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The "Dutchman" and the *"Deitschlenner"*: The New World Confronts the Old

I

By the middle of the nineteenth century, there were in North America two German-speaking worlds, which impinged on each other and were conscious of each other's presence, yet remained separate.[1] These were on the one hand the world of the Pennsylvania Dutchman and on the other the world of what he called the *"Deitschlenner,"* the European German or immigrant German of the nineteenth century. These worlds came into contact and reacted to each other, positively or negatively, in Pennsylvania, in the Midwest, and in Ontario, wherever the Pennsylvania Dutchman had by migration planted his culture by 1850.

The Pennsylvania Dutch culture, a rich, slowly developed hybrid American system, combined continental German elements, British Isles components borrowed from the Quaker and Scotch-Irish neighbors, as well as numerous new American ideas and techniques which affected everything from church organization to the meals that were set on the Dutchman's table. Most of them were farmers and craftsmen who put their mark on rural America in the pre-industrial age with such things as barn formats, wagon patterns, rifle production, and other technological innovations.

More important than these factors is the fact that by the time of the Revolution the Pennsylvania Dutchman had become an American, in his politics and his general outlook. Even in areas where they continued to speak German, the immigrants and their children had been quickly Americanized. They were oriented to America and American problems, having cut their ties with Europe and its future by their migration.[2]

The two worlds came into contact increasingly in the second half of the nineteenth century. By 1850 the Pennsylvania Dutch were becoming aware that a new type of German-language culture was developing in the cities of the Northeast and the Midwest. This was what we now call the German-American culture, in its various local varieties, which

flowered mostly in urban contexts, with major centers in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Columbus, Chicago, St. Louis, Indianapolis, Milwaukee, New Orleans, and elsewhere. In addition to these urban centers there were also large rural and small town enclaves in the Midwest, Texas, and other states.

Who were these German-Americans? Looking at them with the eyes of the Pennsylvania Dutchman of the time, they were foreigners, Europeans, Germany-Germans or *Deitschlenner.* Even those who were fortunate enough to come from what was then called Rhenish Bavaria—the Palatinate—and thus spoke a dialect that could almost pass for Pennsylvania Dutch—were different in that their outlook on politics and culture reflected a century more of involvement with European history than the Pennsylvanians—most of whose ancestors had arrived in America before the Revolution.

It was these new German immigrants who created the world of *Gemütlichkeit,* now largely gone, of the *Biergarten,* the *Volksfest,* the *Turnverein,* the *Männerchor,* and the *Sängerfest.* While the Pennsylvania Dutch became Odd Fellows and Red Men and Elks and Knights of the Golden Eagle, in fact filled all the American fraternal orders, the nineteenth-century immigrants built a world of their own, in which, as Carl Wittke put it, the highest praise for something was that it was "gerade wie in Deutschland."[3] Of course it never was, but it comforted them to think so, with their exile mentality. These German-Americans, as they came to call themselves, attempted in part to create in America a German bourgeois atmosphere for themselves in their urban neighborhoods, churches and lodges. The Pennsylvania Dutchman had long ago given up interest in Europe, but these newcomers not only tried to be "Germans in America" but they cultivated *Deutschtum* or Germanness in all their institutions. And after 1871 they were not lacking in praise of the new united German Empire.

The *Deitschlenner* became aware of the Dutchman too. Whether he traveled among the Dutch settlements or himself settled in their midst, he reacted to their difference from his German culture. One of the difficulties we encounter in the face of so many ultra-critical, negative judgments of the Dutch culture by European Germans is that there was often a class difference and certainly a cultural difference between the two groups. So we find statements like that of one Dr. Büchele who in dealing with the Pennsylvanians in the 1850s speaks of their "gibberish speech," which he admits, "still has a few thousand words that remind one of Germany," and "whose thickheaded peasant arrogance *(dickköpfiger Bauerndünkel)* everywhere opposes in the most nauseous manner every attempt at education beyond reading and writing, Bible and catechism."[4]

Most European travelers and educated *Deitschlenner* commented unfavorably on the German spoken in Pennsylvania and in the Pennsylvania Dutch diaspora in other states. They expressed especial distaste for the admixture of English words, and the Germanizing of English expressions, which were part of our Pennsylvania High German especially visible to outsiders in the columns of our German newspapers.

Some of these critical travelers and immigrants should have the privilege of revisiting Germany today and hearing the numerous English expressions and words that have been taken over into current German, like *babysitten, Teamwork* (as in *Teamworkforschung*), and best of all the one I heard from the lips of the archivist of Dr. Büchele's own university, "Ja, wir haben das gemanaged."[5]

The nineteenth-century travelers and immigrants usually also complained that the Pennsylvanians were behind the times culturally. As Francis and Theresa Pulszky put it,

> they do not know the names of Lessing and Herder, Schiller and Goethe; they are strangers to the development of the English and the German spirit, peasants of the past age, who have become free and rich in their new country, but have been left untouched by the progress of a century.[6]

Even the young Philip Schaff (1819–93), usually so irenic in his approach, attacked the Americanized culture of the Pennsylvania Dutch. This was during his first year in America, straight from the University of Berlin, and he spoke as a shocked European German, and with all the indignation of his twenty-seven years. Later, after having worked intimately with the Pennsylvania Dutch churches and their native ministers he could be more charitable. But this is what he said in his address called "Anglo-Germanism or the Significance of the German Nationality in the United States," given before the Schiller Society of Marshall College in 1846:

