Contributions of the Eighteenth Century German Immigrants to the Social Well Being of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

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CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN IMMIGRANTS TO THE SOCIA L WELL BEING OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA

BY

SISTER MARY VIVIAN WILM, O.S.F.

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Loyola University 1933
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VITA

The author was born in Chicago, Illinois, March 8, 1897. She attended St. Francis de Sales Parochial School, Chicago. She attended St. Francis Academy, Joliet, Illinois, where she acquired her high school training. In 1914 she entered the Novitiate of the Third Order of St. Francis of Mary Immaculate, Joliet, Illinois. In the same year she entered St. Francis Normal School and three years later De Paul University, where she received the Degree of Bachelor of Arts on August 4, 1926.
PREFACE

In the past, much time and space have been devoted to the discussion of the military, political, economic, and religious phases of man's life. His social history, which is the story of the various aspects of his daily life, has been long confined to a place back of the scenes. In our present day, several historians have become convinced that much of real history is contained in this field, with a result that they have begun to center their attention on this phase of man's history. The writer, having been a member of several Social History classes conducted at Loyola University by the Rev. S. K. Wilson, S.J., has, as a result of participating in this work, been urged on to endeavor to make some slight contribution to this field. With this as a main objective, and with a desire to learn more about the daily lives of the people who were the most influential of the pioneers in the state in which she has been teaching for many years, the writer has made every conscious effort to tell in a concise and logical manner the story of the eighteenth century Pennsylvania German whose influence is evident in the state even at the present time.

In preparing this work, the author wishes to acknowledge her indebtedness to the Rev. Louis Maucher of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, whose knowledge of the lives of the Pennsylvania
Germans is wide and varied, and who was capable of directing the writer to proper sources of research; to the Rev. Harold Keller, superintendent of the schools of the diocese of Harrisburg, whose desire to have brought to light the achievements of a people whose work has not always received sufficient recognition, encouraged the writer to renewed efforts; and to the Rev. S. K. Wilson, S.J., whose enthusiasm and thoroughness manifested while imparting to his students his wide knowledge of the social life of the people of the United States, inspired the author to increase her interest in this phase of History.

Special thanks are also due to the Rev. Felix Fellner, O.S.B., chief librarian of St. Vincent Archabbey Library, Latrobe, Pennsylvania, to librarians and custodians of the Pennsylvania Historical Association, and the Catholic Historical Association both at Philadelphia; to the most efficient librarians, Miss Irene Stewart and her aids in the Pennsylvania History Department of Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh, for their splendid, untiring and intelligent service; and to the Chicago Public Library and the Newberry Library, Chicago, for furnishing many valuable sources.

S.M.V.

St. Francis Convent
Joliet, Illinois
July 26, 1933.
INTRODUCTION

Having lived for many years in the state of Pennsylvania, the writer of this work became interested in an attempt to discover what the early Catholics had contributed toward the social welfare of their state. Upon a considerable amount of research and after a thorough investigation made at the Catholic Historical Association, which has its headquarters at Philadelphia, the search revealed that very little influence was exerted by the Eighteenth Century German Catholics of Pennsylvania. This lack of influence was due to the small number of Catholics, and to the fact that they were too scattered over a large area to be in a position to be influential. A secondary interest, then, took precedence. The author had visited both the eastern and western portions of the state, and had noted the luxuriance and splendid conditions existing on the farms, especially in the eastern section of the state. These farms in their present flourishing conditions speak eloquently of having long been in possession of highly trained husbandmen. To ascertain why the original inhabitants and their descendants had been such successful agriculturists, became the object of a thorough-going research. Having obtained satisfactory information as to the excellence and superiority of German farmers over their English and Scotch-Irish
contemporaries, curiosity stimulated the searcher to investigate deeper to discover whether this Eighteenth Century German made contributions in other fields as well. These fields, then, became the objects of study and research, and have resulted in tracing the story of the Eighteenth Century Pennsylvania German Immigrant from his homeland in Germany, through his perilous voyage on an unfriendly ocean to his settlement in Pennsylvania, which through his admirable traits was transformed into a model for other states, not only agriculturally, but in many social fields as well.

It is true that the subject of Germans in the United States has been frequently discussed, but to tell a logical and consistent story of the influence and achievements of the German in Eighteenth Century Pennsylvania, has necessitated the gathering of bits of information from many sources, the most valuable being written in the German language. These have long been hidden.
CHAPTER I
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
HOMELAND OF THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN

Far beyond the Atlantic, occupying a considerable portion of central Europe, lies a country most dear to Pennsylvanians of German descent. It is a land of romantic scenery where the most beautiful of rivers, the Rhine, sweeps through vine-clad mountains; where gray old churches and majestic cathedrals point heavenward; where, in crumbling castles, in sombre forests, and in silent valleys cling thousands of beautiful legends. It is praised as the home of science, as the birthplace of eminent philosophers and poets, whose reputation is world-wide. It is hailed as the land of great artists, sculptors and musicians, as the cradle of most important inventions that gave a new impetus to mankind.

Pennsylvanians of German origin, cherish it as the land of their ancestors -- as the "Vaterland". Reminiscences are then revived. Noble heroes, none greater known to History, arise before their minds, the long line of valiant emperors -- Frederick Barbarossa, Rudolph of Hapsburg, Maximilian and others who, during their life time, made Germans most powerful and prosperous empire in Europe! Under the sceptres of such brilliant rulers, gorgeous castles and palaces, imposing churches and cathedrals arose everywhere. Villages and cities sprang up into powerful existence and became the homes of able craftsmen,
who united into powerful guilds. Enterprising merchants opened commerce with all countries of Europe and the Orient. Many of these merchant princes became famous for their wealth; for example, the Fuggers of Augsburg who amassed a fortune of more than sixty million Gulden (according to our monetary system, this amounted to $2,412,000,000); then the Welsers, who were able to advance Charles V a loan of twelve tons of gold. In contrast, however, to the "money-princes" in our own country today, these wealthy German merchants were not lost in selfishness. Their civic pride urged them to contribute freely to the beauty and importance of their native cities; thus aiding these cities to give steadily in splendor and influence. Emperors, princes, and magistrates vied with one another in beautifying their cities. The entrance gates, as well as the town halls, proud symbols of self-government, were adorned with magnificent portals, colonnades, and sculptural designs. The great show-pieces, however, of these buildings were the state or banquet halls, on which enormous sums were lavished. Here were to be found exquisite carvings in wood, costly tapestries and paintings. From the ceilings hung elaborate chandeliers and models of merchant vessels, and men-of-war. The ornaments of the fireplaces bore the coat-of-arms of the city, or of such families which had played important roles in the history of the community. Richly carved closets and chests contained the treasures of the city, beautiful bowls and cups of ebony,
ivory, crystal, silver and gold.

While thus the rulers and magistrates beautified all public buildings and squares, the burghers did their best to complete the picture. The people's innate sense for art accomplished wonders in many cities in Germany. Loving their homes, the citizens adorned the front of their houses with carvings and allegorical paintings. Even such inconspicuous objects as weather-vanes and door-knockers became, in the hands of skilled craftsmen, specimens of genuine art. However, these efforts to beautify the exterior or the houses were not accomplished to the neglect of the interior. Wealthy families took pride in artistic furniture, beautiful carpets, precious objects of crystal and silver, and in paintings and etchings of famous masters.

No less can be said of the gorgeous Cathedrals, which in bold construction and sublime beauty surpass everything hitherto and since accomplished. The Cathedrals of Worms, Speyer, Mayence, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Ulne, Strassburg, Cologne, and of other cities rank among the greatest masterpieces of Roman and Greek art.

To enumerate all the poets, artists, musicians, and inventors whose genius was productive of a great material and cultural advancement of the country, would be an endless task. Suffice it to say, that with such men as Walter von der Vogelweide, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Albrecht, Duerer, Hans Holbein,
Luoas Cranach, Peter Vischer, Bertold Schwarz and Johannes Gutenberg, Germany reached her cultural zenith.

In view of all these facts, we may well ask:

"Why did people, who, so to speak, basked in the blessings of nature and wealth, abandon such a glorious land, and emigrate to a far distant country of which they knew nothing, and where their future was uncertain?"

In History we find the answer.

**MIGRATORY TENDENCY AND ADAPTABILITY**

Before calling on History to furnish the answer for the question just asked, it seems almost imperative to throw some light on two phases of the German character, namely, their migratory tendency and their adaptability to various circumstances and environments.

Next to the Italians the Germans are climatically the most adaptable people on earth. Outwardly, they can adapt themselves to any tendency. Quiet and for the most part, temperate they can live with any people without losing their individuality. Thus, in the Old World, there are Germans living in Spain. In Madrid most business houses were at one time German. They had a strong foothold in England. To some extent they ruled the commerce of Italy. In the southeastern part of Europe, in the Balkans before the War of 1870, commerce was virtually in their hands. And only a short time after the War of 1870, they had covered commercially the whole of France and succeeding commercial travelers and settlers.
can be found anywhere on the globe, thriving fully as well as the natives do, and physically adapting themselves so well to the lives of the natives, that they suffer least from the difference and change of climate whether it is in the rigorous colds of the North or in the intemperate heats of the extreme East or South. They also marry into any nation. They mix and mingle with the natives of any country.

There are German farm settlements in the marshlands of the Dobrudja, Scandinavia, Australia and Africa. No matter where one sets his foot, he is certain to come upon a group of Germans.

For further proof of German adaptability, an investigation with the immigration statistics of their early history in our country will further substantiate the statement. At the outbreak of the War of Independence there were about a quarter of a million people of German birth and their descendants in this country. Between 1820 and 1919, there arrived in this country five and one-half millions of German immigrants. There were years in which they arrived in hundreds of thousands; for example, in 1854, two hundred-fifty thousand arrived here. Had these Germans not been so adaptable climatically, settling them would have been a tremendous difficulty, and many would have returned as fast as they had come; for they could not possibly have lived in one group without overcrowding, and without over supplying any demand they could have created or undertaken to supply. It is German organization and the readi-
ness with which Germans submit to organized rule, that were responsible for the success of German immigration.

Equally valuable to successful emigration is that innate propensity to emigration which the Germans possessed, that "Wanderlust" which has ever been one of their distinguishing traits. It was this trait which impelled them to leave their native country when scarcity of land, adverse social and religious conditions, famine, and war furnished the immediate occasions.

CAUSES FOR EMIGRATION

The person, who would know why people who were heirs to such a country as has just been described, could forsake their well-established homes and seek other abodes in a new and strange country, should realize that such a movement is not to be regarded as a holiday outing, but that it is the result of causes, at once serious and deep seated.

It is necessary to understand some underlying principles of migration before one can realize why people do move. Since man, when he migrates, leaves a fixed home in response to a natural impulse, there must be some definite cause for migration. There are certain general causes which underlie all migratory movements. It must be understood, too, that these causes of migration must be powerful. It is natural that man becomes attached to the environment in which Providence has placed him. There are many bonds which tie him to his home.
Such bonds are strong and cannot be broken without a great struggle. No trivial occasion will suffice to force a man to leave his environment. Thus in almost every case of migration we are justified in looking for some cause of a repellent nature, some dissatisfaction, disability, discontent, hardship, or other disturbing condition. Therefore, when we question the great influx of Germans to our country during the eighteenth century, we shall not be surprised to find that one or several of these factors combined to force the Germans to abandon the fatherland.

In order to state logically the causes for the great German emigration in the latter part of the seventeenth century and during the entire eighteenth century, it is necessary to refer to that movement which is the fountainhead of these causes. This fountainhead, or source, is known in History as the Reformation. This movement, initiated by Martin Luther, exercised a profound effect upon the contentment of large masses of German people, and resulted unfortunately in conflicts among religious creeds, and was followed by the most overwhelming calamities that ever befell a country.

To be in a position to comprehend more clearly the situation as it existed in Germany, and especially in the Rhine district, it is necessary to get a closer view of each of the main causes of discontent, namely, the wars, the tyranny of small rulers, and religious persecution -- all direct results
of the Reformation.

The first of the calamities to make its influence felt was the so-called Thirty Years War which began in 1648. This most destructive conflict swept over Germany like a hurricane, ruining it beyond recognition. It is an accepted fact, that in its material development, Germany was set back two hundred years. Throughout Germany, thirteen million out of its seventeen million inhabitants were killed; property loss was great. We can get an adequate idea of the ravages of this war if we turn to Freytag's statistics, and there note that 75 percent of the inhabitants, 85 percent of the horses, 82 percent of the cattle, and 66 percent of the houses were swept away. Hundreds of cities were burned by Spanish, Italian, Hungarian, Dutch and Swedish soldiers who made Germany their battleground. Agriculture, industry, commerce, and the arts were annihilated. Of many villages, nothing remained but their names. According to the chronicles of the times:

"One could wander for many miles, without seeing a living creature except wolves and ravens." 10

Terrible tortures were inflicted to obtain information concerning hidden treasure and death was but a mercy, saving from torments and dreaded exile.

There are, however, as the Rev. S. K. Wilson in his "History of the American People" states always

"indirect results, much more serious and prolonged". He says that "religion and education languish, honesty is
sneered at, human life is rated low, moral observance becomes loose, manners are, coarsened." 11

How truly may this be stated about the Thirty Years War, for the moral degradation following in the wake of such devastation was even worse than the loss of life and property. Friend could not be distinguished from foe, and men would wrest from their neighbors a crust of bread. Not even human flesh was sacred. Men resorted to murder and cannibalism. The destruction of fields and property had another disastrous effect, disposing the surviving tillers of the soil to become camp-followers, as the easiest way of procuring a living. Self-reliant toil was thus given another inducement to idleness and consequent demoralization.

