To Thomas Wilke
with best
regards
Wolf.

The Report

Cp 23f

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A JOURNAL OF GERMAN-AMERICAN HISTORY

PUBLISHED BY THE

SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORY OF THE
GERMANS IN MARYLAND

1970

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

THE MARYLAND GERMANS

A HISTORY

by DIETER CUNZ

This is the first full history of the German immigration to a state of the Middle Atlantic region which shows the typical American juxtaposition of Anglo-Saxon and Continental European immigrants. The book opens with the first coming of the Germans to the old Calvert Colony around 1650 and brings the account to the 1940's. Here is the story of the Americanization of these German immigrants and their descendents. And here is the story of the men who lead them to an important place in the civic, cultural and religious life of their "Free State." For twenty years now *The Maryland Germans* has been considered a standard history by scholars and laymen who are concerned with the story of the "peopling of America."

* * *

Published in 1948 by the Princeton University Press, this important work on immigration history which was sponsored by the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland is now *out-of-print*. The Society has retained a very limited number of copies for sale to libraries, institutions and interested individual scholars and researchers.

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EDITED BY KLAUS WUST

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THE REPORT

In 1968 Volume XXXIII of *The Report* was published bearing the additional notation JOURNAL OF GERMAN-AMERICAN HISTORY. As the Editor, Mr. Klaus Wust, stated in the preface of the 1968 edition, " this change in title will not come as a surprise to many of our faithful friends nor to researchers who succeeded in locating material about other states in past issues of *The Report* despite the fact that most library catalogues listed them only under " Maryland ".

Many issues in the past have been made possible through the generous contributions on the part of friends and members of the Society. Elsewhere in this issue is a list of those who contributed so that the Society could honor one of its most distinguished members, Professor Dieter Cunz. For many years, Professor Cunz was the inspiration and prime mover of the activities and growth of the Society. The members and officers of the Society wish to express their appreciation and gratitude to those who contributed so generously to the Dieter Cunz Memorial Publication Fund.

Since the publication of the last *Report*, the guest speakers at the Annual Meeting of the Society, which is held in February of each year, were:

1966 Mr. Harold R. Manakee (Director of the Maryland Historical Society). " The Maryland Historical Society: Its Special Features and Interests to German-American Studies "

1967 Mr. Klaus Wust (Editor of *The Report* and author of *The Virginia Germans*). " Early German Settlers in Virginia "

1968 Professor Joseph M. Hernon (University of Maryland). " Irish-German Relations "

1969 Professor Wolf Fleischhauer (Ohio State University). " German Communities in Northwestern Ohio "

1970 Dr. Moses Aberbach (Director, Jewish Historical Society of Maryland). " The Germans of the Early Jewish Community of Baltimore "

March, 1970 M. H. P.

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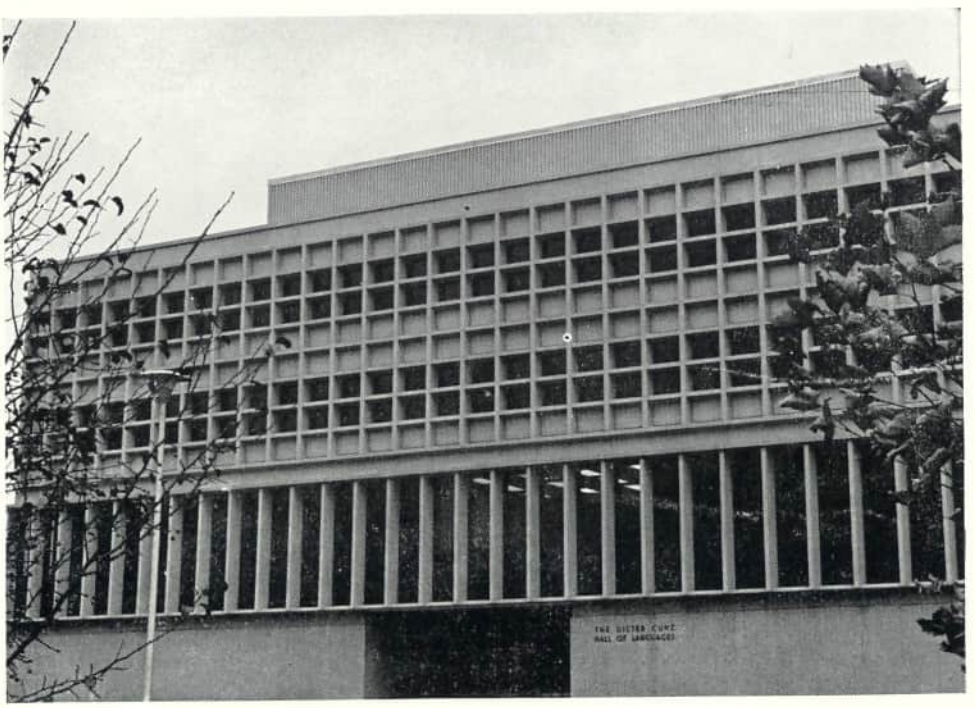
DIETER CUNZ HALL OF LANGUAGES
IN COLUMBUS, OHIO



Courtesy: Ohio State Monthly

The Dieter Cunz Hall of Languages is one of the newest buildings on the Ohio State University campus. Located directly west of the William Oxley Thompson Library, it was erected at a cost of $2,203,000. The four-story structure is designed to house the East Asian, Classical, Romance, German and Slavic language departments as well as the Linguistic and Comparative Literature departments.

DIETER CUNZ

(1910-1969)

TRIBUTES AND MEMORIES

The sudden death of Dr. Dieter Cunz, Professor and Chairman of the Department of German of Ohio State University, on February 17th, 1969, was a great shock for the members of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland. It left an irreplaceable gap in the ranks of the Society.

Dr. Cunz was born August 4, 1910, in Hoechstenbach, Germany. He grew up and attended school in Wiesbaden. He studied at the universities of Munich, Leipzig, Koenigsberg and Frankfurt. From Frankfurt he received his Ph. D. in 1934 in the fields of German Literature and History.

A dedicated opponent of Hitler and his regime, he left his native country in 1934 and lived in Switzerland as a free lance writer and contributor to Swiss newspapers. In 1938 he emigrated to the United States. After a year in New York City, he moved to Baltimore, where he received a scholarship from the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation for work in the archives and the library of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland. In the same year he started his teaching career at the University of Maryland at College Park, where he rose within nine years from the rank of assistant instructor to professor. He taught at this institution until 1957, when he joined the Ohio State University as professor and chairman of its Department of German.

Dr. Cunz was a devoted teacher, who enjoyed the respect and love of his students. In 1961 the Arts College Student Council awarded him its Good Teaching Award, and in 1964 he received the Alfred J. Wright Award for " dedicated service to student activities and student organizations."

