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The Reformed Church and Pennsylvania German Identity

In the late 1860s the nation was still recovering from the deep wounds of the Civil War. In Pennsylvania the Reformed ministry and people were engaged in their own civil war, the liturgical controversy which almost led to permanent division, and did result, on the so-called Old Reformed side, in new institutions like the *Reformed Church Review,* Ursinus College, and the rival theological seminary. In the midst of this time of bitter strife certain elements within the Reformed Church of Pennsylvania began to turn back upon themselves, into a deeper understanding of what it meant to be Pennsylvania German, as well as what it meant to be Reformed. This upwelling of ethnic feeling in a sense bridged the gulf between the theological parties that were dividing the church by pointing up the church's part in the overarching Pennsylvania German culture. This ethnic awakening among the Reformed ministry in turn created some new institutions and symbols which would continue to deepen the Pennsylvania German's understanding of himself into the twentieth century.

This article outlines the first major phase of the Reformed Church's relation with the problem of ethnic identity of the Pennsylvania Germans.[1] It is, of course, fashionable to be ethnic today and to recast the past in ethnic terms. The Pennsylvania Germans have been around a long time, and there appears to be a lengthy history to the development, in gradual stages, of their ethnic consciousness. In the creation of this sense of identity about a century ago the Reformed element had an important function, through four individuals—Henry Harbaugh, Benjamin Bausman, Eli Keller, and William A. Helffrich.

I. Harbaugh, *The Guardian* and the *Harfe*

In 1870 there appeared in Philadelphia, under the imprint of the Reformed Church Publication Board, a slender volume called *Harbaugh's Harfe: Gedichte in Pennsylvanisch-Deutscher Mundart.* The preface, by Benjamin Bausman, a close friend and disciple of Harbaugh, tells us that these poems had originally appeared in a paper called *The Guardian.*

Harbaugh was often requested to edit a collection of them, which he had intended to do, but his early death—he died in 1867 at the age of fifty—left this wish of his many friends unfulfilled. Bausman writes:

> Harbaugh wrote these poems, not I, but he was a dear friend of mine—and is still, although on the other side. Grateful love to him as well as to the people, in whose language he sang these songs, moves me to edit this little work. . . . This harp gives a portrayal of the folklife and family life of the German Pennsylvanians. From the cradle to the grave, from the family, school and church, many a precious picture is painted.[2]

In Bausman's introduction to the *Harfe* the statement is made that

> although Harbaugh wrote almost exclusively in the English language, yet he was *von Haus aus* a so-called Pennsylvania German. In his father's house Pennsylvania German was spoken. He absorbed from his earliest childhood the characteristic spirit of this people. He loved their customs, their childlike spirit and their simple piety, and never felt so much at home as in the families and great German churches of East Pennsylvania.

The Pennsylvania Germans in turn "learned to love him heartily. When he preached, the people streamed to the churches. His sermons were deep and yet simple, fundamental and yet understandable. He was an outgrowth of their very life."

> His death made a deep and mournful impression on his many English and German friends. On the Sunday after his decease many a preacher announced to his congregation from his pulpit, with tears in his eyes: "*Unser lieber Bruder Harbaugh ist in die Ruhe gegangen.*" Besides the funeral service which was held at Mercersburg, special funeral addresses were delivered in many large congregations of East Pennsylvania, to full churches, where tears of sorrowing love copiously flowed.

This beloved minister, whose life had so evidently moved and touched that of his own people, was the native associate of John Williamson Nevin and Philip Schaff, and if not a creator he was at least a popularizer of the Mercersburg theology.[3] It is not necessary here to review that facet of his work, but rather to set him in the framework of the Pennsylvania German identity problem, to analyze his contributions to that identity.

Looking at most of Henry Harbaugh's published books on religion, one could get the impression that he was nothing more than a completely acculturated minister reshaped into Anglo-American tastes. Among the titles of his religious works are *The Drunkard Maker taken from the Bar to the Bar of God; A Plea for the Lord's Portion; The Sainted Dead; The Heavenly Recognition; The Star of Bethlehem; The True Glory of Women; Birds of the Bible;* and *Youth in Earnest.* These could have been written, one feels, by any relatively talented minister of any of the Anglo-American denominations. In his historical works, all in English—*Life of Michael Schlatter* (1857), *Fathers of the Reformed Church* (1857-1867), and *Annals of the Harbaugh Family (1861),* one sees his concern for tradition and his historical interest in the Pennsylvania Germans. But even more than

these, his love of Pennsylvania rural life and its people shines through the pages of his church periodical, *The Guardian,* which he founded in Lancaster in 1850.

The periodical was in English, and its goal was to provide the youth of the church, particularly the rural youth, with suitable reading matter. Harbaugh's best biographer, Elizabeth Clarke Kieffer, writes of his own contributions to the paper as follows:

> It was, of course, in *The Guardian* that Harbaugh most completely expressed himself. Here he had opportunity to make use of all the wide and varied general information which he delighted in accumulating. Here he could give free rein to all those romantic tendencies which surged within him, and within the limits which he had set for himself—for he permitted no "fiction" in his columns and no glorification of worldly pleasures—yet he managed to present life, and particularly the religious life, as a glowing, colorful, exciting thing, which to the young people of the church (and of other churches, for the magazine was non-denominational) who had no access to spicier literature, must have offered the kind of escape which many boys and girls find today in the movies which Harbaugh would have mercilessly condemned.

While his goal was to make piety "intelligent, consistent and lovely," he could not escape imitating the sentimental mood of those "sentimental decades," "while condemning like any Puritan the circus, the dance, fashion, games (chess, even dominoes), cockfighting, novel-reading, marriage with unbelievers, billiard-saloons, newspaper indecencies, and lotteries."[4]

Harbaugh's contribution to the Pennsylvania German identity lay of course in the fact of his having captured the field of Pennsylvania German dialect literature, posthumously but positively, in the publication of his *Harfe* in 1870. His pilgrimage toward this began in August, 1861, when he published in *The Guardian* what was to become his most celebrated poem, "Das alt Schulhaus an der Krick," followed in the December number by another favorite, "Heemweh." His poems, published in *The Guardian* from 1861 to 1867, were, as stated, gathered into a volume by Harbaugh's close friend, Benjamin Bausman, in 1870.

It appears that Philip Schaff's interest in Hebel, the creator of modern Alemannic dialect literature in Europe, whom Schaff called "the German Burns," had had an influence in motivating Harbaugh to respond to the Pennsylvania German muse. Schaff and Harbaugh were close friends, and Schaff felt a great sense of personal loss at Harbaugh's death in 1867. He wrote at the time that Harbaugh

> now knows all about the "Heavenly Home," "Heavenly Recognition," and the "Heavenly Employments," about which he wrote so beautifully in the days of his youth to the edification of many thousands of readers. . . . 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 Alemannian 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.

