WILHELM KRUG

GERMANY, THE WEST, HOLYOKE AND SOUTH HADLEY · 1855–1938

On a Kaiser, Cattle, the Canal and Such

A word is dead
When it is said,
Some say.
I say it just
Begins to live
That day.

EMILY DICKINSON

THIS CHAPTER IS FAMILY LORE about Daniel's great-grandfather, Wilhelm Friedrich Krug, a German who came to America as a young man and ended his days in South Hadley, Massachusetts. By the family's reckoning he died in 1938, five years before Daniel was born, so Daniel never knew him; what he knew came down through the family, and he knew how thin that could be. "I say the German side of the family is interesting," he said, but he wanted "to know more than just hearsay." This chapter is an attempt at the more. In America the old man went by William Krug, and under that name he turns up in three censuses, a city directory, a book about a gymnastics club, a parade, a deed and the local paper: not a great deal of paper for more than eighty years of life, but a good deal more than nothing. The records are set beside the family's story here, in order. Where the two part company, the chapter says so.

In December 1855, by the reckoning of a census taker in South Hadley forty-four years later, Wilhelm Krug was born in Germany, to a father and a mother who had both been born there too. Two later censuses agree with the year near enough: the one of 1910 made him fifty-five, and the one of 1920, sixty-five. That is nearly all the record says. It does not say where he was born, and Daniel never named a town.

The Germany the census taker wrote down did not yet exist as a country when Wilhelm was born. It became one only in 1871, when he was fifteen, as the newly created German Empire, with the King of Prussia at its head. The family remembered him by the full German name, Wilhelm Friedrich Krug, and remembered him as clever and well schooled. "My German grandfather," Daniel said, meaning his great-grandfather, "was a very hardworking gentleman, very effective gentleman of higher education in Germany."

In his teens, as the family told it, Wilhelm went to school with a prince. "He actually went to school with the Kaiser of Germany," Daniel said. "He went to school with Kaiser Wilhelm II when

THE LINE OF DESCENT

Wilhelm Friedrich Krug (1855–1938) = (1) a German-born wife, name not known; (2) Agnes Maria Burnham (b. 1862)
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William Burnham Krug (1893 or 1894–1967), "Grandfather Krug" = Elizabeth Cofer
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Janet Krug (b. 1920) = John St. John (b. 1921)
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Daniel St. John (b. 1943) = Regina
↓
Alex, Rex and Yana

he was a teenager at the same, what they call the gymnasium. And he studied Greek and Latin." It was not a college, he explained, but "high school, kind of an elite high school," and, he agreed, a private one: "So at least the family would have had to have some money to send their kid there." The two boys were friends, in the family's telling. "They walked to school together," Daniel said. "They were buddies."

The prince's school was in Cassel, and the place can be described more firmly than the friendship. Cassel had been the capital of the Electorate of Hesse until Prussia swallowed it in 1866. A guidebook of 1877 found the town "formerly remarkable for the dulness peculiar to the capital of a small principality," and livelier since: it had grown from 35,980 people in 1864 to 53,000 in 1876. In its main square stood a statue of Landgrave Frederick II, who, the guidebook noted without further comment, had "sent 12,000 of his subjects to aid the English in America in consideration of a sum of 22 million Thlr." Hessians had been going to America for a hundred years by then. The later ones paid their own fares.

The school was the Friedrichsgymnasium, a Latin school since 1539 and a gymnasium since 1779, and since 1866 a school of the Prussian state. Here the family's story and the record part company for the first time, and kindly. It was not a private school. The prince himself, looking back fifty years later, wrote that the plan meant he "was to learn with strange boys in a public school, was to compete with them, and—to come out lower in the list!" That was the point of it.

His tutor, Hinzpeter, wanted a future king to have "the opportunity of coming into closer continuous contact with people of other classes than those of his own future environment." Which, as it happens, makes a classmate named Krug easier to believe, not harder.

The prince arrived on September 12, 1874, and he arrived on foot. Hinzpeter, who believed in lessons, had arranged it. While the old Emperor rolled into Cassel the same day "in a comfortable saloon-car, honoured, extolled, well-dined," his grandson, "having quite insufficiently breakfasted, with tired legs and empty stomach, walked to Cassel, and entered Cassel in the true manner of a travelling student." In the small town, the prince remembered, "the entire life was governed by the school." The family said the two boys walked to school together. The prince's own book records at least one long walk.

The work was hard, and the family's memory of it is the record's too. A gymnasium boy, wrote Mark Twain, who watched them in Germany a few years later, lived "under a system which allowed him no freedom, but vigorously compelled him to work like a slave," and came out not merely reading Greek and Latin but speaking them. The prince got up at five in summer and was at his books by six; school ran from eight to twelve and again in the afternoon.