Dr. Cunz was a specialist in the field of 18th century German Literature, but his most important and lasting contribution to scholar-

ship was his work on the history of German immigration to the United States. His book *The Maryland Germans, A History* (Princeton University Press, 1948) established him as one of the two or three leading scholars in the field of immigration history both here and abroad. With the last of his many books he returned again to the field of German immigration history, a collection of literary portraits of famous German immigrants, *They Came from Germany* (Dodd, Mead, and Co., New York, 1966) for young readers. He contributed close to a hundred major articles and essays to periodicals and newspapers in this country as well as in Germany, Switzerland and France. He was also the co-author of *German for Beginners*, a textbook widely used in American and Canadian colleges and universities.

These scholarly activities earned him the highest recognition both here and abroad. He was on the board of directors of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation (1961 to 1965) and an honorary member of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, whose secretary he had been from 1944 to 1956 and whose publication *The Report* he had edited for many years. In 1959 the government of the Federal Republic of Germany bestowed upon him the Order of Merit, First Class " in recognition of his efforts on behalf of the German language instruction in the United States and his scholarly contributions in the field of German-American immigration history." In 1965 the Ohio State chapter of Phi Beta Kappa elected him to honorary membership.

Dr. Cunz was a member of the Modern Language Association of America, the American Association of Teachers of German, the Ohio Historical Society, the American Lessing Society and the Ohio College Association. He often held administrative positions in these organizations.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Society for the History of the Germans on March 17th, 1969, the Board passed the resolution that the sincere expression of the Society's realization of the great loss sustained be inscribed upon the minutes of the Executive Committee.

* * *

His youth falls in the difficult years of World War I. His secondary education—Gymnasium in Wiesbaden, 1920-1929—in the years of economic depression and political unrest of the twenties. During his university years the political sky grew " browner and browner " and ever more menacingly which was depressing and painful to anyone who like Dieter Cunz firmly believed in the democratic form of government.

When in 1933 the Nazi curtain descended upon Germany Dieter Cunz, whose political ideas were well known in university circles, received a " grace period " to enable him to bring his doctoral studies to completion. This he accomplished in 1934 and with it his stay in Germany drew to a close. An uncertain future had to be faced.

The departure from his native Germany was a sad and agonizing experience. Dieter Cunz was deeply attached to his family, particu-

larly to his mother, a very intelligent, hard working and deeply religious person, he had deep roots in his beloved Rhineland. It was a moving experience when, in 1953, Dieter Cunz drove me to Schierstein near Wiesbaden where his father had been pastor for many years. On this personally conducted tour I was introduced to many corners and nooks in the parsonage, to the surrounding garden and to the adjacent Rhine river. In the course of this visit Dieter Cunz related, in his charming way, fond memories of his youth and adolescence deeply embedded in his heart and mind.

The years of exile in Switzerland which followed were hard and bitter. The dreadful events in Nazi Germany were a source of permanent anxiety and depression. At the same time his own existence was most precarious and in never-ending danger. As a foreigner he never knew if the Swiss authorities would grant him the residence permit which had to be renewed every six months. His financial position was close to catastrophic. There was, for a German refugee, no hope at all that he would be allowed to accept a job that could provide even a minimum subsistence. He had to earn his living, and what meagre living it was!, as a free lance writer, contributing to Swiss newspapers, giving tutorial lessons to high school students who needed help in some subjects, publishing occasionally a short story that just brought in enough to pay for the next three meals. And still, he was undaunted. Actually, some of his most playful and carefree works were the result of these dark and insecure years, a collection of stories under the title *Um uns herum*, fairy-tales from everyday life. They were read with delight by adults and juveniles alike, and to him they meant regular meals for about four months.

By the end of 1937 it was obvious that his hopes to find permanent refuge in Switzerland would never materialize. And at this darkest moment something like a miracle occurred. A very remote relative in America, who had heard of Dieter's plight, came to his rescue and provided him with the necessary papers to emigrate to America. He arrived in New York in August 1938, financially just as insecure as he had been the last 4 years in Switzerland, but at least knowing that there was a place from which he could not be expelled, and the chance of a job if he were lucky enough to find one in these difficult post-depression years. He did practically anything that happened to come along, he wrote occasional pieces for the *New York Times Book Review*, he still reported on cultural happenings in the United States for some Swiss newspapers. And this in addition to learning and perfecting his English, spending long and patient hours in the reading room of the New York Public Library, where he could read English books, English periodicals without paying for it. It was already here, in the friendly shelter of the New York Public Library, that his interest in the interrelationship between the United States and Germany, in the German emigration to the shores of the New World, developed.

What he read and studied there in order to improve his English was, after all, his own story: the story of an exile who had had to leave his native land, and who found a home, a friendly place on the other side of the ocean. Whatever he did in the following years to the end

of his life, his great achievements as a scholar and a teacher he considered his paying back his debt to America, to the country which had received him gladly and permitted him to develop his extraordinary gifts.

AUGUSTUS J. PRAHL
University of Maryland

* * *

The Germania Club of Baltimore celebrated its 100th anniversary in 1940. About the end of 1938 I wrote to Henry L. Mencken, who was a member of the Germania Club, to inquire whether he would be inclined to write a short history of this venerable organization. In his reply Mencken said that he would rather not write such a history and pointed out to me that this club represented only a very small part of the history of the Germans in Baltimore and Maryland which should soon be written by someone really competent. I gave this letter to Karl A. M. Scholtz who was then the chairman of the executive committee of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland.

Mr. Scholtz and I lunched together regularly and on occasion I had slightly criticised him for spending some of the income from the Ferdinand Meyer legacy for prizes given to high school students as a reward for German compositions. When I handed Mencken's letter to him, I commented: "There is your project for spending Ferdinand Meyer's legacy."

Somewhat later, Karl Scholtz informed me that Professor A. E. Zucker of the University of Maryland in College Park had reported to the executive committee meeting of the SHGM that a young German instructor in his department would be able and willing to do the necessary research for a comprehensive history of the Maryland Germans. Then I told Karl Scholtz that we could try out the ability of this German instructor by letting him write the history of the Germania Club first. This apparently appealed to Karl Scholtz and some weeks later he told me that Dr. Dieter Cunz would write the history of the Germania Club in time for the 100th anniversary and that the cost of the research and printing would be covered by the Ferdinand Meyer Fund.

Then this young teacher set to work. During the seven long years of his research in Baltimore all of us who were involved in German organizations and churches learned to know and appreciate this dedicated scholar: Dieter Cunz. As Professor Zucker wrote in a tribute in the *Washington Journal* last Spring: "The grant offered by the Society was meagre and the age of Zwingli quite distant from that of Mencken and Mergenthaler but Dr. Cunz accepted it gratefully. It is simply admirable how fast and how thoroughly this European became familiar with the history of the State of Maryland. And not alone with Maryland. He saw everything within the framework of the history of the State and of the Nation as a whole, never as isolated events."

That is how Dr. Dieter Cunz set out on his career as a historian in the United States. For him the slim booklet commemorating the

centenary of the Germania Club was, as he told Klaus Wust some years ago, his *Gesellenstück*. For us in Baltimore, in Maryland, the coming of Dieter Cunz was the fulfillment of the vision the founders of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland had long ago: a history of the German element which would place its achievements squarely into the background of our State at large.

