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Wenn stolz auf neuen Glanz wir blicken,
Der auf das Sternenbanner fällt,
So baut das Herz oft gold'ne Brücken
Hinüber in die alte Welt.

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MUSIC AND THE MYSTICS OF THE WISSAHICKON*

By

LAWRENCE HARTZELL

Baldwin-Wallace College

On June 24, 1694 the ship *Sara Maria Hopewell* dropped anchor in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Among its passengers was a group of 40 to 45 German Pietists and Mystics gathered under the leadership of one Magister Johannes Kelpius.¹ Shortly after their arrival they purchased 175 acres of land situated along the Wissahickon River in what is now Fairmont Park, Philadelphia.² Because of this location, which was then virgin forest, and their ascetic life-style, these Pietists were popularly known as the "Mystics (or Hermits) of the Wissahickon," although they officially adopted the name "The Society of the Woman-in-the-Wilderness."

The importance of the Mystics to early American music rests on several facts: (1) they created the first German colony in the New World to emphasize music as an integral part of its religious life, (2) of their hymn compilations, one represents the earliest known musical manuscript created in the Province, and (3) within this manuscript are hymn arrangements that represent the earliest known practical examples of Baroque continuo realizations in mensural notation in either the New World or Europe.

Although the Mystics' contribution to early American music was important, it has never been thoroughly investigated. It is with the hope of rectifying this unfortunate neglect that the author has begun a study of the musical life of the Mystics, and any influence it might have had on neighboring communities. The present paper contains a brief outline of the initial fruits of this inquiry, representing the first phase of a

*Presented as a paper at the second annual symposium of the Society for German American Studies held at the American-German Institute of Baldwin-Wallace College, Berea, Ohio, May 13, 1978.

continuing research project that will take several years to complete.

The first statement we have concerning the musical life of the Mystics comes from the diary of Johannes Kelpius which was begun during the trip to America. Discussing their religious life at sea, Kelpius observes, "Our exercises on board ship consisted in discourses of various kinds and interpretations of the scriptures in which those who felt inclined took part. We had also prayer meetings and sang hymns of praise and joy, several of us accompanying on instruments that we brought from London."³

We may observe three important facts in the above statement: (1) the singing of hymns had a place within the meetings of this Pietistic group, (2) instrumental accompaniment of this singing was apparently common, and (3) there appears to be a definite separation of meeting types. The distinction of meeting types seems to be significant as it occurs in other sources.⁴ Apparently the Mystics regularly conducted two different types of services, i.e., a religious service emphasizing bible study at which music was not performed, and a prayer meeting service at which music was performed. In the former, one would expect the topic to consist of biblical scholarship, interpretation, and its possible mystical implications. The prohibiting of music at these meetings was probably due to the fact that it would tend to detract from intellectual argument. However, music would have been perfectly acceptable at prayer meetings, since it would heighten the emotional participation of the singers and, if the words for the hymns were written by members of the community, as was apparently the case at Wissahickon, the opportunity for deeply personal involvement would have been available. Such hymn singing corresponds perfectly to the use of hymns by the continental Pietists, who took great pride in their emphasis on the spiritual song.

The texts of these songs tended to emphasize the personal religious experience of the poets rather than the objective, scriptural character of the traditional Lutheran hymns and, not infrequently, leaned toward mysticism. There was an indulgence in Christ's death and its attendant agony and suf-

fering, and indulgence that in Europe strongly influenced the development of all Protestant church music at the time.⁵ An example of this type of hymn may be found in the oldest known musical manuscript produced in Pennsylvania, a group of 12 hymns compiled under the typically affected title, "The Lamenting Voice of the Hidden Love at the Time When She Lay in Misery and Forsaken: and Oprest by the Multitude of Her Enemies."⁶ At one time it was thought that this manuscript, various parts of which are dated at 1698 and 1706, and the hymn tunes in it were the creation of Johannes Kelpius. However, in a ground-breaking article of 1952, Albert G. Hess has called this belief into serious question. Although Hess has only placed under suspicion Kelpius' authorship of the poetry,⁷ through painstaking research he has documented the European sources for all but three of the hymn tunes.⁸ While it is possible that the undocumented hymns were composed by Kelpius or other members of the Mystics, the style of the music is so similar to that of the documented sources that a European origin must be strongly suspected.

It is not, however, the argument for Pennsylvanian or European composition of these hymns that makes this manuscript so significant; instead its importance lies in the musical arrangement of certain hymns. While some of the hymn settings simply present a single line melody, or a melody with basso continuo certain of the hymns also contain realizations of the continuo in mensural notation. These realizations are currently recognized as the earliest known practical examples of continuo realizations in mensural notation. This point alludes to the fact that German organists of the early and middle Baroque periods generally played from German organ tablature. For this reason, practical arrangements for organ in mensural notation from this period are quite rare. Only six sources are known, and none of these dates before 1706, the latest date found in the manuscript.

The existence of these arrangements circumstantially indicates the use of organs by the Mystics. In fact, there were apparently two organs within the Pietist circle. The most

important one, which probably came from London in 1694, is the one that was most likely used at the ordination of Justus Falckner as a minister in the Swedish Lutheran Church at the Swedish Gloria Dei Church on November 24, 1703. There is sufficient evidence to prove that the Gloria Dei Church had no organ of its own at that time, thus, the organ was undoubtedly supplied by the Mystics.⁹ When the community disbanded this organ apparently became the property of Ludwig Sprogell, who had joined the group in 1700. Sprogell in turn sold the organ to Christ Church, Philadelphia in 1728, where it became the first organ of that historic congregation.¹⁰

Dr. Christopher Witt, another survivor of Wissahickon, was the owner of a clavichord, a fact that opens up the question of just how many different instruments were to be found at Wissahickon. When all of the sources relating to instruments are consulted, six different types of instruments can be indentified: the organs and clavichord already mentioned, a viol, trombones, oboes, and kettledrums. They seem to have been brought from London in 1694, which means they would have been the instruments Kelpius refers to in his diary as having been used to accompany the singing of hymns at the shipboard prayer meetings.¹¹

The existence of wind and string instruments, as well as the clavichord, immediately raises two questions, did the Mystics indulge in secular music and how closely did the Pennsylvania Pietists follow the musical practices of the continental German Pietists?

With regard to the first question there is absolutely no evidence to suggest the use of secular music at Wissahickon. While all of the above instruments had definite secular functions, all currently known references to their use identify only sacred employment. Therefore, any further speculation in this area must await the discovery of new information.

The second question presents musicologists with an intriguing problem. We know that the main musical outlet for the German Pietists was hymn singing. Instrumental music seems to have been frowned upon, at least the elaborate church orchestra music found in orthodox Lutheran churches.

However, it is quite likely that the German character would not have completely outlawed the use of instruments, and there is evidence to suggest that even non-ritualistic cantatas were permitted. We know, for instance, that J. S. Bach came face-to-face with Pietism at Mühlhausen when he became organist at St. Blasius' church. The Rector of this church was Johann Frohne, a strong Pietist who undoubtedly was the reason for Bach's leaving this post after only one year's service, the shortest tenure of his life. During this tenure Bach wrote no church cantatas for ritualistic purposes, although he did compose cantatas for special occasions such as weddings, funerals, and civic festivities. He also performed all the typical functions expected of church organists, although his use of other instruments in the church service was sharply curtailed.

From the above information it would seem that the Pennsylvania Pietists were freer in their use of church orchestra instruments, since their use of them in church services is well documented. These services, however, represent special occasions, i.e., the consecration of a church and the ordination of a minister; consequently, we still are unsure of their roll in regular services.

The Mystics also practiced more than just the simple singing of hymns. Various sources identify them as being proficient in the singing of such chants as "De Profundis,"¹² "Veni Creator Spiritus,"¹³ "Veni Sancto Spirit,"¹⁴ and "Non Nobis Dominie."¹⁵ Their use of these chants indicates that they were quite familiar with the ritualistic music of the Lutheran church. Although they might have simply practiced such material for special occasions involving outsiders, their intoning of the "De Profundis" at the funeral of Johannes Kelpius in 1708 strongly indicates that their use of vocal music tended to go beyond that permitted by the Pietists of continental Europe, who, as mentioned earlier, permitted only the singing of simple hymns.¹⁶

At the beginning of this paper it was announced that a brief outline of the musical life of the "Mystics of the Wisahickon" would be presented, and that this presentation should be understood as the first phase of a continuing

research project. Much remains to be done, however, enough information has been compiled to prove the importance of music in the life of this Pennsylvania-German community. Once the current research project is completed a formal report will be made in the form of an extensive article containing complete documentary evidence. It is assumed that this future article will further enhance the significance of the Mystics in the development of music in colonial Pennsylvania.

NOTES

1 *Church Music in Musical Life in Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. I, Publications of the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America (Philadelphia, 1962), p. 9.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

3 This translation is taken from *ibid.*, p. 11.

4 Julius Sachse, *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania*, 1694-1708, (Philadelphia, 1895), p. 71.

5 Paul Henry Lang, *Music in Western Civilization*, (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc. 1941), p. 472.

6 The complete manuscript is reproduced in facsimile in *Church Music and Musical Life*, pp. 21-165.

7 Albert G. Hess, "Observations on The Lamenting Voice of the Hidden Love," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, V (Fall, 1952), 215-218.

8 *Ibid.*, 218-220.

9 In a letter posted by the Pastor of the Gloria Dei Church shortly after the ordination of Justus Falckner there is a definite statement that no organ was to be found in the church. For a translation of this letter see, *Church Music and Musical Life*, p. 197.

10 Julius Sachse, *Justus Falckner, Mystic and Scholar*, (Philadelphia, 1903), p. 64.

11 *Church Music and Musical Life*, p. 15.

12 Sachse, *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania*, p. 248.

13 Sachse, *Justus Falckner*, p. 64.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 68.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 69.

16 See citation in footnote 12.

FULTS FAMILY SOUGHT

Seek info on ancestors and descendants of **Jacob** (b. 1801? in N.Y.) and **Sylphia Fults** (b. 1802? in N.Y.), who were residing in Theresa, N.Y. (Jefferson County) in 1850. Their children all born in New York: Warren (b. 1823?); George (b. 1825?); Mary (b. 1826?); Sara (b. 1930); John (b. 1832?); Philena (b. 1834?); Catherine (b. 1837?); Jacob (b. 1839?); Jane aka Lavina (b. 1844?). Contact: **Dr. Robert E. Ward, 21010 Mastick Rd., Cleveland, OH 44126.**

THE REVEREND ELISHA A. HOFFMAN: MINISTRY, MUSIC AND GERMAN HERITAGE*

By

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I. INTRODUCTION

The current interest in Elisha A. Hoffman at the West Park United Church of Christ was inspired by a request for information by a local historian (Earl R. Hoover) to Mrs. Virginia R. Hawley, General Reference Supervisor of the Western Reserve Historical Society. The request ultimately was channeled to me in late 1976 by Dr. John R. Sinnema, Director of the American-German Institute of Baldwin-Wallace College.