Schaff's son and biographer tells us that Schaff "used to repeat the *Schulhaus an der Krick* with great spirit."[5]

The *Harfe,* the posthumous product of Harbaugh's dialect labors, attained immense popularity wherever Pennsylvania German was spoken. Its poems were recited in country schoolhouses all over Eastern and Central Pennsylvania, and its lines treasured up in the hearts of simple folk young and old. The book itself went through several editions, and was reviewed widely in this country and abroad. While it was not the first dialect literature to find its way into print, it was from the beginning the most influential monument to Pennsylvania German creativity and continued for generations to spur into creation the work of new generations of poets.

Harbaugh's biographer discusses possible reactions of the pioneer poet to this celebrated book which he himself never saw.

> Could he have guessed that in half a century his chief claim to remembrance would lie in the contents of 'Harbaugh's Harfe,' a title which he never heard, it is hard to guess what his feelings would have been. Probably he would have been amused, for, certain appearances to the contrary, he was fundamentally a modest man. He might even have been pleased, for he loved his people and his mother-tongue (which he had not neglected to teach to his children), and it is not altogether a despicable achievement to have been the best poet in any language, no matter how restricted its field.[6]

II. Bausman and the *Hausfreund*

Benjamin Bausman (1824-1909) was the second of the Reformed ministers of Pennsylvania German background who was to influence widely and deeply the Pennsylvania German sense of identity. A native of Lancaster County, he was of German and Huguenot descent, with, as "he was careful to state," the German predominating. His father had arrived in America in 1802 from Freilaubersheim in the Palatinate, joining other members of the family who had come to America in 1746 and 1764.[7] Benjamin grew up in a family with the "typical German method of parental training" (the rod) and "a religious home, after the German style" with table-graces and scripture and prayer-book reading. The family lived on a farm near Millersville, where Bausman's uncle, Abraham Peters, was one of the founders of the normal school in 1855, but they were members of First Church in Lancaster.

There were of course many influences on young Benjamin Bausman. His biographer is careful to point to Mennonite influence—the Bausman farm was in the midst of a Mennonite settlement, and Bausman's only sister and two of his brothers married Mennonites.

> Dr. Bausman, by taste and education, was for dignity, order and the artistic in life and worship, but he always glorified the homely virtues,

> preached and practiced a simple-hearted piety, kept his heart tender toward those humble in station, and always insisted that his church services must be of such a nature that the most unlettered could appreciate and enter into them heartily. The Mennonite surroundings of his early years left upon him a molding and lasting impress.[8]

After studying at Marshall College, 1846-1851, and a lengthy trip to the West he returned for a year at the seminary, 1851-1852. Through Harbaugh's Lancaster pastorate the two became close friends. He preached his first sermon before Harbaugh's Lancaster congregation on April 25, 1852, and became pastor of Harbaugh's old parish at Lewisburg in 1853, preaching "one English sermon every Sunday and one German sermon every two weeks, and on the intervening Sunday service would be expected in the country." While at Lewisburg he began to contribute to Harbaugh's *Guardian*. A lengthy study tour to Europe and the Holy Land (1856-1857) interrupted his Lewisburg pastorate, but produced two memorable books, *Sinai and Zion* (1861) and *Wayside Gleanings* (1875). His trip to the continent prepared him in many ways for wider service to the Reformed Church of Pennsylvania.

> He studied the customs, church life and spirit with far greater thoroughness amongst the Germans than amongst any other people he visited and thus equipped himself for leadership in the practical church activities of his own denomination. No minister of the Reformed Church in the United States understood the religious spirit of the Germans better than Dr. Bausman.[9]

He sensed in his many interviews with leaders of the church abroad that in Germany as well as America, the Reformed element was wrestling with the problem of just what was *Reformirt*. The church union in Germany had not pleased all the Reformed. His old friend and college roommate Herman Rust wrote him from his Ohio parish to purchase

> Reformed devotional works, such as prayer and hymnbooks, from which translations may be made for the use of our people. . . . There is nothing more plain to me than that we must supply our Church with Reformed books and other reading matter, in order to secure the attachment of our members to our doctrines, etc. If this is not done, we will never be able to escape the danger of being swallowed up by others. The sad experience of our Mother Church in Germany will surely be repeated in this country, if denominational indifferentism, or rather denominational unconsciousness, is permitted to reign much longer. I see and feel the ruinous effect of this state of things perhaps more than any one else of our brethren, because thousands of persons coming from the old country, though born and raised of Reformed parents, have been so operated upon by the spirit of unionism that they will rather enter into connection with a rationalistic independent church than come to us.[10]

Bausman's six months in Germany and Switzerland, where he visited leaders and universities as well as the common people, led him to the

> conviction that the German Reformed Church in the United States had a mission to perform, a distinct work among its people which it alone

> could do, and that the great task of leaders was to develop a definite denominational consciousness. No minister in the Reformed Church did more than he to bring this about.[11]

His European travel letters, which were published serially, brought him into fame throughout the church and were highly praised by Schaff, Harbaugh, and others. Harbaugh wrote him that "the people there [Lewisburg] talk about you constantly as though you were their little subordinate deity and they do it in the sincerest way. Prayers are ever going up for you."[12] On his homecoming he returned to Lewisburg, where he preached 1857-1859, and lectured and preached widely elsewhere.

His entrance into the wider work of the Church came the following year with his election as associate editor of the *Messenger* in 1858. He wrote to Schaff, "With [Benjamin S.] Schneck at the *Kirchenzeitung* and myself as an offside horse at the *Messenger,* the team must go. Certainly if we measure noses and legs, the symbols of speed and taste, we shall have few equals."[13] (This is amusing because Bausman was here describing his spare Lincolnesque figure, long legs, and long pointed nose.)

Chambersburg, which was then the publication center of the Reformed Church, must have been an exciting place to live during Bausman's years as editor, 1859-1866. The stirring events of the Civil War with Chambersburg's part in them, and the beginnings of the liturgical controversy, the denominational civil war, are all chronicled in the pages of the *Messenger.* Bausman, however, was a mediator, seeing church papers as proper outlets for conflicting opinions. While he bore down rather heavily on sectarianism outside the Church, he was not narrowly denominational. He believed that the Reformed Church was best for Reformed people, and he saw clearly that the Church must maintain its European ties.