Otto H. Franke
Baltimore, Maryland

* * *

Dieter Cunz's contact with the National Carl Schurz Association (originally the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation) goes back at least as far as 1939, when the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland received a grant from the Oberlaender Trust of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation to help finance his research for his pioneer work, *The Maryland Germans*. Over the years there were other grants because the Board of Directors was profoundly impressed by his ability as a historian, and his enthusiasm for and understanding of the broad field of Americana-Germanica. He was one of the first writers to describe the German immigration in the context of the sociological pattern of the country, appreciating the work of the "little" people as well as the great, in the interaction of all elements of the population. He did not distort the historical picture by treating his people as though they lived and worked in a sociological vacuum.

It was Dieter Cunz and A. E. Zucker who first told me about the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation in Philadelphia while I was still doing graduate work at the University of Maryland. Therefore, two years later, when I began to work on the staff of the *American-German Review*, naturally I turned to these two men for suggestions and material. Dr. Cunz had already written nine articles for the magazine, dealing mostly with early German settlers and craftsmen, and he wrote another seven while I was active on the editorial staff. Always they were informative and written in a readable style, evoking the atmosphere of the times.

But besides the articles he himself wrote, there were several that he inspired: I am thinking of one by Dr. Wolfgang Fleischhauer, and several by Klaus Wust. In addition to these there was, of course, the Bibliography Americana-Germanica which the *American-German Review* printed annually from the list compiled by Dr. Cunz.

Dieter Cunz was a dedicated historian and was not happy when the emphasis of our magazine shifted to the contemporary scene. I was sorry about his feeling that we had deserted his field, but had the impression in the last few months that he understood the reasons for the shift in emphasis, even though he may not have agreed with it.

When Dr. Cunz came to Philadelphia he often telephoned me and we would meet for lunch or dinner. He was interested in the development of the magazine and the organization, and tried to help us reach a wider group of people, for he was eager to document the contribution

the Germans made to our country. One of his special interests was Charles Follen, on whom he wrote an article for us commemorating the hundredth anniversary of his death. He had wanted to write an account of the years in Switzerland before this firebrand came to the U. S., but never had the opportunity to pursue the sources he had uncovered years before.

The year when I had the closest and most continuous contact with Dr. Cunz was just before the publication of his Maryland book. His humor, kindness, thoughtfulness and his thorough scholarship were never more in evidence than then, even though the pressure of deadlines was great. It was a real pleasure and a rich experience for me, and was the basis of our friendship and understanding.

ALICE H. FINCKH
National Carl Schurz Association
Philadelphia

* * *

I was introduced to Dieter Cunz shortly after his arrival in the United States by my friend, Professor Ernst Feise of The Johns Hopkins University, who did so much to help scholars who left Germany during the Hitler years. I saw Dr. Cunz very seldom, but we corresponded rather frequently because of our common interest in the history of immigration. Though trained in German literature and culture in German universities, Cunz soon established a reputation in the United States by his publications in the field of immigration. At the time of his death he was chairman of the large department of German at The Ohio State University.

During his period of service as a professor of German at the University of Maryland, Dr. Cunz edited the annual publications of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland. The Society's publication *The Report* runs back over more than three quarters of a century. In the heyday of German immigration to the United States there were a large number of German-American journals. To-day the Maryland journal is the only one that has survived, and it is no exaggeration to say that in these later years which were particularly difficult for America's *Deutschtum*, much of the credit must be given to Dr. Cunz.

In addition to his editorial labors and short articles, Dr. Cunz was the author of three major works, *The Maryland Germans: A History*, *Egg Harbor City: New Germany in New Jersey*, and the third, and more popular, a collection of biographical essays on the careers of leading German-Americans, *They Came From Germany, the Stories of Famous German Americans* (New York, 1966).

The volume on the Maryland Germans was the product of long and painstaking research in genealogical and church records, newspapers, letters and other historical source material. The result is a "case history" of a single state which could serve as a model for studies of other states. It is entirely objective and while it does full

justice to the Germans it avoids the filio-pietistic exaggerations of many of the earlier books on ethnic elements in the American population.

The story of Egg Harbor deals with an experiment by a number of Germans to build a model German community in New Jersey. Here Germans were to transplant and enjoy the "gemütlich" social life of the old country, with German schools, newspapers, singing societies, lodges and Turnvereine. The United States once had scores of immigrant Utopias, but only a few survived into the present century. Egg Harbar was no exception. It developed, in the free atmosphere of the United States, into just another American bilingual community.

Dr. Cunz will be remembered in the profession as a careful, thorough scholar who made a significant contribution to the history of immigration. He was always ready to cooperate with other scholars. He was generous in his judgments and unduly humble about his own achievements.

Carl Wittke
Case Western Reserve
University

* * *

The first time I met Dieter Cunz was in December of 1947 in Zürich, Switzerland, while I was studying as an independent student at the University. Little did I realize the significance of this meeting for my own future. Dr. A. E. Zucker, then Head of the Department of Foreign Languages at the University of Maryland, recommended that I get in touch with Dieter so that I might plan with him to fulfill the requirements for a Ph. D. in Germanics.

It was a propitious meeting. Dieter not only helped me immediately in planning a course of study, he also proposed a topic for the dissertation. In addition, as a friend, he helped to effect a smooth transition for me and my family from Zürich to College Park, even to the extent of permitting me to use his apartment in his absence from the campus.

The topic for my dissertation presented certain difficulties. Otto von Corvin, although a forty-eighter, did not appear in his best light as the author of *Der Pfaffenspiegel*, and copies of his other works were hard to come by. A perusal of *Die Geissler* did little to convert me. I demurred, but Dieter encouraged me to withhold judgment until some of Corvin's other works had been reviewed. He still thought it wise for me to limit myself to the examination of one man's life and works rather than attempt a study of the effect America had had on German literature! I learned my first lesson in research.

Actually, it turned out that *Der Pfaffenspiegel* was not so much a scurrilous work as it was an attempt to discredit certain forces which appeared to Corvin to uphold the established order and to oppose social and political progress. It is doubtful that the book would have been written had Corvin not had this conviction.

To which Professor George Metcalf replied: "All this I know very well, and that is the very reason why I want you!" How true! With the solicitous friend we lost our incorruptible critic whose counsel we sought often and gladly. More than any verbose tributes, credit to Dieter Cunz in footnotes of articles and monographs of years to come will express what all of us owe him.

KLAUS WUST
Editor, *The Report*

Dieter Cunz

A LIST OF PUBLISHED WRITINGS

1934–1969

Compiled By

WALTER KNOCHE
University of Maryland

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GERMAN COMMUNITIES IN NORTHWESTERN OHIO: CANAL FEVER AND PROSPERITY

By Wolfgang Fleischhauer

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In the introduction to his comprehensive study of the Maryland Germans, Dieter Cunz called for laborers in the vinyard of immigration history, pointing out how much spade-work was still to be done before the " story of the peopling of America " could be written.[1]

Now, twenty years later, the call is still urgent. How much material pertaining to the history of immigration is ready and waiting for the harvest, was driven home to me recently in the course of linguistic field work in several rural communities in Northwestern Ohio. I had to know the history of the settlements and their people in order to be able to understand and interpret intricate problems in the speech of these language islands. And the deeper I became involved with the history and the lives of these people, the more fascinated I became by my research.