As a result of the request West Park Church has re-discovered some of its German heritage as well as the role the Church and Cleveland played in the life of a late 19th—early 20th century hymn writer, Elisha A. Hoffman. The paper presented here is an attempt to organize details on the life and work of Hoffman with special emphasis on his links to West Park United Church of Christ and the Cleveland area.

Grateful appreciation for assistance in preparing this paper is extended to Dr. John R. Sinnema of Baldwin-Wallace College, Mrs. Virginia Hawley of the Western Reserve Historical Society, and Jeanne Hoffman (Mrs. Harold N.) McLaughlin, daughter of Ira Orwig Hoffman and granddaughter of Elisha A. Hoffman.

II. ELISHA A. HOFFMAN

Elisha A. Hoffman did not conduct his ministerial or composing careers from what could be considered a German

*Presented as a paper at the second annual symposium of the Society for German-American Studies, held at the American-German Institute of Baldwin-Wallace College, Berea, Ohio, May 13, 1978.

ethnic-viewpoint. Yet, his background, the town in which he was born (Orwigsburg, Pennsylvania) and some parts of his ministry are interesting to persons concerned with the heritage of German-Americans.

Elisha was the son of the Reverend Francis and Rebecca Hoffman of the East Pennsylvania Conference of the Evangelical Association. His middle name—Albright—is symbolic of the admiration of his father for Jacob Albright, founder of the Evangelical Movement. In fact, Albright was a frequent preacher in Orwigsburg at the home of George Orwig Sr., grandfather of Elisha Hoffman's wife.¹

The first wife of Elisha A. Hoffman was Susan Orwig who was the daughter of Bishop William W. Orwig of the Evangelical Association. Bishop Orwig was the grandson of Gottfried Orwig who emigrated from Germany in 1741 and founded Orwigsburg, Pennsylvania.² In fact, Elisha Hoffman was to later give one of his hymns, *I Must Tell Jesus*, the tune of "Orwigsburg" in honor of his birthplace.

Elisha and Susan Hoffman were to have three sons. The oldest son, Ira Orwig Hoffman, was a life-long resident of Cleveland, a financial editor of local publications, and a hymn writer. In fact, many of the hymns written by Elisha Hoffman were harmonized by his son, Ira. Following the death of his first wife, Susan, in 1876, Hoffman remarried. He and his second wife, Emma S. Hoffman had one daughter, Florence.³

The evidence suggests Elisha Hoffman was a man of boundless energy and evangelical enthusiasm. He frequently held more than one pastorate position in the church at one time. In addition he was an active writer of hymns and operated his own publishing house. Hoffman's preaching style must have been similar to that of evangelist clergymen today. He held frequent revivals for his congregations.⁴ He was also a crusader in the Temperance hymns.⁵ Hoffman's enthusiasm for life and optimism can be detected in a statement he made on the occasion of his 89th birthday:

The world is better now than ever before. The spirit of Christ is more pronounced in business, social, political, and international relations than was ever hoped of when I started my ministry seventy years ago.⁶

III. THE CLEVELAND MINISTRY OF ELISHA A. HOFFMAN

Elisha Hoffman always felt he was destined to enter the ministry. He preached his earliest sermons to playmates in the attic of his home. For a while he flirted with the idea of entering the study of law, but in the end “felt the *Call*” and entered the ministry.⁷

Hoffman served in Cleveland and Ohio early in his career (from 1868 to 1892). It is not possible to discuss all of his ministry here, although it is chronicled in Appendix A. He came to Cleveland as a General Publishing Agent for the Board of Publications of the Evangelical Association. However, while in Cleveland he also served a number of pastorates including that of the Rockport Congregational Church.⁸

The Rockport Congregational Church was founded in June, 1859, near Kamms Corner in what was then Rockport Township. The community later became West Park (named for Benjamin West, a Rockport Township pioneer) and subsequently annexed to Cleveland.⁹ The church currently is called the West Park United Church of Christ and is still in its original location at 3909 Rocky River Drive. The current sanctuary was dedicated in 1957. It replaced the original edifice and a 1904 addition. The church was associated with the Cleveland Presbytery until 1869 when it joined the Congregational Conference of Ohio.¹⁰

Rockport, or West Park Church, has never been an ethnic German church. It might best be described as a community church. Yet, Dr. John R. Sinnema has identified it as a church with a German heritage. Indeed, in 1978, of 301 families on the church list, 121 have German surnames or surnames that can be traced to a German derivative.

Several families with a German background were prominent in both the Rockport community and the Rockport Congregational Church. These families include the Colbrunns, Barthelmans, Klines, and Reitzes, who were active in a number of greenhouse enterprises in the Rockport and West Suburban area. Descendants of these families still attend the church.

West Park United Church of Christ has had several German surnamed pastors in its history. These include Thomas Towler, 1867-1869; Jacob P. Riedinger, 1903-1916; Franklin L. Graff, 1921-1926; Wellington A. Leininger, 1935-1952 (whose widow still attends the church); and Elisha A. Hoffman.

Elisha Hoffman served Rockport Congregational Church twice. His first ministry was from 1882 to 1886. He initially came to Rockport on a temporary basis when the Rev. R. W. Hargreave resigned on February 12, 1882. At the time, Hoffman was pastor of Grace Congregational Church in Cleveland (on West 65th Street). However, from 1882 to 1886, Hoffman served both churches in a joint pastorate. His salary from Rockport Congregational was \$350. Subsequently, he resigned his position at Grace Church. Rockport attempted to raise enough money to keep him as its fulltime pastor. The *Church Record* reads "... it was decided that we offer him three hundred and fifty dollars and one hundred in produce with as much more as we can, also that we try to get one hundred dollars from the Home Mission Society..."¹¹ However, on May 2, 1886, Elisha Hoffman announced the next sabbath would be his last at Rockport. He accepted a call to Grafton because "... we were not able to sustain him."¹²

When the pulpit at Rockport again became vacant in 1888, the Rev. E. A. Hoffman was tendered a call to return to the church. He accepted the position and an annual salary of \$500. In 1892 Hoffman apparently was confronted with a difficult decision. He received a call to serve the Presbyterian Church in Vassar, Michigan at a salary of \$1200 per year. The Rockport Church Record carries the following entry regarding Rev. Hoffman's decision.

... the people wish him to remain with us so we'll promise to raise one hundred dollars more on the salary. Mr. Hoffman not wishing to leave this church, but taking it as a call from the Lord, he is somewhat perplexed of what may be his duty...¹³

After changing his mind twice, Hoffman accepted the call to Vassar on May 29, 1892. Perhaps instrumental in his leaving

Cleveland was that some of the members of the Vassar Church had been associated with churches under his ministry in Ohio.¹⁴

IV. THE MUSIC OF ELISHA A. HOFFMAN

The Rev. Elisha A. Hoffman was a prolific writer of hymns. He composed over 2000 hymns and edited about 50 hymnals.¹⁵ About 1000 of the hymns Hoffman composed were published.¹⁶ Appendix B of this paper lists several of his hymns, hymnals he edited, and hymnals in which Hoffman's music can be found.

The Hoffman family (principally Elisha and his son Ira Orwig Hoffman) operated a publishing house. His publishing firm moved as he moved from Cleveland to Chicago.¹⁷ The firm published a monthly magazine entitled *Hoffman's Music Monthly, A Journal of Song*.

From time to time Hoffman published hymns and hymnals through Hope Publishing Company. The first book published by the firm was entitled *Pentacostal Hymns* and was co-edited by Elisha Hoffman, W. A. Ogden, and Henry Date. Mr. Date gave up a career as an evangelistic preacher to be the first president of Hope Publishing Company. He and Hoffman had a close relationship. Upon Hoffman's death in 1929 his widow sent all of his unpublished manuscripts to Hope, a number of which are still in the company's vault.¹⁸ Perhaps Hoffman's most noted hymnal was *The Evergreen* published in Cleveland in 1873 as the first songbook issued by the Evangelical Association.

What can be said about the hymns written by Elisha A. Hoffman? They were Gospel hymns, and as such do not consist of the great literary merit of writers such as Martin Luther, John and Charles Wesley, Isaac Watts, John Greenleaf Whittier, and others. Gospel hymns do tend to be imaginative and picturesque and are strong in emotional appeal. They are usually light in character, rhythmic, easily singable, but lacking in the rich harmony found in the better hymn tunes and chorales.¹⁹

At least five of Hoffman's Gospel hymns have been translated into German.²⁰

"Rein in dem Blut" ("Are You Washed in the Blood.")
"Pilgerlied" ("Pilgrim's Song")
"Kindliches Vertrauen" ("Childlike Trust")
"Ein Völliges Heil" ("Abundantly Able to Save")
"Christi Blut" ("Christ's Blood")

The English version of the first of these reveals the emotional appeal and close personal relationship with Jesus that is typically emphasized in Hoffman's hymns. In describing his hymns, Hoffman said:

They are not in themselves of a high literary order. No such claim has ever been made for them. Only this can be said of them...they interpret well the Spiritual phases of the soul's experience.²¹

V. CONCLUSION

The ministry and music of Elisha Albright Hoffman witness to the evangelistic fervor of a gifted late 19th and early 20th century clergyman. It would be wrong to characterize Hoffman as an ethnic German clergyman. Yet, it would be inaccurate to ignore the impact and influence of the German community and families in which he and his wife were raised. Furthermore, he served at least one church with a German heritage: the Rockport Congregational Church. The interest of some German-Americans in his hymn writing efforts became manifested in the German translation of several of his hymns.

Will the heritage of Elisha Hoffman live on? As is evidenced in Appendix B, hymnals of the evangelically oriented, more fundamentalist denominations continue to carry his hymns in their current hymnals. How well future generations accept the hymns of Elisha A. Hoffman will be dependent on their acceptance of the emotional appeal of Gospel hymns.