> American Germany [which he is contrasting with European Germany] . . . on the contrary, must, pauper-like, beg from the English all her education, so far as she has any at all; she possesses not a single college that may be said to represent the German interest in a manner worthy of the mother country; she has no national literature, yea, does not even know that of her own kindred so well as its friends and admirers in New England. Her language, for the most part, is an almost unintelligible and characterless gibberish, made up of the most different German dialects thoroughly interwoven with Anglicisms and barbarisms. No wonder that *Dutch* and *vulgar, German* and *rude* have become, in many places, convertible terms.[7]

But despite the insults, his hope was that "the American intellectual and religious culture" should in time become more and more "Anglo-German."

The references to the Pennsylvania Dutch as "peasants" should certainly not disturb us in this day and age when we know so much more about peasant culture in Europe and its ways of operation. This is particularly true in the case of manners, everyday dealings with family and community. The immigrants complained that the Pennsylvanians were rude and impolite. The fact is that the typical Dutchman abhorred polite forms. This was not just an absorption of American egalitarianism, but was a heritage from the peasant distaste for the fancy, exaggerated *Höflichkeitsformen* of the cities. I learned a great deal about

this from my father, who was the eighth generation of his father's family in America (they were 1709ers who fortunately skipped New York and came directly to Pennsylvania). He was born on a farm in Schuylkill County, and learned Dutch before English. One time I asked my father how one says in Dutch, "Please pass me the butter." He laughed and said "you don't say 'please' in Dutch—you would just say, 'Reech mer mol die Budder.'" There was even an old farmer in the Hegins Valley that my father told me about who became insulted one time when somebody referred to him as a "Chendelmann." A "Chendelmann" was someone who did not work, or at least did not work with his hands, like a respectable Dutchman.

In return the Pennsylvanians made it clear that they did not share and did not want to share the culture of the "German-Americans," and in their way they could be just as cutting. One traveler tells us of hearing in Schuylkill County some women talking (this was in the 1840s) who said: "Wir sind keine Affen, wie die Deutschländer; aber Amerikaner sind wir, und das bleiben wir, wenn wir auch deutsch sprechen."[8] The reference to "apes" reflects the Pennsylvanian distaste for the over-abundance of polite forms used by the immigrants when speaking their High German.

The cultural differential between Pennsylvania Dutchman and European German, involving as it did the total culture as well as language, is accented in many autobiographical accounts. One of these is by Georg von Bosse, a Lutheran clergyman of Philadelphia who arrived in this country in the 1870s and became an ardent defender of *Deutschtum* against the encroachments from Americanization. He preached a while in Reading, Pennsylvania, and got to know the Pennsylvania Dutch culture thoroughly. He is somewhat gentle in his criticisms of it. Among them, he writes:

> I was allowed to experience hearty hospitality, and the "Du" with which my host, in Pennsylvania German style, addressed everybody even including me (me a minister!), sounded very cordial to me. My High German they understood pretty well, as also I their dialect, so that we could converse in a stimulating manner. Of Germany and its history they knew only a little and there was no question at all of a spiritual bond with the people from whom their forefathers had sprung. Yet in spite of this with their German speech they had resolutely preserved many a German character trait.
>
> In foods I learned to know different new ones like sweet potatoes, sweet corn, tomatoes, stewed, fried or cut up raw, and then the all-beloved pie, which the Pennsylvania German women understand how to bake just so masterfully. For sleeping I got a big, two-person bed, such as is to be found in almost every house in the United States. Quite comforting was the painful cleanliness *[peinliche Sauberkeit]* which reigned everywhere.

And it still does, one might add. When he had been in Pennsylvania longer, von Bosse became an apologist for German-Americanism. So

touchy was he over language that one time he was outraged at a *Volksfest* in Philadelphia when he noticed that the banner over the sauerkraut booth was spelled "sour crout."[9]

II

Pennsylvania Dutchman and European German reacted to each other not only on the everyday level. Also in the sophisticated culture the two groups met, clashed, and reacted. Tension between the "Pennsylvania" element and the "European German" element developed in most of the Pennsylvania Dutch denominations. In several cases this tension occasioned schisms, with results that can be traced down to the present day. Among these was the long and bitter fight (1886–94) in the so-called *Evangelische Gemeinschaft*, a revivalist denomination that had been founded in Pennsylvania in 1800 as a kind of German-language clone of the Methodist Church.

In 1894 the *Gemeinschaft* split into two separate and rival organizations, one calling itself in English the Evangelical Association and the other the United Evangelical Church, to confuse everybody. One of the several disputed factors in the division (which centered in the personalities of rival bishops named Dubs and Esher, both of them immigrants) was the rivalry between the Pennsylvanian and European membership and leaders. As one historian of the division put it:

> During the first fifty years of the church's existence the members of the General Conference were almost all natives or residents of Pennsylvania. Hence the church government found itself exclusively in the hands of Pennsylvanians.
>
> Yet when the church began to spread its borders toward the far west and to absorb other groups, naturally in this too a change took place. During this transition period there arose in Pennsylvania a class of men, whose leaders fostered and spread the narrow viewpoint that since the church had been founded in Pennsylvania, it must now too be governed continuously by Pennsylvanians and that those members who were born abroad had to sit on the back bench.

