German-American Studies

A JOURNAL OF HISTORY, LITERATURE, BIOGRAPHY AND GENEALOGY

VOLUME 10 FALL 1975

CONTENTS

A PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN DIARY (1847-1868)

by

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It is more than a little remarkable that Charles Hartman (1800-1864), an unlettered farmer and burgher of Greencastle, Franklin County, Pennsylvania, should have felt the need to record his concerns with family, church, politics and local events in a journal or "diary" (his word), begun in 1847 and continued until the year of his death.[1] Preserved in the Lancaster Archives, Historical Commission of the United Church of Christ, it is a unique document of some of the community's most memorable events, and one of its most interesting early residents. The diary gives us the date of its author's birth and some pertinent facts of his life, but a county history supplies a few others:

> Hartman was a very prominent member of the Reformed Church, holding official positions in the Church and serving it in some way nearly all his life. He was also prominent in politics, a Democrat, and served Greencastle as its burgess, and in other local offices. He died in 1864, his widow in 1879; they are buried side by side in the Reformed Church graveyard at Greencastle. He had been a resident of the place fifty-six years.[2]

In the introductory sentences of the diary we have sketched for us a clear if sometimes naive self-portrait of a hard-working, pious and ambitious man, living contentedly within the confines of his small town. There is an ungrammatical flatness of manner in the writing which reminds us of the fresh realism of tintype photographs, or the awkward style of early nineteenth-century portrait limmers:

If there is any mistakes forgive. I have written as others have told me and what I have read in the papers.

Dear Children I will give you my school days. We walked in snow to our knees. Snow drifted in the lanes. We walked in snow higher than the fences. My education is limited. Now it takes years to learn our children.

Three years I went to German school. At 18 years of age I went to an Irish school teacher by the name of William McCutchora. He taught spelling, writing, and ciphering. Six months I went to him. I tried to learn all I could in this short time. I was anxious to learn. I knew the want of it when I come to the years of knowledge and understanding. This was all the schooling I ever had.

Evidently Mr. Hartman moved to Greencastle from the Franklin County farm where, we are told, he, his three brothers and two sisters were born. His parents had moved from near Allentown in Leigh County about 1793. In the following excerpt some light is also shed upon the Protestant parochial schools of the time, which were the origin of the public school system, and we can appraise the homespun philosophy which guided his dealings with family, students and others:

> I come to Greencastle in March 1824.[3] I asked for a Sunday school and I was told that it was a union Sunday school held in the Lutheran church. I went up. Mr. Simon Rupley was the superintendent. The second Sunday it was held in the German Reformed church. Our pastor Rev. John Rebaugh organized one in our church, spring of 1838. Two years later the Methodist school and United Bretheran schools were organized, each being formed out of this one union school. In fall of 1840 I was elected superintendent of the school and served till 1861 when I felt younger ones should take my place and give me a rest from the care that was resting heavily upon me. The school numbered 220 and was in a very prosperous condition. My own selfishness in business affairs I left at home. I felt in my heart I was working for the Lord, to

the upbuilding of his church — that I would have to give strict account before the law of God for my honesty and truthfulness both with pastor, officers, teachers and scholars. I pray God he will forgive me if I acted or was deceitful in any way. In my long experience in the Sunday school work, I find it is sinful and wrong to do or act false in trying to wound or trifle with the feelings of others. I see in my children how quickly they observe every movement or action in their teachers or those who are over or around them. I tell them they must see and not see.

Before Sunday chools were organized, they had what was called a parochial schools held at intervals in the Lutheran and German Reformed churches where they were taught to spell and read and study the catechism and scriptures. Old members of the church would tell me how they sat around a large table and the minister and elders would instruct them in the different books of the church in the German language.

Along with the names and dates of ministers to the congregation, and minor matters of local interest, Mr. Hartman recorded stories of the still-remembered hardships of colonial days:

The first German Reformed church was a long church built on the corner of an alley near Druck's stable where the graveyard is. Rev. Michael Schlatter preached in the old log church at the lower end of the graveyard. Our neighborhood was then in 1749 run over with Indians when our forefathers worshipped in this old log church. Old Father Helfenstine, a good faithful minister of the church often told me about these good old German fathers who went to the house of *God* with swords and rifles to worship, sometimes running for their lives to the fort at the spring at the lower end of town.[4] Sister Elizabeth, brother Charles and I were all baptized in the old log church.[5]

Mr. Hartman's record of the Enoch Brown Massacre, a local incident of the French and Indian War, is a personal one, no doubt based on oral accounts. The old and simple-minded Archibald McCullough, who had been scalped there and recovered, was still alive when he was a young man. Indeed, as a child of ten, the writer of this article was awed by the recollections of a local octogenarian, Miss Grace Eby, whose father, Samuel Eby, had remembered the tonsured Archie wandering about the streets of Greencastle.

> The summer of 1764, July 26, three miles northwest of Greencastle, was perpetrated the great fiend-like massacre of a Mr. Brown, a kind hearted Christian school master and scholars, scalped by the merciless savages, three Indians. The teacher with Bible on his knees, pleading, take my life, spare the children. My parents and their neighbors said one boy played truant, the name of Poe. Archie McCullough was scalped but God spared his life to tell the story. They are buried on the farm of Mr. Christian Koser. But who can describe the agony of the parents, or the horror of the scene in that old log school house. In the center lay the lifeless teacher, scalped, with a Bible clasped in his hand. Around the room lay the dead bodies of boys and girls. Heart rending.

An account of the erection of a new church building, the present, but much-remodeled United Church of Christ, is dated throughout 1853 and 1854. We learn that its builder was William McClure of Shippensburg, credited with at least one covered bridge and fine field-stone and brick houses which still grace the Cumberland Valley, and that his workmen were farmer-carpenters who took time off in order to harvest their crops.

> The building committee advertised to receive proposals for building the new church. Captain William McClure from Shippensburg, making an article of agreement with the committee for the sum of five thousand two hundred and fifty dollars and the old brick church. McClure was to finish the church and deliver up the keys

to the committee. The church was consecrated to the Triune *God* and *Father* on Sabbath, June 5, 1855. Pastor Rev. J. S. Foulk stated the debt on church $102.75. The bretheren present on this occasion were Rev. Henry Harbaugh, D. D.; Rev. B. C. Wolff, D. D.; Rev. F. A. Rupley.[6] The cost of the new church was $7,000. February 15, 1855, I paid $1.00 for articles in the sale of goods from the old brick church. I bought 2 chairs that had been in use in the first log church, for my little girls, which I keep in remembrance of the church in which my dear parents often worshipped.

As might be imagined, weather was a major concern of this farmer who had moved to a small town. The prices of grain are recorded, and the effect of weather on crops is appraised. "In the fall of 1855 we had the largest crop of corn ever raised in the United States." The daily details of snow piled upon snow throughout the hard winters of 1856 and 1857, the latter "the coldest and longest winter I ever saw," are awesome in their cumulative effect. Nonetheless, he thought "the fields looked nice all covered with snow." And weather gives way to war in the entries of 1861:

One Greencastle company left on the 18th of April 1861 for Harrisburg; 19th of April for Cockiesville. Remained there two days, one night. Surrender of Fort Sumter by Major Anderson. Weather was cold. 6th of May we had snow if fallen in winter, would have been 6 inches deep. Battle of Bull Run was fought on July 21. The summer of this year yielded a plentiful harvest of wheat Oats and corn in abundance.

More records of weather and occasional items from the newspapers on the progress of the war take us through 1862 and into June and July of 1863 when a number of the most important events of Charles Hartman's life took place. No doubt because of their seriousness, the welfare of the church appears to be first in his thoughts:

We celebrated in our Reformed church . . . the Tercentenary of the Heidelberg Catechism, first Sunday after

the army marched through here, states the number at 47,000 Confederate army which passed through Chambersburg, was as follows: Ewell's corps, 15,000 men, infantry, artillery and cavalry with sixty pieces of artillery Trinity. Our church was beautifully trimmed in evergreen. I worked with active energy on this occasion, knowing that I will not be on this side of the eternal world very long. Rev. Thomas G. Apple devoted a great part of his time arranging everything with the assistance of his consistory and making everything very interesting on this occasion. On one side of the pulpit, encircled with a laurel wreath, was the date 1563 and on the other 1863, decorated in like style. It was a happy day for me.[7]

I hold the Heidelberg Catechism as the only symbolical book of recognized authority in the church. Other churches have their symbols of faith which are excellent, yet I prefer ours above any other symbol of faith. We are favored with all the blessings of the gospel, which are enjoyed in common by all Christian denominations in this highly favored, though at present, greatly afflicted land. We still have our pastor with us to break unto us the bread of life. Thank God for all his blessings.

Charles Hartman seems to have seen the invasion of Pennsylvania through a combination of newspaper clippings and personal observation. There is a curious similarity of the description of the Corporal Rihl incident as told here with the account in Jacob Hoke's *The Great Invasion of 1863*,[8] and it is possible that both Hoke and Hartman used the same sources, or that the diary itself may have been Hoke's source.

That part of this army which passed through Chambersburg was carefully estimated by competent persons both at Greencastle and Chambersburg, July 8, 1863, while the matter was fresh in the minds of the people, and taking its figures from the several estimates made by citizens as and over 1,000 wagons, the entire army did not number over 48 or 50,000 men, infantry, cavalry and artillery. This is an estimate made by a competent person from his own

actual observation, the result being noted at the time. Now taking 50,000, the numbers generally fixed upon by all who estimated them that passed through Chambersburg and add to them Early's division that passed by way of Waynesboro, Quincy, Funkstown, and Greencastle, Stuart's cavalry which passed around east of the Federal army, and we have already 70 to 75,000 men. It may safely be said that the entire strength of the invading army did not excel that number.

When within a half mile of Greencastle, Jenkins' cavalry with the advance of Rhodes' infantry were met, and seeing the scouting party retreating pursued by Captain Boyd and his troopers, and not knowing the number of Federals who might be near at hand, and upon them, their line of battle was hastily formed. Fences were torn down to the right and left of the road. Rhodes' infantry took position on the high ground of Mr. John Kissecker's farm. Jenkins threw his cavalry forward and formed a skirmish line upon the land of Mr. William Fleming, about a quarter of a mile in advance of the infantry. Jenkins established his headquarters in Mr. Fleming's house. As soon as the Union cavalry came within range of their guns, fire was opened upon them. For a time the noise and clatter were quite lively. A sister of Mrs. Blair Fleming going to the window to look out, barely escaped a ball which came crashing through the glass close by her head. As soon the dash and curiosity of these bold riders were satisfied, they withdrew out of range and were then pursued by part of Jenkins' force All persons who saw and witnessed this brave engagement says of all the bold and fearless soldiers they ever saw, these New York cavalry any in these qualities. Had they gone but a short distance further they would have come into a cross fire which would have swept them nearly all away. Their foresight however was equal to their courage. They knew when to stop. The result of the fight was one man *killed* and one wounded upon the Federal side. The

killed was Corporal Rihl. He was shot through the upper lip, the ball passing through his head, his blood bespattering the paling fence in front of Mrs. Fleming's. Corporal Rihl was buried by the Confederates in a shallow grave. The citizens of Greencastle a few days afterwards disinterred his body and placing it in a coffin, reburied it in the Lutheran graveyard.[9] Sergeant Cafferty was taken in charge and cared for by the Greencastle people; attended by one of our physicians he recovered. Rihl Post of the Grand Army of the Republic of Greencastle was named after this brave soldier who fell in that engagement. This fight was the first to occur upon Pennsylvania soil during the rebellion, and Corporal Rihl was the first Union man to lose his life. In front of Archibald Fleming's house.[10]

From the time Jenkins' cavalrymen fell back to Greencastle, Wednesday 17th until Monday morning the 22nd, the whole southern portion of Franklin County was plundered by these men. What they got was sent to Rhodes' division at Williamsport. It would be difficult to estimate the value of property taken in this raid, it coming in the season of the year when the farming interests required the use of the horses, followed a few days afterwards by Lee's vast army. Many croppers who had little else than their stock were bankrupt. Monday morning the 22nd Jenkins' command had all rejoined the main body between Greencastle and Hagerstown. On that day they were joined by Rhodes' division of infantry, when the real invasion of the state was begun.

One of the exciting features of the day was the scouring of the fields about town and searching of houses for negroes. These poor creatures, those of them who had not fled upon the approach of the foe, concealed in wheat fields about the town. Cavalry men rode in search of them and many of them were caught after a desperate chase and being fired at. In some cases the negroes were rescued from the guards. Squire Kaufman and Tom Pauling did this and if they had been caught the rebels would have

killed them. I was one of the town council. We were marched all day in the hot sun and dusty roads through the town and country. Heavy demands made upon us for salt, meat, onions and such. Also bridles and saddles, harness. The town council was held till their demands complied with. This was the hardest day in all my life. I never was the same strong man afterwards. I was marched till I was worn out. Andrew Stiffel they gave an old nag to ride, but then Dr. J. K. Davison, Wesley Rhodes and myself told the officers that they had the wrong man. This was an innocent citizen, a tanner by trade. They were after Sam Stickel, the man that had interfered with their wagons. They told Stiffel to rest on my porch at the pump awhile. They all mounted their horses again and left without him. They would have taken him to Richmond prison if we would not plead for him.

In 1865 John Hartman added that that summer "corn rated from $1.87 per half barrel to $2.12 per one third of a barrel in ears, and hard to get at that. The farmers still held it for higher prices. This shows the character of the rich farmers, still greedy for more. There was a great many poor people lost everything they had. Times was hard. All was trouble and confusion." But Charles Hartman was not to live to see those days, and after recording the names and deaths of local young men in the army, he addressed his family in a shaky hand still marked with the lessons of the old German school:

My dear children, think of what your dear father truly from his heart of hearts now says. Do to others as you would have them do to you. This is the golden rule. Always be faithful to your church and Sunday school. However ill others treat you, think God marks it down against them in his great Book of Life. Not you but he will punish them accordingly. I know this will be hard for you to do. Remember now thy creator in the days of thy youth. When thou art old, thou wilt not depart from it.

One regrets the softness and inadequacy of our times.

FOOTNOTES

[1]A few fragments of the diary have been quoted in J. Edward Omwake, "The German Reformed Congregation at Greencastle," *The Kittochtinny Historical Society, Papers Read Before the Society,* XI (Feb., 1928-June, 1939), p. 365, and in the same author's pamphlet, *A History of Grace Reformed Church* (Greencastle, Pa. 1930). Spelling has been normalized in transcribing sections of the diary, but changes in syntax, grammar and punctuation have been kept to a minimum, dictated by the obvious sense of a passage. A number of brief entries were made in the manuscript by Hartman's brother, John, as late as 1868. The editor's maternal grandfather, Thomas W. Brendle (named for Dr. Thomas G. Apple), was fond of telling how he rescued the diary from a smoldering bonfire at the rear of the Greencastle church, ca. 1919. The widow of Isaac Newton Peightel, a distinguished minister of the period, seems to have reduced the church records by a good deal that winter, while in the process of leaving a tidy parsonage.

[2]*History of Franklin County, Pennsylvania* .... (Chicago: Warner, Beers and Co., 1887), p. 702.

[3]This date contradicts the printed account of his fifty-six years of residence in Greencastle, and is surely more trustworthy.

[4]Michael Schlatter was one of the first itinerant preachers to make his way through the southern Pennsylvania settlements. Johann Albertus Conrad Helffenstein was minister of the Reformed Church of Germantown, but his travels seem to have taken him to this remote settlement soon after 1772. See William J. Hinke, *Ministers of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania and Other Colonies in the Eighteenth Century,* ed. by George W. Richards (Lancaster, Pa.: Historical Commission of of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, 1951). The "fort" was a stone garrison house and trading post built ca. 1750 and demolished ca. 1900.

[5]Sentence in the hand of John Hartman.

[6]The group was composed of faculty from the newly founded Franklin and Marshall College at Lancaster. Henry Harbaugh was the famous Pennsylvania-German literary figure and preacher.

[7]Dr. Apple was later made president of Mercersburg College, Mercersburg, Pa., and a professor in the Reformed Theological Seminary, Lancester. See also, Eve Bock, "Contribution of the German Reformed Church to American Culture," *German-American Studies,* VI, (1973), esp. 64-65.

[8]Jacob Hoke, *The Great Invasion of 1863; or, General Lee in Pennsylvania,* (Dayton: W. J. Shuey, 1887), pp. 123-126.

[9]On June 22, 1886, the body was again reburied with elaborate ceremony on the site of the action, and marked with an impressive granite obelisk.

[10]The sentences concerning the Rihl G.A.R. Post seem to be in the hand of John Hartman.

FRIEDRICH WILHELM FERDINAND GOLDBECK
(1831—1899)

by

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Friedrich Wilhelm Ferdinand Goldbeck, more commonly known as Fritz Goldbeck, the noted German-Texan poet, was born August 12, 1831 at Idsingen, Hannover, according to the church archives of Walsrode, where his baptism occurred with Friederike Sophie Katherine Westermann of Stellichte and his uncle Johann Friedrich Goldbeck of Kirchlinteln as *Paten.* Fritz was the illegimate son of the *Förster* Friedrich Wilhelm Ferdinand Küster and Judith Annette ("Annchen") Christiane Goldbeck, and it is probable that the couple met while Annchen was visiting her older brother Ludwig Christian Gottlieb Goldbeck who occupied the same position as did Küster in the village of Wedehof.