"It was certainly nothing out of the way for class and home-work to take up ten or eleven hours out of the day," he wrote; "our life was often a perfect torment." Not every master was a torment. Schorre, who taught mathematics, "was more of a sportsman than a mathematician"; he could hold a class spellbound with "some midnight adventure with a monster in the Forest of Kaufung" but "could not explain to us the nature and origin of an equation." Wilhelm Krug, the family said, came out of his gymnasium knowing "at least five European languages fluently."

The prince was a marked boy in another way. "The defect that Kaiser Wilhelm had was a gimp arm," Daniel said. "He was very embarrassed about it because people expected him to become head of Germany and he had this gimp arm so he was always kind of posed in such a way that you wouldn't be able to tell." That is just what the photographs show. A hard birth had left his left arm about six inches shorter than his right, and he spent his life holding gloves in that hand, or resting it on a sword, to hide it.

Then the family's story goes a step further: the Kaiser, it said, "couldn't do the, either ride the horses or he couldn't do the gymnastics." Here the family was half right. The gymnastics had been prescribed when he was seven "simply and solely to strengthen this arm," and, he admitted, "of course I could never practise them with the enthusiasm of ordinary children." The riding was another matter.

It had been forced on him as a small boy, "despite his tearful resistance," by a tutor who

set him on a horse without stirrups and put him back on every time he fell off, until it was "finally mastered and practised with delight and skill." By the time he came to Cassel the prince could ride.

Whether Wilhelm Krug was one of the strange boys, the record cannot say. The prince remembered his class as a friendly place: "Without forming a close friendship with anyone in particular, I kept on good terms with all my school-fellows." He named four of them, Johannes Brauneck, Ganslandt, "a small Jewish boy named Sommer" and a boy called Wild from another class, and no Krug. That proves nothing either way; four names are not a class list. The dates are harder.

Three censuses put Wilhelm Krug's birth in 1854 or 1855; the prince was born in January 1859, more than three years later. When the prince walked into Cassel in September 1874, Krug was eighteen. And the censuses say Krug was by then already gone, or going: the one of 1920 gives the year he came to America as 1873, the one of 1910 as 1874, and only the one of 1900, with its last figure written over, as 1876 or 1878.

If he ever sat in that class, he sat in it as a young man of nineteen or twenty among boys of fifteen and sixteen, and only on the latest of the three dates. The family remembered two teenagers walking to school. Two or three tellers and a hundred years lie between the walk and the telling, and in that time a story can lose a few years and gain a friend.

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In 1873, or 1874, or perhaps as late as 1876 or 1878, Wilhelm Krug left Germany. The censuses disagree, as censuses often do, but all three put him between eighteen and twenty-two when he went; Daniel had him leaving "in his 20s," which, as he said, "puts him somewhere in the 1870s." They were poor years to go anywhere. The Panic of 1873 began a depression that was felt in the new German Empire as well as in the United States, and in New York, after the Stock Exchange closed for ten days that September, a quarter of the workers lost their jobs.

Even emigration slowed. The great port of departure was Bremen, which a guidebook of 1877 called "one of the principal starting points of German emigrants to America, many thousands of whom quit their Fatherland by this port every year": 1,431,170 of them between 1832 and 1874, about 33,000 a year, but only 24,508 in 1875. Across the decade some 718,000 Germans came to the United States all the same. Which port Wilhelm left from, and on what ship, no record found so far says. In New York, immigrants of those years came ashore at Castle Garden, the old fort at the Battery, where more than seven and a half million people landed between 1855 and 1890.

Not everyone at home thought America a good idea. Mark Twain, travelling in Germany in 1878, found American news of an Indian war being "utilized here to discourage emigration to America," and added: "The common people think the Indians are in New Jersey." They were not, as it turned out. They were nearer where Wilhelm Krug was going next.

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In the middle of the 1870s, as the family told it, Wilhelm went west. "He went out west to work herding cows and stuff, tried to make money," Daniel said. "That was one way to make money, you know, go on cattle drives." It was the way of the time. In the eight years after the Civil War more than a million and a half Texas cattle had gone up the Chisholm Trail to the railheads in Kansas.

In 1876 Kansas moved its quarantine line west, the old cow towns dried up, and the drives moved to the Western Trail and Dodge City; until 1885 somewhere between 2.7 and 6 million head went up it. A herd of up to 3,000 needed about eleven men, most of them boys of twelve to eighteen. A man in his twenties was an old hand by those standards, if not by any other.