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Appendix A

A Chronology of the Life of Elisha Albright Hoffman

1. Born in Orwigsburg, Pennsylvania, May 7, 1839.
Son of Francis Hoffman and Rebecca Ann Wagoner Hoffman.
2. Educated in Philadelphia Public Schools; attended Union Seminary of the Evangelical Association.
3. Licensed to preach on September 6, 1862 by the East Pennsylvania Conference of the Evangelical Association.
4. Served in the Civil War in the 47th Pennsylvania Infantry Division.
5. Became General Publishing Agent of the Board of Publications of the Evangelical Association in Cleveland, Ohio in 1868.
6. Founded a Mission in Napoleon, Ohio in 1872 for the Evangelical Association.
7. **Pastorates**
 - A. **Cleveland Pastorates**
 - 1 year in Bethel Home for Sailors and Seamen
 - 1 year in the City Mission
 - 3 years in Chesnut Ridge Union Chapel
 - Grace Congregational Church: 1881-1885
 - Rockport Congregational Church (Now West Park United Church of Christ): 1882-1886 and 1889-1892
 - Founded a Bohemian Mission in Cleveland
 - Grafton Ohio Church: 1886-1889
 - B. **Other Pastorates**
 - Presbyterian Church, Vassar, Michigan: 1892-1897
 - Benton Harbor Presbyterian Church: 1897-1911
 - Cabery Presbyterian Church, Cabery, Illinois: 1911-1922
 - South Shore Presbyterian Church, Chicago, Illinois
(Honorary Pastor: 1922-1929).
8. **Composer**
 - A. Composed over 2000 Gospel hymns of which about 1000 were published.
 - B. Edited and compiled 50 hymn books.
 - C. Published **Hoffman's Music Monthly**.
9. **Marriages**
 - A. To Susan Orwig Hoffman: died June 14, 1876.
Three children: Ira Orwig Hoffman, Harry Hoffman, and William Hoffman.
 - B. Second wife: Emma S. Hoffman: died July 25, 1941.
One daughter: Florence Hoffman O'Hara.
10. **Died:** Chicago, Illinois, November 25, 1929.

Appendix B

The Appendix consists of two lists. First a partial list of the hymnals in which hymns by the Rev. Elisha A. Hoffman appear. (Each hymnal is numbered), Second is a list of hymns written by Hoffman. Under each of the hymns are the numbers corresponding to hymnals in the first list which include the particular hymn. Also included are the numbers in the hymnals to which one turns to find the Hoffman hymns.

I. Hymnals In Which Hymns of Elisha A. Hoffman Appear

1. **American Baptist Hymnal** (Texarkana, Ark.-Tex: American Baptist Association, 1960).
2. **Baptist Hymnal**, ed. Walter Hines Sims (Nashville, Tenn., Convention Press, 1956).
3. **Church and Radio Songs** (Nashville, Tenn.: John Daniel, 1946).
4. **Devotional Hymns** (Carol Stream, Ill.: Hope Publishing Company, 1942).
5. **Foursquare Hymnal of Standard Songs of Evangelism** (Los Angeles: Aimee Semple McPherson Publishing Company, 1942).
6. **Great Revival Hymns, No. Two** (Cleveland: Sixth Evangelical and Reformed Church).
7. **Heavenly Highway Hymns**, Compiled by Luther G. Presley (Dallas: Stamp-Baxter Music and Printing Company, 1956).
8. **Hymns for the People**, Special Edition, Harold L. Sayles and Elisha A. Hoffman (Chicago: The Evangelical Publishing Company, 1912).
9. **Make Christ King**, editors E. O. Excell and William Edward Biedewolf (Chicago: The Glad Tidings Publishing Company, 1912).
10. **Otterbein Hymnal**, Prepared by Edward S. Lorenz (Dayton, Ohio: United Brethren Publishing House, 1891).
11. **Precious Hymns** (Publisher unknown).
12. **Premier Hymns**, 11th Printing (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1926).
13. **Primary Sings No. 3**, Editor, Marguerite Cook (Elgin, Illinois: David C. Cook Publishing Company, 1908).
14. **Songs for Service**, Compiler, Homer A. Rodeheaver; Editor, Charles H. Gabriel (Chicago: The Rodeheaver Company).
15. **Songs of Faith** (Publisher unknown).
16. **The American Hymnal** (Publisher unknown).
17. **The Broadman Hymnal**, 1940 ed. (Nashville: The Broadman Press).
18. **Triumphant Service Songs** (Winona Lake Indiana: The Rodeheaver Hall-Mack Company, Inc., 1946).
19. **The Hymnal of the United Church of Christ** (Phila.: United Church of Christ Press, 1974).

II. Compositions by Elisha A. Hoffman

The following list gives hymns written by Elisha A. Hoffman with the numbers of the hymnals [from the preceding list I] in which the hymns appear. In parenthesis is the page number in each hymnal in which the hymn appears.

1. Abundantly Able to Save
Words by Elisha A. Hoffman and Music by Philip P. Bliss
18 [#208]
2. A Land of Beauty
Words by Elisha A. Hoffman and Music by W. S. Tidwell
3 [#101]
3. Are You Washed in the Blood?
Words and Music by Elisha A. Hoffman
1 [#111] 10 [#196] 16 [#306]
7 [#119] 11 [#134] 17 [#111]
4. Down at the Cross
Words by Elisha A. Hoffman and Music by John R. Stockton
2 [#95]
5. Enough for Me
Words and Music by Elisha A. Hoffman
7 [#285]
6. Follow All the Way
Words by Elisha A. Hoffman and Music by Ira Orwig Hoffman
8 [#99]
7. Glory to His Name
Words by Elisha A. Hoffman and Music by John H. Stockton
1 [#400] 7 [#144] 11 [#309] 16 [#89]
5 [#133] 10 [#231] 15 [#156]
8. I Must Tell Jesus [Orwigsburg]
Words and Music by Elisha A. Hoffman
1 [# 13] 4 [#285] 7 [#117] 11 [# 36]
2 [#298] 5 [#245] 8 [# 91] 12 [#140]
16 [#319]
9. Is Thy Heart Right With God?
Words and Music by Elisha A. Hoffman
1 [#390] 7 [#118] 8 [#141]
10. Is Your All on the Altar?
Words and Music by Elisha A. Hoffman
1 [#390] 17 [# 54]
2 [#350] 18[#248]

11. Leaning On the Everlasting Arms
Words by Elisha A. Hoffman and Music by Anthony J. Showalter
2 [#371] 8 [#105] 12 [#362] 18 [#179]
3 [# 22] 9 [#199] 16 [#165] 19 [#290]
7 [#164] 11 [#253] 17 [#276]
12. Oh, It Is Wonderful
Words by E. C. Green and Music by Elisha A. Hoffman
8 [#176]
13. On Christmas Day
Words and Music by Elisha A. Hoffman
13 [# 3]
14. The Good News Must Be Told
Words and Music by Elisha A. Hoffman
8 [# 30]
15. There Is Glory in My Soul
Words and Music by Elisha A. Hoffman
8 [#143]
16. What A Wonderful Saviour
Words and Music by Elisha A. Hoffman
1 [#241] 10 [#135]
2 [#130] 16 [#154]
8 [# 26] 18 [#150]
17. When I See the Blood
Words and Music by Elisha A. Hoffman
5 [#210]
18. Where Will You Spend Eternity?
Words by Elisha A. Hoffman and Music by J. H. Tenney

Appendix C

- I. Publications and Compositions by Other Members of the Hoffman Family.
1. Don't Grow Weary
Words by the Rev. P. S. Orwig and Music by J. H. Rheem
#15 in **The Evergreen**
2. Never Alone
No author or composer but arranged by Ira Orwig Hoffman
8 (#147)
17 (#400)
3. Our Beautiful Dead
Words by Mrs. Sue M. O. Hoffman and Music by W. T. Rogers
#20 in **The Evergreen**

II. German Translations of Hoffman Hymns

The following hymns written by Hoffman appear in German translation in **Lobe den Herrn**, edited by Friederick Munz, published by the Abingdon Press, Cincinnati and New York, 1905.

- #81 "Rein in dem Blut" (Are You Washed in the Blood?)
Words and Music by Elisha A. Hoffman
Translated by E. C. Magaret.
- #145 "Pilgerlied" (Pilgrim's Song)
Words and Music by Elisha A. Hoffman
Translated by E. C. Magaret.
- #151 "Kindliches Vertrauen" (Childlike Trust)
Words by Elisha A. Hoffman, Music by A. J. Showalter
Translated by Elias Roser.

The following hymns appears in German translation in **Evangeliums—Lieder** (Gospel Hymns), edited by Walter Rauschenbusch and Ira D. Sankey (Chicago: Bigelow and Main, 1897).

- #128 "Rein in dem Blut" ("Are You Washed in the Blood")
#173 "Ein völliges Heil" ("Abundantly Able to Save")

The following hymns appear in German translation in **Pilgerklänge**, edited by Friedrich Munz (Cincinnati: Jennings and Graham, 1907).

- #65 "Rein in dem Blut" ("Are You Washed in the Blood")
#66 "Christi Blut" ("Christ's Blood")
Translated by Gustav Weiler, former pastor of the German Methodist Church in Berea, Ohio.

NOTES

1 A. Stapelton, *Flashlights on Evangelical History* (York, Pa.: The Rev. A. Stapelton, 1908).

2 Jeanne Hoffman McLaughlin, interview with, March 17, 1978, Shaker Heights, Ohio (Granddaughter of Elisha A. Hoffman).

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Record of the Congregational Church of Rockport, Ohio*, entries of February 11, 1883, B. Bartter, Clerk, p. 23; April 18, 1890, Mrs. Libbie Hyland, Clerk, p. 50.

5 E. A. Hoffman, *Songs of the New Crusade, A Collection of Stirring Twentieth Century Temperance Songs* (Chicago: Hope Publishing Company, 1916).

6 "Veteran Pastor at 89 Finds World 'All Right'": *Chicago Tribune*, May 9, 1927.

7 Elisha A. Hoffman: Speech made to the Chicago Presbytery in 1924 upon receiving an invitation to join the Chicago Presbytery (Handwritten text).

8 During his lifetime Elisha A. Hoffman became a minister in three Protestant denominations: The Evangelical Association, the Congregational Church, and the Presbyterian Church.

9 William Ganson Rose, Cleveland: *The Making of a City* (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1950), p. 295.

10 K. O. Thompson, *The Congregational Churches of Greater Cleveland* (mimeographed, no date).

11 *Record of the Congregational Church of Rockport, Ohio*, various entries February 12, 1882 to May 9, 1886; B. Bartter and Mrs. William Hyland, Clerks, pp. 20—35.