Unfortunately, nothing is known of Fritz's father and his paternal ancestry, but that of his mother has been the subject of considerable research. Annchen's father, Reverend Nicolaus Goldbeck (1771-1850), was a noted churchman and theologian of Northern Germany, serving first the Evangelical congregation of Wolterdingen bei Soltau from 1798 until 1816 and then that of Kirchlinteln bei Verden/Aller from 1816 until his death in 1850. Descended from a family of churchmen, Pastor Goldbeck also possessed a great interest in both music and astrology, the latter leading to a close friendship with the famous professor, Karl Friedrich Gauss of Göttingen, a frequent visitor in the Goldbeck home.[1] Frau Goldbeck, the former Catharina Julianna Sophie Dorothea Horn (1779-1819), was the daughter of Reverend Ludwig Gottlieb Horn, who had

succeeded his father as pastor of St. Johannis in Verden an der Aller and later served the congregation at Beverstedt. Reverend Horn was a direct descendant of a sister of Dr. Martin Luther of Reformation fame through his paternal ancestry; his mother, Dorothea Elenora Horn née Dankwerths, through her descent from such families of the old German Nobility as those of von Saldern, von der Asseburg, von Büren, von Broich, von Isenburg and von Limburg, could claim direct descent from such notable figures of history as Karl der Grosse, Heinrich I, and King Alfred of England.

Fritz was not Annchen's only illegitimate child. Prior to his birth had been born Otto circa 1825 and Theodor in 1826; there is some evidence to indicate that there may have also been a daughter who later married a Captain Wundram and resided in Hamburg. On December 12, 1832, Annchen married the *Kaufmann* Heinrich Conrad Friedrich Christian Bremer of Verden an der Aller. The family resided at Grosse Strasse 80.[2] In 1844, economic and social reasons being the motivation, the Bremers decided to emigrate and were accepted by the *Verein zum Schutze deutscher Einwanderer in Texas*[3] to leave with the first ship of colonists. The Bremers sailed from the nearby port of Bremen on September 16, 1844 aboard the *Johann Detthardt*, arriving at the Texas port of Galveston on November 23, 1844.[4] The family group consisted of seven members, the youngest being Caroline Anna who was born aboard ship in Cuban waters and later received the distinction of being the first of the *Verein* colonists to be baptized in Texas. Karl, Prinz zum Solms-Braunfels, the *Verein* Commissioner General in Texas, although a devout Catholic himself, stood as a sponsor in the Protestant ceremony.[5]

Although the *Verein* had acquired a tract of land in Texas known as the Fisher-Miller Grant, settlement upon it was impossible due to its location deep inside Comanche territory. A second piece of land much smaller in size was obtained after the arrival of the first contingent of settlers; at this site some thirty miles from San Antonio the settlement of New Braunfels was founded in March/April of 1845. City

lots were drawn and Fritz's step-father acquired Lot No. 33.[6] It was upon this plot that the Bremers immediately began the construction of their home, a structure which is still standing today at 217 East Mill Street. Pastor Louis Cachard-Ervendberg entered the Bremers as charter members of the Deutsch Protestantische Gemeinde zu Neu-Braunfels in 1845, Fritz being listed as Member No. 104.[7] It is not known whether he was one of the fifteen children who in 1845 made up the first school class in New Braunfels under the direction of Hermann Seele, but he was a member of the seven member confirmation class of 1846.[8]

The year 1846 was a hard one for the colony, as many of the 1845 and 1846 immigrants had been stranded on the Texas coast due to lack of transportation because of the Mexican War. A devastating epidemic broke out among them and was later carried inland to the settlement at New Braunfels. It is believed that it was for this reason that the Bremers moved to the Buffalo Springs Community on the Guadalupe River west of New Braunfels in the Hill Country, and it was here that Fritz spent many happy times (according to his poems). In 1849, Heinrich purchased land in the adjoining county of Guadalupe and moved his family some four miles west of the town of Seguin. It is apparent that Fritz and his older brother Theodor helped with the move and settling and then returned to New Braunfels.[9] Circa 1851, at the age of forty-seven, Fritz's mother, Annchen died.[10]

From the main *Verein* settlements of New Braunfels and Fredericksburg, the colonists began to spread out to found many small towns, and in 1854 Fritz was a member of Ernst Hermann Altgelt's party which surveyed and founded the town of Comfort in Kendall County.[11] It was here that Fritz and his brother, Theo, opened a combination mercantile store-saloon-and-post office, which they operated for several years.[12] It may well be that in Comfort Fritz received his first taste of writing, while contributing to the town's handwritten newspaper which was known as the *Bettelsack*.[13] He also sang second tenor with a very vocal quartet composed of

Ernst Altgelt, C. W. Boerner and Fritz Holekamp.[14] During their sojourn in Comfort, the Goldbeck brothers were responsible on one occasion for the Fourth of July celebration taking place a day early. Confronted with the delivery of several kegs of beer (from San Antonio's Menger Brewery) which would spoil if not drunk quickly, they fired the cannon reserved to call residents together in case of an Indian attack or an emergency. The people who quickly responded soon lost their indignation at the ruse and began the annual celebration a day before schedule.[15]

Following the sale of their business in Comfort and Theodore's removal to San Antonio to become associated with the firm of H. Mayer & Company, Fritz traveled extensively in Northern Mexico, Baja, California and Arizona, many of these travels being written about in his second volume of poetry. In 1857, as an employee of the Pony Express, he rode with the first mail to be delivered to Fort Yuma in Arizona. By 1859, Fritz had returned to Texas and on February 27 of that year in San Antonio was united in marriage with Natalia Eugenia Angelina Emelie Müller. His wife, born April 9, 1839 in Hessen-Darmstadt, first arrived in Texas in 1848. After a brief stay, the Müller family returned to Germany. They subsequently settled in Texas in the 1850's. Emelie's father was Johann Philipp Müller; her mother was Emma Mumm, daughter of Jacob Mumm and Johanna Maria Ruebel van Sinderen.[16]

Fritz and his wife soon moved to New Braunfels, where in 1860 the Comal County census ennumerator listed his occupation as that of "Trader in Stock of Mexico." Shortly thereafter, the Civil War erupted, and as was the case with most of the German element of Texas, the Goldbeck brothers were Union sympathizers. As no attempt was made on their part to conceal their feelings, they were forced to flee with their families for safety to Monterrey, Mexico, where they lived in exile for the duration of the war.[17] Fritz returned to New Braunfels prior to 1867, where he built a small home at 182 East Mill Street which is still standing. Following his

return, he served as Justice of the Peace and Tax Collector as well as Mayor of New Braunfels (from May 12, 1867 until November 8, 1872, having been appointed by Governor Davis), and as Comal County Judge (from 1879 until 1874).[18]

Fritz later settled on a ranch some twenty miles above New Braunfels on the Guadalupe River, moving several years prior to his death to San Antonio, where he and Emelie resided at 822 Avenue B. It was while in his retirement during the 1880's and early 1890's and after he had lost almost totally his sight in both eyes from cataracts, that he composed the some 140 poems found in his two-volume *Seit Fünfzig Jahren.* He died on April 4, 1899, and was buried the following day in San Antonio's Sons of Hermann Cemetery. His wife of forty years was laid to rest beside him a quarter of a century later, following her death at the home of their daughter in San Antonio on July 3, 1924. They were the parents of eight children: Hermann (1859-1860); Robert (1861-1928) who married Edith Martyr; Alfred (1862-1888); Adolph (1863-1921) who married Ottilie Specht; Fritz (1865-1869); Ernst (1867-1948) who married Emma Lasteree; Lizzie (1869-1947) who married Rudolph C. Specht; infant son unnamed (1871); and Gustav (1872-1915) who married Carrie Coy de los Santos. Descendants today are found in Texas, California and Oregon.

It has been said of Fritz that "no one has left a more complete historical record of the times."[19] He himself called his poems *Prosa in Versen,* and they leave us a very vivid picture of his recollections of the early days of the German-Texans. The first volume of *Seit Fünfzig Jahren* was published in paperback by Fritz in 1895 and the second volume a year later, both by John Schott (printer), San Antonio. He is also said to have published a short story entitled *Der alte in der Schlucht.*

Fort mit dem trügerischen Schein,
Ein Deutscher bin ich, will es sein!
Ob ich auch englisch reden kann,
Bin ich darum kein and'rer Mann.

O Muttersprache, süsser Laut,
Wie klingst mir doch so vertraut!—
Wo ich im Leben immer bin,
Mein Denken ist ein deutscher Sinn!

Was in der Kindheit ich geseh'n
Bleibt treu und fest im Herzen steh'n
Solange, bis mein Auge bricht,
Bleib ich ein Deutscher, läug'n es nicht!

Das Land, wo an der Mutter Brust
Ich einst geruht, noch unbewusst,
Es ist und bleibt mein Vaterland.
Ob ich ein neues Heim auch fand.

Die Zeit hat längst gebleicht mein Haar,
Soll ich vielleicht mich schämen gar?
Das müsst' ich doch, wollt ich zum Schein
Ein Andrer, als ein Deutscher sein!

Ein Bürger, wie es Pflicht und Recht—
Nicht jener, Ueberhebung Knecht—
Der bin ich, und der bleib ich auch!—
Es ist so ein Germanen Brauch.

Wer sieht es gern, wenn dummer Stolz,
Ihn formen möcht, wie ein Stück Holz?
Wer dienet gern als Hampelmann,
Mit dem die Einfalt spielen kann?

NOTES

[1]Robert Kienzle, *Chronik Kirchlinteln* (Kirchlinteln, 1969), p. 116.

[2]The Bremer home at Grosse Strasse 80 today has the number 69. Built in 1802 by the *Seilermeister* Jacob Schneider, the house was acquired by the Bremer family on January 20, 1820, remaining in the family's possession until its sale in 1844 by Heinrich to Heinrich Löbering, at which time Heinrich and Annchen emigrated to Texas with their family.

[3]The organization, also known as the *Mainzer Adelsverein* or simply the *Verein,* was a business society formed by a group of German noblemen for the purpose of settling Germans in the then Republic of Texas. Although it was poorly organized and fell far short of reaching its long-range objectives, it was responsible for bringing 10,695 colonists aboard ninety-three ships between 1844 and 1850. The towns of New Braunfels and Fredericksburg were directly founded by the *Verein.* (Ethel Hander Geue, *New Homes In a New Land—German Immigration to Texas 1847-1861* [Waco, 1970], pp. 12-31.)

[4]Chester W. and Ethel H. Geue, *A New Land Beckoned—German Immigration to Texas 1844-1847* (Waco, 1966 and 1972), p. 159.

[5]Oscar Haas, *The First Protestant Church, Its History And Its People, 1845-1955* (New Braunfels, 1955), p. 3. Hereafter referred to as Haas I. Oscar Haas, *History of New Braunfels and Comal County, Texas 1844-1946* (Austin, 1968), p. 307. Hereafter referred to as Haas II.

[6]Haas II, p. 49. Fritz's older half-brother, Theodor Goldbeck, being over the age of seventeen, was allowed a lot as a single man and drew No. 102. (*Ibid.,* p. 50.)

[7]Haas I, p. 115. Haas II, p. 304. Today the congregation is known as the First Protestant United Church of Christ of New Braunfels.

[8]Haas I, p. 118.

[9]Theodor and Fritz Goldbeck are listed in the Bremer household in the 1850 Guadalupe County census records and are also found in New Braunfels in the 1850 Comal County census records, indicating that they moved from one to the other during the time the two counties were being ennumerated.

[10]Annchen was the mother of three known illegitimate children: Otto, Theodor and Fritz. Otto, the eldest, became a seaman and did not accompany the family to Texas. Fritz had a brief encounter with him at the old seaport of Bagdad on the mouth of the Rio Grande River in 1863. A captain by then, Otto died soon afterwards in Cuba. Theodor Georg Ludwig Goldbeck (1826-1890) was the son of Annchen and her cousin Theodor Goldbeck of Braunschweig; he married Bianca Nohl, daughter of Dr. Louis Nohl and Henriette née Tips, natives of Barmen-Eberfeld who arrived in Texas in 1849. From his mother's marriage to Heinrich Conrad Friedrich Christian Bremer (1814-1880), Fritz had seven half-brothers and sisters: Heinrich Conrad Friedrich Nicolaus Bremer (1833-1912) who married Auguste Fechner of Coburg; Julius Carl Luis Bremer (1835-1836); Catharina Rosina Henriette Juliane Bremer (1837-1843); Dorothea Charlotte Judith Bremer (1839-1901) who married Anton Elsner of Friedland, Böhmen; Adolph Conrad Bremer (1841-1908) who married Maria Sophie Müller (Fritz's wife's sister) of Hessen-Darmstadt; Carolina Anna Bremer (1844-1928) who married Julius Louis Boek of Borkenmühle, Kreis Kolmar, Wartheland, and later H. Michel; and Julius August Hermann Bremer (1848-1894) who mar-

ried Emma Förster of Texas. Following Annchen's death, Fritz's step-father remarried in 1853 to Johanna Charlotte Caroline Keilmann (1835-1883), daughter of Carl Friedrich Ludwig Keilmann and Sophie Elisa Christine née Fierstnow, who arrived in Texas in 1851 from Stralsund, Pommern. Fritz's five step-sisters resulting from this union were: Ida Rose Bremer (1855-1932) who married Louis A. Bartholomae of Texas; Charlotte Clara Bremer (1857-1933) who married Heinrich Krueger of Germany; Emelie Helene Bremer (1860-1939) who married Wilhelm Thiel of Texas; Emma Valeska Bremer (1863-1951) who married Louis Jauer of Texas; and Theresa Bremer (1866-1872).

[11]Guido E. Ransleben, *A Hundred Years of Comfort in Texas — A Centennial History* (San Antonio, 1954 and 1974), p. 19.

[12]*Ibid.*, p. 138.

[13]*Ibid.*, p. 214.

[14]*Ibid.*, p. 135.

[15]*Ibid.*, p. 138.

[16]Jacob Mumm was a descendant of a family well-known in Germany in the banking and champagne business. Information on the Mumm von Schwarzenstein family is found in Band XI (1974) of the *Genealogisches Handbuch des Adels* published by C. A. Starke Verlag, Limburg/Lahn. The Ruebel van Sinderen family has a historical account given in Band 35 of the *Deutsches Geschlechterbuch (Genealogisches Handbuch Bürgerlicher Familien)* which was also published by C. A. Starke Verlag. In addition to Emilie, Johann Philipp (circa 1813-1867) and Emma (1815-1891) were the parents of five other children: Gustav Müller (1844-1912) who married Constance van der Stucken; Dorothea Müller (1845-1925) who married Felix van der Stucken; Sophie Marie Müller (1847-1920) who married Fritz's half-brother, Adolf Conrad Bremer; Sophie Müller (1849-1925) who married Hermann Förster; and August Müller (1850-1915) whose wife's name has not yet been located.

[17]In addition to Fritz, Theodor and their immediate families, other relatives known to have accompanied them to Mexico or who arrived later included Carolina Anna Bremer, Adolph Conrad Bremer and Sophie Marie Müller.

[18]Haas II, p. 299.

[19]Haas II, p. 23, quoting Robert A. Govier, B. A., B. Mu., The University of Texas, 1962, unpublished thesis, page 10.

ADDRESS TO THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE GERMAN DAY PROGRAM SPONSORED BY THE WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY ON NOV. 26, 1975

Delivered by
DR. ROBERT E. WARD

President Colket, Mr. Pike, Mr. Grabowski, friends of the Western Reserve Historical Society, fellow German-Americans: It is with great satisfaction that I contribute my library and collection of Americana Germanica to the Ethnic Archives of the Western Reserve Historical Society.

I am pleased to have the opportunity to say a few words at this ceremony of the formal acceptance and dedication of these books, periodicals, manuscripts and other materials. As I look around the room I am greeted by the faces of friends, colleagues, and acquaintances—so many of whom have played no small role in the propagation of German cultural values and institutions in the United States. To recognize just a few of them would not be possible, since all of them deserve formal recognition and time does not permit such today. Therefore, I shall pass over reading their names in favor of a broad *Herzlichen Dank* to all of you for your support and inspiration.

As a German-American, Germanist, great grandson and grandson of German immigrants, it is fitting that I should assist this fine historical society in establishing a compendium of knowledge relating to German-American life and the influence of German cultural traditions on American society in general, and the Western Reserve in particular.

An English historian, George M. Trevelyan, has expressed

that which I find to be a constant source of inspiration and reflection, and he has done so in words I wish I had written. He says:

I take delight in history in its most prosaic details because they become political as they recede into the past. The poetry of history lies in the quasi-miraculous fact that once, on this earth, on this familiar spot of ground, other men and women as actual as we are today, thinking their own thoughts, swayed by their own passions, but now all gone, one generation vanishing after another, gone as utterly as we ourselves shall shortly be gone like ghosts at cock-crow. This is the most familiar and certain fact about life, but it is also the most poetical; and the knowledge of it has never ceased to entrance me, and to throw a halo of poetry around the dustiest record that dryasdust can bring to light.