The pay is known from men who did it. Charles Siringo, a Texas cowhand who went up the trail to Kansas in the spring of 1874, wrote that "my wages were thirty-five dollars per month and all expenses, including railroad fare back home." Joseph McCoy, the cattle dealer who had made Abilene a railhead, put the ordinary rate that year at "fifteen to twenty dollars per month in specie," and a modern historian of the trail gives $25 to $40 for a hand, $75 for the cook and $100 or more for the boss.

Siringo, writing advice for beginners, split the difference: "Your wages will be all the way from $15.00 up to $40.00 per month, according to latitude." A beginner's outfit, by his reckoning, came to a pony at $25, a saddle at $25, leggings, hat and blankets at $5 each and a Colt's.45 at $12, and his best advice to the newcomer was to ride away from the railroad and ask at the first ranch: "The idea is to get just as far from a railroad as possible."

McCoy did not pretend it was a holiday. "If any one imagines that the life of a ranchman or cow-boy is one of ease and luxury," he wrote, "a brief trial will dispel the illusion." "Corn bread, mast-fed bacon and coffee" made up "nine-tenths of their diet," and "his daily fare will never give you the gout." The nights were worse than the days. In a prairie storm, when "the electric balls dance from tip to tip of the cattle's horns," the position of the man on night guard was, McCoy said, "trying far more than romantic."

A German was not out of place in the trade. McCoy wrote admiringly of one Charley Strausenbach, "a veritable Dutch boy," who had come to America young and "tried every clime and business." The long drives ended in 1885, when Kansas and the other northern states shut their borders to Texas cattle for fear of tick fever. By then Wilhelm Krug was long gone east. Where he rode, when, and for whom, no record found so far says.

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Next, the family said, came the Erie Canal: "And then he worked on the Erie Canal and saved money." In 1880, a state official later recalled, the New York canals carried more than thirty million bushels of wheat out of Buffalo, and "ten thousand or more boats were engaged in doing this." But the canal was losing its war with the railroads. The New York Central and the Pennsylvania had reached Chicago in 1869, the Baltimore and Ohio and the Grand Trunk in 1874, and the freight war that followed "nearly bankrupted the railroads and incidentally cut heavily into the traffic of the Erie canal."

Things settled about 1876, but canal traffic never recovered. In July 1877 the great railroad strike reached Albany, Syracuse and Buffalo, the canal's own cities. In 1882 the voters of New York made the canals free of tolls in the hope of saving them, and the first free year went badly enough that the State Engineer declared it "a foregone and inevitable conclusion that THE CANALS MUST GO." They did not go; they are still there.

The work was slow and cheap. A mule that could carry only 250 pounds on its back could tow a barge of 60,000 along the towpath, and a horse-drawn boat took about thirteen days from Buffalo to New York. By the 1890s a boat's driver, the man or boy who walked the towpath with the team, was paid $25 a month, and the crew's board was reckoned at forty-five cents a day a man. Saving money on that took discipline, which was a quality the family gave him in plenty. What he did on the canal, and when, no record found so far says.

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By October 1882 Wilhelm Krug was in Massachusetts, married, and a father. His first child, Flora, was born that month, and her mother, like her father, had been born in Germany. The first wife's name is not in any record found so far. A second daughter, Hattie, followed in February 1885. "He married a woman and had two daughters, Hattie and Flora," as Daniel put it, and both were born in Massachusetts, very likely in Holyoke, where the family's story and the records both find him next.

Holyoke was a city built on purpose. In 1848 a company of Boston capitalists had dammed the Connecticut River at its falls to make a mill town, and the dam failed on the day they closed the gates. The agent's telegrams to Boston survive, beginning "10 a.m., the gates were just closed" and ending, at 3:20, "your old dam has gone to hell by way of Willimansett." The next one held.

It fed what Daniel described as "a set of three layers of canals that ran hundreds of mills," four and a half miles of them on three levels, and the city grew along them at a gallop: 10,733 people in 1870, 21,915 in 1880, 35,674 in 1890. By 1885 Holyoke was the biggest paper-making city in the country, turning out about 190 tons a day when Philadelphia, its nearest rival, made 69.

Skinner's silk came in 1874, after a flood destroyed William Skinner's mill at Haydenville that May; he rebuilt in Holyoke in July. The

farms around, Daniel said, had been planted with mulberry trees for the silkworms, "just like it was like in Japan," and "Northampton was called Paradise City."

It was a city of newcomers. In the state census of 1885 Holyoke had 14,003 people born in the United States and 13,380 born abroad, and of its 6,294 young men between sixteen and forty, 3,703 had been born somewhere else. Daniel said that Holyoke was known as Little Ireland. The Irish had come first, to dig the canals and build the dam, but the name was older than either: a part of the town had been called Ireland Parish since before 1745, after, it is said, one Irish family named Riley whose home, "probably because the one Irish home attracted others," gave its name to a district. The French Canadians followed the Irish into the mills, and then the Germans came.

