Cunewalde and its Wendish and German emigrants: a brief social history of an Upper Lusatian village

Abstract

Against the background of the history of the Upper Lusatian village of Cunewalde, the author identifies a number of Wendish and German persons, all of them born in Cunewalde and its various districts, who eventually emigrated, while also examining the reasons that prompted their decision to leave. The author's special interest derives from the fact that his maternal forebears had lived at this village for several generations although none of them emigrated.

Introduction

Cunewalde is located in the hilly country of the south-eastern part of Upper Lusatia in the present Free State of Saxony, close to the border with the Czech Republic—the former Bohemia—and right in the middle between the two 'holy' mountains of Wendish mythology: the Czorneboh ('Mountain of the Black God'), which at 555.7 metres is the highest elevation in the Lusatian Highlands, and the Bieleboh ('Mountain of the White God,' 500 metres). Its long history forms part of the history of Slavic tribes who arrived in the sixth and seventh centuries from South-Eastern Europe to settle in what is now North-Eastern Germany. It witnessed their clashes with Germanic tribes who colonized Eastern Saxony from the thirteenth century onwards as well as the conversion of local Slavic tribes to Christianity, the persistent, often hostile relations between Germans and Wends that continued into the twentieth century, the immigration of religious refugees from neighbouring Bohemia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the beginnings and development of the textile industry in Lusatia, the emigration to Eastern Europe in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and the large-scale emigration to North America and Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Because of its size, and with a large population (4,587 in 2020¹), the history of Cunewalde is diverse and complex and thus differs markedly from that of the far smaller villages surrounding it, giving it a unique appearance without losing its essential village character.



An artist's impression of Cunewalde in late summer, c.1910. See note 3 on page 17 for details

A brief history of Cunewalde

The rural municipality (German: *Gemeinde*) of Cunewalde consists of a number of small villages, settlements and neighbourhoods, defined in German as *Ortsteile* (parts, districts), which are dispersed over an area of 26.62 square kilometres, with the seat of its local government in the central *Ortsteil* of Cunewalde, which is also the largest population centre. This evolution and growth of Cunewalde is the result of progressively absorbing (German: *eingemeinden*) ten small villages and neighbourhoods over the past 150 years but retaining the appearance of a large dispersed village rather than of a town or a 'typical' municipality. On its borders, Cunewalde is surrounded by a number of considerably smaller villages.² In 1890 Cunewalde's population was 3,217—4,551 if counting all its *Ortsteile*—in 1850 there might have been 3,000.³ It is claimed to be the *longest village* in Germany as it stretches as a narrow band of houses for over ten kilometres along the valley of a creek, the Cunewalde Wasser (Wendish: Kumwałdźanka), from the small Ortsteil of Neudorf in the south-east to the Ortsteile Weigsdorf-Köblitz and Schönberg in the west.

Considering its importance as an economic and population centre it is surprising that no full history of Cunewalde has been published, similar to those of the much smaller neighbouring villages like, for example, Hochkirch⁴ or Doehlen.⁵ However, a *Festschrift* issued in connection with its 800th Anniversary, an informative essay by Ortschronist (village historian) Paul Richter, and several websites exist. In addition, several partial historical overviews of Cunewalde can be found on the Internet. All of these sources have been consulted.⁶

This investigation commences by traversing the last seven centuries of Cunewalde history, whose name first appears in the early fourteenth century. Only a few months ago, together with four other villages in the neighbourhood, Cunewalde celebrated its 800th anniversary—though historians believe that a settlement at Cunewalde may pre-date that early date by at least two additional centuries. Its unusual name is explained in 1859 by Moritz Grimmel who relied on information originally appearing in Sachsen's Kirchengalerie... Oberlausitz (1840) and research by the early Löbau historian Karl Preusker in his Oberlausitzer Alterthümer (1828). In his Album der Rittergüter und Schlösser in Sachsen, Grimmel makes the somewhat dubious claims that Cunewalde's name was derived from the Roman goddess Cunina, who was believed to protect infants from harmful magic, and that the 'old heathens' (he means the ancient Wendish inhabitants) regularly brought offerings of milk to the Czorneboh mountain to appease Cunina so as to ward off evil spirits from their young ones.⁷ The 'walde' part of the village's name indicates that it was surrounded by dense forests (German: Wald) which became an important basis of Cunewalde's economy. A popular local belief is that its name derives from 'Cuno's (or Conrad's) forest clearing,' but the existence of a mediaeval knight by that name is not documented. The Cunewalde Festschrift suggests that the name is derived from the Wendish word for pine tree, *khonja*. The Wendish name of Kumwald is of more recent origin; it dates from the eighteenth century.

The beginnings of the village are connected with the arrival of franconian and thuringian farmers on the lookout for fertile and well-watered land in the East. They found the valley of a creek now bearing the name Cunewalde Wasser (Wendish: Kumwałdźanka), well-treed, with gentle slopes of good soil stretching north and south of the creek. No record exists to what extent the area was then occupied by Wendish farmers, though it very likely was, albeit sparsely. The 'German' arrivals were allocated by their chiefs blocks of land in the form of very narrow but long strips called Hufen or Waldhufen, running at right angles from the village. 'For about 500 years [Cunewalde] has been a rich peasant village' that was largely protected through its benign geography and its remoteness from wars including the devastating Thirty Years War, notes a *Wikipedia* article. However, it was not safe when the bubonic plague arrived in 1631. 332 persons out of its population of about 500 succumbed to this disease over the following three years.

After the Peace of Prague in 1635 both Upper and Lower Lusatia became part of the Electorate of Saxony. About two hundred years later, at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Saxony—punished for siding with Napoleon—only retained part of Upper Lusatia; another part, as well as all of Lower Lusatia, were claimed by Prussia. From the time of the Congress Germanization increased dramatically, and as the result of a large inflow of Germans and of government regulations, the Wendish element came under constant attack, though this was worse in the Prussian part of Lusatia than that in Saxony.