The purpose of this collection of Americana Germanica is threefold: First, it serves as a storehouse of information that will enable present and future generations of historians and other scholars to tell the complete story of the phenomenon of ethnicity. Implicit in this task is the recording of the activities of government officials and their German-American and other cohorts who, in their quest for self-gain, betray the institutions associated with German-Americanism and turn the phenomenon of ethnicity into a negative rather than positive tool for improving the lives of all Americans, regardless of race or national origin. In addition, this storehouse of information will serve as an effective weapon against the societal forces which promote bigotry and intolerance against one of America's largest ethnic groups.

Second, this collection of Americana Germanica is an important contribution to the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, and thus serves to strengthen and protect the enjoyment of the fundamental rights expressed by our founding fathers in the law of our land, the Constitution.

Third, the addition of this collection pays homage to the American immigrant and his descendants who built this

country in which the personal liberty of its constituents is vigorously protected by its courts and legislators.

Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote the words which I see as the hallmark of the American dream:

The less government we have, the better—the fewer laws and the less confined power. The antidote to this abuse of formal government is the influence of private character, the growth of the individual.

Too much government, too many laws, too much confided power—these are the things which resulted in the failing economy, the oppression of religious and political freedom, and the censorship of the press in my ancestral homeland, and which lay at the very base of emigration from it. Here in America, the German-speaking immigrant was at last free to live his life for himself, not for others. In a system of free enterprise and laissez faire capitalism he would reap the harvest of his labor—that he should fail, in some cases, to acquire all of the material goods he desired, was no failure at all—for what could be greater reward than to be self-sufficient, creative, and free of the paternalism of the collectivistic state. The German-Americans sought an environment in which their descendants could share the same reward. It is here that they found it.

It is an important function of historical archives that they continue to serve as a storehouse of vital information—in order that we may be ever reminded that the forces which sought to destroy the personal liberty of our forefathers are perpetual—that they exist still today, and that we must fight them with equal vigor.

The German-American immigrant, like his contemporaries from other countries, was inventive and gave great knowledge to the world. He was the producer whose energies, whose works, whose strong character and integrity, molded and shaped so many fibers of American society.

It would be difficult to find any area of the arts, the sciences, of industry, the business world, or technology, in

which the German-American has not made an indelible mark. The term, *German-American,* denotes not only the German-speaking immigrant, but also his American-born descendants. Whereas some of these descendants have not expressly or consciously identified with their ethnic heritage, their successes may, in some measure, be ascribed to the character-building values, traditions, mores, and familial influences of those who carried Germanic culture to their adopted homeland.

When the Western Reserve Historical Society's capable ethnic archivist, John Grabowski, contacted me regarding the building of a collection of German-Americana, I was delighted, indeed grateful for the opportunity to participate in this noble venture. Grateful because it is not infrequently that anti-German prejudices have torn at the fibres of American society, resulting in partial or complete disenfranchisement of the German-American's *earned* right to be recognized for his incredible cultural, intellectual, educational, and socio-economical contributions to our lives and the lives of those who walked here before us.

In John Grabowski, candidate for the degree Ph.D., we German-Americans have found truly a dedicated and objective friend. His work would not have been made possible without the fine cooperation and vision of his superiors, Mr. Pike and Dr. Colket. As an academician, I recognized my professional duty to respond to their call for assistance. As a Germanist, I recognized my expertise was essential to the teamwork their project requires. As a teacher of German heritage, I was inspired by the enthusiastic response of my students, especially those who have participated in the German-American genealogical workshops I have directed. As the descendant of German-speaking immigrants, I saw a marvelous opportunity to honor my heritage by actively participating in this historical society's ethnic project. Among you there are those who can offer similar expertise and resources to this fine institution.

My modest contribution to these archives is only a start. There is much which must be added that each of you can variously offer. Only through your generous support and participation and those of your friends, acquaintances, and fellow citizens, can the Western Reserve Historical Society serve as a repository for the annals of German-America and of the various other parts of the mosaic of American society.

Thank you all for sharing this proud occasion with my family and me. And thank you, Dr. Colket, and your fine staff for providing a home for a part of the materials on German-American history, and thereby reiterating the poetic words of the Milwaukee German poet of the last century, Konrad Krez, who said so well: *Da waren Deutsche auch dabei.*

KINDERLIED

In der Sommersonne
kummerdurchflimmert
liegt mein Kind
wie ein schläfriger Faun
der auf uralten Pfeifen bläst.
Klagende Töne steigen
zum trägen Himmel auf
verlieren sich
im gellenden Blau.

Schon einmal sah ich
einen Kinderkopf
von sechs strahlenden Jahren
sacht in der Sonne schlummern—
einen der niemals
zu sieben
erwacht.

Maria Berl Lee
Forest Hills, N.Y.

DAS DEUTSCHAMERIKANISCHE DORF ST. LUCAS, IOWA, UND DIE FORSCHUNG ÜBER EINE DORT WOHNENDE, WEITVERZWEIGTE FAMILIE

von

CARL HEINZ MOST

Mayo High School
Rochester, Minnesota

I. Teil: Das Dorf St. Lucas, Iowa

Wenn man sich dem Dorfe St. Lucas im Bundesstaat Iowa nähert, so sieht man als erstes nicht grosse Getreideschuppen, wie das in vielen Dörfern und Kleinstädten dieses Staates üblich ist, sondern man sieht die Türme der katholischen Kirche, die weit über diese kleine Gemeinde auf einem Berg in die Höhe ragen. Denn seit Beginn der Geschichte dieser kleinen deutschamerikanischen Gemeinde spielt die Kirche die Hauptrolle im Leben hiesiger Einwohner. Die Kirche war wahrhaftig Kulturträgerin der hier wohnenden Deutschamerikaner; sie war Quelle und schöpferische Kraft für die Erhaltung einer Art deutscher Lebensweise in einem Dorf, das sich bis in die Jahre nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg etwa bewusst von seiner Umgebung und deren Einflüsse isolierte.

Das Dorf St. Lucas liegt südlich und westlich von der Stadt Decorah, mitten im Dörferdreieck Waucoma-Eldorado-Festina. Heute hat das Dorf etwa 150 Einwohner; dazu müssten allerdings die Menschen gerechnet werden, die auf Farmen wohnen und wirtschaftlich, kulturell, kirchlich und sozial zum eigentlichen Dorfleben gehören.

Immer wieder haben sich deutsch-katholische Menschen hier angesiedelt, sodass die Erhaltung einer katholisch-christlichen Lebensart, auf deutscher Basis ruhend, möglich war. Bis in die vierziger Jahre dieses Jahrhunderts wurde in

deutscher Sprache gepredigt, viele der Gläubigen haben in deutscher Sprache gebeichtet und gebetet, und noch heute sind vor und nach den Mahlzeiten deutsche Tischgebete zu hören. Und in den beiden Wirtschaften des Dorfes kann man gelegentlich hören, wie sich die älteren Männer und Frauen auf deutsch unterhalten. Und bei vielen, welche nur noch vom Hören her ein paar Worte Deutsch können, ist das Englisch mit deutschem Akzent gefärbt. Besonders auffallend ist der Gebrauch des englischen Wortes *not* für *nicht* in der Fragestellung: "You're coming over tonight, *not?*"—"Heute abend kommst du mal rüber, *nicht?*" Das nenne ich nur als ein Beispiel von vielen, die sich in die Lokalsprache eingebürgert haben.

In der Kirchenschule war Deutsch die Sprache des Unterrichts bis vor dem zweiten Weltkrieg. Mein Schwiegervater, Herman Kuennen, der jüngste aus einer Familie von zwölf Kindern, versteht noch viel, spricht Deutsch sehr stockend, kann sich aber noch verständigen. Herman Kuennens Eltern, also die Grosseltern meiner Frau Rosemary Kuennen Most, sprachen sehr gut Deutsch, und die Sprache im Hause war fast ausschliesslich Deutsch. Interessant für uns war, dass meine Frau nach einem Sommer intensiven Sprachunterrichts die Aufnahmeprüfung an der Universität Marburg bestehen konnte und als ordentliche Studierende dort matrikulieren durfte. Dies bezeugt zu welchem Grade Deutsch noch im Hause mit Grosseltern und mit Verwandten und Bekannten im Dorf gesprochen wurde.

Heute befindet sich diese deutschamerikanische Lebensweise im Aussterben. Die Kirchenschule hat nur noch die ersten sechs Schuljahre, wo der Unterricht jetzt in englischer Sprache erteilt wird. Dann gehen die Schüler in die grössere Bezirksschule (consolidated school), wo Deutsch nicht mal als Fremdsprache geboten wird. Obwohl es genügend Schüler für den Deutschunterricht gäbe, kann sich die Schulverwaltung dazu nicht entschliessen. Also wiederholt sich eine Tragödie, die wir in diesem unserem Lande oft genug erlebt haben: die

Sprache der nationalen Herkunft der Bürger wird nicht geboten und wird dadurch zum Aussterben verurteilt.

Oft wurde Deutsch in der Kirche gepredigt, da die Priester dieser Sprache mächtig waren, auch wenn sie in Amerika geboren wurden. Der letzte Priester, der noch Deutsch sprach, war Pater Francis Schuh, dessen Eltern aus Trier kamen und der wegen schwerer Erkrankung 1970 in den Ruhestand ging. Heute wird die Messe ausschliesslich in englischer Sprache gelesen.

Von grossem Interesse ist ein Besuch im Kirchfriedhof, wo die Grabsteine vorwiegend deutsch beinschriftet sind und an denen man die Geschichte der Gründerfamilien bis zur ersten Dorfsiedlung verfolgen kann.

II. Teil: Die Forschung über die Herkunft der Familie John H. Kuennen zu St. Lucas, Iowa

In den dreissiger Jahren dieses Jahrhunderts arbeitete Bernard L. Kuennen aus St. Lucas als Steward an Bord eines Schiffes, das zwischen New York und Deutschland fuhr. Er hat mit der Familie Henke im Dorf Lastrup, Kreis Oldenburg, Kontakt aufgenommen und Heinrich Henke gebeten, in der hiesigen Kirche Geburts- und Taufurkunden der Familie Künnen (heute Kuennen geschrieben) nachzuforschen. Nach etlichen Jahren gründlicher Forschung gelangen diese Urkunden endlich 1961 in die Hände Leonard Kuennens, auf einer Farm unweit von St. Lucas ansässig. Leonard hat während des zweiten Weltkrieges in der U. S. Army gedient und hatte selber Gelegenheit, die Familie Henke kennenzulernen. Diese Urkunden wurden dann dem Herrn Pater Denis Kuennen von der Erzdiozöse Dubuque, Iowa, weitergegeben. Pater Kuennen liess weitere Forschungen veranlassen und weilte auch 1970 selber in Lastrup, um sich der Authentizität der Forschung vergewissern zu können.

Aus den Urkunden geht hervor, dass Theodor Heinrich Künnen sich 1811 mit Helena Marie Henke vermählte. Er war 25, sie 20 Jahre alt. Das Paar hatte zwölf Kinder:

Johann Gerhard
Maria Angela

Johann Heinrich
Theodor Heinrich
Johann Wessel
Bernard Anton (in der Kindheit gestorben)
Bernard Anton
Maria Catherina
Johann Wilhelm (gestorben im Alter von 3 Jahren)
Maria Elisabeth
Johann Wilhelm
Johann Bernard

Von diesen zwölf Kindern blieb nur Johann Heinrich in Lastrup. Den Forschungen des in Lastrup wohnenden Heinrich Henkes nach, emigrierten fünf Söhne und zwei Töchter nach Amerika. Einer der Söhne starb an Lungenentzündung auf hoher See und musste den Wellen übergeben werden. Pater Denis Kuennen konnte feststellen, dass dies Johann Gerhard war; sicher ist aber nicht, ob er im Alter von 16 oder 25 Jahren starb, denn hier ist nichts mit Genauigkeit festzustellen. Man weiss also nicht, ob die sieben Kinder 1834 oder 1850 auswanderten. Vermutlich war es im Jahre 1850.

Man weiss, dass folgende in Amerika angekommen sind: Maria Angela, Johann Wessel, Bernard Anton, Maria Catherina, Johann Bernard und Theodor Heinrich.

Theodor Heinrich Künnen war der Vater von John H. Kuennen in St. Lucas. Theodor Heinrich wurde "Henry" genannt und die Todesurkunde in St. Lucas gibt den Namen Henry H. Kuennen, gestorben 1919 im Alter von 96 Jahren. Ist aber das Geburtsjahr 1818 in der in Deutschland von Heinrich Henke und Pater Denis Kuennen erforschten Urkunde richtig, so dürfte er im Alter von 101 Jahren gestorben sein.

Pater Kuennens Meinung nach, hat sich Bernard Anton Künnen in St. Louis, Missouri, niedergelassen. Maria Catherina (in Amerika Catherine genannt) vermählte sich mit John Meyer in St. Lucas, und Maria Angela (Annie) heiratete Gerhard Hackman, auch in St. Lucas. Die übrigen drei Männer liessen sich ebenfalls in St. Lucas nieder und wurden Henry, Wessel und J. Barney genannt.

Theodor Heinrich (Henry), der Vater des John H. Kuennen, machte sich ein Grundstück zu eigen, das jetzt in Besitz von Herman Kuennen ist, dem Enkel des Theodor Heinrich.

Henry interessierte sich sehr für die katholische Erziehung der Kinder von St. Lucas und war lange Jahre Lehrer, später Schulrat, an der Kirchenschule. Er hat der Gemeinde 16 Hektar (40 acres) Land für den Bau einer neuen Kirche angeboten; die Gemeinde nahm das Angebot nicht an und statt dessen baute sie ihre Kirche auf dem Berg, wo sie heute noch steht. Henry Kuennen hat die Bäume und Hecken angepflanzt, die noch um die Kirche stehen. Er war als Musiker bekannt und erteilte gelegentlich Unterricht in diesem Fach. Im hohen Alter ging er jeden Tag bergauf zur Kirche, um zu Mittag die Glocke zu läuten. Er war der erste Postmeister von St. Lucas und sehr aktiv in der Dorfpolitik.

Als junger Mann hat sich Henry Kuennen mit Theresa Bodensteiner vermählt. Die Ehe war kinderlos als Theresa starb. Seine zweite Frau, Getrude (geb. Steffes), gebar ihm zwei Kinder, Maggie und John H., bevor sie starb. Aus seiner dritten Ehe mit Cecelia Forman kamen fünf Kinder zur Welt: Louis L., Magdeline, Ben, Henry, und Sophie.

John H. Kuennen (1867-1961) vermählte sich mit Theresa Martin (1873-1958). Aus dieser Ehe kamen dreizehn Kinder zur Welt, die heute noch in der Gegend um St. Lucas, Iowa, leben. Am 1. September 1974 fand ein grosses Treffen in St. Lucas statt, an dem über 300 Nachkommen von John H. und Theresa Kuennen anwesend waren. Es war als dreihundertjähriges Jubiläum gedacht, weil die älteste in Deutschland erforschte Urkunde das Datum 1644 nennt.

Um sich ein genaueres Bild dieser höchst interessanten Familiengeschichte zu verschaffen, soll man sich den von Pater Denis Kuennen aufgestellten Stammbaum ansehen.

Eine Fotokopie dieses Stammbaumes befindet sich in der Dr. Robert E. Ward—Sammlung Americana Germanica im Archiv der Western Reserve Historical Society (Cleveland, Ohio).

ST. PETER'S GERMAN AND SAXON LUTHERAN CHURCH

Detroit, Michigan

On January 26, 1930, the "Deutsche Saechsische Evangelische Lutherische St. Petrus-Kirche" was founded by Pastor John Teutsch.[1] Forty-six years later it is the only Lutheran congregation which is predominantly German in Michigan.[2] The interdenominational German language school for children, which began with the founding of the church, is still serving the city. Approximately 100 students study the language in five levels, ending with tests from the Modern Language Association. The average German service attendance is currently four times the average at the English service.[3] The pastor, Dr. Wolf Goegginger, preaches in German on Detroit and Tampa, Florida, radio stations. The yearbook is published in German and English. St. Peter's is without doubt a thoroughly German institution, a home for the immigrant Lutherans of German descent in America, especially the elderly Volksdeutsch people.[4]

St. Peter's is one of many German Lutheran congregations founded primarily for the Transylvania Saxons. The following is a chronological list of these churches:[5]

Name	*City*	*Date Founded*	*First Pastor*
St. Paul's	Ellwood City, Pa.	1902	M. Orend
Honterus[6]	Youngstown, Oh.	1910	George Schuster
St. John's	Cleveland, Oh.	1922	John Foisel
St. John's	Farrell, Pa.	1923	Johannes Deutschlander
Honterus	Gary, In.	1924	John Teutsch
Teutsch[7]	Cleveland, Oh.	1926	Johannes Deutschlander
Martin Luther	Columbus, Oh.	1926	George Schuster
Christ	Canton, Oh.	1927	Emil Bockelmann
St. Peter's	Detroit, Mi.	1930	John Teutsch
St. Paul's	Waterton, N.Y.	1932	Albert F. Gillmann

Other German Lutheran congregations, founded during earlier migrations by other German groups, were later controlled by Transylvania Saxons.[8] Many German Lutheran churches have faltered and disappeared. Some of them are the above-named Saxon churches in Gary, Farrell, and Watertown.[9]

St. Peter's has remained on the scene, guided by only three pastors in her forty-six years.[10] The continued German identity of the congregation has doubtless been due to the 800-year isolation of the Germans in Transylvania, which led to the merging of German language and culture with religion and folk customs. Pastor John Teutsch founded and directed the congregation for thirty-two years, until his death on June 25, 1962.[11] He began St. Peter's in Detroit after founding and building up Honterus Lutheran Church in Gary. A Saxon himself, he started St. Peter's with 141 members and saw the congregation through many building projects and renovations. One month before he died, Thiel College honored him with a Doctor of Divinity degree.

