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The Pennsylvania German Rediscovery of Europe

The transatlantic migration of the ancestors of the Pennsylvania Germans, most of whom arrived in America from 1683 to 1830, forms one of the distinct chapters in American migration and settlement history. The tide of German-speaking emigrants from the continent of Europe settled other areas of the Eastern United States as well, but Pennsylvania always had the largest concentrated settlements of German-speaking population in the country.

What the Pennsylvania emigrants from the Rhineland and Switzerland did was create an American regional culture on American soil. In doing so they largely turned their backs upon Europe and eventually forgot about Europe, orienting themselves in culture, politics, and religion to American, usually Anglo-American, patterns. In this radical and willing Americanizing they contrasted with the later nineteenth-century German emigrants, many of whom did retain ties with their European German-speaking homelands, ties that naturally intensified after the creation of the German Empire in 1871.

Because of these radically different orientations to America and to Europe, the two German-speaking groups tended to exist in tension with each other in America, not usually amalgamating or even cooperating in common projects except under rare conditions.¹ There were of course among the Pennsylvania Germans some exceptions to this rule—individuals like Samuel Kistler Brobst² and the Helffrichs,³ who cultivated contacts with German-American colleagues, but the great mass of their fellow Pennsylvania Dutchmen simply did not cooperate with German-American groups in any of their cultural, political, or religious agendas.

For years I have been interested in tracing the European consciousness, or consciousness of Europe, as held by the Pennsylvania Germans, over the three centuries since 1683. So I thank the Society for German-American Studies for this opportunity to present the preliminary results of my research into this problem. My analysis will center on the

following points: 1) Dwindling Contacts and Their Renewal; 2) The Churches Rediscover Their Ties; 3) The Genealogists Rediscover European Roots; 4) The Pennsylvania German Tourist and European Backgrounds; 5) Students, Scholars, and Twentieth-Century Churchmen.

1. Dwindling Contacts and Their Renewal

The reasons for the dwindling of ties with Europe include several factors related to the emigration and the settlement of Pennsylvania. In many areas of Eastern Pennsylvania before the Revolution, and Central and Western Pennsylvania after the Revolution, the Pennsylvania Germans and their families were the pioneer settlers, creating the community culture through their own—to modern apartment-dwelling Americans inconceivable—exertions in clearing fields, building houses and barns, planting churches and practicing trades in a wilderness, and eking out a living in difficult times. For most families the very exigencies of the settlement situation put European memories and contacts into the background. After the passing of the emigrant generation, the children and grandchildren retained only a dim, passive knowledge of Europe. In the days before the Atlantic Cable, transatlantic communication, although not impossible, was difficult. And finally, to Pennsylvania Dutchmen as to other early Americans, Europe was symbolically a tyrannical, war-ridden, class-bound, intolerant motherland, of which the emigrants were glad to be free, in the midst of their new American freedom.

On the practical side, one can add that under the conditions of eighteenth-century transatlantic travel, very few of the actual emigrants ever wanted to return. The six-to-nine-week voyage across the Atlantic, on creaking, stinking wooden ships, where the passengers were dismally and dangerously crowded together, with seasickness and death witnessed on every voyage, soured most of the emigrant founding fathers of our Pennsylvania Dutch families from ever returning. There were a few returnees—I occasionally find a reference to a Pennsylvanian in a European church register—but for most emigrants the very thought of a return voyage under such conditions was unthinkable.

Those who did return were business-oriented types such as the so-called "newlanders," who went back several times to drum up the emigrant trade. Some of them got into trouble with the authorities, and their cases are recorded in various archives, such as that at Basel, which also collected emigrant letters giving unfavorable reports of the "newland" to deter further emigration. Some of these have been published in the recent book, *Alles ist ganz anders hier*.⁴

Transatlantic correspondence provided another type of contact. The *Amerikabriefe* that have turned up from the eighteenth century give us partial insight into the continuing contact, or dwindling contacts, between

America and Europe in some families. Judging from the letters preserved and available to us today, and even taking into account the likely fact that most such correspondence was thrown away even by the receivers, it is probable that many Pennsylvania German families did not actively correspond with relatives across the ocean. Usually the correspondence petered away, so that by the time the second and third generations of the family over here were adults, the family's contacts with European uncles and cousins, with villages and towns or emigrant origins, had lapsed. Hence for most Pennsylvania German families, unless the emigrant's place of origin was recorded in his Bible or on his tombstone or in some other documentation, we have had to wait until the twentieth century to rediscover our ancestral villages and reforge the broken chain of relationship.

As stated, the contacts between eighteenth-century emigrants and their European families eventually dwindled away. Evidence of this comes to us in a letter from Michael Hechler (Heckler), of Retschweiler in Alsace, dated 3 May 1784, to his brother in Pennsylvania.⁵ It begins by chiding his kinsman with neglect of correspondence:

Much beloved Brother: Since the 8th of November, 1767, which was the last date of your writing to us, we have not had any information from you, and of your circumstances. I must presently mention that Father and Mother have died:—Mother about ten years and Father about 4 years (ago); and our sister some twenty-odd years ago.

I, Michael Hechler, your brother am alone left remaining of our family; and you my beloved brother George. It causes me much regret to be at such a distance from you. You can imagine for yourself how sad it is to have an only brother and to be so far from him that it is an impossibility to speak even a few words with him, for which I have wished a thousand times, although I see the impossibility before me. At least mention to me your right address so that I can now and then have a written correspondence with you.

And he asked his brother to "inform me as soon as possible what you wish us to do with your patrimony, which we have kept for you," hoping probably that the "wealthy" American brother may wish to release his share to his nieces and nephews in Alsace. The letter ends with another urgent plea for a letter—soon!—and the usual greetings to the transatlantic kinsman and his wife and family the usual "many thousand times."

In the eighteenth century, inheritance matters were one area of concern that motivated common Pennsylvania German emigrants, or in

some cases their children, to contact the authorities of the towns or parishes of their family's origin in Europe. This could involve several scenarios. When the emigrant's parents died, the brothers and sisters who had stayed in Europe wrote to their American kinsmen with the details, as in the Alsatian letter just quoted. Usually the American emigrant went to his county courthouse and filled out a legal power of attorney, appointing someone either in Europe or an American who was contemplating a return journey to Europe on business, to deal with his case before the local authorities over there and bring back his inheritance.

An illustration of this process is the advertisement of the newlander Ernst Ludwig Baisch, who reported in the *Pennsylvanischer Staatsbothe* for 28 July 1772, that he "has already made several voyages to Germany and has delivered letters and filled commissions with satisfaction to all." He hereby lets the public know "that he will next October (God willing) once more travel to the Fatherland. He will go to Holland, to the Mosel [etc., etc., naming some thirty-odd localities]." His home "is in Baden, but he will go wherever his commissions take him." He appended a list of fifteen persons, from Württemberg, Saxony, the Mosel Valley, and the Odenwald, of whom he was asked to find news, undoubtedly for their relatives abroad.⁶

A similar advertisement, which appeared in the *Pennsylvanische Berichte* for 18 December 1761, shows how the system worked, at least as to carrying letters back and forth. Samuel Haupt of Upper Dublin in Philadelphia County, an immigrant of 1754, announced "that he is intending, the middle of next January, to travel to Germany. He promises to deliver all letters correctly between Bacharach, Hanau, Neustadt and Karbach." His home town was "Creutzenach," in the center of the area over which he promises to range. He assures prospective clients that "he takes no money for a letter until he brings an answer back and then he takes 5 shillings." He ends the advertisement by giving a list of three persons, with their addresses, to whom letters can be forwarded for him.⁷

Several instructive cases of transatlantic contacts of Pennsylvania Dutch families with Europe have turned up in the Oley Valley of Berks County. Let us look at three examples, dated 1771, 1793, and 1806.

The first of these contacts comes from my own family, descendants of Hans Joder (1671-1742), a native of Steffisburg in Canton Bern who lived for a time in Schwetzingen and arrived in Pennsylvania in 1710. His brother Jost came over a few years later and settled in the Oley Valley near Hans. They left a brother Nicolaus Joder in the Palatinate, whose son Johannes Joder, of Mussbach an der Haardt in 1771 transferred some rights to Pennsylvania lands to his first cousin, my second American ancestor, Hans Joder, Jr. (1700-79). The legal business is very complicated, and I will not burden my readers with it. But in order to have the land transferred, Hans Joder, Jr., sent his grandson Jacob Joder over to

Germany to get the deed. I will never forget the day, in my high school days, when I discovered that deed, recorded in baroque German in an early Berks County deed book in Reading, sealed with the seal of the Palatine dignitaries with whom young Jacob Joder had had to deal in the city of Neustadt.⁸

The second Oley contact with Europe dates from 1793. Samuel Guldin (1664-1745), Reformed minister of Canton Bern ousted from his job at the minster in Bern because of his pronounced pietistic orientation, came to America also in 1710 and alternated between Germantown, Roxborough and Oley.⁹ His two sons settled permanently in Oley and in 1793 one of them sent a power of attorney to "*meine gnädige Herren*" in Bern to recover some property that his father had left in the canton. Papers on the case are in the Bernese state archives.