Some important changes occurred in the late seventeenth century when, as the result of the Counter-Reformation in neighbouring Bohemia, many tens of thousands of Lutherans—in German called Exulanten—fled to Lusatia, Saxony and Silesia. Generally welcomed, the new arrivals brought with them useful skills like glass manufacturing, building, flax culture and linen weaving. However, a claim made in recent historical accounts of Cunewalde that the Bohemian immigrants introduced weaving to Cunewalde is doubtful and is at variance with Grimmel's account. The latter writes that even prior to the fourteenth century Wendish peasants in Upper Lusatia cultivated flax and were engaged in linen weaving, and that a lively linen trade had existed since that time with neighbouring Bohemia, Silesia and Poland. Ortschronist (local historian) Paul Richter notes that the arrival of their Slavic brethren from Bohemia proved to be a mixed blessing for the Wendish people of Cunewalde: 'Die Sorben wurden...durch die böhmischen Exulanten...stark benachteiligt'('TheSorbs...were greatly disadvantaged'), very likely by competing for local resources including accommodation, land and jobs. 9 As a result the Wendish minority had to endure not only social and political pressures from the German majority but now also the economic pressure from the Bohemian immigrants.

Schunka observes that the arrival of the Bohemians coincided with, but did <u>not</u> cause, the change of the farm- and forestry-based economy of the village by adding weaving as a principal employment factor. ¹⁰ By 1800, 70 per cent of the inhabitants worked as weavers. Established as a cottage industry, its products became famous for their quality, referred to as 'the Cunewalder Leimd' (colloquial for *Leinewand*, linen). However, by the middle of the nineteenth century, after dominating the village economy for almost two centuries apart from farming, forestry trades and building, linen weaving started to decline as a cottage industry as large-scale mechanization led to a reduction in employment opportunities by virtually depriving the cottage weavers of their livelihood.

Grimmel also provides a useful overview of business and 'industrial' activities in Cunewalde. He names farming as the foremost activity with the largest number of persons involved, followed by weaving, though noting that weavers were very poorly paid. An oil factory in Obercunewalde, a big pottery in Mittelcunewalde, and numerous shops, bakeries and guesthouses were doing good business and provided employment opportunities. There were also two doctors, four midwives, as well as a wide range of tradesmen proffering their services. The building trade was particularly well represented, and over 200 Umgebinde houses—houses built in a unique and attractive style that had evolved in Bohemia, Silesia and Lusatia—are surviving witnesses of this craft in present-day Cunewalde. In all, Cunewalde gave the appearance of a successful and balanced place that displayed few social, economic or political chinks in its makeup. With a spread of businesses and thus a range of employment opportunities as described by Grimmel one might assume that the chances of unemployment and social volatility might be lessened. Can we discern any weaknesses? For example, did any friction exist between its dominant German population and the small and declining number of Wendish residents still living at Cunewalde—similar to what can be observed elsewhere in Lusatia over the course of hundreds of years—or was there any resentment of the descendants of the Bohemian Exulants? Are there any other clues that explain why twenty of its inhabitants (admittedly six of them children) chose to leave for the uncertainty of a new life overseas? Did the totally inadequate wages paid to cottage weavers for a 13-hour working day that left them in a state of near-starvation generate a spirit of rebelliousness similar to the well-documented weavers' uprising of 1844 in neighbouring Silesia? Or can the memory and long-lasting effect of the drought and bad harvest of 1842 and the starvation years that followed be seen as significant factors? Twenty-five years later, in 1867, when young local men were examined for their compulsory military service, 69 per cent were rejected on the grounds of being malnourished ('unterernährt'). Or did health concerns, many years after the event, over disasters like the 1834 dysentery epidemic that killed 197 persons, encourage thoughts to get away from it all and to emigrate? Regarding the latter, the cause could have been the overcrowded cemetery, situated on a steep slope that very likely drained polluted stormwater into the Kumwałdźanka creek, as well as the string of houses lining the creek on both sides. Both could have led to water pollution, as many local residents drew their drinking water from the creek. Thoughts of emigrating were also encouraged by newspaper reports brimming with praises of 'America, America the Free,' a land of cheap land, healthy living conditions, good wages and plenty of work, while agents for shipping companies touted for passengers on behalf of shipping companies, travelling up and down the country.

Emigration

In his pioneering book *In Search of a Home; Nineteenth-Century Wendish Immigration* (2nd edition, 2007), American historian George Nielsen records a mere four people born in Cunewalde who emigrated; all of them went to Texas, while from elsewhere in Lusatia many hundreds made their way to Australia as well as Texas. The small number from Cunewalde was surprising, more so when it was found that in the second half of the nineteenth century, from two small villages in very close proximity to Cunewalde called Rachlau and Döhlen, with populations in 1890 of 222 and 99 respectively, eight persons born in Rachlau and five in Döhlen emigrated to Australia, and five born in Rachlau and one in Döhlen made their way to Texas.¹² The contrast to the small number of Cunewalde emigrants recorded by Nielsen was quite surprising.

Thanks to the efforts by the Texas genealogist and family researcher Weldon Mersiovsky, who has assembled a remarkable database called *Wendish Heritage Exchange*, this writer was able to trace a total of sixteen Cunewalde-born emigrants (including five children). With the help of *Ortschronist* (local historian) Paul Richter, and following personal research, three additional adults and one child were identified, bringing the total to twenty persons who left their Upper Lusatian village between 1854 and 1894 to settle in Texas. That made the overall picture appear somewhat less skewed. A list of their names as well as additional personal details is given in Appendix 1.

The discrepancy with Nielsen can be explained by the fact that the latter focussed solely on Wendish people, while this present research covers <u>all Cunewalde-born</u> emigrants. Furthermore, being such a large village that progressively incorporated ten small settlements—thirteen if counting the districts (*Ortsteile*) of Obercunewalde, Mittelcunewalde and Niedercunewalde, all of which are treated collectively as 'Cunewalde'—increased the basis of the present survey considerably. A list and brief notes on Cunewalde's *Ortsteile* appears as Appendix 2.



