

Achim Kopp

Abraham Reeser Horne's Pennsylvania German Manual

Together with Edward H. Rauch's 1879 *Pennsylvania Dutch Handbook*,¹ Abraham Reeser Horne's *Pennsylvania German Manual* stood for many decades as the most influential source book for Pennsylvania German language, literature, and culture. First published in 1875, the work went through three further editions in 1896, 1905, and 1910, all of which enlarged the scope of the book in one way or another. Horne's *Manual* presented not only the most extended Pennsylvania German wordlists of its time, but also an abundance of materials on Pennsylvania German heritage and literature. The following paper will explore the story and significance of Horne's *Pennsylvania German Manual* and put the work into the context of the author's life and the changing attitude of late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Pennsylvania educators with regard to the teaching of Pennsylvania German and English in the public schools.

According to an obituary published in the January 1903 edition of the *National Educator*, Abraham Reeser Horne was born on 24 March 1834 in Springfield township, Bucks County, Pennsylvania.² His maternal grandfather, Abraham Reasor, was an early settler in the area and both his parents, David L. and Mary Horne, were originally Pennsylvania German Mennonites. He attended nearby Mt. Airy School and, starting in 1848, the boarding school at Line Lexington, both in his home county. According to legend, at the age of eight the avid reader would eagerly await the post rider's arrival on Wednesday night, delivering the Doylestown papers for a basket of apples. At sixteen Horne was teaching school and at twenty, in 1854, he became principal of the Bethlehem public schools. In the same year, he entered Pennsylvania College, from which he graduated in 1858. Immediately following, he founded Bucks County Normal and Classical School at Quakertown, Pennsylvania, starting with only three students and extending it to 142 pupils at the end of the first year. In 1867 Horne became the first superintendent of the schools of the city of Williamsport,



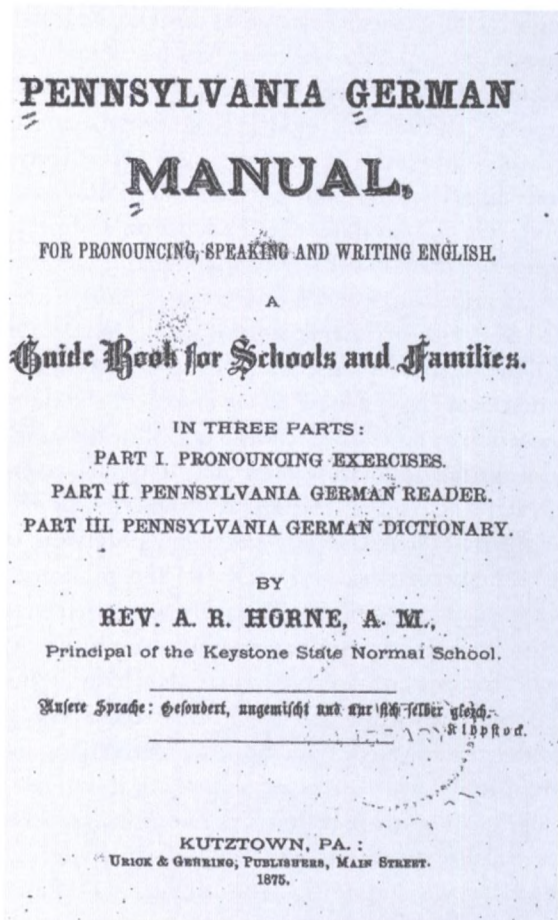
A. R. Horne

Drawing of A. R. Horne from the first (1875) edition of the *Pennsylvania German Manual*.

Pennsylvania, while also serving as pastor of St. Mark's Lutheran Church. He held the superintendent position until 1872, when he became principal of the Keystone State Normal School in Kutztown, Pennsylvania. Under his leadership, the school became one of the most flourishing normal schools in the state. According to the *National Educator* obituary,³ Horne's tireless energy, hard work, and contagious enthusiasm served as a model to his students, who, as rural Pennsylvania Germans, were contending with a great number of educational challenges. In 1877 Horne established the Normal Department of Muhlenberg College in Allentown, Pennsylvania, which prepared young men to become teachers and enter college. He remained at Muhlenberg until 1882. His passion for teaching and knowledge of the theoretical aspects of public school education gave Horne an important voice among school principals, superintendents, and other educators at the state and national level. He gave numerous lectures on the subject in schools and churches, not only

in Pennsylvania, but also during lecture tours through New Jersey, Louisiana, and Texas between 1881 and 1884. As a result of his extraordinary reputation as a leading educator, he was offered the presidency at Texas University, which he declined. In 1860, during his time in Quakertown, Horne had founded the *National Educator* under the original title *Educator and Teachers' Journal*.⁴ The monthly journal became a resource to thousands of teachers throughout the United States, not only in the areas of education and pedagogy, but also in literature, religion, history, health, and manners.⁵ As Donner points out,⁶ the journal also included articles of interest to Pennsylvania Germans, in particular during a very short period in the 1870s. However, the main focus was always on educational topics. After 1890, A. R. Horne's son, Thomas K. B. Horne, took over the business management of the journal. The place of publication changed as its editor relocated within the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, the journal originating alternately in Quakertown, Turbotsville, Williamsport, Kutztown, and Allentown.⁷ Horne's first book publication, a small volume entitled *Hand-Book of Botany* and published in 1875,⁸ grew out of his love of flowers. It was followed in 1885 by *Easy Experiments for Schools and Families*,⁹ which provided teachers with a resource for physical and chemical experiments and the construction of inexpensive apparatuses. The popularity of this work caused a second, enlarged and improved, edition in 1886. Horne's next work was *Common Sense Health Notes*, published in 1893.¹⁰ It included useful advice on health preservation, hygiene, disease prevention, and proper ventilation of schools and homes. Horne's final book publication, entitled *Memoirs of Rev. Joshua Yeager, 1802-1882 / Das Leben und Wirken von Pater Josua Jager, Evangelische-Lutherischdem Prediger*, appeared in 1889 and was written in both English and Standard German.¹¹ Yeager was a well-known Lutheran minister in Lehigh and Northampton Counties and predecessor of Horne. In addition to these book publications, Horne published numerous newspaper, magazine, and journal articles, for the most part pertaining to education, but also to local history, most notably that of the Pennsylvania Germans.¹² A. R. Horne married Jemima E. Yerkes in 1858; the couple had seven children. He died on 23 December 1902 a few hours after having delivered a Christmas sermon to a group of children. He is buried in Fairview Cemetery in Allentown, Pennsylvania.