The Germans had a mill of their own. "A German manufacturer of wool set up a company in Holyoke," Daniel said, "maybe a couple thousand Germans, a whole German section there." He was close on both counts. August Stursberg, a woollen man from Germany, had bought a mill in South Holyoke in January 1865 and sailed that September with his family and his skilled workmen; by 1895 the city had about 2,660 Germans. The mill was the Germania, and it made fine beavers, chinchillas, castors and overcoatings, 250,000 yards of cloth a year.

"The German mill was doing woolen, what you call weaving," Daniel said. "There were over 300 workers there." In 1887 a city handbook said it in nearly the same words: "Over 300 persons find employment in the mills and the monthly pay roll is $9,500." Around the mill grew a German town, with a Lutheran church built in 1867 for $5,000, where the Sunday school taught German to the children, a lodge of the Order of Harugari from 1873, a German newspaper from July 1882, and a row of graves along two sides of the old Baptist cemetery, where many Germans were buried, "they, as yet, having no burial ground of their own."

In 1883 the Burnhams came to Holyoke. Erasthus Burnham, the old whaler and soldier of an earlier chapter, took work in the paper mills, first at the Chemical Paper Company and then as foreman of the engine room at George R. Dickinson's mill, at $1.87½ a day. He brought his wife, Mary Devine, who had been born in Glasgow, and their children, among them a daughter of twenty named Agnes Maria. They stayed in Holyoke until 1899. The city directories find them at 74 Newton Street in the middle 1880s and, from 1888, up on Sargeant Street in Oakdale, at No. 196 from 1890. Year after year the directory calls him only an employee of "Geo. R. Dickinson Paper Co.," and in 1900 it notes that he had "rem[oved] to Connecticut."

In 1885 the Holyoke directory lists "Krug William, emp Connor Bros., house 665 Main." Main Street was the German end of the Flats; two doors down lived a Germania Mills hand. Connor Brothers made cassimeres, wool extracts and shoddy, the cloth made of reworked rags, and employed 125 men and 75 women, at an average of about $27.50 a head a month. The directory gives no age and no family, so it is not certain this is Wilhelm, but the name was rare in Holyoke and the street and the trade are right.

A second Krug in the same directory, Edward, was a "German teacher and clerk." Whether he was kin, nothing found so far says. Daniel remembered something grander: "he had a very nice house up in the hills there."

The census of 1920 says he was naturalized in 1885, the year of that directory, though the figure is written small and could be read otherwise. If so, he became an American in the courts of Hampden County, where the Police Court of Holyoke had sat since 1871. The United States and Prussia had agreed in 1868 that a naturalized man who went home and stayed two years would be presumed to have taken up his old nationality again; America had promised, in effect, that it would not be used as a side door out of the Prussian army.

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The Germans of Holyoke had brought their gymnastics with them, and Wilhelm Krug, by the family's account, was one of them in that too. On May 28, 1871, about twenty of them had met in Robert Schubert's butcher shop to found a Turnverein, a gymnastics society on the German model, and in 1874 they bought land from the water-power company and built a Turn Hall on



THE OLDER MEN DRINKING BEER, WATCHING THE GYMNASTS (ILLUSTRATION)

Bridge Street, partly because the Massachusetts blue laws forbade exercise in public on a Sunday.

By the 1880s it was a political venue as well as a gymnasium: candidates for mayor turned up to watch the gymnastics, and one French-Canadian running for city clerk, a man named Genest, was reported to have "acted like a native of the Fatherland." Daniel described the place in full.

> *What the Germans like to do is get together at the bar and drink beer. Because he had gone to this very disciplined private school with the Kaiser, he was also heavily into gymnastics, which the Germans developed competitive gymnastics. ... In the lower Holyoke, they had the Turnverein, which is a turning club. And they had gymnastic apparatus. And then you had the older men sitting there drinking beer, watching the gymnasts. And that was his whole thing that when he wasn't working, he would be doing handstands and so forth right into, you know, I think his older age, 50s and 60s. He was a gymnast.*

Some time after Hattie was born, Wilhelm's first wife died. "And his wife died," Daniel said, and that is all anyone has: no name, no date, no grave found so far. How Wilhelm then came to marry Erasthus's daughter, the family did not know, and Daniel worked it out for himself. "All I can think is that he must have hired her because he had two young daughters and his wife was dead and he had money," he said.