I believe this work, dealing with German settlements in a Midwestern state in the middle span of the nineteenth century, to be of general interest, because it is rather characteristic of an important phase in the German settlements of the United States, a phase that has been called the " second wave " of German immigration. This mighty wave rolled into the Midwestern states between 1815 and 1860, into a region which Dieter Cunz aptly defines as the " ' German quadrangle ' on the map of the United States, roughly within the lines connecting New York City, Minneapolis, St. Louis, and Baltimore ".[2] Characteristic not for the comparatively small group of intellectuals and liberals, the " Forty-eighters ", who preferred the cities to the country, but typical rather of the small farmer, of the great mass movement of German immigrants into the rural areas after the passing of the Indian, where they cleared the forest lands, drained the swamps, and cultivated the land, founding towns and villages to be the centers of such communities. These immigrants had left their homeland not for political reasons, but because they were hungry, hungry for land, land to own and to till. They were experienced farmers, many had been tenant farmers or day laborers on large estates.[3] They were lured to America by the prospect of a better life, offered to them in the form of Congress lands, which, even with their modest means, they were able to buy.

[1] Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans*, (Princeton, N. J., 1948), 3.

[2] Dieter Cunz, *They came from Germany. The Stories of Famous German-Americans*, (New York, 1966), 10.

[3] There is, to my knowledge, no overall statistical information published concerning the vocational background of immigrants from rural Germany around the middle of the nineteenth century. Tabulations in government archives and regional offices, however, can give us a fair idea of this background. The official lists of names of emigrants and their occupations kept by the district of Damme in Oldenburg are, I believe, typical of much of the German immigration into the rural Midwest. The most frequent designations are *Kötter, Heuermann, Dienstknecht, Dienstmagd*; less often occurs *Kolon* (" landowner "); relatives of a *Kolon* appear more frequently in these lists, because they had no hereditary claims on the family land. These lists are easily accessible in an exemplary regional study of emigration: Johannes Ostendorf, " Zur Geschichte der Auswanderung aus dem alten Amt Damme (Oldg.), insbesondere nach Nordamerika, in den Jahren 1830-1880 ", *Oldenburger Jahrbuch für Geschichte und Heimatkunde*, XXXXVI-XXXXVII (1942-43), (Oldenburg, 1943), 164-297.

The German settlements of Minster, New Bremen, New Knoxville, Fort Jennings, Glandorf, Ottoville and others have one thing in common: all are situated in the Northwestern part of Ohio; they date from the Thirties and Forties of the last century; and all of them are in some way or another connected with the Miami and Erie Canal.

Since the second decade of the nineteenth century there had been a growing demand in the country for better ways of marketing agricultural products of the inland regions. The roads in the interior were impassible in winter and in the rainy season, and few rivers were navigable. Canals seemed to be the answer. It was the *Erie Canal* in the state of New York, that made people in Ohio clamor for a canal system of their own connecting Lake Erie with the Ohio River.

Frederick Jackson Turner, in his classic *Rise of the New West* (1906) calls is " the glory of Dewitt Clinton that he saw the economic revolution which the *Erie Canal* would work ". The Governor of New York himself termed it a " bond of union between the Atlantic and western states " and predicted: " As an organ of communication between the Hudson, the Mississippi, the St. Lawrence, the great lakes of the north and the west, and their tributary rivers, it will create the greatest inland trade ever witnessed." [4]

Clinton's expectations were fulfilled. The Erie Canal, completed in 1825, by creating a water route between New York City and Buffalo not only opened avenues for farm products to markets in the East and moved manufactured goods into the interior, it also was instrumental in opening the West to an ever increasing tide of immigration. It promoted Great Lakes navigation, and was directly responsible for the construction of the Ohio system of canals.[5]

In 1825 the Ohio State Legislature authorized two main canals: the Ohio Canal from Cleveland to Portsmouth through the center of the state, and the Miami and Erie Canal, first from Cincinnati to Dayton, and later extended to Toledo. The Cincinnati to Dayton section was opened in 1829,[6] ready for the tide of settlers which started to roll north in 1830; the extension, running to the junction of the Auglaize and Maumee Rivers near Defiance, was completed in 1845. Here it joined the Wabash and Erie Canal, which connected Evansville, Indiana with Toledo.

The Miami and Erie Canal followed roughly the old military trail from Cincinnati north to the Maumee River,[7] a natural route for trade and

[4] Frederick Jackson Turner, *Rise of the New West 1819-1829*. I quote from the paper back edition, Collier Books (New York, 1962), 43 f.

[5] At that same time similar projects were started in other states: Pennsylvania began her system of alternate sections of tramway and canal (1825), and projects were planned or started in Maryland, Virginia, Illinois and Indiana. See John J. George Jr., " The Miami Canal ", *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications*, XXXVI (1927), 92. Much of the following account is based on this informative article, which cites the important literature on the subject. An exhaustive bibliography can be found in: *History of the Miami and Erie Canal from Middletown to Cincinnati*, by Raymond Standafer (unpubl. M. A. Thesis, Miami University, 1949). Helpful maps and interesting illustrations are found in some smaller publications, as for instance: *The Miami and Erie Canal. Symbol of an Era*, (Dayton, Ohio, Carillon Park, [n. d.]); " Up the Creek without a Paddle ", *Ohio Bell Voice*, XV, No. 3 (1968), 8-11; and a brochure, published by the *Ohio Historical Society*: Marilyn G. Hood, *Canals of Ohio, 1825-1913* (Columbus, 1969). As to the canal and its history of Auglaize County and Northwestern Ohio I am indebted to William J. McMurray, *History of Auglaize County* (Indianapolis, 1923). A comprehensive study of the administration and economy of the Ohio canals has just been published by the Ohio University Press: Harry N. Scheiber, *Ohio Canal Era: A Case Study of Government and the Economy, 1820-1861*, (Athens, Ohio, 1969).

[6] The first boat arrived in Dayton from Cincinnati in 1829. George (*op. cit.*, 95) says that " before the end of 1828 the whole line from Cincinnati to Dayton . . . was completed."

[7] " Wayne's Trace ", as it was called, went along the fertile valleys of the Great Miami, the Auglaize, and Maumee Rivers from Cincinnati to what is now Toledo (" Fallen Timbers "). The importance of this route for commerce was early recognized: a German merchant in Cincinnati, Martin Baum, who had come from Hagenau to Baltimore before the Revolutionary War and then had gone to the " West " with General Anthony Wayne, was the first landowner and " city planner " of what is now Toledo. He considered this site to be the logical terminus of a line of commerce from Cincinnati. See Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (New York, 1927), I, 425.

commerce. The canal ran from Cincinnati, through Dayton, Piqua, Minster, New Bremen, St. Marys, Delphos, Defiance to Toledo in the northwestern corner of Ohio. 248 miles in length, it rose to its highest point in Auglaize County, 512 feet above the Ohio River level. This is the summit of the divide between the waters of the Ohio and the waters of Lake Erie. Four German communities are situated on this very summit which extends a little more than twenty-one miles: Fort Loramie, Minster, New Bremen, and New Knoxville. Fifty-three locks were required to lift the boats " over the hill " and fifty-two locks to take the fall of 395 feet to the level of Lake Erie.