The following brief description of the linguistic situation in southeastern Pennsylvania before the 1870s will provide some context for the discussion of *Horne's Pennsylvania German Manual*.¹³ The first German-speaking immigrants to the province of Pennsylvania founded Germantown (now a part of Philadelphia) in 1683. In the colonial period, almost 100,000 immigrants from German-speaking areas settled in southeastern and central Pennsylvania. They included sectarian Mennonites and Amish as well as



Title page of the first (1875) edition of A. R. Horne's *Pennsylvania German Manual*.

non-sectarian Lutherans and Reformed from the Palatinate, Alsace, Baden, Hesse, the Lower Rhine, and Switzerland. In 1783, exactly a hundred years after the arrival of the first German-speaking immigrants, Johann David Schöpf describes the language of these immigrants and their descendants as a confusing mixture of various German dialects and English.¹⁴ It can be assumed that up until the Revolutionary War the various German dialects had undergone a leveling process, which, in conjunction with linguistic contact with English, resulted in the rise of Pennsylvania German. Although immigration resumed after the Revolutionary War, later immigrants from German-speaking areas increasingly bypassed Pennsylvania. For more than a century, many Pennsylvania Germans preserved their German dialect in the home domain, while also learning English for interaction with the

surrounding mainstream society.¹⁵ The establishment of an English-speaking public school system and the later switch to English in external domains like church and press eventually led to English becoming the dominant language.

The shift to English among Pennsylvania Germans was by far less widespread when Horne conceived his *Pennsylvania German Manual* in the 1870s. Two important books on the market at the time deserve special mentioning, each for a different reason. In 1870 Henry Harbaugh had published *Harbaugh's Harfe*, a collection of fifteen of his poems in Pennsylvania German, which included the well-known "Das alt Schulhaus an der Krick" ("The old schoolhouse at the creek").¹⁶ This collection stands at the beginning of Pennsylvania German dialect literature, which has been flourishing to the present day, both in poetry and in prose. The second important publication is S. S. Haldeman's 1872 volume entitled *Pennsylvania Dutch: A Dialect of South German with an Infusion of English*.¹⁷ This book marks the beginning of scholarly interest in Pennsylvania German and has been followed by numerous studies of aspects of dialectology, historical linguistics, and sociolinguistics over the last thirteen decades. The two works by Harbaugh and Haldeman are symptomatic for the emerging interest of scholars and educated laypeople in Pennsylvania German language and culture at the time when A. R. Horne was getting ready to publish the first edition of his *Pennsylvania German Manual*.

Horne's *Manual* altogether went through four editions, the first appearing in 1875, the second in 1896, the third in 1905, and the fourth in 1910. The 1910 edition is made out to be a reprint of the 1905 edition but is in fact slightly enlarged and also differs in pagination. With each new edition except the fourth, slight adjustments were made to the title to account for the enlargements that had taken place. In addition, the work was published by three different publishing houses, namely Urick and Gering in Kutztown (¹1875), National Educator Print in Allentown (²1896), and T. K. Horne (³1905 and ⁴1910), also in Allentown. The last three editions are self-publications in that they are connected to the National Educator (²1896) and A. R. Horne's son Thomas K. B. Horne (³1905 and ⁴1910). The bibliographic citations of the four editions are as follows:

Abraham Reeser Horne, *Pennsylvania German Manual, For Pronouncing, Speaking and Writing English. Guide Book for Schools and Families. In Three Parts: Part I. Pronouncing Exercises; Part II. Pennsylvania German Reader; Part III. Pennsylvania German Dictionary* (Kutztown, Pennsylvania: Urick and Gehring, 1875).

Abraham Reeser Horne, *Pennsylvania German Manual, For Pronouncing, Speaking and Writing English. Guide Book for Families and Schools. Revised*

and Enlarged Edition. In Four Parts: Part I. English Pronunciation; Part II. Pennsylvania German Literature, with English Translation; Part III. Pennsylvania German Dictionary; Part IV. English Vocabulary (Allentown, Pennsylvania: National Educator Print, 1896).

Abraham Reeser Horne, *Horne's Pennsylvania German Manual. How Pennsylvania German Is Spoken and Written. For Pronouncing, Speaking and Writing English. Third Edition. Enlarged and Profusely Illustrated. Part I. English Pronunciation; Part II. Pennsylvania German Literature, with English Translation; Part III. Pennsylvania German Dictionary, with Grammar and Spelling Rules; Part IV. English Vocabulary* (Allentown, Pennsylvania: T. K. Horne, 1905).

PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN MANUAL,

FOR

PRONOUNCING,
SPEAKING AND WRITING ENGLISH.