"So he must have hired her to look after them and then later married her. That's the only way I could connect how he would have met her, even had time to." The records offer a plainer possibility, which is that the two families lived in the same mill city of thirty or forty thousand people from 1883 on. The city's marriage register gives the day: William Krug and Agnes M. Burnham were married in Holyoke on the first of October 1890 by the Reverend J. W. T. Boothe, who had come from Wilmington that January to be pastor of the Second Baptist Church. He gave his age as thirty-two, his work as a dry goods clerk, his birthplace as Germany and his parents as William and Jeanette; it was his second marriage and her first. She was twenty-seven, nine days short of twenty-eight, "at home," the daughter of Erastus and Mary G. Devine. Flora was seven and Hattie five. On the tape Daniel twice called her "Mary Burnham." Mary was her mother's name. Hers was Agnes, as he also said, and as every record agrees.

Agnes brought her faith with her. "She was a very religious woman," Daniel said. "And she used to have prayer meetings at the house and so



HOLYOKE MARRIAGE REGISTER, 1 OCTOBER 1890: WILLIAM KRUG AND AGNES M. BURNHAM

forth." It was the faith of people who expected the world to end soon and meant to be ready. "They were reading seriously in the apocalypse," he said, "and they were expecting that it was going to come to the end of time and that you better pray and if you want to go to heaven, you had to be really attentive." Her father's church, back in South Windsor, was the Second Advent.

In 1893, the city's own history records, "A panic hit Holyoke this year and crippled a number of enterprises." That December, or early in 1894 as Daniel had it, Agnes had a son. He was born in Holyoke and named, Daniel said, "William after his father," with his mother's maiden name in the middle: William Burnham Krug, who would be Daniel's Grandfather Krug. An old Holyoke man, talking to a New York reporter a few years later, summed up his generation: "We all moved here from some place or other. It remained for our children to be born in Holyoke."

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In 1895 a William Krug was teaching languages at the other Turn Hall, in Springdale. The Germans of Holyoke had fallen out among themselves, as Germans and gymnasts both will, and in 1886 a party of them had left the Bridge Street hall after a failed strike and founded their own society at the city's southern edge, which the electric cars had reached in 1892. "The southern extremity of the city, Springdale, is a purely German product," wrote a local history that year.

Its Turn Hall had property worth about $20,000, "a fine gymnasium where children from three years old and upwards receive physical training," a sick benefit and a $50 funeral fund, and Turners who "never returned from a Turnfest without taking prizes." Between the gymnasium and the funeral fund the book records one more thing: "William Krug is employed to give instruction in German and English language."

German and English: it is a fair guess which of the two was in more demand. Mark Twain, who had struggled with German in Heidelberg, had concluded that "a gifted person ought to learn English (barring spelling and pronouncing) in thirty hours, French in thirty days, and German in thirty years." Springdale itself lay low by the river, and that April the river came to call. "When the river rises in the spring," the same book said, "the residents look alive, for the water has a fashion of becoming sociable and comes uncomfortably near the houses"; in April 1895 there were six and eight feet of water over the electric car tracks from South Holyoke to Springdale.

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By the summer of 1900 the Krugs had left Holyoke for South Hadley, across the river. "Grandfather Krug was in the German town, a German area of Holyoke, until he had enough money to leave Holyoke and buy properties in South Hadley," Daniel said, using the family's name for both Williams. "So that got them out of the city." He gave the year as "around 1890," and elsewhere said they lived in South Hadley "from the turn of the century, from 1900." The records fall between the two: Holyoke in 1885, a son born in Holyoke at the end of 1893, and South Hadley by June 1900. The house in Holyoke, Daniel said, "probably still exists there. I have to find it, but I know where, approximately where it was."

South Hadley was a quieter place, a town of 4,526 people in 1900, with paper mills at the Falls, farms around the Center, and a famous college. Mount Holyoke had been founded as a female seminary by Mary Lyon in 1837 and had become a college in 1893; Emily Dickinson, whose lines open this chapter, had been a student there for a year in 1847. Daniel called it "the first women's college in the country," and it was at least the oldest of the seven great ones of the Northeast.

The trolley made the move possible for a man with work in Holyoke. Horse cars had run from South Holyoke to South Hadley Falls since 1884; they were electrified in 1891, and in 1896 the

cars began running all the way to South Hadley Center.

In the middle of June 1900 the census taker came to the Krug house on Hadley Street. He wrote down William Krug, born in Germany in December 1855, forty-four years old, married ten years, a teacher by occupation; Agnes M., his wife, thirty-seven, born in Connecticut to a Scottish mother, the mother of one child; Flora, seventeen, and Hattie, fifteen, both at school; and William B., six, also at school. The family owned its house, free of any mortgage. The column for naturalization was left blank.

Daniel described a household that was "quite wealthy, because my German grandfather was a very hardworking gentleman," and the census, which did not ask about wealth, at least found a man with a profession, a house of his own and no debt on it.