12 *Ibid.*, May 2, 1886; p. 35.

13 *Record of the Congregational Church of Rockport, Ohio*, May 1, 1892, p. 71.

14 Hoffman, Speech to the Chicago Presbytery, 1924.

15 Mrs. Jeanne H. McLaughlin, letter from, February 28, 1978 (Shaker Heights, Ohio).

16 Hoffman speech to the Chicago Presbytery, 1924.

17 George H. Shorney, Jr., President, The Hope Publishing Company, Carol Stream, Illinois, letter from, October 4, 1976.

18 *Ibid.*

19 E. E. Ryden, *The Story of Christian Hymnody* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), p. 558.

20 These hymns are found in *Lobe den Herrn*, edited by Friederich Munz, (Cincinnati: Abingdon Press 1905), *Evangeliums - Lieder*, edited by Walter Rauschenbusch and Ira D. Sankey (Chicago: Bigelow and Main, 1897) and *Pilgerklänge*, edited by Friedrich Munz (Cincinnati: Jennings and Graham, 1907).

21 Hoffman, Speech to the Chicago Presbytery, 1924.

AUSGANG MIT HUND

*Gestern regnete es Tränen der Menschheit,
heute gespanntes Spinnenseil von Baum zu Baum
für meinen Hals.*

Welches Würgseil, Leben, hast du hinter den Kulissen?

*Zottele nur voran, Freund.
Auch ich spüre nach Fahrten —
auch du bist auf dem Zeckenweg.*

*Unter meinen knirschenden Schuhen
rollen Grabsteine auf kleinste Kreaturen.
Wer wird mich unter seinen Stiefel nehmen?*

Ilse Pracht-Fitzell

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GERMAN IMMIGRANT WOMEN*

By

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The writers of ethnic history in the United States have a tendency to emphasize “contributions” to American society, especially the contributions of men. In German-American accounts we read that von Steuben contributed to military discipline, Carl Schurz to political life and Wernher von Braun to the conquest of space.¹ The contributions of the people so honored are substantial and are recited with understandable pride, not only in works specifically designed to honor exceptional individuals, but also in more general histories.

Needless to say, there are not many women among the German-Americans singled out for recognition. Anna Ottendorfer, the nineteenth century newspaper woman and philanthropist is the one most frequently mentioned. She is the only woman to rate a separate article in the Bicentennial volume prepared by the German Information Service and one of five in Tolzmann's *Bicentennial Minutes*.²

Entire sections devoted specifically to women are not often found. Faust's *The German Element in the United States* is an exception. In a seventeen page chapter he recounts the contributions of female philanthropists, singers, writers and professors of German, with Anna Ottendorfer again in first place.³ Besides that, German immigrant women have recently become the object of family publication efforts and their stories have been included more frequently in German-American journals. They have received some serious attention in Neidle's *America's Immigrant Women* which combines narrative about immigrant women in general with an

*Paper presented at the second annual symposium on German-American culture, sponsored by the Society for German-American Studies at Baldwin-Wallace College on May 13, 1978.

anecdotal approach to describe the famous and their contributions.⁴

The achievements of individual German female immigrants should most certainly continue to be uncovered, described and analyzed; however, the need for a general social history is great. It could shed some light on such things as the status of German women in America, their adjustment to a new society and their eventual assimilation. This is no easy task. Women are difficult to group and classify. They are scattered throughout the population and their experience has, until recently, not been considered worthwhile recording.⁵ This is particularly true of German immigrant women.

The women who immigrated to North America from the German speaking countries of Europe usually came as the wives, daughters or other dependent female relatives of immigrating men. Immigration laws discouraged single women and Germans had a tendency to migrate in family groups and settle in family groups. Not surprisingly, the dominant roles among immigrant women were those of housewives, mothers and servants. Such women are not usually a "visible" group and the Germans among them are no exception. What little commentary can be found in German-American history books is usually very laudatory about the skills of the German-American housewife. Frederick Luebke suggests that "The German *Hausfrau* was commonly recognized as a model of cleanliness and efficiency and her daughter was valued as a reliable house servant or maid."⁶ Hawgood discusses the "widespread employment of German girls as domestic servants in American homes" and Langenscheidt's 1926 edition of *Land und Leute in Nordamerika* mentions under "Dienerschaft": "Deutsche Mädchen finden immer Beschäftigung und sind überall gesucht."⁷ Wittke notes that "German housewives and German cooks have added much to the culinary varieties of the present-day United States, as evidenced by the many articles of food which have not only been adopted as delicacies by the American stomach but have also found their way into American dictionaries, frequently with their originally German spelling unchanged."⁸ Hawgood

reports that H. L. Mencken, hardly a Germanophile, admitted German influence upon American cooking.⁹ German domestic women were assigned a very important place in American society by Faust:

The domestic type includes the great majority of German women and their daughters in the United States and if this were not a fact our country would not be what it is in vigor, population and the bedrock civilization that comes from home training. Historically the emphasis laid upon the household arts, as cooking, sewing, care of the house and children, by so large a formative element of the population from the earliest period of German immigration to the present time, cannot have resulted otherwise than in impressing the economic advantage of the principle and furnishing an example for imitation. German women have contributed far more to the greatness of the German race than is recorded in history; the superstructure is that which attracts attention, yet the security comes from the foundation of the building.¹⁰

Since they were so accomplished, so sought after and so important to the structure of the whole society, one would naturally assume that German American women were held in high esteem by the German community. This, however, does not seem to have been the case. Luebke tells us that "some native Americans thought the Germans treated their women badly" and that it was assumed German women would not swell the ethnic vote, because of the lowly role they were assigned by their society.¹¹ During Colonial times, German farmers were accused of taking better care of their livestock than of their families. As an example, Wittke quotes the Pennsylvania German couplet:

**Weibersterbe isch ka Verderbe! —
Aber Gaulverrecke des isch e Schrecke!**¹²

By the middle of the nineteenth century, a Forty-Eighter had reason to complain that German women were becoming Americanized and "disdainful of newly arrived Germans." Girls brought up "after the German manner" were hard to find and since all meetings between young couples had to occur in public places, it was difficult for a future bride and groom to learn much about each other. He was particularly disturbed

that a man could not discover such important things as his potential bride's attitudes toward "that which relates to a wife and her duties." But the worst thing a German man in America can do is marry an Irish wife, he warns. They drink, refuse to work for their husbands and scold back when scolded!¹³

While the status of German immigrant women seemed very low to Americans, Germans were amazed at what they considered the very high status of American women. A Catholic bishop touring the United States in the Twenties exclaimed: "Die unabhängige und selbstständige Stellung, deren sich die Frau erfreut, macht sie selbstbewusster, herrischer, wählerischer. Das Weib besitzt vielfach eine grosse Selbstachtung. . . ." He was also surprised to see "kein unanständiges Benehmen in Wort und Blick, keine Belästigung der Frauen."¹⁴ Similar commentary can be found in many other sources. Billigmeier, for example, discusses the reactions of German-Americans to the position of women and the division of labor in America. "Over and over, German-Americans made a point of emphasizing how much women were honored in the United States. It seemed that women expected and received deference. While they worked hard at cleaning and ordering the household (sometimes even helping in the garden), the farm females never worked with their men in the fields. Some observers were sure that American women had little to do and were dull and indolent." Billigmeier, as well as Rippley, quotes the following German commentary as an example of German attitudes:

The husband must buy the groceries, start the fire, and milk the cows. Outside of doing the wash, the American wife is more or less free. The general respect for womanhood causes parents to spoil their daughters and neglect teaching them the necessary skills for managing a household. It is little wonder that they often attend such ridiculous women's rights conventions where they praise women's rights in society, even though one can find no where else so few housewives as in America.¹⁵

German immigrant families, on the other hand, caused comment among their neighbors, because their women did

work in the fields and their men most emphatically did not help with household duties. It can be inferred from statements such as the above that few German women took an open interest in women's rights conventions and that most of them fulfilled the obligations they had been trained to assume.

One of the most extreme, even hysterical, German commentaries on the position of women in America can be found in the above-mentioned Langenscheidt reference book. The author informs his German readers that the United States has become a matriarchy, where women exert powerful influence on public life and wield great power in private life. As examples he cites the right of women to greet men first, their right to various chivalrous services, the conveniences and luxuries at their disposal and their freedom from household chores. He reports that a man will do all household work in order to please the woman of the house who is still considered a "Kleinod," as in the days when women were scarce on the frontier. "Die Erinnerung an das Kleinod ist eben so angeboren, dass man die Frau zu schonen hat, ihr alles aus dem Weg räumt, was ihr der Gebieterin störend sei." He also assigns blame for this situation to the schools where American children are almost entirely taught by women, men having left for more highly paid jobs. "Die Frau ist dem Amerikaner über den Kopf gewachsen. Sie kann alles tun was sie will, und hat praktisch mehr zu sagen als der Mann. . . . Die ungesunde Verwöhnung der Frau konnte naturgemäss nicht ohne Einfluss auf die Charakterentwicklung bleiben. . . . Auf innerer Anziehung beruhende Anschmiegsamkeit, Anlehnung und vertrauendes Emporblickenwollen zum Manne, die zu den liebenswertesten Eigenschaften des echten Weibes gehören, ist bei den meisten Amerikanerinnen wenig zu finden." Like the German bishop, the author noticed that women are not molested on the streets, but unlike the bishop he finds this prohibition objectionable, especially the \$25 fine or possible jail sentence!¹⁶

It would be interesting, of course, to hear from immigrant women themselves. How did they see their situation, their roles, their status? Such accounts are not plentiful. When

women wrote letters or diaries, they usually wrote about their families rather than about themselves and when they did write about themselves, they usually excluded the domestic sphere as uninteresting. A case in point is the autobiography of Katharina Dicke, written at the request of her children and grandchildren in 1924. She was then ninety-two years old and fondly remembered her childhood in Württemberg. Her father was a shepherd who spent the summer on the "Schwäbische Alb" herding his sheep while her mother did the work in the field with the help of a maid. Her two older sisters emigrated to America in the company of an uncle and aunt lured to America by a swindler. They were sorely missed by the mother who managed to convince the whole family to follow them in 1849. There is a detailed account of the voyage to America during which the family witnessed a revolution in Mannheim and saw whales which circled the boat. In Fort Wayne, Indiana, Katharina, like her sisters, worked as a maid in the homes of English-speaking Americans. In looking for work she searched out families who left all household work to her so that she could learn more. She was a very pious woman and when a minister from Michigan proposed marriage to her by mail, he was able to convince her that it was God's will that they marry. She did not know her future husband at all. From her description of the journey to his new parish near Saginaw, we learn that he rode a horse and she walked seventeen miles on foot. Because Pastor Dicke seems to have been a man of frail health who suffered fever spells whenever he preached, his wife taught the school in his stead. But she reports that she was never homesick in Michigan and that the whole family was happy once the Pastor was well again. Two children were born during the first three years of their marriage. In 1857, the Dicks moved to Wisconsin where the author spent the rest of her life. But while she devoted almost ten pages of her autobiography to the first twenty-five years of her life, barely a page can be found about the last sixty-seven. She refers her offspring to her husband's autobiography, then thanks the Lord for food and clothing and all His blessings although their lives were lived in "circumstances that could be called 'almost

poverty'." She closes with an apology for writing "too much of my childhood and youth in Germany, because I was reliving it as I wrote what seemed important to me."¹⁷ One could add that Katharina Dicke also described what seemed important and interesting for her descendants to know. She naturally assumed that her life in America was familiar to her children and grandchildren and that they were much more interested in her early years in Germany.