Of the ten first bishops of the denomination, seven were Pennsylvanians and three were back-benchers.[10]

One of the basic reasons for the alienation between Pennsylvanians and European Germans in the churches was naturally language. The Pennsylvanians were losing their High German competency and could no longer easily understand some of the immigrant ministers. An immigrant evangelist named Carl G. Koch, preaching in Ohio in the 1840s, expressed it in this way:

> Toward Spring I held a protracted meeting in Berlin Township, Mahoning County, in Schalleberger's Schoolhouse. Since this neighborhood consisted mostly of Pennsylvania Germans and some European German families, I soon heard the complaint that I was not understood very well, since I speak in such a High German manner, etc. But

> gradually they understood me better and better; the Holy Spirit accompanied the Word to their hearts, and I heard no complaints anymore over my High German speech.[11]

Sometimes not even the Holy Spirit could keep the two groups in agreement. This was true even in churches where High German was still used by the Pennsylvanians. William A. Helffrich (1827–94) in his German autobiography describes in detail the struggles he had in his own congregations to promote the official Reformed Church paper, which was edited in Philadelphia by European Germans. When he inquired why his parishioners were not subscribers, they said, "Everything is too far away, we don't understand it!" ("'Sis alles zu weit ab, mir verstehen's net!"). Helffrich himself judged the paper as aimed more at the clergy than the people in the pews. "What do our Pennsylvanians want with reports from Germany and articles cribbed from other journals which have not the least interest for our church in America?" He also objected to the "mania of German editors for using foreign words, even when writing for the people."[12] Helffrich's concern to do something "for our people," a concern in which he was joined by Benjamin Bausman and other Reformed ministers, resulted in the establishment in 1867 of *Der Reformirte Hausfreund,* edited and published at Reading, which until its demise in 1903 was the leading German-language paper reflecting the Pennsylvania German outlook.[13]

But the best example of all is what happened to Pennsylvania Lutheranism, which split into two wings, one an Americanizing wing, the other a Germanizing wing. The Americanizers, led by Samuel Simon Schmucker (1799–1873), who had been educated in Anglo-America, at Princeton in fact, organized the General Synod and operated both Gettysburg College and Gettysburg Seminary.[14] The Germanizers, led in part by immigrant clergy and in part by natives like Samuel Kistler Brobst (1822–76), founded the Philadelphia Seminary, and in 1867 joined with several Midwestern Lutheran bodies, all conservative, in the ultra-conservative General Council. The Gettysburg faction adopted the revivalist methods of the major Anglo-American churches, favored English as the national language, and in general offered an ecumenical hand of fellowship to other American evangelical bodies, whether German or not. The Philadelphia faction withdrew the hand of fellowship from everyone but Lutherans. Their motto was, "Lutheran pulpits for Lutheran ministers only, Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants only." Stressing a Lutheran confessional rather than an Anglo-American pan-evangelical position, they expressed their distaste for the union church which existed almost everywhere in grassroots Pennsylvania among Lutherans and Reformed. They also favored the German language wherever possible. The context here is important to note. Central Pennsylvania, the seedbed of the Americanized Lutheranism, was an area where the Pennsylvania Dutchman came into closer contact with other ethnic groups and churches than in eastern Pennsylvania, and in central Pennsylvania low churchism and English preaching were the order of the day.

III

In sorting out the many influences, negative or positive, that the European Germans had upon the Pennsylvania Dutch, it is important to point out that in several instances the European Germans provided the necessary stimulus to the development of the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect culture. Dialect sketches had appeared in our newspapers from the period of the War of 1812, but it was not until the 1860s that a full-fledged dialect literary movement complete with books and pamphlets in Pennsylvania Dutch by identifiable, ethnically conscious writers made its appearance. Philip Schaff, the brilliant Swiss theologian and church historian who ministered to the American churches from his professorial chair at Mercersburg, had, it appears, a decisive influence in encouraging literature in the Pennsylvania dialect. Not only did he publish one of the earliest dialect poems, the *Owetlied (Abendlied)* by the Moravian minister Edward Rondthaler, which appeared in Schaff's *Kirchenfreund* for 1849, but Schaff had a dear friend in the Reformed ministry, the archetypical Pennsylvania Dutchman Henry Harbaugh (1817–67). Harbaugh's early death was a severe personal blow to Schaff, who wrote of his friend:

> He was endowed with rare gifts of mind and heart. For the defects of his early education he made up by intense application. He was a poetical genius, the only one who has risen, as far as I know, from the German-American population. I first suggested to him the desirableness of immortalizing the Pennsylvania-German in song, as the Allemannian dialect has been immortalized by Hebel. He took up the hint and wrote his *Schulhaus an der Krick,* which he modestly submitted to me, and which, when published, produced quite a sensation among the Pennsylvania-Germans, and found its way even to Germany.[15]

It is said that Professor Schaff used to repeat the *Schulhaus* epic with great spirit, no doubt with his strong Graubünden accent showing through.