The third case dates from 1806 and involves the French-Swiss family of Bertolet.¹⁰ Jean Bertolet of Oley was born at Chateau d'Oex in Canton Vaud, Switzerland, and migrated as a young man to Minfeld in the Palatinate. He came to Pennsylvania in 1726, where he died in 1757. His descendants in 1806 sent a letter to the Palatinate, evidently in response to a letter sent in 1801 from a Reformed pastor named F(riedrich?) Lorch of Wilgartswiesen near Zweibrücken, which reached the Bertolet descendants in Berks County five years later in 1806. The German letter asks for information on "a certain Marie Heraucourt" married to Jean Bertolet. The descendants dug up "the old French Bible" and copied out all the relevant genealogical data and sent it over. The writers also indulged in some oral history:

Old Jean Bertolet often told his children that he had lived in Europe on a farm owned by the Jesuits, near Candel, not far from Landau, that his children had been baptized in the Reformed Church in that place, and that he left three sisters in Germany, of whom one was married.

The relative(s) who are still living (in Pennsylvania) remember that they frequently heard from their parents how they received letters from their friends (i.e., relatives, *Freindschaft*) in Germany, also that these were answered, particularly by Georg deBannevill who was married to Esther Bertolet, but none of these letters can be found anymore.

For the rest, as to the particulars of the surviving grandchildren of Jean Bertolet and Marie Heraucourt, they are all in a flourishing state of prosperity and maintain the name of honest inhabitants of this country. We will rejoice to hear the same of our relatives in Germany, and are prepared to give them all more detailed reports concerning our family, when it is requested.

The letter was signed by Hannes Bertolet of Oley, and John Keim, married to George deBenneville's daughter, and living in Reading (to whom return letters were to be sent). It was addressed to Professor Faber in Zweibrücken, who was requested to forward the information to Pastor Lorch in Wilgartswiesen and Schoolmaster Cullmann in Franckweiler bei Landau.

Certain elements in the Pennsylvania German society of the eighteenth century retained contacts with Europe. This was often a matter of class. The Lutheran, Reformed, and Moravian clergy—most of them university trained and some of them, like Michael Schlatter¹¹ of St. Gallen, and Abraham Blumer¹² of Glarus, who brought their coats-of-arms and patrician ways with them to Pennsylvania—obviously retained their European ties. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who arrived in 1742 and died here in 1787, never returned, but he carried on a lifelong correspondence with European churchmen.¹³ And he sent his three sons, all destined for the Lutheran ministry, to German universities to study. The Moravian leadership crossed the Atlantic frequently, and of course the Moravian Church retained its contacts with the mother church in Herrnhut and the continental episcopacy even throughout the nineteenth century.¹⁴

Another continuing contact was through the press. The German newspapers and almanacs of Philadelphia, Germantown, Lancaster, York, Reading, Easton, Allentown, and elsewhere mediated news from Europe to the Pennsylvania German readership. This included war news, advertisements for imported German books which often turn up in American collections today, and announcements of cargoes of European goods. These included Mellinger clocks from Neustadt an der Haardt in the Kurpfalz, Nürnberger *Lebkuchen*—imagine being able to buy them at a shop in colonial Philadelphia—and Christmas toys. The European news was usually not very local, but dealt with Europe's wars and revolutions of the eighteenth century. In one case I remember reading in a Pennsylvania almanac of the great flood in the Main Valley in 1784, which put the town of Wertheim under water. This must have interested the more than three hundred families of Wertheimers—all Lutherans from the *Grafschaft Löwenstein-Wertheim* who had settled in Pennsylvania mostly in the 1750s.¹⁵ One can still see the high water mark of 1784 on some of the buildings in the town of Wertheim.

Business interests also preserved transatlantic contacts in the eighteenth century. For some Pennsylvania German entrepreneurs like the Wister-Wistar clan from Baden, business contacts continued throughout the colonial period, then largely disappeared. The dissertation of Rosalind Beiler at the University of Pennsylvania, based on extensive research into the family's business papers here and their correspondents in Germany, will illustrate this continuing connection.¹⁶ Such continued

ties were the exception, but they were there, and undoubtedly other early business networking across the Atlantic can eventually be pinpointed.

After the Revolution the Pennsylvania Germans—most of whom had favored the American side—turned even more to their American pursuits and thought even less of Europe, the memory of which faded further as the emigrants died and the second and third generations, some of them American-born, took over the farms and trades of their fathers. After the second war with Great Britain, the War of 1812, most average Pennsylvania German families had completely lost contact with their relatives and their ancestral towns and valleys. Even the Pennsylvania German churches had allowed contacts to lapse.

2. The Churches Rediscover Their Ties

The three-hundredth anniversary of the Lutheran Reformation in 1817 caused a flurry of interest in Europe, and drew the two Reformation churches in Pennsylvania, the Lutheran and the Reformed, closer together. Plans were made to unite the churches in America, as was being done in Prussia, the Palatinate, and elsewhere in what is now Germany.¹⁷ These high hopes came to nothing, and the two denominations are farther apart today than they were in that hopeful, ecumenical era.

There was also a euphoric hope of founding a joint theological seminary of the two denominations, on the model of Andover, Princeton, and other Anglo-American seminaries, but that fell through too. After years of delicate negotiations between the synods, a prominent Lutheran minister made the remark—in German, of course—"Let the Reformed cook their soup on their own fire."¹⁸ So in 1825 the Reformed Synod founded its theological seminary at Carlisle, later moved to York, Mercersburg, and now (since 1871) at Lancaster. In the following year (1826) Samuel Simon Schmucker (1799-1873), a Princeton product himself, founded the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg. So two fires were lighted and two kettles set aboiling. By the 1860s there were four fires and four kettles, since the conservative Germanizing party of the Pennsylvania Lutherans founded the Philadelphia Lutheran Seminary in 1864¹⁹ and the "Old Reformed" anti-liturgical party of the Reformed Church founded its own seminary to rival Lancaster.²⁰

This decision to compete in the 1820s led both Reformed and Lutheran synods to renew their ties with the European mother churches under whose care they had been nurtured by remote control in the colonial period. In order to aid the new Reformed seminary, whose financial condition was described at the time as "very discouraging," the pastor of the Hagerstown Reformed Church, James Ross Reily (1788-1844), "conceived the idea," as Reformed Church historian Joseph Henry Dubbs put it, of "aiding the seminary by making a personal appeal to the Church

in Europe." Despite his Anglo-Irish name Reily was a grandson of Isaac Myer, founder of Myerstown in Lebanon County, and an eloquent German preacher.²¹

Reily sailed from Philadelphia in May 1825, returning in November 1826, having spent almost a year and a half abroad. After attending the Reformed Synod of Holland, he traveled up the Rhine through Germany and Switzerland, collecting funds for the new seminary, and books for its library. Everywhere he was cordially received. The King of Prussia gave him funds, books stamped with the Hohenzollern arms (they are still in Lancaster), and the privilege of collecting funds throughout the Prussian dominions. From German papers, according to historian Dubbs, Reily's sermons attracted widespread attention. The results of his collecting tour, which got down to the grass roots, amounted to almost \$7,000—equivalent to at least \$100,000 today. The books for the seminary numbered several thousand, and the duty on exporting them, about five hundred dollars, was "graciously remitted by the King of Holland."²²

Not to be outdone by the Reformed, the Lutherans sent Dr. Benjamin Kurtz (1795-1865) to Europe in 1826.²³ Kurtz was pastor of the Lutheran Church at Hagerstown, a friend of Reily's, and in fact they met in Bremen. In London Kurtz visited the Savoy German Lutheran congregation, which began his tour with his first donation. In Germany he visited churches and universities—Kiel was especially cordial and the students collected a purse for the new seminary across the Atlantic. At Copenhagen he was granted an audience with the king and queen, who contributed to his fund, and ordered the Danish churches to take collections for the project.