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The family remembered him at work in three ways. "He had about three different ways of making a living," Daniel said. The first was the court. Holyoke, he explained, "had a lot of immigrants there. They had Poles. They had French Canadians. And he spoke and was literate in those languages. So he worked in the court as an interpreter." He was paid by the job: "when the court needed him, they get somebody Italian or somebody couldn't convey something that they would pay him to interpret a document or interpret in a court trial or something."

Holyoke's Police Court certainly needed interpreters. It sat every morning but Sunday at nine, in the basement of City Hall, and for twenty-one years, from 1877 to 1898, its judge was William B. C. Pearsons. In the year to November 1902 the city's police arrested 1,335 people, of whom 708 had been born in America, 271 in Ireland, 179 in Canada, 39 in Poland, 34 in Russia, 32 in Scotland, 22 in Germany and five in Italy, and the court took in $3,673.44 in fines.

Local men did the interpreting. In 1891 "an interpreter from Holyoke was able to disentangle the story of the Portuguese" in a Springfield drowning, and in 1917 an Italian sentenced for a Holyoke killing had beside him "Andrew Lopardo, interpreter." The German and French newspapers needed translators too: "an important task in the editorial departments," a county history noted in 1902, was "the translation of 'copy,'" handed in by advertisers in English. No record found so far names William Krug in any of this work. It is a gap in the papers, and not necessarily in the story.

The second job, and in the family's memory the steady one, was at a store. "His basic job was night guard for Steiger's," Daniel said. "It was a very early clothing store." And, of the night guard: "He had a gun and he was very reliable." Steiger's was the creation of Albert Steiger, a German himself, born in Ravensburg in 1860, who had come to America as a boy of nine and from the age of thirteen sold dry goods around the hill towns.

He opened in Holyoke in 1896, sat on the first board of the city's Business Men's Association the next year, and in 1899 put up the Steiger Building on High Street, across from City Hall, the first building in Holyoke built to be a department store. By about 1912 it called itself "The Women's Store," with thirty-one departments, a hundred and fifty clerks and Lamson cash carriers. So whatever the order of Wilhelm's jobs, Steiger's came after 1896.

The census of 1910 adds a third line of work, or a second view of the same one. That April it found him in a department store, not as a guard but as a clerk. It did not say which store. In Holyoke in 1910 there were not many to choose from.

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In the spring of 1902 the Kaiser's brother came to America. Prince Henry of Prussia toured the country that February and March, and the German-language *Staats-Zeitung* gave him a dinner for "a thousand of the active newspaper workers" at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York, at which, the *Springfield Republican* reported, "The dailies of Holyoke Pittsfield and North Adams were represented." The prince was seen to turn and chat with Mark Twain. The *Republican* was not overimpressed. "We Americans," it said, "are saved from sycophancy by our sense of humor." On the same page it reported a matter more pressing to the valley: smallpox had "reached Western Mass-

achusetts," and the outbreak at Holyoke was the worst nearby.

That November a New York reporter came to look at Holyoke and found that "No other city in the country has so large a foreign population in comparison to its size." When South Holyoke built up, he wrote, the French had come "in numbers, along with many Germans," and the district was known as "Tiger Town." A county history of the same year put it more gently: "One finding himself in the German quarter of Holyoke, with the tongue of the Fatherland spoken on all sides," and the German papers coming off the press in their old black letter, "may readily imagine himself in the land of the Kaiser."

In the summer of 1903 South Hadley turned 150 years old and held a parade. On July 29 the Christian Endeavor Society of South Hadley, a Protestant young people's society, rode on float number fourteen, under a banner for "Excellence in Good Citizenship," and among the young women on it was Hattie Krug, eighteen. The town's historians that year listed a brickmaker, Charles Rannenberg, as South Hadley's first German resident. The Krugs were not the first, then, but they were early.

In September 1904 the Springfield paper reported the sale of a large tract at the head of Laurel Street in Holyoke, part of the estate of the late Abigail Brown. It was sold "by the executor of the estate, William Krug of South Hadley, for about $20,000," and was to be cut up into house lots; Mrs. Brown's bequests to an old people's home and to each of the Baptist churches of Holyoke would now be paid. Being named an executor is a mark of trust. Daniel remembered his great-grandfather as "such a disciplined person" who "made so much money for the family," and here, at least, is a William Krug of South Hadley trusted with twenty thousand dollars of someone else's.

In February 1906 the Kaiser had a silver wedding. He had married Princess Augusta Victoria on February 27, 1881, and for the twenty-fifth anniversary German jewellers and mints struck commemorative medals: one by the court jeweller Franz Apell of Erfurt, another issued by J. Godet of Berlin, others by August Hummel and Arthur Krüger. The family has a medal too. "Yes, yes, we have a medal," Daniel said. "It's a big silver medal that was cast."