The village of Cunewalde and its districts (Ortsteile)

Throughout the nineteenth century, and especially from mid-century onwards, emigration from the various principalities that were united in 1871 into the German *Reich* (Empire) reached huge proportions. America appeared as the panacea from political, social and economic difficulties that many people experienced at home. It is estimated that between six and eight million persons emigrated to North America (versus about 60,000 to Australia). Especially in Prussian Silesia—adjacent to the Saxon region of Upper Lusatia—thousands of peasants and share-cropping families had been made landless through reforms in agriculture and especially the formation of large estates. This was a major driver of migration. Added to this was a residual but deeply-ingrained resentment by a large number of conservative Lutherans known as 'old Lutherans' against both the official Lutheran Church and the government for their attempts at church reform. In Saxony, including Upper Lusatia, also largely Lutheran though governed by a Catholic royal family, there was also a certain resentment directed at the church authorities, though for quite different reasons. Here the church was perceived as too 'laid-back' and disinclined to stem the continuing eighteenth century trend towards rationalism. This, as well as the dramatic re-structuring of the economy that commenced around 1830 but gained momentum by mid-century, changing it from an agricultural to an industrial basis; the dramatic growth of the population and the momentous social changes that accompanied it—all of these developments encouraged emigration. In Cunewalde, the decline of linen weaving as a cottage industry beginning in the final quarter of the century was certainly a reason. Kamphoefner et al. explain that 'one of the most important factors promoting emigration was the decline of cottage industry in the face of mechanized...competition. Hardest hit was handloom linen weaving.'13 At least one of the emigrants, Carl Wagner, is documented as having lost his job as a weaver in 1874. It was then that he, his wife Johanna Sophia and their four children decided to emigrate to America and join the Wendish and German community at Serbin in Texas. As early as 1856 Carl must have foreseen the eventual demise of weaving as a cottage industry when he made his first visit to the U.S. on his own. It is not clear when and why he later returned to Cunewalde.¹⁴ But his premonition of the decline of his trade had been right and it doubtlessly led to much unemployment. Industrialized textile manufacture expanded rapidly, five large weaving factory halls were established by the 1880s and this industrial expansion was further enhanced when Cunewalde was connected to the railway network in 1890, the latter offering at least some alternate employment opportunities.

Emigration had, even in relatively 'liberal' Saxony, been discouraged if not forbidden until well into the nineteenth century. The official end of the final vestiges of serfdom

(*Leibeigenschaft*) in 1832 eased the free movement, but the latter was often still inhibited by inconsistent government legislation or even arbitrary decisions by employers apart from official constraints like compulsory military service, unresolved court decisions, as well as the forfeiture of the right to return.¹⁵

Nielsen estimated that until 1900 at least 1,000 Wendish persons emigrated to Australia and 1,400 to Texas, overwhelmingly after the end of the Civil War. Virtually all came from Lusatia though it is difficult to determine the number who came from the Saxon part of Upper Lusatia. Of the largest single group of 588 persons emigrating to Texas in 1854 we know that 222 came from the Saxon part; 16 indeed, one of the group—Johann Gottlieb Neitsch—was born in the Cunewalde district of Halbau. Overall, Wendish people from Saxon Lusatia represented the smaller share of the total number of emigrants compared with those from Prussian Upper and Lower Lusatia. However, Tschernik found that in all cases, the proportion of losses to the overall Wendish population was significantly higher than that for Germans. In the latter case, the number of non-Wendish emigrants from Lusatia was of course considerably greater but is difficult to estimate. There are few statistics recorded at a 'micro', i.e. local level. The best of these are provided by Rosenthal. For the Bautzen region ('Kreisdirektionsbezirk'), to which Cunewalde belonged, Rosenthal quotes the total number of emigrants for 1853-61 as follows: to North America: 742 persons; to Australia: 93, compared with the total Saxon figure of 4,531 and 127, respectively. For 1862-70 the combined number of heads-of-families and single persons for North America was 41, for Australia zero, the total for Saxony to North America 253, to Australia 2.17 Rosenthal's survey ends in 1871, so for the following years Mönckmeier provides gross figures for Saxony but without destination details. A selection of these are: 1874: 1,153; 1880: 4,083; 1884: 4,636; 1894: 2,018. Emigration figures for Saxony were markedly smaller than for most other German states, as Mönckmeier indicates. 19 Rosenthal provides an explanation, namely that on the whole Saxony was less repressive, and the pressure to escape from social, economic and political problems was significantly less compared with virtually every other region in the German Reich, although there were regional exceptions.²⁰

Over the preceding millenium, Slavic tribes including the Wends, who had occupied most of what is now Saxony, Brandenburg and nearby areas, had been subject to attacks and displacement as well as the inexorable pressure of forced or passive Germanization. By the nineteenth century they were largely confined to the two Lusatias—Upper and Lower—and the western parts of Lower Silesia. But even here they were under pressure. By that time, in the words of Wendish academic and linguist Arnošt Muka, Cunewalde had become one of the 'deutschen Dörfer...an den sorbischen Grenzen' ('German villages...on the borders of Wendish-speaking districts'), even though he recorded a small though rapidly declining Wendish-speaking population: in Cunewalde—46 in 1875; 34 in 1880; in its district of Weigsdorf-Köblitz—6 in 1875; 4 in 1880; and in Schönberg—5 in 1875; 1 in 1880, i.e. a total decline for 'Greater Cunewalde' from 57 in 1875 to 39 in 1880, vis-à-vis a total population in 1880 of almost 4,500.²¹ This represented a decline of 32 per cent of Wendish speakers in five years!

What Muka does not indicate, however, is what happened to the 'lost' 18 persons. Though a notable scholar, and an expert on his own community, he was so conditioned to the decline of his community that he neither expressed anger nor even regret. Nor did he speculate whether this was due to such factors as mortality, or the abandonment of their Wendishness by 'converting' to conform, that is, by becoming German, or else by moving away, or by emigrating. Both Muka and Tschernik observe without further comment that small Wendish 'expatriate' communities had grown outside of Lusatia, notably in Dresden and some other East German locations. However, it is clear that in the case of Cunewalde the loss through internal or overseas migration, at a time when the percentage of Wends had already shrunk to almost zero, was negligible, as the small number of Wendish names amongst the emigrants in Appendix 1 clearly shows.

Tschernik divides the Wendish-speaking areas fourfold, in the following order: central areas; border areas; urban areas with a Wendish minority; scattered areas ('Streugebiet'), i.e. where only occasional Wendish speakers were present among an overwhelmingly dominant German-speaking majority. He counts Cunewalde into the last category.²³ The modern map *Sorbisches Siedlungsgebiet* (Wendish settlements) excludes Cunewalde altogether; it draws the border just short of its northern boundary (see extract of map below).