Sweden was also particularly cordial and open to the American visitor and his collection work. After visiting the Lutheran cities of Riga and Dorpat, and an excursion to St. Petersburg, he reached Berlin shortly after Christmas and spent two months there. Dr. Neander, the church historian, took him under his academic wing and enlisted support from both civil and ecclesiastical circles in the city. Church women organized to produce needlework articles to sell, the profits destined for America.

Kurtz's collecting work was aided by sympathetic pamphleteers in Germany who urged support. One of them, Dr. A. D. C. Twesten of Kiel, made the misguided statement "that without German theological seminaries or other German institutions of higher learning the German language could not be maintained in America and if that language should die out the Lutheran church would perish."²⁴ Another writer who called himself "An American Citizen" opposed Kurtz's collecting tour, saying that many American Lutherans were actually opposed to the seminary and that "the new institution would do nothing to maintain the German language and German thought in America." That was truer than he knew, considering the later history of the school and its Americanized

brand of "Gettysburg Lutheranism." Kurtz replied to all this in the Leipzig press and continued his tour, to Dresden, Halle, and even Herrnhut, at all of which he received donations for America. All in all his trip lasted twenty-two months and he returned with \$12,000 and five thousand books for the Lutheran seminary. For the Lutherans of the Pennsylvania German area the Kurtz mission restored the correspondence between the American churches and European Lutherans. Kurtz is also credited with directing the Saxon "Old Lutherans" to the United States rather than Australia as they had earlier planned. Hence the Missouri Synod, now nationally spread, put down roots in the Midwest, but due to theological differences has never joined the Lutheran organizations founded in the colonial period by the Pennsylvania Germans.²⁵

So much for the Reily and Kurtz missions to Europe. These ecclesiastical contacts across the Atlantic would continue sporadically throughout the nineteenth century. A small but significant number of American Lutheran and Reformed clergymen made the Atlantic crossing, for various purposes. For example, an official Reformed embassy was sent over in 1843 to invite the Rev. Dr. Friedrich W. Krummacher of Elberfeld to the professorship at the Mercersburg Seminary vacated by the death of Dr. Friedrich Rauch.²⁶ The team sent over by the synod consisted of a native-born Pennsylvania Dutchman, the Rev. Dr. Benjamin S. Schneck (1806-74) and the Rev. Dr. Theodore L. Hoffeditz (1783-1858), a native German. This visit, too, attracted widespread attention. Dr. Krummacher favored the call until the King of Prussia vetoed it, forbidding his most eloquent preacher to leave for the New World. This royal refusal turned out to be blessing in disguise for both the Reformed Church and America, for the candidate finally chosen for the post was the brilliant young Dr. Philip Schaff (1819-93), then a *Privatdozent* at the University of Berlin, "a republican Swiss," who it was suggested certainly could be expected to accommodate to American conditions more freely than the much older Krummacher.²⁷

Philip Schaff's contributions to the little German Reformed Church in the United States of America, as it was called when he officially joined it at the Synod meeting in Zion's Church, Allentown, in October 1844, were widespread. At Mercersburg in 1851 he published the first volume of his church history. His scholarship was immense and wide-ranging. He eventually produced the three-volume *Creeks of Christendom*, and projected the thirteen-volume *American Church History Series* (continued after his death). In the 1840s and 1850s he edited the influential periodical *Der Deutsche Kirchenfreund* which ministered to the American-German churches and mediated European Christianity to them. And he traveled back and forth across the Atlantic, as an ambassador of American Christianity to Europe. In 1854, at the *Deutscher Kirchentag* at Frankfurt, he delivered the incisive report on the state of the American churches that

the next year was published in book form.²⁸ This offered a full interpretation of American Christianity and its various divisions, for German readers. The following year it was published in the United States in English. He also wrote a companion volume for American readers on Germany and the German church situation.²⁹ His transatlantic work, and his ecumenical contacts between the European and American churches were so important for Americans and Europeans in the nineteenth century, that Philip Schaff was called during his lifetime a "pontifex" in the truest sense of the word—a bridge-builder between continents and religious traditions.

Other churchmen followed the path across the Atlantic blazed by Reily and Kurtz, Schneck and Hoffeditz. Most of them went on personal voyages of discovery of what Europe was like for themselves. Some combined personal visits, as ecclesiastical tourists, so to speak, with semi-official contacts with the European Protestant churches and their leaders. One of these was Benjamin Bausman (1822-1904), Reformed minister and editor, whose work for the Pennsylvania Germans made him a leading culture-molder of the society in which he worked all his life. I have treated his significance in this regard in my paper, "The Reformed Church and Pennsylvania German Identity."³⁰

In the 1850s Benjamin Bausman decided that he needed to see the Old World. Two books came from his pen after his return home to the pulpit and editor's desk. The first was the charming *Wayside Gleanings in Europe*, published in 1875.³¹ The second was the equally charming *Sinai and Zion*, describing his emotional pilgrimage to Palestine and other parts of the Near East.³²

His European book concerns us here, since it illustrates our theme of Pennsylvania German rediscovery of the European homelands. Sailing from New York to Liverpool in 1856, he toured Scotland, Ireland and England, touching at Protestant and literary shrines, then crossed to Belgium and Holland. Proceeding up the Rhine to Switzerland, he did the usual tourist things but also touched base with churches and ecclesiastical leaders. Several chapters mediate his experience with German and Swiss Protestantism to his American brethren. He discusses church attendance, the "Lord's Day," the German universities and student life, the charitable institutions, and of course German rationalism. After a visit to Herrnhut he proceeded into Bohemia, then down via Vienna to Rome, where he spent Christmas, and describes the proliferation of papal institutionalism.

The part of his book that has always interested me most is his description of his emotion-filled visit to the village of Freilaubersheim in Rheinhessen, from which in 1802 his father, then twenty years old, emigrated to America, to join other Bausman kinfolk who had left Germany for Pennsylvania before the Revolution.³³ His father settled in

Lancaster County, near Millersville, but the family were communicant members of First Reformed Church in Lancaster. To give you the flavor of Benjamin Bausman's book and something of his own spirit, I cannot do better than to include here his account of his personal rediscovery of his ancestral village.

At Kreutznach I took a lunch at a small hotel amid a group of boisterous farmers, half tipsy with beer. Then five miles from here to Freilaubersheim, I leisurely traveled afoot, carrying the light traveling-bag at the end of a cane, flung over the shoulder. The road, winding around a succession of little hills, is even and solid as a pavement. For a mile before you reach the village, it is lined with large nut trees, their long limbs forming a leafy canopy over the road. The old church stands aside of the street, at the end of the village. Here my father was baptized and confirmed. Aside of it, in the quiet God's Acre, sleep my ancestors for generations past. Leaning against and looking over the stone wall enclosing it I mused for a while over the lessons and thoughts which the gray moss-covered monuments suggested.

But what next? Where or of whom inquire for the needed information? Walking through one of the narrow streets, I found the village inn, the only one here. Seated on a wooden bench and sipping a mug of milk, I leisurely asked the landlady a few questions.

"Was there an old burgher living here of the name of A.B.?"

"Yes, a short distance from here."

Meanwhile she discovered my name on the traveling-bag, and woman-like, plied me with a number of annoying questions; [I was noncommittal in my answers] for I did not wish her to spoil the projected surprise. At length she turned to her child, saying:

"Marieche, show the gentleman the way," which the little girl promptly did.

In the yard of a plain village home I met a young man, the only son of my uncle, Yost B. So often had the family been imposed upon by pretended vagrant Americans, that the bare sight of such a roving character excited their suspicion. Surely here comes another deceiver, thought the suspecting cousin, as he saw me.

"Lives Andrew B. here?" asked I, after the usual greeting.

"Yes."

"Could I see him?"

"Where are you from?"

"From America."

"What do you want with him?"

"I should like to speak with him?"

Why should he allow his dear father to be annoyed again by a vagrant? so he replied:

"I can give you the desired information. What do you wish to know?"

With that his mother, my aunt, having heard from her little grand-children what was going on without, called to him from the neighboring kitchen: "Yost, if he comes from America, have nothing to do with him."

Fortunately, just then an aged man came down a few steps from a room near by. So closely did he resemble my father, that I could scarcely refrain from weeping. Genesis 43: 50.

"Here is an American," said his son, "who wishes to speak with you."

Taking a seat aside of me on a bench, he seemed ready, as old people usually are, to while away the time in talking with a stranger.

"What part of America are you from?" he inquired.

"From Pennsylvania."

"Ah, Pennsylvania. I had a brother living in that State; but he is no longer living; I have not heard from him for twenty years."

Thereupon I asked him many questions; how long since his brother (my father) had gone there? Had he a family? How many children? Had he done well in the new world? All of which questions he answered correctly, never dreaming that I knew him personally. My clothes were well-worn and somewhat shabby, having climbed mountains, and traveled much afoot, through mud and rain.