Another European German who influenced dialect literature was Ludwig Wollenweber (1807–88), an immigrant who more or less adopted the Pennsylvania Dutch as his people. He was born at Ixheim near Zweibrücken in the Palatinate and came to America after the revolution of 1830. He arrived in 1833, settling in Philadelphia where he founded *Der Freisinnige* in 1838, and the *Philadelphia Demokrat* in 1839, serving as its editor for many years. Although his liberal politics found little resonance among the upstate Dutch, their dialect and manners found resonance in him. He loved Berks County and its people, traveled happily among them, writing sketches of his visits for the *Demokrat.* After retiring he moved to Womelsdorf and spent his declining years writing local color novelettes in High German and dialect poetry and prose for upstate newspapers that appeared under the penname, *"Der Alte vom Berge."* He is remembered by his adopted people for his charming novella, *Die Berg-Maria,* published by the firm of Ignatius

Kohler in Philadelphia in 1880, as well as for editing the first book of Pennsylvania Dutch dialect prose, *Gemälde aus dem Pennsylvanisch-Deutschen Volksleben,* published by Schaefer and Koradi in Philadelphia in 1869. And who could forget the poem he wrote with which he closes the little volume: "Ich bin en Pennsilfaanier,/Druff binnich schtols un froh."[16]

The Pennsylvania Dutch folk culture was influenced by the European Germans in still other ways. Among the *Deitschlenner* who came to Pennsylvania, some did not settle down into the culture but remained marginally attached to it. These were the peddlers and the tramps, the *"Rumlaefer"* who had their summer circuits to their favorite farms, where they could count on a good meal and sleep in the barn, or even, in Mennonite country, in the "tramp chamber" in the farmhouse.

Some of these wanderers performed minimal services in return for the meal. Some were folk artists without knowing the term, filling out birth and baptismal certificates, or carving a bit of "tramp art" out of cigar boxes. Some sang songs which diffused and eventually became part of the Pennsylvania Dutch folksong repertoire. I am convinced that the majority of the dialect and part-dialect songs that are still recordable among the Pennsylvania Dutch came into the culture, not in the eighteenth century, but in the nineteenth, essentially from nineteenth-century immigrants.

One of the favorite German tramps who circulated through the Dutch Country as late as the 1890s was *"Der Brille-Schmidt."*[17] For years he tramped the Berks and Lehigh County roads on foot, carrying his satchel. He was redfaced *(rotgsichtich),* wore a brown derby, had long hair and a brown mustache. He wore a white shirt, at least it once was white. He sold spectacles *(Brille)* and filled out baptismal certificates. In the houses that he visited he was always a welcome entertainer. He used to take up a newspaper and make up humorous stories, pretending to read them. As his biographer says of him, in Dutch, "Er war en guder Actor, awwer mit den ass er Hochdeitsch gschproche hot war er net so gud zu ferschteh." Beside him trotted a little dog that he called *"Roverli."*

He never complained, he never talked of his troubles, he never talked of *"Deitschland."* But his name was Paul Pfluegel, he was believed to have been from Breslau, and probably had a university education. He used to amuse Latin students at the Kutztown State Normal School by knowing their lessons better than they did. And he is said to have had duel scars—he called them "sabre cuts" which may or may not have come from his service in the American Civil War. But let us listen again to his biographer:

> Awwer siss en Zeit kumme wu er die Welt ferlosse hot misse. Die Zeit war do wu es gheesse hot, "Hans, du gehscht in der Kaschde". [This was one of his bywords that people remembered.] Er iss grank warre un iss noch en Armehaus gschickt warre in Lecha Caunty. Datt iss er gschtarrewe in 1902 un iss fargraawe an der Huffe Karrich bei de G.A.R.

Ya, seine Griegs-Kummeraade hen ihn net fergesse. Un wann der Wind blost, dann schwenkt en gleener Flag iwwer sei Grab. So much for *"Der Brille-Schmidt."*

IV

Let us now examine the other side of the coin, to determine what effects German-American contacts with the Pennsylvania Dutch had on the German-American culture that developed to its fullest extent in the second half of the nineteenth century. First of all, German-American historians and publicists appropriated Pennsylvania German history, from Germantown on, as the first phase of a larger overarching German-American historical panorama. They made Pastorius, Peter Muhlenberg, von Steuben, de Kalb and other colonial and revolutionary leaders into identity symbols of German-American culture, in fact into German-Americans. The Pennsylvania Dutch largely forgot Pastorius and von Steuben, but occasionally remembered Peter Muhlenberg in patriotic sermons and Fourth of July oratory.

German-American historiography thus made use of themes from colonial history, setting them in the framework of a united German-Americanism. The works of Rattermann, Kapp, Seidensticker, Sachse, Rosengarten and others enlightened America on selected chapters of Pennsylvania Dutch history. Seidensticker, who like Sachse and Rosengarten was second generation, contributed among other things the *Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von Pennsylvanien* (1876) and compiled that indispensable check list of German-language imprints in America, 1728–1830. Only in our day, through the recent work of Werner Tannhof and others, has this been superseded by the vastly enlarged check and finding list published this year by the University of Göttingen in collaboration with the Pennsylvania German Society.