Freytag, estimating the effects of this terrible catastrophe, tells us: "Not only were city, town, and village devastated, not only did poverty, hardship, murder, and rapine follow in the wake of these strange armies, but the whole intellectual, moral and religious character of the stricken German people received a shock that almost threatened it with annihilation." 12

Of all these classes which suffered the consequences of the Thirty Years War, none suffered more completely than the peasants, or farmers. Before that the yeomanry of Germany were in a state of mild prosperity. Their homes were comfortable, their barns capacious, their stables well stocked with horses and cattle, their crops were plenteous, and many had considerable sums of money safely stored away against a rainy day. Some even boasted of silver-ware.
The sufferings of these country folk during the Thirty years War are almost incredible, but we can again depend upon Freytag for a reliable account, because he has drawn all his accounts from documentary sources. He adds:

"Not only were horses carried away by the various armies; not only were houses and crops burned; but the master of the house was sometimes subjected to fiendish tortures to give up his gold. At the approach of an army, the whole village would take to flight and would live for weeks in the midst of forests and marshes or in caves. The enemy, having departed, the wretched survivors would return to their ruined homes and carry on a painful existence until they were forced again to fly by new invasions." 13

It was during those dreadful years that Alsace and Lorraine, two of the richest sections of Europe, were stolen by France. The terrors of these calamities were not yet forgotten, when at the end of the seventeenth century, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Louis XIV of France made another absurd claim to that territory. In asserting this claim, he ordered his generals to raid the country along the Rhine and to make it one vast desert. In obeying his cruel commands, the French armies destroyed everything that had survived the ravages of the Thirty Years War. Villages without number went into flame. The ruins of hundreds of beautiful castles on the Rhine, Moselle, and Neckar, among them Heidelberg and Mannheim, are lasting reminders of the years when the demons of rape and devastation held sway. Dozens of cities, among them, Speyer and Worms, were laid in ashes. These cities for centuries famed for their prosperity now harbored a pauper population. Five hundred thousand Palatines were driven from devastated
fields and burning houses. Exile was followed by famine, famine by pestilence, and all the finer impulses of the human heart were extinguished in the gross wretchedness of brutalizing despair.

The Germans seemed to suffer most at the hands of Louis XIV, whose aim was to extend his territories eastward toward the Rhine, and who desired to overthrow his greatest rivals, the Hapsburgs who were in possession of that territory. In order to achieve his aim he waged five ruthless wars, namely, The War of Revolution (1667-1668); The Dutch War (1672-1678), The War Against Spain (1683-1684), The War of the League of Augsburg (1689-1697) and the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713). After laying waste the country, he would allow the inhabitants just enough time to rebuild their homes and plant their crops, and as soon as recovery was evident, his troops would invade the territory once more, to re-enact those awful scenes of plunder and rapine.

Besides such calamities as just described, many German countries suffered from the oppression of their own princes who tried to ape the splendor of the court of Louis XIV. These petty rulers impoverished the people through heavy taxation levied to support an extravagant court that hunted freely and reveled until bankruptcy or revolution put an end to their riotous living.

The peasant classes again were the principal sufferers.
They were reduced to serfdom and beggary. All of southwestern Germany was the chief theatre where these outrages were staged. The cup of misery was filled to over-flowing when, in accordance with the old motto "cujus regio, ejus religio", ("who governs the people, gives them also their religion"), the rulers of these countless principalities quite often forced their subjects to change their faith according to their own beliefs; and if they were unwilling to conform, they were subjected to the ire of their lords. Distress and confusion followed. Persecution of Catholics, Protestants, Lutherans, and Reformers were carried on systematically. Property was confiscated and worshippers were expelled from the country. The Electors Palatine swung back and forth between Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Catholicity. And since each ruler wished his subjects to conform to his religious views, the miserable people suffered accordingly. Under the burden of these sufferings many inhabitants of Germany despaired of a future in their mother country and resolved to emigrate to America hoping that they would not only enjoy a better material existence, but also freedom of worship.

Just at this time, the report that William Penn had thrown open his grant of land, Pennsylvania, as a place of refuge to all who suffered persecution on account of their religious faith, served as a special inducement for many Germans to break off their attachment to the fatherland and
seek new homes in distant America.

Having referred to William Penn as having been instrumental in influencing thousands of Germans in taking refuge in Pennsylvania, it will not be out of place here to tell in what manner he accomplished this. William Penn who had become a Quaker was fired with missionary zeal. He was not content in rallying to his standard followers from among the English only, but he traveled to Holland and Germany in 1671 and 1677 to spread the Quaker doctrines, to gain adherents. Only three denominations were recognized along the Rhine at this time, namely, the Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Reformed. All other forms of worship were outlawed. Such were the Mennonites, the Schwenkfelders and Quakers. George Fox, the founder of the Quakers, had sent messengers of his doctrine to Germany as early as 1655. William Penn founded a small Quaker community at Kriegsheim near Worms in the Palatinate. In Germany the Quakers were most successful among the Mennonites, whose doctrines were similar to their own. These sectarians suffered much from the whims of the rulers of the German principalities who clung tenaciously to the principle of "cujus regio, ejus religio". The Pietists who were Protestants with a greater degree of inwardness in their religious belief were likewise denounced as innovators. In 1677 Penn again visited Germany where he was received with open arms. He had many converts to the Quaker religion from amongst these sects.
In 1680 Penn received from the king of England, James II, a grant of land lying north of Maryland and west of Delaware. Penn's purpose in establishing a colony was not chiefly to found a refuge for the persecuted Quakers, but to rebuild his failing fortune. He arrived to make good his claim in 1682. Upon his return to Europe he wrote a book which gave an account of the Province of Pennsylvania. This book he translated into German and circulated among the disgruntled people of Germany at a very opportune time. Penn had a definite design in doing this, for he was shrewd and could foresee that the Germans, who were eagerly seeking relief, would be an asset economically to his colony. He felt that they would add much to the prosperity of the infant colony.

The contents of this book, supplemented by the advertising of Penn's agents, fell upon fertile ground, because in his previous visits to the Rhine country he had made a favorable impression upon the inhabitants. His inducements, coming at a time when men were disposed to throw off the yoke of endless hardship and worries and begin life anew in some distant land, brought him ample dividends. Thus Penn sowed the seed for the great exodus of the Germans, the seed which would one day mature to enrich his province of Pennsylvania. Thus, also did it happen that Pennsylvania which had first been settled by the Swedes, Dutch, and English, was preferred by the Germans as a paradise, and eventually became the Mecca for the German immigration of colonial times.
THE PASSAGE FROM THE HOMELAND TO
THE 'LAND OF REFUGE

To explain the causes which forced the German to leave
the land of his birth for a better land, would present but
one side of the picture of the plight of the Pennsylvania
pioneers. In order to complete the picture, it is necessary
to describe the vicissitudes of the immigrant between his
departure and his landing.

M. Sheeleight a member of the German Historical Associa-
tion of Pennsylvania presented in 1892 a poem, entitled:
"The Pennsylvania Germans". In the seventh stanza, in four
short lines, he has realistically painted for us the terrible
conditions under which these already nerve-racked people
sailed. He wrote:

"The came oft wronged beneath the mast,
Or when escaped the dreaded wave,
How many wept—their loved ones cast,
For burial in an ocean grave." 20

In our day of ease in travel, it is almost impossible
to visualize the inconvenience and the incredible horrors of
a voyage in the eighteenth century. An ocean journey during
that period meant far more than it does now. If many people
today look upon the trip with repugnance, in spite of all the
conveniences of modern steamers, what must have been the feel-
ings of our forefathers? Their whole journey was one con-
tinual series of discomforts, suffering, disease, and death.
Since shipping conditions were so frightful, many immigrants arrived in a wretched condition physically. The voyage was long, the ships were small, poorly ventilated, shockingly overcrowded, and totally unprovided with adequate provisions for sanitation, cleanliness and culinary facilities. There is a record of one ship which made the voyage in 1731 on which there was such a scarcity of food for the passengers that they had to live on rats and mice, which were considered dainties. The price on board for a rat was eighteen pence, and for a mouse, an English sixpence. The captain was under the impression that the passengers had considerable money and valuables with them, and believing that he might profit by it he endeavored to reduce them to a state of starvation. He succeeded too well, for out of 156 passengers, only 48 reached America.

In a little book entitled "Gottlieb Mittelberger's Reise nach Pennsylvanien in Yahr 1750 und Ruckreisze nach Deutschland im Yahr 1754", (Gottlieb Mittelberger's Journey to America in the Year 1750 and His Return Voyage to Germany in 1754), this gentleman gives us a graphic account of the sad and unfortunate circumstances under which the early immigrants from Germany traveled. He was a member of the party who in 1750 set sail from Wurtemburg to America, and he describes the voyage thus:

"From Wurtemburg the journey lasts from May 'till October. Leaving Wurtemburg we pass thirty-six custom houses where the ships must tarry till they are examined at the will
of the customs officials... The trip down the Rhine lasts six weeks... In Holland we are detained for six weeks. Here things are so dear, that people have to spend nearly all their money --- accidents occur --- we are packed in sea vessels at Rotterdam.--- The space on the ship for one person is 2 feet wide and 6 feet long---there are from 400 to 600 persons on board of ship. It takes from three to four weeks to go from Holland to Cowes, England...There we stay from eight to fourteen days. After leaving Cowes, the real misery beings.--- We sail from eight to twelve weeks before we reach Philadelphia.

During the voyage, there are on board terrible misery, stench, fumes, horror, vomiting, many kinds of seasickness,-- fever, boils, scurvy, cancer and mouth-rot which came from old and sharply salted foods and meat and from foul water... Many die miserably. Then we suffer excesses of heat, dampness, anxiety, want, and lamentations... Misery reaches a climax when a gale rages --- the ship is tossed from side to side....Many do not survive. Among the healthy, they curse each other... They nearly kill each other...They cheat and rob one another. Many sigh and cry: "Oh that I were at home again, even if I had to lie in my pig-sty!"...Many die and must be cast into the sea---this drives relatives to despair.---Children from one to seven years rarely survive the voyage...Warm food is served only three times a week---the water is very black, thick, and full of worms...When the ships land at Philadelphia, no one is permitted to leave except those who pay for their passages--- the others must remain till they are purchased. Such always fare worst.

The cost of the voyage from Rotterdam to Philadelphia for a person over ten years is ten pounds or sixty florins. Children from five to ten years of age pay thirty florins. From Wurtemburg to Rotterdam, the cost is forty florins." 22

When we review the perils by land and sea, our admiration for the courage and heroism of the early immigrant is aroused, and we are also reminded that neither cleverness nor gullibility was born within our own generation, for, to add to the misery already described, there was another evil. The immigrant agents, called the "Neulander" were employed by ship companies in Holland and England, or acted on their own initiative. They found immigrant-hunting a profitable occu-
"They receive", says Mittelberger, "from their merchants in Rotterdam or Amsterdam, for every person of ten years or over, three florins, or a ducat, whereas the merchants in Philadelphia, 60--70-- or 80 florins for such a person, in proportion as said person has incurred more or less debts during the voyage." 24

The Neulander not only obtained a commission from the merchants but had many opportunities of extracting money from the immigrants, whom they pretended to serve as patrons. In their dress they affected the appearance of wealth begotten in America. They displayed pocket watches with heavy gold chains. They constantly issued stories of rapid advancement in wealth in America -- all to induce the unsuspecting immigrant to come to America.

By these plausible representations and glowing descriptions of America, the impression was made that in Pennsylvania, the Elysian fields were to be found, hills and mountains were teeming with unalloyed gold and silver, that the fountains gushed forth copious and ceaseless streams of milk and honey.

These Neulanders averred that in Pennsylvania, the menial servant became the independent lord, the spinster became the perfect lady, the laborious husband soon played nobleman at ease, the plodding, careworn peasant and the toiling mechanic were created lord barons.

In view of all this trickery and hardship, is it any wonder that these people who left their "Vaterland" hale and able-bodied when they started on the voyage, were physically wrecked when they landed? Is it any wonder that many others,
who were relative well-off arrived here penniless, when we review the manner in which their money was extorted from them?

PENNSYLVANIA POPULATED BY SECT

Pennsylvania, which opened its hospitable doors to these wretched voyagers, was populated mainly by sect. The seventeenth century did not find many Germans in Pennsylvania, but impelled by the causes, heretofore discussed, the eighteenth century brought multitudes of Germans to the New World. Among those who took refuge in Pennsylvania were Mennonites, Tunkers or Dunkards, Pietists, Schwenkfelders, Moravians, Lutherans and Reformed. Catholics were very few in number.

Since the eighteenth century German was responsible largely for building up the Commonwealth, it will be interesting to sketch briefly the history of each sect.

THE MENNONITES:-- The first historically important arrivals in Pennsylvania credited to the Germans, were of Francis Daniel Pastorius in August 1683, and of thirteen families (33 persons) in October 1683. These families were from the German city of Crefeld, a city of the lower Rhine. They landed in the good ship "Concord" in Philadelphia, October 6, 1683. There were thirteen heads of families; their names were as follows:

Dirck Op den Graeff
Abraham Op den Graeff
Herman Op den Graeff
Lenert Arets
Tuners Kunders
Runert Tieseu
Wilhelm Shtreppers
Jan Leussen
Peter Kurlis
Jan Swiens
Johann Bliekers
Abraham Tunes
Jan Lueeken

These families were received by Franz D. Pastorius, who had hurried to America in advance of the Mennonites to prepare everything for their arrival.

These Mennonites, often referred to as the hook-and-eye people, were followers of Menno Simon. They had beliefs similar to those of the Quakers:

"They took not the sword, swore not at all, were non-resistant, and in dress and speech were plain, and in manners, simple." 28

For many years they had been driven up and down the Rhine by the persecution of their rulers, so when Penn made his visits to the Rhine country to procure immigrants, these people who were anxious to rid themselves of persecution and poverty, were among the first to grasp the "golden apple" which he extended to them.

After landing, the first problem of Pastorius and his companions, who were the scouts of the great army of Germans who were about to come to Pennsylvania, was to select a suitable location for the future town of the Mennonites. After due search they decided upon a tract near the Schuylkill River. Here they broke ground on October 24. In a letter dated March 7, 1684, and still preserved in the archives of the Pennsylvania Historical Association in Philadelphia,
Pastorius described the town they founded (Germantown) as being "two hours distant from Philadelphia". For the first year the life of the settlers was but one continuous struggle against the wilderness, whose depths no white man had ever penetrated. Trees of enormous size, hundreds of years old, and almost impenetrable brushwood had to be removed to win a clearing for the little houses. Pastorius, himself comments on the suffering of the early settlers in his "Grund und Lagerbuch" where he records that:

"the hardships and trials of the early settlers were great, only equalled by their Christian endurance and indefatigable industry, so that Germantown in the early days could well be called "Armentown" (Poor Man's Town)" 29

At the end of the first year, however, the settlers had improved their condition materially; they had raised a good crop of Indian corn and buckwheat, and had added a few comforts to their houses.