The second pastor, Gerhard Wuerscher, served from December of 1962 until July of 1968, when he received a call to hospital chaplaincy in Connecticut. Originally from Breslau and Waldenburg in Silesia (Germany), he had earlier served in Philadelphia. During his tenure at St. Peter's, the church library was begun, made possible by the Martin Behaim Society in Germany. When the congregation was without a pastor, several ministers filled in at St. Peter's. One, Frau von Pirch, was perhaps the first female pastor to serve in the Lutheran Church in America.[12] She had earlier served as the German pastor in Glasgow, Scotland.

Dr. Wolf H. Goegginger came from Toronto to St. Peter's as the fourth called pastor of the congregation.[13] The third, Hans Hohnsbein, died tragically only two days after he preached his first sermon in Detroit. Pastor Hohnsbein, from Hamburg, Germany, had previously served in Edmonton, Alberta. Dr. Goegginger was then called to St. Peter's on April 1, 1970, and continues to serve there. Born on the east shore of the Baltic Sea, he is German by descent, from Riga,

Latvia. His remarkable career includes degrees from Jena (B.D., 1938), Dresden (M.Div., 1939), Heidelberg (Ph.D., 1941), and Toronto (M.A., 1968). He has served as a pastor in Germany, an assistant for linguistics at the University of Heidelberg, an interpreter in World War II, a personal secretary to a bishop, a common laborer, a magazine editor, a traveling chaplain, and as a founder of German religious and cultural institutions in Toronto. He has also served as vice-president of the German Interest Conference of the Lutheran Church in America. As German pastor, German school principal, and German radio preacher, Dr. Goegginger is well suited for his demanding roles. Although many German churches have failed, St. Peter's continues to be of service to the German people of Detroit.[14]

In the last two years the neighborhood around the church has started to change. Many church members now commute from the distant north suburbs. A church like St. Peter's depends on new migrations from Europe, as members age and the youth assimilate the American culture. Nevertheless, a continued interest in the German language is evidenced by the request for a German confirmation class for six students in 1975. At St. Peter's, the German identity remains.[15]

Gregory L. Jackson

Pastor, St. Timothy Lutheran Church, Sturgis, Michigan;

Ph.D. Student, Notre Dame University Pastoral Theology Department

NOTES

[1]John Foisel, *Saxons Through Seventeen Centuries* (Cleveland: Central Alliance of Transylvania Saxons of the United States, 1965), pp. 317-322. Bibliography, p. 343. Wolf Goegginger, *Jubilaeumsausgabe 1930-1970; 40 Jahre Deutsch St. Petrus-Gemeinde* (Detroit), pp. 12-13.

[2]Other German Lutheran congregations in Michigan:

Missouri Synod
- St. Lorenz, Frankenmuth
- Trinity, St. Joseph
- St. Stephen, East Detroit
- Zion, East Detroit
- St. Peter's, East Detroit

Wisconsin Synod
St. John's, Saginaw
Paul the Apostle, Detroit
Immanuel, Lansing
St. Paul's Stevensville
St. Matthew's, Benton Harbor
St. John's, Dowagiac

Statistics from Elizabeth M. Mayer, "Deutschsprachige und die deutsche Sprache in Michigan" (Kalamazoo: mimeographed, 1973), pp. 5-6. Quoted by Wolf Goegginger, *1975 Jahrbuch* (Detroit: 1975), p. 2.

[3]Goegginger, *op. cit.*, 1970, p. 7, for the 1969 statistics. Attempts to increase the congregation's work in English have not been successful. Pastor Wuerscher worked especially on this.

[4]The majority are Transylvania Saxons. Other groups represented are Danube Schwabians, Polish Germans, Yugoslavian Germans, East European Germans, and so forth, and some born in Germany. Volksdeutsch is a term invented in Hitler's time to include as German those who were born in other countries.

[5]J. Foisel, *op. cit.* Many were founded by the old Pittsburgh Synod. On the Pittsburgh Synod's missionary aims: E. Clifford Nelson, ed., *The Lutheran in North America* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), pp. 195.

[6]Gregory Jackson, "Honterus Lutheran Church," *Ohio Lutheran* (LCA) May, 1975. Honterus (1498-1549) was the Saxon Reformer; Foisel, *op. cit.* pp. 150-156.

[7]Gregory L. Jackson, "St. Thomas Lutheran Church," *Ohio Lutheran*, March, 1975. (Teutsch was renamed St. Thomas around 1965.) Georg Daniel Teutsch (1817-1893) was the beloved bishop of the Saxons; Foisel, *op. cit.* pp. 260-262. The author served St. Thomas for two years.

[8]St. Peter's	Monaco, Pa.
St. Mark's	Homestead, Pa.
Martin Luther	Salem, Oh.
St. Paul's	Chicago, Il.

[9]Gregory L. Jackson, "Bilingual German Churches in the Lutheran Church in America," *German American Studies*, IX (1975), Spring, pp. 11-15.

[10]John Teutsch, January 26, 1930-June 25, 1962.
Gerhard Wuerscher, April, 1963-July 6, 1968.
Hans Hohnsbein, September 1, 1969-September 2, 1969.
Wolf Goegginger, April 1, 1970-Present.

[11]He founded St. Paul's, Windsor, Ontario, on the same day St. Peter's was begun.

[12]At that time her husband was the German Consul in Detroit.

[13]A detailed biography may be found in Goegginger, *op. cit.*, 1975, p. 16. (To Dr. Goegginger I am indebted for the information provided in this article.) Cf Wilhelm Neander, *Lexikon deutschbaltischer Theologen* (Hannover: 1967), p. 47.

[14]Presidents of the congregation:

1930-32	Andreas Guip
1933-35	Johann Thalgott
1936-38	Johann Schindler
1939-41	Johann Thalgott
1942-44	Johann Schindler
1945-47	Louis G. Sauerbrey
1948-56	Johann Schindler
1957-59	Gerdinand Noske
1960-65	Thomas Seiler
1966-71	Alfred Alesi, Sr.
1972	Adolph Hohentanner
1973	Heinrich Gerstheimer
1974-Present	Andreas Lindert, Sr.

[15]Statistics from *Minutes of the Michigan Synod of the Lutheran Church in America, June 5-8, 1975* (Askov, Minn.: American Publishing, 1975), p. F-2.

Baptized Members	Confirmed Members	Current Expenses	Other Expenses	Total Benevolence
382	313	$25,997	$374	$2,854

LEBENSZEICHEN

Zeichen
Gegeben in der Nacht
Das Trommeln
Neben meinem Bett
Mutterhand
Auf dem Rücken
Des neugebornen Kindes
Leises Rülpsen
Zeichen
Der Erneuerung des Lebens.

LOWELL A. BANGERTER
Laramie, Wyoming

ELI KELLER: PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN POET

In Commemoration of the 150th Anniversary of His Birth

by

JULIUS M. HERZ
Temple University

The house 1312 Chew Street in Allentown, Pennsylvania, is not different from hundreds of its kind in the city. In this modest, yet not unattractive brick row-house, the Rev. Eli Keller spent the last years of his long and active life, and here, on New Year's Eve 1919, he died peacefully. As modest as the house, so was the man. Born on December 20, 1825, in Plainfield township in northeastern Northampton County, he grew up on a farm and became familiar with all aspects of rural life.[1] His best poetry is a reflection of these years.

The Keller family was no newcomer to the area. Eli Keller's great-grandfather, Joseph Keller, landed in Philadelphia in 1737. He came from Schwarzenacker, a small town which is today in the Saarland.[2] In 1742, he settled with his Palatinate-born wife not far from today's Wind Gap, that is, in the region which had just been opened to settlers as a consequence of the so-called Walking Purchase.[3] In 1757, the Keller homestead, still located near the frontier, was attacked by Indians, the oldest boy was killed, the mother and two other boys were captured; only one boy and the mother came back after long captivity in Canada.

The Kellers were not ordinary farmers. One member of the family held a clerkship under George Washington, and Eli Keller's father was a surveyor, a notary public, an associate judge of Northampton County, and a military officer; he married a Lutheran girl whose great-grandparents had come to Pennsylvania at about the same time as Joseph Keller. Eli Keller must have had a highly developed sense for history, he was greatly interested in his ancestors and

the history of his family; his genealogically detailed book of 192 pages, *History of the Keller Family,* was published in 1905.[4] This family history proves that Eli Keller belonged to the third American-born generation. There is no evidence that he ever left the U.S.A. When he writes about the "Vatterland", he means, of course, Pennsylvania, as in his poem "Der Keschtabaam" where he starts his last verse with:

> Vun alla Beem im Vatterland, eb wild noch odder zahm,
> Setz ich mich 'sliebscht im Schatta hi' vum liewa Keschtabaam.[5]

However, even the life of a pastor in peaceful Ohio and eastern Pennsylvania knew tragedy. The Kellers were patriotic and being of the Reformed Protestant faith they bore arms. After the outbreak of the Civil War, three of Eli Keller's brothers enlisted in the Union Army, two of them, officers in the 49th Regiment, Ohio Volunteer Infantry, fought in the Battle of Murfreesborough, Tenn., in January 1863. One died in battle; the other succumbed to his wounds about three weeks later. Thirty years after this sad event, Eli Keller dedicated a poem in English to him:

> Father, my work is done —
> My course almost completed:
> Victory now is won —
> My sword no longer needed![6]

He may have been thinking of his brothers, when he included in his collection of Pennsylvania proverbs the one which says:

Wer's vorziegt un beim Dadi un der Mami schö dahem bleibt, werd net verschosse.[7]

Eli Keller represents the educated class of the Pennsylvania Dutch. For a young man to acquire an education almost always meant giving up farming, moving to the city, and adopting English as the only means of communications. Eli Keller was the exception to the rule in more than one respect. He went to school locally, then in Easton, and afterwards

away to college and theological seminary. Immediately after his ordination in 1856, he moved to Ohio, and the usual chain of events of a bright Pennsylvania country boy leaving home seemed to be repeating itself. But Eli Keller was different. Out in Bucyrus and Bellevue, Ohio, he became homesick and finally returned to Pennsylvania settling in Zionsville, Lehigh County, where most of his finest poetry was written.

Quite unusual was Keller's language talent. To call him a Pennsylvania-German poet is of course correct, but does not do him complete justice: he was a poet and writer in Pennsylvania-German, in English, and in standard German. To be exact, in Pennsylvania-German and English, he wrote nonfiction as well as poetry. We have already referred to his long genealogical book written in English. Interested in just about every phase of a rapidly changing rural life, he also published a long article under the title "Flax Culture and its Utility."[8]

Keller was also the editor and main contributor of *Unser Pennsylvanisch-Deutsch Kalenner for 1885.*[9] In the preface, written in pleasant and humorous Pennsylvania-German prose, Keller gives us sort of a sales talk emphasizing the cheap price ("fuenf Sent") and justifying the inclusion of advertisements which are also printed in the dialect.

The bulk of his English and standard German poetry would fall under the heading of "Gelegenheitsgedichte", written on special occasions, for anniversaries, often dedicated to somebody. Just a few examples will suffice to illustrate this point.

At Parting

Life is a troubl'd sea,
Storms upon storms arise
In dreadful vengeance dress'd,
Heav'n does indeed exist,
Yet, far above the clouds;
Whilst from below arise
Dark fears, and gloomy doubts.

Scarce that we've met and tied
Dear Friendship's band;
The billows rush between
And friend must part from friend.
But far below these waves
The "Rock of Ages"' stays:
Sink then your anchor down
And drive dark fears away.

See in the distant East
The Morning Star arise:
Fear not! There yet is hope —
A rest beyond the skies.
What, though we here must part
We know in whom we trust:
There, true friends meet again —
Will we? — Oh yes! We must.[10]

Dedication Of An Album

These pages form a shrine,
Where Friendship freely makes
Its purest best oblations!
Though it be but a line —
Whater'er the heart dictates —
But, use not vain quotations![11]

Album

Ein Album ist's:
Wo Blümchen steh'n, in einem schönen Buch,
und man nur Eins, und zwar recht sehr vermiszt:
den tausendfach' und süszen Wohlgeruch.
Es sind jedoch recht viele Namen hier,
und Freundschafts-Wünsche, die geschrieben steh'n:
Aus diesen dringt ein Wohlgeruch zu dir,
den keine Erden-Winde je verweh'n.
Ein Paradies steht immer noch bereit,
nach welchem fromme Pilger fröhlich zieh'n,
wo in Gefilden, hoch und weit und breit
des Himmel's Blüthen frisch und ewig blüh'n![12]

He speaks as a serious clergyman who is acutely aware of the evil in this world, who has his own moments of doubt, but still has firm convictions, a Christian faith and, here and there, a spark of genuine humor. His idealized concept of friendship is a recurrent theme in his poems and seems to be German of origin, probably reinforced by some of his readings in the German language. Although his interest in standard German may not have been purely academic — after all, Keller was no language scholar — his talent as a poet also comes through when he writes in a surprisingly pure "Hochdeutsch". Some of his standard German poems are superior to many of his English ones. Every poet has his limitations. Some works do not stand the test of time; some conceived in a serious and solemn mood may elicit belittling smile from a later generation. On Valentine's Day 1894, Keller wrote a poem to his wife for her approaching 57th birthday:

To Mrs. E. K. by E. K.

Mother! — you are 57 now;
and getting gray —
Wrinkles gathered on your matron-brow,
and came to stay.
The beauty to which you must now be directed
may not in the outward be longer detected.[13]

Besides its poetic flaws we could also question the soundness of its psychological approach. On the other hand, the poem may demonstrate that in Keller's days a man's authority was more important than his psychological insight.

Religion was foremost in Keller's mind. Most of his poems refer to God in one way or another. In his gloomier moments he is keenly aware of the vanity of vanities of earthly existence. He had a great deal of pride and self-assurance for his brand of Protestantism and the Reformed Church.

Yet despite his strong religious commitment there is no evidence in his writings that he attacked or ridiculed other faiths. He knew quite a bit about the history of Protestantism with its many squabbles and infighting. The basis of the Reformed faith — in contrast to Lutheranism — was the Heidelberg Catechism which was published in 1563, with active support from the Count Palatine and Elector Frederick III the Pious. On the occasion of the 300th anniversary of this event, Keller, then living in Ohio, wrote a poem consisting of 20 stanzas, entitled "Zum 300 Jährigen Jubileum":

Danket dem Vater, der stets sich als Vater bezeuget,
Sich aus dem Himmel zu Sündern im Staube geneiget
In seinem Sohn,
Der unter Schmerzen und Hohn,
Sein Haupt im Tode gebeuget.[14]

The form of the stanzas is obviously identical with that of the famous church hymn "Der Lobende" by Joachim Neander:

Lobe den Herren, den mächtigen König der Ehren,
Meine geliebete Seele, das ist mein Begehren,
Kommet zu Hauf,
Psalter und Harfe wacht auf,
Lasset die Musicam hören.

Lobe den Herren, was in mir ist, lobe den Namen,
Alles, was Odem hat, lobe mit Abrahams Samen,
Er ist dein Licht,
Seele vergiss es ja nicht,
Lobende, schliesse mit Amen.[15]

If we compare these last lines with Keller's concluding stanza the similarities become obvious:

Lob, Preis und Ehre sei deinem hochheiligen Namen,
Dasz du uns Sünder gezählet zum heiligen Samen,
Vater und Sohn,
Und Geist auf ewigen Thron:
Rette uns allesamt — Amen![16]

In both cases the rhymes are: Namen — Samen — Amen. A coincidence? Hardly. The Rev. Keller must have sung "Lobe den Herren" hundreds, if not thousands of times and must have written his text specifically for that so familiar melody. However, this was a common practice. Most Protestant hymns had alternate texts.