> Whatever course other denominations may pursue, it will be a ruinous policy for the German Reformed Church to sever the ties that bind her to her European mother. To be true to ourselves and our mission, we must grow and assimilate from the past, from the roots upward and not from the top downwards. . . . Vanity and irreverence for the past are besetting sins of American Theology.[14]

In 1863 Bausman removed to Reading, where his German preaching was needed—it was not required anymore in Chambersburg. As pastor of Reading First Church, 1863-1872, he was able to carry out his final mission to the Pennsylvania German people as a people, with the establishment of the German paper for the Pennsylvania Germans, the *Hausfreund.* In 1867 Harbaugh had assumed the editorial reins of the *Mercersburg Review,* which had been suspended during the war. At the same time he gave up the editorship of *The Guardian,* which he had founded and edited for seventeen years. At his suggestion Bausman succeeded him, and continued as editor until 1881. During the same period Bausman was to found (1866) and continue to 1903 the editing of what I consider the most important religious journal published for the

Pennsylvania Germans, *Der Reformirte Hausfreund*. Let us examine, then, the origin and significance of this journal.

We are fortunate in having not only the thirty-seven huge volumes of the *Hausfreund* in newspaper format, but many of the letters that passed back and forth between Bausman and his associates in the foundation and editing of the journal. Again, we owe this to Bausman—he preserved much of his correspondence in and copies of his correspondence out. Since there appears to be some confusion as to the relative importance of Bausman and Helffrich in the earliest stages of planning the journal, we shall begin with Bausman's contribution and then proceed to Helffrich's. Between the discussion of Bausman and Helffrich I have placed the correspondence between Bausman and Eli Keller which will illustrate how Bausman cultivated contributions for his pages and stirred up interest in Pennsylvania German literature.

If Bausman was not the sole founder of the *Hausfreund,* he was certainly its principal founder and its editor during the thirty-seven years of its existence. It was his paper and his constituency.

> Dr. Bausman knew his constituency and knew also how to touch, nourish and inspire them. It is beautiful to see the tact and humor with which he deals with this people. He was considerate of many of their shortcomings for which they were not wholly to blame, he minced no words in denouncing their sins, but he stoutly resisted any ridicule heaped upon them by those who did not understand and hence had no sympathy with them. He was proud of the solid, homely virtues and native piety which lay concealed sometimes beneath a rough exterior, and the columns of his paper echoed with the good deeds done by Pennsylvania Germans past and present. The style of writing was simple, but the purity of the language was preserved. Its range of ideas was limited, for it must touch the actual lives of the people whose horizon of experience was not wide.[15]

He not only tried to be fair in ministering to "his people," the Pennsylvania Germans, but also in the *Hausfreund* he attempted, as he had done during his editorship of the *Messenger,* to mediate between conflicting opinions and parties in the Church. The only thing the paper fought actively was sin.

While, as we shall see, the paper was at first overseen by a church committee, it was independent but church-related. It was published not in Philadelphia but in the center of Pennsylvania Germandom, Reading, at first by the *Adler* (Reading Eagle) press. It was later taken over by Daniel Miller, Reformed layman and Bausman protégé, who published the *Adler's* rival secular weekly in Reading, the *Republikaner.*[16]

The *Hausfreund* helped the Reformed Church through the delicate transition from German to English in the Reformed churches of Pennsylvania. In 1866 three fourths of the churches of the area still had exclusively German services. By 1900 the balance had shifted toward English. During the last ten years of its publication it still paid its way, but barely. The subscription list shrank as the older High German-reading Pennsylvania Germans died off. The rising generation read only English, even though they still spoke Pennsylvania German. The

"foreign German" element in the church was provided for by the *Kirchenzeitung*. But the *Hausfreund* lasted three years into the twentieth century, expiring at last in 1903, when it was combined with the *Kirchenzeitung*, now published in Cleveland, with Eli Keller as the eastern or "Pennsylvania German" contributing editor. "The service rendered by the *Hausfreund* was a delicate and difficult one to perform but of inestimable value, and the Church is very different because of it."[17]

III. The Bausman-Keller Correspondence

Bausman's lengthy correspondence with Eli Keller, a Pennsylvania German pastor laboring among Pennsylvania Germans in Northeast Ohio, is preserved in the collections of the Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church.[18] It began when the paper was in the planning stage. In this correspondence Bausman expresses his hopes for the *Hausfreund* as well as his motivation to its establishment. In 1866 Keller had sent him a dialect poem. Bausman writes back, October 26, 1866:

> Is Eli also among the poets? Do you know that you have written a magnificent poem? It has all the tenderness and unique touches of nature of the Pennsylvania German character. Go on, dear brother, and prophecy whenever the spirit moves you. Yours is a genuine muse.

After this compliment, Bausman continues with his hopes for the new journal:

> In the name of the Lord we, that is I, intend to start a paper for the Pennsylvania Germans of this country, with the permission of Synod. I am not fit for it, but that does not matter. By the grace of God I will do it anyhow. If I do not do it, I fear the brethren and Classes and Synod, will starve the thousands of our simple hearted, but docile unsuspecting people for five or ten years longer, with sapless sympathy and resolutions that mean nothing.
>
> We owe it to this large element in our Church to give them a paper that they will read. They ought to have had one 50 years ago.

And he adds: "Harbaugh says, 'It is the most solemn and important enterprise that has been started in our Church for many years.'"[19]

The reply from Keller, written November 6, 1866, was both supportive to Bausman and a revelation of ethnic feelings on the part of a Reformed clergyman.

> The main subject of your letter is one of *vast importance*, viz: the spiritual advancement of our beloved countrymen. The genuine Pennsylvania character no doubt has many and rare excellences, and it is only too true, that means have been employed wholly inadequate to reach the German element in Pennsylvania, or if reached, it was in a way to do them more harm than good. Our people have a strong national consciousness, and as a general thing, the time has long ago passed by, when Europeans could do them much good. The awkwardness, ostentation and ungodliness of German European ministers, has in my opinion, done very much to retard the spiritual progress of our Pennsylvanians.

By these means, deep and lasting prejudices have grown up, which can only be removed by faithful and persevering labor by such men as *yourself.*

Pennsylvanians are naturally *no fools,* and the ability to read and understand such churchly papers as we have, could easily be acquired, and I really believe, in very many cases, is acquired already. But in these papers (*Kirchenzeitung* and *Evangelist*) a foreign spirit meets them, which has no attraction, to say the least. It is true, our present church papers, good as they are, have not *"das Körnigte,"* that the people, even the Europeans, want. The *Evangelist* is smooth and polished, showing the Prussian finish. The *Kirchenzeitung,* as far as its editorial animus is concerned, is somewhat stiff and *"unbeholfen."* . . .