The importance of the canals for the economic development of the state and the growth of pioneer settlements must not be underestimated.[8]

The construction of the canal meant hard money in the pockets of the pioneer settlers. We know from memoirs and biographies that the majority of these pioneers worked on the canals, digging the canal bed when the construction neared their neighborhood, but also working on sections far away. Groups of German pioneer settlers from New Bremen, and Minster for instance, worked on the Wabash and Erie Canal in Indiana before the Miami and Erie Canal passed through their settlement.[9] To bring home badly needed cash, the men in Glandorf worked on the canal far away from their wilderness home, while the women tilled the fields.[10]

The canal supplied an outlet for farm products. Since corn was the staple crop, pork and whiskey was the important money-making freight that was shipped by canal—it was the pork that bestowed on Cincinnati the sobriquet " porkopolis " and laid the foundation of one of the industries for which Cincinnati is best known still today: soap. The whiskey distilled by the German farmers was shipped and sipped as far south as New Orleans. All this meant sudden prosperity. " The country along the canal, fifteen miles and more on either side ", one informant told me, " blossomed up suddenly like a second paradise, and became the breadbasket of the nation ". Besides creating markets for inland products the canal, by supplying water power, made it possible to erect saw mills and grist mills, a great boon for farmers all along the route of the canal.

All this meant hard cash, a rare commodity indeed among immigrants. It turned their farms just wrested from the wilderness, into going concerns. Not only were they able to purchase farm implements, but it enabled them to pay off the land, which most of the pioneers had bought on option from the government, often paying down only a few cents per acre. I am sure, what my informant told me about the New Knoxville community is true

[8] If there are some doubts how much actually the canals contributed to the fabulous increase of Ohio's population to two million in 1850, the following facts certainly show the importance of these waterways: (1) Population density per square mile for canal counties was much higher than the average density for the whole state. (2) At the peak of canal operation, between 1830 and 1850, the rate of increase of Ohio's population was greater than in any other twenty year period in the history of the state. (3) In 1850 fourteen of the twenty-two largest cities were on canals, four on Lake Erie, and four on the Ohio River. See Standafer, 151 f.—La Vern J. Ripley in his study " The Columbus Germans ", *The Report 33* (Baltimore, 1968) stresses the importance of the Ohio Canal for the growth of Columbus, Ohio: " In September of the same year (1831), water was turned into the Feeder Canal joining Columbus to the Ohio Canal which linked . . . Lake Erie with the Ohio River. As barges ascended to discharge and receive freight, immigrants swelled the population of the Capital City from 1,500 in 1827 to nearly 20,000 a short thirty years later." (2-3).

[9] See the recollections of Charles Boesel, one of the New Bremen pioneers: " Ansiedlung von New Bremen ", *Der deutsche Pionier*, I (1869-70), 84-121 (especially 119); cf. also: " Ansiedlung von Minster, Auglaize County, Ohio ", *op. cit.*, 147-152 (especially 149). The pioneers that settled New Knoxville also worked on the canals in Indiana and Ohio as did most settlers along the route of the canal. I learned this from written and oral recollection of local people, some of which I have recorded on tape. Mr. William Henschen, for instance, a farmer and former schoolteacher in New Knoxville told me that almost all the early German settlers worked on the " Fort Wayne—Toledo Canal " and the Miami and Erie Canal.

[10] " Die deutsche Ansiedlung von Glandorf, Putnam County, Ohio," *Der deutsche Pionier*, I, (1869-70), 300-303.

also of other pioneer settlements: by the end of the Civil War most farmers had paid off their debt to the government.

The great mass of German immigrants between 1830 and 1860, who settled in Northwestern Ohio, Indiana and points beyond passed through Cincinnati. The "Queen City" actually was the gateway to the West for thousands of immigrants, the rallying point from which they set out to their future homes. They arrived in Cincinnati by flat boat or steamer on the Ohio river. Biographies of the early settlers found in county and church histories, as well as in oral tradition, faithfully handed down from the pioneer generation, show that Baltimore was the favorite port of entry. From Baltimore they travelled by Conostoga wagon to Pittsburgh or on the National Road to Wheeling, whence they continued their journey down the Ohio to the Queen City of the West. A few of the very early pioneers lured by the cheaper mode of travel on water entered by the harbor of New York and shipped family and worldly belongings up the Hudson to Albany, on the canal to Buffalo, by Lake steamer to Cleveland, then south on the Ohio canal to Portsmouth and on to Cincinnati.[11] This route was soon abandoned, however, because it was too time-consuming and made the settlers arrive in the dead of winter, too late to plant a first crop. I might add that it was not rare for German immigrants to come up river from New Orleans.

Many of them stayed in Cincinnati for longer periods of time, before moving on to clear the virgin forest or drain the fertile, but treacherous "Black Swamp" that covered wide stretches of Northwestern Ohio.[12] Some, having joined land companies being organized in Cincinnati, waited there for the scouts to return with the news that a town site had been selected. This was the course of events for instance in the case of Minster, New Bremen, and Fort Jennings.—The rapid growth of Cincinnati from 25,000 inhabitants in 1830 to 115,000 in 1840 was largely due to this influx of German immigration. It created a strong labor market, and the high wages paid were welcome cash for the often penniless immigrants. This money they used for downpayments on their farms. Frequently they were able to pay off financial obligations incurred in their journey from Germany within an incredibly short time.

And now to the German settlements themselves! In the present paper I shall limit myself to the four colonies on the summit of the divide.[14]

The last Indians departed from this region in 1832.[15] The offer for

[11] Several of my informants reported that their grandfathers or greatgrandfathers in 1836 had come from New York City by the Erie Canal to Buffalo, from there on the lake to Cleveland, from Cleveland south on the Ohio Canal and the Ohio River to Cincinnati, and then had travelled up north on the new Miami Canal as far as Dayton from where they proceeded by wagon to their destination New Knoxville.—Some immigrants, as for instance Father Wilhelm Horstmann, the founder of Glandorf, sailed from Buffalo to Detroit and entered Northwestern Ohio from there. See *A Portrait and Biographical Record of Allen and Putnam Counties* (Chicago, 1896), 382.

[12] Francis P. Weisenburger, *The Passing of the Frontier, 1825-1850, The History of the State of Ohio*, ed. by Carl Wittke, V. III, (Columbus, 1941), 48 f.

[13] See E. R. Kuck, *An Historical Account of the Early Religious and Social Life of the New Knoxville, Ohio Community, 1836 to 1900.* (New Knoxville, Ohio, 1962), 18. Weisenburger, *op. cit.* 52, states that "By 1830, approximately five per cent of the population of Cincinnati was German; by 1840, twenty-three per cent; and by 1850, twenty-seven per cent. Together with their children born in the United States, the Germans, as early as 1840 constituted 14,163 of the 46,382 persons in the city." See also Faust, I, 426.

