenn Penny traces the origins of the fascination for Indian life in the transatlantic world of German cultures in the 19th century.

49. "Weiter höher an den Flüssen hinauf sind schöne Gegenden und es ist dort viel Silber gefunden worden, es kommt nur darauf an, einen Indianerstamm zu vertreiben, welcher einzelne Besuche [sic!] zurück weißt. Mehre Indianer=Stämme,

ziehen friedlich umher wie die Cosacken und jagen Hirsche, wovon sie die Felle verkaufen" (Dunt 1834, 13). Originals in German, the following translations were done by the authors.

50. This letter could be classified as a prompt text according to Ernst Große's classification of texts with regard to their communicative function: normative, contact, group-indicating, poetic, self-expressive, prompt, fact-informative, and transitional class texts (see Klaus Brinker, Hermann Cölfen, Steffen Pappert, *Linguistische Textanalyse: Eine Einführung in Grundbegriffe und Methoden* [Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2014]; Ernst Ulrich Große, *Text und Kommunikation: Eine linguistische Einführung in die Funktionen der Texte* [Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1976]).

51. This letter could be classified as an informative text according to Große (1976).

52. Solms-Braunfels 1846, 29–31. This section also includes information about Mexicans, African Americans (enslaved people at the time), and Anglo-Americans.

53. "freundlich" and "feindlich" (Solms-Braunfels 1846, 29). Shortly after, another text by an unknown author added a third category, "semi-civilized" to the dichotomy of "friendly" vs. "hostile." This category included those tribes, who practiced agriculture and were firmly settled, such as the Shawnees ("gehören zu den halbcivilisirten, in Arkansas in großen Ortschaften angesiedelten und Ackerbau treibenden Indianern"), "Texas. Expedition der deutschen Kolonisten nach der San-Saba in Texas, im Januar 1847," *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes* 101 (Berlin, 24 Aug 1847), 401–402 and *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes* 102 (Berlin, 26 Aug 1847), 406–407. This article was later reprinted as "Meusebach's Zug in das Gebiet der Comanche-Indianer im Januar 1847," *Fest-Ausgabe* 1896, 86–107.

54. "Wenn sie eine Ansiedelung mit ihrem angenehmen Besuche erfreuen, so beweisen sie großes Talent im Betteln, und, je mehr man ihnen gibt, desto mehr begehren sie" (Solms-Braunfels 1846, 30) / "Der Indianer gibt es noch ziemlich viele Stämme, die theils feindlich in den Gebirgen des Westens umherziehen, theils freundlich genannt werden, indem sie sich der Regierung unterworfen haben, innerhalb der Grenzen der Ansiedelungen nomadisiren und sich des Schutzes der Gesetze erfreuen" (29) / "Ihre freundlichen Gesinnungen aber bethätigen sie dadurch, daß sie nur da stehlen und nur dann einzelne Reisende morden und plündern, wenn sie sicher sind, daß es Niemand sieht und sie den Frevel auf einen feindlichen Stamm schieben können. Von diesen letzteren sind die gefährlichsten und zahlreichsten die *Comanches*, welche noch bis an 10,000 berittener Krieger mustern sollen" (30).

55. The late 18th century and the 19th centuries in Europe were marked by a heightened interest in gathering and organizing (natural) knowledge, which manifested across a variety of disciplines. On the evolution of the German educational ideal during the 19th century, cp. Bas van Bommel, "'Bildung' and 'Wissenschaft': The 19th-Century German Ideal of Scientific Education," *European History Online* (2015), last accessed April 25, 2025, <https://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/models-and-stereotypes/germanophilia-and-germanophobia/bas-van-bommel-between-bildung-and-wissenschaft-the-19th-century-german-ideal-of-scientific-education>.

56. Moreover, Solms-Braunfels devoted a section to the external appearance of the Native Americans. He emphasized their skin color as a special characteristic, from

which the synonymous designation as “Rothaut” results: “The Indian is dark brown in color, about as dark as unpolished walnut wood. But he finds this color nasty, so he rubs his whole body with a clay-like, red earth, which is found on most Texas rivers; hence the name ‘redskins’” (“Der Indianer ist von dunkelbrauner Hautfarbe, etwas so dunkel wie unpoliertes Nußbaumöl. Der er diese Farbe aber garstig findet, so reibt er sich den ganzen Körper mit einem lehmartigen, rothen Erde ein, welche man an den meisten Flüssen von Texas findet; daher kömmt wohl die Benennung, Rothhäute”) (p. 31).

57. Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing off in Early America* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2000).

58. Hoerig 1991, 433.

59. Babcock 2021, 58; see also Boeck 2001. Previously, Meusebach had started regular expeditions into Indian-controlled lands—after all, the Fisher-Miller land grant specified that the land had to be at least partially settled and surveyed by the fall of 1847. He helped to solidify Comanches’ trust in the German settlers through his hospitality, a genuine interest in their culture, and peaceful acts of confidence (e.g., he let all rifles be discharged). The treaty was also part of the peace initiative of President Sam Houston (Neighbors 1964). Other factors for the success of the peace treaty were the logistical support by the Nassau Plantation as well as the guidance by the Delaware and Shawnee Indians (see Kearney 2012, 2). In addition, the less intrusive layout of Fredericksburg helped relations (the German village-type settlement pattern was more compact). Also, Germans were not good hunters at first, and trade benefited both sides (Hoerig, 433–436).

60. The 1847 treaty did not save the Penateka from onslaught. By 1855, they had been forced to withdraw towards the Colorado and Brazos headwaters and by 1859, many had been removed to Indian territory in southwest Oklahoma (Gelo and Wickham 2023, 120). “Between 1776 and 1887, the United States seized over 1.5 billion acres from America’s indigenous people by treaty and executive order” (Claudio Saunt, interactive map, <https://hub.arcgis.com/maps/bc9ff78c9d1d440892fe72cd0d110296/about>). See also his *West of the Revolution: An Uncommon History of 1776* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2015).

61. As part of the treaty agreement, Emil Kriewitz served as an in-house intermediary living among the Comanches. To date, his work “Erinnerungen aus der Indianerzeit” (in *Fest-Ausgabe* 1896) has not been analyzed. Furthermore, besides Germans and Comanches, Anglo-Americans and Mexicans were also part of a group of 45, who set out from Fredericksburg in early 1847 and need to be acknowledged.

62. “Die Indianer beunruhigen allerdings die Grenzen gegen Mexiko u. nach Norden, hier aber, wo einst ihr Hauptjagdgebiet war, leben wir so sicher vor ihnen als ihr in Emmendingen unter grossherzogl badisch-Bürgermeister-berblingschem Schutze”. Eisenlohr’s letter could also be considered a prompt and a contact text, according to Große. Since *Indianer* could be perceived as a potential threat by the addressees of Ernst’s and Eisenlohr’s letters, the authors tried to present a rather neutral or positive image to act in accordance with the function of the text (invitation to emigrate). The addressees should not be frightened, but rather motivated to come to Texas.

63. “Es scheint, dass man die Indianer gar nicht ganz los werden will [...] denn es haben gar Viele bei der Indianerfurcht ihren Vortheil. [...] [Die Ranger verdienen] ein schönes Geld [...], ohne Indianer braucht man aber kein Ranger, also liegt es in dieser [sic!] Interesse, dass wenigstens die Indianerfurcht erhalten wird. Sodann braucht die Regierung für die Indianertruppen & Pferde sehr viel Lebensmittel, wodurch der Farmer seine Produkte immer zu guten Preisen an die Regierung [...] verkaufen kann. Braucht die Regierung keine Ranger mehr, so braucht sie kein Korn mehr u. der Farmer kann es nicht mehr so gut verwerthen. [...] Ich habe noch gar keinen Indianer zu Gesicht bekommen”. Eisenlohr does, however, mention that outside of the town, the situation might have been different: “Wer nun das Farmen im Grossen treiben will, darf nicht hier in der Stadt oder ihrer nächsten Umgebung weilen. Hier herum sind lauter kleinere Farmen, aber 8–10 Meilen von der Stadt weg ist Land genug zu haben, namentlich schönes die Guadalupe hinauf. Allzuweit in noch gänzlich unbewohnte Gegenden zu ziehen, ist aber auch nicht rathsam wegen der Indianer, u. der Schwierigkeit des Marktes”.