These first settlers, however, were not farmers, they were predominantly weavers. Special care was given to the cultivation of flax and the grapevine. The flax was of importance, as the Mennonites continued in their profession as weavers with success to such an extent, that the linen and other woven goods from Germantown became famous for their quality. Pastorius selected for the town seal a clover, with a vine on one of its leaves, a stalk of flax on another, and a spool of thread on the third; the motto on it was "Vinum, Linum, et Textinum" -- "Wine, Linen, and Weaving".
It was a place:

"Where lives high German and Low Dutch,  
Whose trade in weaving linen cloth is much, 
There grows the flax as also you may know 
That from the same, they do divide the tow." 31

Much more could be written about the Mennonites and their influence on the growth of Philadelphia, but let us conclude our sketch by noting that relations between Penn, Pastorius, and the Mennonites were amicable. From letters written by Pastorius we gather that he often dined with Penn, for he writes to his friends:

"The governor (Penn) often summons me to dine with him" and, again: --,

"As I was recently absent from home a week, he came himself to visit me and bade me to dine with him twice every week." 32

The settlers of Germantown contributed not a little toward making Philadelphia the leading manufacturing city of the American continent.

THE TUNKERS--Germantown later became the home of another sect namely, the Tunkers or Dunkards (German Baptists). They did not arrive until 1719. They came here as religious refugees from Germany. This sect founded by Alexander Mack did not believe in infant baptism, they refused to take oaths, bear arms, or accept public office. Christoph Saur, a son of Saur, the publisher, became an elder in the province. He took an active part in the establishment of the Germantown Academy. Through his almanac and other publications he was widely known
outside of Pennsylvania.

THE SCHWENKFELDERS. -- Another sect that built its altars in the forests of Pennsylvania was that of the Schwenkfelders, founded by Kaspar Schwenkfeld of Silesia. About seventy families came a few years after the Tunkers, and arrived in Philadelphia in the ship "St. Andrew", September 22, 1734. Other migrations of smaller numbers followed, and it has been said that no representative of the sect has been left in Europe.

They had been persecuted for their religion in Silesia, and had been reduced to poverty. They were sent to Pennsylvania by the benevolence of some merchants in Amsterdam. These sectarians, like the Quakers, were opposed to war, oaths, and all sacraments.

Their first settlement was made in Montgomery County. They congregated for worship in each other's dwellings. They settled in a body on the head waters of the Perkiomen where they still can be found -- the only Schwenkfelders in the world with many of the peculiarities of dress and custom which they brought from Europe nearly two hundred years ago. They are said to have been more generally educated than any of the other German sects, and were much devoted to translating in beautiful writing the various volumes of their religious books which are now highly prized as curiosities.

LUTHERANS AND REFORMED. -- Mennonites, Pietists, Tunkers, and
Schwenkfelders were foremost in settling Pennsylvania in the latter part of the seventeenth century, but the most influential German settlers were the Palatines of the eighteenth century, who, for the most part, belonged to the Lutheran and Reformed sects.

Then, too, the character of the immigration after 1700 changed. No longer, was immigration confined to those who had been influenced by Penn’s visits to the Continent. It was now the English government which took advantage of the disrupted situation in Germany to encourage people to make their homes in America to compete with the French there.

The question might arise as to the reason for England's apparent interest in the people of Germany. The answer is not difficult. Throughout the seventeenth century there had been constant intercourse between England and the Palatinate, sanctioned and stimulated by the royal marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of James I with the Elector Palatine, Frederick V. There was also between the two countries the common bond of Protestant faith. The Palatines influenced by the Reformation, had become either Lutherans or Reformed. About 1707, these Protestant Palatines suffered severe persecution at the hands of their rulers who wished them to conform to the religion of their rulers. They thus began to seek for a haven of religious freedom.

Relief was not far from sight, for in 1708, the Palatines were invited by Queen Anne to come to England in order to be
sent to her majesty's colonies in America. They accepted her invitation, for in the spring of 1708 ten thousand Palatines arrived in London.

Previous to their invitation by Queen Anne, however, they had petitioned her for permission to settle in England. In the archives of the Pennsylvania Historical Association at Philadelphia may be found this woeful petition to Queen Anne:

"We the poor distressed Palatines whose utter ruin was occasioned by the merciless cruelty of a blood enemy, the French, whose prevailing power, some years past, like a torrent rushed into our country not content with money and food necessary for their occasions, not only disposed us of all support, but inhumanly burnt our houses to the ground, where being deprived of all shelter, we were turned into the open fields, and then driven with our families to seek shelter where we could find it; being obliged to make the cold earth our lodging, and the clouds our covering."38

They were permitted to land in England and Queen Anne allowed nine pence per day each for their subsistence. They were housed in army tents, set up in vacant lots, and in barns, and warehouses. Some of these refugees were sent to Ireland, but large numbers of them eventually found their way to America. The largest detachment was a body of three thousand, which arrived in New York in the summer of 1710. Here they suffered countless hardships. The land was poor and work did not bring proper returns. To the shame of the New York colonists it is recorded that these Palatines were welcomed with privation, distress, fraud, and cruel disappointment. They were cheated and oppressed by the heartless and rapacious settlers to whom their helplessness made them easy
victims. It was due to hardships of this sort that the distressed Palatines finally begged Governor Keith of Pennsylvania for lands on the Tulpehocken. He granted their petition. One body of migration went in 1723, the other in 1728. In all, three hundred persons settled between the sources of the Swatara and the Tulpehocken. They called their town Heidelberg.

These two sects prospered. The Lutherans had a great leader in Muhlenberg, and the Reformed found an organizer in Michael Schlatter. Both sects were always quite friendly with each other. In rural districts they commonly worshipped in the same church. The school house was generally the companion of the Church. They had an educated and paid ministry. They also made special efforts to spread the English language among the Germans.

THE MORAVIANS. -- Another sect which settled Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century was made up of Moravians whose chief work was done in behalf of the Indians. They settled in Northampton county, at Nazareth in 1739, and at Bethlehem in 1741. Their leader was Count Zinzendorf. These Moravians, or United Brethren, avoided dogmatic teaching adhering to the Scriptures for the ethical principles of life. They were sort of a communistic sect, who carried on thirty trades for the benefit of the Church. Bethlehem lay along the line of travel from New England to the South, and its Moravian inns were famous throughout the land for their hospitality. Their
greatest work, as referred to previously, was the conversion of the Indians, the fruits of which were destroyed by the French and Indian War. The schools of this sect were also widely known and many young ladies and gentlemen from far and wide received their education in them.

CATHOLICS.-- What about Catholics in Pennsylvania at this time? Did they exert no influence? In the eighteenth century German Catholics were not numerous enough in comparison with the Protestant sects, to wield an appreciable influence. However, it will be appropriate here to show the place of Catholics in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania.

The celebrated German mission of Goshenhoppen, Berks County, 45 miles northwest of Philadelphia is interesting as a point from which Catholic immigration set out westward. It was founded by Rev. Theodore Schneider, S.J., who built a church in 1745 and remained at the settlement for twenty years. This was from an early day a very flourishing mission. In the same year, 1741, the Rev. William Wapeler, S.J., founded the mission at Conewago. It soon rivaled Goshenhoppen. Both were composed at first of Germans, later, the Irish element was introduced. Father Farmer (his original name Steinmeyer) came to Lancaster in 1758. Trinity Church in Philadelphia was built in 1788. In 1757 there were 988 German Catholics in all of Pennsylvania.

A list of German Catholics in Pennsylvania in 1757 is as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Under care of Father Schneider</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In Chester County</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia City -- up country</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In and about Philadelphia</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berks County</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northampton County</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bucks County</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chester County</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Under care of Father Farmer   |     |       |
| In Lancaster County           | 108 | 94    |
| Berks County                  | 41  | 39    |
| Chester County                | 3   | 0     |

| Under care of Matthias Manners|     |       |
| In York County                | 54  | 62    |

It is obvious, then, that the influence of these Catholics must have been limited. First, they were far outnumbered by the other sects which were well organized; secondly, these Catholics were scattered over a wide area, and thirdly, bigotry played a major part in the lives of the pioneers.

It is difficult to estimate the number of Germans in Pennsylvania before the Revolution. From 1727 on, the immigration report at the port of Philadelphia was made. Between 1727 and 1775, computation, made by Kuhns who based his estimate on records, and compared with Rupp, tells us that 68,872 Germans arrived between 1727 and 1775. Kuhns assumes that before 1727 there were 20,000 Germans in Pennsylvania. This would bring the total number to 88,875. For natural increase, he adds a little over 20,000 making a grand total over 110,000 Pennsylvania Germans in 1775. This represents
one-third of the whole population in the United States, which agrees with the statements made by Benjamin Franklin, Dr. Rush, and the historian Proud to the effect that the Germans numbered about one-third of the population. The Pennsylvania Archives gives the following list of immigrants which is in agreement with Kuhns:

<table>
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<td>903</td>
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<td>1773</td>
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<tr>
<td>1774</td>
<td>675</td>
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<tr>
<td>1775</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>68,872</td>
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CHAPTER II

GENERAL SOCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS

Pennsylvania, in granting admittance to the distressed Germans was undertaking a project which would prove to be either beneficial or detrimental to the upbuilding of the infant Commonwealth. Time was to decide whether these people would become assets or liabilities.

The value of any foreign immigration depends upon two facts. The foreigners must show a readiness and willingness to assimilate with the native stock, or they must exert a favorable influence upon the country of their adoption in order to be rated as contributors to the social well-being of any city, state, or nation. The Germans who came to Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century measure up adequately to these standards. If we trace their History from its early beginnings in our country down to the present day, we find that they have furnished brain, brawn, and blood in the building up of colonies and cities and in the development of the nation's material resources in the struggle against wild nature and savage foes. Such service is indeed equivalent to a favorable influence.

Karl Lamprecht rates as greatest that nation which has yielded the most frequent and lasting influence upon the world. With this statement in mind, and with a number of facts
at hand, it seems quite just to rate the eighteenth century Pennsylvania Germans as a people who wielded a varied and lasting influence upon the commonwealth. Wherein lay their primary value?

While it remains an incontestible fact that the most valuable contribution to Pennsylvania by the German pioneer was his consummate agricultural skill, it is true, nevertheless, that in other fields, his contributions cannot be underrated or minimized. In studying the social life of these eighteenth-century pioneers, we learn that in such fields as Literature, Journalism, Education, the Culinary Arts, Philanthropy, and Patriotism, they made distinct contributions. They, too, were the embodiment of such social virtues, as hospitality, frugality, economy, industry, honesty, the joy of living, love of labor, and the care of the body, which bear imitation.

LITERATURE

While the nineteenth century abounds with countless evidences of German-American literature, and the greatest contributions to the literary world were made by many Pennsylvania Germans of that period, still it is noteworthy that the eighteenth-century Pennsylvania German was in a great measure the herald of that profound movement, and is responsible for the laying of its early foundation. And while the literary value of this early literature can boast of no greatness, yet the day may come when it will be studied with much care and
Despite the fact, that among the early Pennsylvania Germans no "Shakespeare" made his appearance, still the Germans who came did produce a literature all their own. It was written in their own language and consists in memoirs, poems, works of fiction, books of travel and of learning. This work is quite devoid of literary value. Its chief value consists in its historical interest, as it is descriptive of weal and woe of German immigrants in this country, and it furnishes a record of their outer and inner life.

This German-American literature begins with the writings of the patriarch Franz Daniel Pastorius, the founder of Germantown. He was an industrious writer on a number of subjects both in poetry and prose. Only a few of his writings, however, are still in print; most of his books were published abroad. He left a number of manuscripts. One of these is called the "Beehive". This is a sort of encyclopedia, of history, biography, ethics, religion, and language. It also contains a collection of inscriptions, epitaphs, proverbs, poetry, pithy sayings, acrostics. (The full title is "Alvearum Apiculae Germanopolitarum Anglicarum"). The poetry of Pastorius was mostly doggerel as the following will show:

"This book seems tall and small
Of no esteem at all
Yet I would very fain
That any who doth find
The same would be so kind
To send it to me again."
Next in merit to Pastorius came the hymns and theosophical writings of Kelpius and Beisel and a long train of religious works by sectarians and laymen. The hymnbooks prepared by Beisel were used by the Dunkards, while the Mennonites had the "Ausbund", which was printed a number of times by Saur and is still in use by the Amish. The Schwenkfelders also had their own book containing a number of original hymns. The Lutherans and the Reformed imparted the Marburger, hymnbook which was later reprinted by Saur. These books were not merely used in Church but were read and poured over and committed to memory.

The glory of the German press in America is the quarto Bible of Saur, the first one printed in English America in any European language, and of which three editions were published before the first English Bible appeared in Philadelphia in 1782. (Saur's third edition came out in 1776).

A most influential publication of the Saur press was "Der Hoch-Deutsche-Amerikanische Kalendar" begun in 1738 and continued for many years. At this time there were also descriptions of colonial immigration. Letters of Hessian officers were printed in "Schlozer's Briefwechsel" (1776-1781).

These attempts to produce some work of literary merit were elementary, indeed, and they cannot lay claim to much glory, but when we consider that until the first decades of the nineteenth century the average English-speaking American had taken but infant steps into the realms of literature, much can be said in favor of the German Pennsylvanians who had made a dis-
tinctive effort at literary production. We must not be surprised if in this endeavor, their accomplishments were scarcely noticeable. We can, on the other hand, be astonished, that notwithstanding their isolation and their difficulty in acquiring a new language, they should have affected as much as they actually did.