"Do you know this man?" I asked, handing him a photograph picture of father.

"Alas, my eye-sight is too dim to see it clearly. Yost, do you look at it."

Yost looked at the picture, then at his father. What could this mean? How could a stranger have a picture of his father, which to their certain knowledge had never been taken?

"I don't know who it is," he muttered, as he blushing handed me back the picture.

Then I handed uncle a letter from father, in which he introduced and commended his son to him.

Again he handed it to his son, saying, "My eye-sight is too poor. Yost, will you please read it."

The son glanced at the date. Then his eyes fell on the opening words: "Dear Brother Andrew," and quickly as thought, he turned to the signature, then with passionate grief grasped my hand, the tears streaming down his face, saying. "Why have you allowed me to treat you so cruelly?" "Stop, stop, my dear cousin," I cried. "Do not grieve; I was cruel, not you." "What is the matter, Yost," eagerly inquired uncle?

"Why, this is a letter from your brother, uncle John B. He is still living, and this is his son."

The dear old man wept like a child, as he grasped my hand. Then came aunt, a neat little bustling old lady, with a small snow-white cap; and a daughter and several grandchildren. "Come in, come in, in the name of the Lord, we bid you thrice welcome," the old people exclaimed, for thus far we had been kept in the yard. To make assurance doubly sure, I laid a number of valuable presents from father on the table, as tokens of affectionate remembrance.

But two of the group of friends on the Bingen wharf fifty years ago, are living; the elder brother and one of his comrades. How the dear old men press my hand, and bless me, the son of the comrade of their childhood, and give me a touching description of their walk to Bingen in the spring of 1802.

The visitor attended church with his new-found relatives the next day, in a union church where the Protestant (Lutheran and Reformed) and Catholic villagers shared a building but had separate services. Sunday morning he listened to the ringing of the church bells from Freilaubersheim and neighboring villages, and he remarks, "sweet was the music of those bells in the valley of the Nahe." He walked to church with his uncle and aunt, who carried their hymnbooks. The organist-schoolmaster had taught all the young people the church-tunes, hence "everybody sang" the old chorales. The American with his rural Pennsylvania puritan sensibilities approved of the plain dress and demeanor of the congregation, "unspoiled by the fashions and follies of city life." Some even wore homespun, since almost every household raised sheep and flax, and spun its own wool and flax in the winter time.

Evidently Bausman was as much an experience to the village folk as they were to him. "Old and young men lifted their caps as I and uncle walked homeward, and old grandmothers paused with their little urchins at the garden gate to let them see the 'Amerikaner' as he passed by."

On his return home to Pennsylvania in 1857 Benjamin Bausman served several important Reformed parishes, including Chambersburg during the Civil War, and Reading. His wider service to his denomination included his editorship of the *Reformed Church Messenger*

and the *Guardian*, and his part in founding and editing the *Reformirter Hausfreund* (1867-1905), which catered to the interests of "his people," the Pennsylvania Germans. In all his later career his tour abroad furnished him with rich memories for sermons and periodical articles.

3. The Genealogists Rediscover European Roots

Benjamin Bausman's visit to the home village of his own family was a personal pilgrimage combined more or less with church business—observation of the church situation in Europe for his Reformed Church editorializing in Pennsylvania. Other Pennsylvanians made the trip to Europe for more pointedly genealogical reasons. As I stated before, most Pennsylvania Dutch families, unless someone was in possession of a document, tombstone inscription, church record, emigrant letter, etc., had lost all contact with their "roots" and root areas in Central Europe. Those who did know where the emigrant ancestor was from sometimes developed the desire to visit the ancestral turf.

One of the earliest of these was Matthias Smyser (1782-1843) of West Manchester Township, York County, a plain Pennsylvania Dutch farmer who was the grandson of Matthias Schmeisser (1715-82) of Rügelsbach [now Riegelbach; eds.] in the parish of Lustenau, near Dinkelsbühl. The emigrant's birthplace is carved into his tombstone at Christ Lutheran Church, York.

The Smysers, who very early got into state politics and iron manufacture, where one of the first Pennsylvania Dutch clans to hold a family reunion, now such a key institution in our culture, with hundreds held over the country in picnic groves, at ancestral farms, or churches, every summer. The first Smyser reunion was held 3 May 1845 on the emigrant's farm in York County, honoring the emigrant's arrival on the property in 1745. There are published *Minutes of the Centennial Celebration*, printed at Carlisle in 1852, with genealogy of the descendants, which makes this booklet one of the first Pennsylvania German genealogies in print.³⁴

In preparation for all this, grandson Matthias Smyser, then fifty-six years of age, set out from New York in April 1839. The main object of his trip was to visit the birthplace of his grandfather, whose name he bore.

Following a somewhat circuitous route, from Le Havre to Paris to Geneva, and through Switzerland into Baden and Württemberg, he finally reached Dinkelsbühl, and inquiring for Rügelsbach, "found that he was within six miles of it."

This is a small village, inhabited by farmers, it has itself nothing interesting to strangers; but to him who sought it as being the birthplace of his ancestors, it was a spot of intense

interest, and was exceedingly gratifying to him. When the house was pointed out to him in which his grandfather was born, 124 years previous—still known by the name of *Smyser's House*, though its present inhabitants were of a different name—when he beheld this time worn, this humble mansion—when he entered it and felt a consciousness of being within the same walls, probably treading upon the same floor, which more than a century ago was trodden by his grandfather, his gratification, to be known, must be experienced.

Calling at the parsonage, he met the present pastor of the parish, "and made known to him his desire to see his grandfather's name on the baptismal register." The record was found, despite the "mutilated and disordered" condition of the register.

The minister next led him into the church of the parish and pointed out to him the *Taufstein*, assuring him that according to the unvarying custom, time immemorial, before that stone on that very spot his grandfather was baptized.

In a nearby village the American met one Andrew Schmeisser, sixty-seven years of age, in whom he saw "a strong resemblance of his own father." "They may," the record continues, "have been second cousins, though Andrew had no recollection of hearing that a Matthias Schmeisser had emigrated to America." At the reunion of 1845, which alas the younger Matthias Smyser was not destined to attend, it was decided to name the ancestral farm "Rügelbach."

There are many additional descriptions of genealogical discovery visits that could be cited, but the emotional reactions and attempts to knit the broken ties again would prove repetitious. One of these is certainly Abraham H. Rothermel's charming essay, "The Pioneer Rothermel Family of Berks County," read before the Historical Society of Berks County in 1911 and published in *The Penn Germania* in 1912 and in the *Transactions of the Historical Society of Berks County* in 1923.³⁵ The author describes in detail his reactions as he visits the town of Wachbach in Württemberg, the home of the Pennsylvania Rothermels, his visit to the village minister and church, his search for living Rothermels, etc. The whole forms a classic account of a Pennsylvania Dutchman's pilgrimage to an ancestral village.

The genealogical rediscovery of European backgrounds was stepped up by scholars in the twentieth century, some from the United States and some from Europe. The process of mining the archives for emigration data was begun by historians like Marion Dexter Learned (1857-1918) of the University of Pennsylvania whose checklists of archival holdings relating to American history in European archives are still useful.³⁶ Albert

Bernhardt Faust and Gaius M. Brumbaugh in 1925 published two volumes of archival information on Swiss emigration, with detailed data on individuals and families.³⁷ In 1928 Adolph Gerber, a German who had taught at Earlham College in Indiana, published two pamphlets on Württemberg emigrants of the eighteenth century, culled from church registers.³⁸

After the Second World War two Palatine scholars, Fritz Braun and Friedrich Krebs, dug into the archives and published lists of eighteenth-century emigrants.³⁹ On the American side of the Atlantic the busiest of all genealogical researchers on emigration material is Annette Kunselman Burgert, who has published four detailed volumes on eighteenth-century emigration—from the Northern Kraichgau, the Western Palatinate, Northern Alsace, and the Westerwald.⁴⁰ The recent series of volumes on the German side by Werner Hacker overlaps with these to a certain degree.⁴¹ The difference is that Hacker provides the official emigration materials from the state archives, while Annette Burgert used principally the church registers. And the work still goes on. Henry Z. Jones, Jr., has issued two volumes of data on the 1709 emigrants, most of whom went to the New York Colony, some of them later settling in Pennsylvania.⁴² Finally, there are an increasing number of important doctoral dissertations dealing with the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century emigration to North America. I have time and space to mention only two: 1) Mark Haerberlein, *Vom Oberrhein zum Susquehanna: Studien zur badischen Auswanderung nach Pennsylvania im 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1993); and 2) Aaron S. Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717-1715*. The Fogleman opus is being published by the University of Pennsylvania Press, and will be the Pennsylvania German Society's annual volume for 1996.