For a parallel situation, i. e. the close relationship between the rise of a city (Baltimore) and a prosperous hinterland (Western Maryland) c. f. Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans*, 157-159.

[14] I hope to treat settlements farther north, Delphos, Glandorf, Fort Jennings and others, in the near future.

[15] Although the facts are well known and found in many historical accounts easily available, I shall give a bare outline here. Originally the land in question was claimed by the Miamis. After their removal to Indiana in 1782 (General George Roger Clark), the Shawnees, having been driven out of the Carolinas and Georgia, occupied this land, their famous Council House being at Wapakoneta, the present county seat of Auglaize County. After the Greenville Treaty of August 3, 1795, which brought the long hostilities to a formal close, groups of the Shawnees began their migration to Missouri. The last Shawnees led by their chief Blue Jacket moved out of this part of Ohio in 1832.

sale of Congress lands and canal lands [18] started a regular tide of immigration into this territory. The villages of Minster and New Bremen were platted in 1833, founded by colonizing societies out of Cincinnati. The earliest settlers of the other colonies moved into the territory at about the same time. The towns New Knoxville and Fort Loramie, which are the centers of these communities, were platted in 1836 and 1837 respectively. Fort Loramie, Minster, and New Bremen are on the canal itself; it passed right through the center of town. New Knoxville is a few miles east of it.[17] By 1829 the canal had been completed as far as Dayton, the terminal point for the earliest pioneers; from there they proceded by wagon to their destination.

Most of the settlers came from the Northwest of Germany. A visitor to this part of Ohio is struck by the similarity of the landscape; flat country with a wide horizon and a tremendous sky above it, farm houses with large, prosperous barns and groves of oaktrees and other hardwood. In any direction, before one becomes aware of a town, one sees the stately church towers rising from the plain. The swamps that covered large tracts of land when the first immigrants arrived, have disappeared, reclaimed into fertile fields as have those in the pioneers' native Westphalia and Lower Saxony. The early settlers must have felt at home here.

We must not forget that these colonies are predominantly rural communities. The towns serve as the center of communal life, with church, school, bank, post office and markets. This, too, reminds us of the rural *Gemeinden* from which the pioneers came. In the course of time the towns have developed commercial and industrial enterprises, some of considerable size and importance, providing a livelyhood for the ever-increasing population, but the strength of the community is still the farmer. Official census figures are misleading, because they give only the population within the corporation limits of the village, ignoring the large farm population which is in every way an active part of the community.[18]

[16] A strip of land along the route of the canal was offered to settlers by the state at one Dollar an acre. As early as 1828 Congress had granted lands along the proposed canal to help finance the initial survey. See George, " The Miami Canal ", 96, and McMurray, 145 and 415.

[17] Fort Loramie belongs now to Shelby County; Minster, New Bremen, and New Knoxille to Auglaize County.—My account of the history of these settlements is based chiefly on the following sources.

MINSTER. " Ansiedlung von Minster, Auglaize County, Ohio ", *Der deutsche Pionier*, I (1869-70), 147-152. " Zwei Agitatoren der Auswanderung. II. Franz Joseph Stallo ", *Der deutsche Pionier*, VII (1875-76), 2-16. Velma F. Schmieder, *Souvenir of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of Minster, Ohio.* (Minster, Ohio, Post Printing Co., 1932).

NEW BREMEN. Chas. Bösel, " Ansiedlung von New Bremen ", *Der deutsche Pionier*, I (1869-70), 84-121. Carl Bösel, " Einwanderers Abenteuer ", *Der deutsche Pionier*, III (1871-72), 215-217. *New Bremen Centennial, 1833-1933, July 1-2-3-4*, (New Bremen, The Home Printing Company, 1933).

NEW KNOXVILLE. In addition to valuable information from older residents, and especially from my friend Jacob A. Meckstroth, native of New Knoxville and former editor of the *Ohio State Journal*, I am indebted to: G. H. Kattmann, *Souvenir of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of New Knoxville, Ohio, July 21, 1836—July 21, 1936.* (New Bremen, Ohio, Home Printing Company, 1936). Information on church history and the religious life of the community can be found in the following: *Centennial Souvenir. In Story and Pictures Presented in Commemoration of One Hundred Years of Worship and of Service. 1838-1938. The First Evangelical and Reformed Church, New Knoxville, Ohio.* (Cincinnati, Roessler Brothers, Printers, 1938); *1838-1963. 125th Anniversary Memoirs, The First Evangelical and Reformed Church, New Knoxville, Ohio.* (New Knoxville, 1963); and the mimeographed publication by E. R. Kuck, cited in note 13.

For all three communities I am also indebted to the history of Auglaize County, by McMurray, cited in note 5.

[18] The following table lists the population according to the 1960 census; the official estimate for 1966 in parenthesis; followed by the approximate number of souls for the entire community between slants:

MINSTER	2193	(2372)	/3900/
NEW BREMEN	1972	(2206)	/3700/
NEW KNOXVILLE	792	(869)	/2500/
FORT LORAMIE	687	(—)	/2000/

The estimates for the entire communities were given to me by a reliable authority, J. A. Meckstroth, a native of New Knoxville (see note 17), a newspaper man and political writer, who is not only a keen observer, but has been all his life in close contact with his native community where many members of his family live and where he has innumerable friends in the farming and business community.

These four communities, as well as the German settlements of Glandorf and Fort Jennings are remarkable in another respect: they are what the German ethnographer calls *landsmannschaftliche Siedlungen*, i. e. the immigrants of each community came from one, usually a small district in the homeland and they were held together by the ties of kinship, religion, common history and speech. The Minster and Fort Loramie pioneers came from Southern Oldenburg and related Catholic regions near Osnabrück, those of New Bremen from the old province of Hanover.[19] In New Knoxville we even have the rare case that almost all of the early settlers, and the majority that arrived in the following fifty years, came from a single small Westphalian village, Ladbergen, halfway between Münster and Osnabrück.

Whereas in the first wave of German immigration, i. e. the immigration of the eighteenth century, the South Western parts of the Empire (Palatinate, Württemberg, Hesse) played a predominant part, the " second wave " of the nineteenth century originated predominantly in the provinces north of the Main River. The settlers of the Northwestern Ohio communities with which we are concerned emigrated from the Northwest of Germany, Westphalia and Oldenburg, especially its Southern part, the " Oldenburger Münsterland ", predominantly Catholic, with strong historical and spiritual ties to the old Bishopric of Münster.

It is from this territory that the founder of Minster, Ohio came, Franz Joseph Stallo, who has been called by one local historian the " Oldenburger Pilgervater ".[20] Francis Joseph Stallo was a natural born leader and organizer, highly intelligent and exceptionally gifted and energetic. He was considered eccentric by some. Not only was he the first to emigrate from his German home district, the parish of Damme, but also the prime mover of an ever increasing emigration from his homeland, a migration that reached such proportions that the local German authorities took steps to halt this flood. Stallo came from a family of small farmers and schoolteachers. Born 1793 in Sierhausen in the parish of Damme he became a teacher like his father before him. But soon, bored with the narrow and confining life of a country schoolmaster he learned the printer's trade and in 1815 opened a shop in his hometown where he also sold and bound books. He was a man of intellectual curiosity and many interests and well versed in physics and mechanics, and he had done pioneer work in irrigation and reforestation of his native heath. Because of his liberal views in politics and religion he got into trouble with the Oldenburg authorities. It was the publication and distribution of " seditious " pamphlets, and his activities as an agent recruiting immigrants to the United States that finally led to his arrest and his emigration to America.