JOURNALISM

An institution closely related to German-American literature is German American journalism. German-American journalism had as its main purpose the preparation of the German population for good citizenship. It was a great factor in bringing about a speedy assimilation by interesting the readers in American politics, history, and current questions. These papers, while published in the German language, were really not German papers but American papers published in the German language. They represented American interests as completely as did the papers which were printed in the English language. Their chief aim was to educate Germans who came to this country to be good and loyal citizens.

It is a noteworthy fact that the Germans of Pennsylvania were the first in the field of newspaperdom in a number of centers of population, such as, Germantown, Reading, Allentown, Easton, Lancaster and Lebanon.

Despite the fact, that the majority of the people of this eastern portion of Pennsylvania were either foreign-born or
the children of such, and that for a long time had a very hard struggle in securing the essentials of life (food, clothing, and shelter) we are surprised that newspapers appeared as early as they really did.

We can trace German American journalism as far back as pre-Revolutionary time. In 1739, Christoph Saur laid the foundation for a German paper entitled "Der Hoch-Deutsche Pennsylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber," or, "Sammlung, Wichtiger Nachrichten an dem Natur und Kirchen-Reich". This Germantown paper, "Germantown Zeitung", as it was later called, soon changed from a semi-annual publication to a quarterly, then to a monthly. In 1741, it was enlarged, and after 1775, the paper appeared weekly.

To Christoph Saur, who has the credit of publishing the first German Bible in America, and who is sometimes called the German Franklin, belongs the honor of not only founding German-American journalism, but of maintaining an exemplary standard of business integrity. His publication was followed by other German newspapers. In May 1743, Joseph Crellius of Philadelphia published a German weekly, called "The High Dutch Pennsylvania Journal". In 1751 Armbruster published a "Dutch-English Gazette", containing as it said "the freshest news", advices, foreign and domestic, with other entertaining and useful matters. This paper was printed at the German Printing Office in Arch Street, Philadelphia. Another German paper was established by Armbruster about 1759. By 1762 there were five
German newspapers in Pennsylvania. Henry Miller was the founder of the sixth German journal in 1762, and became the most influential German printer in Philadelphia. He was the printer for Congress and the publisher of influential books. In 1775, there were only twenty-seven newspapers in the thirteen colonies. Of these fourteen were distributed throughout the New England colonies, New York had four, and Pennsylvania had nine.

Thus we see that, before the eighth decade of the eighteenth century had made its appearance, the pioneer Germans had built up a satisfactory press, an institution which proved to be an influential factor in molding the public opinion of these people. The early press, although it was published in the German language, nevertheless, accomplished to a fair extent what every clean press has an obligation to do, namely, to instil ideals and principles into the minds and hearts of the American citizen.

THE FINE ARTS
MUSIC-PAINTING-SCULPTURE

The centering of the attention on the acquisition of life's necessities leaving but little time for the higher things of life was the cause which impeded the rapid progress of German-American Literature, and in a less degree of Journalism. This same cause asserted itself more prominently in retarding the development of the fine arts at this early date. Because all Americans at this time were engaged in the "bread
and butter" side of life, there was no time left in which they could cultivate those arts which draw men's minds from seeking material profit solely and directly ennoble the life of man.

Thus, for instance in the line of music, there were but meager beginnings. It was the nineteenth century German who widely influenced our musical world. The Quakers who formed the greater part of the population of Pennsylvania had beliefs that were rigid, serious, and narrow. They were practically divested of all forms of gayety. A German immigrant, after a short stay in Philadelphia, was heard to say:

"They do not love music -- ach no! and they never amuse themselves -- no, and their hearts are not warm, at least, they seem not so; and they have no ease, no forgetfulness of business and of care -- no, not for a moment". 59

There is no doubt that the German woman's criticism is quite accurate, but American types change rapidly, and the native American has ever shown himself capable of rapid development. This change has usually been brought about by foreign influence. Nowhere has this foreign influence been more evident than in Music, and in this department the German influence has been supreme and lasting. The Germans are responsible for the development of musical taste in the United States.

Due to the distrust which Quakers harbored for music, Philadelphia did not become the art center of America until the latter part of the eighteenth century. The large German churches had long cultivated vocal and instrumental music, Gottlieb Mittelberger was for three years 1751-1754, organist
of the German St. Augustine Church in Philadelphia. The first really ambitious concert given in this country took place in Philadelphia in May 4, 1786. It was given on Race Street. A grand concert combining vocal and instrumental music with two hundred and thirty vocal, and fifty instrumental performers, and a program of classical music gave evidence of rising musical taste.

Philadelphia had a musical association as early as 1740; and an organ was located in Christ Church, Philadelphia soon after 1700, and a few music teachers resided there at an early date. The first piano was constructed by John Behrent in Philadelphia in 1774. The Quakers were as much opposed to music as were the Puritans, and the musical progress of Philadelphia at this early time is to be ascribed to the large music-loving German population of that city.

A musical factor which is frequently overlooked in the History of American Music and which is to the credit of the Germans, is the vocal and instrumental music of the Moravians at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The Moravians, undoubtedly had the first regular music school in America, long before the Boston Musical Academy and the Philadelphia Musical Fund Society were dreamed of. Philadelphia had an orchestra earlier than Boston, thanks to its large German population. There is a record of several musicians from Hamburg forming a band as early as 1783. The organization of greatest influence, however, belongs to the nineteenth century. This was the Musical Fund Society begun in
It arranged both secular and sacred programs, combined instrumental and vocal music at its concerts, founded a school, built a music hall, and gave assistance to indigent professional musicians. Beethoven's First Symphony was played by this organization probably for the first time in this country. The Maennerchoere, so prominent in Pennsylvania today, were also a product of the early nineteenth century Pennsylvania Germans. The Philadelphia Maennerchor founded December 15, 1835, is the oldest singing society in the United States and is still in a flourishing condition.

PAINTING

Although there were some moderate achievements in the fields of Literature and Music among the eighteenth century Pennsylvania Germans, the same statement cannot be made about their contributions in the field of art, because prior to 1776 America had no painting. Up to this period, people had been concerned chiefly with the material side of life. An old historian who attempted to show that man always attends to his physical needs first speaks of the people who lived in our country prior to 1776 as:

"People ate and drank and reclaimed the land and multiplied. The large bar of iron was of more value than the finest statue, and an ell of good cloth was prized more highly, than the "Transfiguration of Raphael"." 64

SCULPTURE

If in the eighteenth century, the beginnings of music and painting in the United States, were difficult; the case for
for sculpture seemed well nigh hopeless. The Puritan and Quaker horror of the flesh, and a peculiar, unfathomable prudishness that held sway all over the country, compelled whatever talent there was in the land to seek refuge in fair Italy. It could find no quarter in the United States.

**EDUCATION**

When reference is made in regard to the educational influence that the Germans have wielded, not only on Pennsylvania but on the United States as a whole, we generally turn our minds to the German of the Nineteenth century. But as in the fields of Literature and Journalism a gradual trend toward success was evident already in the eighteenth century, so also was this true in Education.

The masses of the early German settlers of Pennsylvania were not highly educated, nor were they remarkably ignorant or illiterate, as the facts of the case bear out. The historian Freytag insists that

"all had received the rudiments of education in the Fatherland in accordance with the universal custom in Germany of uniting education with religion." 65

This early education among the German pioneers transplanted from the Fatherland, was, therefore, not very deep, but practical in religious and secular affairs. Even among the unprofessional people were found traces of classical learning. Thus Johannes Kolb, a weaver of Germantown had used a copy of Erasmus in Latin, and a Schwenkfelder, named Schultz, had a
well thumbed Latin grammar.

The earliest settlers were under the direction of some of the most learned men of the time. Zimmerman who had planned the colony was called by Arnold: "Ein Grundgelehrter" (a profoundly learned man). Johann Kelpius, his successor as leader of the colony, was a Doctor of Philosophy of Tybingen. Peter Miller was a very learned man who came to Philadelphia to attend the meetings of the Philosophical Society. He translated the Declaration of Independence into seven different languages. He spoke Latin as fluently as he did the vernacular.

There was a fair representation of learned men, but other facilities for education were sadly lacking in this interior wilderness. Such equipment as schools and books were not introduced until the third decade of the eighteenth century. The earliest schools were parochial. The religious denominations took care of the schools of their children, and the ministers were commonly the teachers.

In these parochial schools, the German language was taught sometimes to the exclusion of the English. In those early days reading and writing formed the basis of an education. Among the German teachers who stood head and shoulders above their surrounding were men of university training. Such, for instance was Franz Daniel Pastorius. He was the first German teacher in America serving the English Quaker school in Philadelphia from 1698 to 1700, and taking charge of the first German school established in Germantown in 1702. Under his sys-
tem the teacher was supported by the scholars' fees. The school was co-educational, and it added a night school for those who labored during the day, or who were too far advanced in age for the day school.

Every German sect had its schools. The Mennonites, as early as 1706 founded an institution where Christopher Dock afterward educated the young. He introduced the blackboard into the classroom, and in 1750 wrote his remarkable book on teaching called "Schul-Ordnung". Christopher Dock's book is the first pedagogical book published in America. In this "Schul-Ordnung", ("School Discipline") he advised not only the training of children in their studies, but demanded also their training in righteousness. Morality, conduct, and scholarship were the order in which these educational elements were instilled.

The Schwenkfelders were noted as teachers in the middle of the eighteenth century. The Moravians established schools at Nazareth, Bethlehem, and Lititz, and also academies for young ladies, which were patronized by the native as well as the German population, and drew people from every one of the colonies.

The Lutheran and Reformed German Churches established the largest number of schools throughout the territory of the German settlements. Muhlenberg and Schlatter did much to improve the schools. But even earlier, between 1720 and 1740, there were good scholars, such as Boehm, Weisz, Stiefel, Hack, and
Leutbecker, all teaching in Pennsylvania, and all of them of
good German training.

In the case of higher education, the situation is not so
encouraging at this early date. During the eighteenth century
interest in higher education was a minus quantity due to the
absurd notions many of the sects had concerning the influence
of secondary education. The Mennonites, and especially the
Dunkards, were opposed to it on the same grounds as the
Quakers; while the majority of the Lutherans and Reformed were
farmers and saw no reason why their children should know more
than they did. To read and write, to know something of Arith-
metic, to be able to read the hymnbook, Bible, and newspaper
seemed to them all that was necessary for their well-being. As
time progressed this idea entirely changed, for with the extent
of leisure time came the opportunity to devote one's time to
the higher pursuits in life. The nineteenth century produced
many outstanding German characters in the arts and sciences.
At present, a large proportion of the faculty and students of
the University of Pennsylvania, State College, and Jefferson
Medical College are descendants of the original Pennsylvania
Germans.

Considering their difficulty in mastering the English
language, and the problem of establishing themselves in the
face of adverse conditions, and that the majority of English
colonists themselves had only the rudiments of an education,
the progress made by the early Germans deserves commendation. Their aims toward an educational goal are also worth heeding for they were not satisfied with merely instilling an abundance of book-knowledge into their pupils, but made notable efforts to fulfill that true aim of education, namely, "to educate the whole man" by fostering in the hearts of the children such virtues as love of labor, honesty, punctuality, truthfulness, unselfishness and humility -- virtues which if carefully preserved would make these students the ideal type of citizen.

A DEFENSE AGAINST THE CHARGE OF ILLITERACY

With these facts of educational progress at hand, it seems strange that the early Germans should have been deemed a most illiterate class of people.

Some English writers have branded the Germans as being grossly ignorant and illiterate. But, by what can be gathered from the majority of sources, it has been made plain that, the pioneers were much more intelligent that their English contemporaries supposed them to be. On the whole, it appears that English writers, have for the most part, confused deficiency in learning with a lack of the knowledge of the English language. It must not be forgotten that the whole legal, technical, and political frame of activities in Pennsylvania was being conducted in a language with which the Germans were imperfectly familiar, and that, though many of them were intelligent, thoughtful, and well educated, they were unable to ex-
press themselves on points at issue to those about them. When large issues of the day were at stake, the German often displayed deep interest in their solution, and frequently the value of their handling of the problem was greater than that offered by the Quakers and Tories.

A very glaring example of this confusion of knowledge of the English language with education can be gathered from several inconsistent remarks made by Franklin himself. In 1753 in a letter to England Franklin says of the German colonists:

"Those who came hither are generally the most stupid of their nation."

Then in the same letter he states that:

"They import many books, and in Philadelphia have their printing houses, their newspapers, and, of late, their bonds and other legal writings in their own language." 77

Evidently he has made no distinction between education and a knowledge of the English language.

At the very time when these letters were written to England, describing the Germans as "so profoundly ignorant as to speak the English language and, as to fact becoming unto wood-born savages," every German church in the province was maintaining a flourishing parochial school, and Christopher Saur was conducting at Germantown, a German publishing house, which was, by far, the largest and most successful in the American Colonies. Richards in "The German Leaven in Pennsylvania Loaf", page 8, when taking a stand against the illiteracy of these people exclaims:
"The Pennsylvania Germans illiterate! --
God save the mark! The man whose first

care was to erect his Church and then to
establish his parish school in or beside
it -- illiterate?" 78

Why stigmatize the Germans as being particularly ignorant
when all pioneers of America at this time, regardless of
nationality can be branded in the same light? Was not each of
the immigrant nations engaged in the pursuit of the three ex-
istence essentials -- food, clothing and shelter before they
ever dreamed of the cultural side of life?

We do not attempt to place the Germans on the pinnacle
of the mountain of wisdom because facts are facts, and we are
willing to admit that while illiteracy was not more prominent
among the Germans than among other immigrants, there were,
nevertheless, many Germans who were ignorant. When they ar-
rived in this country, they found that the earlier settlers
had chosen land which was easily cleared, and it became neces-
sary to attack the forests that occupied the interior of the
colony. But who can form an adequate idea of the toil and
privation which the task of clearing the land involved? For
years they dwelt in comparative solitude. Separated from the
educational influences of the Fatherland and generally unable
to speak the language of their rulers, it is not surprising
that their intellectual progress was slow, though there were
among them at all times, some men of intelligence and influ-
ence. In this isolated position it is quite natural that some
of their national weaknesses became intensified. Thus it was
that, while the people were engrossed in erecting houses, and
clearing the fields to raise wheat for bread, they could give
little attention to schools for the instruction of their chil-
dren. Thus there was for a considerable period no education,
but when schools were erected they proved to be a great bless-
ing. And then we must remember that even under the most favor-
able conditions, there is always a proportion of illiteracy
among the people.