4. The Pennsylvania German Tourist and European Backgrounds

With increased wealth for Pennsylvanians and improved transatlantic travel conditions, the nineteenth century saw many Pennsylvania tourists heading for Europe. I will here include two examples: Dr. John P. Hiester and John W. Forney.

One of the earliest European tours recorded by a Pennsylvania Dutchman was *Notes on Travel: Being a Journal of a Tour in Europe* (Philadelphia: James M. Campbell, 1845), by John P. Hiester, M.D.⁴³ His preface, dated Reading, 1844, confesses that at an early period of his life he entertained "a strong desire to visit the great Eastern world—the land of my forefathers, and the source of all our institutions, civil and religious." As a physician he also wished to visit European hospitals and meet colleagues, which he did everywhere.

Landing at Le Havre in May 1841, he proceeded through France to Paris. He frequently makes remarks on things he saw that compare favorably or unfavorably with things back home. In France, for example, he comments on "the odd appearance of the heavy carts and waggons, loaded to an immense height with goods, packed with straw and retained by ropes." He comments that "they do not seem to understand the use of waggon-beds and covers, and I have no doubt a Conestoga waggon would be deemed a great curiosity."

This led to comments on the costumes of the French farmfolk, especially the "immense Norman caps" on the women, "extending fifteen or eighteen inches beyond the crown of the head." Both sexes are shod with sabots, or wooden shoes, "that make an annoying clatter on the pavements." In Paris he had an audience with the American minister, General Lewis Cass, who received him "with great politeness" and "made honorable mention of the late Governor Hiester." Tourist Hiester was given a packet from the secretary of state, Daniel Webster, with a courier's passport with which he could go anywhere he pleased.

His comments are typical of all accounts of first visits to Europe. "French coffee," he remarks, "is so vastly superior to anything of the kind I have ever tasted, that it is scarcely possible to conceive it to be made of the same materials".

After visiting the Parisian hospitals, accompanied by the high echelons of medicine in Paris, he went south. Sailing from Marseilles to Italy, he proceeds through all the main tourist attractions from South to North, then enters Switzerland over the Simplon Road and through Canton Wallis in the direction of Geneva. Bern, which then numbered 18,000 inhabitants, he found "the prettiest town I have seen in Europe." He was evidently captivated by the Bernese Oberland. From Thun he went to Interlaken and walked up to Lauterbrunnen. "I observe from the window of my neatly furnished chamber, the stars sparkling enchantingly in our little firmament, and contrasting finely with the sombre and gigantic walls of the mountain masses that bound our narrow horizon." Alas, it was not perfect. "My situation," he continues, "and the deep-toned music of the rushing Staubbach, are well calculated to induce pleasing reveries, were it not for a company of boisterous Englishmen, who are vociferating their bacchanalian songs over their wine below stairs."⁴⁴

On the Wengern-Alp he ordered at a mountain inn a bottle of wine, some *Swartz-Brod* and *Geisskaese*, and watched the avalanches! He visited the *Sennhütten* near Grindelwald and describes the summer work of the *Senner* and *Sennerinnen*, and remarks upon the sound of the cow bells and alphorns. And the memory of plenty of zither music resounds through his pages. (This sounds very much like my glowing reports of my first Oberland tour a century later.)

From there he goes on to the Tell Country and Zürich, where he visited the new university and was entertained by Professor Liebig. He ends his account in Basel, and leaves us praising Swiss simplicity, and promising to finish his grand tour through Germany, returning home in 1842 through Belgium, France, and England. I have never seen an account of this additional tour, but the book I have quoted from appeared serially in the *Reading Gazette*.

It would have been interesting to read what he may have written about the homeland of the Hiesters, Westphalia. The Hiesters were in fact members of a large settlement of Westphalians who emigrated in the mid-eighteenth century and put down roots in Bern Township, Berks County, Pennsylvania, along with the Zachariases, Dreisbachs, Marburgers, Gickers, Benfers, and others—all Westphalian surnames.⁴⁵

One more example of the travel and rediscovery books produced by Pennsylvania Germans, this one by the journalist John Wein Forney (1817-81), a Lancaster County Dutchman who made his first European pilgrimage in 1867.⁴⁶ Forney was a voluminous writer and polemicist and is well known in American political and newspaper circles of the nineteenth century. He served as secretary of the United States Senate and was proprietor and editor of both the *Philadelphia Press* and the *Washington Chronicle*. His book is entitled *Letters from Europe*, and was published by T. B. Peterson and Brothers in Philadelphia in 1867. In his lengthy chapter on "European Wages" he becomes reminiscent and nostalgic about his Pennsylvania Dutch background. Let me give a few of his comments.

The habits, occupations, and wages of the German working-classes of the Continent have greatly interested me; and not simply because of the bearing upon great unsolved problems, which, like undying seeds, grow as they slumber in the future of Europe. I do not forget that many States of the American Union contain the descendants and relatives of these people, including Pennsylvania, whose best first settlers were Swedes, French, Huguenots, Swiss, and other emigrants from Protestant provinces, and whose family names I find in the current newspapers, signs, literature, and language. The eastern and middle counties of my native State are to this day partially under the influence of the customs and even the idioms so prevalent and controlling here. I saw the names of my own French and German ancestors more than once; and it was pleasant to hear Keller, Le Fevre, Tschudi, Hitz, Stouck, Leib, Lehmann, Laumann, Kugler, Smyser, Herzog, Ringwald, Benner, Roeder, Zimmerman (or Carpenter), Cassel, Bruner, Bigler, Bachman, Houpt, Hershey, Huetter, Landis, Schindel, Froelig,

Scherr, Everhart, Brenneman, Shriner, Kaufman, Kurtz, Kuntz, Bauernmaster, Kinzer, Luther, Wagner, Herr, Hostetter, Koenig, Kendig, Bauman, among the household nomenclature of these far-off countries, as if to prove another of the many ties that bind together the communities of the two hemispheres; and although there is a great difference in the dialects of the many divisions of the Germanic principalities, Prussian, Austrian, Swedish, Hessian, Swiss, Norwegian and Flemish, yet is there a common chord running through the whole web and woof (like the grand march that runs through the opera of "Norma") that reminded me of the German *patois* still spoken in Montgomery, Berks, Lancaster, York, Dauphin, Lebanon, Lehigh, Monroe, Northampton, Bucks, Cumberland, Centre, Union, Snyder, Northumberland, parts of Chester, Schuylkill, Cambria and other counties of Pennsylvania. And the children of the pioneers that planted free institutions in our great old State, scattered into Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and the other progressive empires of the West, would be happy to realize the sensations aroused by such associations.

Even the little and almost forgotten German I gathered from my mother when I was a child, came back to me like a long-absent and most welcome friend, and though spoken rudely, yet the few words I recovered frequently opened the hearts of these simple people like a talisman, and proved in some cases more valuable than the unintelligible coins with which we paid our way, showing how often a lingual currency in a land of strangers helps one through.

I saw much in Switzerland to remind me of Pennsylvania. Berne resembles Reading in our State, and is backed by a high mountain, like the capital of Berks, though by no means so beautiful and fresh a city. As we passed through the markets of Berne early one morning, the German tongue, so familiar to my youthful ears a generation ago, keenly recalled market people of my native town of Lancaster. The names on the signs and the streets, the unpainted farm-houses in the gorges of the mountains, the ubiquitous barns, were only the originals from which the German counties of Pennsylvania have so frequently and faithfully copied. And as I looked out from my bed-room window, before closing this long and I fear uninteresting epistle, and saw the beautiful and quiet lake ploughed by the gay steamer filled with people going to Geneva, I did not try to resist the thought that it was to the Pennsylvanian or even to the Lancaster-county Fulton that mankind is indebted for the agency that is rapidly revolutionizing the world.

5. Students, Scholars, and Twentieth-Century Churchmen

And yes, there were students, too—Pennsylvania Dutchmen who crossed the Atlantic to study at German universities in the nineteenth and increasingly in the twentieth century. Like many of the topics I have touched upon, this is a subject for another paper, but I will sketch out some of the details briefly here.

Some years ago I bought from a Lehigh County antique dealer a large stack of original letters, mostly to and from a young Reformed ministerial student named Jeremiah S. Hess, son of the Reverend Samuel Hess (1804-75) of Hellertown parish.⁴⁷ In 1865, armed with a huge folding U.S. passport, which was among the papers, he sailed for Europe. He spent over two years there, studying theology and other subjects at Berlin, Bonn, and Tübingen. His indulgent father sent periodical bank drafts on which his son existed, but vetoed a proposed trip to Italy as too expensive.