While Eli Keller was attending Marshall College in Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, the school merged with Franklin College in Lancaster. At Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster he met Henry Harbaugh who was by then a respected minister in the Reformed Church and a known author of church history and hymns, all written in English of course. Keller, then 28 of age, was becoming interested in writing and joined a literary society. It is possible that this encounter with Harbaugh and the subsequent friendship was a decisive influence upon Keller who was no child prodigy and needed years to develop his literary talents. He did not stay long in Lancaster, but Harbaugh's Pennsylvania-German poems which, a few years later, were appearing with increasing frequency must have had an impact upon Keller. The Pennsylvania-German poems of the two have a lot more in common that just the language; we can detect similarities in subject-matter, a similar nostalgic mood trying to recapture the years of childhood and youth, the love of nature and country-life, the religious outlook. It was Harbaugh who, in April 1866, introduced Keller to the readers of *The Guardian* with " 'S Glatteis Fahre" which is one of Keller's best dialect poems.[17]

Many of Keller's Pennsylvania-German poems appeared in newspapers, among them in *Der Friedens-Bothe* (Allen-

town, Pa.), in *'S Pennsylvaanisch Deitsch Eck* (edited by Preston A. Barba),[18] but also in the important anthology *Pennsylvania German Verse.*[19] Reichard's anthology contains 22 of Keller's poems plus the cycle *Vum Flachsbaue.* If Keller had written nothing except these ten cantos on the cultivation of flax, he would have earned a unique spot for himself in the world of poetry. He had a great love for the tilling of the soil, for old traditions and dying customs. Thus the cycle of poems about the growing, pulling, thrashing, braking of the flax all the way down to the flax spinning should be not only of interest to the student of language and literature, but also to the folklorist and historian. It is in his dialect poems that Keller reaches the height of his accomplishments. He loved eastern Pennsylvania and its people, and at heart he was a story-teller often recalling the days of his youth down on the farm when things were different and perhaps just a little more beautiful. Yet he does not paint these nostalgic pictures of the good old days in order to pine for the past, he simply wants the reader to know what it was like. These somewhat idyllic pictures do not forget the sweat and toil of the farmers or the limited freedom of the children who seemed to accept parental authority cheerfully and without questions. Keller's world seems wholesome, orderly and intact; there is a limited degree of social awareness and concern, e.g. for the plight of the washerwoman (in the poem "Die Weschfraa"). There are some dark clouds here and there; the non-conformist, who does not want to work nor study, is not ignored, as in the poem "Aaageweh", which means that it hurts Keller's eyes to have to see a person like that. The card-player is another negative symbol; and there is even a poem about a German tramp ("En Tremp") who is asked to leave because he denigrates Keller's dialect works. This may be a reflection upon the attitude of some 19th century German immigrants who considered their own brand of German so much superior to the Pennsylvania-German dialect. Yet Keller obviously did not think of Penn-

sylvania-German as a separate language. The first of his poems in the Reichard anthology is entitled "Die Deutsch Sproch" which expresses Keller's love, pride, and respect for his language:

> Ich schwetz in der deutsche Sproch,
> Lieb sie ah un halt sie hoch;
> Sie is ah — ken Hurekind,
> Das mer in de Hecke find —
> Sie kummt her vum schöne Rhei,
> Wu sie Trauwe hen — un Wei![20]

It is no surprise that a man like Keller was living in harmony with nature and its seasons. Most of his dialect poems deal with outdoor activities, with the change of the weather, with his love of trees, as e.g. "Der Keschtabaam". Another tree poem, "Mei Kerschebaam", reminisces about the beauty and bountiful harvest of a cherry tree which later was struck by lightning, an event which Keller calls judgment ("Gericht").

Keller should be remembered as a poet, writer, editor, as a dedicated pastor and a decent man, and perhaps also as a collector of Pennsylvania-German proverbs which he recorded the way he heard them from the people he loved. The quality of his poetry naturally varies, but also to Eli Keller applies what Harry Reichard wrote in his dedication to his anthology:

> Nau wees en jeder, der's wisse will,
> Wie viel Perle drunner sin.
> Un die, was net so gut sin,
> helfen ah mit,
> en Gesammtbild vum Pennsylvanisch Deitsche
> Volkslebe un Volksdenke
> zu mache.[21]

NOTES

[1]Two biographical sketches of Keller (one of them by him) appeared in vol. 7 (pp. 458-61) and vol. 31 (pp. 47-50) of *The Pennsylvania-German Society.*

[2]Schwarzenacker is located between Neunkirchen and Zweibrücken.

[3]John Birmelin describes the walk in his long ballad "Der Laaf Kaaf".

[4]In Tiffin, Ohio. Press of W. H. Good.

[5]Harry Hess Reichard, "Pennsylvania German Verse: An Anthology of Representative Selections in the Dialect popularly known as Pennsylvania Dutch with an Introduction", *Pennsylvanian German Society,* vol. 48, part 2 (1940), p. 152.

[6]From Eli Keller's manuscript. This is the first stanza.

[7]Ibid.

[8]In *Pennsylvania German Magazine* (June 1908).

[9]Printed by Trexler & Härtzell in Allentown, Pa.

[10]From Eli Keller's manuscript.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Ibid. Keller's spelling and punctuation has been retained with only few exceptions.

[13]Ibid. This is the beginning of the poem.

[14]Ibid. This is the first stanza.

[15]Neander's first and last stanza. Text variations exist. The quoted stanzas follow Theodor Echtermeyer, *Deutsche Gedichte,* neugestaltet von Benno von Wiese (Düsseldorf: August Bagel, 1966), pp. 107-08.

[16]From Eli Keller's manuscript.

[17]Harry Hess Reichard, "Pensylvania German Literature." In: *The Pennsylvania Germans,* ed. Ralph Wood (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Pr., 1943), p. 180.

[18]*The Morning Call* (Allentown, Pa.). Several issues in 1967 included a biography of Keller, a study of his works and selections from them.

[19]Reichard, "Pennsylvania German Verse....", pp. 148-62.

[20]Ibid., p. 148.

[21]Ibid., p. iii.

THE GERMAN IN EARLY PENNSYLVANIA AGRICULTURE

by

GEORGE BITTLINGMAYER
and
ALEXANDER WALDENRATH

Germans and Swiss-German pioneers who emigrated to the new world haven of William Penn brought both farming methods and religious and cultural values with them which sharply contrasted with those of settlers from the British Isles. These newcomers from the continent established themselves on the rich southeastern Pennsylvania farmland from the Susquehanna to the Lehigh. Through efficient husbandry, frugality, and dedication to hard work they not only became more productive than other American agrarians, but contributed in large share to the establishment of this area of Pennsylvania as a major grain exporter to other parts of America and to Europe and generously supplied the Continental Army in the struggle for independence.

Yet through a variety of factors the importance of the area as a supplier of foodstuffs and the significance of the Pennsylvania-German in American agriculture declined from approximately the beginning of the nineteenth century onward. Although the so-called Pennsylvania Dutch country has remained a model farming community, the major site of grain production began at that time a shift towards the extensive and fertile plains to the west and the once exemplary agricultural methods of these family farms were overshadowed by improved agricultural implements developed in the industrial revolution. Nevertheless, credit goes to the Pennsylvania-German farmer for establishing the beginnings

of efficient agricultural techniques in America and for helping to provide the commercial groundwork on which much of the future development of the middle Atlantic states was to rest.

German immigration to Pennsylvania was spurred on by religious fervor. Beginning in 1683, the sects, mainly Mennonites, German Quakers, Schwenkfelders, and Dunkers, persecuted so often in their homeland, sought a new life for themselves in Penn's noble experiment. They tended to settle in counties outside of Philadelphia. Subsequent immigration from southwestern Germany was on a larger scale and was basically due to the hardships of German agrarian life under conditions of almost constant political turmoil. The devastation of southwestern Germany by a veritable unending succession of wars in the 18th century readily gave rise to such a mass exodus.[1] Stimulated by reports of the vast quantities of farmland which could be tilled without interference from the heavy hand of local nobility or marauding soldiers, they made the journey down the Rhine over Holland onward to Pennsylvania, some to New York and others to Maryland. Adherents to the Lutheran, Reformed, and Roman Catholic churches, stemming mainly from the Palatine, Wuerttemberg, Switzerland, and adjacent areas, accounted for the major part of this increased immigration after 1728, one which continued for most of the century.

The earlier German immigrants usually possessed enough means to pay for their own passage; after 1728 the proportion of indentured servants arriving increased markedly.[2] The terms by which these Germans paid for their ocean voyage illustrated their views of economics which often differed from those of other national groups. A Swedish observer described the practice at Philadelphia: "The English and Irish commonly sell themselves for four years, but the Germans frequently agree with the captain before they set out, to pay him a certain sum of money, for a certain number of persons; as soon as they arrive in America, they go about and try to get a man who will pay the passage for them. In return

they give according to the circumstances one, or several of their children to serve a certain number of years, at last they make their bargain with the highest bidder."[3]

More extraordinary was the practice of some German immigrants who, although having enough money for the voyage, rather sold themselves into servitude for a period in order to gain knowledge of the land and its language.[4]

Those entering the port of Philadelphia usually settled in the back country where open land was readily available and considerably more reasonable; some continued southwestward extending finally into the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. They were basically agrarians rather than frontiersmen and preferred to move into areas already inhabited to some degree and to buy land which had been initially cultivated by Scotch-Irish or Irish pioneers who, though, through inferior farming techniques, depleted the soil and did not replenish it.

J. Hector St. John Crevecoeur commented in his *Letters from an American Farmer* on the superior forms of the German and the poor ones particularly of the Irish who "...seem... to labor under a greater degree of ignorance in husbandry than others; perhaps it is that their industry had less scope, and was less exercised at home."[5] The displacement of English-speaking farmers from the fruitful limestone lands of southeastern Pennsylvania by Germans is astonishing. Once the Scotch-Irish had settlements throughout the region, even in Lancaster County, generally believed to have been pioneered exclusively by Germans. This area, then, became the American homeland of the Pennsylvania-Germans as a consequence of displacement, resulting from their more rational system of settling and farming.

The farmers who had been able to make the Palatinate and other parts of the Rhineland agriculturally productive despite prolonged warfare and neo-feudal restrictions prospered quickly, and news of their prosperity tempted others to risk the ocean voyage to join them. Fortified with religion and peasant values regarding the use of land, and living

under the relatively favorable economic and climatic conditions of Pennsylvania, the German inhabitants undertook the establisment of a community based upon the agricultural traditions they brought with them across the Atlantic.

The exact number of Germans in early Pennsylvania can probably not be determined. In 1743 the governor of the province, Thomas, estimated that three-fifths of the population of 200,000 were German.[6] A conservative assessment for the year 1776 puts the Germans at 110,000 of a total of 341,000 and in 1789 at one-third of all inhabitants, i.e. about 145,000.[7] Travelers in the southeastern region in the latter part of the century typically reported that "everywhere we observe German farms, small houses, and large barns cows and oxen."[8] On the road to Lancaster an observer commented that "everybody I met I addressed in German and they all answered me in the same language."[9] Lancaster, with a population of about four thousand, was the largest inland city within the United States of those days; in 1783 not more than fifty English-speaking families lived there, the rest were German. Duke de la Rouchefoucault Liancourt visited Reading in 1795 and observed that the inhabitants of the town and surrounding sections were either all German or of German descent.

The manner in which these Pennsylvanians conducted agriculture, by and large different from methods employed by English, Irish, and Scotch-Irish settlers, drew the attention and praise of numerous people. Dr. Benjamin Rush, a noted Philadelphia physician and signer of the Declaration of Independence, in a deliberate parallel to the Roman historian Tacitus' *De Moribus Germanorum,* a work which praised the life-style of the German tribes, wrote *An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania* in 1789. He became convinced that the wealth of the state resulted in good part from the labors of the Pennsylvania-Germans. Consequently, he aimed at presenting their mode of life and work as worthy of emulation so that others could "... learn ... to prize knowledge and industry in agriculture and manu-

factures, as the basis of domestic happiness and material prosperity."[10]

Rush drew special attention to their farming practices in order to demonstrate differences from most of the other farmers of Pennsylvania. They were praised for settling on good land and cultivating grass which increased the value of their farms.[11] Their land was cleared completely which resulted in the conservation of human energy in plowing, harrowing, and reaping. Among the Scotch-Irish trees were simply girdled.[12]

When the German settled, his first efforts went into building a large, well-planned barn which housed his animals, sheltered their feed, and made manure collection easy. In contrast to his English-speaking compatriot, he usually kept fever animals, fed them better, and had them in barns for the winter. It has been noted how use of these large and functional barns spread: "The original barns and stables of rough logs were early replaced by stone structures in the German settlements; in other localities they persisted until the end of the 18th century. The so-called Swisser barns introduced by the Germans were finally adopted as models by the English and Scotch-Irish farmers and became a familiar feature of the landscape in southeastern Pennsylvania."[13]

The German farmer's sturdy horses, extraordinary in size and weight, served him well as did his Conestoga wagon, which was first developed in Lancaster County. An observer traveling through the Commonwealth in 1783 and 1784 remarked: "Hauling is done to better advantage in Pennsylvania than in most of the other provinces. During the war Pennsylvania alone supplied almost the whole of the American army with wagons and horses... The Pennsylvanians regard size and strength of breed more than beauty, and their horses are the strongest and best in America."[14] Until 1840 when railroad development commenced, they remained the dominant means of transporting goods from inland to the urban markets. In addition, Pennsylvanians seemed further indebted to these early German inhabitants for an important part of

their knowledge in horticulture. The meticulous gardens each farmer's wife cultivated made a variety of vegetables available to Philadelphians who before had known only turnips and cabbages.

Evidence indicates they lived quite frugally with respect to diet, furniture, and apparel. The first generation resided in a log cabin so that all efforts could be directed towards the cultivation of the farm and not until the eldest son inherited it, did the building of the stone house, a much admired feature of the Pennsylvania countryside even today, begin. The farmers typically sold their most valuable grain and ate the less profitable, seldom hired workers for they were considered too much of a burden through most of the year, and favored paying cash and staying out of debt.

Whereas the English system of heating relied upon open fireplaces, the Germans located iron stoves centrally in their homes. This gave more heat, economized on wood, and saved their horses the effort of pulling heavy loads in winter, an activity which would weaken the animals for spring plowing.

The exacting care afforded the development of their farms probably resulted from their practice of patrimonial property. Each successive generation undertook long-term improvements with the knowledge that these holdings would remain virtually permanently in the family.

Their work habits were also to be praised for, in contrast to the prevailing custom among English-speaking groups, women as well as men performed tasks in the fields at harvest time. To fear God and to love work was their motto and they diligently pursued this credo.

In addition to these practices, their agricultural endeavors were further distinguished in several important ways. A consistently high yield from the soil was attained by methods which went beyond simply clearing land of trees and roots. The most important was the extensive use of manure during an era which commonly saw a field merely overgrown by weeds to restore its fertility. Although all farmers knew the value of using manure, the only recognized fertilizer dur-

ing most of the colonial period, the Pennsylvania-German persisted in its collection, which was made easier since his animals housed in barns for several months of the year rather than always roaming the fields. Lands in Lancaster benefited especially since the area was also a beaf-fattening center. "The farmer who had a large barnyard full of manure to haul out, after harvest, was looked upon as a model, and consequently, a prosperous owner."[15]

Allowing fields to lie fallow for up to three years as part of a crop rotation scheme was, nevertheless, practiced as a means of restoring fertility, in part because of the inadequate amounts of manure available. Towards the end of the century the procedure of planting clover was introduced and readily adopted. Travelers through southeastern Pennsylvania detailed the crop rotation system employed by the German farmers; other national groups appeared to have been less concerned with conservation and when their land no longer yielded adequate quantities of wheat, the most profitable crop, corn was planted. When the fields were exhausted, they became abandoned. Even though scientific knowledge concerning the subject was scant, the German farmer clung to his reverence for the land he held in Germany and continued to utilize rotation systems his forefathers had begun, thereby tending to preserve the fertility of the soil rather than exploiting it.[16] A British observer gave a detailed description of practices used in Lancaster County where he found the most fruitful farms of the Commonwealth.[17] As the importance of rotation became more clearly understood, the Pennsylvania-Germans were quick to employ the latest methods. An agricultural expert with the federal government commented: "The Pennsylvania Germans have developed the most permanent and satisfactory system of agriculture in the United States from the standpoint of maintenance of soil fertility... The rotation of crops which they worked out many years ago is the standard rotation, with minor modifications, as far west as central Nebraska."[18]

The use of gypsum, calcium sulphate, as a fertilizer was

another measure taken to safeguard the productivity of fields. Whereas it is unknown whether the Germans initiated this procedure, there is evidence showing that they employed it extensively by the end of the century.

The tendency of Germans to settle on limestone lands sprang from a similar concern for the condition of the soil, for limestone was found to be an excellent fertilizer. F. J. Turner, the historian of the American frontier, commented: "The limestones areas in a geographical map of Pennsylvania would serve as a map of German settlements."[19] German farmers of Lancaster County were among the first to enjoy its beneficial effects. When visiting the county in 1754, Governor Pownall was delighted with the rich cultivation and remarked that each farm had a lime kiln in operation.[20]

Irrigation of fields contributed in major proportions also to their successes. The author of *American Husbandry* wrote in 1775 that "...in several parts of Pennsylvania, they are very well acquainted with the husbandry of watering meadow lands by conducting brooks over them; which they do in a very artificial manner... By this management... they mow three crops a year, whereas without water they would mow but once."[21] Governor Pownall commented on his journey through Lancaster County that "here it was first I saw the method of watering a whole range of pastures and meadows on a hillside, by little troughs cut in the side of the hill, along which the water from springs was conducted, so when the outlets of these troughs were stopped at the end the water ran over the sides and watered all the ground between that and the other trough next below it. I dare say this method may be in use in England, I never saw it there, but saw it here first."[22] This arrangement led to augmenting the amount of fertile land as well as aiding in the care of livestock.