GUIDE BOOK FOR FAMILIES AND SCHOOLS.

REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION.

IN FOUR PARTS :

- PART I.—ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION.
PART II.—PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN LITERATURE,
WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION.
PART III.—PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN DICTIONARY.
PART IV. — ENGLISH VOCABULARY.

BY

A. R. HORNE, A. M., D. D.

Editor of THE NATIONAL EDUCATOR and Institute Instructor.

Ex-Principal of the Keystone State Normal School.

ALLENTOWN, PA.
NATIONAL EDUCATOR PRINT.
1896.

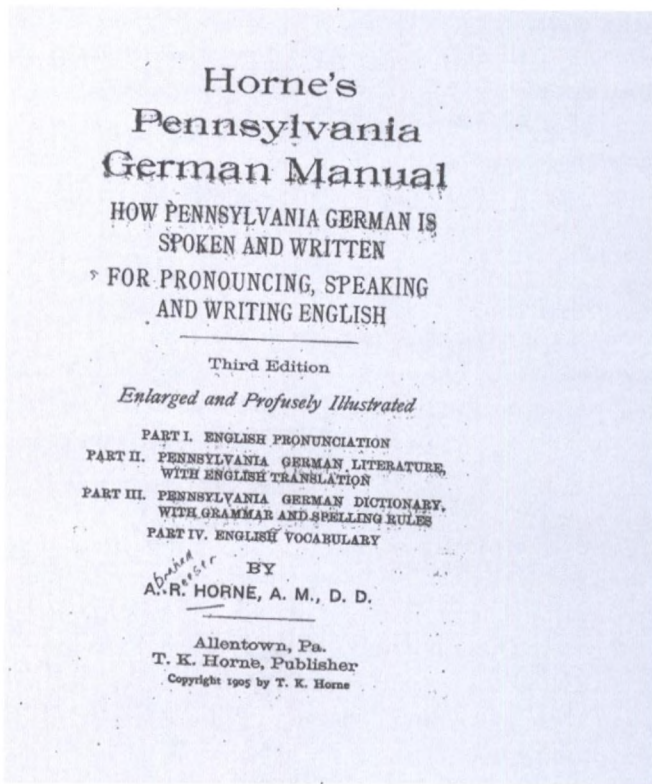
Title page of the second (1896) edition of A. R. Horne's *Pennsylvania German Manual*.

Abraham Reeser Horne, *Horne's Pennsylvania German Manual. How Pennsylvania German Is Spoken and Written. For Pronouncing, Speaking and Writing English. Third Edition. Enlarged and Profusely Illustrated. Part I. English Pronunciation; Part II. Pennsylvania German Literature, with English Translation; Part III. Pennsylvania German Dictionary, with Grammar and Spelling Rules; Part IV. English Vocabulary* (Allentown, Pennsylvania: T. K. Horne, 1910 print).

The following gives an overview of the contents of the first edition of Horne's *Pennsylvania German Manual* from 1875. In the preface (pp. 3f), Horne contends that the education system serving the Pennsylvania Germans, who generally lack proficiency in English, is in need of improvement. At the same time, however, he stresses that "Pennsylvania Germans can reason and study as well as others," as is proven by their equality and even superiority in mathematics to native speakers of English or High German. Since, according to Horne, Pennsylvania German itself is merely a spoken language, all that its native speakers need to express themselves appropriately is an adequate tool to help them become proficient in English. Horne's *Manual* is designed to provide this assistance. It is important to note that Horne, although himself a native speaker of Pennsylvania German and a life-long advocate for Pennsylvania German culture, does not call for Pennsylvania German as the language of the school or the exclusive language of its people. Instead, he readily acknowledges English and High German as somewhat superior because of their widespread use as written languages.

The first part of Horne's *Manual* is entitled "English Pronunciation" (pp. 5-24). It is designed to help native speakers of Pennsylvania German correct some common errors when pronouncing English words. After some general remarks (pp. 5f), Horne presents twelve lessons, each one providing tips and rules for pronouncing certain vowels or consonants, along with a large number of examples and exercises. Lesson XI, for instance, teaches that <x> "represents a compound sound, which is either a combination of *ks* or *gz*" (p. 17). One of the practice sentences reads: "The executrix examined the excellent exotics" (p. 18). Lesson XII "comprises a list of words which are frequently mispronounced, not only by Germans, but also by the English part of the community" (p. 18).

Part II, entitled "Pennsylvania German Literature," offers "exercises for translation into English" (pp. 25-84). The exercises consist "of selected original Proverbs, Ballads, Anecdotes, and Compositions, on various subjects, in Prose and Poetry, by writers in Pennsylvania German" (p. 25). The assumption is that by translating into English, native speakers of Pennsylvania German are led "from the known to the unknown," thus learning to express themselves in



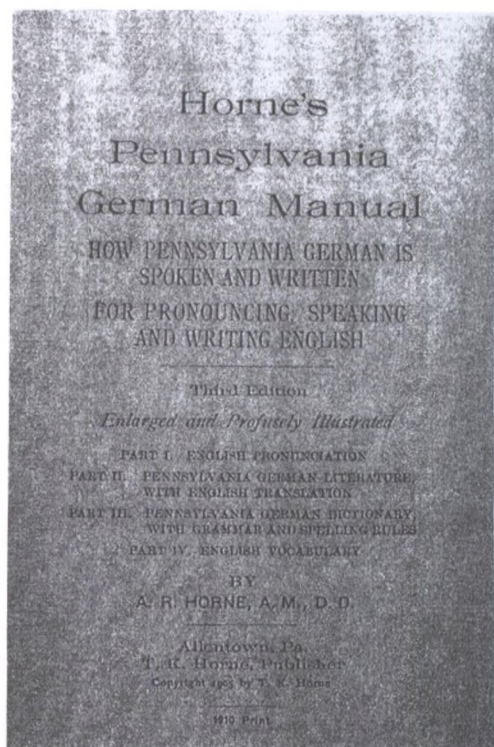
Title page of the third (1905) edition of A. R. Horne's *Pennsylvania German Manual*.