Jeremiah Hess's long, detailed letters addressed to "Beloved Ones at Home"—his parents and Brother Milton (who was a student at Franklin and Marshall College)—describe an educated American's reaction to Germany first of all, and secondly, his impressions of German student life.

He is excellent on German living conditions, German foods (he praises the coffee, too), the festivals of the year (wonderful descriptions of the German Christmas), a three-day wedding celebration he attended, village fairs, and urban cultural events such as concerts. He went all the way to absorb European culture, opening every door.

A few of the letters in the collection were written by his father, and one sixteen-page missive, by his Cousin Louisa Grim of Allentown, describes the Christmas season in Allentown in December 1865 with all the Christmas balls and banquets, the courtings and flirtings, the sleigh rides, the family problems, etc., etc.—all the things that young Jeremiah had missed by leaving for Germany. This letter was so fascinating as a glimpse into the urban life of the Pennsylvania Dutch that I published it in a recent issue of the *Reggeboge*.⁴⁸

I am saving the Hess letter collection for a monograph that will indeed contribute to American-German studies. We have nothing like it in published form—a Pennsylvania Dutch student's reactions to Germany and German university life in the 1860s.⁴⁹

In the 1890s a trend began in transatlantic contacts—trips to Europe by scholars specifically for research into historical backgrounds of Pennsylvania German culture, especially its religious and linguistic components. In the 1890s Henry S. Dotterer (1841-1903) of Montgomery County went across, later publishing some of his findings in *The Perkiomen Region*, a regional historical periodical that he started.⁵⁰ William J. Hinke (1871-1948), himself a native German in the service of the Reformed

Churches of Pennsylvania, did research in Germany and Holland, laboriously copying (in the pre-xerox era!) manuscript documentation on the Reformed tradition and its colonial leadership—all of which is now in the Schaff Library at Lancaster.⁵¹

And of course Marion Dexter Learned made several European research trips, to work on his book on Pastorius, on emigration, and on the backgrounds of the Pennsylvania German barn. (I was amused one day at the Generallandesarchiv in Karlsruhe, when I called for a bundle of eighteenth-century papers, and found that the last person who had signed to use them was Prof. Dr. Marion Dexter Learned, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1908—so I added my name, academic titles, and the same university under his.)

A later generation of scholars who by their research in Europe have aided immensely the field of Pennsylvania German studies include: 1) Donald A. Shelley, on the backgrounds of *fraktur*, the most spectacular form of Pennsylvania Dutch folk art; 2) Alfred L. Shoemaker and 3) J. William Frey, on dialect and folk-cultural patterns; 4) Albert F. Buffington, on dialect relations between the Palatine dialects and *Pennsylfaanisch*; 5) C. Richard Beam, dialect studies, particularly in relation to his definitive dialect dictionary; and recently 6) Robert F. Ensminger, who completed the work on the origins of the Pennsylvania Barn that Professor Learned had once hoped to do.⁵² There are of course many other scholars that could be mentioned.

The twentieth-century student migration to Europe in junior year programs and Fulbright fellowships has included young Pennsylvanians, who on returning have aided research into dialect, religion, and the folk-culture of Pennsylvania. I could cite many names here—one recent example is Edward E. Quinter, who studied in Switzerland and at Marburg, and is busy translating High German documents from Pennsylvania, and also is working on the Pennsylvania German dialect. He is a member of the board of directors of the Pennsylvania German Society. Another recent student is Rosalind Beiler of the University of Pennsylvania, who as noted previously is working on the transatlantic economic network of the Wister-Wistar family and their connections.

One new and current aspect of the transatlantic contacts of the Pennsylvania German culture are actual European group tours designed to show Pennsylvanians the areas of Germany, Switzerland, Alsace, and elsewhere that produced the emigration across the Atlantic. One of Professor Learned's students, Preston A. Barba (1883-1971),⁵³ who taught German most of his academic career at Muhlenberg College, offered annual tours for many years that had as their high point the Palatinate and adjoining areas of the Rhineland—where the wine flows and a Pennsylvanian can "*schwetz*" away in *Pennsylfaanisch* without

if you remember one word, and that is *Grumbiere*. (My father used to say that there are two words in German for potatoes—*Grumbiere* and *Kardoffle*. He pronounced it *Kardoffle*—giving it a genuine and rather nice Pennsylvanian sound.)

As Professor Barba phased out of the Pennsylvania tour business, he had as successors myself (with my Traveling Pennsylvanians Tours and now the Pennsylvania German Heritage Tours); Frederick S. Weiser who led folk art and other tours to Europe; and various tour leaders for the Palatine Society of America—the "Pal Ams," as they call themselves; and tours by local historical societies. In every case the tours mediate knowledge of the European roots of the Pennsylvania Dutch people and their culture, and promote transatlantic contacts and friendships between cultures.

In the twentieth century Pennsylvania's religious groups have in a wider sense rediscovered their European ties and in doing so have promoted tours of the faithful to sites that are important in Protestant history. The Ecumenical Movement has reknitted some old ties, with the holding of international denominational meetings. Examples are the Lutheran World Federation, the Reformed and Presbyterian Alliance, and the Mennonite World Conference. In the Luther year of 1983, celebrating the five hundredth anniversary of Martin Luther's birth, there were Lutheran tours when it was still difficult to sightsee in East Germany, to Wittenberg, the Wartburg, Halle, and elsewhere. Moravian tours took Pennsylvania Moravians to Herrnhut and other Moravian towns, Schwenkfelder tours ventured after the Second World War into parts of Silesia that had been home to the Pennsylvania Schwenkfelders before their emigration in 1734. And the Mennonites and Amish also headed for Europe in tourist groups, to visit the sites in Switzerland, including Zürich, the Emmenthal, the Kraichgau in Baden, the Palatinate, and Alsace. Some of these groups "Mennonited" their way through some areas where there were still Mennonite congregations with whose families they could board. In some cases the ties between European and American Mennonites were strengthened immediately after the war when the "heifer project" was in operation, to replenish the European dairy herds with American stock. Thus the practical relief work of our Mennonites, Brethren, and Quakers, all of whom set up service committees, increased transatlantic understanding and concern.⁵⁴

Among Mennonites who made the pilgrimage to Germany and Switzerland on church business and to rediscover family roots was the former president of Goshen College in Indiana, Sanford Calvin Yoder, a distant cousin of mine born in Iowa in 1879. Although an Iowan, he grew up in a Pennsylvania Dutch family complete with *Pennsylvfaanisch* spoken in the home and community.⁵⁵ He describes his upbringing and his church career in his autobiography, *The Days of My Years* (1959). In an

earlier book, *Eastward to the Sun* (1953), he describes his travels through Europe to India for the fiftieth anniversary of the American Mennonite mission in India in 1949.

Our Mennonites of course have a different view of Swiss history than descendants of the Swiss Reformed cantonal churches. The "Täufer" or Anabaptists were persecuted by the state churches of both Canton Zürich and Bern, uprooted from their communities, and in some cases exiled to Germany and elsewhere. Sanford Yoder visited the main Anabaptist sites in Switzerland and comes to a more balanced view of Swiss culture than some of his denominational brethren. This is what he says about his ancestral Switzerland.

My days in charming Switzerland were done. With regret I left the place but memories of it will linger with me always. It has been a pleasant host and has much to teach us. While wars raged around it even to its very gates, it remained an island of peace and a haven of refuge in a wide, storm-tossed sea of madness and strife.

And then he closes with a prayer for Switzerland and the Swiss people.

May He who rules the destiny of the nations ever keep it in peace though the waters thereof roar and its mountains be carried into the midst of the sea. This little land is blessed of God with amazing beauty and loveliness! Though the fires of its persecution burned long and their flames were hot, we love it still. Many a saint who died for his faith lies enfolded in its bosom. Other thousands who fled those dire days found homes in a new world where they brought forth strong settlements which bear the names of the places which they left—Berne, Sonnenberg, etc. The germ of freedom that stirred its soul in the early Reformation days has now brought forth its full, rich fruit—liberty to follow one's conscience in all things that pertain to faith and life. May you, charming land and lovely people, always abide in peace—the peace you so dearly bought.⁵⁶

And that is a good place to end my essay—with a prayer for Switzerland and not just Switzerland, but all of Europe.

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Notes

¹ Don Yoder, "The 'Dutchman' and the 'Deitschlenner': The New World Confronts the Old," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 23 (1988): 1-17.