The paper which you propose to publish is to be: "a Christian Gentleman." And let me add a *Pennsylvanian* Christian Gentleman. In my judgment, to meet the wants of Pennsylvanians, they must feel when they have the paper in hand, that it is really and truly, a *Pennsylvanian speaking to Pennsylvanians.* I would suggest, that you do not allow European Germans to write even a column—This may seem strong to you, but we must go according to the principle: *"Ich habe es alles macht, aber es frommt nicht alles."* The style ought to be pure—and simple. If the Pennsylvania dialect is used, it ought to be merely in short pithy sayings, as much to show the reader that the writer is his countryman as for any other purpose. Some Europeans have attempted to imitate the Pennsylvania dialect, and the inference a real Pennsylvanian makes is (in very many cases) that he sneers at it, and the conclusion is generally *not far fetched.* I consider it a task of no ordinary kind, to edit such a paper—it must come down in Spirit continuously to the people it is to reach, and yet, at the same time, it must stand infinitely higher than many of them—it must make itself very common, and yet must conduct itself in such a way, that it will command unbounded respect.

And then Keller attempts to encourage the diffident Bausman, who had expressed his hesitancy in regard to ability to edit the new journal:

You have not only been born and raised in the centre of Pennsylvania geographically, but you are a faithful exponent of the Pennsylvania character in its purest style; however, your education and past history, qualify you singularly.

He pledges his aid and gives us a glimpse at the same time of his busy life:

If I can be of any service to you I shall gladly give my hand and my heart. And if my muse can be of any service, I shall compose such as *"En Owedlied," "En Marjelied," "Der Baurebuh," "Es Bauremedel,"* etc. etc.—I shall do it, God willing, with the greatest pleasure.

Not that I have plenty of time—I have a little family of six children (Don't be scared Dear Brother!) I am serving three congregations, scattered over a range of 20 miles. I am Pres. of Erie Classis, President of the "Buchverein" at Cleveland, Treasurer of the Invalidfund, Chairman of the Classical Committee of Missions, a stated contributor to the columns of the *Evangelist,* etc., etc. But when you say, "In the name of the Lord, I ask you to help me in this sacred work," I feel that necessity is laid upon me. I am satisfied to labor where I am, for though in Ohio, yet I labor among Pennsylvanians almost exclusively, and yet, there is an

> inward longing in my breast that tends eastward, and instead of decreasing it seems to increase. It may be, that the natural scenery of Pennsylvania—the mountains, the valleys, the lovely springs of pure water etc. form the power of attraction, or it may be that the Lord has designed me to labor there in the future.[20]

More confidences are relayed from Bausman to Keller on November 10, 1866. Here we are enlightened on the feelings of the Pennsylvania German element against the so-called "foreign German" or "European German" element within the Reformed Church which they felt did not understand the needs and interests of the Pennsylvania Germans. This was a deep cleavage in Pennsylvania and the Midwest which was eventually to cause divisiveness not only for the Reformed Church but for the Lutherans and Evangelicals as well.[21] Bausman describes the problem:

> I have felt the want of this German paper for several years. Advocated it before our Classis, the East Pennsylvania Classis, and at the Synod of Lewisburg. The foreign brethren tried to laugh us out of countenance; charged us indirectly with fomenting sectional prejudice between foreign and American Germans.
>
> I cannot tell you how much some of us had to work to keep it out of Philadelphia. It was insisted that it should be published there. I saw very well that this would put a foreign German at the gate and that would inevitably kill it. One comfort I feel in having my hand on the helm, is the thought that I can keep it free from all the heavy ballast of a foreign *Gelehrsamkeit*.

Bausman was, as he said, "absolutely the judge of what is to go in."

> Yes, it shall be a Pennsylvania German Christian gentleman, by the grace of God. It shall teach our people the grace of charity, prayer, and Christian activity, not by holding up to them Yankee or British specimens, but by telling them what people of their own tribe and tongue have done, and are doing. I want it to dip its life out of the hearts and homes of our people. They have a piety, poetry, customs, habits, language and life peculiarly their own. Just so far as these will inspire the paper, will it find *Anklang*.

And he suggests that it should include articles on the Pennsylvanians in the West, to cultivate missionary sympathy and zeal. "Most of them have relatives in the East." It can thus be "an organ of religious intelligence between our Germans, East and West."[22] Again, Bausman plays the role of the mediator.

The history of the establishment of the *Hausfreund* was not without its discouragements. Some influential Pennsylvania German ministers, like Alfred Dubbs of Salem Church, Allentown, turned their backs on the project.[23] On August 23, 1867, Bausman wrote to Keller that he had been tempted to drop the project. "But I pitied our people and do yet. And feel as if I could do almost anything in my power for them. Now why your *silence?* You are among the few that understand what is needed, and who can lend a helping hand. Why don't you do it? *Hilf Bruder*!"[24] There are several letters of that sort in the collection, begging

Keller for material and encouragement, but that perhaps belongs under the universal editorial syndrome, at least in the case of journals that are principally, like the *Hausfreund,* one-man editorial operations.

By 1872 Keller was able to return to Pennsylvania. On January 15, 1872, Bausman wrote to Keller of another project which Keller had evidently proposed and which Keller was later to carry out himself, a Pennsylvania German dialect almanac.

> I, too, have thought about the expediency of issuing an almanac in the Pennsylvania German. A sort of "Poor Richards Almanac," in this unique tongue. For various reasons.
> 1. We could reach a large class of people never reached by any church paper.
> 2. In them we could utter truth in more telling and touching language in this than in any other way.
> 3. By this means we might preserve many sayings, proverbs, maxims, usages, characteristic anecdotes, etc. etc. of this people which after a while will be lost—a kind of literature that would be a perpetual honor to them.
> But, I fear it would be a drag. Almost every German newspaper now prints an Almanac. Ours, at best would have hard work to get a paying circulation. Still it might be well to compare views about its feasibility.
>
> Your proposed Introduction for the Almanac would be capital. One more objection to the Almanac. I doubt whether it is wise any longer to use the Pennsylvania German in a printed form, instead of the usual German. Of course the *Harfe* is a specimen.[25]

Before we pass to a discussion of the contribution of William A. Helffrich to the *Hausfreund,* a biographical note on Keller himself is in order.

The Reverend Eli Keller, D.D. (1825-1919), whom Bausman encouraged to write dialect with his contributions from Ohio to the *Hausfreund*—despite the negative statement just quoted—was a native of Plainfield Township, Northampton County. He attended Marshall College, Franklin and Marshall College, and the Seminary at Mercersburg, entering the ministry in 1856. He preached eighteen years in Northeast Ohio, at first in German and English, later only in English. In 1874 he returned to Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, taking up the Zionsville charge until his retirement in 1901, a four-congregation parish which necessitated his driving sometimes twenty-five miles on a single Sunday to meet three congregations. His obituary in the *Messenger* (probably by a "European German") takes no notice of his dialect literary work.