The sources quoted here span a period of 130 years and do not provide a complete picture, of course. The image which emerges from this admittedly limited sample is one of women who were hard-working, accomplished and domestic, who accepted their subordinate role and did not question their status. The authors of the works examined seemed to find the stereotype of the German *Hausfrau* transplanted to America. From German commentaries about the lot of American women, we can infer that German women in America were in no danger of becoming pampered adornments. Those who did question their status, who supported the women's suffrage movement, are not usually dwelt upon in German-American history books. Mathilde Franziska Anneke is usually mentioned in connection with accounts of the Forty-Eighters and, of course, in general works about the women's suffrage movement.¹⁸ Future research should examine the influence of this movement and take into account such factors as the traditional German work ethic, the male/female ratio among the immigrants and changing conditions during the various historical periods.

NOTES

1 Two recent examples are: Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *America's German Heritage: Bicentennial Minutes* (Cleveland, 1976); Gerard Wilk, *Americans from Germany* (New York, 1976).

2 Wilk, *Americans from Germany*.

3 Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States, with special reference to its political, moral, social and educational influence* (New York, 1909), II, 448-65.

4 Cecycle S. Neidle, *America's Immigrant Women* (Boston, 1975).

5 For an interesting discussion of this argument see Ronald W. Hogeland, *Woman and Womanhood in America* (Lexington, Mass., 1973).

6 Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I*, Minorities in American History (DeKalb, Ill. 1974), p. 60.

7 John A. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America: The Germans in the United States during the Nineteenth Century — and after* (New York and London, 1940), p. 37; *Land und Leute in Nordamerika*, ed. Ernst Smithanders, 2nd ed., Langenscheidts Handbücher für Auslandskunde (Berlin, 1926), p. 191.

8 Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant* (New York, 1940), p. 215.

9 Hawgood, p. 42.

10 Faust, pp. 464-65.

11 Luebke, pp. 60-61.

12 Wittke, p. 8.

13 "German Life in America — 1858," excerpts from Karl Theodor Griesinger, *Lebende Bilder Aus America*[sic](Stuttgart, 1858), in *The Germans in America 1607-1970: A Chronology and Fact Book*, ed. Howard Furer, Ethnic Chronology Series, No. 8 (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., 1973), p. 124-25.

14 Xaver Geyer, *Bei den Deutschamerikanern* (Godesberg am Rhein, 1923), p. 223-24.

15 Robert Henry Billigmeier, *Americans from Germany: A Study in Cultural Diversity*, Minorities in American Life Series, ed. Alexander DeConde (Belmont, California, 1974), p. 66-67; La Vern Rippley, *The German Americans*, The Immigrant Heritage of America, ed. Cecyle S. Neidle (Boston, 1976), pp. 56-57.

16 *Land und Leute*, p. 261-69.

17 *Autobiography of Grandmother Dicke*, TS, Manuscript Collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

18 Rippley, p. 56.

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THE GERMAN OCCUPATION OF QUEBEC IN 1776

By

KARL J. R. ARNDT

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As a German-Americans deeply devoted to our share in the building of the United States, and therefore repelled by the materialism of the Germanies of Europe in our time, we have always envied the French Canadians their tenacity in holding to their language and culture in Quebec. Our admiration for this tenacious love for the "Muttersprache, Mutterlaut" compelled us to end an address which we were invited to give recently at a Symposium dedicated to the theme "Tradition, Integration, Reception" with the words: "The French Language and Tradition in Quebec: Vivat, Crescat, Floreat." We should now like to follow up these sentiments with a few observations from our research since then on the one positive aspect of the part the German mercenaries from Brunswick played in helping preserve the French tradition in Quebec.

At the start we refer to Gustave Lanctot's book *Canada and the American Revolution, 1774-1783*. (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1967.) His study has shown how close the Americans came to getting the Canadians to join the American Revolution. Lanctot was a very well informed man and one thoroughly at home in the French Canadian archives, which, like the German American archives have been so much overlooked by historians. In our view, however, Lanctot overlooks the significance of the German presence in Canada at the critical time when they appeared. The Americans had taken Montreal and were very close to taking Quebec, when they lost their inspiring leader. Records of the German mercenaries, such as the diary of Lt. Du Roi the Elder, recognize this fully, in fact, when the Germans set sail for Quebec, they even took along special landing boats in case Quebec should by that time have fallen to the Americans, and when they approached North American shores, the first news

to be brought to them before they got near Quebec, was that the siege had been lifted.

Adjutant and Lieutenant Du Roi I of the Prinz Friedrich Regiment on June 6, 1776, records in his diary: "In the morning the Regiment of Dragoons debarked and Lieutenant Colonel Baum was named Commander of Quebec." On June 14th: "On this day the Regiment Prinz Friedrich debarked in the afternoon and finally we exchanged the really hateful stay on the ships with the garrison in Quebec, after we had spent 90 days on the water. The regiment lined up on the shore in the lower part of the city and with flying banners marched up to the fort. It may rightly be asserted that the present garrisons of Quebec are the first Germans who ever, since Columbi discovery of the 4th part of the world, in closed regiments with their banners and weapons, stepped on the shores of America. A truth, which by all means deserves to be noted in history." (See his diary in Library of Congress. We are preparing it for publication.)

Another diary kept by an unidentified officer of the Prinz Friedrich Regiment writes — and we translate: "On the 6th of June the Regiments of Dragoons and Prinz Friedrich for the first time occupied the watches in Quebec. On the 14th of June the Regiment Prinz Friedrich disembarked and with flying banners and stirring music marched to the fort in Quebec for the purpose of occupation, several days after the Dragoons had already moved in. The high officers had to rent their own quarters . . . The non-commisioned officers and common soldiers were placed in the barracks not far from the Palais Gaté, except for the Major's company, which was assigned to several rooms in the Seminary. On the 17th of June by order of Major Hille, 300 men were quartered on the other side of the St. Lawrence River in the Parish St. Joseph at Point Levy, which bears its name from the first Quebeacan. These men entered a camp from which they were relieved every 14 days."

The reason for this special occupation on the other side of the St. Lawrence River was, that that part was still considered friendly to the Americans, who had not yet withdrawn from Canadian territory. This was the next task to which German

troops were assigned immediately, and before time came for the German troops in the field to go into winter quarters, the Americans, recognizing the superior fresh forces that had come from England and Germany to do battle with them, withdrew from Canadian soil to prepare the trap for these forces at Bennington and Saratoga, which then ended the brief success of Generals Burgoyne and Riedesel, bringing them into a long captivity, first in Massachusetts and then in Virginia. Colonel Baum, who had been named Commander of Quebec while the Germans occupied the city, lost his life in the Battle of Bennington, which turned the tide in favor of the Americans. We would emphasize, however, that the German records of the German occupation of Quebec and campaign through Quebec helped secure the establishment of French tradition and language in Quebec. Most of the German officers spoke French and their records show that they were on very friendly terms with the French Canadians, yes, even their German shows a strong French accent. By helping drive the Americans out of Quebec, they provided the affirmative action for French culture which today is asserting itself so powerfully in Quebec. Yet, we dare not forget that at the time of the German occupation French Canadian sentiment was also strongly American, and if the Americans had remained in Canada, i.e. if the British and German expeditionary forces had not arrived, the situation today might be completely different. The following incident during the German occupation may serve to explain this more fully.

The tour of duty at Point Levy described above must have been especially unpleasant and lonely, because on June 20 in the night going on the 21st, the musketeer Andreas Hasselmann deserted from his outpost, but was captured and on August 25, 1776, sentenced to be executed. In the absence of further detailed information but in consideration of the involvement of the German Society of Quebec in behalf of this deserter, it seems probable that he was motivated by the kindness that had been shown him by his former countrymen who were now leading a comfortable and peaceful life in Quebec and who wanted him to share it. This is exactly what

German-Americans did later when these German mercenaries, who had made the mistake of invading their territory, saw how well they lived. In the foreword to his already cited book, Lanctot says:

The American invasion of 1775, an important event in Canada's brief history, gave rise to a political and a religious crisis. The political crisis found expression in aid to the rebels to the south, refusal of militiamen to bear arms, the struggle between loyalist and pro-rebel Canadians, and a project for union with the American Colonies. The religious crisis manifested itself in repudiation of loyalist directives from the clergy, insults to the Bishop and to priests, the capture of priests and their removal to American camps, and excommunication of pro-rebels by the Bishop. By drawing Church and State within range of an impending upheaval, the invasion came within an ace of making Canada American territory and creating schism in the Canadian Church.

In this situation it seems proper to translate the following record from the diary of an unnamed Brunswick officer in the Prinz Friedrich Regiment. (Preussisches Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Berlin. Heeresarchiv. Rep. 15A Handschriften. Nr. 382. From the photostat copy in the Library of Congress.)

Supplement to the diary of the year 1776, page 24, above, August 26th, concerning the announcement of death and the execution of the musketeer Andreas Hasselmann, who was sentenced to Arquebusade [A formal form of execution before the troops] Quebec September 4, 1776.

"The musketeer Hasselmann of His Serene Highness the Prince Friedrich Regiment and Major General von Stammer's company, who in the night from the 20th to the 21st of June 1776 deserted from the outmost double post of the Camp at Point Levy, according to confirmed laws of war on August 26 in the usual court room, in the presence of Regimental Adjutant Lieutenant Du Roi was notified of his death, but not the manner of the same, and that he would have only a few more days to live. He was immediately taken to the uppermost room of the Cape Diamond watch, a guard with drawn sword was assigned to him in this room and he was visited by the field chaplain. At each visit of the same, the guard stepped outside in front of the door. Now the delinquent was given better food

and each day $\frac{1}{2}$ measure (Quartier) of wine, which, like all other costs were paid by the Regiment. On September 2 the delinquent was given holy supper.