To accent the personal experience of those European Germans who settled among the Pennsylvania Dutch, let us consider the case of Reading, Pennsylvania. Reading provides an important example of the place taken by the nineteenth-century immigrants in what was basically a Pennsylvania Dutch town. In the nineteenth century there were in Reading native firms side by side with immigrant firms. Of the latter, the Lauer and Reading Breweries were founded and operated by immigrant Germans. There is in the Penn Commons a statue of Frederick Lauer (1810–83), Reading's principal brewer from 1835 until his death.[18] He was born in Gleisweiler, near Landau, in what was then called the Rhenish Palatinate. He came to America with his father, George Lauer, in 1823. The father had large vineyards damaged during the Napoleonic Wars, although he continued to make wine and beer commercially until his emigration. He landed in Baltimore, but came on to Reading, where he had a married daughter. There he established the brewery which his son Frederick took over, while another son founded a brewery in Pottsville to compete with the Swabian Yuenglings, who had arrived in 1829.

Frederick Lauer attended Pennsylvania German schools in Womelsdorf and Reading, and married into the Berks County Guldin family, descendants of the 1710 Swiss immigrant Samuel Guldin (1664–1745), the first German Reformed minister in Pennsylvania. Lauer was a public-spirited man, helping Reading in its transition from borough to city in 1847, and aiding in the organization of the Berks County Agricultural Society in 1852 and serving as its first president. He attended the National Democratic Convention of 1860 in Charleston—not all the new immigrants were Republicans—but with the election of Lincoln he supported the Union cause during the Civil War. He was involved in planning a railway from Reading to Lancaster and Columbia, served as trustee of the Keystone State Normal School, and nationally as president of the United States Brewers Association. (One can imagine that with his Dutch wife and his Palatine accent he fitted perfectly into the Pennsylvania Dutch world.)

Somewhat more German-American in his style and influence was his competitor, Philip Bissinger. He too was a native of the Palatinate, from Dürkheim, and emigrated with his parents in 1855 to New York. He attended school at Lancaster and served as a captain in the Civil War. In 1866 he opened the Bissinger Café on North Penn Street, famous throughout the rest of the century for its banquets, and in 1886 organized the Reading Brewing Company. He married a daughter of another immigrant, William Rosenthal, publisher of German newspapers in Reading. Bissinger's cultural influence on Reading was varied. He designed the Masonic Temple there, but it was on the musical life of the city that he left his principal mark. He was musical director of the Reading *Männerchor,* reorganized the Germania Orchestra, and in 1879 organized the Philharmonic Society and directed its concerts.[19]

Another musical contributor to Reading's nineteenth-century life was John Endlich (1819–92), a native of Hesse-Darmstadt who emigrated in 1839, settling in Reading where he taught music, served as organist and choir director, and composed music that was used in the Lutheran and Reformed churches. His published tune and organ manuals were used also in the country churches. He married the daughter of a Pennsylvania Dutchman, the Rev. Dr. Jacob Miller (1788–1850), pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church in Reading. As an immigrant John Endlich was unusual in that he returned to Europe for lengthy stays, first in 1857–61 when he served as United States Consul at Basel, and again in 1866–72, which enabled his sons to attend schools in Stuttgart, Tübingen, and Darmstadt.[20]

In the twentieth century the impact of the immigrant Germans on Reading was deepened through the establishment of the Berkshire Knitting Mills and Wyomissing Industries, by Ferdinand Thun and Henry K. Janssen, immigrants of the 1880s, whose philanthropies included the Landis Valley Museum, the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, and the *American-German Review.* In the area of the Pennsylvania Dutch culture they sponsored the popular *"Wunnernaas"* radio program of G. Gilbert Snyder over WEEU, with fifteen minutes of Dutch dialect. This program, one of the two most popular dialect radio programs in

Pennsylvania history, was aired live early Sunday afternoon. I remember it very well—every Sunday my father insisted on getting us home from church in time to listen to the *"Wunnernaas,"* whom he knew personally and corresponded with in Dutch. After that we settled down to enjoy the rural humor of the "Assebe and Sabina Show" with Harry Reichard and Paul Wieand, and of course *"die Keturah"* played by the unforgettable Audrey Miller. Some Sundays this constellation of dialect invading our suburban Philadelphia home provided possibly a more lasting religious experience than the preceding church service, and I am at least half serious about that.

V

Now having given a few vignettes of *"Deitschlenner"* who settled among the Dutch, let us look at two Pennsylvania Dutchmen who largely adopted the German-American viewpoint.

Samuel Kistler Brobst (1822–76) was a Pennsylvanian who worked very closely with the European Germans in Lutheran church work and as journalist and publicist.[21] Born along the Blue Mountain, in Kistler Valley *(Kischtler Dahl)*, Lehigh County, he learned the tinsmith and coppersmith trade before becoming a schoolteacher and Lutheran minister. His training in Anglo-America, involving attendance at Washington College in western Pennsylvania, and his work for the American Sunday School Union, deepened his understanding of the Anglo-American churches but drove him in a sense home to a conservative Lutheran position. Here he took the opposite path from his older colleague and eventual opponent in reshaping Lutheranism into an Anglo-American pattern, Samuel Simon Schmucker.