Wendish-speaking areas today. Extract courtesy https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sorbisches Siedlungsgebiet

Up to the late 1600s Wendish-speaking people in Cunewalde had been sufficiently numerous so much so that 'in the Cunewalde Church services were also held in the Wendish language because a large part of the population spoke Wendish,' as a Wikipedia article notes.²⁴ No census of the number of Wendish people in Cunewalde exists, however, Walter Wenzel's seminal investigation of Wendish names indicates that in the sixteenth century the share of Wendish persons in Cunewalde is estimated at between 25.1 and 37.5 percent of the total population.²⁵ In Sachsen's Kirchengalerie... Oberlausitz (1840), resident Cunewalde pastor Karl Friedrich Gottlieb Apelt reports that in 1660 it was debated whether the pastor should be expected to know Wendish even if not preaching in Wendish.²⁶ Alas, this question was never properly settled and thus the end came in 1680 when church authorities forbade all Wendish services. From that time worshippers had to travel to Hochkirch/Bukecy or Kittlitz/Ketlicy near Löbau to hear God's word in their own language, while the number of Wendish names declines dramatically from the seventeenth century.²⁷ Such active, or even passive oppression in various forms persisted for the following centuries, and these grievances became major reasons for the large-scale Wendish emigration in the nineteenth century. There is no evidence of any open resistance to the various oppressive measures. Indeed, Wendish resistance was passive, and thus emigration was tantamount to 'voting with their feet.' However, an admittedly unsystematic and cursory glance through various family history noticeboards that can be found in the forum.ahnenforschung.net (a German genealogical website) suggests that the large-scale intermarriage between Wends and non-Wends shows a degree of accommodation between the two ethnic groups.

It would be pointless to argue that Cunewalde, with its twenty emigrants out of a population of over 4,000, was a major departure point for emigration. Yet, why did fourteen Cunewalde-born adults and six of their children leave? And why America?

The statistics clearly reveal that migration from Germany to Australia, while never large, progressively declined and eventually ceased during the latter half of the nineteenth century. In the case of the Wends in Lusatia this may well have been due to 'bad propaganda.' More than any other, Carl Traugott Höhne, a disappointed Wendish emigrant from the nearby village of Rachlau, who had returned home from Australia and had published the reasons for his return in the Wendish press and a book, may have contributed to such a negative perception.²⁸ When the Wendish Lutheran pastor Jan Kilian joined the group

emigrating to Texas in 1854 it is uncertain whether the impact of Hoehne's views played any role in focusing his interest on America. It is known that in the late 1840s he had played with the idea of leading a group of Wends to South Australia, perhaps in the hope of linking up with Pastor Kavel's group. However, that idea was eventually abandoned.²⁹ On the other hand, up to the end of the century the figures for emigration to North America increased dramatically. There are some very obvious explanations for this, including the cheaper fares to America, the shorter duration of the journey which at mid-century was six weeks (but with steam ships in the 1870s it had come down to just three weeks) versus three months to Australia by sailing ship, as well as the overwhelmingly glowing publicity favouring America. Among the few surviving letters from Texas, the words of one emigrant, writing in 1868 to a relative in Upper Lusatia that 'all were far more contented than they ever were in Germany' is an indicator that quite a few persons fearing uncertainty and the looming threat of unemployment at home might have been persuaded.³⁰Although, as Kamphoefner et al. observe, the cost of a ticket to America would have been forbidding 'for the starving,' they were helped by the fact that more than one third of all emigrants travelled on prepaid tickets their friends or families in America had sent them.³¹ It is therefore not surprising that the twenty Cunewalde-born emigrants did not even consider coming to Australia even though some had friends there. While the American Civil War discouraged emigration in the 1860s, the Gründerkrise, the deep economic depression of the later 1870s that followed German unification in 1871, was a major reason for leaving at that time. The statistics of their departures corroborate this: one Cunewalde-born person left for Texas in 1854, five more left in 1874, one in 1875, seven in 1880, two in 1883, one in 1894, and three more at around 1880. This shows that Cunewalde emigration figures peaked in the 1880s and show a remarkable correspondence to overall German emigration figures. Virtually all Cunewalde emigrants headed for a rural district in Texas that had been established after the first and largest Wendish group of Lusatian emigrants, accompanied by their pastor Jan Kilian, had arrived there in 1854. It is likely that they had friends or relatives they hoped to join, as already noted by Kamphoefner et al.³² The Texas settlement was eventually given the name of Serbin, 'Home of the Sorbs.' Anne Blasig writes that Serbin became a magnet, virtually 'the capital of the Wendish settlement for many years.'33 Sylvia Grider goes a step further by defining Serbin as 'the only cohesive colony of Wends outside of Europe.'34

Coming back to the question already posed as to why persons from Cunewalde chose to emigrate; this can only be answered in general terms. Despite serious efforts, it has been impossible to find specific personal reasons; no letters, diaries or even church records could be located except for the family of Carl Gottlieb Wagner; in that case from family records in Texas. In desperation after losing his livelihood as a cottage weaver, Carl chose to take his family to America. Gottlieb Neitsch, though born in Cunewalde, was working as a farm labourer near Weicha, his wife's birth place. Here he joined the large group of discontented Wends who had appointed Jan Kilian as their pastor, who were making plans to emigrate.³⁵

The trades of most of the male Cunewalde-born emigrants can also not be verified with certainty. A possible explanation is provided by Tschernik for Wendish persons which could conceivably be applied also to non-Wends. Using the term 'half-proletarians' (Anne Blasig's description is 'half-peasant farmers', 'Halbbauern'), he argues that the overwhelming majority (he estimates about 64 per cent) of all males either owned or worked a small, substandard piece of land part-time while also working full-time in paid jobs. At Cunewalde, that job would most likely be as a weaver. As in the case of Wagner, the job security of these workers would have become progressively more tenuous.³⁶