64. See *Der Deutsche Pionier*, vol. 13. Deutscher Pionier-Verein von Cincinnati (1881), 77–78.

65. English translation available: Hermann Seele, *Travels in Texas*, translated by Theodore Gish. Austin: Nortex Press, 1985. Gish added extensive footnotes, stating that he could not identify the “Indian Long Grass Fight,” and indicated that this might be a fictional battle (Seele 1985, 109). A 1986 recording of this musical is available at The Dolph Briscoe Center for American History.

66. “Rothhäute” / “Wilden” / “rothen Schakale” / “Hurrah! los auf die rothen Schakale! / Wir schlagen all den Geiern zum Mahle. Hurrah!” / “Seht ihr dort drüben Rauch aufsteigen, / Wie Nebel ziehn, das ist ein Zeichen / das die Rothäute dort geborgen / Sich sicher glauben. Aber morgen / Werd’, wie Rauch, wenn er verschwunden, / Von ihnen keine Spur mehr funden!” / “Auf eine grüne Prarie / Die von dem Bergen blau umkränzt / Im Morgenschimmer lieblich glänzt.”

67. “Ausrottung der Büffel”. Imagery of Native Americans in Texas German poetry was a tradition that continued for decades, see e.g., Gilbert J. Jordan’s “Texas, 1845,” *German Texan Heritage Society Newsletter* 2 (March 1980), 25.

68. “Einst lebte hier der rothe Mann, / Mit Weib und Kind zog er heran, / Er folgte auch der Büffelspur, / Doch seine Nahrung sucht er nur. / Wie lange wird es währen, dann / Verschwunden ist der rothe Mann / Und mit ihm auch das letzte Wild, / Was heut noch seinen Hunger stillt. / Im Ueberfluß gab die Natur, / Vernichtet wird es durch Cultur, / Die schreitet fort mit festem Schritt, / Nimmt Wälder, Wild und Fluren mit.” This excerpt represents three of eight total stanzas (Goldbeck 1895, 70–71).

69. It was not until the late 1960s that the U.S. government changed its policy, allowing tribal self-determination. On how aspects of the U.S. policy towards Native Americans classify as “genocide,” see Jeffrey Ostler, “Genocide and American Indian History,” *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History* (March 2015), last accessed April 25, 2025, <https://oxfordre.com/americanhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-3>. In 1968, the Indian Civil Rights Act was passed, which recognized Indian tribes as sovereign

nations with the federal government. In 1975, the Indian Self-Determination Act sought to restore self-government. See George Pierre Castile, *Taking Charge: Native American Self-Determination and Federal Indian Policy, 1975–1993* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015).

70. Other frequently mentioned stories are those of peace turned sour, conflict, and retaliations involving stealing and murder.

71. Moritz Tiling, *History of the German Element in Texas, from 1820-1850* (Houston: Moritz Tiling, 1913), 104.

72. “Mathilda Doebller Gruen Wagner,” in Ragsdale 1976, 162.

73. The term *Indianer* is used in 67 of the 495 interviews. About one third of these use it in slightly vaguer contexts (e.g., describing foods as ‘Indian’, places that Native Americans lived and named). Some interviews also mention the resettlement of Native Americans to Oklahoma and their disappearance. To see the interviews mentioning the term *Indianer*, the interested reader can go to www.tgdp.org/dialect-archive.

74. “die haben mein Urgroßvater ... tot gemacht und hamm gescalped” (TGDA 1-398-2-2-a).

75. “Und die einmal die Indianer, sie hat sie gesehen, und die hat die Kinder in Haus genomm, hat die Tür zugemacht, hat die den große Topf of Bohnen, wo sie kochen, an kochen wah-..., und wenn die Indiane kam, die wollten in Haus gekommen und die hat die Bohnen rausgeschmissen und die Indianer sind...gelaufen” (TGDA 7-313-1-12-a).

76. “Die Indianer ham so ne Pferd gestohl. [...] Sind sie Indianer nach. Haben sie gefunden. Un ... der hat e ein oder zwei dot geschossen un aber die hamm den auch dot geschossen so” (TGDA 115-709-1-18-a).

77. “Da war ne Deutsche da die erste deutsche Colony war in Industry. Un die haben - waren freundlich mit die Indianer” (TGDA 9-122-5-13-a).