their second language (p. 25). The introductory notes conclude with a trilingual admonition in English, Pennsylvania German, and Latin to work hard and persevere: "Do not be afraid of hard work. Persevere, persevere, persevere. Wār 'aw-hölt, g'wint ["He who holds on, wins"]. Perseverantia omnia vincet ["Perseverance will conquer everything"]" (p. 26). A phonetic key for the English sounds (p. 27) is followed by illustrations designed to familiarize the reader with the spelling systems used in the book for Pennsylvania German, English, and High German (pp. 28-30). The actual translation exercises start with a collection of 102 Pennsylvania German proverbs (pp. 31-36), followed by riddles (pp. 36-38) and nursery rhymes (pp. 39-42). A collection of anecdotes (42-44) and descriptions of Pennsylvania German customs (pp. 44-46) offer longer prose texts for translation. The rest of the chapter (pp. 47-84) includes a variety of poems and short prose texts in Pennsylvania German, all designed to afford the reader plenty of opportunity to practice translating into English.

The third part (pp. 81-169) consists of a trilingual dictionary, Pennsylvania German – English – High German. It is prefaced by some general remarks (pp. 81-83) and a brief overview of Pennsylvania German grammar (pp. 83-94). The latter provides the targeted audience of native speakers of Pennsylvania German with a theoretical account of the syntax of their own language. The dictionary part (pp. 95-169) includes approximately 5500 entries, with the Pennsylvania German lexemes in alphabetical order, each followed by English and High German translations. The appendix (pp. 170f) consists of a short list of entries that did not appear in the main body of the dictionary, with an appeal to readers to supply the author with further omitted words. The final part of the book includes a number of advertisements (pp. 171-74).

As Pennsylvania German was originally almost exclusively used as a spoken language, there was no standardized orthography in the 1870s, when Horne published the first edition of his *Manual*.¹⁸ As Horne explains at the beginning of the second part, he decided to use an English-based orthographical system for practical reasons: “The exercises are printed in English type, since those who use this book have learned to read English mechanically, and are, therefore, familiar with its pronunciation” (p. 25). In choosing to use an English-based orthographical system, Horne followed common nineteenth-century practice, as most Pennsylvania German texts published in that period appeared in newspaper columns and targeted a readership literate almost exclusively in English (as opposed to High German). A look at a few examples from the pictures and words printed in the first exercise (pp. 28f) illustrates the use of a phonetic, English-based orthography: *Koo* ‘cow’, *Fös* ‘barrel’, *Sha Maděl* ‘pretty girl’, *Fawnä* ‘flags’. Horne uses short marks over all vowels except <i> (<ä, ě, ő, ů >) to mark shortness. He also uses ’ to indicate omission of a vowel (such as in *’NG’bis* ‘a bit’) and ‘ to mark nasalization (such as in *’ans* ‘one’). As Donner explains,¹⁹ Horne’s English-based orthographical system relying heavily on diacritical marks never gained popularity among writers of Pennsylvania German. In fact, as will be seen below, Horne’s son Thomas felt compelled to use the preface of the third edition (published in 1905 after A. R. Horne’s death) to defend his father’s phonetic orthography against critics as a deliberate choice to help readers learn “to read and pronounce the dialect correctly.”

In the preface to the second (1896)²⁰ edition of the *Pennsylvania German Manual*, Horne reports that the first edition was in such high demand that it has been out of print for over ten years. According to the author, the necessity for more and better instruction in English is unchanged after twenty years, which leads him to repeat verbatim the reasoning for his work expounded in the first edition in the preface to the second. The only notable change, as pointed out by Donner,²¹ is the omission of the acquisition of High German



Title page of the fourth (1910) edition of A. R. Horne's *Pennsylvania German Manual*.

(in addition to English) as one of the goals for the readers of the *Manual*. This change is symptomatic for Horne's decreasing emphasis on German as a language taught and used in school.

While Part I, consisting of the rules for English pronunciation, remains completely unchanged, Horne considerably expanded the list of pictures and trilingual captions preceding the translation exercises (twenty-eight pages in the second edition versus three in the first). The second edition even includes a trilingual diagram of the meat cuts in a cow (p. 44). Horne added English translations to the Pennsylvania German proverbs, riddles, nursery rhymes, anecdotes, description of customs, and poems in the second edition. This change, along with the inclusion of some new pieces and more pictures, considerably extended the second part (from 60 to 111 pages). One example of a new piece, only available to Horne after the printing of the first edition, is an excerpt from Shakespeare's *Hamlet* in Pennsylvania German (pp. 97-100; from E. H. Rauch's 1879 *Pennsylvania Dutch Hand-Book*). The second edition

also features Henry Harbaugh's popular poem "Das alt Schulhaus an der Krick" ("The old schoolhouse at the creek") from the 1870 collection entitled *Harbaugh's Harfe* (pp. 102-109, including an English translation) and Henry Lee Fisher's "Die alte Zeite" ("The olden times") from the 1878 collection 'S *alt Marik-Haus mittes in d'r Schtadt, un Die alte Zeite*²² (pp. 110-16, including an English translation). Horne also updated the list of biographical sketches of well-known Pennsylvania Germans (pp. 121-29), adding some names and dropping others, while updating existing biographies.