Brobst was ordained in 1847, but rarely preached because of a throat ailment. His mission for Lutheranism and his own people, led him to found the *Jugendfreund* in 1847, the *Missions Blätter* in 1854, the *Lutherische Zeitschrift* in 1857, and the *Theologische Monatshefte* in 1868. Brobst's publishing work, centered in Allentown, gave him an outlet for his conservativizing program for Lutheranism and the Pennsylvania Dutch. For Lutheranism he wanted separate German churches, German parochial schools, and German Sunday School literature. He was not, however, an ultra-Germanizer, his motto being "Equal rights for both languages." His conservativizing tendency in Lutheran theology made him one of the architects of the General Council (1867), and he is remembered for being a principal founder both of the Lutheran Seminary in Philadelphia (1864) and Muhlenberg College in Allentown (1868). He was also the prinicipal founder of the *Verein der deutschen Presse in Pennsylvanien* (1862) and its first president. This linked him with the major publishers and editors of German newspapers and periodicals in Pennsylvania, some of whom were Pennsylvania Dutch and others European Germans. For his part in this largely secular press union, and his association with such radical forty-eighters as Dr. Kellner, who had earlier founded a socialist paper in New York, and with the liberal historian Oswald Seidensticker, many Lutheran colleagues became

critical of him. The English party in Lutheranism misunderstood his equal-billing-for-both-languages approach and thought that he wanted to build a wall, or a dam, as Heinz Kloss called it, around Lehigh County, to keep out English. He was also one of the founders of the Keystone State Normal School, now Kutztown University, which was founded to train Dutch farm boys and girls as teachers for the public schools.

Brobst cultivated cordial relations with the new European-German Lutheran synods of the Midwest, including the Missouri Synod. He urged his own Pennsylvania Lutherans not to turn away from the immigrant population, but to operate home missions and organize churches among them, as Methodists and other Anglo-American denominations had long done. Judging Brobst from the impact his work had during his lifetime, it is somewhat ironic that his own people largely forgot him. And in light of his advocacy of the European Germans it is equally surprising that the German Society of Pennsylvania forgot the identity of his bust which once honored the society's halls until someone reidentified it in 1931.

The second vignette is of a Pennsylvania Dutchman, Howard W. Kriebel (1859–1937), who became an evangelist for German-American unity during the period of the First World War.[22] In 1912 he took over the editorship of the *Pennsylvania German.* This magazine, founded in 1900, was the most influential Pennsylvania Dutch cultural journal in English, a kind of Pennsylvanian counterpart of *Der Deutsche Pionier,* but without the German-American materials at first. The eventual failure of this journal, which contributed so much to Pennsylvania historiography, biography, genealogy, even folklore and folklife studies, was due to Kriebel's attempt to shift its focus radically into a militant German-American stance.

The September 1914 issue of the magazine outlined some of Kriebel's plans. The masthead or logo that he chose has in big letters at the top, *The Penn Germania,* and in small, almost unreadable letters at the bottom, *The Pennsylvania German: A Popular Journal of German History and Ideals in the United States.* Between the two stands a diminutive William Penn on a pedestal. In front of him a buxom Columbia, holding the stars and stripes, shakes hands with a monumental, Brunhilde-like Germania, complete with mammary armor and a huge sword, holding the German tricolor. The American eagle and the German eagle are displayed right and left on heraldic shields.

From the date—September 1914—it is easy to see what Kriebel was trying to do. The European war had started. German and English propaganda were flying back and forth. Already anti-German feeling was mounting in the United States. What his personal reasons were for adopting this heavily German-American, racialist position, I have not yet completely determined, but I will be sorting that out for publication later.

The September 1914 issue contains a few articles of Pennsylvania Dutch interest, but the lead article, the longest in page length, is "A

Tentative Constitution for a Contemplated Organization of 'The National Germanic Society' to succeed the Penn Germania Publishing Company." The society's object was "to advance the knowledge of Germanic history and ideals in the United States among the American public, particularly among the descendants of German and Swiss immigrants." It was to have no connection with national, state, or local politics. The society was to publish a periodical called *The National Germanic Magazine,* to serve as a clearinghouse for German-American information past and present, "to be a transmitter of current events, thought-movements and ideals of the Germany of today," and to provide "an impartial forum of serious purpose within its special field aiming to form lofty and just public opinion"—meaning, undoubtedly, pro-German opinion.

Among the society's larger purposes were: (1) The fostering of popular interest in the contributions to the nation in the past two centuries of those Americans whose forebears were German, in every field of endeavor, i.e., the contributionist approach which every ethnic group insists on taking at a certain stage in its ethnic development. (2) "To foster the higher ideals the best Germanic stock has stood for: frugality, honesty, patience, perseverance, thoroughness, industry, scholarship, love of liberty, home and country, truthfulness, righteousness, regard for law and order, hatred of tyranny, exalted life ideals." (3) To promote the spirit of good fellowship among descendants of the Germanic stock.

All of this is of course very ethnic in orientation, contributionist and defensive—proposing to do much the same sort of thing that *Der Deutsche Pionier* had done earlier. It was also hortatory and edifying, preaching the "ethnic virtues" of German-Americans as if every German-American carried them all in his personal makeup. This approach is in a sense like denominational history in church historiography, which rarely finds negative factors in church development or unedifying elements to discuss. All this is of course linear ethnic historiography, pre-acculturation theory, pre-cultural pluralism theory, pre-Marcus Hansen's transethnic approach to immigration history.