> Mr. Keller made no pretensions at being an author. His only literary production was a complete "History of the Keller Family," which was published, more or less, for private circulation. He was associated however with Rev. Benjamin Bausman in editorial work and contributed a few articles to the church papers.[26]

That he was one of the major Pennsylvania German poets is the conclusion of the historian of the dialect literature, Harry Hess Reichard. His longest effort, a description of the processes involved in flax culture,

appeared in his *Pennsylvanisch Deitsch Kalenner* (1885) and is important ethnographically as well as linguistically. A joyous person himself, he expressed his joy in life in his dialect poetry which ranged in theme from boyhood experiences through the church festivals to poems on nature, which Reichard calls "sermonettes, pictures from nature with the lesson the preacher draws from it."[27]

IV. Helffrich and the *Hausfreund*

Bausman not only poured out his soul in correspondence with Keller about his hopes for the *Hausfreund,* in turn influencing Keller to become a dialect poet, but he also corresponded frequently and fully with another of his contributors, William A. Helffrich. Helffrich (1827-1894), who had come from a long and distinguished line of *Reformirte Prediger* both in the Palatinate and in Pennsylvania, was one of the leaders of the German-language element among the Pennsylvania Reformed, and in a sense the dean of the German Reformed preachers of rural Pennsylvania.[28] Bausman, who was from Lancaster County, where German had yielded earlier to the pressures of English, normally wrote English letters to Helffrich, with an occasional paragraph in the dialect. Helffrich normally wrote High German letters to Bausman, with an occasional paragraph in the dialect.[29]

Bausman wrote to Helffrich, November 13, 1865, on the committee (Helffrich, Charles Leinbach, and P. S. Fischer) appointed by the late Synod "to see after our East Pennsylvania German paper." The committee was to consult with Dr. Fisher and the publication board in Philadelphia "about the matter, so as not to seem revolutionary."

> The paper must be published outside of Philadelphia, by a born and educated Pennsylvania German, if possible from East Pennsylvania. Let the committee keep this in mind. Then our people will feel that it is their paper, in style, location, spirit and fact. Versteh? That's my view. Is it not yours too? Let us try and make an earnest start for once to provide for the wants of the earnest, sturdy simple hearted, strong masses of our Pennsylvania Germans. Bro. Helffrich, I beg you to push this thing now, and God and the Church will bless you for it.[30]

Bausman's obvious sense of mission in this formative period led to his selection as editor, but Helffrich continued as chairman of the supervisory committee appointed by the Synod. Helffrich responded frequently with letters and with articles, and subscriptions for the new journal. But alas, some of Helffrich's German was thought by Editor Bausman too complicated for the readers. On January 16, 1867, Bausman wrote: "*Gewiß, gewiß, wir müssen mehr einfach schreiben. Sie verstehen viel besser deutsch wie ich. Nehmen sie mir's nicht übel. Aber viele ihrer Sätze sind zu lang. . . .*"[31] To which Helffrich replied, February 14, that unfortunately he could not shorten his sentences. Besides, "*Überhaubt verstehen die Bauern gut deutsch—wenn der Inhalt nicht abstract ist, oder Fremdwörter vorkommen.*"[32]

Bausman's reference to his own command of German is interesting, and reflects the anglicizing process which seems to have affected

Lancaster County earlier than it did the Lehigh Valley, which Helffrich represented. Then, too, Bausman grew up in a farm family, Helffrich was son and grandson of the parsonage. On November 15, 1866, Bausman wrote to Helffrich with another gentle correction: "The printers prefer the copy written in Latin or English letters, if these suit you as well as the German." And then he writes: "I approve of *your* kind criticism. I have never written a German sermon, and but few letters. Hope to do better by practice." He depends, he says, upon his printers—evidently European-trained Germans—to regularize the capitalization and other matters of German composition. And then he continues:

> I don't remember of ever having written a line in German for the press. Nothing but a sense of duty and love for our church and German people prompts me to do it now. I think they can understand my style. As you say, I think chiefly in English.[33]

Helffrich's High German literary bias led him to criticize the new paper when it first arrived. On December 20, 1866, in his journal, he writes of the new paper:

> Today received the first number of the new paper, under the name of *Der Reformirte Hausfreund*. Now indeed! The thing reminds me of a busy, circumspect, but not quite orderly Hausfrau, who has an old ragbag, into which she sticks everything which seems useful to her, such as thread, needles, patches, cord and even a ten dollar bill. In short, there is, when one examines the contents, all kinds of useful and valuable matter in it, but it is even so only a ragbag. So much for the *Hausfreund*! It is in its appearance ragged enough; but there is in it much good will and even much good, and above all its intention for the church. What is not yet, will develop with time.[34]

Early in the year 1867, Helffrich writes, "the *Hausfreund* took firm root in my charge. I myself . . . and some others had collected some hundred subscriptions in my charge." By summer "between two and three thousand names were assured for the *Hausfreund*. But instead of three thousand it should have been ten; if the preachers in East Pennsylvania had taken active part, this number would have been reached easily."[35] Elsewhere he expressed his pleasure in the fact that the *Hausfreund* "had come alive, was paying its expenses, growing and was everywhere favorably received."[36]

When the paper temporarily struck hard times in 1873 and the Synod proposed uniting it with the *Kirchenzeitung*, Helffrich mustered support for independence.

> A part of the Lancaster brethren wanted to stick the *Hausfreund* in the *Kirchenzeitung*, which at the time was still published by the Synodal Board in Philadelphia and had debts upon debts. The *Hausfreund* was paying for itself and its subscription list would have been quite useful there (=in Philadelphia). The Germans might have been satisfied with pouring the soup together in this way. But the matter did not turn out like that. The German Pennsylvanians were still running the show, and wanted to be heard in the accounting, if they were to pay it. Bausman

was decidedly against the amalgamation; so were nearly all German-Pennsylvanian preachers, who spoke according to their own opinion. The Goschenhoppen Classis decided in favor of the union. Even in our classis there were some Lancaster men, who would have sold out the interests of their congregations, only to get me out of the supervisory committee of the *Hausfreund*. These too would rather barter away the *Hausfreund* to the Publication Board in Philadelphia, but the great majority of the preachers voted in favor of continuing the *Hausfreund*. Even the Lebanon Classis decided for the *Hausfreund*, and so the paper could live on in favor.[37]

Helffrich's scornful anti-Lancaster statements in the passage just quoted identify him, as he of course was, as an adherent of the anti-Mercersburg, anti-Lancaster, "Old Reformed" position which channeled his interests into the foundation and support of the rival institutions, Ursinus College and the Western Seminary.[38] In 1894 he finished his distinguished career as country preacher, leaving behind him those invaluable German journals which appeared in print in 1906 under the title *Lebensbild aus dem Pennsylvanisch-Deutschen Predigerstand*. This autobiographical portrait has taken its place as a leading document in the history of the Pennsylvania German identity, alongside *The Guardian*, the *Harfe*, and the *Hausfreund*.