Horne appended a new preface (pp. 130-33) to the trilingual wordlist presented in Part III. In it, Horne traces the origin of Pennsylvania German to dialects spoken in the southwestern parts of Germany and presents a sample of (assumed) Palatinate dialect for comparison. The preface also includes etymological explanations of various Pennsylvania German words in an attempt to prove the authenticity and expressiveness of Pennsylvania German. The preface concludes with a list of five available Pennsylvania German dictionaries, of which Horne's, with its alleged 5522 entries, is the largest, followed by a wordlist included in Rauch's *Pennsylvania German Handbook* (5000 entries) and shorter wordlists appended to poetry collections (including Fisher and Harbaugh). The Pennsylvania German grammar found in the first edition was dropped. The Pennsylvania German-English dictionary itself (pp. 134-202) remains largely unchanged. It is, however, followed by an English-Pennsylvania German wordlist, which constitutes the fourth part of the second edition (pp. 204-79). Unlike its Pennsylvania German-English counterpart, it does not include High German equivalents. Between the third and fourth parts Horne promises to send a free copy of the *Manual* to any reader supplying him with ten words not yet listed in the Pennsylvania German-English dictionary (p. 203). No fewer than 135 pages of various advertisements are appended to the second edition (pp. 281-415), which helped to defray the printing cost (p. 281).

The third (1905) edition, posthumously published by A. R. Horne's son Thomas Horne, includes a frontispiece including a picture of A. R. Horne and a brief text praising his advocacy for the Pennsylvania German culture. The preface of the third edition defends A. R. Horne's Pennsylvania German orthographic system against criticism. It also announces the inclusion of new selections from Pennsylvania German literature and additional illustrations. It reminds the Pennsylvania German reader of the strict necessity of practicing one's English pronunciation with the help of the exercises given in the first part. The preface of the second edition is reprinted.

The first part, giving rules and exercises for English translation, remains once again unchanged (pp. 5-17). However, the section containing pictures with captions in Pennsylvania German, English, and High German was

further enlarged, now comprising fifty pages (pp. 20-69). One new feature is a section on Christmas (pp. 65-67).

















With the exception of some new illustrations, the section on proverbs, riddles, nursery rhymes, anecdotes, and the description of Pennsylvania German customs remains the same as in the second edition. However, the latter part of the poetry and prose section includes a number of new texts, among them an excerpt from the "Boonastiel" letters by T. H. Harter (1893).²³ Part II (pp. 18-183) shows numerous irregularities in pagination, some pages being out of order and others repeated. The section from page 180 to 183, which concludes the second part, oddly resumes the illustrations with trilingual captions.

The third part reprints the section on Pennsylvania German grammar

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OBJECT LESSON EXERCISES.

The following illustrations, with the names underneath spelled in accordance with our Pennsylvania German system of orthography, are designed to assist those who use this book in becoming familiar with our plan of spelling.

	Goul, Horse, Pferd.		Wötsh, Watch, U ejshen-llhr.
	Koo, Cow, Kuh.		Shof, Sheep, Schaf.
	Sou, Pig, Schwein.		Hunt, Dog, Hund.
	'Ombo, Anvil, Omboe.		Mud'r Shof un Läm, Ewe and Lamb, Mutter Schaf und Lamm.
	Flindä un Pishdol, Guns and Pistol, Flinten und Pistole.		Mel, Mill, Mühle.
	Dötüsär, Dancers, Tänzer.		Kutsh, Coach, Kutsche.
	Fös, Barrel, Fäß.		Bawm, Tree, Baum.
	Shdool, Chair, Stuhl.		Schlitts öd'r Sln. Sleigh, Schlitten.

Sample page with illustrations and trilingual captions from the first (1875) edition of A. R. Horne's *Pennsylvania German Manual*.

found in the first edition but eliminated from the second (pp. 184-92). It is followed by the Pennsylvania German–English–High German wordlist, beginning with page 1 and ending at page 69. The wordlist is identical with that of the second edition. Likewise, Part IV, including an English–Pennsylvania German dictionary, remains unchanged from the second edition (pp. 71-146). The remainder of the book (pp. 147-82) includes business directories of various Pennsylvania communities, such as Allentown, Catasauqua, and Kutztown, interspersed with further pictures with Pennsylvania German and English captions.

The fourth (1910) edition reprints the prefaces of both the third (p. 6) and the second editions (pp. 7-8). The twelve lessons on English pronunciation, once again reprinted unaltered (pp. 11-21), are now introduced by the following potential pitfalls: "PARENTS, TEACHERS, can the children give the English Pronunciation? – It is a job to chop Jane's chain. He fell on the ice and hurt his eyes. I thought I sought the thick sick man in the South. He wets his whetstone with wine, and whines when he cuts the vines" (p. 11).

The second part includes a further expanded section on illustrations and trilingual captions as compared to the third edition (pp. 22-95). Further additions in the second part (pp. 22-216) were made in particular to the nursery rhymes. While the section on poetry and prose remained largely the same, the pagination errors found in the third edition were corrected in the fourth. The few additions that were made include materials highlighting the value and pride of Pennsylvania German culture (pp. 215f.).

Both Part III (preface, Pennsylvania German grammar, and Pennsylvania German–English–High German dictionary; pp. 217-95) and Part IV (English–Pennsylvania German dictionary; pp. 296-371) are exactly identical with the third edition, with the exception that the pagination has been integrated. There are no advertisements in the fourth edition. Instead, pages 372f. present a brief text honoring the achievements of the Pennsylvania Germans, while predicting the loss of the German dialect, and a map of the Palatinate.