² Samuel Kistler Brobst (1824-76), Pennsylvania German Lutheran clergyman, editor and publisher, promoted contacts with German-American emigrants, in both the Lutheran Church and the German-language press. See "The 'Dutchman' and the 'Deitschlenner,'" 11-12. For biographical citations, see note 21.

³ William A. Helffrich (1827-94) and his father Johannes Helffrich (1795-1852), both Reformed clergymen of Eastern Pennsylvania, valued their "Deitschländler" friends, some of whom occasionally lived in the Helffrich parsonage. The father had friendships with some of the leaders of the homeopathic medical movement in Philadelphia and Allentown, and the son maintained contacts with the Hermann, Missouri, settlement of German-Americans, and visited Hermann in 1856. For these contacts, see William A. Helffrich, *Lebensbild aus dem Pennsylvanisch-Deutschen Predigerstand* (Allentown: N. W. A. and W. U. Helffrich, 1906).

⁴ Leo Schelbert and Hedwig Rappolt, *Alles ist ganz anders hier: Auswandererschicksale im Briefen aus zwei Jahrhunderten* (Olten/ Freiburg im Breisgau: Walter-Verlag, 1977).

⁵ "Notes and Documents: Eighteenth-Century Letters from Germany," in Don Yoder, ed., *Rhineland Emigrants: Lists of German Settlers in Colonial America* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1981), 118-19.

⁶ Anita L. Eister, "Notices by German and Swiss Settlers Seeking Information of Members of Their Families, Kindred, or Friends . . .," *The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society* 3 (1938): 26-27.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁸ Don Yoder, "The Origins of the Oley Valley Yoders," *Yoder Newsletter* (Goshen, IN) no. 5 (April 1985): 1, 3-6. Unfortunately I have been unable to locate the European documentary background of this curious transatlantic land transfer in either the city archives of Neustadt an der Weinstraße, as the town is called today, or in the Palatine State Archives in Speyer.

⁹ Samuel Guldin arrived in Pennsylvania in 1710 on the *Maria Hope*. For his biography, see Joseph Henry Dubbs, "Samuel Guldin, Pietist and Pioneer," *Reformed Quarterly Review* (July 1892); and Joseph Henry Dubbs, *The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania* (Lancaster: Pennsylvania German Society, 1902), chap. 6, "Samuel Guldin," 68-77. Guldin, a patrician citizen of the city of Bern with earlier family roots in St. Gallen, was actually the first German Reformed minister in Pennsylvania.

¹⁰ "Notes and Documents: 1. A Letter to Germany (1806)," in Don Yoder, ed., *Rhineland Emigrants*, 106-7.

¹¹ The standard, if somewhat filiopietistic, biography of Schlatter is Henry Harbaugh, *The Life of Rev. Michael Schlatter; With a Full Account of His Travels and Labors among the Germans in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia; Including His Services as Chaplain in the French and Indian War, And in the War of the Revolution* (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1857). For recent scholarship on Schlatter, see the doctoral dissertation by Marthi Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Michael Schlatter von St. Gallen (1716-1790): Eine biographische Untersuchung zur schweizerischen Amerika-Auswanderung des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Zürich: ADAG, 1981). An article based on the dissertation, entitled "Michael Schlatter: A Man in Between—A Contribution to American Ecclesiastical and Secular History of the Eighteenth Century," was published in the *Newsletter: Swiss American Historical Society* 19.2 (June 1983): 3-25.

¹² Abraham Blumer (1736-1822) was a native of Canton Glarus, Switzerland, who came to America in 1771. He was pastor of Zion Reformed Church in Allentown and several outlying churches, 1771-1937. For his biography, see Simon Sipple, *History of Zion Reformed Church, Allentown, Pennsylvania, 1762-1937* (Allentown: Berckmeyer-Keck Co., 1937), 32-47. For a more recent treatment, based on the Blumer Manuscripts, see William T. Parsons, "Der

Glerner': Abraham Blumer of Zion Reformed Church, Allentown," *Newsletter: Swiss American Historical Society* 13.2 (May 1977): 7-22. Blumer's sons were publishers and merchants in Allentown in the nineteenth century with European business contacts.

¹³ The best concise summary of the family, inclusive of the sons' education in Germany, is Paul A. W. Wallace, *The Muhlenbergs of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950). Henry Melchior Muhlenberg's journals (three volumes, 1945-58) and his letters (being published at present in both Germany and the United States) provide one of the fullest and clearest glimpses of Pennsylvania German life and culture in the eighteenth century.

¹⁴ According to Edward F. Humphrey, *Nationalism and Religion in America, 1774-1789* (Boston: Chipman, 1924), the American Moravians were the only Pennsylvania German denomination that kept its European ties (with the Moravian administration in Herrnhut) intact after the Revolution. For the church's transatlantic contacts after the Revolution, see J. Taylor Hamilton, *A History of the Church Known as the Moravian Church or the Unitas Fratrum or the Unity of the Brethren, During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Bethlehem: Times Publishing Co., 1900).

¹⁵ Otto Langguth, "Pennsylvania German Pioneers from the County of Wertheim," trans. and ed. Don Yoder, in Don Yoder, ed., *Pennsylvania German Immigrants, 1709-1786: Lists Consolidated from Yearbooks of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1980), 139-287.

¹⁶ Rosalind J. Beiler, "The Transatlantic World of Casper Wistar: From Germany to America in the Eighteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1994).

¹⁷ Don Yoder, "Lutheran-Reformed Union Proposals, 1800-1850: An American Experiment in Ecumenics," *Bulletin: Theological Seminary of the Evangelical and Reformed Church* 17.1 (January 1946): 36-77.

¹⁸ Joseph Henry Dubbs, *History of Franklin and Marshall College ...* (Lancaster: New Era Printing Co., 1903).

¹⁹ Theodore G. Tappert, *History of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia, 1864-1964* (Philadelphia: Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1964). For the background of the struggle between Schmucker's American Lutheranism and the Confessional Lutheranism that founded the Philadelphia Seminary, see Vergilius Ferm, *The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology: A Study of the Issue between American Lutheranism and Old Lutheranism* (New York: The Century Company, 1927). For the best biography of Schmucker and his influence on American Protestantism, see Abdel Ross Wentz, *Pioneer in Christian Unity: Samuel Simon Schmucker* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967).

²⁰ The German Reformed Church in the United States, as a result of the new liturgical and Catholicizing tendencies that spread from the Mercersburg Seminary, came very near splitting into two denominations in the 1860s. The fullest account of the so-called "Old Reformed," anti-Mercersburg party in the denomination can be found in the tendentious but extremely detailed work by James I. Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the U.S. in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: The Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America, 1911). Note that the book was published not by Dr. Good's own denomination, but by the former Dutch Reformed Church.

²¹ Joseph Henry Dubbs, *The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, 288-91 (quotation from 289). For Reily's biography, see H[enry] Harbaugh, *The Fathers of the German Reformed Church* (Lancaster, 1872), 3:248-57; and Don Yoder, "James Ross Reily, 1788-1844: Reformed Pastor on the Frontier," *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 4.11 (1 February 1953): 9. In the same issue (pp. 6-9) I published "Pastor Reily Rides the Lykens Valley Circuit," a translation of his German ministerial journal, 1812-18, which I discovered at Lancaster Theological Seminary in a trunk of uncatalogued manuscripts. This diary includes Reily's missionary journey to North Carolina in 1813, a trip which gave impetus to the home mission movement in the German Reformed Church.

²² When I was a student at Franklin and Marshall College in the 1940s, I well remember those hundreds of leather-bound volumes, some with the Prussian or other German stamps. They were an important addition to the Seminary Library in the nineteenth century, but were rarely used at the time when I became aware of them. They are still part of the Seminary Library.

²³ The Kurtz mission to Europe is fully reported in Abdel Ross Wentz, *Gettysburg Lutheran Seminary, Volume One: History, 1826-1965* (Harrisburg: Evangelical Press [1965]), 131-36. It provides the basis for my account.

²⁴ Wentz, 133. Twesten's pamphlet was entitled: *Nachricht von dem zu Gettysburg in Pennsylvanien zu errichtenden theologischen Seminare der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in den Nordamerikanischen Freistaaten, nebst einer Übersetzung seiner Statuten* (Hamburg: Langhoffsche Buchdruckerey, Perthes & Besser, 1826).

²⁵ Wentz, 134.

²⁶ A full account of the Krummacher mission of 1843 and the coming of Philip Schaff to Pennsylvania can be found in H. M. J. Klein, *A Century of Education at Mercersburg, 1836-1936* (Lancaster: Lancaster Press, 1936), 182-213.