The consumption of large quantities of milk and cheese underlines their ability as dairymen. The average farmer owned four or five cattle and although dairy production was

initially for home consumption, soon many products found their way to markets in Philadelphia and Baltimore. By mid-century production surpluses allowed even for export abroad. Orchards with apple and peach and sometimes cherry trees formed an integral part of each farm as did the well cared for family garden which at times was expanded into a successful commercial venture.

A major innovation, one important even today, was the the corn belt system, i.e. the practice of purchasing and fattening livestock in the hope of fetching a higher price for it. In the post revolutionary period hogs and cattle were first driven from the newly opened areas of the frontier west of the Susquehanna to the East Coast markets. The main route ran through the Harrisburg gap to Philadelphia. The German farmers with large barns and productive grain fields bought animals which had become lean through the overland journey, kept them for a period for fattening before marketing them. Not only was this highly profitable but also afforded the farmer additional manure for his fields.

When Johannes Schöpf, a physician with the Hessian troops, toured the country in the 1780's, he expressed a uniformly critical appraisal of the American scene. His praise, though, for the Pennsylvania-Germans was explicit: "From very insignificant beginnings the most of them have come to good circumstances, and many have grown rich. For here the poor man who is industrious finds opportunities enough for gain, and there is no excuse for the slothful. Where a German settles, there commonly are seen industry and economy, more than with others, all things equal — his house is better-built and warmer, his land is better fenced, he has a better garden, and his stabling is especially superior; everything about his farm shows order and good management in all that concerns the care of the land."[23]

A precise determination of the impact of these agricultural practices on the early American economy is not possible. Extant data on even the simplest measures are scarce and more often than not unreliable. However, the significant

role played by the Germans, as witnessed by many commentators, was unquestionably unique. The governor of the province in 1747, George Thomas, remarked, "They have, by their industry, been the principal instrument of raising the state to its present flourishing condition, beyond any of his Majesty's Colonies, in North America."[24] Dr. Schöpf wrote, "The Germans are known throughout America as an industrious people, ... and in all the provinces it is desired that their number increase, they being everywhere valued as good citizens, and I daresay that Pennsylvania is envied for the greater number of them settled there, since it is universally allowed that without them Pennsylvania would not be what it is."[25] Dr. Rush put the estimation of the economic accomplishments of the Pennsylvania-Germans as follows: "If it were possible, to determine the amount of all property brought into Pennsylvania, by the present German inhabitants of the state, and their ancestors, and then compare it with the present amount of their property, the contrast would form such a monument of human industry and economy, as has seldom been contemplated in any age or country."[26]

Ideally the figures for output per unit of input, expressed in the conventional terms of land, labor, and capital, would establish whether the methods of the Pennsylvania-Germans actually were more productive than those of other farmers. Unfortunately, no systematic records were kept and the best indices were noted by gentlemen with an interest in agriculture. Data on wheat production, the major crop and leading export commodity, is more complete than for any other product. Yields per acre fall typically in the range between 15 and 30 bushels for farms in the Pennsylvania-German region. Schöpf reported yields of 25-30 bushels near Reading and the Tulpehocken Valley, but only 10 to 15 on unmanured land in Bucks County. Although the nationality of farmers there was not indicated, the figures may be taken to apply general yields and much of Bucks County was not a Pennsylvania-German area. From 2 to 3 bushels of seed, reported the author of *American Husbandry,* farmers obtained yields

of 25 to 32 bushels on good land and 15 to 25 on inferior acreage in the wheat growing regions of the state. Estimates by scholars for average yields in the middle colonies have been put at 10-15 bushels, yet among the Germans the same study places the return considerably higher, from 20 to 30 bushels.[27]

Clearly the methods they employed succeeded in producing more per cultivated acre than those of other national groups. The possibility of attaining greater harvests took on major significance as new fertile land east of the Appalachians became harder to find and the price of wheat remained at a fairly high level. The quantity of wheat a farmer took to market apparently meant a substantial difference in the sum of cash he brought home. "Wheat thriving so well in Pennsylvania, makes them neglect maize; which is a much less valuable grain; this is a distinction which should always be made; it is not that maize is not a profitable crop in itself, but their lands will yield one which is much more beneficial. This will be better understood when I add that Indian corn yields 2s7d. a bushel, when wheat is at 7s.6d. both Pennsylvania currency; a difference that at once accounts for the preference in a country that will yield wheat."[28]

Knowledge about the volume of trade tends to support the judgments of contemporary observers concerning the importance of wheat to Pennsylvania. In 1765 Philadelphia exported 367,522 bushels of wheat and 18,714 tons of flour and bread. New York, the export center for a large grain producing area itself, exported 109,666 bushels of wheat and 5,519 tons of flour and bread. The exact contribution of the Pennsylvania-Germans to these exports is difficult to determine. A reasonable estimate based on some previously established facts would probably indicate fifty per cent or more since the German-speaking population was 110,000 out of a total of 341,000; it was concentrated primarily in the productive limestone regions; wheat yields there tended to be twice as high as elsewhere; the area had good transportation connections with Philadelphia.

If in the absence of other data we take such an estimate as an acceptable approximation and apply the figures on wheat yields which established the acreage of the Pennsylvania-Germans as being twice as productive as that of their neighbors, we arrive at the tentative conclusion that their cultivation practices alone were responsible for at least one quarter of the Philadelphia export. Alternatively stated, exports were one third more than they might have been had no Germans settled and farmed the lands of southeastern Pennsylvania.

Although wheat was the grand article of the Commonwealth, corn, flaxseed, beef, and pork were other major exports leaving the port of Philadelphia during the second half of the eighteenth century. Data on these items are too fragmentary to allow an estimate of the proportion produced on the farms of Pennsylvania-Germans or to calculate the effect of farming methods on their production. On the basis of what is known about the variety of products grown on those farms, it would seem that their contribution was highly significant.

The decline in the importance of southeastern Pennsylvania agriculture came about through a variety of factors. The most important was the opening up of new fertile wheat lands, first in western New York and later in parts of the old Northwest. As transportation systems improved, especially canals, the low cost and productivity of new lands could offset the cost of transportation to growing urban markets and export centers. In the older farming regions the spread of more systematic and intensive methods tended to increase the lower-crop yields of non-Germans. Agricultural societies and journals provided information on some of the very techniques, such as fertilization and irrigation, which had been almost exclusively practiced by them. The improved farming equipment created in the industrial revolution became more readily available to non-German groups.

In addition to the accelerated application by other farmers of more productive methods which nibbled away at

his lead, he was faced with the fact that the geographic limits of his new homeland ordained his playing a proportionally smaller role in the future as American agriculture expanded westward. Due to the Napoleonic wars, immigration was cut off for a time in the early nineteenth century; when Germans once again arrived, they, the newcomers, as well as the surplus population of southeast Pennsylvania itself, became integrated into the westward movements or into growing urban centers.

Those who remained behind continued to practice sound farming, but cultural survival dictated isolation from the mainstream of economic life as well as evoking a certain amount of resistance to practices which originated outside the group and which were at odds with its basic values. Some of the more rigid sects froze time and were of course more successful in preserving their identity. Yet even upholding the concept of the family farm, which was nowhere more of an ideal than among the Pennsylvania-Germans, meant bucking major trends of the time. Those who moved out into the larger world, and especially those who were successful in it, did so on its terms. Those who stayed behind were geographically limited to a few counties and became restricted in their mobility. Isolated by oceans and events from their original source of influence in Central Europe which might have aided the transition to a more modern society, they remained bound to an inbred and fundamentally peasant culture which often appeared inadequate in coping with the changing world.

The gradual erosion of the group's identity is, of course, not unexpected. However, the extent to which a retention of separate language and of distinctive customs has flourished is surprising. In large part the preservation of Pennsylvania-German culture can be attributed to specific agricultural practices and to an agrarian orientation which continued to provide the economic foundation for their survival well into the twentieth century.

Conclusions

The Pennsylvania-German farmer was a major figure in the early economic history of the middle Atlantic region. During a time when its financial life rested on the trade in agricultural commodities, his products constituted a large share, probably more than half, of that brought to market. Although part of this total was sold to the growing urban centers of Pennsylvania, by far the larger portion found its way to New England, the West Indies, and Europe.

The trade in farm products resulted in Philadelphia becoming America's largest city and commercial center, a status it retained until the easier access of New York to the growing West put that city ahead. The favorable economic conditions in early Pennsylvania also contributed to making it the nation's most populous state. Despite the fact that the Pennsylvania-Germans took little part in non-agricultural activities or political life, the yields of their farms fostered a decidedly advantageous economic climate during the latter part of the 18th and early part of the 19th centuries.

High agricultural productivity depends on the existence of favorable natural conditions but is not sustainable without decades of careful attention to the soil. These farmers excelled in preserving and in augmenting the capacity of their lands when other fields were being irreversibly removed from the list of prime areas of cultivation through the lack of careful planning.

These Germans brought their agricultural methods to North America at the right juncture in history. The existence of seemingly limitless land and the scarcity of labor had encouraged the adoption of wasteful practices which appalled most European observers. These poor techniques developed their own momentum and persisted even though conditions increasingly demanded more careful cultivation. Not until well into the 19th century did farmers in the East become concerned enough about falling yields to initiate efforts for soil conservation.

The German immigrants almost seemed to have anticipated the trend of events by ignoring depleting land habits and by farming in the same careful manner they had in Europe. Fertilization, crop rotation, the care of livestock, irrigation, and a deeply ingrained frugality were the central elements of their success.

Underlying such methods was the peasant culture they brought with them, bolstered by the belief that their labor, and not the richness of the land, would make them prosperous. .In the course of time conditions required change, but for a substantial period the utilization of age-old customs proved right.

NOTES

[1]See Karl Frederick Geiser, *Redemptions and Indentured Servants in the Colony and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (New Haven, Conn., 1901), p. 9.

Oscar Kuhns, *The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania: A Study of the So-Called Pennsylvania Dutch* (New York, 1901), p. 83ff.

Frank Ried Diffenderfer, "The German Immigration into Pennsylvania Through the Port of Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania-German Society Proceedings* (Lancaster, Penn., 1900), Vol. X.

[2]Karl Frederick Geiser, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[3]Per Kalm, *Travels in North America 1748-1750,* J. R. Forster, trans,. Vol. I, p. 388.

[4]Ibid.

See author anonymous, ed. Harry J. Carman, *American Husbandry* (Port Washington, N.Y., 1964), p. 121. This was originally published in London in 1775.

[5]Hector St. John De Crèvecoeur, *Letters From an American Farmer (London and New York,* 1951), p. 62. This work was originally published in London in 1782.

See Oscar Kuhns, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[6]Benjamin Rush, *An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania,* ed. I, Daniel Rupp (Philadelphia, 1875), p. 5. This work was written in 1789.

[7]Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (New York, 1927), Vol. I, p. 285.

Benjamin Rush, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

Johannes Schöpf, *Travels in the Confederation 1783-1784,* trans. and ed. Alfred J. Morrison (Philadelphia, 1911), Vol. I, p. 102. This work originally appeared in Erlangen, Germany, in 1788.

[8]La Rochefoucault Liancourt, *Travels Through the United States of North America,* trans. H. Neuman (London, 1799), Vol. I, p. 46.

[9]Schöpf, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 9.

[10]Benjamin Rush, *op. cit.,* p. 59.

[11]In addition to timothy grass, Pennsylvania-German farmers grew Lancaster County Red Clover which was introduced in 1773, frequently advertised in German language newspapers, and widely accepted by 1800. See Leo A. Bressler, "Agriculture Among the Germans in Pennsylvania During the Eighteenth Century," *Pennsylvania History* (Gettysburg, Penna., 1955), Vol. XXII, 2, p. 119.

Amos Long, *The Pennsylvania German Family Farm* (Breiningsville, Penna., 1972), p. 364.

[12]See Ralph Wood *et al., The Pennsylvania Germans* (Princeton, N. J., 1942), p. 34.

[13]Percy Wells Bidwell and John I. Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States 1620-1860* (Washington, D.C., 1925), p. 122.

[14]Johannes Schöpf, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, p. 204.

[15]Levi Huber, "Two Hundred Years of Farming in Lancaster County," *Lancaster County Historical Society Papers* (Lancaster, Penna., 1931), Vol. XXXV, No. 5, p. 98.

[16]See John F. Gagliardo, "Germans and Agriculture in Colonial Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (Philadelphia, 1959), Vol. LXXXIII, 2, pp. 202-205.

[17]Ibid., pp. 203-204.

[18]See John A. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America* (New York, 1970), p. 33.

[19]F. J. Turner, "German Immigration in the Colonial Period," *Studies of American Immigration* (Chicago, 1901), No. XI.

[20]Thomas Pownall, *Topographical Description of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1775), p. 28.

See also Samuel Eliot Morison, Henry Steele Commager, and William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Growth of the American Republic* (New York, London, Toronto, 1969), p. 272.

[21]Ed. Harry J. Carman, *op. cit.,* p. 90.

[22]See Oscar Kuhns, *op. cit.,* p. 90.

[23]Johannes Schöpf, *op. cit.,* p. 103.

[24]See Benjamin Rush, *op. cit.,* p. 5.

[25]Johannes Schöpf, *op. cit.,* p. 103.

[26]Ibid., p. 55.

[27]Bidwell and Falconer, *op. cit.,* p. 101.

[28]Ed. Harry J. Carman, *op. cit.,* p. 116. When comparing the prices of wheat and corn it should be noted that yields per acre were roughly the same for the two gains, although usually slightly higher for corn.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Gentlemen:

The interesting article by Alexander Waldenrath (Spring 1975) contained a repeated lapsus linguae which one would not expect in a scholarly publication of German studies, a lapsus which plays into the hands of Germanophobes, viz (as on pages 36 and 37), referring in the 18th century to "Germany and Austria."

Historically, this is simply untrue; and the subsequent separations of Austria from the rest of Germany (1866 and 1945) were the handiwork of other people. Using such a redundancy as "Germany and Austria" simply reinforces the desires of those people hostile to Germany unity (which is hardly the purpose of a scholarly publication). Notice today how the new term "East Germany" (which tacitly presupposes with glee German dismemberment) is acquiring the connotation of something which from way back has always been separate—exactly what happened two generations ago to the term "Austria."

Indeed, people in the field of German studies should never fall into the bad practice of using the inaccurate and even hostile terminology of the Germanophobes.

Yours sincerely,
Robert Schmitz
Chicago, Ill.

☆ ☆ ☆

Sehr geehrte Herren!

In einer Rezension im neunten Band von *German-American Studies* (Ss. 61-63) fordert Don Heinrich Tolzmann College und Universitätslehrer auf, dem deutsch-amerikanischen Schrifttum einen Platz im Fachgebiet Germanistik einzuräumen. Als Deutsch-Amerikaner zweiter Generation begrüsse

ich in mancher Hinsicht den von Tolzmann vertretenen Standpunkt und möchte mich hierzu äussern und eventuell einen Vorschlag machen.

Ich meine, dass man vielleicht eher an der High School Dichtung deutsch-amerikanischer Autoren in den Unterricht einführen kann. Denn wir High School-Lehrer befinden uns nicht im literaturwissenschaftlichen Zwang vieler unserer Universitätskollegen. Bei uns ist die Aufgabe, den Schülern Kenntnisse der deutschen Sprache und Kultur—Kultur im weitesten Sinne des Wortes—beizubringen, und dass wir im dritten, vierten und fünften Jahre des Unterrichts Texte aus dem amerikanischen sowie dem europäischen Sprachraum benutzen, ist nicht so sehr von Belang. Hier ist die Hauptsache, dass die Dichtung für das Niveau des High School-Schülers geeignet ist und etwas in sich hat, das heisst kein literarischer Kitsch ist.

Bücher, bzw. Anthologien, sowie andere Quellen mit Prosa und Lyrik deutsch-amerikanischer Autoren sind schon herausgegeben worden. Leser unseres Journals werden zahlreiche Beispiele dieser in Rezensionen, Artikeln und Fussnoten zu literaturwissenschaftlichen Interpretationen gefunden haben; z. B., G. A. Neeff: *Vom Lande des Sternenbanners. Eine Blumenlese deutscher Dichtungen in Amerika* (N. Y., 1905) und R. E. Ward: *Deutsche Lyrik aus Amerika. Eine Auswahl* (N. Y., 1969). Solche Bücher, meine ich, eignen sich eher für den College- und Universitätsunterricht, wo dem Lehrer und seinen Studenten zusätzlich Material in Bibliotheken zur Verfügung steht. Der High School-Lehrer, hingegen, bedarf eines speziell für seine Schüler edierten Textbuches.

Jedes Jahr werden mir Kataloge von Schulbuchverlagen zugeschickt, wo ich bisher kein einziges Textbuch deutsch-amerikanischer Dichtung genannt sah, obwohl amerikanische Germanisten diese Bücher herausgeben. Vertreter dieser Verlage erscheinen bei mir in der Schule, und auf die Frage, ob man denn kein Buch mit deutsch-amerikanischer Dichtung hätte, kommt immer die Antwort: "You're the first teacher I've ever had ask that!"