V. Conclusion

The Reformed Church in the United States in the nineteenth century was beset by pulls from many directions. Like other German-American denominations, the Reformed Church was tempted, through the influence of such movements as revivalism and temperance, to retread itself into British, Yankee, or even Methodist models.[39] The distinguished theological leadership at the Mercersburg Seminary—itself originally from outside the denomination—implanted the seeds of an ecumenical impetus that has continued to the present within the church and outside it in other denominations.[40] Like all new movements, it provoked opposition, splitting the church constituency into "Old Reformed" and "Mercersburgers"—or later, as Helffrich called them, the "Lancaster Feuerfresser."[41]

In the midst of this conflict there arose—through the work of Harbaugh, Bausman, and Helffrich—a movement within the Reformed Church to minister to the spirit of the Pennsylvania Germans, who made up so large a part of the membership of the denomination in Pennsylvania and the Midwest. This movement, which produced the first dialect awakening in Pennsylvania German history, came to a head in the 1860s and 1870s. Is it possible that the Civil War, with its traumatic upheaving of population and bitter sectional feelings, sent the Pennsylvania Germans back upon themselves, into a discovery of their own identity—or into the first major phase of their ethnic self-discovery? There have been many phases in the development of the Pennsylvania German consciousness in the more than two centuries since the Pennsylvania German culture began to develop, but the basic one may well have been that of the 1860s and 1870s. This in turn led in the 1890s to the

foundation of the Pennsylvania German Society, and in the 1930s to the foundation of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, and to other heightenings of Pennsylvania German consciousness along the way.[42]

This early movement was largely, though not exclusively, Reformed. Perhaps it was chance rather than plan that Harbaugh's *Harfe* became the symbol of the dialect culture rather than Rauch's "Pit Schweffelbrenner" pamphlet of 1868,[43] Rachel Bahn's modest volume of poetry of 1869,[44] or the emigrant Wollenweber's heavy-handed attempt at Pennsylvania German dialect, his little volume, *Gemälde aus dem Pennsylvanischen Volksleben* (1869).[45] It was the *Harfe* that attracted national and international attention, and inspired a flowering of poets and dialect writers throughout the rest of the century and into the twentieth century.

In analyzing this dialect movement in its first stages, it appears that the Reformed element, through individuals like Harbaugh, Bausman, Keller and others, did more than its share to stimulate and develop it. It would be captious to attempt to claim the dialect renaissance for the Reformed element in the Pennsylvania German culture, but one must register surprise over the discovery that so many of the major dialect writers have been connected with the Reformed tradition. Is there something in the Reformed tradition that lies at the root of this flowering? Could this have been in part because of the identification of the Reformed Church with the Palatinate, which has become the symbol of Pennsylvania German backgrounds in Europe? Could it have been that the hybrid nature of Pennsylvania's Reformed people—Swiss, Huguenot, and Palatine—led our native historians to search earlier than those of other groups for roots and reasons of Reformed differentness? Israel Daniel Rupp, the creator of Pennsylvania German historiography, was Reformed or at least of Reformed background.[46] Harbaugh, and later Dubbs,[47] Good,[48] Hinke[49] and Dotterer[50] were all Reformed. Is it possible that this hybrid character of the early Reformed population and the necessity of defining it led part of the Reformed leadership to become professional Pennsylvania Germans, i.e., apologists for Pennsylvania German culture? On the other hand, the other denominational elements in Pennsylvania German culture were more interested in being Lutheran, Moravian, Mennonite, or Brethren than they were interested in labeling themselves "Pennsylvania German." There are exceptions to this, but they do not destroy either the priority or the weight of the Reformed contribution to the sense of Pennsylvania German ethnic identity. Lutherans were in the majority in the culture, and they have, through individuals, made contributions to the Pennsylvania German movements, although in the published field of dialect the first major Lutheran contribution, Pastor A. R. Horne's *Pennsylvania German Manual* (1875), followed Harbaugh by five years. Did Pennsylvania Lutheranism, at least in East Pennsylvania, retain a stronger affiliation for High German than did the Reformed?[51] Was the so-called "European-German" element among the Lutherans stronger in 1870 and in 1900 than among the Reformed? These are questions that I intend to work on statistically.

I have mentioned the crisis of the Civil War as a possible factor in stirring up ethnic identity. Perhaps the answer is to be sought also in the realm of historical linguistics, or even sociolinguistics. It may be that dialect flowers in times of stress in a culture when that culture is forced to fall back on its own resources. There is increasing evidence that this was true of nineteenth-century Pennsylvania, when High German was disappearing as matrix of the culture. It is significant that the Reformed leaders of the first dialect awakening were either from Central Pennsylvania (Harbaugh, Fischer, Bahn, Meyer, Ziegler and others), from Lancaster County (Bausman), or working in the diaspora (Keller). All of these areas are noted for more rapid transition from German to English in the nineteenth century than the Berks-Lehigh area which remained High German into the twentieth century.

The dialect awakening of the Pennsylvania Germans in the nineteenth century sprang from native roots indigenous to our culture and the American situation. One should note, however, that the prior dialect awakening in German-speaking areas of Europe had at least minimal influence on our native writers. Philip Schaff, the Swiss-American theologian, has been cited as bridge-builder in this area in suggesting to Harbaugh that he try writing in Pennsylvania German, as Hebel had written in his Alemannic tongue. And certainly after Harbaugh, one of the favorite sidelines of Pennsylvania German dialect literature has been the "adaptation" by our poets of Palatine and other European-German dialect verse into Pennsylvania German, with varying degrees of success.

What part did the other Pennsylvania German denominations play in this early dialect awakening? For example, the Moravians, apart from Emanuel Rondthaler whose modest little poem, *Owedlied,* was published by Schaff in the *Kirchenfreund* in 1849 and later in the German edition of Schaff's *Amerika* (1854) as the "first poem in Pennsylvania German,"[52] made almost no direct contribution to the dialect awakening until the twentieth century when poets like Louisa Weitzel and ministers like Byron Horne have contributed. This too, as in the case of the Lutherans, was undoubtedly due to the Moravian adherence to High German into the twentieth century, and their official distaste for anything that smacked of dialect. Edward H. Rauch ("Pit Schweffelbrenner") was Moravian, but in no case did his dialect production reveal a merging of his denominational consciousness with his Pennsylvania German identity.