The absence of letters from Cunewalde's emigrants is perplexing. Kamphoefner et al. in their book *News from the Land of Freedom* estimate that in the 1880s an average of four million letters per year from emigrants originally from German lands crossed the Atlantic, addressed to friends and families at home. Yet, the extensive emigrant letter collection at Ruhr-Universität in Bochum, on which their book was based, contains virtually no letters

from East-Elbia including Lusatia.³⁷ Nor can appropriate letters be found among the letters indexed in the Wendish Research Exchange data base. A perusal of Cunewalde's Lutheran Church records likewise provided virtually no useful information. Fortunately, an appeal in the Cunewalde paper, the Czorneboh-Bieleboh Zeitung, seeking assistance from local residents and descendants of early emigrants, yielded at least one response. It concerned the Trompler family. The Tromplers in America appeared keen to maintain contact with their Cunewalde relatives. This is corroborated by a letter in 1909 (the contents unfortunately lost) and later, by a visit by Paul Trompler, grandson of Friedrich Ernst Trompler. The latter, with his parents, had emigrated to Texas sometime in the late 1870s or early 1880s. These letters are the sole evidence that family links continued. Alas, no other documentation surfaced. One wonders what reasons could explain this scantiness. Cunewalde emigrants were perfectly able to read and write. Saxony had one of the highest levels of literacy, higher even than Prussia, and considerably higher than Britain or Ireland. The Volksschulgesetz of 1835 made elementary school attendance mandatory. The Kirchengalerie reports a number of instances that document the importance accorded to education, by dealing at length with schools, teachers and the educational requirements of Cunewalde's children.³⁸ It thus seems extraordinary that no surviving letters to family members or friends can be found, letters which might help to explain the emigrants' motives and experiences. Moreover, the emigration of family, friends or neighbours to a distant continent must have been big news that was discussed in the wider community. This perplexing information gap forced this historian to make assumptions that rely on general reasons already named, namely the adverse side-effects of the transition from an agriculture-based economy to an industrial one and the emergence of the supply-demand principle of capitalism that accompanied it, including unemployment; rural dislocation and the lack of land to establish small farms; the economic downturn after German unification; the impact of the militant Prussian government policies on the rest of Germany, as well as, in the case of Wends, the feeling of rejection they had experienced for so long. While one can discern underlying religious besides economic and political reasons in the mass emigration of the group for whom Jan Kilian was the pastor, religious reasons are not apparent among the Cunewalde emigrants—all of whom were Lutherans—although Trudla Malinkowa's observation that virtually no Catholic Wends emigrated suggests that the Lutheran church may have been far less responsive by failing to alleviate the *need* to emigrate compared with the Catholics.³⁹ Tschernik's observation that Wendish emigration received only passing, and generally inconsistent, interest in government statistics, in broad terms can also be applied to non-Wendish emigration. This information gap became quite evident in pursuing the present investigation. Despite the assistance of several local historians, virtually no person-specific details could be found that give reasons for emigration from Cunewalde, though some of the letters quoted by Malinkowa in Ufer der *Hoffnung*—even if not related to Cunewalde—provide a few clues.

As for the ethnicity of the emigrants, it is impossible to be absolutely certain which of the Cunewalde emigrants were Wends or Germans. Nielsen has explained the difficulties involved; it required much scrutiny and full access to local church and government records. This writer assumed, solely on the basis of the 'sound' of their name, that Johann Gottlieb Neitsch and his wife Anna nee Simmank were of Wendish origin, and possibly also the Mutschers. All the others were German. Apart from economic factors already alluded to, their decision to emigrate could be explained by Nielsen's argument that after German unification the relatively benign attitude of the Saxon government towards the Wends was gradually undermined by the far more harsh Germanization measures imposed by Prussia that now extended right across the united nation.⁴⁰

Destination Texas

Nielsen asserts that 'no Wends went where Germans had not gone before.' That assertion can also be easily applied to Cunewalde.⁴¹ While one might take issue with the rather

condescending tone, Nielsen's observation is corroborated by the fact that by the middle of the nineteenth century a large number of Germans had already emigrated to Texas and had been successful there. That fact had been observed by the Wendish community with considerable interest, and this in turn also stimulated their interest in emigration to this part of America. Especially after the end of the Civil War in 1865, and after several splits and much dissent in the Serbin community over religious matters had been resolved, hundreds of Lusatian Wends chose to emigrate and settle at Serbin and its surrounding counties. 'Serbin flourished, the number of its inhabitants and its status grew significantly, and it headed towards becoming the economic centre of the entire region,' notes Malinkowa.⁴² Therein, however, lay also a danger. Developments in the ensuing two decades show that the integrity of the thriving Wendish community in Texas came under threat because it gradually became a major magnet also for non-Wendish German immigrants. The Cunewalde figures themselves prove this: of the twenty Cunewalde emigrants only two (or possibly five) can be assumed to be Wendish, while all the others were German. The threat was that in due course the German element would overwhelm the Wends, repeating exactly what their experience had been in their Lusatian homelands for centuries. It was, however, fortuitous that, in contrast to Germany, rather than oppressing their Wendish neighbours and 'putting them down,' Sylvia Grider observes that here in Texas Germans 'helped the Wends at practically every crucial point.'43 Without doubt, it is significant to observe that, while in their common homeland the age-old distance between Germans and Wends had persisted for nearly a millennium, in their new homeland of Texas this separateness appeared to fade away. All of the emigrants, Wendish or German, initially headed for and eventually shared the same district where the early arrivals had settled. Quoting Nielsen, Grider writes that 'the Wend...was a simple conservative peasant looking for a place to sink his roots [and] get another acre of land...'44 Wends stayed together, bought land in nearby districts, and coped with the various problems of adjustment to a new physical, cultural and political environment, and finally, judging by the records of their burials, remained there 'forever.' Only Wagner—a non-Wend—was the exception: he became a successful teacher in the Texan education service, though even he chose to end his days in Serbin.

Serbin's position as a Wendish centre started to decline after the Houston and Texas Central Railway bypassed it in 1871. The inevitable force of assimilation increased. Initially Wendish ways and the language were gradually replaced by the dominant German presence which in turn yielded to the use of English and to overall Americanization. Serbin's decline resulted in business and residents gradually moving to the neighbouring settlement of Giddings and other daughter settlements that over time had sprung up elsewhere in Lee and Bastrop Counties and other nearby districts. Today Serbin's character as a population centre has faded: its current population is reduced to under forty, and it is described as a 'ghost town,' where only the cemetery, the Lutheran church and the Wendish Heritage Museum remind of earlier days. But following resurgence in interest in their origins, their 'roots,' commencing in the middle of the 20th century—a phenomenon that can also be observed elsewhere including in Australia—Serbin's significance has once more come into focus by becoming a symbol of Wendish pride and of Wendish nationhood in the New World.