Today, a century after the publication of the fourth edition, Horne's *Pennsylvania German Manual* remains a treasure trove for linguists, literary scholars, and historical sociologists interested in Pennsylvania German language, literature, and culture. The work not only offers the largest Pennsylvania German dictionaries of its time, but also an anthology of the most important Pennsylvania German proverbs, nursery rhymes, and early literary texts.

The concept was so successful that in 1879, four years after the publication of the first edition, Horne's *Manual* faced a sudden competitor in Edward H. Rauch's *Pennsylvania Dutch Hand-Book*.²⁴ Interestingly enough,

Rauch's *Hand-Book* includes not only a Pennsylvania German–English wordlist, but also an English–Pennsylvania German one. It may therefore not be completely coincidental that Horne added his version of an English–Pennsylvania German wordlist as Part IV to the second (1896) edition. It is also interesting to note that unlike Rauch, who includes a fair number of English words among his Pennsylvania German lexemes (for instance *able*, *ability*, *abuse*), Horne renders all these words as native Pennsylvania German words (*faich*, *färmägälfaichkad*, *shimpä/misbrouchä*), thereby showing himself more as a purist than the more descriptive Rauch.

As a lifelong educator,²⁵ Horne saw a necessity for his fellow Pennsylvania Germans to educate themselves. Although he considered the Pennsylvania Germans intellectually as capable as the members of the surrounding English-

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From "Harbaugh's Harfe," by H. Harbaugh, D. D.



DAS ALT SCHULHAUS AN DER KRICK.

Heit is 's 'exkötly swanzig Jahr,
Dass ich bin owwe nans ;
Nau bin ich widder lewig r'rick
Un schtech am Schulhaus an d'r Krick,
Juchst neekschit an 's Dady's Haus.

Ich bin in hundert Heiser g'west,
Yun Märbelstee' un Brick,
Un alles was sie hen, die Zeit.
Dhet ich versch wappe eenig Zeit
For's Schulhaus an der Krick.

Wer wied deheem is, un will fort,
So loos ihn summe geh'—
Ich sag ihm awwer vorne nans
Es is all Humbuk owwe draus,
Un er werd's selwert seh'!

Ich bin draus rum in alle Eck',
M'r macht's jo ewwe so ;
Hab awwer noch in keener Schtadt
Uf e'mol so viel Freed gehat
Wie in dem Schulhaus do.

Wie heemelt mich do alles a'!
Ich schtech, un denk, un guet ;
Un was ich schi r' vergesse hab,
Kummt widder r'rick wie aus eim Grab,
Un schteht do wie en Schpuck!

Des Krickle schpielt, verbei wie's hot,
Wo ich noch g'schpielt hab dra' ;
Un unner selle Hollerbish
Do schpiele noch die kleine Fisch,
So schmärt wie selli Zeit.

Sample page with Pennsylvania German poetry from the second (1896) edition of A. R. Horne's *Pennsylvania German Manual*

speaking mainstream society and although he held the Pennsylvania German language and culture in high esteem, he recognized that future socio-economic success of the native speakers of German depended on their proficiency in English. Over his professional career, therefore, Horne exhibited a gradual shift from an insistence on the importance of instruction in Pennsylvania German and High German to increasing support of English as the language of instruction in schools throughout the Pennsylvania German area.²⁶

According to Donner,²⁷ Horne actually started out as an advocator for the use of English in schools during the 1850s and through the Civil War. In the early 1870s, however, “[c]ompared with his contemporaries, Horne took some very strong stands in support of using Pennsylvania German as a language of instruction, and occasionally even supported teaching students to read and write High German rather than English.”²⁸ By 1873, his position began to shift again. In his 1873 article in the *Pennsylvania German Dutchman*, Horne pointed out that children who came to school with native proficiency in Pennsylvania German but none in English did not profit from English-only instruction.²⁹ He therefore called, among other things, for teachers in German districts to be proficient in German and teach their students “[t]o read, write and translate German. . . . The Pennsylvania German,” he stated, “can be made introductory to the high German.”³⁰ At the same time, however, he suggested that “[t]he ordinary branches of an English education, such as arithmetic, geography, etc. of course should be taught in English.”³¹

Horne's shift to becoming an outspoken supporter of multilingual education in the mid-1870s is reflected in the pedagogical approach he employs in the 1875 *Manual*, which offers exercises in English pronunciation and translation from Pennsylvania German to English. Changes and additions in subsequent editions of the *Manual* (as, for instance, the omission of acquiring High German as an objective in the preface of the second edition) reflect Horne's ever growing belief in the primacy of English as language of instruction. Even though, as Waldenrath points out,³² Horne's *Manual* was never widely used in the schools, it was a book found in the homes of many Pennsylvania German-speaking families. The fact that the work went through four editions over three and a half decades shows that it had a lasting impact on the education of an important part of the Pennsylvanian population. Perhaps the *Manual's* popularity in the home domain reflects the emergence of a Pennsylvania German dialect literature, which began with newspaper columns, letters, and poems in the 1860s and was fully developed by 1900.³³ Nevertheless, as Horne grew older, his stance in the language dispute leaned even more increasingly toward the teaching of English and the use of English as the language of instruction.³⁴ At the end of his life he sided with those of his educator colleagues who considered English-only instruction as the

PART FOURTH.

English-Penna. German Vocabulary.

Giving the English Words Having Pennsylvania German Equivalents.