From facts at hand, it seems therefore, unjust that the
Germans should be branded with illiteracy, while other nation-
alities pass uncriticized. The amount of illiteracy is not
appalling. About 75 percent of these early immigrants whose
names appear on the ship registers, were able to write their
own names. Nearly all those who signed their names to the Oath
of Allegiance, wrote in elegant German script. Taking the
following years as typical, we find these percentages of illit-
eracy:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<tr>
<td>1727</td>
<td>24.46</td>
<td>1741</td>
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<td>29.85</td>
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<td>14.33</td>
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<td>1737</td>
<td>20.47</td>
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<td>33.83</td>
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<td>42.06</td>
<td>1753</td>
<td>14.14</td>
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<tr>
<td>1740</td>
<td>31.94</td>
<td>1754</td>
<td>17.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>645.50</td>
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645.50 \div 27 = 23.9\% 

Taking into consideration:

1. that Germany had been the battleground of contending armies for more than a century;

2. the prevailing illiteracy in Germany at the time; and

3. the additional fact that the Protestant Reformation laid emphasis on the ability to read rather than to write, the percentage of illiteracy is remarkably low; and the slur on the education of the Germans and the exaggeration of their illiteracy is not just.

PHILANTHROPS

Protest Against Slavery

Immigrant Aid Societies

However distinct and valuable as were the material contributions, such as its agriculture, its weaving and milling industries which we shall see, however notable and praiseworthy were the accomplishments in the fields of Literature, Journalism, Art, and Education, the Pennsylvania German was still more remarkable for another feature, a monument built more enduring than brass, erected for the cause of humanity, that will make Germantown forever memorable in the annals of the people in the United States.

This was Germantown's protest against negro slavery made about the year 1700, the first formal action ever taken against the barter of human flesh within the boundaries of the United
states. To this body of humble, unpretending and unnoticed philanthropists belongs the honor of having been the first association in the United States which ever remonstrated against negro slavery. The system of negro slavery was repulsive to the Germans from the start, and they were shocked to find that the Quakers remained indifferent toward this criminal abuse. They failed to understand how the Quakers could harmonize slavery with their religion. The protest had its origin in a gathering of Germans who met on the 18th of April, 1698 in Germantown. A document still preserved by the Pennsylvania Historical Association was drawn up in the handwriting of Pastorius and was signed by Garret Hendricks, F. D. Pastorius, Dirch and Abraham Op den Graeff. It was addressed to the monthly meeting of Quakers about to take place at Richard Warrell's house. This remarkable document reads as follows:

"This is to Ye Monthly Meeting held at Richard Warrell's. These are the reasons why we are against the Traffick of men's bodies as follows: 'Is there any that would be handled in this manner? To be sold or made a slave for all the time of his life? How fearful and fainthearted many on sea when they see a strange vessel, being afraid it should be a Turk, and they should be taken and sold for slaves into Turkey. Now what is this better done as Turks doe? Yea, rather is it worse for them, which say they are Christians; for we hear that ye most part of such negers are brought hither against their will and consent; and that many of them are stollen. Now, though they are black, we cannot conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white ones. There is a saying, that we shall doe to all men, like as we will be done ourselves; making no difference of what generation, descent of color they are. And those who steal or robb men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not all alike? Here is liberty of conscience, which is right and reasonable; here
ought to be likewise liberty of ye body except of evildoers, which is another case. But to bring men hither, or to robb and sell them against their will, we stand against. In Europe there are many oppressed for conscience sake, and here are those oppressed which are of a black colour. And we, who know that men must not commit adultery, some doe commit adultery in others; separating wives from their husbands, and giving them to others; and some sell the children of those poor creatures to other men. Oh, doe consider well this thing; you who doe it; if you would be done at this manner. And consider if it is done according to Christianity? You surpass German and Holland in this thing. This makes an ill report in all those countries of Europe where they hear of it, that ye Quakers doe here handel men that as they handel there yet cattel. And for that reason some have no mind or inclination to come hither. And who shall maintaine this your cause or plead for it? Truly we cannot practice these things -- Pray! What thing on the world can be done worse towards us, than if men should robb or steal us away, and sell us for slaves to strange countries, separating husbands from their wives and children? Being now that this is not done at this manner, we will be done at, therefore we contradict and are against this traffick of men's bodies. And we who profess it is not lawful to steal, must likewise avoid to purchase such things as are stolen, but rather help to stop this robbing and stealing if possible; and such men ought to be delivered out of such of ye Robbers and set free as well as in Europe. Then is Pennsylvania to have a good report, instead it hath now a bad one for this sake in other countries. Especially whereas ye Europeans are desirous to know in what manner ye Quakers doe rule in their Province; and most of them doe look upon us with an envious eye. But if this is done well, what shall we say is done evil? If once these slaves (which they say are wicked and stubborn men) should join themselves, fight for their freedom and handel their masters and mistresses as they did handel them before, will these masters and mistresses take the sword and warr against these poor slaves, like we are able to believe some will not refuse to doe? Or have these Negers not as much right to fight for their freedom, as you have to keep them slaves?

Now consider well this thing; if it is good or bad? And in case you find it to be good to handel these blacks at that manner, we desire and require you hereby lovingly that you may inform us herein, which at this time never was done, that Christians have such a liberty to doe so, to the end we shall be satisfied in this point, and satisfie lickewise, our good friends and acquaintances in our natif country, to whom it is a terror or rearfull thing than men should be handeled so in Pennsylvania." 80
Reprint of the original protest preserved in the Pennsylvania Historical Association at Philadelphia.

This protest was submitted at several meetings of the Quakers, who, however, found the question too important to take action upon, since this question stood in intimate relation with other affairs. This document set up by the humble inhabitants of Germantown, however, compelled the Quakers to think. Becoming aware that the traffic in human beings did not harmonize with Christian religion, they introduced in 1711 an act "to prevent the importation of Negroes and Indians into the Province"; and later on, they declared against slave trade. But as the government found such laws inadmissible the question dragged along until 150 years later when this black spot on the escutcheon of the United States was eradicated.

If at the present time a humanitarian movement similar to the Germantown Slavery Protest were to be initiated and promulgated, it is very likely that the originators would have their names emblazoned on the front pages of our daily newspapers, medals would be awarded to them, and, perhaps, a monetary reward would be in store for them. We would surround them with glory and, perhaps, justly so. What honor, reverence, and gratitude, then, ought we to have for these early philanthropists, whose sole motive was not prompted by desire for monetary reward or fame, but solely to stamp out an institution which infringed on the most sacred rights of men!

As praiseworthy as are the ethical contributions of the
German element to American culture and, in particular, as estimable as was the first protest against slavery, so glorious are also many other works which manifested their benevolence as well as their public spirit and love for justice. Besides being the founders of the anti-slavery movement, the Pennsylvania Germans of the eighteenth century were also the originators of another philanthropic institution.

It was on Christmas Day 1764 that the Germans organized the German Society of Pennsylvania, in order to fight the horrible abuses which had arisen with European immigration. To review these evils means to open the blackest pages of our colonial history. English and Dutch shippers, not supervised by authorities, who took no interest in the proper treatment and future of emigrants, committed the most abominable crimes against these poor people. The abuses of this system grew in time to such an extent, that the redemptioners were in fact no better treated than slaves, and were often literally worked to death, to say nothing of insufficient food, scanty clothing and poor lodging. Of the right to punish redemptioners, many heartless people made such frequent and cruel use, that laws became necessary whereby it was forbidden to apply to such servants more than ten lashes for each "fault". Female redemptioners were quite often forced to lives of shame by all kinds of devilish tricks, conditions, which some of the peculiar laws of the colonies even invited.

Incidents of such character stirred the German citizens
of Philadelphia to revolt against such infamous treatment of immigrants. Forming the German Society of Pennsylvania, they secured in time laws by which shipowners as well as the captains and other officials became subject to strict control, and many of the worst abuses were successfully stopped.

The German Society of Pennsylvania became the model for many similar institutions in other parts of our continent, as for instance, in New York, Charleston, Baltimore, Hartford, St. Louis, New Orleans, Chicago, Kansas City, San Francisco, Portland, and Seattle. By uncovering evils and vigorously persecuting guilty persons, by continually framing and recommending efficient laws, these societies secured at last a better treatment of the immigrants on the ocean as well as after landing. With full justice these German Societies may be called the true originators of our modern immigration laws. They were the heralds of an institution which today has reached immeasurable heights.

PATRIOTISM AS MANIFESTED IN THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE

PATRIOTISM

Closely related to the Philanthropy of the German-Americans is their manifestation of an ardent patriotism. We cannot peruse the pages of German-American History without noting the important role played by the Germans in the theatre of that great struggle which brought about for the colonies
their independence from England. The assistance which the
Germans so cheerfully rendered to the government of their
adoption was not manifested in the shout of: "Three cheers
for the Red, White, and Blue!", or in series of "Hurrahs!",
but in a sterling devotion to the cause of winning for the
colonies their cherished freedom.

When Patrick Henry with his stirring words: "Give me
liberty or give me death!" raised the battle cry, great ex-
citement spread through all the colonies. Interest in trade,
crops, hunting or fishing was no more! The shops of the work-
men and the offices of the merchants were deserted. Only in
the sooty workshops of the armourers and gun-makers sounded
the hammers, ground the files and whirled the whetstones un-
tiringly. The whole country, one in its glowing passion for
liberty, prepared for war.

Among the most enthusiastic patriots were the Germans.
Everywhere the young man responded to the call of Congress for
volunteers. The spirit of that response may be judged by the
example given by Pennsylvania. On June 14, 1775, Congress
ordered that province to furnish six companies of sharp shoot-
ers. Instead, Pennsylvania provided nine, four of which were
totally German and were commanded by German officers. Several
divisions of these, commanded by Colonel Nagel and Colonel
Daudel, immediately marched to Boston to join Washington's
army. The first to arrive were sharpshooters of Berks County,
Splendid fellows, every one of whom would have been welcomed by King Frederick the Great into his famous bodyguard of giants. On the breast of each, written in large letters, appeared their watchword: "Liberty or Death!"

Similar squads of German sharpshooters made the long march from Virginia to Massachusetts with Daniel Morgan. When Washington espied them from a distance, he galloped up to them, and when they reported: "Sharpshooters from the right bank of the Potomac!", he jumped from his horse to greet them. Tears of joy streamed over his face upon beholding these splendid men, who had tramped six hundred miles to come to his assistance.

During the siege of Boston these German sharpshooters rendered invaluable service. Carrying bored rifles, which at that time were made only by German gun-smiths of Pennsylvania, they surpassed all other Americans in marksmanship. Aiming especially at the officers, they caused such havoc among the British regiments, that one of the members of the Parliament cried: "Those Americans know more of our army than we dream of. They shut it up, besiege it, destroy and crush it. Wherever our officers show their noses, they are swept away of American rifles."

The splendid work, done by these German marksmen, induced Congress on May 25, 1776, to call for the formation of an entirely German batallion, whose eight companies should be made up half of Pennsylvania, and half of Marylanders. The Germans of Pennsylvania, however, not content with doing their share,
provided in a few weeks five complete companies. This battalion distinguished itself at Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown, and in the border fights at the headwaters of the Susquehannah and Potomac Rivers.

Washington's bodyguard was made up exclusively of Germans from Berks and Lancaster Counties. In this way Pennsylvania furnished the best proof of their entire trustworthiness and reliability. One hundred-fifty strong, they were commanded by Major Bartholomaeus Von Heer, a former Prussian officer. Jacob Meytinger served as colonel, and Philipp Struebing and Johann Nutter as lieutenants. This bodyguard accompanied Washington throughout all the seven years of the war, guarding him faithfully.

In the spring of 1777 the British made a supreme effort to separate the Northern colonies from those in the South, in order to defeat the American forces held positions on the Hudson, near West Point. Burgoyne, St. Leger and Howe were to converge at Albany for concerted action. This was the most critical time of the entire war.

It was through the Palatines of the Mohawk Valley that this scheme of the British was defeated. As soon as these Germans were informed by some friendly Oneida Indians that St. Leger had invaded the valley, they entrusted the protection of their houses, and families to the aged men and women, and marched 800 strong under command of Nicholas Herchheimer
(Herkimer) toward Fort Stanwix.

Unfortunately the Palatines were discovered by some Indian scouts of the British. The Indians pounced upon them, but these old Indian fighters stood their ground bravely. Herchheimer was one of the first to be wounded. A fierce struggle ensued. German vigor and energy stood against Indian cunning and agility. The Palatines, at last were victorious. Ten days after the battle of Oriskany, or Fort Stanwix, Herchheimer died as a result of an unskillful amputation of the wounded leg.

Another outstanding German character of Revolutionary fame is that of Peter Muhlenberg. When the war clouds began to gather, he informed the members of his community that he would preach but once more. In his forceful sermon he spoke of the duties citizens owe to their country. In closing he said: "There is a time for preaching and praying. But there is also a time of fighting. Now this time has come!"

His regiment, made up of Germans, fought with great honor. He distinguished himself in the Battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. During the siege of Yorktown he held some of the most important positions, captured the strongest redoubts of the enemy, and became very instrumental in the fall of the fortress. For his excellent services he was rewarded with the title of major-general. George Washington counted him among his confidential friends.
Among other heroes in the Revolutionary War there was George Gerhardt von der Weiden, a Hanoverian, who appears in American history under the name of Weedon. In many battles he fought with such distinction and bravery that he was made a brigadier general. We must also remember Colonel Kichlein, a German Pennsylvanian who, after the battle of Long Island covered with his company Washington's retreat. Of him and his gallant soldiers a historian has said: "Long Island was the Thermopylae of our war for independence, and the German Pennsylvanians were its Spartans."