78. “Ja, der Meusebach iss raufgegan nach [...] four miles [...] vier Meile westlich von San Saba. Un hat Frieden gemacht mit die Comanche Indianer. Un das iss der einsiste Frieden, was gehalten worden ... ist in die Vereinigten Staat” (TGDA 1-57-1-8-a).

79. “Wo die Familie da on Squaw Creek wohnte ... kamen ein Tag ein Bande Apaches und haben die zwei Jungens [Herman und Willie] mitgenommen. Nach ein paar, zwei, drei Wochen is der jingere entkommen ... der Willie. Aber der Herman war neun Jahr bei den Indianern, erst mit die Apaches dann bei den Comanche. Und dieser Comanche, Chief, Chef ... Quana Parker [...] hat den adoptiert. [...] Und durch merkwürdiger Weise [...] ist dieser Sohn nach neun Jahre gefunden worden bei den Indianern auf ein reservation in Oklahoma. [...] Er wollte ihn dann zurückbringen aber der Indianer der wollte, Indianer Lehmann, der wollte nicht zurück. Der hat gesagt “Meine Eltern sin all tod. Die Indianer haben sie getötet.” Das haben sie ihm gesagt. Aber doch ist er gekommen mit dem Soldat. [...] Wo die Mutter ihn gesehen hat, sie sagt “Nein, das ist nicht mein Sohn.” – War elf Jahre alt dann war er zwanzig oder neunzehn ... und als reiner Indianer gekleidet un alles. Aber er hat sie gekannt. Er hat dann später ein Buch geschrieben [...] Und der Indianer hat dann erinnert, irgendwo an seine Kerper hatte er eine Narbe von einer Verletzung

als Kind. Und er hat das dann gezeigt [...]. Die Schwester sagt, "Mama, das ist der Herman, gucke mal, da ist die Narbe, wo er sich geschnitten hat mit der Axe [...] wo wir gespielt haben." Und dann wusste sie, dass ist doch der Sohn. [...] Der hat die Sprache ganz vergessen. [...] Aber dann als später hat Herman [NAME] geheiratet un ab und zu is er bei die Familie geblieben, als mal is er bei den Indianer wieder auf Besuch. Er war zwischen zwei Welt gerissen. Furchtbar" (TGDA 1-96-1-10-a, 1-96-1-11-a).

80. This is also how Lehmann was referred to in several newspaper articles (e.g., *The Houston Post*, October 31, 1937). It appears to have been a common way of referring to him after he returned to Texas (German) society.

81. William Bright, "The Sociolinguistics of the 'S-Word': Squaw in American Placenames," *Names* 48 (2000), 207–216.

82. "Die ihr Unkel war eine von die letzten, das gefang ist geworden von die Indianer da in die Hill Country dorte. Und der hat ein Buch raus – Herman Lehmann, you know, ders got captured by die Indians. [...] Und die hat noch seine ... wie man sagt – "crown" und alles das hat die in ihr kleine Zimmer dort [...]" (TGDA 7-313-1-12-a).

83. Besides mentioning things relating to locations (Squaw Creek, "out there in the Hill Country"), appearance ("crown"), and language (needing to re-learn German), another speaker also mentions religion (TGDA 112-500-1-4-a). In addition to these materials, the TGDG also has copies of an oral history interview conducted by Thomas Meinecke with Lehmann's niece, in which she talks about her uncle being abducted by Native Americans.

84. Lehmann published two memoirs: written with the assistance of Jonathan H. Jones, he published the first (*A Condensed History of the Apache and Comanche Indian Tribes for Amusement and General Knowledge* (San Antonio: Johnson Bros., 1899). Hunter wrote Lehmann's second autobiography (he may not have been happy with the first one). Moreover, one could compare Lehmann's captive story with those of several others, such as Scott Zesch, *The Captured: A True Story of Abduction by Indians on the Texas Frontier* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004); Amy Deckard, Alicia Epps, Carrie Fiedler, Julie Cossell, Susan Trizinsky, *Boerne: A Story of Our Town*, ed. Julie Gossell, Tina Little and Bret Bunker (2011), 7–9; Clinton L. Smith, *The Boy Captives* (Hackberry, 1927); Joseph Norman Heard, *The Assimilation of Captives on the American Frontier in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, PhD diss. (Louisiana State University, 1977), 59–109.