As the family understood it, the Kaiser had it made himself: "He was honoring, I think, my grandfather's 25th wedding anniversary. And it was in German, but you could read it. It was a very large silver coin. And he did it for all of his fraternity brothers." Wilhelm Krug's own twenty-fifth anniversary with Agnes fell on the first of October 1915, in the middle of a war, a poor time for presents from the Kaiser. One possibility is a silver-wedding medal of 1906, with the anniversary remembered the wrong way round. Only the medal can say. "I had it, Agnes had it," Daniel said, "and I gave it to Uncle Dan."

In March 1909 Flora was married at home. "A pretty home wedding took place at the home of Mr and Mrs William Krug of Hadley street Monday evening," the Springfield paper reported, "when their daughter, Miss Flora, was married to Ralph Joseph McQuade of New York city. The wedding was a quiet one, only relatives and near friends being invited." The minister was the Reverend J. G. Nichols of the Congregational church.

In April 1910 the census came round again, and the Krug place had become a farm. William Krug, fifty-five, born in Germany, was in his second marriage, of eighteen years; he had come to America in 1874 and was now a naturalized citizen; he worked as a clerk in a department store; and he owned his farm, free of mortgage. Hattie, written Harriette, was twenty-six and still at home. William B. was sixteen. And there was a child Daniel never mentioned: Elinor, nine years old, Wilhelm and Agnes's daughter, born after the last census.

She was Daniel's great-aunt. On the same pages the census taker visited the Brays and the Brockways, and those two names, nearly ninety years later, still bounded a parcel on Ferry Street in a state act that described its east side as running "by land now or formerly of said Krug, sixty-two (62) rods and seven (7) links to a stone post": a Krug boundary something over a thousand feet long.

That was the land Daniel remembered. "By those standards, they were probably the wealthiest people in South Hadley," he said. "They had

all the prime land right at the crossroads and acres of land going right down to the river." There were orchards, he said, and "six houses that my great-grandfather had made." How many acres, he did not know: "must have been a couple hundred acres there. Orchards, fields, go right to the river."

Two years after the census, a local historian writing about the town's first roads mentioned that in 1722 "a highway was laid out from the Krug Homestead to Smith's Ferry." The road was older than the Krugs by a century and a half. The Krug Homestead was simply the landmark by which, in 1912, everyone in South Hadley would know where it ran.

The house had room for more than family. In January 1914 the paper reported the death of Miss Augusta Hawley, fifty-eight, whose mother had once been matron at Mount Holyoke College, and who had been "making her home for the past two years with William Krug." She was, the paper added, a member of the South Hadley Congregational church.

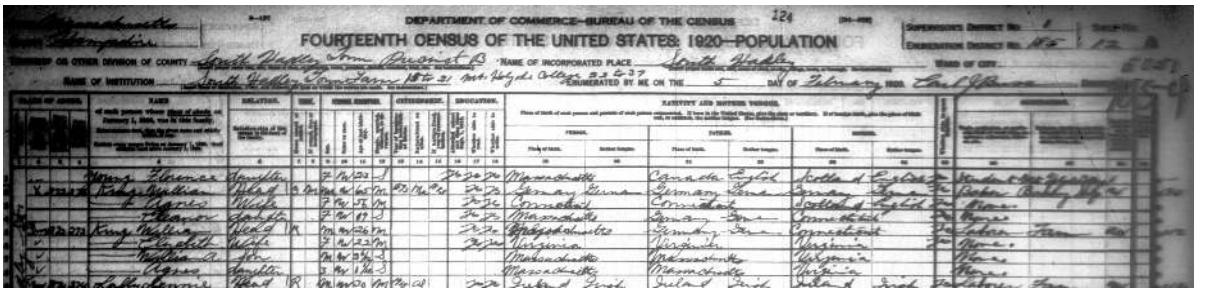
In the summer of 1914 Germany went to war, and Holyoke's Germans found themselves on the wrong side of it. For a while they kept their old ways: in 1916 the Holyoke Turners won the district Turnfest at Hartford and closed it singing American patriotic songs and the Deutschlandlied. Then, on April 6, 1917, the United States declared war on Germany. On June 5 that year 6,681 Holyoke men registered for the draft at City Hall, and when the city published its war history, in 1919, it dedicated the book "To the men who preferred death, than life enslaved by the Hun."

Daniel had heard what it did to the German town. "After the First World War, there was a lot of anti-German sentiment," he said. "And that's what caused the German town to kind of break up. ... There was a lot of bad press about the Huns and their atrocities and so forth. People didn't want to advertise they were Germans." No account of trouble in Holyoke or South Hadley itself has been found in the papers that are free to read. Wilhelm, born in 1855 and naturalized long since, was far too old to fight.