He came to Cincinnati in 1830 and one year later his family followed.[21]

Stallo immediately began his activities to make his dream of a German colony in the West come true. By corresponding with his old friends in Germany he brought about a constant stream of immigration into Cincinnati from Southern Oldenburg and a few nearby communities, Twistringen

[19] New Bremen, however, had quite a number of immigrants among its early settlers that came from the Rhenish Palatinate. See below.

[20] Ostendorf, 171. My account of Stallo is based on information in this study and on the sources cited in note 17 under Minster. The essay in *Der deutsche Pionier* VII, signed " R," i. e. written by H. A. Rattermann, has been excerpted by Gustav Koerner, *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, 1818-1848*, (Cincinnati, 1880), 219 f., which in turn supplied the information for the story printed in the *Vechtaer Zeitung*, Nr. 8, 1886.

[21] Most sources give 1831 as the date of his arrival in the United States (*Der deutsche Pionier*, I, 150; VII, 10 f. and Schmieder, 32). I follow Ostendorf, 168, who states that according to the official register (" nach dem amtlichen Register ") he emigrated in 1830. Ostendorf assumes that he went alone at that time and returned after one year to take his family across.

for instance, which in 1817 had been ceded to Hanover, and from Catholic sections of Osnabrück; all these were related to the Oldenburgers by ties of blood, religion and tradition. The first group arrived in Cincinnati as early as 1832. Stallo presided at a meeting that took place in April of that year.[22] A stock company was formed for the purchase of land on which to found a colony. Stallo was one of two committeemen elected to inspect Congress lands for sale in Ohio and Indiana. Upon their return Stallo was authorized to purchase a section of 640 acres, the site of the present town of Minster.

The first group of settlers left Cincinnati soon thereafter, going by canal boat as far as Dayton and then to Piqua and on to their chosen land.[23] Stallo himself made a plat of the town site, surveying being one of the many arts this remarkable man mastered. He divided the section into 144 shares, and on April 1833 each of the assembled members drew one of the 144 slips of papers out of Stallo's hat.[24]

Stallo himself called the village "Stallo's Town".[25] After his death the name was changed to Münster in honor of the illustrious Cathedral city of Münster, the spiritual capital of the God-fearing early settlers.

Stallo had died suddenly in 1833, one of the many victims of the dreaded Asian Cholera that took a heavy toll of the immigrants in the different settlements.

Soon after his death legends sprang up, inspired by the colorful and often eccentric personality of the founder of Minster, legends that claim the interest of the folklorist, if not the historian.

For instance the story of how the town got its name. According to some the name Stallo's Town was chosen by the ambitious leader himself; but there is also this amusing report: after several suggestions had been turned down by the members of the company, Neu Damme for being suggestive, Neu Twistringen and Neu Osnabrück for inviting ridicule from their future Yankee neighbors, someone proposed Stallotown. Whereupon the proud Stallo tapped a keg of beer to properly celebrate the christening.[26] He himself, so the story goes on, nailed a board with this name on the trunk of a giant beech tree in the center of the new colony, the day they arrived.[27] One day, tradition has it, the sign was knocked down by a runaway team of horses and never replaced. About that time a growing feeling sprang up in favor of Münster.[28] Evil tongues, however, claimed, the sign had been torn down by irate citizens who believed Stallo had cheated them out of their rightful share of the property.[29]

This latter charge came not entirely out of a blue sky. Unlike the proverbial "wise family father" Stallo had neglected to put his house in order, before the Lord called him home. He died intestate and was still holding title to the land, having neglected to execute deeds to the several lot owners. There were angry voices and accusations. Finally, in 1836, "a bill was

[22] According to *Der deutsche Pionier*, VII, 11 the first group of immigrants from Damme and Twistringen arrived in Cincinnati in the spring of 1832, and the meeting took place in April of that year. Schmieder 7, sets the date as Sept 1, 1832 and states that it was attended by "97 young Germans".

[23] There is no doubt that the first settlers arrived in 1832 in what is now Minster; according to the *Der deutsche Pionier*, VII, 13 ff., in the late summer (the names of the families are given). They are reported to have marched from their meeting place in Cincinnati to the canal boat in a regular procession, at the head of which a white muslin flag was carried with the inscription "Stallotown". In the fall of the same year additional settlers reached the colony which by January 1, 1833 counted 52 souls. *ibid.*

[24] Schmieder, 8 ff., prints a list of the 144 lots and their owners, based on the court record.

[25] It is spelled "Stallostown" in some sources, "Stallotown" in others.

[26] *Der deutsche Pionier*, VII, 12.

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] McMurray, 440.

[29] *Der deutsche Pionier*, VII, 16.

filed in chancery for the purpose of securing title to purchasers of these lots". Individual title was eventually effected.[30]

But rumors didn't die easily. The self-willed town builder was said to have been denied a Christian burial in the churchyard and to have been buried right in the village street. The real reason for this strange grave site, however, had not been religious fanaticism, but the deadly fear of contagion that made the settlers bury all their dead as quickly as possible and right in front of their houses. Later the street had been widened—and still later his body was removed to a permanent place of rest.

And then there is a story, recorded long after his death, telling, how, when Stallo had the first inkling that he was in the grips of the dread disease, he threw himself on his snow white steed and gallopped, a second *Schimmelreiter*, wildly up and down the rough plank road in town, arguing with God in Heaven, screaming: "I can't, I must not die, before my affairs are in order, God must let me live until the poor have received their bills of sale!" [31]

Three miles north of Minster is the flourishing town of New Bremen, an all Protestant community, just as Minster was wholly made up of Roman Catholics.[32] Like Minster New Bremen also was organized by a German stock company in Cincinnati in 1832. There were 33 members in the original group. Two scouts, sent out to select suitable land, bought 10 acres of government land at one dollar per acre, which was then divided into 102 lots. Each member received one, as decided by lottery—the rest was offered for sale. Since most of the original members came from Lower Saxony they called their town Bremen. It was recorded on June 11, 1833.

The first log cabin was built in the summer of 1832 and the first families, six in number, arrived in the same fall. In the spring of the following year others followed, settling on farms close to Bremen. Not all of the pioneers were of North German stock, however: in the summer of that same year several families from the Rhenish Palatinate settled in the community, four miles from town.[33]

In 1838 the Miami and Erie Canal finally reached the divide, passing through the middle of Minster and New Bremen, thereby causing a rapid commercial and industrial development of the two communities.

The community of New Knoxville is also entirely Protestant. The settlers came from the village of Ladbergen in the Westphalian *Grafschaft* Tecklenburg. In 1834 the first Ladbergers arrived in this region, scouts, so to speak, for a number of families that were eager and ready to leave their homes for the promised land of America.[34] Stopping first at New Bremen they took up Government land four miles away, at $1.25 an acre. This was the beginning of a continuous migration from Ladbergen. According to records in the archives of that town there were 315 persons that left their homes in the nine years between 1833 and 1841. Of these 81 were

[30] McMurray, 440.