Furthermore there was Leonard Helm, the brave defender of Fort Vincennes, also Alexander Gillan, son of a Hessian merchant in Charleston. It is not more than just to remember also Michael Hillegas, a merchant of Philadelphia, who as treasurer of Congress filled the most difficult and trying position the struggling nation had to offer. Without adequate means to replenish the funds of the treasury, the government was constantly in financial embarrassments, which the British successfully increased by flooding the country with enormous quantities of counterfeits of the paper money issued by the American government. Hillegas, loaded down with care, nevertheless served the country faithfully for fourteen years from 1775 to 1789.

Evidences of highest patriotism were given also by many other noncombatant Germans. When Washington's soldiers were starving, nine Germans donated $100,000, a very large sum in
those days, to buy provisions. And when in Philadelphia the motion to collect money to purchase arms, was negatively debated, Christopher Ludwig, a German baker, arose and thus cut short the flow of rhetoric: "Mr. President, I am only a poor gingerbread maker, but write me down for two hundred pounds."

This same patriot, an example of unselfishness and honesty, served as superintendent of bakers for a number of years.

German women also distinguished themselves for true patriotism and bravery. In Philadelphia, Mrs. Margaret Greider, whose maiden name was Arkularius devoted not only 1500 guineas to the cause of liberty, but for several months provided the American soldiers with bread, refusing to accept compensation for it.

Every American knows the story of Molly Pitcher, who got that name because she used to supply the fighting soldiers with water brought in a large pitcher. Born on October 13, 1754, in New Jersey, she was of Palatine ancestry, her maiden name was Marie Ludwig. Her husband John Hays, was a gunner. When at the battle of Monmouth, he was wounded and no other man was available for serving the cannon, Molly Pitcher took his place and helped, during the most critical moments, in loading and firing with such dexterity, that Washington after the battle, appointed her to rank and pay of sergeant.
CHAPTER III.
INFLUENTIAL SOCIAL VIRTUES OF THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN
A HERITAGE

The Germans who came to Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century have furnished an example, not of patriotism only, but also a pattern of the humbler virtues, which, after all, constitute the foundation of good citizenship, such as, respect for law, honesty, and promptness in the discharge of business obligations, dogged persistence, love of industry, thrift, and economy. On this foundation, they built an edifice made up of such virtues as vigor, sturdiness, vitality and genuineness.

By attributing these virtues to the Pennsylvania German, the writer has not in mind to hold him up to the world as a paragon of all social virtues, but he possessed and fostered them to such a marked degree that they deserve comment, and call for imitation. Their observance today would be a solution to many of the economic ills of a depressed society.

The German's respect for law and for the officers that represent it, was inbred with him -- an inheritance due to conditions in the Fatherland. He was as greatly shocked by the evasion of law as the native American is frequently amused at the observance of it by the newcomer.

As members of civil government, the Germans were peaceable and exact. There was always on their part that willing-
ness to share and bear the common burden. And when laboring under petty injustices and frictions in the affairs of civil life, they bore all in silence rather than remonstrate. There was in them a sense of loyalty and feeling of gratitude which render the unsophisticated German character an exceedingly desirable and valuable element in the citizenship of any state. The Philadelphia Ledger, dated May 1, 1775, states:

"If the citizen of a state is to be valuable to it on account of his faithful obedience to the laws, our German pioneers merit more than any other class, praise for the practice of this virtue." 94

Next in importance to the German's respect for law, was his honesty. Not that, among these German pioneers, dishonesty could not be found, but that they realized that straightforward honesty is the foundation of true character and of all enterprise. The German statesman, mechanic, and agriculturist possessed this quality from the earliest period. Saur tells us that: "They were remarkably conscientious in the payment of their debts."

I. D. Rupp remarks that:

"One of our richest men spreads his paper before the assessor and tells him to tax him according to his mind." 95

Contrary to the native American's plan of buying on credit, or on the installment plan (and very often evading payment in the end), the genuine Pennsylvania German always bought "for cash", unless he could see the avenues by which the means would flow into his hands.
Dr. Rush furnished a striking illustration of this fact in the following anecdote of Christopher Ludwick:

"At the close of the war, he settled on his farm near Germantown. His home had been plundered of every article of furniture, plate, and wearing apparel he had left in it, by the British army in their march to Philadelphia. He suffered a great deal from a want of many of the conveniences of life. He slept six weeks between blankets, rather than contract a single debt by replacing his sheets." 96

Lest we be led to believe that the German never digressed from the path of honesty, it will be well to realize that among all human beings, instances of dishonesty prevail at all times. Thus it was that in the middle of the century when counterfeiting was prevalent, we find several instances of the conviction of Germans for this crime. The papers also occasionally contained advertisements offering rewards for the apprehension of runaway German redemptioners. This proves that not all German servants were honest.

As deeply engraven on the German character as were his respect for law, and his honesty, the German's love of industry towered above these virtues. He worked not merely because he was forced to do so, but he loved his labor as some others loved their ease. He was not forever exercising his ingenuity as how he could do the least work for the most pay or escape work altogether, but he plunged into and enjoyed his work, knowing the force of the proverb: "Arbeit macht dass Leben suess" -- ("Work sweetens life"). Well might our native laboring class learn a salutary lesson from this, for the greater part of that class does not seem to understand that work gives
strength. Often they applaud themselves for their "smartness" if they can steal an hour from their employer, or stand idly by while the "foreigner" works. No matter how lowly the occupation of the Pennsylvania German was, he always did his best. This virtue has been preserved among these people even to the present day, because the pioneer instilled into the hearts of his children this love of work; who, in turn, passed it on to the succeeding generation. The Germans believed: "Muessigang ist des Teufel's Ruhebank". "An idle brain is the devil's workshop." To their children they said:

"Arbeite treu und glaub es fest, Dass Faulheit aeger is als Pest, Der Muessigang viel Boeses lehrt, Und alle Art von Suenden mehrt."

("Work faithfully, believe 'tis true, Idleness is worse than a pest, It is sure, much harm to do; The cause of gross sins is confest.") 98

Whatever the German accomplished through his love of industry was further supplemented and enhanced by his innate thriftiness and economy. It is true, that he was blessed by the bounties of nature, and that he loved to work with the gifts provided for him; still if he had not possessed that inbred sense of thrift and economy, he would have fallen far below the mark, and would have been unable to hold his own among the progressive and prosperous nations of the world.

This economy or thrift, is even at the present time a striking trait among Pennsylvania Germans. It was very apparent in the eighteenth century as may be seen from references in
the German papers. The "Neue Unpartheische Lancaster Zeitung" complained that the Germans refused to pay more than nine pence for a book, and that three or four families clubbed together to buy a weekly paper at one dollar a year. This same paper showed also the frugality of its publishers when they attacked the use of snuff because it resulted in a waste of time and money.

When there was a general scarcity of currency in 1798, the "Deutsche Porcupein" blamed it partly on the luxuriousness of the people who insisted on riding in stage-coaches, when they could easily have saved the money by walking.

One of the favorite methods employed by the politicians to arouse the Germans against the party in power was to raise the cry of extravagance. Thus, in 1793 an attack was made on a new law whereby the senators and assemblymen of Pennsylvania would receive three dollars a day instead of two as heretofore.

Due to this habit of economy the Germans were led to oppose the use of alcoholic liquors, and they also saw the danger of moral and physical deterioration in the excessive use of alcoholic beverages.

Finally, their frugality, so intimately related to thrift and economy, is nowhere better illustrated than in an article published in the Lancaster newspaper, in 1786, in which the frugality of the Germans "forty years ago" was contrasted with
the contemporary desire for the luxuries of life.

The correspondent graphically told how, when at the age of twelve, he was given by his parents to a farmer with whom he lived up to the age of twenty-one. On attaining his majority, the farmer gave him two sets of homespun clothes, four pairs of socks, four linen shirts, and two pairs of shoes. This was called the capital that he possessed at the time. At twenty-two, he rented a farm of forty acres. Ten years later he bought a farm of sixty acres. Now he began to acquire more money and gradually acquired more land. When his oldest daughter was married he gave her one hundred acres of land, and some of his best flax, so that she could spin flax for herself. At this time, he was saving $150 a year, because he spent no money unnecessarily. Deducting the taxes, he did not spend ten dollars yearly, and this he was compelled to spend to procure the necessities of life, such as salt, nails, etc. He bought cattle, fattened them and sold them, and put his money out at interest.

OTHER EXEMPLARY TRAITS

The Pennsylvania Germans have taught not only the estimable value of obedience to law, honesty, love of labor, and thrift, but they have exemplified in their daily lives certain practices which are conducive to man's social well-being, and the neglect of which under present conditions render life irksome and painful. Such practices are hospitality, the joy of living, and the proper care of the body.
In our sophisticated day and age when everything is put on a formal basis, hospitality, in the true sense of the word, has lost some of its former charm and wholesomeness. Of course, with the growth of cities and of population the old time neighborliness was destined to lose some of its former warmth, still, seldom do we find such whole-hearted hospitality as was exemplified in the daily lives of the Pennsylvania Germans, and which after all, with all its simplicity, created the greatest happiness and feeling of comfort.

A single domestic quality universal among the Pennsylvania Germans, which proves their disinterestedness, was their hospitality, regardless of stranger, unexpected visitor, or invited guests. They always received and entertained strangers most generously. If a stranger came amongst them unexpectedly at meal time, an extra seat was at once provided, and the stranger was asked to join the family at table. Such an invitation was never perfunctory, but was extended with the hope that it would be accepted. "God rewards you for your kindness!" was the expression of the gratitude of the many strangers whose hunger had been appeased by these hospitable folks.

In the case of visitors who came unexpectedly and unannounced, no great consternation was created. They were never permitted to feel that they were unwelcome. Their arrival was cheered by hearty greetings. The horses were speedily stabled; and the host and guests were soon in the best room in the house
enjoying pleasant and profitable conversation. The good housewife and her aids attended to the preparation of the meals to be served. Nothing was too good to be given to the visitors. An apology might be offered that for the want of time the preparation was not as ample as it would have been if the coming of the visitors had been known. There was always an abundance of good food. Intervals between meals were filled with most delightful entertainment. Visitors were pressed to remain overnight, and when they consented to do so, the evening was spent in a cheerful and profitable manner. When, however, visitors had previously announced their coming, or had accepted an invitation to visit, extensive preparations were made for their reception. The houses, the porches, the walks in the yard, received special attention. The day preceding the arrival of visitors was a very busy day for the housewife and her aids. All of the family rose early on the appointed day. The house was set in order, children were neatly dressed, and adults also wore better clothing than on working days. All special work had been declared off during the stay of the visitors and the time was given to the best entertainment. They were kindly greeted upon their arrival and their entire stay was made as agreeable as possible. The hospitality that was shown was genuine. It strengthened the bonds of friendship and added to the happiness of those who had many experiences in life of a different nature. By such entertainment, they
were cheered to labor with greater diligence and patience knowing that human life has also a bright side.

It has repeatedly been stated that eighteenth century Germans were forced, on account of pioneer conditions, to work hard. It also has been mentioned that the German loved his labor, but in taking pleasure after toil, in relaxing after tension, the German has furnished a lasting example to the busy American who even takes his pleasure strenuously. In the homeland the German had been accustomed to enjoy a proper amount of pleasure and healthful leisure. This trait which he brought with him enabled him to keep his body and mind fresh, to safeguard against overexertion, and to do better work for a longer time.

It cannot be denied that in the beginning of the settlement of Pennsylvania there was little time for extra recreations, but the people naturally grew more fond of money making as their material property increased, and as the country became more thickly populated. Rural festivities abounded in which American neighborliness and the frontier's co-operative spirit were spiced with the mirth of the German harvest festival. The idea of our annual fair, the adaptation of the German "Jahr-Markte" of "Messe" were started by the settlers of Germantown only a short time after their arrival in the New World. This soon developed into the annual county fairs, with exhibitions of sleek stock and all manner of farm products, com-
petitions for prizes, outdoor sports, and pastimes. They are still the popular event of the year in the farming countries of Pennsylvania and of most other agricultural states.

Less elaborate than the county fairs, were the co-operative gatherings in and out of doors, husking frolics, quilting bees, apple butter cooking and fruit preserving parties when the whole neighborhood worked and played together.

The German early realized that if his work was to be performed satisfactorily he did not dare to neglect his physical welfare. He had a good table, that is, he had a variety of food, not rich but plain and wholesome. He also had an abundance of it. Then, too, the German housewife was very skillful in preparing for the table whatever the farm provided.
CHAPTER IV.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE MODEL FARMER

While the eighteenth century German may be considered versatile on account of his many sided contributions to the Commonwealth, still, in no other field did he contribute more than in the agricultural. For, as farmers, the Germans excelled and they became rich where others had become poor. They contributed much to the prosperity of the state through their agricultural skill. What is more -- they were the best and most successful farmers Pennsylvania ever had. They succeeded where others had failed. They accomplished most at a time, when this accomplishment meant the making or marring of the land for future generations.

To say that no other country in the world is able to boast of so many rich and beautiful farms as Pennsylvania, especially the eastern portion, may smack of self-esteem, but the skeptic needs but to visit the garden spots, such as, Lancaster, Berks, Lebanon, York, Lehigh and Northampton counties which today comprise the great agricultural regions of the Commonwealth, and to behold the array of fascinating sights in order to convince himself that in agriculture the Pennsylvania German is unsurpassed. He will be assured that the best farmers in the United States today are lineal descendants of the Pennsylvania German farmer. And while his
eye is feasting on this glorious panorama, before him, and his
mind is vainly endeavoring to raise the veil and conjure up
the number of years of toil and patience, sweat, and brawn it
cost to achieve such wonderful results, this question will no
doubt suggest itself to the beholder: "How did these people
manage to outstrip the rest of the farming population of the
State?"