On the fifth of February 1920 the census taker found him on Hadley Street again, sixty-five years old, in a house he owned. The record had changed its mind about his arrival once more: it now said he had come to America in 1873 and been naturalized in 1885. His mother tongue was German. And his occupation was new. William Krug, at sixty-five, worked for wages as a baker, in a bakery shop. Agnes was fifty-six, and Eleanor, nineteen, was at home; Hattie had gone.

Next door, renting, lived William B. Krug, twenty-six, a laborer on a farm, with his wife Elizabeth, who had been born in Virginia, and their two small children, William and Agnes. Beyond them lived the Brays, as they had in 1910. So by the records Wilhelm had made his living in four ways, not three: in a woollen mill, at teaching, as a clerk and as a baker, and the family remembered two more. Daniel never mentioned the baking.

In the early 1920s, the Krugs still had family in Germany, and they were hungry. "We have a lot of relatives in Germany," Daniel said. "And after the First World War, they were starving over there. And I have pictures of them. I mean, I had pictures of them." The Allied blockade had not been lifted until July 1919, eight months after the armistice. In December 1918 the German public


DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE—BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

FOURTEENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES: 1920—POPULATION

THE CENSUS OF 1920: WILLIAM KRUG, BAKER

health office put the civilian dead from it at 763,000; a study of 1928 put it at 424,000.

Then came the inflation. In the middle of 1922 a dollar bought 320 marks; by December 1922 it bought 7,400, and by November 1923 it bought 4,210,500,000,000. A loaf of bread in Berlin that cost about 160 marks at the end of 1922 cost 200 billion a year later. In those years, Daniel said, "Grandpa Krug" was "sending them money to help them." "It was after they lost the war in the 20s," he said. "They were desperate. Germany was desperate." A few dollars from South Hadley, in a Germany like that, went a very long way.

In 1923 Holyoke turned fifty as a city and held a parade, and the Germans marched in it under their own names: the Bridge Street Turn Hall with a delegation of forty, the Teutonia Lodge, the German Reformed Church, the Ladies' Society of the Turn Verein on a float, and seven motor cars of the Springdale Turners with another.

❧

In 1930, Daniel said, Agnes died, "rather young." By her birth date in the family genealogy she was sixty-seven. No record of her death has been found yet, and the census of that year, read so far only at low resolution, has not turned up the household.

The German town he had known was going. The Germania Mills closed in 1934, in the Depression. The guidebook that the Federal Writers' Project published in 1937 found Holyoke still built "around the numerous power canals," still printing a weekly paper in German, and remarkable for "the absence of drab slum quarters usually associated with mill towns." It filed South Hadley under the heading "Milk, Butter, and Ideas": a farming and college town of "shaded streets, broad lawns, and quiet homes, and in the outskirts ... elm-bordered sunny pastures, on which farms produce milk and butter for near-by manufacturing districts," with "smaller colonies of German and Polish descent." The Krug land, Daniel said, was going too, in the hands of the next William: "somehow it disappeared in the 30s when he was in control of it." That is the next chapter's story.

Wilhelm Friedrich Krug died in 1938, as Daniel had it. No death notice for him has been found in the papers that are free to read, and his grave is not yet known. Albert Steiger, whose store the family said he had guarded, died the same year. That summer the Holyoke Turners hosted the New England Turnfest, with ten other teams and more than two thousand people, at Camp Jahn in Southampton. On September 21 a hurricane came up the Connecticut Valley; its eye passed Hadley at 5:06 in the evening.

Sixty per cent of the tobacco sheds around Hadley went down, apples and peaches lay on the ground by the ton, and the river put the business section of South Hadley under water. Whether he lived to see any of it, no record found so far says. Daniel's verdict on the two Williams was brief. It was the father, he said, "my grandfather's father who made so much, was such a disciplined person and made so much money for the family." "His father from Germany," he said, "had made all the fortune."

❧

Wilhelm Krug left less behind than his father-in-law, the whaler, who left seventy-five letters in his own hand. He left a few lines in three censuses, which between them made him a teacher, a clerk and a baker; a directory entry; a sentence in a book about Springdale; a daughter's wedding in the newspaper; and a boundary on Ferry Street. He left a silver medal that may or may not have come from a Kaiser, and a story about walking to school with one that the dates make very hard to keep.

And he left the Turn Hall, where, the family said, a German in his fifties and sixties did handstands for the old men drinking beer, and where his great-grandson Daniel, as a teenager, did gymnastics too. "I was a member of it," Daniel said. "I would go there and do gymnastics myself." Both Turn Halls are still standing. Somewhere in Holyoke, if Daniel was right, so is the house the Krugs left when they had money enough to move across the river, and he meant to find it.

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