A final sample of Kriebel's views is his call for a German-American Library, where he manages to sound even more Teutonic:

> It could become a German-American Valhalla, a memorial to the dead, an armory for the living. [Now he explains to the Pennsylvanian readers what Valhalla was.] Valhalla in German mythology was the hall stocked with shields and spears, into which were received the souls of heroes slain in battle. From its gates warriors went forth each morning to fight and to return at night to feast with the gods. What more fitting antitype to this myth could there be than a collection of the records of the deeds and ideals of a people to which their sons and daughters could at all times go for their weapons of offence and defence in the battle of life and for communion with the spirits of the departed.

VI

And now, my conclusions. From these vignettes I have attempted to show the fantastic crisscross of influences in the social and cultural interface between the European Germans and the Pennsylvania Dutch.

Because of time limitations I will summarize only the influences, as I see them, of the *"Deitschlenner"* on the Dutchman.

First of all, the immigrant Germans who settled in Pennsylvania in the nineteenth century served their apprenticeship to America, in a sense, by serving the already existing Pennsylvania Dutch culture in industry, business, church and press. In industry the immigrants' factories, breweries, hotels and restaurants shared the field with those of the Dutchman. Later, the talents of individual immigrants added to our economy the additional skills of mechanical and civil engineering, engraving and lithography, and the manufacture of scientific and musical instruments.

In the world of the churches, in addition to the factors I have already mentioned, the immigrant clergy buttressed the German language, created the high church movements in liturgy, restored the reformation confessions, influenced church music, introduced the deaconess movement, stepped up home missions through the influence of the German *Innere Mission* movement, and founded charitable institutions like church-sponsored hospitals. However, the earliest church-sponsored hospital of the now familiar pattern was St. Luke's Hospital in New York City, founded by the Dutchman-turned-Episcopalian, Dr. William Augustus Muhlenberg (1796–1877).[23]

In the world of the press immigrant Germans founded publishing houses which continued to furnish the upcountry Dutch with their favorite devotional and other popular reading matter. Immigrant editors shaped public opinion, some of them, like the German Jew Moritz Loeb, editor of the Doylestown *Morgenstern,* defending the Mennonite right to be different in refusing to serve in the Union army in the Civil War. Not all the editors, of course, were immigrants. There were many native penmen like Benjamin Trexler of the *Friedensbote* in Allentown, whose *Skizzen aus dem Lecha-Thale* (1880–86) I vote one of the best local histories produced in nineteenth-century America.[24]

The second major point is that the *"Deitschlenner"* enriched Pennsylvania Dutch folklore. In dealing with the lore repertoire of the Pennsylvania Dutch, one sees that not all of it crossed the Atlantic with the colonial migration. Many songs, along with many memorable sayings, rhymes, jokes and folk stories now in general circulation were sung or told and retold at Pennsylvania tables or before Pennsylvania firesides by the tramps and peddlers or by immigrants who married into the family.

The literary use of the dialect was often encouraged by immigrant editors, who allowed those quaint columns headed by the word *"Humoristisches"* into their papers. Immigrants like Wollenweber, who published the first book of prose in the dialect; J. Fred Wetter, whose column *"Der Hansjoerg"* was popular in Pennsylvania and in Mid-

western German-American newspapers; and Conrad Gehring, a Swiss who settled at Kutztown, all published dialect sketches. And, as I said, it was Philip Schaff who stirred Henry Harbaugh to write in his mother tongue.

The third influence is the most important of all. The presence of the "*Deitschlenner*" among them in Pennsylvania, and visible from the Midwest through the German-American press, stimulated the Pennsylvania Dutch to decide who they were, ethnically speaking. By comparing themselves and their culture to the newcomers, they saw that after all they were not "Germans in America" nor even "German-Americans" but Pennsylvania Dutch, different from the new immigrants in almost every aspect of their culture. This was not the only formative influence on the Pennsylvania Dutch ethnic identity, but it brought it to a head.[25] Other factors were the Civil War and its social upheavals, the English-only program of the public school, the centennial with its wave of patriotic feeling for the ethnic groups that had participated in the American Revolution, and the new immigration from central, southern, and eastern Europe that brought new ethnic groups to settle in eastern Pennsylvania's towns and mining centers. All of these factors worked together to produce by 1891 the Pennsylvania German Society, which was a kind of Dutchman's "Declaration of Independence."[26]

However, while the presence of the immigrant Germans with their programmed German-Americanism calling for unity among all "Germans" in America—a unity that has never existed—forced the Pennsylvania Dutchmen to turn their backs and go their own way, a small minority of them, including the two influential voices of Brobst and Kriebel, largely accepted the German-American propaganda. And it is undoubtedly true that the presence of the European Germans in Pennsylvania, with their built-in preference for the word "German" and their distaste for the word "Dutch," confused matters thoroughly in twentieth-century Pennsylvania by fanning the flames in the conflict between the two terms "Pennsylvania German" and "Pennsylvania Dutch."

Where does it all end? Perhaps instead of arguing over "Pennsylvania German" and "Pennsylvania Dutch," or over "Germans in America" and "German-Americans," in this era when most of us have become either "invisible ethnics" or no ethnics at all, we can concentrate and should concentrate on attempting to unravel and understand the human experience of the immigrants in each different period and cultural context, attempting to see what the New World meant to them—as individuals, families, and communities—at the time when they were creating this "New World" for themselves. But please, no Valhallas!