On September 3 in the morning at 8 by order of Major von Hille all higher and lower officers, drummers and common soldiers of the princely Regiment of Dragoons who were not on duty / these by special command of Major General von Riedesel / and of the Regiment of His Serene Highness Prinz Friedrich assembled at the usual parade grounds.

One Lieutenant, 3 non-commissioned officers, 1 drummer, and 30 men from the Regiment Prince Friedrich were commanded to bring the delinquent out of arrest. This detachment lined up at the left wing in 2 platoons, two men deep, marked time, and marched by the shortest route to Cape Diamond, there formed a square and awaited further orders, because the place of execution was near. The Dragoons and Regiment Prince Friedrich formed 1 battallion two men deep, marched to the Blacier Bastion and there formed a semi-circle, the ends of which reached to the edge of the wall. On the Cape Diamond side an opening remained for the detachment that was calling for the delinquent. This space was filled by non-commissioned officers.

Nine men from Major General von Stammer's Company designated for the purpose stepped into the middle of the circle in the first file, loaded, and dismounted bayonettes.

Auditor Wolpers saw to it that in good time 1 table and three chairs were carried to the place of execution and were set up on the right side in the circle in order to publicize the sentence for which 1 Captain (Diterichs) and 1 Officer (Lieutenant Heers) from the Regiment Prince Friedrich had been commanded.

Likewise on the part of the company it was seen to it that the chair on which the delinquent was to be shot, in similar manner the coffin together with the bier were carried there, and the first in the middle, the latter, however, placed on the left side of the circle, where 8 bearers lined up. After the detached officer had received orders to march up, the field chaplains led the delinquent into the square. The officer

marched away with very slow steps. The 3 non-commissioned officers were placed at the flank and behind. — As soon as the detachment entered the circle, the square opened. The preachers led the delinquent in front of the table, and he was unlocked. The detachment moved into the space that had been left open.

When all was still, the auditor while seated proceeded according to the painful order of judgement, read the sentence while standing and broke the stave.

The preachers escorted the delinquent to the chair. A non-commissioned officer took off his coat and vest, the arms were fixed to the chair, the eyes bandaged, and the black sign affixed to the shirt above the heart. At the notice of the Major the first 3 men already approached with cocked guns held high, when, while this was going on, Lieutenant Baum, commissioned by Major General von Riedesel, called out the pardon and Major von Hille received the letter of mercy.

Musketeer Hasselmann was bled immediately, and after he had recovered from his unconsciousness, the Auditor read the letter of mercy to him. Among other things this contained:

“that for moving reasons the musketeer Hasselman, after he has already really experienced the anguish of death, should be given his life and should also be free from all physical punishment.”

He was brought to the Cape Diamond watch for a short time and then dismissed from his arrest.

As sad as all these standing around were, so now the air was filled by the shouts of joy and the clapping of hands of the spectators because of the granted pardon, which was probably also caused by the supplication which the inhabitants of German nationality in Quebec had sent to Major General von Riedesel through a deputy.

The field chaplains testified that since announcement of his death, Hasselmann had behaved in a very Christian manner and had regretted his crime, and that he would have died blissfully confiding in the merit of the Saviour.

If Hasselmann had not been pardoned but would have been executed (*arquebusiret*), 8 men from Major General von Stammer's company would have placed him in the coffin, carried him to the churchyard and would have buried him there."

The full German text of the pardon has not been found, but there are four letters in French, then the official language of such communications:

1. A letter of August 27, 1776, signed by fourteen German citizens of Quebec, to General von Riedesel, pleading for the life of Andreas Hasselmann, who has been condemned to death for desertion.

2. Letter of August 29, 1776, by General von Riedesel answering the supplication of the Germans in Quebec, granting the pardon, although he deserved death. The pardon addressed to Lieutenant Colonel Baum is listed but seems lost.

3. Letter of thanks of the German citizens to Major General von Riedesel, dated Quebec, September 4, 1776.

4. General von Riedesel's reply of September 4, 1776, to the letter of thanks from the German citizens of Quebec.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND GENEALOGICAL DATA IN THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE GERMAN PIONEER SOCIETY OF CINCINNATI

By

ROBERT E. WARD

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On May 11 and May 12, 1868 a group of German-American Cincinnatians published ads in two local German newspapers calling for a meeting of persons interested in forming a German pioneer society. On Tuesday evening, May 12, 1868, the meeting was held in Geyer's Assembly Rooms on Court Street between Main and Walnut. Temporary officers were elected as follows: Dr. Joseph H. Pulte, president; Joseph Siefert, vice president; Christian von Seggern, secretary. Appointed to serve on a committee to draw up a constitution were F. A. Roewekamp, Joseph A. Hemann, Dr. Pulte, Siefert, Michael Pfau, and Nickolaus Hoeffler. On Tuesday

evening, May 26th, some 150 German-American pioneers adopted the constitution of Der Deutsche Pionier-Verein von Cincinnati, Ohio, and a nominating committee was appointed, consisting of Hemann, F. H. Roewekamp, Hermann Ficke, Franz Helfferich and Dr. Pulte.

On June 2nd the following members were elected officers for one year: C. F. Hanselmann, president; Joseph Darr, vice president, F. X. Dengler, secretary, George Klotter, treasurer. The Executive Committee consisted of August Moor, Nickolaus Hoeffler, Joseph Siefert, Michael Pfau, and John Geyer. The officers were installed on June 9th at Geyer's Hall and the society celebrated the historic occasion with a grandiose banquet. The St. Cäcilia Gesangverein, under the direction of H. F. Brüsselbach, provided the men with German song.

Paragraph I of the society's constitution stated that the purpose of the society shall be to renew the bonds of old friendships and to provide for the recording of the history and activities of the society for future generations through the collection of documents, notes and so forth. At the Nov. 10th meeting, discussion was taken up concerning the society's publishing a quarterly or monthly periodical, and a committee consisting of Hemann, H. M. Groenland and F. Bast was appointed and charged with the responsibility of meeting with the Executive Committee to formulate a plan for the same. At the March 3, 1869 meeting, the membership unanimously voted to begin the publication of a monthly, *Der Deutsche Pionier*. The first issue of this periodical appeared later that month.

Der Deutsche Pionier was published at a deficit of \$4,071.21 from March 1869 to March 1885 and so it was decided that it should appear as a quarterly. Two years later, the society ceased its publication and voted to publish an annual report instead. The annual report was published as a report of the Executive Committee (*Vorstandsbericht*).

Der Deutsche Pionier had seven editors: August Becker, Dr. Gustav Bruehl, Dr. E. H. Mack, Carl Ruemelin, Karl Knortz, H. A. Rattermann and Hermann Hensel. With the

exception of Mack and Hensel, all of them made indelible marks on the history of German-American literature and journalism.

The pages of *Der Deutsche Pionier* contain thousands of biographical sketches, articles, references and miscellany on not only the members of the society, but also on other German-Americans. Also a helpful source are the lists of subscribers. The membership, it should be noted, was not limited to Cincinnati; chapters of the society were formed in Newport, Kentucky on May 25, 1877, in Covington, Kentucky on May 26, 1877, in Toledo, Ohio in April 1878, and in Dayton, Ohio in August 1878. The society's oldest member in 1870 was probably Joseph K. Smith (Schmidt?) who joined on March 1 of that year. He was born in 1791 or 1792 in Frankfurt am Main, came to America with his parents in 1798, and settled in Cincinnati in 1808.

In September 1874 a group photograph was taken of 450 members of the society. Since this photo was widely distributed, it is probable that copies can still be located. It, too, might serve as a link to the past, especially for the family historian or genealogist whose ancestor was a member of the society.

The various *Vorstandsberichte* contain membership lists, notes on dues and who paid them, the addresses of officers and other members, and other data. In the sketches of deceased members one finds a great amount of detail that can be a great asset when doing genealogical research, e.g., a photo of the member, his name, age, place and dates of birth and death, date of immigration, address of residence, the maiden name of his wife, the date of his wife's birth and death, their date of marriage, the names and ages of their children, his occupations, the names of other organizations to which he belonged, the name of the cemetery at which he was buried, the names of the pallbearers, and so forth.

The records and publications of Der Deutsche Pionier-Verein von Cincinnati, Ohio have indeed met the criterion set forth in the society's constitution—they remain an invaluable source of biographical and genealogical data for this generation and future ones.

NOTES

1 The ads appeared in the *Cincinnati Volksblatt* and in the *Cincinnati Volksfreund*.

2 See Carl Pletz, "Der Deutsche Pionier-Verein," *Vorstandsbericht über das 50. Vereinsjahr 1917-1918* (S. Rosenthal and Co.: Cincinnati, 1918), 34-38.

3 Bio-bibliographical sketches on Hecker, Bruehl, Ruemelin, Knortz, and Rattermann (and references to secondary sources on them) are given in the manuscript to my *Dictionary of German-American Creative Writers*.

4 Don Heinrich Tolzmann, associate editor of the JGAS and German reference librarian at the University of Cincinnati is currently preparing an index to *Der Deutsche Pionier*.

5 See Clifford Smith, et al, *Encyclopedia of German-American Genealogical Research* (Bowker: 1976).

6 Copies of the *Vorstandsberichte* are at the University of Cincinnati Library (Fick Collection) and the Western Reserve Historical Society (Ward Collection). For locations of *Der Deutsche Pionier* issues, see Karl J. R. Arndt and Mary E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals* (1955 and later eds.).

GERMAN-AMERICAN GENEALOGICAL NOTES

Mrs. Pat Meehan, 35844 Sherborne Dr., Mt. Clemens, MI 48043 is researching the **Trapp** and **Henkel** families.

Mrs. Janice Helmbrecht, 735 Grasley Lane, Zanesville, OH 43701, is researching the **Helmbrecht** and **Steller** families.

Michael A. Landwehr, 725-39th St., West Des Moines, IA. 50265, is researching the **Brömmelsieck** and **Landwehr** families.

Virginia Eschenbach, 221 Joliet St., Dyer, Indiana 46311, is researching the **Eschenbach** family.

Wish to contact or obtain information about people named **Schimpf**. Write in English or German. Franz Schimpf, D-3360 Osterode am Harz, Schwimmbadstrasse 2, West Germany.