Cunewalde in the 21st century

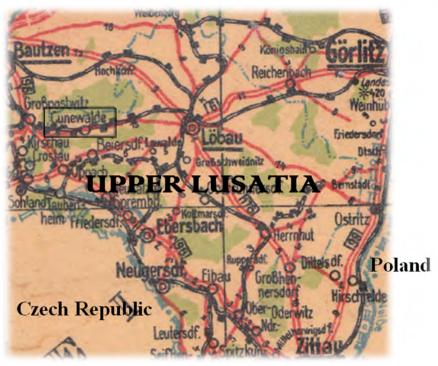
Today Cunewalde remains a vibrant community of well over 4,000, although its textile industry as a major employer has completely disappeared. The railway service was discontinued in 1998. Despite this, an industrial park today accommodates a number of small and medium industrial enterprises including the German headquarters of the French pen manufacturer Diplomat. A primary school and a high school—the latter named after the former squire, landowner and noted writer Wilhelm von Politz—provide educational facilities for children in and around Cunewalde. Cunewalde's attractive situation on the southern slopes of the Czorneboh Mountain and a number of architecturally significant

buildings have led to its official recognition as a 'staatlich anerkannter Erholungsort' (state recognized tourist resort). The village architecture includes Cunewalde's famous church, a baroque building built between 1781-83, with a seating capacity of 2,632 seats and a 61 metre tower. It is recognized as Germany's biggest village church, and it is featured in the village coat of arms.

More than 200 *Umgebindehaeuser* survive from the 17th and 18th century, built in a style that represents a blend of traditional Bohemian, Wendish and Polish rural architectural styles. They are complemented by a small 'Umgebindehaus Park' of miniature houses built in the same manner. The Politz Park, built by the Politz family after 1880 on the site of the original Politz manorhouse, was created after fire destroyed the mansion in 1877. It was modelled on the then fashionable concept of an English Garden, with small ponds and winding paths.

The highly successful and widely published local aristocrat, landowner and writer Wilhelm von Politz (1861-1903), born on his family's property at Obercunewalde, is much revered in the community, and his name has been given to the Cunewalde High School, the Politz Park, a street, a hiking track to the Czorneboh Mountain, and a museum—the latter no longer in existence but its extensive contents now held at the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden.

What is troubling is that the ubiquity of the writer's name and work totally leaves unexplained his overt Antisemitism, which underlies much of his writings, and which gave his work special prominence during the racist Nazi period. While Politz' racism has attracted some interest and criticism in a range of modern academic studies, no mention of it is made in any of the popular accounts of Cunewalde and its history.⁴⁵ Naming a school in his honour seems highly questionable. What seems even more poignant is that the Politz family, prior to its ennoblement in mediaeval times, doubtlessly had Wendish origins, i.e. is inexorably linked with a community characterized by centuries of suppression. This leads directly to a second and perplexing observation about the manner in which Wendish history is presented in the context of Cunewalde's own history. Although always a minority, the prohibition of Wendish-language Lutheran church services in 1680 and the active and passive suppression of Wendish life and culture ever since, reaching a climax during the Hitler period, likewise receives virtually no discussion. This is particularly evident in the Festschrift published in 2022 by the local Council (Gemeinde) in connection with the festivities surrounding the 800year jubilee of the village. All this publication has to say about the Wendish part of its history is that 'the identity of the Milcenes (the original Wendish residents) and that of the franconian immigrants gradually merged' ('Die Kultur der Milzener (der sorbischen Vorfahren) und die der fränkischen Siedler verschmolzen zunehmend').46 It is difficult to determine whether this totally inadequate conclusion is the result of ignorance or a deliberate intention to sanitize if not to falsify historical truth.



Upper Lusatia: the south-eastern part

Appendix 1

Emigrants born in Cunewalde and its municipal districts (Ortsteile). * means not born in Cunewalde

Brabandt, Johanna Sophia Rachel, born 1823, Cunewalde. Married Carl Gottlieb Wagner ca. 1842. Immigrated to Texas 1874, buried Serbin, Texas, 1896. See Wagner, below

Brabandt, Johanne Christiane, born 1850 at Neuweigsdorf, married Gustav Reinhold Mutscher at Cunewalde, 1875, immigrated to Texas 1883, died Serbin, Texas, 1911

Brabandt, Johanne Ernestine, born Cunewalde 1821, married Johann Traugott Mutscher at Cunewalde, 1842 who died Neuweigsdorf 1885. She immigrated to Lee County, Texas,

1894, died 1910 at Giddings, Lee County. Three of her children immigrated to Texas in the 1880s—see below

Brabandt, Karl Wilhelm, born Cunewalde, 1862, immigrated to Texas 1883, married Maria Tschatschula. Died Walburg, Texas, 1943. Karl Wilhelm's father, Karl Gottlieb Brabandt, was a farmer at Niedercunewalde, so, very likely, Karl Wilhelm was also a farmer

*Mersiovsky, Maria Theresie nee Mirtsching, born at Steindoerfel, Upper Lusatia, in 1848. Married Carl August Mersiovsky who died at Neuweigsdorf, 1875. Remarried to Carl August's cousin Carl Leberecht Mersiovsky at Cunewalde, 1876. Immigrated to Serbin, Texas, 1880 but died soon after arrival in Serbin, Texas, December 1880

Mersiovsky, Gustav Adolph, born Neuweigsdorf, 1870. Parents Maria Theresie Mersiovsky and Carl August Mersiovsky. Immigrated to Serbin, Texas, 1880, lived and died Walburg, Texas

Mersiovsky, Wilhelm Ernst, born Neuweigsdorf, 1872. Parents Maria Theresie Mersiovsky and Carl August Mersiovsky. Immigrated to Serbin, Texas, 1880

Mersiovsky, Julius Hermann, born Neuweigsdorf, 1874. Parents Maria Theresie Mersiovsky and Carl August Mersiovsky. Immigrated to Serbin, Texas, 1880

Mersiovsky, Maria Linna, born Neuweigsdorf, 1876. Parents Maria Theresie Mersiovsky and Carl August Mersiovsky. Immigrated to Serbin, Texas, 1880

*Mersiovsky, Carl Leberecht, born Oppach, Upper Lusatia, 1851. He married Maria Theresie Mersiovsky in 1876 at Cunewalde after her first husband Carl August Mersiovsky had died at Neuweigsdorf in 1875. Their son Carl Emil Mersiovsky was born at Neuweigsdorf in 1877.