Numerous circumstances combined to bring about the result.
History furnished abundant proof of the fact that the farmer
of Europe, and especially in Germany, for many centuries had
been so seriously handicapped by burdensome taxation and limited
territory, that they deterred him from exercising his agricul-
tural skill. As a rule the result was that he had been
compelled to utilize, not only every inch of ground, but to
work hard and constantly to replenish the soil, as well as to
husband resources in order to keep body and soul together.
Therefore, when the first German settlers arrived in this coun-
try, they naturally fell into their accustomed habits of slav-
ing and saving in spite of the fact that land was plentiful.
Their severe training prepared them to follow the same methods
and practice the same rigid economy as their fathers. Thus,
their self denial and unceasing toil could scarcely fail to-
culminate in more than ordinary success. Their strongest com-
petitors in tilling the soil were the Scotch-Irish who did a
fair share of the farming of Pennsylvania. But where are they
today? Why do we not find them on these original farms as we
do the Germans who today comprise nine-tenths of the farmers in eastern Pennsylvania? The reason for sheer failure is obvious. They were not essentially interested in agriculture. They did not love the land as did the Germans. Their interests lay in other directions. No sooner had they landed on our shores and discovered that the country was full of game of all descriptions, than the allurements of the chase appealed so effectually to their bucolic instincts for most of them were shepherds, that they determined if possible to take life easy.

They had been schooled under the principle that they were not destined to be forever hewers of wood and drawers of water, but that in the New World, they should perform higher and nobler missions. In roaming over their native heath they had become accustomed to depend largely upon what the earth would provide for them with the least amount of labor, so that too much time was spent in hunting and fishing to enable them to keep up with their German neighbors. Since, however, they were forced to depend partly on agriculture for their existence, they had to engage in that industry to some extent. They, however, did not work the land themselves, but depended upon negroes to cultivate the soil. Negroes who are better suited for plantation work rather than for farm work, were not interested in it. They did not care for the farm, and the consequence was that the farm did not care for them.

Perceiving that they could not compete with their German neighbors, these Scotch-Irish sold their lands to these thrifty
Germans who had been successful in accumulating sufficient money to pay for them. They then went into other fields where they were more successful, and for which they were better fitted. Though they contributed nothing agriculturally to Pennsylvania, we must not forget that for many years they constituted a large part of the military and police forces of the colonies.

Having thus displaced the Scotch-Irish, the Germans were practically alone in the agricultural field, and, interested as they were, thrifty, industrious, and persevering, it is no wonder that they should become the master farmers of the state and that their methods would prove an object lesson for the rest of the agricultural world.

To be esteemed as a model farmer is one thing, to measure up to the requirements of one is quite another. But a thorough study reveals that these German pioneers deserve the glory which has surrounded them. That they were a very desirable element to have in the Pennsylvania colony is attested by James Logan, the governor, who comments on their value thus:

"We are daily expecting ships from London which bring over Palatine farmers in number about six or seven thousand. We had a parcel who came about five years ago and proved quiet and industrious."112

Doctor Benjamin Rush, the eminent physician of Revolutionary War Days, dwells on the prosperity brought to Pennsylvania by these German farmers. He esteemed them a great asset to the
Commonwealth, and attributed her growing wealth to them. If exports are an index of the prosperity of a nation, the statistics for 1751 throw some light on that assertion. In that year there were exported 86,000 bushels of wheat, 129,960 bushels of Indian corn, 90,743 barrels of flour. The total value of exports amounted to one million dollars, -- a tremendous sum of money in those days. Another notable Englishman, Lieutenant-Governor George Thomas, acknowledges that Pennsylvania's prosperity was due chiefly to the German farmers. In 1738, while addressing the council on some action proposed in restriction of immigration, he declared:

"This province has for some years been the asylum for the distressed people of the Palatinate and other parts of Germany; and I believe that the present flourishing condition of it is in a great measure owing to the industry of those people; and should any discouragement divert them from coming hither, it may well be apprehended that the value of your lands may fall and your advance to wealth be much slower." 114

Was this prosperity due to the moneyed wealth they brought with them from Europe?

It has already been mentioned that when these pioneers came from the homeland, they brought with them to this country but little property. History has already explained the causes for this poverty. Bereft of their earthly possessions by foul means, they might have become discouraged and might have refused to start life anew, but their indomitable courage buoyed them up to new endeavors to such an extent that soon this poverty was transformed into prosperity and plenty. They had lost their material wealth, but there was one thing that could
not be taken from them, the agricultural skill inherited from thirty generations of land cultivators -- a skill that had made the Palatinate literally the garden spot of Germany. Franklin, testifying before the British House of Commons in 1776, described them as a people who brought with them the greatest of all wealth, industry and integrity, and a character that had been superpoised and developed by years of suffering and persecution.

These priceless qualities, brought to Pennsylvania, soon changed the unbroken forest to an agricultural community as rich as any in the world. And the land which they settled was perfectly adapted to its settlers. The soil, though heavily timbered, was fertile and only needed the hand of the patient husbandman in order to blossom as the rose. When the Germans arrived this condition was fulfilled. Unlike their English and Irish neighbors, who had followed the lines of least resistance by farming along rivers and streams, the German plunged boldly into an unbroken wilderness, fifty or sixty miles from the nearest habitation, knowing that where the heaviest forest growth was, there the soil must be good. It is a singular fact that almost every acre of this soil is in the possession of the German farmers. Lancaster county, especially rich in this limestone soil has become the richest farming county in the United States. Once the German put his hand to the "plough" good fortune seemed to spur him on to great success.
It is surprising how rapidly agriculture prospered under the guidance of these farmers. In a letter on Braddock's campaign, written by William Johnston, September 23, 1755, we find the following remarks:

"Pennsylvania is much the best country of any I have seen upon this continent and much more plentiful in provisions than Maryland or Virginia."

Speaking of Lancaster, in particular, he says:

"You will not see many towns in England so large as this, and none so regular; and yet this town, I am told, is not above twenty-five years' standing, and a most delightful country round it. It is inhabited by German people."

About the same time the famous French botanist, Andre Michaux, visited Pennsylvania. His surprise at the luxuriousness of German farms is expressed in a letter sent to France. He states that:

"The superior culture of the fields and the better condition of the fences indicate that here are settlements of Germans. Everything breathes comfort and well-being, the reward of diligence and intelligent work."

He continues:

"These Germans live under much better conditions than the English and have not that restless spirit, which frequently induces settlers of other nationalities to move for the most trifling reasons, to distances of hundreds of miles in search of more fertile land."

Many other foreign visitors frequently marveled at the prosperity of the eighteenth century German farmer. One more quotation, however, will suffice to convince us that in agriculture the Pennsylvania German excelled. This time we shall quote from Governor Thomas Pownall, the Englishman, who in
1754 visited Lancaster County. He describes Lancaster as a "pretty considerable town increasing fast, and growing rich."

Commenting on the superiority of the farms and farming methods he declares:

"I saw some of the finest farms one can conceive, and in the highest state of culture. Here it was that I first saw the method of watering a whole range of pastures and meadows on a hillside by little troughs cut in the side of the hill, along which the water from the springs was conducted, so that when the outlets of these troughs were stopped at the end, the water ran over the sides, and watered all the other ground between that and the other trough next below it. I dare say, this method may be in use in England. I never saw it there, but here first." 118

It is no wonder, then, in view of such extraordinary prosperity brought about by many, who a short time before had been destitute exiles from their native land, that Benjamin Rush exclaims:

"If it were possible to determine the amount of all the property brought into Pennsylvania by the present German inhabitants of the State and their ancestors, and then compare it with the present amount of their property, the contrast would form such a monument of human industry and economy as has seldom been contemplated in any age or country." 119

Due to the fact that from his early entrance into Pennsylvania, the German farmer was considered by other nationalities an asset to the home that had befriended him, and that prosperity crowned his efforts, leaves no doubt in our minds that as a farmer he was successful, and we are curious to learn the causes for his highly commendable attainments in the field of agriculture.

The success of the German farmers, in the first place, lay
in the intuitive knowledge of good land. They almost invari-
ably selected that which contained the heaviest timber knowing
that it would produce the largest crops while many of the
Scotch-Irish and English were intimidated by the Herculean task
of removing the heavy timber. This shows that the Germans were
scientifically-minded -- not satisfied with mere externals,
but, wise as they were, they knew that a growth of virgin tim-
ber meant productive land.

Another factor insuring success to the German farmer, was
the method he used in farming. He knew that thoroughness and
patient labor would attain his end. This thoroughness and
patience the German pioneer tactfully employed in the clearing
of his land. At first it meant hard work, but eventually it
meant gain. He despised the method used by his English and
Irish neighbors, namely, that of girdling the tree. By this
process, the woodman chopped entirely around the tree, a curve
of three or four inches wide, leaving the tree to perish in
the ground. The German woodman, on the other hand, first of
all staked off a piece of land, then with a Waldhacke (grub ax)
he would take up by the roots the Baumchen (the saplings) by
laying hold of the young tree, bending it backwards and for-
wards. If the roots yielded to this action, it was called a
grub. After the land had been grubbed, the larger standing
saplings and trees were cut down and chopped into rail lengths
of four feet. This done, the brush was picked into heaps and,
when dry, fire was set to them. The clearing (das gelichtete
was now ready for the plow. His sense of thoroughness and economy led him to plow deep, to keep the soil mellow. These same motives led him also to believe in the rotation of crops, so as not to exhaust the soil, for he planned for the future, and with a view to permanent possession.

Everything on this farm was in good order -- fences, houses, gardens, and agricultural implements. The first dwelling house was built of logs. Houses built by the second generation were constructed of stone, for permanent occupancy.

Schoeff, traveling through Pennsylvania in 1780 tells us that

"a house built by a German farmer could, even at a distance, be deadly distinguished from one erected by a Scotchman, Irishman, or Englishman. Had the house but one chimney, and this in the middle (in der Mitte des Hauses), then it was a German's. In contrast to the native American farmer, who was wasteful, the German was invariably economical. Economy was the rule of his life. He early taught conservation of natural resources, by saving even the wood which seemed so abundant, by using stoves instead of hugh fireplaces." 121

More imposing than his house, was the big barn built by the German farmer for the storing of his grain. Strange to say, the particular architectural design of the German barn, built first in Pennsylvania made its way down the Ohio, and even at the present time may be seen in Wisconsin, or wherever the Pennsylvania Germans later migrated. The historian Croll regarding the Pennsylvania-German-built farm as a landmark exclaims:

"And what barns! No community can boast of larger and finer barns than these Germans of our Lebanon Valley Pennsylvania Germans. Yet such is a skill of this king of farmers, that even these gigantic store-houses are often to overflow
with farm products, and rows of hive-shaped stacks of hay and grain have to be set near by as so many sentinels to guard the rich farm treasurers." 122

While the early German lacked the modern conveniences of refrigeration and food preservation, he, nevertheless, supplied a means of keeping his dairy products fresh and wholesome. If there was a spring on his farm, which supplied him with water, he built a milkhouse, and on the floor above was a place to smoke meat, or a loft in which to store winter apples.

The fences surrounding the farm were well-built, for the German believed: "Wie einer den Zaun haelt, haelt er auch dass Gut". ("The condition of the fence shows the condition of the farm").

In his mode of life the German farmer was frugal, his diet simple, his furniture was plain but substantial, and his clothing was of the best material calculated to last a long time. That the German farmer of this period practiced rigid economy and contented himself with the bare essentials of life is an incontestible fact. He had but one aim -- and that was to become a successful farmer. Every endeavor that did not aid him to attain this goal had to be sacrificed.

I. D. Rupp commenting on the frugality of the German farmer confirms his assertion with several concrete proofs of this frugality. Amongst his narrations he speaks of an inventory taken of the goods of a so-called (wealthy,) very wealthy farmer, Andrew Ferree. The following articles were enumerated and appraised: "a large family Bible, 6 pounds; wearing
apparel, 7 pounds; sundry pewter, 2 pounds; sundry ironware, 124 pounds; sundry ironware, 124
a watering pot, 6 shillings; wooden ware, 1 pound."

This same economy was practiced also in regard to the wearing apparel of the farmer and the members of his household. The clothing, was as a rule, homespun. His motto was: "Selbst gesponnen, selbst gemacht, Rein dabei ist Bauerntracht." ("To spin, to weave, to ready make his clothes, and keep them clean, the frugal farmer knows.")

This rigid economy did not extend to the live-stock, however. The farmer was very considerate about his horses and cattle. They were plentifully fed, for he was convinced that the better-fed animal can perform an enormous amount of labor. His maxim was: "Mit Futtern ist keine zeit verloren." ("To feed well no time is lost.") This same sense of economy impelled him also to house his cattle instead of letting them run wild. In winter he kept them warm in barns and in stables. He kept them hard at work, but never over-worked them. He believed that these animals worked in proportion to the amount and quality of food given them. He smilingly told the stranger who inquired into the reason for the superiority of his stock: "Wer gut futtirt, -- gut buttert." ("He who feeds well, churns much better.") On the German's farm there was no such animal as the ill-fed proverbial "nag". The German's horse was well known in all parts of the state as a well-cared for animal.

Apart from the heavy work which was done by the horses,
the German farmer did his work with his own hands, and was assisted by his wife and children. With the exception of harvest time, the Germans seldom hired men to work on their farm; and unlike their English and Irish neighbors, they never had colored servants or slaves.

Since the farmer's immediate family composed his workers, large families, therefore, were a source of prosperity, and this economic effect had a tendency to produce large families. Children were welcomed as an asset. Much joy was manifested at the birth of a child. Upon the birth of a son, they exulted in the gift of a ploughman or wagoner; and upon the birth of a daughter, they rejoiced in the addition of another spinster, or milkmaid to the family.

These Germans made it a matter of pride to keep their farms in their own families generation after generation. This principle in human nature is very valuable. In this they manifested a deep wisdom, for it prevents much folly and vice among young people. It, moreover, leads to lasting extensive advantages in the improvement of a farm; for what inducement can be stronger in a parent to plant an orchard, to preserve forest trees, or to build a commodious and durable house than the idea that they will all be possessed by a succession of generations, who will inherit his blood and name? The German axiom reads:

"Im kleinst Raum
Pflanz einen Baum,
Und Pflege sein,
Er bringt dir's ein." 129
GARDENING

In addition to labor in the fields and the larger interests of the farm, the cultivation of gardens was an important occupation among the German farmers; and remains so at the present day. The universal passion for flowers impelled the farmer to spend some time in their cultivation. The fondness for flowers was always a characteristic of the natives of Palatinate, and this love is as noticeable in Pennsylvania today, as it is in the homeland. The yard of nearly every Pennsylvania German bears testimony of this fact. There are few houses in rural Pennsylvania, the surroundings of which are not more or less beautified by flowering plants of the rarest kinds, while the poorer people are content with roses, the honeysuckle, and often the unpretentious dahlia and sunflower are made to attest their love of the beautiful.