Seek info on: SCHMITZ, FRANZ FEDTER (often misspelled SCHMIDT), Born, ca. 1839-1841, Nieheim, Prussia, Now Nordrhein-Westfalen, Federal Republic of Germany; died, 4 June 1872, San Francisco, California. Served in Civil War (Pvt., Co. C, 41st N.Y. Vol, Inf. Enl. 6 June 1861). **Married:** MARIA SCHMIDT, 21 Sept. 1866, New York, N.Y., born ca 1848, Hessen-Oldendorf, Hessia, dau. of Anna (Kirst) Schmidt. **Issue:** EDWARD HENRY SCHMITZ, born 1867, N.Y., died California 1935 (only child known). — Mrs. Jo Alice Schmitz, 5209 62nd St., Sacramento, Calif. 95820.

SOME GERMAN-AMERICAN GENEALOGICAL ARTICLES

Compiled by H. GERLINGER,

Chairman, Roland zu Dortmund Genealogical Society, Dortmund, Germany

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GERMAN-AMERICAN GENEALOGICAL NOTES

A list of soldiers who died in the German-Danish War of 1864 has been published by Peter E. Günther, 1000 Berlin 33, Reichenhaller Str. 67, West Germany. Entitled **Namentliches Verzeichnis der Toten der preussischen Armee und Marine des deutsch-dänischen Krieges 1864**, it is available from the author for 12 West German Marks plus shipping costs.

A new publication on German palatines has appeared: **Untertanenlisten des Herzogtums Pfalz-Zweibrücken aus den Huldigungsprotokollen des Jahres 1776**. Compiled by Karl Schaaf, it appeared as Folge 6 of the **Schriften zur Bevölkerungsgeschichte der Pfälzischen Lande**, published by the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Pfälzisch-Rheinische Familienkunde.

Dr. Klaus Wust has translated an important source of heretofore unobtainable personal data on 1,425 persons of German descent. It is entitled **Shenandoah Valley Family Data, 1799-1813. From the Memorandum Book of Johannes Braun**, and is available from: Shenandoah History, P. O. Box 98, Edinburg, Va.



DR. GUSTAV BRÜHL (top) and KARL KNORTZ (bottom),
two early editors of **Der Deutsche Pionier**

REVIEWS

Wilson, Joseph, ed., **Texas and Germany: Crosscurrents**. Rice University Studies, ed. Katherine F. Drew. Vol. 63, No. 3. Houston: William Marsh Rice University, 1977.

This collection of eleven essays is the best publication on Texas Germans since Terry Jordan's **German Seed in Texas Soil** in 1966. Taken for the most part from two Bicentennial symposia which brought together speakers from diverse backgrounds, these papers present a refreshingly well-written introduction to the cultural life of the German-speaking people in Texas. More than that, they show new interdisciplinary directions for immigrant ethnic studies in the Southwest which for the past fifty years have labored under the driest formula-writing and parochialism. Hopefully **Crosscurrents** will suggest fresh research and writing so that Texas-German studies may take a rightful place along with many fine works on the Ohio-Germans, the Germans from Russia, the Donauschwaben, Amish, Hutterites, and Pennsylvania Dutch.

Crosscurrents appeals to a wide audience. The student of immigrant ethnic studies will find no better overview of the Germans in Texas than the opening article by Terry Jordan, cultural geographer of North Texas State University. Local historians and genealogists, as well, will agree with Jordan's explanations of something they long have sensed: the roles of personality and correspondence as determinants of immigration and dispersal. Otto Tetzlaff's treatment of one popular immigration guide also reflects on the psychology of immigrants—their expectations, their questions, and preparations. The article touches, furthermore, on a number of intriguing areas (New World concepts, ethical idealism, Romanticism, literature as a shaper of social patterns, 19th-century advertising) which probably will come together in the introduction of Tetzlaff's forthcoming translation of **Der Auswanderer nach Texas. Ein Handbuch und Rathgeber . . .** (1846).

Two articles by Glenn Gilbert (Southern Illinois University) and Gilbert Jordan (Southern Methodist University) measure the dialectal origins of the German spoken in Texas, as well as the demands placed on the immigrants' language. Cut off from concurrent developments in its homeland, Texas German struggled to accommodate the new geography (**das Thicket**), flora (**die Corn-cob**), fauna (**der Bollweevil, Coyote**), weather (**der Tornado**), government (**das Courthouse**), livelihoods (**der Farmer, Roundup**), tools (**der Buggywhip, das Rope**), religion (**die Campmeeting**), sports (**der Homerun**), and the inevitable growth of technology (**der Flattire, die Steamengine, das Steeringwheel, der Windshieldwiper**).

The article by the noted Texas folklorist, Francis E. Abernethy (Stephen F. Austin State University), is a welcome addition to neglected folklore and folklife studies of the Texas-Germans, while UT linguist Winfred Lehmann's article surveys the literature of the Texas-Germans, concluding with a potentially

fruitful suggestion for comparative studies of regional American and German-American literature.

Written from the perspective of a European looking at Texas, A. Leslie Willson's "Another Planet: Texas in German Literature" is a delightful study of the myth of Texas in the fiction of Charles Sealsfield and contemporary German literature.

Compared with these works, two of the remaining essays in **Crosscurrents** seem somewhat defective, though they are, of course, quite interesting. Waltraud Bartsch's article on acculturation shows what can be done, as a beginning, with letters, memoirs, diaries, and sketches uncovered by scholars in their investigations. Editor Joseph Wilson's essay on the language sounds like the stuff of which research papers are made. An earlier informal discussion of the same material by Professor Wilson in **Schatzkammer**, 2 (1976) was a much more pleasing treatment of linguistic rub off and trilingualism among the Wends of Texas.

Joseph Wilson's introduction, however, suggests several new avenues of approach to Texas-German studies. Still, it stops far short of presenting the range of possibilities. We ought to be headed, at this point, toward broader social and intellectual studies, starting from broad bases for analysis. Such works should focus less on chronology and events and more on ideas, patterns, and personalities. Future work should identify "problems" and then follow the various responses (or failures to respond) to these problems.

As American thought has shifted from its theory of the melting pot to a new idea of pluralism and cultural diversity, immigrant ethnic studies have enjoyed a new vogue. Yet many of the recent works perpetuate the old parochialism of our field because scholars are not conversant in the broader contexts of their subjects. Black and Chicago studies have made the initial steps toward new ethnic research. For work on the Texas Germans, **Crosscurrents** is a very positive step in that same direction. It will remain for some time as a measurement of succeeding works in this field.

GLEN E. LICH

Southwest Texas State University

* * *

Ravenswaay, Charles van, **The Arts and Architecture of German Settlements in Missouri: A Survey of a Vanishing Culture**. Columbia: University of Missouri Pr., 1977.

Contrary to the title, this is not a survey of a vanishing culture but rather a massive encyclopedic study of a surviving culture. The author, a former director of the Missouri Historical Society, spent forty years interviewing craftsmen, studying and photographing their work and examining documentary materials for this handsomely illustrated volume. Van Ravenswaay concentrates on the culture created by the Missouri Germans "and its expression in the design and craftsmanship of their buildings, and utilitarian or decorative household furnishings."

Part One traces the history of the first German settlements in Missouri, Gottfried Duden and his **Report of a Journey to the Western States of North America**, the various 48er settlements, the Giessen Society, various German villages and counties in Missouri. All of this is richly illustrated with pictures of landscapes, farmers, Missouri German home interiors etc. Part Two examines the buildings of the Missouri Germans in chapters dealing with log construction, frame construction, stone construction, brick construction, barns, designers and builders. One fascinating chapter deals with the objects which immigrants brought with them to Missouri: glassware, porcelain, furniture, heirlooms, family treasures etc. Part Three describes the various Missouri German crafts and various objects of domestic use in a series of chapters dealing with the craftsmen, furniture types and makers, musical instruments, wood carving, baskets, firearms, tin and copperware, stone cutting and carving, textiles, pottery, drawings, prints, paintings, blacksmiths, bookbinders, boxmakers, braziers, broommakers, glassmakers, locksmiths, painters, sabots, woodenware, silver-smiths, watchmakers and jewelers.

This extraordinary volume is a major contribution to the study not only of German-American arts, architecture and crafts, but also to the German-American lifestyle which emerged in the nineteenth century. A bibliography on the Missouri Germans is also appended to the text. The work, an obvious reflection of years of study, demonstrates also the love of the German-American author for his subject matter. He writes "Often I thought of the rich sound and rhythm of conversations in German and German-English I had heard so often in the past." Every library and person interested in German-Americana should obtain this important book.

DON HEINRICH TOLZMANN
University of Cincinnati

* * *

Rimland, Ingrid, **The Wanderers: The Saga of Three Women Who Survived**, Concordia Publishing House, 3558 South Jefferson Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri 63118. No price indicated.

Significant segments of the world's population have found the twentieth century to be little more than a period of trial, tribulation and torment. The Jews of western and eastern Europe suffering at the hands of the Nazis, Africans tormented by colonial and native rulers alike and South American Indians decimated in the name of progress all have their tales of utmost woe to relate. The peoples of Russia have known every form of misery possible in the years since World War I, with war, starvation and the ever present brutality of Soviet Communism permeating their existence and taking toll in the form of the lives of millions of innocent people. The various ethnic groups of the Soviet Union have been especially unfortunate in their lot, given not only their experience of tyranny but also of Great Russian prejudice, which has demanded conformity or death. **The Wanderers** is the tale of one such ethnic group caught in the Russian vise—the German Mennonites of the Ukraine.

Ingrid Rimland's beautifully written and poignantly expressed saga of the plight of the German Mennonites in twentieth century Russia conveys the tale of people ensnared in the vicissitudes of a world that they truly did not make. The Mennonites, a hardworking, exceedingly ethnic conscious folk, originally came to Russia at the behest of the German-born Catherine the Great, who wished to settle German farmers on Russian soil in order to tap the agricultural abundance that awaited the diligent husbandman. Clustered in tightly knit communities bound by a common language and culture, the German Mennonites held themselves aloof from the native population, reaping wealth from their farming ability but also sowing the seeds of Russian hatred that was to eventually cost them dearly.

The author, who quite obviously experienced many of the events described in her book herself or obtained knowledge of them at first hand, relates in prose of the utmost vividness the manner in which the chaos of World War I and its aftermath began the process that was to eventuate in the death of hundreds of thousands of the German Mennonite population. Following the conflict, White and Red Russian alike preyed upon the honest, hardworking German farmers, looting their dearly bought homesteads and leaving a trail of blood and destruction in their wake. The agony of existence in Russia grew with every year until finally the German Mennonites could only look to a revived Germany for their salvation.