The Mennonites and Brethren also made little or no contribution to the dialect awakening of the twentieth century, for sectarian reasons.[53] Of the remaining German denominations of Pennsylvania, the German Methodistic sects such as the United Brethren and the Evangelicals occasionally used dialect, or near-dialect, in their preaching and "spiritual" hymnody, a thing unheard of among the other churches until the twentieth century.[54] The great symbolic figure in these groups is Moses Dissinger, whose plain flat Dutch sermons shocked the squeamish but got results among his rural audiences.[55]

Was it then only in the Reformed Church that ethnicity and religion could combine in the nineteenth century in such personalities as Harbaugh, Bausman, Keller, and Helffrich? Bausman in particular united his religious sense of ministry to his ethnic sense of duty to his "own people." The sense of peoplehood, ethnicity, is often the strongest anchor of religion. And the converse is true. In American immigrant history the church has often been the strongest, and the last anchor of ethnicity.

Finally we have much to learn about the Pennsylvania German sense of identity by studying carefully the reactions of the current ethnic awakenings. If "Red is beautiful" now and "Black is beautiful" now, Benjamin Bausman in a sense was saying a century ago in his sympathetic way that "Dutch was beautiful." He did not put it in those words, but the conviction was there that Pennsylvania Germans were *different*, different from the British, the Yankees, even the "European Germans," that their culture was different and worthy of cultivation. Pennsylvania, the Reformed Church, and the Pennsylvania German culture are all different today because of the ethnically-oriented interests of Henry Harbaugh, Benjamin Bausman, Eli Keller, and William A. Helffrich.

I shall close with two quotations. These brethren of the past whose ethnic interests we have looked at knew what the Shunamite woman in the Bible knew when she said, "It is good to dwell among one's own people." And Helffrich was spokesman for the three in that marvelous *Lebensbild* which I consider the finest autobiography to come out of the Pennsylvania German culture. In it he says, in the dialect, in the midst of his High German text, *"Halt fescht was du hoscht."*[56] Hold on firmly to what you have.

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Notes

[1] This paper was read at the Historical Symposium-Colloquy, 150th Anniversary of Lancaster Theological Seminary, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, February 5, 1975, and revised in 1983. It is the first chapter in a monograph on the relation of the Reformed Church to the Pennsylvania German culture. Following chapters deal with (II) The Reformed Historians and Pennsylvania German Identity (analyzing the work of Rupp, Good, Hinke, Dubbs, and Dotterer); (III) The Reformed Church and the Huguenot Movement (analyzing the contribution of John Baer Stoudt and others); (IV) The Reformed Church and the Rise of the Ethnic Societies; and (V) The Reformed Church and the Dialect Church Service.

[2] H[enry] Harbaugh, *Harbaugh's Harfe: Gedichte in Pennsylvanisch-Deutscher Mundart*, ed. B. Bausman (Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publication Board, 1870). The quotations are from Bausman's introduction, pp. 7-9.

[3] Biographical materials on Harbaugh include Benjamin Bausman, "In Memoriam," *The Guardian*, January-February 1868; Linn Harbaugh, *Life of Henry Harbaugh, D.D.* (Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publication Board, 1900); J. H. Dubbs, "The Blessed Memory of Henry Harbaugh," *The Pennsylvania German*, 10 (1909), 12-14; and *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 237-38. The most recent as well as the best biography of Harbaugh is Elizabeth C. Kieffer, *Henry Harbaugh: Pennsylvania Dutchman, 1817-1867* (Norristown, PA: Norristown Herald, Inc., 1945).

[4] Kieffer, pp. 198-99.

[5] David S. Schaff, *The Life of Philip Schaff* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899), pp. 243, 142.

[6] Kieffer, p. 225.

[7] For Bausman, see Henry H. Ranck, *The Life of the Reverend Benjamin Bausman, D.D., LL.D.*, (Philadelphia: The Publication and Sunday School Board of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1912); *Dictionary of American Biography*, II, 60. Bausman's *Wayside Gleanings in Europe* (Reading, PA: Daniel Miller, 1875) describes his own visit, in 1856, to his ancestral village of Freilaubersheim, in Rheinhessen.

[8] Ranck, p. 40.

[9] Ranck, p. 114.

[10] Ranck, pp. 117-18.

[11] Ranck, p. 118.

[12] Ranck, p. 119.

[13] Ranck, p. 139.

[14] Ranck, p. 151.

[15] Ranck, pp. 279-80.

[16] For Daniel Miller (1843-1913), one of Bausman's protégés in the Pennsylvania German movement, see Harry H. Reichard, *Pennsylvania German Dialect Writings and Their Writers* (Lancaster, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1918), Ch. xiii, pp. 158-61.

[17] Ranck, p. 285.

[18] The Bausman-Keller letters are preserved in the two huge volumes of Bausman Correspondence in the Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, Schaff Library, Lancaster Theological Seminary, Lancaster, Pennsylvania. They were put into their present form by Henry H. Ranck, Bausman's biographer.

[19] Ranck, pp. 264-65.

[20] Bausman Correspondence, Schaff Library, Lancaster Theological Seminary, Letter from Eli Keller to Benjamin Bausman, November 6, 1866.

[21] For the cleavage between Pennsylvania Germans and "Foreign Germans" (HG *Deutsch-Europäer*, PG *Deitschlenner*) in the American-German churches, see Don Yoder, "Akkulturationsprobleme deutscher Auswanderer in Nordamerika," in *Kultureller Wandel im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Günter Wiegelmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1973), pp. 192-94.

[22] Ranck, pp. 267-68.

[23] Alfred J. G. Dubbs was a distinguished pastor and member of a ministerial family in the Reformed Church. He was totally bilingual in his pastoral work. His biographer tells us that his custom was "to explain doctrines in both German and English, changing from one language to the other with wonderful facility." Actually he was trilingual, preferring to speak "to the people in their own tongue," Pennsylvania German. His biographer and successor at Salem, George W. Richards, hastened to add that "he by no means, however, spoke Pennsylvania German from the pulpit" (*In Memoriam—A. J. G. Dubbs* [n.p., 1891], pp. 23-24, 34).

[24] Bausman Correspondence, Bausman to Keller, August 23, 1867.

[25] Bausman Correspondence, Bausman to Keller, January 15, 1872.