More important, however, from a practical point of view, was the cultivation of garden vegetables, in which the Germans soon reached the foremost rank. Dr. Rush said that Pennsylvania is indebted to her German element for her knowledge of horticulture. He praised the hygienic influences of the German truckfarmer upon the city population. The eating of fresh vegetables, this noted physician declared to be preventive against skin diseases such as scurvy. He gave the Germans credit for supplying all classes of citizens of Pennsylvania with a variety of fresh vegetables in every season of the year.
All facts apparently indicate that the eighteenth century Pennsylvania Germans made their greatest contributions in the field of agriculture. They seem to have been particularly interested in fruit-growing, dairying, grain-raising and truck-farming. When examining the eighteenth century German newspapers, one finds hundreds of advertisements offering farms for sale by Germans, which are said to have "fine pasture land and flourishing orchards". For instance, the "Lancaster Neue Unpartheyische Zeitung" advertised as follows: "No place of land can have a more favorable location for raising cattle".

The German settlers also enjoyed an enviable reputation as successful dairymen. Sometimes the most liberal inducements were offered to them to take charge of a wealthy man's herd. Thus in 1772 "a dwelling house, firewood, and three acres of land for a garden", were promised to a satisfactory German couple who know "how to care for six or seven cows and make butter."

Of course, the farmers also sowed wheat, barley, and corn. The great importance of the wheat crops in the eyes of the German farmer is proved by numerous newspaper articles discussing ways and means of combating the depredations of the dangerous Hessian flies with which the country was so grievously afflicted.
Although success attended the agricultural endeavors of the Germans from their earliest entrance into Pennsylvania, they showed their progressive spirit, by not being satisfied with their first accomplishments. They were continually attempting to improve their methods. It is very suggestive that two of the German papers most widely read between 1785 and 1790, the "Germantowner Zeitung", and the "Unpartheyische Lancaster Zeitung" -- contained so many articles on farming subjects that we may regard these papers as forerunners of our present day agricultural journals. The former paper published articles on the value of lime for the soil, on the superiority of oxen over horses as draught animals; concerning orchards and potatoes, and a series of articles on the methods of farming. In the Lancaster Zeitung, the value of gypsum for increasing the fertility of the soil was discussed at length; a communication about the grasses most suitable for fodder was published; and an article appeared showing the necessity of performing careful experiments in order to determine which agricultural methods would produce the best results, and declaring that the higher schools and colleges would be a great help in conducting tests. The very fact that so many articles were published leads us to believe that the farming population was not satisfied with the old, when the new gave promise of something better.
Any dissertation on the work of the German farmer without proper reference to his wife would be not only incomplete, but wholly unfair. The farmer always said: "The woman is more than half". For several generations the wife of the farmer worked faithfully alongside her husband in the field. Mrs. Phoebe Earle Gibbons in her book, entitled "Pennsylvania-Dutch" says:

"The woman milks, raises the poultry, has charge of the gardens, sometimes digging the ground herself, and planting and hoeing, with the assistance of her daughters. To be sure she does not go extensively into vegetable raising, neither does she plant a great many beans and peas that are laborious to "stick". She has a quantity of red beets, of onions, and early potatoes, in her garden; a plenty of cucumbers for winter pickles, and stores of tomatoes and sweet potatoes." 136

She not only helped the men with their work, but attended also to the house-cleaning, the baking and cooking, the washing and ironing, the milking and butter-making, the family sewing and mending, and soap-making. In the fall, she helped in the apple-butter making, butchering, making of sausage, and smoking of meat. Truly her toil verified the old saying that "Man works from sun to sun, but woman's work is never done".

This versatile woman took great pride in the education of her daughters. She taught them how to conduct households of their own. Her contention was: "All die Madchen muesse lerne, Gut zu spinne und zu zwerne; Die neu' schoene Kleider wille, Muesse sich ans Spinnard stelle".
Her kitchen was the pride of her life. There she reigned supreme, but, to her everlasting credit be it said, nothing was left undone in ministering to all those wants that help to make life comfortable and happy.

**PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN COOKERY**

Having mentioned the pride that the Pennsylvania German housewife manifested in her kitchen, it will be very proper in this connection to mention her accomplishments in the culinary arts. Even to the present day have the Pennsylvania German women retained their distinction as excellent cooks.

Strangers have been ready at times to brand their cookery as poisonous. They no doubt visited some hospitable farm and left with dyspepsia denouncing the butter and seasoning, when in reality the sin was not the cook's but their own. They simply over-ate. The food was so well prepared, so succulent, and so distinguished that they forgot the polite art of knowing when to stop. The German-pioneer did not eat so frivolously. He had been schooled. He knew the dangers. Without this training the American would find this diet exhausting.

To enumerate all the tasty dishes prepared by these distinguished cooks would produce an interminable list, so we shall feel satisfied in mentioning the outstanding delicacies. The so-called Hassen-pfeffer has been transformed by the Germans into a dainty Pfannehase, literally, panned hare. In
preparing this they used none of the souring condiments which commonly are employed to cut the grease and wildness of the rabbit meat.

The dainties of the Pennsylvania-Germans were and still are almost unlimited. They are responsible for the spicy Pfefferkraut, for Schmierkase, an almost liquid cheese, excellent with applebutter. And, if you have never tasted Schnitz and Kneip, or perhaps, a Schoofly Pie, or munched a funnel cake; or, if it has not been your good fortune to eat a piece of Streizel, or to have satisfied your hunger with a smoking dish of Gedamfte Noodles, or have stilled the craving of your sweet tooth with a Dutch mint, then you have still something to learn of good eating. If you have a desire for these delectable victuals, it is only among the Pennsylvania Germans that you will find them.

Besides these, there are dozens and dozens of other curious delicacies, which only generations of single minded devotion to the kitchen could have evolved, and which, though begun in America in the eighteenth century are distinct contributions to the American culinary department which persist down to the present time.

From the amount of work which the Pennsylvanian-German housewife accomplished, she truly might have been considered "more than half", as the old farmer expressed it. Did the multitude of these household and farm duties prove a handicap?
Did her health suffer from her faithful performance of these varied tasks? Far from it. She was robust in health, energetic, and usually lived to a grand old age,—a living evidence that hard work does not ruin health and lead to an early grave, but that it invigorates the entire physical being. In all respects, may these women serve as an object lesson for some of our modern blase, dyspeptic, listless young women, who snobbishly look down on menial work, and, who, if they are forced by necessity to earn a livelihood, do this work half-heartedly.

This Pennsylvania-pioneer woman realized that woman’s place is in the home. That it was she who could make or mar its ideals. Here was a sphere where she could best utilize her feminine knowledge and motherly instincts. She realized that her home was more than a mere place of shelter where a group of people were fed, clothed, and housed. Her objective of an ideal home was to promote health, wisdom, happiness, usefulness, and efficiency under her influence. She was the ideal mother who was ever industrious and eager to serve, for she would make the members of her family happy and efficient people. She knew how to care not for the bodies only, but she was interested in developing character as well. She showed her children the value of work and sacrifice; she herself led such a life that her children never lost confidence in her.

In conclusion it seems scarcely necessary to add that a
Pennsylvania German's farms may be readily distinguished from the farms of the other citizens of the state by the superior size of their barns, the plain but compact form of their houses, the height of their inclosures, the extent of their orchards, the fertility of their fields, the luxuriance of their meadows, and a general appearance of plenty and neatness in everything that belongs to them.

While one or another national stock has at times been very successful at farming, still there is none whose record has been so consistent for so long a time. The German throughout a period of over two hundred years has proved himself the most successful farmer in the United States.

The Pennsylvania German's farms have been the granaries of the country, their well-built barns, fine stock, big Conestoga wagons, scientific farming methods, the co-operation of men and women in the work, all have proved a model for other sections. It is true, that if the real wealth and strength of the nation is in its soil, the German farmer contributed the most essential factor to the success of the government.
GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Martin Luther, who, in 1517, inaugurated the Reformation, really originated a most significant deformation, for he was the author of the movement, which brought in its train indescribable disaster, woe, and ruin. The spirit of Individualism, so prominent in his own character and doctrine was not lost, but it was the major cause of bitter conflicts between those many religious sects which came into being rapidly. Conflicts between those who professed these new creeds soon led to wars, the most cruel, the most bloody, the most destructive of any recorded in History. Not only were the inhabitants of seventeenth and eighteenth century Germany forced to suffer the results of these terrible wars, but they were likewise made to chafe under the burden of unjust taxation levied on them, in order that their autocratic rulers could maintain the splendor of their courts. To add to all this misery, was the pernicious principle of "cujus regio, ejus religio" which forced the people to conform to the religious beliefs of their wily leaders. If they did not conform they were ignominiously treated.

In view of all these sufferings, it is no wonder at all, that Germany, with all its ancient grandeur and romanticism, could no longer exert its charm over its inhabitants, but became an unbearable place for them to live in. They yearned to seek a place where they could worship in peace, where they
could recoup their annihilated fortunes, and where their last coin was not wrested from them to support a greedy chieftain.

Strange as it may appear, such a place seems to have existed for these wretched sufferers at this time, for Pennsylvania had just opened its doors to new settlers. It was most anxious to secure such settlers as would prove to be an asset to the infant commonwealth. Thus distressed, the Germans who had been informed of these opportunities of starting life anew turned their eyes toward the land of promise.

But before they could reach the land of their desires, they had one other barrier to overcome, namely, the uncomfortable and hazardous sea-voyage. The voyage was such as to cause many of those who embarked, never to be able to reach the land of refuge. Among those who survived were many who would prove to be proper foundation for any progressive community. Thus, Pennsylvania, which had opened its portals to the refugees, received into its confines, the best element of the German nation.

Nor did the Commonwealth ever have to regret its hospitable deed, for, while Swedes, Dutch, Welsh, English, and Scotch-Irish had for some time inhabited Pennsylvania, it was not until the Germans had established themselves there that notable progress was made.

The influence of the eighteenth century German immigrant was evident in many fields. In Education, their achievements
were creditable; in Literature, the results of their efforts were mediocre; in the field of Journalism, their attempts were crowned with notable success. Their musical talent was the means of dispelling some of the drab prudishness and seriousness of the sombre Quakers. When their newly-adopted land needed their service and patriotism, they did not shirk duty but loyally and magnanimously fought for the independence of the country which had befriended them. A spirit of genuine philanthropy led them to frown upon the institution of slavery which was rapidly spreading throughout the colonies; and to inaugurate immigration laws, which were to remedy the evils then existing in the transportation systems of the day. Their respect for laws, and honesty, if studied carefully and imitated today would free the world from some of its economic distresses. Their great love for industry furnishes an object lesson for many of the present day laborers, who work, because they are forced to do so, and with this motive in view, they perform their tasks in a haphazard fashion. The extreme thrift of these pioneers was productive of successful results, namely that they did not spend every penny they earned, but had a neat sum set aside for the "rainy day."

Regardless of what may be said of the Germans as contributors to the social well-being of Pennsylvania, all authorities agree that the greatest achievements of the Pennsylvania Germans are to be found in the field of agriculture. As
farmers they excelled. To test the validity of this statement, one need only to visit the farms of eastern Pennsylvania, which are luxuriant, to be convinced of the superiority of Pennsylvania German farmers over those of other nationalities.

Finally, if the value of any foreign nation depends to a large extent on the favorable influence which it exerts upon the country of its adoption, it is safe to say that the eighteenth century German immigrant, by his outstanding contributions in many fields, and especially in that of agriculture, merits to be considered a most influential and valuable element in promoting the social welfare of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.
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Note 2 - page 2 - Cronau, "German Achievements in America", p. 11.


Note 4 - page 3 - Beidelman, "The Story of the Pennsylvania Germans", p. 12.

Note 5 - page 4 - Cronau, "German Achievements in America", p. 11.

Note 6 - page 5 - Thomas, "Geography of the Province of Pennsylvania", p. 7.


Note 8 - page 5 - Minutes of the Provincial Council, p. 283.

Note 9 - page 7 - Fairchild, "Immigration", p. 36.


Note 12 - page 9 - Freytag, "Bilder aus der Vergangenheit", p. 5.

Note 13 - page 10 - Freytag, "Bilder aus der Vergangenheit"

Note 14 - page 11 - Hayes and Moon, "Modern History", p. 171.


Note 17 - page 13 - Faust, "The German Element in the United States", p. 3.


Note 21 - page 16 - Fairchild, "Immigration", p. 43.

Note 22 - page 17 - Mittelberger's, "Reise nach Pennsylvanien", p. 2 f.


Note 24 - page 18 - Mittelberger's, "Reise nach Pennsylvanien", p. 98.


Note 31 - page 22 - Cassel, "History of the Mennonites", p. 52.

Note 32 - page 22 - Faust, "German Element in the United States", p. 35.


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Note 44 - page 28 - Kuhns, "German and Swiss Settlements in Colonial Pennsylvania", p. 27.


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Note 63 - page 40 - Cronau, "German Achievements in America", p. 174.
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Note 66 - page 42 - Cronau, "German Achievements in America", p. 124.
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Note 80 - page 51 - Protest Against Slavery from the original copy preserved in the Pennsylvania Historical Association.
Note 81 - page 53 - Cronau, "Drei Jahrhunderte Lebens", p. 310.
Note 82 - page 54 - Cronau, "German Achievements in America", p. 216.
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The thesis "Contributions of the Eighteenth Century German Immigrants to the Social Well Being of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," written by Sister Mary Vivian Wilm, O.S.F., has been accepted by the Graduate School of Loyola University, with reference to form, and by the readers whose names appear below, with reference to content. It is, therefore, accepted as a partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree conferred.

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July 14, 1933

Agnes Van Driel 
July 8, 1933