NOTE.—This is an entirely new feature, which our first edition did not contain. It affords a ready reference to the Pennsylvania German word, and gives anyone not familiar with it, an idea of the Dialect.

		acro		
A				
a, b, c,	abund,	iw'rhus hawä	abundant,	iw'rhisich
aback,	aw, ba, ma	about, ungfär, hërum	abuse,	reischlich
abandon,	r'rik	above, iwär	abuse,	stimpk,
	ufgëwä,	abrasion, obelawwä	abut,	awahleäk
	r'risäk	obrelwä	abyss,	rüchä
abase,	nun'rg wëcht	abreast, nawä nômär	academy,	hochs shool
abate,	nuchlëch	abraded, ðig' shonä	acc,	soo, sou
abbreviate,	f'rëkräk	abroad, d'rum, fört	ache,	ahn'rdä
abdicate,	ufgëwä	abscena, g'shwëcht	achieve,	ousferk
abdemen,	un'rieib	absocond,	achievment, ousferung	soar
abduction,	wëghälk	absolut,	acid,	sonar
abhor,	hëst, ðelwëit	absolut,	acknowledge, b'lëäk,	g'shatak, bechäk
abhorrence,	ðelwëit	absolution, löschprëch-	acknowledgment,	b'küdnis
abide,	wonk	ung, freischprechung	acme,	gipi, shbtek
ability,	färnigk,	absolve, freischprëchä,	acorns,	sch'l
	fälschkad	absolve, freischprëchä,	acquaint, b'küdnisch	acquaintance, b'künd
able,	fälsch	absolve, freischprëchä,	acquainted, b'künd	acqure, kriëngk, g'rigk
abode,	wonplätz,	absorb, eisegk	acquire, kriëngk, g'rigk	acrv,
	woning	abstain, d'funbelk		
abolish,	wëgdok	abstrakt, öbzëgk, öbzug		
abolitionist,	abolish'n	abstrakt, öbzëgk, öbzug		
abolishable,	kätsch,	abstrakt, öbzëgk, öbzug		
	ðelwëitlich	abundantly, un'rahënd		
aboriginal,	ursprünglich	abundance, iw'rhus		

First page of the English - Pennsylvania German wordlist from the second (1896) edition of A. R. Horne's *Pennsylvania German Manual*.

best method to educate young Pennsylvania Germans and who advocated a complete ban of Pennsylvania German in the classroom.³⁵ As Donner points out,³⁶ Horne himself embraced English as his own primary language by publishing almost all his writings in English, using English for his personal notes, and apparently using English as the first language in his household and with his children.

Despite this change of view with regard to language instruction, however, Horne never ceased to advocate Pennsylvania German heritage and ethnicity, as his editorials in the *National Educator* and his articles elsewhere, as well as his active involvement with the Pennsylvania German Society (founded in 1891 with Horne as one of thirty-one founding members)³⁷ and with the Bucks County Historical Society,³⁸ show. In fact, he is considered one

of the most vocal advocates of his own culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. As Donner explains,³⁹ Horne's *Manual* can be seen as "an example of a rising consciousness and pride in ethnic identity, and in this sense is a very modern book." In addition, the bilingual pedagogical strategy employed in the work of using a child's native language to acquire a national language was a century ahead of its time. Today, A. R. Horne's *Pennsylvania German Manual* stands as a testimony to a changing attitude among leading Pennsylvania German educators of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, which, continuing a development that had begun in the 1830s, firmly established English as the language of instruction in Pennsylvania public schools.

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Notes

¹ Edward H. Rauch, *Rauch's Pennsylvania Dutch Hand-Book: A Book for Instruction / Rauch's Pennsylvania Deitsh Hond-Booch: En Booch for Insbtructa* (Mauch Chunk, Pennsylvania: E. H. Rauch, 1879).

² *National Educator* 43, 4 (January 1903): 2. Unless indicated otherwise, all biographical information on Horne presented in the current paragraph is based on the obituary in *National Educator* 43, 4 (January 1903): 1-3; 5.

³ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴ According to William W. Donner, "'We Are What We Make of Ourselves': Abraham Reeser Horne and the Education of Pennsylvania Germans," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 124, 4 (October 2000): 521, the journal went through several changes in name and format, being called *Educator and Teacher's Journal*, *Educator and Pennsylvania Teacher*, *Educator and the Museum*, and, finally, *National Educator*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 522.

⁶ William W. Donner, "Abraham Reeser Horne: To the Manor Borne," *Der Reggebogge* 33 (1999): 7.

⁷ For a further discussion of the *National Educator* see Alexander Waldenrath, "Abraham Reeser Horne: Proponent of Bi-Lingual Education," *Bucks County Historical Society Journal* 2 (1977): 20-23.

⁸ Abraham Reeser Horne, *Hand-Book of Botany* (1875).

⁹ Abraham Reeser Horne, *Easy Experiments for Schools and Families with Home-Made Apparatus* (Allentown, Pennsylvania: National Educator Publishing House, 1885 and Chicago: A. Flanagan, 1886).

¹⁰ Abraham Reeser Horne, *Common Sense Health Notes* (Chicago: A. Flanagan, 1893).

¹¹ Abraham Reeser Horne, *Memoirs of Rev. Joshua Yeager, 1802-1882 / Das Leben und Wirken von Pater Josua Jager, Evangelische-Lutherischdem Prediger* (Allentown, Pennsylvania, 1889).