[26] *Fathers of the Reformed Church*, IX, 259-61. This is the typescript continuation of the Harbaugh-Heisler *Fathers* series, Schaff Library.

[27] For an extended and sympathetic appreciation of Keller's dialect writings, see Reichard, Ch. xxii, pp. 216-20. The quotation is from p. 217.

[28] The best source on Helffrich is his own autobiography, *Lebensbild aus dem Pennsylvanisch-Deutschen Predigerstand: Oder Wahrheit in Licht und Schatten*, ed. N. W. A. and W. U. Helffrich (Allentown, PA: n.p., 1906). On the Helffrich family and their part in Reformed Church history in Pennsylvania, see his *Geschichte verschiedener Gemeinden in Lecha und Berks Counties, wie auch Nachricht über die sie bedienenden Prediger, vornehmlich über die Familie Helffrich, deren Ursprung und Ausbreitung in Europa, nach authentischen Quellen, und deren Immigration und Verbreitung in Amerika, nebst einem Rückblick in das kirchliche Leben Ostpennsylvaniens* (Allentown, PA: Trexler and Hartzell, 1891). He also left two volumes of printed sermons in German. Of his descendants, his grandson Reginald Helffrich, D.D., has been an official of the World Council of Churches, and another grandson, Donald Helffrich, served as president of Ursinus College.

[29] Fortunately Helffrich saved all his correspondence relating to the *Hausfreund*. It was bound together in a little homemade volume and is now preserved in the Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, Schaff Library, Lancaster Theological Seminary, under the title *Sammlung der Correspondenz über die Entstehung des Hausfreundes von 1865 bis zu 1868*.

[30] Bausman to Helffrich, November 13, 1865, in *Sammlung der Correspondenz über die Entstehung des Hausfreundes*.

[31] Bausman to Helffrich, January 16, 1867, in *Sammlung der Correspondenz über die Entstehung des Hausfreundes*.

[32] Helffrich to Bausman, February 14, 1867, in *Sammlung der Correspondenz über die Entstehung des Hausfreundes*.

[33] Bausman to Helffrich, November 15, 1866, in *Sammlung der Correspondenz über die Entstehung des Hausfreundes*.

[34] Helffrich, *Lebensbild*, p. 374.

[35] Helffrich, *Lebensbild*, p. 383.

[36] Helffrich, *Lebensbild*, p. 320.

[37] Helffrich, *Lebensbild*, p. 477.

[38] For the so-called "Old Reformed" (= anti-Mercersburg) position, and a history of its institutions, see James I. Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the United States in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: The Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America, 1911). See also Gerald H. Hinkle, "The Theology of the Ursinus Movement," Diss. Yale Univ. 1964.

[39] Ranck, p. 268.

[40] For the Mercersburg Theology, see James H. Nichols, *Romanticism in American Theology: Nevin and Schaff at Mercersburg* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1961).

[41] Helffrich, *Lebensbild*. He speaks also of the "Lancaster-Faction," "Lancaster-Ring," "Lancaster-Richtung," and "Lancaster-Geist."

[42] For the early history of the Pennsylvania German Society, see Homer T. Rosenberger, *The Pennsylvania Germans, 1891-1965*, Pennsylvania German Society, 63 (Gettysburg, PA: The Times and News Publishing Co., 1968), esp. Chs. ii and iii. The lines of direct and indirect influence from the Harbaugh-Bausman-Helffrich awakening of the 1860s to the founding of the Pennsylvania German Society in 1891 can be even more sharply drawn. For example, Frank Ried Diffenderffer (1833-1921), principal founder of the Pennsylvania German Society, was a Lancaster Countian, graduate of Mercersburg College, and a protégé of Bausman.

[43] Edward H. Rauch, *De Campaign Breefa fum Pit Schweffelbrenner* (Lancaster, PA: Rauch and Cochran, 1868).

[44] Rachel Bahn, *Poems* (York, PA: n.p., 1869); see "Poems in Pennsylvania Dutch," pp. 177-200.

[45] Ludwig A. Wollenweber, *Gemälde aus dem Pennsylvanischen Volksleben* (Philadelphia/Leipzig: Schäfer und Koradi, 1869).

[46] For Rupp, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 225-26.

[47] Joseph Henry Dubbs (1838-1910) was a disciple of Harbaugh's who succeeded Bausman as editor of *The Guardian* in 1882; his historical works, particularly on Reformed Church history, are widely used. See *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 469-70.

[48] For James I. Good, see Carl H. Gramm, *The Life and Labors of the Reverend Prof. James I. Good, D.D., LL.D., 1850-1924: A Memorial Volume* (Webster Groves, MO: The Old Orchard Publishers, 1944).

[49] William J. Hinke (1871-1947), Professor of Old Testament at Auburn Theological Seminary, devoted most of his writing career to Reformed Church history, and in his later years translated colonial church registers and gathered documentation on Reformed Church life in Pennsylvania and Western Maryland; his collection is now in the Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, Schaff Library, Lancaster Theological Seminary.

[50] Henry S. Dotterer was a local historian and genealogist of Montgomery County who founded *The Perkiomen Region*, first in a long line of regional historical publications on the Pennsylvania Germans, in 1895.

[51] Certainly Samuel Kistler Brobst (1821-1876), the most important Pennsylvania German Lutheran minister of the mid-nineteenth century, favored High German over the

dialect. He was closely involved with movements to maintain the German language in church, school and newspaper. See Heinz Kloss, "German-American Language Maintenance Efforts," in *Language Loyalty in the United States,* ed. Joshua A. Fishman (The Hague: Mouton, 1966), p. 219.

[52] Schaff published what was somewhat misleadingly described as the first literary effort in Pennsylvania German, the "Abendlied" by Emanuel Rondthaler, Moravian clergyman, in the *Kirchenfreund,* II (1849), 306; it was reprinted in the German edition of Schaff's *Amerika* (1854). See David S. Schaff, *The Life of Philip Schaff,* p. 142.

[53] In a lecture on Pennsylvania German culture given in the spring of 1974 at a Mennonite college in the Midwest, I reported hearing prayers offered in Pennsylvania German dialect services, thanking God for the "Mudderschprooch" and its preservation. A Mennonite professor after the lecture told me he thought such things were "blasphemous."

[54] Materials on the dialect or near-dialect preaching of the revivalist sects can be found in *Pennsylvania Spirituals,* esp. pp. 114-16.

[55] See Don Yoder, "The Dialect Church Service in the Pennsylvania German Culture," *Pennsylvania Folklife,* 27, No. 4 (Summer 1978), 2-13.

[56] Helffrich, *Lebensbild,* p. 459.