Mersiovsky, Carl Emil, born Neuweigsdorf, 1877. Immigrated with his parents, Maria Theresie Mersiovsky nee Mirtsching and Carl Leberecht Mersiovsky to Texas in 1880

Mutscher, Christiane Wilhelmine, born Neuweigsdorf 1844, immigrated to Texas 1879. Lived at Serbin, later California

Mutscher, Johanne Christiane, born Neuweigsdorf 1847, immigrated to Texas 1880. Died Fayette, Texas

Mutscher, Gustav Reinhold, born 1852 at Neuweigsdorf, immigrated 1883 to Giddings, Texas. Married Johanne Christiane Brabandt (see above). Their four children were born in Upper Lusatia but not Cunewalde. Gustav died 1922

*Mutscher, Johann Traugott, linen weaver, died Neuweigsdorf, 1885. He married Johanne Ernestine Brabandt at Cunewalde in 1842. See above

Neitsch, Johann Gottlieb, born Halbau 19.04.1823, farm labourer, married at Gröditz, Saxony,18.05.1851, Anna Maria Simmank, born Weicha, Saxony, 30.07.1824. Immigrated to Texas 1854. Johann died Warda, Texas, USA 22.04.1902; Anna died Walburg, Texas, USA 09.10.1905

Trompler, Karl Gottlob, born Niedercunewalde 1839, very likely a house owner and linen weaver like his father Johann Karl Trompler. Karl married Johanna Eleonora Henning, born Obercunewalde 1853, married ca. 1871. Their son Friedrich Ernst, born Obercunewalde 1872. Karl Gottlob, Johanna Eleonora and Friedrich Ernst

Trompler emigrated to Texas in late 1870s-early 1880s.

Wagner, Carl Gottlieb, born Cunewalde 1820. Linen weaver, immigrated to Texas 1874 with his wife Johanna Sophia Rachel nee Brabandt. They had four children of whom three were born at Cunewalde. Carl Gottlieb resided Serbin and Giddings, buried Serbin 1911

Wagner, Carl August Wilhelm, born Mittelcunewalde 1850, immigrated to Texas 1874 with his parents. Died Lee County, 1932

Wagner, Ernst Julius William, born Cunewalde 1854, immigrated to Texas 1874 with his parents. Buried Clifton, Texas

Wagner, Sophia Aloysia Wilhelmine, born Mittelcunewalde 1843, immigrated to Texas 1874 with her parents.

Appendix 2

Cunewalde and its municipal districts (Ortsteile)



The village of Cunewalde and its districts (Ortsteile)

Obercunewalde

Located in the east of the village it is one of its earliest parts. Its earlier name was simply 'Cunewalde.' Until 1939 Obercunewalde existed as a separate community; its formal name lapsed when it was officially merged into Cunewalde.

The land at Obercunewalde had been owned by the wealthy family of von Ziegler and Klipphausen since 1627. Early in the 19th century the estate came to the von Polenz family who remained here until 1945. After a fire destroyed the Schloss (country house) in 1877, the Polenz family developed the surrounding property into a park which subsequently was named Polenz Park.



DBER-CUNEWALDE.

Mittelcunewalde

The publication *Sachsen's Kirchengalerie...Oberlausitz* (1840) notes that the name Mittelcunewalde is of much more recent origin than the names for Ober- and Niedercunewalde. Until 1876 Mittelcunewalde existed as a separate community but it ceased to exist when it was officially merged into Cunewalde. In 1890 Cunewalde's population was 3,217

Niedercunewalde

Located in its western part, until 1876 Niedercunewalde was a separate community; its formal name lapsed when it was officially merged into Cunewalde



MIEDER- SUME WALDE.

Albert-Schweitzer-Siedlung

A residential estate established in the mid- 20th century at Weigsdorf-Köblitz

Bärhäuser

Formerly known as 'Bärs Häuser,' it was the homestead of the farming family Bär until 1755, located in Obercunewalde. After 1820 it was a subdivisional estate sold piecemeal to new settlers. A street bears its name

Frühlingsberg

A long residential street rather than a settlement which was established shortly after 1900 on church land

Halbau (Wendish: Jilow)

A small village first mentioned in 1550. Population in 1890 was 74. It was incorporated into Cunewalde in 1939

Klipphausen/Klipphäuser

In 1681 the large landowner Wolff Rudolph von Ziegler und Klipphausen was granted a permit to establish a special community for 15 Bohemian *Exulants* (religious refugees from Bohemia) at this location. A sawmill has operated here ever since. A brick kiln was established in 1740.

Two aristocratic families named von Politz and von Ziegler were very early landholders in the district of Meissen; the von Politz from the 12th century; von Ziegler from the 14th. Subsequently they became established in and near Cunewalde. The two villages of Politz and Klipphausen in the District (Landkreis) of Meissen are reminders of that early association. See also above under Obercunewalde, and Zieglerthal (below).

Neudorf

First mentioned in 1768 as a settlement of 11 houses; in 1890 it had a population of 120. It never became a village of its own. Until 1939 part of Obercunewalde, it was then incorporated into Cunewalde. Present population: 10

Neuweigsdorf

See Weigsdorf-Köblitz, below

Schönberg (Wendish: Šumbark)

First mentioned in 1317, by 1839 it was an independent village of 469 inhabitants; by 1890 it had 476 inhabitants. It remained a separate community until 1976 when it was merged into Cunewalde

Weigsdorf-Köblitz (Wendish: Wuhančicy-Koblica)

Weigsdorf-Köblitz. Köblitz was first mentioned in 1345. In 1905 it was joined with Köblitz and renamed Weigsdorf-Köblitz. Köblitz was first mentioned in 1364 as a horse stud. By 1850 Weigsdorf had 64 and Köblitz 46 inhabitants, by 1890 386 and 278, respectively. In 1999 Weigsdorf-Köblitz ceased to exist as a separate village by being incorporated into Cunewalde. Neuweigsdorf is a hamlet south of Weigsdorf-Köblitz but part of it. It was founded in 1800 by land owner Wolf Ernst von Nostitz to settle forestry workers.

Zieglerthal

Established in 1781 on the southern part of a large estate adjacent to Niedercunewalde by large estate owner Friedrich Wilhelm von Ziegler und Klipphausen. Never an independent community, it remained a part of Niedercunewalde.

Note 1: Cunewalde, Halbau, Schönberg and Weigsdorf-Köblitz are 'official' Ortsteile within the municipality of Cunewalde. Klipphausen, Neudorf, Zieglerthal, Frühlingsberg, Bärhäuser and the Albert-Schweitzer-Siedlung are informal designations of residential areas.