Die von Tolzmann in seiner Rezension erwähnte Tatsache, dass viele Schüler ihrer Abstammung wegen das Wahlfach Deutsch nehmen, kann ich durchaus bestätigen! Deshalb meine ich, dass ein Textbuch mit Kurzgeschichten und Dedichten deutsch-amerikanischer Dichter im High School- Unterricht sehr angebracht wäre!

Mein Vorschlag wäre also, ein solches Textbuch herauszubringen. In unserer Leserschaft sind wohl hochqualifizierte Lehrer und Professoren, die eine solche Arbeit unternehmen und erfolgreich durchführen könnten! Der Lesestoff müsste sorgfältig ausgewählt und gut ediert werden und sollte aus Kurzgeschichten und Gedichten bestehen, die man im *advanced level* an der High School oder im *intermediate level* am College bieten kann. Das Buch kann als "paperback" erscheinen, um Druckkosten niedrig zu halten. Es bedarf einer guten Einleitung in englischer Sprache, in der ein Kenner des deutsch-amerikanischen Schrifttums die historischen Hintergründe kurz skizziert und die Hauptströmungen der deutsch-amerikanischen Literatur hervorhebt mit Bezug auf die im Buch gebrachten Autoren und deren Werke. Ein deutsch-englischer Wortschatz hinten im Buch oder Vokabular am Seitenrande wäre sehr hilfreich, für manche Lehrer und Schüler sogar unbedingt erforderlich.

Hoffentlich werden Leser unseres Journals zu Tolzmanns Herausforderung und meinem Vorschlag weitere Stellung nehmen. — *Carl Heinz Most.*

☆ ☆ ☆

Sehr geehrte Herren!

Kritiker einer deutschamerikanischen Literaturtheorie führen allgemein ins Feld, dass es im Grunde überhaupt keine deutschamerikanische Literatur gäbe, denn erstens fällt alles, was auf amerikanischem Boden an deutschsprachiger Literatur zustandekommt, im weiteren Sinne unter deutsche Literatur (sonst müsste man auch nach österreichischer, Schweizer etc. Literatur unterscheiden), zweitens ist das wenige, was an deutschamerikanischer "Literatur" geleistet wird, von so ge-

ringem literarischen Wert, dass von Literatur überhaupt nicht die Rede sein kann, die Kategorisierung "deutschamerikanische Literatur" also im luftleeren Raum operiert. Das Problem der deutschamerikanischen Literatur beginnt also bereits mit der Definition dessen, was deutschamerikanische Literatur überhaupt sei und was nicht.

Die Befürwörter einer eigenständigen deutschamerikanischen Literatur (E. Jockers, L. Spuler, E. Metzger — um nur einige zu nennen) nehmen bei ihrer theoretischen Grundlegung eine Abgrenzung von deutschsprachiger Literatur Amerikas im allgemeinen und deutschamerikanischer Literatur im besonderen vor: im Gegensatz zur deutschsprachigen Literatur schlechthin wird von der deutschamerikanischen gefordert, dass sie die Auseinandersetzung mit der amerikanischen, spezifisch mit der deutschamerikanischen, Wirklichkeit voraussetzt und zum dichterischen Ausdruck dieser Begegnung bzw. Auseinandersetzung wird. Mit dem Dichterwort gewordenen Niederschlag der amerikanischen oder deutschamerikanischen Wirklichkeit ist es jedoch zur Zeit alles andere als rosig bestellt.

Bezeichnend für die überwältigende Mehrzahl der deutschsprachigen Autoren ist die Tatsache, dass die Auseinandersetzung mit der amerikanischen Wirklichkeit gerade nicht stattfindet, dass eine Treibhaus-Dichtung der selbstgenügsamen Verinnerlichung hervorgebracht wird, deren einzige Amerika-Erfahrung zumeist im Klischee der Wolkenkratzer- und Grossstadtlyrik stecken bleibt. Tolzmanns Träume "von einer grossen und hochstehenden deutschamerikanischen Literatur" (Brief vom 1. Nov. 1974) scheinen vorerst nichts weiter als Schäume zu sein.

Der einzige — mir bekannt gewordene — deutschsprachige Autor, bei dem sich mitunter so etwas wie eine amerikanische oder deutschamerikanische Erfahrung feststellen lässt, ist übrigens Tolzmann: allerdings stellt sich beim Bibliothekar Tolzmann die Frage, ob die Deutschamerika-Erfahrung nicht eher so etwas wie ein "Bildungserlebnis" als das Ergebnis realer Wirklichkeitskonfrontation ist.

Sieht man von der Fixierung auf das Postulat einer spezifisch deutschamerikanischen Literatur ab und begnügt sich mit der weitergefassten Vorstellung einer deutschsprachigen Literatur Amerikas, so stösst man allerdings auf eine ungeheure Vielfalt von Talenten und Begabungen. Die besten unter ihnen sind jedoch ausnahmslos Einwanderer: zwar schreiben sie hier in Amerika (bisweilen auch über amerikanische Themen), ihre geistige Herkunft ist aber Europa (Deutschland, Österreich), von so sie auch ihr sprachliches Rüstzeug mitgebracht haben — Deutsch als Muttersprache (nicht als angelernte Fremdsprache) garantiert denn auch die erfolgreiche Ausübung ihres Berufs als deutschsprachiger Schriftsteller. Margot Scharpenberg, eine der profiliertesten deutschsprachigen Autorinnen Amerikas, verneinte daher entschieden die Frage, ob sie sich — da sie in New York lebt — als "deutschamerikanische" Schriftstellerin betrachte.

Die meisten — wenn nicht alle — dieser zwar deutschsprachigen, aber nicht eigentlich deutschamerikanischen Autoren veröffentlichen folglich auch weniger in Amerika als vielmehr in Deutschland bzw. Österreich (die — wie ich den Eindruck habe — hervorragendsten deutschprachigen Autoren Amerikas, die New Yorker Gruppe um Mimi Grossberg, veröffentlicht fast ausschliesslich bei Wiener Verlagshäusern, vornehmlich im Bergland-Verlag).

Der Streit, ob deutschamerikanische oder deutschsprachige Literatur Amerikas, ist so lange jedenfalls nicht entschieden, als jene wesentliche Voraussetzung deutschamerikanischer Literatur unerfüllt bleibt: die Bewältigung des (deutsch) amerikanischen Hier-und-Heute in breitem Unfang und vor allem in einer Form, der man auch literarische Qualität zusprechen kann (letzteres trifft leider nur in den seltensten Fällen zu). Bis dahin kann man zwar von einer reichhaltigen deutschsprachigen Literatur Amerikas reden, von einer deutschamerikanischen (mit Tolzmann) aber nur träumen.

GERT NIERS
Brick Town, New Jersey

Sehr geehrte Leser!

Seit 1607 sind mehr als dreizehn Millionen Deutschsprachige in die USA eingewandert. Die sprachdeutsche Bevölkerung Amerikas hat viel zu einer eigenständigen Literatur beigetragen. Deutschamerikanische literarische Veröffentlichungen sind zahlreich und von hohem literarischem Wert. Das Deutschamerikanertum hat weder einen Schiller, noch einen Goethe zu eigen, ebensowenig wie sich die angloamerikanische Literatur schon eines Shakespeare, eines Milton, eines Byron rühmen kann. H. H. Fick schrieb "Das nicht wegzuleugnende ehrliche dichterische Streben deutscher Männer und Frauen in Amerika verdient weit eher Aufmunterung und Anerkennung, als Spott und Achelzucken."[1] Herman F. Brause, der bekannte Dichter, schreibt "Seitens der heutigen Bundesrepublik her kann der zeitgenöisische deutschamerikanische Dichter auf weder Unterstützung noch gefühlvolles Verständnis für sein Schaffen hoffen."[2] Ein anderer Dichter hat sich so ausgedrückt:

> Was weiss die alte Heimat, wie wir hier empfinden?
> Wird je die neue Heimat es wohl ganz verstehen ....[3]

In Amerika muss man sich mit anderen Fragen auseinandersetzen. Die deutschamerikanische Literatur kann nicht ganz mit der Literatur verglichen werden, die zwischen Basel und Weimar, zwischen Hamburg und Wien entsteht. Deutsche Leser haben kein Verständnis für die Problematik des Deutschamerikaners. Erika Metzger schreibt "Es ist unmöglich zu sagen, dass sie (deutschsprachige Lyrik in Amerika) sein sollte wie Lyrik in Deutschland, in Österreich und in der Schweiz ..."[4]

Deutschsprachige Literatur findet man in allen Ecken der Welt: in der Sowjetunion, Rumänien, Argentinien, Frankreich, Italien, Kanada, Brasilien und in den USA. Trotz der Nichtanerkennung der Literaturhistoriker der alten Heimat werden diese auslandsdeutschen Literaturen fortbestehen.

Wir werden die Sprache, Sitten und Kultur unserer deutschen Vorfahren aufrechterhalten.

Gert Niers schreibt "Kritiker einer deutschamerikanischen Literaturtheorie führen allgemein ins Feld, dass es im Grunde überhaupt keine deutschamerikanische Literatur gäbe, denn erstens fällt alles, was auf amerikanischem Boden an deutschsprachiger Literatur zustandekommt, im weiteren Sinne unter deutsche Literatur (sonst müsste man auch nach österreichischer, Schweizer etc. Literatur underscheiden) . . ."[5] Niers hat den allgemeinen Fehler gemacht, dass es keine Schweizer, österreichische etc. Literatur gibt. Deswegen zweifelt er an der Existenz deutschamerikanischer Literatur. Reinhard Urbach behandelt das Problem österreichischer Literatur:

> It is still a commonplace to assume there is no such thing as a distinctive Austrian literature. At least two reasons are normally given to justify the commonplace, the first of which is the superficial argument that there is no Austrian literature, but only a German one, since even what is supposedly Austrian literature is written in German. This justification may still be admissible in cases such as that of Books Abroad, where world literature is ordered according to language groups in order not to complicate the Babylonian confusion of tongues still further with national-political differentiations. But the simple fact that e.g. Irish, American, and English literatures are all writen in the same language and yet are recognized as distinct entities reveals the absurdity of this argument. Moreover, scarcely anyone nowadays denies the differences between West German and East German literature."[6]

Die sowjetdeutschen Autoren können kaum über die Grenzen sibirischer Gebiete sprechen. Doch gibt es eine sowjetdeutsche Literatur, die bei uns weitgehend unbekannt ist. Die Unkenntnis deutscher Leser gegenüber deutschamerikanischer

Literatur ist auffällig. Was wissen deutsche Leser von Karl Postl, Kurt Baum, Heinrich Rattermann, Konrad Nies, Oskar Kollbrunner, Conrad Beissel und anderen Autoren aus Deutschamerika?

Trotz dieser Unkenntnis gibt es eine deutschamerikanische Literatur. Deutschsprachige Literaturen findet man in allen Teilen der Welt. "Literaten, Kritiker, und Journalisten klammern auf die Frage 'Wie viele deutsche Literaturen gibt es?' "[7]

Im Jahre 1974 wurde der Verband deutschsprachiger Autoren gegründet, um die ca. 500 deutschsprachige Autoren in Nordamerika zusammenzuschliessen. Zwischen den Jahren 1917-1974 gab es gar keinen allumfassenden Autorenverband. Seit 1974 traten ca. 100 deutschamerikanische Autoren dem neuen Verbande bei. Der Präsident des Verbandes träumt "von einer grossen und hochstehenden deutschamerikanischen Literatur."[8] Er schrieb "Vor einem Jahre gab es keinen Verband, keine Einheit, keine Zeitschrift ... Der Verband wird nun die führende Rolle in der Entwicklung deutschamerikanischer Literatur spielen."[9] Niers schreibt, Tolzmanns Träume von einer grossen deutschamerikanischen Literatur seien nichts weiter als Schäume. Der Verband ist aber kein Traum! Und die vielen deutschamerikanischen Autoren, die an der neuen Literaturbewegung teilnehmen, sind keine Träumer. Nach zweijährigem Bestehen ist es dem Verband nur teilweise gelungen, seine Ziele zu erreichen. Aber diese Ziele wird er erreichen.

Unser Tag ist angebrochen. Die Hauptziele des Verbandes sind: 1. Zusammenschluss aller Autoren in Amerika, die in deutscher Sprache schreiben. 2. Die Herausgabe einer Zeitschrift. 3. Die Förderung der deutschen Sprache in Amerika. Franzi Ascher-Nash berichtet in der *Staatszeitung und Herold:* Die Neugründung begegnete einem explosiven Echo. Bereits die zweite Nummer des Mitteilungsblattes war wenige Tage nach ihrem Erscheinen vergriffen." Die deutschameri-

kanischen Autoren scheinen sich für den Traum einer deutschamerikanischen Literatur zu interessieren.

Was ist deutschamerikanische Literatur? Linus Spuler bezeichnet sie "als die Gesamtheit der literarischen Erzeugnisse aller jener Dichter, die in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika als ihrer Heimat (der einzigen oder der zweiten) leben und sowohl die amerikanische Welt in all ihren Aspekten als auch alle anderen möglichen dichterischen Vorwürfe durch das Medium der deutschen Sprache künsterlerisch zu erobern und zu gestalten trachten."[10]

1. Die Werke müssen von Dichtern stammen, die in Amerika daheim sind, das heisst, die in Amerika aufwuchsen und lebten oder ihre neue Heimat fanden.

2. Sie müssen aus der dem deutschamerikanischen Milieu eigenen Sprachsituation entstanden sein.

3. Sie sollen unter anderen auch Themen der amerikanischen und der deutschamerikanischen Welt behandeln.

Meine Deutschamerika-Erfahrung handelt sich um kein Bildungserlebnis, sondern um das Ergebnis realer Wirklichkeitskonfrontation. Meine geistige Herkunft liegt in Deutschamerika, nicht in Europa. Mein Vater, der 1904 in Minnesota geboren ist, konnte gar kein Wort Englisch, bis er in die Volksschule ging. Als zweisprachiger Amerikaner bin ich in einem Land herangewaschen, in dem die Staats-, Amts- und Unterrichtssprache fast ausschliesslich das Englische ist. Trotzdem habe ich, wie viele andere Deutschamerikaner, die Sprache, Kultur und Sitten der Urväter aufrechterhalten. Meine Familie machte es sich zur Aufgabe, deutsches Kultur- und Spracherbe zu erhalten und zu pflegen und damit freudig auf amerikanischem Heimatboden zu leben. Es kann sein, dass meine Träume von deutschamerikanischer Literatur nichts weiter als Schäume sind. Wenigstens habe ich versucht, deutschamerikanische Autoren zusammenzuführen.

NOTES

[1]Heinrich H. Fick, "Die deutschamerikanische Dichtung," *Monatshefte.* 4 (1903-04): S. 272.

[2]Herman F. Brause, "Deutschamerikanische Dichtung," *Zeitschrift für deutschamerikanische Literatur.* 2 (1975): S. 12.

[3]Friedrich Fiedel. ....

[4]Erika Metzger, "Deutsche Lyrik in Amerika," *German-American Studies.* 9 (1975): S. 9.

[5]Gert Niers, "Deutschamerikanische Literatur oder deutschsprachige Literatur in Amerika?," *German-American Studies.* 10

[6]R. Urbach, "Recent Austrian Literature," *Books Abroad.* 49 (1975): S. 491.

[7]Alexander Ritter, *Nachrichten aus Kasachstan: Deutsche Dichtung in der Sowjetunion.* Hildesheim: Olms Presse, 1974, S. VII.

[8]Don Heinrich Tolzmann an Gert Niers, *Brief vom 1. November* 1974.

[9]Don Heinrich Tolzmann, "Deutschamerikanische Literatur," *Zeitschrift für deutschamerikanische Literatur.* 2 (1975): S. 23.

[10]Linus Spuler, *Oskar Kollbrunner.* Frauenfeld: Verlag Huber & Co., 1955, S. 89.

— *Don Heinrich Tolzmann*

SYMPOSIUM ON IMMIGRANT LITERATURE
& GERMAN-AMERICANA
University of Cincinnati
November 11-12, 1976

IMMIGRANT LITERATURE

Thursday, November 11 — 3:30-5:30 P.M.

"The Flight Into And Out of Exile: Some Personal Observations of an Emigre Author in America," Dr. Ivar Ivask, Editor, Books Abroad.

"Juan Ramon Jimenez: Spanish-American Author," Dr. Graciela P. Nemes, University of Maryland.

Poetry Reading by Dr. Stuart Friebert, Oberlin College and Dr. Ivar Ivask, University of Oklahoma, at the home of Dr. Jerry Glenn, University of Cincinnati (at 8:00 p.m.)

GERMAN-AMERICAN

Friday, November 12 — 9:00-12:00 A.M.

"German-American Literature: An Introduction," Dr. Robert E. Ward, Editor, German-American Studies.

"German Printing and the American Revolution," Dr. Karl J.R. Arndt, Clark University.

"Alexander Berghold, Prairie Poet and Pastor," Dr. LaVern J. Rippley, St. Olaf College.

Friday, November 12 — 2:00-5:00 P.M.