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Notes

[1] Keynote address, Twelfth Annual Symposium of the Society for German-American Studies, Millersville University of Pennsylvania, 28–30 April 1988.

[2] What a recent historian has written of the Virginia Germans after the Revolution is also true of the Pennsylvania Germans:

> They had become Americans like all the other inhabitants of the erstwhile colonies without having undergone the process of linguistic and cultural assimilation that in more recent American history has been declared the criterion of Americanization. The Virginia Germans of 1785 were nothing but Americans. They had no ties, political, economic, or even cultural, with any of the numerous German fatherlands in Europe. These German-speaking Virginians were as detached from Germany and Switzerland as the English-speaking Virginians were from England, Scotland, and Ireland. Already most had been born on American soil or were the products of an American environment. (Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans* [Charlottesville, VA, 1969], 112–13.)

[3] Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant* (New York, 1939), chap. 9.

[4] Dr. Büchele, *Land und Volk der Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika* (Stuttgart, 1855), 278.

[5] Heard 1983 at the University of Tübingen during an academic tour for American professors sponsored by the West German government.

[6] Francis and Theresa Pulszky, *White, Red, Black: Sketches of American Society in the United States* (New York, 1853), 1:254–55.

[7] Philip Schaf[f], *Anglo-Germanism or the Significance of the German Nationality in the United States* (Chambersburg, PA, 1846), 10.

[8] Franz Löher, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika* (Cincinnati, OH, 1847), 307.

[9] Georg von Bosse, *Ein Kampf um Glauben und Volkstum: Das Streben während meines 25-jährigen Amtslebens als deutsch-lutherischer Geistlicher in Amerika* (Stuttgart, 1920), 21.

[10] Thomas Bowman, *Die Störungen in der Evangelischen Gemeinschaft* (Cleveland, OH, 1894), 20.

[11] Carl G. Koch, *Lebenserfahrungen von Carl G. Koch, Prediger des Evangeliums* (Cleveland, OH, 1871), 234–35.

[12] William A. Helffrich, *Lebensbild aus dem Pennsylvanisch-Deutschen Predigerstand*, ed. N. W. A. and W. U. Helffrich (Allentown, PA, 1906), 264–65.

[13] See Don Yoder, "The Reformed Church and Pennsylvania German Identity," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 18 (1983): 63–82.

[14] For Schmucker's program for Lutheranism, see Vergilius Ferm, *The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology: A Study of the Issue between American Lutheranism and Old Lutheranism* (New York, 1927); *Dictionary of American Biography*, 16:443–44.

[15] David S. Schaff, *The Life of Philip Schaff, In Part Autobiographical* (New York, 1897), 142, 242–43.

[16] For biographical data on Wollenweber, see Ludwig August Wollenweber, *Mountain Mary: An Historical Tale of Early Pennsylvania*, trans. with introduction by John Joseph Stoudt (York, PA, 1974), 15–18.

[17] Edwin C. Miller, *Miller's Prose and Verse: Part English [and] Part Pennsylvania German* (Allentown, PA, 1924), 90–94.

[18] For Lauer's biography, see Morton L. Montgomery, comp. *Historical and Biographical Annals of Berks County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago, 1909), 1:783–84.

[19] Ibid., 760–61. For Wilhelm Rosenthal's biography, see ibid., 2:1177. He emigrated from Prussia in 1847 edited the *Readinger Adler*, and founded the *Banner von Berks*, *Die Biene*, and *Die Deutsche Eiche*.

[20] Ibid., 1:793.

[21] See Ralph C. Wood, "S. K. Brobst—Our Pennsylvania Dutch Language Leader," *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 1, no. 14 (4 August 1949); also Heinz Kloss, "Samuel Kistler Brobst," *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslanddeutschtums* (Breslau, 1933), 1:546–47.

[22] For Howard Wiegner Kriebel, see Samuel Kriebel Brecht, *The Genealogical Record of the Schwenkfelder Families* (New York, 1923), 245–46 et passim. He was a graduate of the Keystone State Normal School (1876) and Oberlin College, and taught both in the public

schools and at Perkiomen Seminary at Pennsburg, which he helped to revive. He was the author of *The Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania,* published by the Pennsylvania German Society in 1904, and was largely responsible for planning the Schwenkfelder Library at Pennsburg, now a major research center for Pennsylvania German culture. He was also a minister in the Schwenkfelder Church.

[23] For William Augustus Muhlenberg, see the *Dictionary of American Biography,* 13:313–14.

[24] For Benjamin F. Trexler, see Charles R. Roberts et al., *History of Lehigh County, Pennsylvania* (Allentown, PA, 1914), 3:1321; also Mahlon H. Hellerich, ed., *Allentown 1762–1987: A 225–Year History* (Allentown, PA, 1987), 1:passim.

[25] For a discussion of this, see Don Yoder, "The Pennsylvania Germans: Three Centuries of Identity Crisis," in *America and the Germans,* ed. Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh (Philadelphia, 1985), 1:41–65.

[26] For detailed discussion of the origin of the Pennsylvania German Society from the standpoint of ethnic identity research, see Don Yoder, "Pennsylvania German Folklore Research: A Historical Analysis," in *The German Language in America,* ed. Glenn G. Gilbert (Austin, TX, 1971), 70–101.