²⁷ For Schaff's biography, see David S. Schaff, *The Life of Philip Schaff, In Part Autobiographical* (New York: Scribner's, 1897); also George W. Richards, "The Life and Work of Philip Schaff," *Bulletin: Theological Seminary of the Evangelical and Reformed Church* 15.4 (October 1944): 155-72.

²⁸ *America: A Sketch of the Political, Social and Religious Character of the United States of North America, in Two Lectures, Delivered at Berlin, with a Report Read before the German Church Diet at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, Sept. 1854*, translated from the German (New York: C. Scribner, 1855).

²⁹ See Philip Schaff, *Germany: Its Universities, Theology, and Religion; With Sketches of Neander, Tholuck, Olshausen, Hengstenberg, Twesten, Nitzsch, Muller, Ullmann, Rothe, Dorner, Lange, Ebrard, Wichern, and Other Distinguished German Divines of the Age* (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1857).

³⁰ For Bausman's biography, see Henry Haverstick Ranck, *The Life of Reverend Benjamin Bausman, D.D., LL.D.* (Philadelphia: The Publication and Sunday School Board of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1912); also Don Yoder, "The Reformed Church and Pennsylvania German Identity," *Der Reggeboege/The Rainbow: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 26.2 (1992): 1-16, reprinted courtesy of *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 18 (1983): 63-82.

³¹ *Wayside Gleanings in Europe* (Reading: Daniel Miller, 1875).

³² *Sinai and Zion, or a Pilgrimage Through the Wilderness to the Land of Promise* (Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publication Board, 1861). A German edition, *Sinai und Zion: Eine Pilgerreise durch die Wüste nach dem Gelobten Lande*, appeared at Reading in 1875, from the publishing house of Daniel Miller.

³³ Bausman's father, Johannes Bausmann, arrived at Philadelphia from Amsterdam 20 August 1802 on the Ship *Belvidere* (Strassburger-Hinke, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers*, 3:113).

³⁴ *Minutes of the Centennial Celebration, Held by the Descendants of the Elder Matthias Smyser, May 3d, 1845, On the Farm of Samuel Smyser, in West Manchester Township, York Co. Pa.* (Carlisle: Abraham Rudisill, 1852).

³⁵ Abraham H. Rothermel, "The Pioneer Rothermel Family of Berks County," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Berks County* 3 (1910-16): 134-43.

³⁶ For Learned's scholarly career at Johns Hopkins and the University of Pennsylvania, and his level-headed approach to both Pennsylvania German and German-American research, see John J. Appel, "Marion Dexter Learned and the German American Historical Society," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 86.3 (July 1962): 287-318.

³⁷ Albert Bernhardt Faust, *Lists of Swiss Emigrants in the Eighteenth Century to the American Colonies, Volume I: Zurich, 1734-1744, From the Archives of Switzerland* (Washington, DC: The National Genealogical Society, 1920); and Albert Bernhardt Faust and Gaius Marcus

Brumbaugh, *Lists of Swiss Emigrants in the Eighteenth Century to the American Colonies, Volume II: From the State Archives of Bern and Basel, Switzerland* (Washington, DC: The National Genealogical Society, 1925).

³⁸ "Emigrants from Württemberg: The Adolf Gerber Lists," in Don Yoder, ed., *Pennsylvania German Immigrants*, 1-137.

³⁹ For the significance of the emigration research of Fritz Braun and Friedrich Krebs, see the introduction to Don Yoder, ed., *Rhineland Emigrants*, xi-xii.

⁴⁰ The painstaking research of Annette Kunselman Burgert in eighteenth-century German church registers, using the European Film Collection of the Family History Library in Salt Lake City, has resulted in a series of monographs and pamphlets that have considerably broadened our knowledge of the eighteenth-century emigration to Pennsylvania and other British colonies. Among them are the series: *Eighteenth Century Emigrants from German-Speaking Lands to North America, Volume I: The Northern Kraichgau* (Pennsylvania German Society, 1983); *Volume II: The Western Palatinate* (Pennsylvania German Society, 1985); and *Eighteenth Century Emigrants from the Northern Alsace to America* (Camden, ME: Picton Press, 1992). In addition she collaborated on a volume on emigration from the Westerwald, with Henry Z. Jones, Jr.

⁴¹ For the significance of Hacker's emigration studies, see Aaron S. Fogleman, "Progress and Possibilities in Migration Studies: The Contributions of Werner Hacker to the Study of Early German Migration to Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania History* 56 (1989): 318-29.

⁴² Henry Z. Jones, Jr., *The Palatine Families of New York: A Study of the German Immigrants Who Arrived in Colonial New York in 1710*, 2 vols. (Universal City, CA: Henry Z. Jones, Jr., 1985).

⁴³ Dr. John P. Hiester (1803-54) was a native of Berks County and a distinguished physician in Reading. For his biography, and reference to "the large number of addresses written and delivered by him before various literary and scientific associations," see Morton L. Montgomery, *History of Berks County in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Everts, Peck & Richards, 1886), 595-96.

⁴⁴ During the 1950s, in connection with several lengthy summer sojourns in Lauterbrunnen, I stayed at the gracious Victorian Hotel Steinbock (now, alas, a parking lot) adjoining the Berner-Oberland-Bahn Depot, and got acquainted with the various busloads of European tourists who stayed there a night or two and then moved on. As I recall, not the English but the Germans were the loudest and most boisterous, and most of the Danish women smoked after-dinner cigars.

⁴⁵ For this emigration from Westphalia and its significance for the Pennsylvania German settlements, see Hedwig Mundel, "A 1725 List of Wittgenstein Emigrants," trans. and ed. Don Yoder, *The Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine* 25.4 (1968): 246-62.

⁴⁶ For Forney's biography, see James Thompson Sheep, "John W. Forney, Stormy Petrel of American Journalism" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1959). Forney also served as American Centennial Commissioner in Europe, 1874-76, and wrote a book about that trip as well. His book and pamphlet production was extensive.

⁴⁷ For a brief biography of Jeremiah S. Hess, see the *Hellertown Souvenir Book* (Bethlehem, PA: J. G. Williams, 1925), 32. After his return from Europe Hess became a merchant, banker, chief burgess, and school director at Hellertown, and served as state senator, 1883-86.

⁴⁸ Louisa Grim, "The Social Season in Allentown (Christmas 1865)," *Der Reggeboege* 27.2 (1993): 8-16.

⁴⁹ One of the few studies of American student reactions to German university life in the nineteenth century can be found in Paul G. Buchloh and Walter T. Rix, eds., *American Colony of Göttingen: Historical and Other Data Collected Between the Years 1855 and 1888* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976).

⁵⁰ Henry Sassaman Dotterer (1841-1903) edited *The Perkiomen Region, Past and Present*, 3 vols. (1894-1901), and was responsible for other local and church-historical productions, particularly on the history of Pennsylvania's Reformed Church.

⁵¹ William John Hinke (1871-1947) was a professor at the Auburn Theological Seminary at Auburn, NY, for much of his career, but his major interest was in the history of the (German) Reformed Church in the United States. During his early visits to Europe, he transcribed documents on the European background of the Reformed Church in Germany and Holland, and during his teaching years he borrowed original church registers of eighteenth-century congregations and transcribed them. Both of these sets of documents are preserved in the Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, Schaff Library, Lancaster, PA. For his intellectual contributions, see George W. Richards, "The Life and Work of William J. Hinke," *Bulletin: Theological Seminary of the Evangelical and Reformed Church* 19 (1948): 124-39.

⁵² Robert F. Ensminger, *The Pennsylvania Barn: Its Origin, Evolution, and Distribution in North America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

⁵³ For Preston Barba and his intellectual contribution, see Don Yoder, "Meet Preston Barba—Editor of the 'Eck,'" *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 2.4 (15 June 1950): 1.

⁵⁴ For the history of the Mennonites in the Second World War period, with attention to their Civilian Public Service and European relief programs, see Melvin Gingerich, *Service for Peace* (Akron, PA: Mennonite Central Committee, 1949); and Guy F. Hershberger, *The Mennonite Church in the Second World War* (Scottsdale, PA: Mennonite Publishing House, 1951).

⁵⁵ Sanford Calvin Yoder (1879-1975) was born near Iowa City, IA, and served as president of Goshen College, Goshen, IN, 1923-40. For biographical information, see *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* 59 (1980), and *The Mennonite Encyclopedia* 5 (1990).

⁵⁶ Sanford Calvin Yoder, *Eastward to the Sun* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1953), 51-52.