85. See also Zesch 2004; J. Marvin Hunter's *Frontier Times Magazine* (July 1954); *The Houston Post's* front-page article (31 Oct 1937) "Herman Lehmann Never Forgot Lore: White Indian Blood Brother in Two Tribes."

86. *The Portal to Texas History*, accessed April 5, 2024, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph1085942/>

87. Hoffmann Boardman 2019.

88. Printed in: Hoffmann Boardman 2019.

89. E.g., the Sacred Springs Powwow (www.sspowwow.com). This is also happening for many ethnic groups, see e.g., Joy Kristina Adams, "Going *deutsch*:"

Heritage Tourism and Identity in German Texas,” PhD diss. (University of Texas at Austin, 2006).

90. Deloria 1998, 7.

91. Usbeck 2013, 177–178.

92. Deloria 1998, 5.

93. Besides paying more attention to the female voice, it might be worthwhile to analyze reports and books written by Texas German geologists and naturalists rather than by focusing solely on materials from historians and politicians—not least because the observations of how American Indians treated the land might be a valuable lesson for today. See also Gesa Mackenthun, “Unsettling Colonial Temporalities: Oral Traditions and Indigenous Literature,” in *The Cambridge History of Native American Literature*, ed. Melanie Benson Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

94. This discussion can be broadened further by investigating the evolution of Indigenous-European contact and the discourse around *Indianer* in other colonization settings, such as in Brazil.

95. Carl Naubert, *Langenscheidts Notwörterbücher für Reise, Lektüre, Konversation. IV: Land und Leute in Amerika* (1883): “nach Amerika gehenden Deutschen, beziehungsweise jede[n] Fremden dort, der Deutsch versteht” (Notwörterbuch 1883:VII); “von anderen Ländern sich unterscheidenden Sitten und Gewohnheiten” (Notwörterbuch 1883:VII).

96. There is linguistic research on language contact between European descendants and Indigenous peoples in the Americas, e.g., William Bright, “North American Indian Language Contact,” *Native Languages of the Americas* ed. by Thomas A. Sebeok (New York, Springer, 1976), 59–72. However, since there seems to have been little borrowing in either direction in Texas (German ↔ Indigenous), the topic has not yet been explored.

97. See Ingo H. Warnke and Jürgen Spitzmüller, “Methoden und Methodologie der Diskurslinguistik – Grundlagen und Verfahren einer Sprachwissenschaft jenseits textueller Grenzen,” *Methoden der Diskurslinguistik: Sprachwissenschaftliche Zugänge zur transtextuellen Ebene*, ed. Ingo H. Warnke and Jürgen Spitzmüller (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008).

98. James H. Merrell, “Second Thoughts on Colonial Historians and American Indians,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 69 (July 2012), 451–512.

99. Hadumod Bussmann, “Componential Analysis,” *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics* (London: Routledge, 1996), 219–220; Ward H. Goodenough, “Componential Analysis and the Study of Meaning,” *Language* 32 (1956), 195–216.

100. E.g., ‘argumentation is war’ and ‘time is money’, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson “Conceptual Metaphor in Everyday Language,” *The Journal of Philosophy* 77/8 (August, 1980), 453–486, here: 454; George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980).

101. See also e.g., prototype theory, Dirk Geeraerts “Prototype Theory: Prospects and Problems of Prototype Theory” *Cognitive Linguistics: Basic Readings*, ed. Dirk Geeraerts (Berlin, De Gruyter, 2006), 141–166.

102. Please note that the materials discussed in this article are not necessarily part of the TGDG's collection, and that the TGDG's digitized materials have not been made public yet. It takes thousands of hours to prepare documents for such an archive, and to upload and maintain such a database. Securing sufficient staffing and (long-term) funding is demanding. Further challenges of online archives are economic and ecological sustainability, copyright, and appreciation in the academe for such projects. In recent years, citizen science has become ever more popular. Arguably, the TGDG is one of the early examples of this approach.

103. For inspiration, see e.g., The Civil War & Reconstruction Governors of Mississippi (<https://cwrgrm.org>); World War I American Immigrant Poetry: A Digital Humanities Project (<https://www.europenowjournal.org/2017/04/03/world-war-i-american-immigrant-poetry-a-digital-humanities-project/>).