"St. Louis German-American Book Trade," Dr. Robert E. Cazden, University of Kentucky.

"Cincinnati's German Heritage," Dr. Edward P. Harris, University of Cincinnati.

Discussion/Conclusion, Don Heinrich Tolzmann, University of Cincinnati.

BOOK REVIEWS

Russell W. Gilbert, *Bilder un Gedanke A Book of Pennsylvania German Verse* (Breiningsville, Penna., 1975).

Pennsylvania-Germans, who comprise a cultural island within English-speaking America, have steadfastly and proudly held to their own culture for more than two hundred and fifty years. Their agricultural and industrial achievements as well as their folk-art have often received merited recognition in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and in the rest of the nation. However, their literature is scantly known beyond their own communities and among researchers in the field of Pennsylvania-German studies. Many scholars of literature and culture seem to have hesitated in exploring non-English language writings in this country; some may even be unaware of the voluminous German language literature created on the North American continent; others may have regarded the Pennsylvania-German language merely as an insignificant dialect which combines mispronounced German and English vocabularies. The language, however, which exists in a grammatically codified form, developed essentially from the High German of southwestern Germany, especially the Palatinate, and Switzerland.

The literature of our Pennsylvania-Germans is folk-literature which reflects the values of a rural-agricultural people who can boast of prolific writers since colonial days. Indeed in that early period, they even rivaled and perhaps excelled in quality and quantity the writings of English language speakers in Pennsylvania. Before the mid-nineteenth century, their written form of expression tended to be standard High German; thereafter, the distinctive Pennsylvania-German language, already common in spoken form, also became their written idiom.

The final decades of the nineteenth century witnessed both a vigorous flowering of Pennsylvania-German culture as

well as major curiosity among scholars for this cultural phenomenon. Today, with growing interest among social scientists as well as those in the humanities for the ethnic diversity of American society, a reevaluation of Pennsylvania-German culture is occurring. While reliable estimates at the end of the former century indicate the existence of approximately 750,000 speakers of Pennsylvania-German, the present number seems closer to 300,000. The force of cultural integration, a result of influences due to mass communication media, may render this distinctive culture an historic phenomenon. Consequently, it is imperative today to preserve all facets of this component of American pluralism. Such an undertaking has been a major task of the Pennsylvania-German Society which has been collecting and also publishing material in the field annually since the 1890's.

This year's volume (1975), *Bilder un Gedanke A Book of Pennsylvania German Verse,* is a major contribution towards the preservation of Pennsylvania-German literature. The author, Russell W. Gilbert, a productive lyricist during the last decades, stands proudly in the tradition of predecessors such as Henry Harbaugh and John Birmelin. Dr. Gilbert, Professor Emeritus of German since 1970 of Susquehanna University, was born in Emmaus, Lehigh County, of Pennsylvania-German stock. He was graduated from Muhlenberg College in Allentown and holds his doctorate from the Univertisy of Pennsylvania. His reputation in the area of folklore, literature, customs, and history of his people is well established.

Gilbert's book of verse, containing one hundred of his poems, reflects a love for his heritage and offers insight into the thoughts, hopes, and aspirations of the Pennsylvania-Germans. The author, expressing his views on poetry in the preface to the volume, writes: "Lyric poetry is the most subjective form of literature. The music of words, it should portray an idea in rhythmical, beautiful language, with an occasional touch of refreshing humor."

The volume of four cycles, in which the poems are accompained by summaries in English, is introduced by two short stanzas: "An mei geliebdes Land" and "An mei liewi Fraa Viola". Section one, "Bilder aus der Yuchend", expresses the poet's nostalgic memories of the Pennsylvania-German homeland and its language:

Du wunnerbaari Mudderschproch,
Was kennt mer liewer sei as du?
Ich hab gelannt dich liewe frieh:
Die Mammi schockelt, singt gedrei
"Schlof, Bobbli, Schlof" un ich schlof glei;
Dich hawwich greert an ihre Gnie.
Was kennt mer liewer sei as du,
Du pennsylvaanisch-deitschi Schproch?

Section two, "Gnarrenlecher" (Knotholes) views the Pennsylvania-German community in cross-section. Some poems are humerous in tone, others more melancholy as the lyricist dwells at times upon the transitoriness of this world. However, strong religious sentiment, so typical in Pennsylvania-German circles, gives constant encouragement to overcome momentary moods of dispair:

Wann kennt der Baam uns saage,
Was er doch gsehne hett
Im Paradeis mit Eva,
Dann waer die Schlang ken Kett.

"Riwwle", the dialect word for a mixture of flour and lard together sometimes with sugar, a combination used on yeast-risen cake, serves as the title for the third section, a collection of poems which plays upon words and upon ideas. Gilbert, in a good-natured manner, ridicules, for example, attempts to "elevate" the language by using foreign words; his delightful and playful employment of alliteration, fully in the tradition of folk-petry, underscores his lyric virtuosity: "Verfluchde Veggel fliege flink/Un fladdre fleissich Fliggel feicht; . . ."

The final cycle, "Lewesaasichde," contains works of a didactic nature coupled with poems which express a belief in

the values of a simple life. These emphasize the importance of the home, the family, and the rural-agricultural milieu. All are tempered by a religious optimism of moderation:

Bessere Zeide sin am Kumme,
Wann die Welt mol glaabt an Gott,
Wann die Lit duhn ehrlich schtrewe,
Liewe'n Nochber, wie's Gebott.

Gilbert's poetry affords an excellent glimpse into the contemporary scene of Pennsylvania-German life. He conveys the life-style of his people with masterful poetic ability and ease.

In a quest for clearer understanding of all the ethnic groups which have helped create this nation, we today are realizing ever more strongly the role eighteenth century German pioneers played in molding Pennsylvania and America. Their decendents, although considering themselves Americans, have continued their ancestor's traditions. That they have been able to maintain their cultural independence for two and one-half centuries gives witness to their vigor and also to the value of American pluralism as a dynamic component of the nation's past, present, and, hopefully, future.

The German dialect spoken in Pennsylvania is the oldest and still one of the most widely spoken non-English European languages in the United States. We are grateful to Dr. Russell Gilbert and the Pennsylvania German Society for this outstanding contribution to the field of Germanic-Americana.

Alexander Waldenrath
Lehigh University

☆ ☆ ☆

Millen Brand, *Local Lives: Poems About the Pennsylvania Dutch.* New York: Crown, 1975. 526 pp.

This book of poetry records an American born German-American's love for the Pennsylvania German heritage. It

demonstrates the vitality of the immigrant/ethnic factor in American life in terms of its impact on an individual whose ancestors came to the US. Millen Brand is of Pennsylvania German descent, but had wandered far from his Pennsylvania roots, until 1940 when he returned to the Pennsylvania German "Heimat" where he felt an inexplicable "sense of community." His immediate reaction was poetry—for thirty years he wrote about the Pennsylvania Germans.

He states: "I was impelled by a sense of valuable lives going unrecorded." Brand's poems are written in free verse in English with a sprinkling of German phrases. The poems describe, chronicle and interpret all aspects of life: meals, skills, trades, people, meetings, anecdotes, letters and even recipes. In contradiction to current trends of poetry, Brand asks: "Why should poetry give all this up?" Brand has discovered his German heritage, reclaimed it and communicates the essence of it to the reader. He consulted the standard works on the Pennsylvania Germans, Ralph Wood for example, and consulted such authorities as John J. Stoudt, Mrs. John Birmelin, Preston Barba and others.

His poems are immediately accessible to the student of German-Americana or anyone interested in immigrant/ethnic culture in America. In his poems Brand calls out to the reader to think back, listen and return to the cultural soul of our immigrant forefathers. In "The Emigrants" he writes:

Who watch today's computerized battles won,
the latest impersonal victories,
may think back to a different tongue,
hear a Pentecostal shuddering,
hear a voice speaking in the trees.
Whose minds are clear, whose hearts are stung
may think back to a different tongue.

Don Heinrich Tolzmann
University of Cincinnati

DREI GEDICHTE AUS DEM NACHLASS OSKAR KOLLBRUNNERS

I. VOR EINER UHR

Du wirfst die Stunden goldenen Tons heraus
aus deinem Gehäuse
und sammelst Sekunden
leise — leise —
und bindest ihrer sechzig zum Einminutenstrauss.
Doch schon sind sie welk und sind dahin,
die Lust- und Qualsekunden, die unser Leben hämmern,
die blumig beginnen und müde verdämmern
und fliehn.
Du bist der unerbittliche Messer der Zeit —
und unter dir verebbt unsere Welle Sein.
Ein Blick auf dich und ich weiss es: Einst muss ich von dannen.
Aber ich hoffe, bin jung und denke, es ist noch weit,
und trinke die goldenen Stunden wie Wein aus goldenen
Kannen.

(priv. Sammlung der Gedichte O. Kollbrunners,
Blatt 163. Copyright Dr. L. Spuler)

II. HERBSTAG

Tag reisst sein goldnes Lichtschwert aus der Scheide.
Ein Flug der ihm erwachten Vögel tollt.
Das Blau hat seine Fahne aufgerollt,
im kühlen Frühwind bauscht sich seine Seide.

Der Filigran von tausend Spinngeweben
hängt kühne auf von Baum zu Baum.
Buntperlig tropft des Waldes Früherbstsaum
und ist wie eines Regenbogens Schweben.

Die grüne Haut der Erde bunt zu gerben
wandert der Herbst zutiefst ins Land hinein.
Ich sah ihn dort, am Rebenhang, beim Wein:
Er lachte trunken in das bunte Sterben!

(Ebda Blatt 205)

III. STILLE NACHT

Goldgelb dottert der Sterne Schwarm herauf.
Sanft singt der Wind in den Rüstern,
und um die Gräser flüstern
seine Geister zu Hauf.
Und auf einmal purzelt der Mond in die Nacht,
gross und plump und chinesisch und alt,
und die Strasse der Nacht, die grau wie Asphalt,
wird silberseiden und gleisst und lacht.
Alle Welt sinkt stündlich tiefer in Schlaf.
Kaum ein verärgerter Köter beim Mondanbellen.
Ueber im Nachttraum spiegelnden Wellen,
hoch, wie verloren, ein Wolkenschaf.
Vielleicht kennt sich's am Himmel dennoch aus,
sonst bringt's der Vollmond im Silber der Stunde nach Haus.

(Ebda Blatt 168b)

THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS
MAX KADE GERMAN-AMERICAN DOCUMENT & MANUSCRIPT CENTER
2080 WESCOE HALL
LAWRENCE, KANSAS 66045

Erich A. Albrecht · J. A. Burzle

Dear Friends:

The Max Kade Document and Research Center is planning a symposium on German-American Literature and Culture for October 7-8, 1976 in the Kansas Union of the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, Colleagues active and interested in the field of German-American Literature and Culture will discuss questions of preserving the German-American heritage in literature and culture, of intensifying and broadening research in the field, of coordinating the various activities in German-American literature and culture throughout the United States.

Professor Karl Ilg of the University of Innsbruck, Austria, one of the foremost scholars in the field of German immigration in South America, will be the principal speaker at the banquet on Friday evening. On Saturday, October 9, we plan to concentrate on the German heritage in the State of Kansas by inviting interested citizens of German descent to share with us important milestones of German immigration in the development of the State of Kansas.

We hope that you will be able to join us for the event. The Max Kade Foundation, New York, has graciously consented to support the symposium. May we ask you to inform us by May 1 if you are able to attend the symposium? Colleagues prepared to present papers--no more than 20 minutes in length--should indicate the title of their contribution by the same date.

Looking forward to your response, we are

Sincerely yours,

Erich Albrecht--J.A. Burzle

P.S. To our Friends in Kansas: We hope that a great many people of Kansas-German heritage will attend the symposium on Saturday, October 9, whether or not they wish to participate actively in the program.

EA/JAB/jh

CLEVELAND PUBLIC LIBRARY

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GERMAN-AMERICAN PROGRAM

Saturday, March 20, 1976, 2:00 P.M.
MAIN LIBRARY AUDITORIUM, 325 SUPERIOR AVENUE

Master of Ceremonies
Dr. John R. Sinnema
Director, American-German Institute

Welcoming Address
Honorary Consul General, Federal Republic of Germany
Robert O. Fricke

GERMAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO COLONIAL AMERICA
Dr. Alexander Waldenrath
Lehigh University

PRESENTATION OF AMERICAN BICENTENNIAL GERMAN SCROLL TO THE LIBRARY
Mr. Franz Dornstadter
Designer of the Scroll

EARLY GERMAN-AMERICAN WRITERS
Dr. Robert E. Ward
Baldwin-Wallace College

"ELEGIAC SONG" by JOHANN H. BECK
Conductor of Cleveland Symphony Orchestra 1901-1912
performed by
Students of Baldwin-Wallace College Conservatory of Music

CONCERNING THREE GERMAN-AMERICAN MUSICIANS IN GREATER CLEVELAND
Dr. Elinore Barber
Baldwin-Wallace College

A TRIO OF GERMAN-AMERICAN SCHOLARS AT WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY
Dr. C. H. Cramer, Professor Emeritus of History
Case Western Reserve University

A RECEPTION will be held in the Auditorium Lounge following the program.

EXHIBITS pertaining to the German contribution to American culture will be displayed in the John G. White Department Exhibit Corridor, 3rd floor, Main Library, from March 17, 1976 to April 14, 1976.

The German Heritage in the Opening of the West

1-5 Friday May 7, 1976
9-5 Saturday May 8, 1976

100 Laws Hall
MIAMI UNIVERSITY
Oxford, Ohio

Friday, May 7, 1976

1 p.m. WELCOME
GERMAN IMMIGRATION TO AMERICA
ORIGINS AND BACKGROUND
Dr. Phillip R. Shriver
Pres. Miami University and
Professor of History

2 p.m. THE MORAVIANS IN EARLY OHIO
Dr. Lothar Madeheim
Asst. Archivist, Archives of the
Moravian Church, Bethlehem, Pa.

3 p.m. THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN THE
"BACKBONE COUNTIES" OF OHIO
Dr. William J. Schreiber
Professor and Chairman,
Dept. of German, College of Wooster

Saturday morning, May 8, 1976

9 a.m. GERMAN-AMERICANS IN HIGHER
EDUCATION IN GREATER CLEVELAND
Dr. John R. Sinnema, Director,
American-German Institute,
Baldwin Wallace College

10 a.m. THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN THE MIDWEST:
A STATISTICAL COLLAGE WITH
TRANSPARENCIES AND SLIDES
Dr. La Vern Rippley
Professor of German, St. Olaf College
Northfield, Minnesota

11 a.m. THE CASE FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN LITERATURE
Dr. Robert E. Ward
Editor, German-American Studies,
The German-American Genealogist,
Deutschamerikanisches Kulturblatt

Saturday afternoon, May 8, 1976

1:30 p.m. THE HAMILTON GERMANS
Dr. Ed Lentz
Head, Audio-Visual Archives,
Ohio Historical Society

2:30 p.m. THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF
THE AMANA SOCIETY'S INDUSTRIES
AN EXPERIMENT THAT WORKED
Mr. M.A. Bendorf
Sales Manager, Amana Furniture Shop

3:30 p.m. GERMAN CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO OHIO
Dr. James H. Rodabaugh
Professor of History,
Miami University

4:30 p.m. PANEL DISCUSSION
– Where Do We Go From Here?
Moderator: Dr. M. Lee Miller
Asst. Professor of German
Miami University

5:30 p.m. INFORMAL GET-TOGETHER WITH THE SPEAKERS

For housing contact one of the following motels:

College View Motel (513) 523-6311
On South U.S. 27

Miami Motel (513) 523-6306
5235 College Corner Pike

Oxford Motel (513) 523-4166
West on U.S. 27

PALATINES TO AMERICA

Palatines to America is an organization dedicated to and formed for locating the European origins of Germanic immigrants to America between the years 1700-1810. It was organized at a national convention in Columbus, Ohio in 1975. Charles M. Hall of Salt Lake City, Utah (author of "The Atlantic Bridge to Germany", Volume I: Baden-Wuerttemberg, Volume II: Hessen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Volume IV: Saarland, Alsace-Lorraine and Switzerland, and "The Palatine Pamphlet") is the president.

"Palatines to America" publishes a quarterly journal and occasional newsletters concerned with Palatine immigration to America and the all-important task of locating the European origins of one's Germanic ancestry. Many tens of thousands of Germanic immigrants came to America between 1700-1810. Most came from Germany proper as well as from Alsace-Lorraine and Switzerland. If you have 18th century Palatine immigrants in your ancestry you should belong to Palatines to America.

Future plans of the organization include the following:

Seminar: April 9 & 10 — Salt Lake City.
Convention: July 30 & 31 — Salt Lake City.
Regional Meetings: Summer — Columbus, Indianapolis & Baltimore.

Annual dues provide membership and four issues of the journal, "The Palatine Immigrant." Dues are only $5.00 per year. The second issue of the journal is now at the printers. Single issues of the journal may be purchased for $2.00.

For further information contact:

Charles M. Hall
157 North State Street
Salt Lake City, Utah 84103
Phone: 801-359-1679
801-255-1243

Mr. and Mrs. Fritz Goldbeck