Note 2: The illustrations of Obercunewalde and Niedercunewalde were taken from Grimmel, Album der Rittergüter, Band 3

Note 3: The picture on page one, bearing the title *Cunewalde mit dem Czorneboh*, is a reproduction of a pastel painting by the artist Camillo Schneidenbach (1867-1951). Born in Königstein, Saxony, Schneidenbach lived and worked for many years in Dresden. Long forgotten, his work has in recent years been re-discovered. One of the artist's favourite media was pastels. Much of his work was done *en plein air* on his numerous hikes around the countryside and later completed on his return to his studio. On these trips Schneidenbach lived frugally, virtually from hand to mouth, often trading his work for food and accommodation. On his occasional holidays in the Cunewalde district he must have met Ernst Kalauch, the proprietor of the Bergwirtschaft (restaurant) on the Czorneboh Mountain, who commissioned him to paint a view of Cunewalde which he subsequently published as a postcard. Prior to the First World War, Schneidenbach was often commissioned to produce sketches for use as postcards or for promotional purposes. The Cunewalde postcard remained in use for at least twenty years, though the present whereabouts of the original painting is not known.⁴⁷

Although a work of art, it displays all the principal characteristics of Cunewalde, including the dominant feature of the Czorneboh Mountain on the horizon; the extensive forests surrounding it; the large village church; the various agricultural activities, showing narrow strips of fields in the distance, and stooks of rye in the foreground; the tall chimneys of linen weaving factories; and in the near-foreground, the valley of the Kumwałdźanka creek, although the creek itself is largely obscured.

Notes

- ¹ Wikiwand.com/en/cunewalde, as per 31 December, 2020
- ² In German official and unofficial references to Cunewalde the terms *Gemeinde, Dorf* and *Ort* are almost interchangeably used, which in English can be rendered as municipality, community, village or place, each of which has a slightly different meaning. This writer has opted to use the term village, even though the present-day municipality of Cunewalde comprises a number of separate districts or neighbourhoods, of which 'Cunewalde' is one. Several of these districts are identified by their own name, e.g. 'Cunewalde Ortsteil Halbau.' See also Appendix 2, Note 1
- ³ Liste der Orte im Landkreis Bautzen
- ⁴ hochkirch.de/gemeinde/geschichtliches; https://www.hochkirch.de>gemeinde
- ⁵ Einwohner von Döhlen 2016; 1416 2016: Zur Ortsgeschichte Döhlen (copy provided courtesy Betty Huf)
- ⁶ e.g. cunewalde.de/geschichte e.html; email, Paul Richter to author, 22 July, 2022. See also Cunewalde Festschrift http://www.cunewalde.de/pdf/Festschrift.pdf, passim
- ⁷ see also *Sachsen's Kirchengalerie*, p.240
- ⁸ Cunewalde Festschrift, p.26
- ⁹ Email, Paul Richter to author, 22 July, 2022
- ¹⁰ Schunka, pp.267-8
- ¹¹ Email, Paul Richter to author, 22 July, 2022
- ¹² Nielsen, pp.33, 73, and 133-89 passim
- ¹³ Kamphoefner et al., p.2
- 14 see Wagner Family book
- ¹⁵ see Rosenthal, pp.39-50
- ¹⁶ Blasig, p.20
- ¹⁷ Rosenthal, p.87
- ¹⁸ Mönckmeier, pp.86-9
- ¹⁹ ibid., Table X, pp.92-3
- ²⁰ Rosenthal, pp.36-8. See also Kamphoefner et al., p.3
- ²¹ Muka, pp.315-16
- ²² op.cit. pp.317, 323, 325,332,341,453-4; Tschernik, p.32
- ²³ Tschernik, p.48
- ²⁴ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cunewalde
- ²⁵ Wenzel, *Studien*, vol. 3, Map 114, p.175
- ²⁶ Sachsen's Kirchengalerie, p.243
- ²⁷ my assumption, based on the decline of existing inventories of Wendish names. Wenzel, *Studien*, vol.1, p.13, Tables 2,3
- ²⁸ Malinkowa, *Ufer der Hoffnung*, p.113
- ²⁹ op.cit., p.107
- ³⁰ quoted Malinkowa, op.cit., p.145
- ³¹ Kamphoefner et al., p.9
- 32 ibid.
- 33 Blasig, p.48
- ³⁴ Grider, p.51
- ³⁵ Email, Carsten Ahrent-Kratz to author, 10 July, 2022
- ³⁶ see Tschernik, pp.28-31. In her list of the emigrants' group accompanied by Jan Kilian, Blasig calls this class of person 'Halbbauern', i.e. part-time peasant farmers, who were also engaged in another job. She gives their number as four, which falls well below Tschernik's general estimate of 64 per cent. Blasig, p.23
- ³⁷ Kamphoefner et al., p.27 and Note 1, p.33
- ³⁸ Sachsen's Kirchengalerie, pp.244-5
- Malinkowa. 'Auswanderung.' In: sorabicon.de. See also https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sorben, subsection 'Religion'
 Nielsen, p.9, Malinkowa, *Ufer der Hoffnung*, p.143
- ⁴¹ Nielsen, p.15
- ⁴² My translation, Malinkowa, *Ufer der Hoffnung*, p.144
- ⁴³ Grider, p.49
- ⁴⁴ ibid., p.16
- ⁴⁵ see for example the references under 'Wilhelm von Polenz' at https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wilhelm_von_Polenz
- ⁴⁶ Cunewalde Festschrift, p.26
- 47 'Der Maler und sein besonderes Atelier.' In Sächsische Zeitung, July 4, 2019. https://www.saechsische.de/der-maler-undsein-besonderes-atelier-5091063.html. Email from Christine Zimmer, granddaughter of the artist, February 3, 2023

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[Wagner Family] The Family of Carl Gottlieb Wagner, 1820-1911, and Johanna Sophia Rihala Brabandt Wagner, 1823-1906 [sic, i.e. 1896], their Children... [Wagner Family Book] Digital copy provided courtesy Weldon Mersiovsky

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Note:

A vast amount of information is available on the Internet and has been accessed via keywords in English and/or German, including Sorbs/Sorben, Wends/Wenden, Migration/Auswanderung, Lusatia/Lausitz, Cunewalde, and many more.

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