¹² The most frequently cited articles include: Abraham Reeser Horne, "Pennsylvania German," *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 1 (1873): 74-79; "The Pennsylvania Germans," in

History of the Counties of Lehigh and Carbon in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, eds. Alfred Mathews and Austin Hungerford (Philadelphia, 1884), 23-42; "Proverbs and Sayings of the Pennsylvania Germans," *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society* 2 (1894): 47-54; and "The Worth and Character of the Pennsylvania Germans," in *A Collection of Papers Read before the Bucks County Historical Association*, 8 vols. (Easton, Pennsylvania, 1908), 1:333-49, originally read in 1885.

¹³ For a more extensive discussion of the early history of the Pennsylvania Germans and the development of the Pennsylvania German dialect see Achim Kopp, *The Phonology of Pennsylvania German English as Evidence of Language Maintenance and Shift* (Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania: Susquehanna University Press, 1999), 18-31.

¹⁴ Johann David Schöpf, *Travels in the Confederation 1783-1784*, 2 volumes, trans. and ed. Alfred J. Morrison (New York: Burt Franklin, 1986; originally published: Philadelphia, 1911), 1:107.

¹⁵ This state of affairs has virtually come to an end in the non-sectarian group, whose last generation of native Pennsylvania German speakers is now dying. The sectarians, on the other hand, in general still maintain a diglossic situation.

¹⁶ Henry Harbaugh, *Harbaugh's Harfe* (Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publication Board, 1870).

¹⁷ S. S. Haldeman, *Pennsylvania Dutch: A Dialect of South German with an Infusion of English* (Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publication Board, 1872).

¹⁸ In fact, this issue has not been completely settled until the present day, as English-based and German-based systems abound. While Mennonite and Amish publications generally appear to prefer an English-based orthography for Pennsylvania German, scholarly circles tend to use the German-based Buffington-Barba-Beam system, which is, for instance, applied in C. Richard Beam, et al., *Comprehensive Pennsylvania German Dictionary* (Morgantown, Pennsylvania: Masthof Press, 2004ff), the largest Pennsylvania German-English dictionary currently on the market.

¹⁹ William W. Donner, "The First College Course in Pennsylvania German," in *The Language and Culture of the Pennsylvania Germans: A Festschrift for Earl C. Haag*, eds. William D. Keel and C. Richard Beam, *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, Supplemental Issue 3, (Lawrence, KS: Society for German-American Studies, 2010), 21 f.

²⁰ It should be noted that the title page dates the second edition 1896, while the preface is dated 1895 (on page 4). This discrepancy has led to inconsistent dates for the second edition in the scholarly literature.

²¹ W. Donner, "We Are What We Make of Ourselves," 539.

²² Henry Lee Fisher, *S'alt Marik-Haus mittes in d'r Schtadt, un Die alte Zeite* (York, Pennsylvania: H. L. Fisher, 1878).

²³ Thomas H. Harter, *Boonastiel: A Volume of Legend, Story and Song in "Pennsylvania Dutch"* (Middleburg, Pennsylvania: T. H. Harter, 1893).

²⁴ For an excellent discussion of Rauch's work, which, unlike Horne's, saw only one edition, see Mark L. Loudon, "Edward H. Rauch's Pennsylvania Dutch Hand-Book," in *Preserving Heritage: A Festschrift for C. Richard Beam*, eds. Joshua R. Brown and Leroy T. Hopkins, Jr. *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, Supplemental Issue 2 (Lawrence, KS: Society for German-American Studies, 2010), 111-22.

²⁵ See W. Donner, "The First College Course in Pennsylvania German," 18f. for an informative summary of Horne's surprisingly liberal and progressive views on education.

²⁶ This change in Horne's attitude can be documented not only through changes in the second edition of the *Pennsylvania German Manual*, but also in numerous other writings, the detailed evaluation of which would go beyond the scope and purpose of this article. The reader

is referred to the two excellent articles by William W. Donner cited earlier, namely "Abraham Reeser Horne" (1999) and "We Are What We Make of Ourselves" (2000).

²⁷ W. Donner, "We Are What We Make of Ourselves," 536.

²⁸ W. Donner, "Abraham Reeser Horne," 12 and "We Are What We Make of Ourselves," 536.

²⁹ Abraham Reeser Horne, "Pennsylvania German," *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 1 (1873): 78.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 77f.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 77.

³² A. Waldenrath, "Abraham Reeser Horne," 25. Harry Hess Reichard (in his *Pennsylvania-German Dialect Writings and their Writers*, Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society 26 [Lancaster, Pennsylvania: New Era Printing Company, 1918], 127) also reports of only sporadic use of the *Manual* in the schools. William W. Donner, however, states that the faculty of Keystone State Normal School in Kutztown, Pennsylvania, where Horne had become principal in 1872, approved the *Manual* as a textbook in January 1876 ("The First College Course in Pennsylvania German," 21).

³³ See W. Donner, "The First College Course in Pennsylvania German," 25. On the development of Pennsylvania German literature, see H. H. Reichard (1918) and Earl F. Robacker, *Pennsylvania German Literature: Changing Trends from 1683-1942* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943).

³⁴ See W. Donner, "Abraham Reeser Horne," 13; "We Are What We Make of Ourselves," 539f; and "The First College Course in Pennsylvania German," 25.

³⁵ See W. Donner, "The First College Course in Pennsylvania German," 25. Elsewhere (W. Donner, "We Are What We Make of Ourselves," 542), Donner points out that by advocating the use of English many Pennsylvania German intellectuals attempted to separate themselves from nineteenth-century German immigrants, who established bilingual schools, predominantly in the cities of the Midwest.

³⁶ W. Donner, "We Are What We Make of Ourselves," 541.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 533.

³⁸ See *National Educator* 43, 4 (January 1903): 3.

³⁹ W. Donner, "We Are What We Make of Ourselves," 534.

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