The German armies did eventually arrive but their security of tenure on the Russian steppe was of short duration and by 1944 the Wehrmacht was in retreat. Many of the surviving Mennonites left with the German military and in the process underwent yet another eternity of suffering and death. The brutality, rape and savagery that Rimland describes in her book tests the faith of the reader in the goodness of humanity and does not spare the auditor in any detail.

Those few miserably treated Mennonites who survived made their way to Paraguay where an entirely new set of woes lay before them. Rimland superbly relates the vicissitudes of existence in a jungle environment in which not only did all the elements appear to conspire against the Mennonites pioneers but personality clashes also threatened to destroy their continued existence as a collective entity.

NORMAN LEDERER

Washtenaw Community College
Ann Arbor, Michigan

* * *

Koehler, Eve Eckert, **Seven Susannahs: Daughters of the Danube**. Available from Mr. Matthias Aringer, General Secretary, United Danube Swabian Society of U.S.A., 6060 North 118th Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53225.

Paper. No price indicated.

Present-day observers of the German-American scene cannot help but notice that German traditions in all of their old **echt** vigor are no longer being sustained by the majority of the groups making up Germania. As the first generation dies

out and is only partially replaced by new immigrants eager to assimilate into the majority culture as soon as possible, the **Vereine** of Northern and Southern Germans are rapidly losing their former position close to the center of the German-American experiences.

This situation is not as yet true of the dynamic and energetic societies composed of German expellees from central and eastern Europe. Like the Ukrainians and the Latvians, to cite two other groups ruthlessly torn away from their homelands, the Volga Germans and the Danube Swabians in America cling to their heritage with a tenacity and a fervor that is beautiful to behold. Young German-Americans attending the affairs sponsored by these organizations can gain an appreciation of what Germania was like in the full flush of its enthusiasm a generation ago.

The saga of the Danube Swabians in Europe is a sad one. Vigorously pioneering in the broad plains of Hungary and Rumania during the heyday of the Habsburg empire, the Danube Swabians made the land bloom as their capacity for hard work and their spirit of cooperating converted desert wastes into granaries of production. The Danube Swabians came from all areas of southern Germany in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century to better their miserable lot as near-serfs through new positions as independent farmers. Settling in their own villages, they clung tenaciously to their Swabian dialect and their customs over the centuries.

As long as the Habsburg Empire existed, the lot of the Danube Swabians was not a bad one. But with the breakup of the empire following World War I and the rise of self-conscious nationalism in the various ethnic components of the former imperial lands, the position of the Danube Swabians became less secure. Their situations became hopeless with the invasion of the forces of Adolf Hitler and the consequent defeat of Germany in World War II. Many Danube Swabians fled their ancestral homelands along with the retreating German troops and suffered all of the pain and anguish that was the lot of the displaced person. Those who remained bore the full brunt of the savage and bestial Russian occupation. A fortunate few of the refugees made their way eventually to the United States where they have in general prospered through hard work and a spirit of enterprise. A remnant of the Danube Swabian population still exists on the broad plains of Hungary but its future viability as a Germanic cultural enclave is in serious doubt.

Eve Eckert Koehler's lyrical narrative of the past and present state of the Danube Swabians in Europe and America is a most worthy testimonial to the strength of spirit of this fascinating people. Using seven generations of family members named Susannah as a framework for her tale, the author depicts the history of the Danube Swabians from their origins in southern Germany until the holocaust of World War II and after. Prose is interspersed with poetry and song in her work in a largely successful effort to convey the essence of this ethnic group's experience.

The last section of Miss Koehler's book relates the effort of the author and her family to trace the fate of one of the Susannahs, considered to have died in a Russian hard labor camp after World War II. This highly moving and dramatic

portion of the text constitutes a major literary effort on the part of the author and clearly indicates her ability to convey a feeling of emotion in a most effective manner. It would be unworthy of the reviewer to reveal the startling outcome of the family' search.

Seven Susannahs should be read by all those concerned over the heritage of an important population segment of eastern Europe as well as by those seeking a reaffirmation of the ability of the human spirit to survive under conditions of extreme stress.

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Arndt, Karl J. R., **Der Freundschafts- und Handelsvertrag von 1785 zwischen Seiner Majestät dem König von Preussen und den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika / The Treaty of Amity and Commerce of 1785 between His Majesty the King of Prussia and the United States of America**. München: Heinz Moos Verlag, 1977.

This richly illustrated volume, published as a collector's edition in October 1977, contains important documentation and commentaries on 18th century German-American relations. It contains the 1785 treaty between Prussia and the U.S.; comments of the editor on the French and American original text and their German translation; the French, American and German text of the treaty; a facsimile of the complete treaty, ratifications in excerpts; background, genesis and importance of the treaty; abstracts of German documents on the treaty; bibliographical notes and also Goetz Fehr's "International Law based on the spirit of freedom and humanity." Dr. Arndt has provided us with important documentation which he places in historical context and supplies the reader with a vivid picture of the society, the economy and the political situation at the time this treaty came about.

DON HEINRICH TOLZMANN

University of Cincinnati

* * *

Terry G. Jordan. **Texas Log Buildings: A Folk Architecture**. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978. Pp. 230, profusely illustrated, bibliog. (299 entries). 1st edition. Cloth \$15.95.

The University of Texas Press makes no idle claim in advertising this book as a possible cabin-raising guide. Jordan's explanations of the practices and techniques of early Texan log craftsmen are so meticulously clear that, by following these descriptions carefully, one could (with some luck) notch corners, raise a log wall, and construct a floor, roof, and chimney.

That was, of course, not the intention of this book. With a detailed glossary and comprehensive bibliography (divided into four categories), **Texas Log**

Buildings is a scholarly endeavor to preserve a rapidly disappearing legacy of American folk culture.

"Folk buildings are extensions of the people and the religion," explains the author in an introductory passage. With that, he begins a perceptive analysis of the effects of weather, climate, native vegetation, and terrain on architectural and domestic adaption. Jordan then traces developments in construction through a number of cultural influences: German Texans, blacks, and Anglo-Americans of lower Southern derivation (Alabama-Georgia-Carolinas), as well as those of upper Southern or Appalachian derivation (Arkansas-Tennessee-Kentucky). For all of them, the lowly log cabin was "home" during a certain phase of their upward social climb from wilderness to civilization. Although early craftsmen built predominately of oak, cedar, and pine, Jordan found examples of houses and outbuildings, stores, inns, churches, schools, and jails crafted from at least six other woods as well.

For most readers of **Journal of German-American Studies**, the most interesting part of this book will be **Chapter 2: The Origin and Diffusion of Log Folk Architecture**. Here Jordan details the Northern European origin of log architecture, its subsequent development as a building style in "Scandinavia, Finland, most of European Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Alpine lands, the Black Forest of Germany, the mountainous spine of Yugoslavia, and the Carpathians," and eventually its diffusion to North America. The log cabin ultimately reached Texas by several routes: the Anglo-American incursions (roughly 1820-60) and the northern European colonization (beginning with Germans ca. 1831-60).

In conclusion, the best characteristic of **Texas Log Buildings** is its comprehensive scope and perspective. Its weakness is that correlations between domestic architecture and social relations and values are not drawn, but then again Jordan is not writing of a homogeneous group.

The author is a sixth generation Texan of German and Anglo-American descent. His doctoral degree in cultural-historical geography was granted in 1965 by the University of Wisconsin at Madison, and since 1969 he has been at North Texas State University.

GLEN E. LICH

Southwest Texas State University

* * *

Ausländer, Rose. **Aschensommer: Ausgewählte Gedichte**. Ed. Berndt Mosblech. Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1978. 245 pp.; and **Es bleibt noch viel zu sagen**. With two records of Ausländer reading her poetry and a print by HAP Grieshaber. Cologne: Literarischer Verlag Braun (1978). 47 loose, unnumbered pages.

The two volumes under review are the first selections of Ausländer's poetry which have been made available. **Aschensommer** offers an inexpensive introduction to the poet. It contains an extensive selection of Ausländer's poetry as well as two of her essays, a bibliography, and Jürgen Wallmann's excellent study

"Materialien zu Leben und Werk"—all for the very reasonable price of DM 9.80. Although not all of my personal favorites are included, it would be difficult to fault the editor's selections. The emphasis is placed upon the later works, which are clearly Ausländer's best. Only the title—taken from a poem from the poet's first postwar collection—seems somewhat inappropriate.

In **Es bleibt noch viel zu sagen**, too, later poems far outnumber earlier ones; a few from **Doppelspiel** are even included. But here the resemblance ends. This is a book for connoisseurs (although the price, DM 28, is far lower than one would expect). Each of the 46 poems is printed on a separate, loose page, and each is read by Ausländer on the records which are included. (The first record is the same as the one which accompanies the limited first edition of the **Gesammelte Gedichte**.) The poet's delivery is distinctive and appropriate. She neither declaims the poems, as might a professional actress, nor reduces them to banality, as do some poets when reading from their works. The emotional tone is—appropriately—present, but subdued. The subtle tensions inherent in her poetry assume even greater significance when the reader follows the printed text, comparing the effect of the written words and lines with that of the author's oral interpretation. An otherwise perfect product is marred by an editorial oversight: "Bitte I" is included in the text, but on the record "Bitte II"—a totally different poem—is read.

Everyone who enjoys German poetry should have a copy of **Aschensommer**. And everyone who truly appreciates fine poetry will want to own **Es bleibt noch viel zu sagen**.

JERRY GLENN

University of Cincinnati

* * *

Mimi Grossberg, **Amerika im austro-amerikanischen Gedicht 1938-1978**. Wien: Bergland Verlag. 1978. 64 pp.

A poetry collection of Austrian exile authors focusing on their American experience is the latest publication of Mimi Grossberg, an emigrée living since 1938 in New York City. Mrs. Grossberg, well-known for her anthologies of *Austro-Americana*, presents in this small volume 58 poems by 21 authors. Her collection offers a multitude of talents, lyric approaches, impressions, and aspects of the country which has become a refuge for these authors most of whom maintain their native language and literary tradition. One meets Friedrich Bergammer, Ernst Waldinger, Rose Ausländer, Margaret Kollisch—just to name a few. Mimi Grossberg's presentation is a valuable addition to the manifold research efforts into German language literature from the United States.

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