[31] *Der deutsche Pionier*, VII, 15 f.

[32] Originally both towns were in the same township, German Township, but in 1858 a division was made, creating a separate civil entity in the southern part: Jackson Township with the village of Minster. The northern half with New Bremen kept the name German Township. As late as 1920 there were in the former not more than "half a dozen Protestants", according to McMurray, 441. Today the religious boundaries are somewhat less rigid.

[33] Some of these, like the Boesel and Maurer families became leading citizens and successful business men. They were active in politics. Carl (Charles) Boesel for instance was elected to the Ohio House of Representatives (1863-67) and the State Senate (1868-71).

[34] Jacob A. Meckstroth told me that his greatgrandfather Hermann Heinrich Meckstroth was one of the earliest settlers. "He sold out in Ladbergen, paid his debts and came to what later became the community of New Knoxville." Like most of the early immigrants he came with his family, four boys and two daughters and sons-in-law. He bought "four times ninety-six acres of Government Land on option, at $1.25 an acre". Hermann Heinrich Meckstroth had been preceded by two of his sons in 1834, who "spied out" the land and sent favorable reports back to Ladbergen.

unattached individuals, the rest 43 families with 3 to 8 members and 24 couples. Peak years were 1840 and 1844 when 103 and 104 persons respectively left Ladbergen. Most of these early emigrants went to Ohio.[35]

People have often wondered how a town, so thoroughly German, got the name New Knoxville. The town was laid out by a professional town planner or developer, a man of Irish descent, James K. Lyttle. He platted and recorded the village of New Knoxville in 1836 naming it in honor of the reformer John Knox, a distant ancestor of his mother. Having completed the work of surveying he left the community and settled in St. Marys. As late as 1848, that is 12 years after its founding, there was only one building standing in the " town ", in addition to the log church. " There just was no excuse for its founding," I was told.—After 1850, however, the village grew quickly, saw mills and other small establishments springing up.

Fort Loramie is another community founded after the first German families had already established farms in the surrounding township for several years. The town was platted in 1837 and named Berlin. The name was changed to Fort Loramie around the turn of the century.[36] After the canal reached the village more families moved in and the community grew and developed. The people are of the same ethnic stock as the settlers of neighboring Minster.

In a description of Fort Loramie at the end of the century we find the following report on how the community kept its identity: " After settlement here the Germans strove to prevent settlement of Americans in their midst, and by different methods nearly succeeded. Still a few straggling Americans settled on lands within the township, but each soon found it desirable to leave, and so was bought out as early as he could sell, and generally was succeeded by a German. This, at least, was the plan of the German settlers themselves, and keeping the plan in view, they have preserved the characteristics of nationality, religion, and politics up to the present time." [37]

There is another statement in this description of Fort Loramie that could have been made about any of these communities: " They have excellent farms ", it says of the settlers, " erected substantial buildings, and in their own way and according to their own ideas, pursue the enjoyments of life. Perhaps their church comes first and the building is almost fit for the abode of personal gods ".[38]

The church always has come first, and still does in our day. The church was the very first concern of the pioneers. The modern traveler through these towns is surprised and impressed by the magnificence and size of their neo-gothic, red brick churches, their steeples rising high above the fertile farm land. These impressive stone churches were built in the seventies and eighties, replacing the modest log churches of the founding days. The

[35] Friedrich Saatkamp, *1000 Jahre Ladbergen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Tecklenburger Landes.* Herausgegeben vom Heimatverein Ladbergen (Westfalen). (Ladbergen, 1950), 133-137. Among the early settlers of New Knoxville was the maternal great-grandfather of Neil Armstrong, the man who first set foot on the moon: Fritz Kötter, born in Ladbergen, emigrated to the U. S. A. and settled in the Ohio community around 1860. His daughter, Caroline Katter, married Martin Engel, whose ancestors had also come from Germany, and their daughter Viola is Neil Armstrong's mother. See *Tecklenburger Landbote*, 12. September 1969.

[36] See *History of Shelby County, Ohio, with Illustrations and Biographical sketches of Some of its Pioneers*, (Philadelphia, 1883), 257-263. A. B. C. Hitchcock, *History of Shelby County, Ohio*, (Chicago, 1913), 372. Fort Loramie is situated near the site of the old fort of that name, built by General Anthony Wayne. It was named after Peter Loramie, a French-Canadian trader, who operated a store on this site in 1769.

[37] *History of Shelby County* . . . . (1883), 258. About politics and its place in the life of the settlers the writer has this to say: " Next (to the Church) come social customs, and fronting these as lager beer, without which it appears life would be a burden, and liberty a misnomer. Following this comes politics, in which field some one man will be found to hold an electoral dictatorship, and on election day Democratic ballots will be found " thick as autumnal leaves in Valambrosa ". *ibid.*

[38] *Ibid.*

pioneers always provided for a church in the original town plat and the church was usually the first building to go up. The log church is gone and so is the frame church that took its place, but the " church " is still first in the heart of the community. It is the center of their lives.

When describing how the German settlers did preserve " the characteristics of nationality, religion and politics to the present time ", the writer, quoted above, might have added that of native language. All these characteristics were actually preserved into the twentieth century, to some degree even into our days.

And it was the problem of language that first awakened my interest in these German communities, especially the Low German dialect of New Knoxville.[39] New Knoxville, you recall, is exceptional among German settlements in this country: the majority of the early settlers came from one single community in Germany. In the New World they held on not only to their peculiar culture, tradition and faith, but also to the idiom of their village; and this idiom, the speech of Ladbergen, remained the language of daily life in their new community on the other side of the Atlantic.

An exciting research project for the linguist. Here he has the rare opportunity of comparing the speech of an isolated community in the New World with that of the mother village in the old country, from which it has been separated for more than a hundred years.

Perhaps I should point out that in New Knoxville of today the oldest people are trilingual: they speak *plattdütschk*, English and, to some degree, the High German they had learned as youngsters in church and school; up to the early Twenties High German was also taught in grade school for six weeks each fall. People in the middle-age group are bilingual: they speak both Low German and English, while the youngest generation, with some notable exceptions, speak only English, although many still understand what their elders say in *Platt*.

I carried out extensive research and field work, interviewing and recording on tape representative speakers, both in New Knoxville and Ladbergen. The result of the study was most rewarding: a comparison of the two dialects showed first of all, that no major changes had taken place in the last 130 years in the sound structure of either language. This is all the more surprising if we call to mind that the New Knoxvillites have been living all that time in close contact with two other Low German communities near by, New Bremen and Minster, speaking similar dialects, to be sure, but with significant and striking differences in phonology and vocabulary. There are for instance the so-called " broken vowels ", so characteristic of the Westphalian dialect and still unchanged in the speech of New Knoxville, but not found in the other dialects: *kuaken* ' to cook ', *bierg* ' mountain ', *pieper* ' pepper ' *he is stuarbm* ' he died ' as against *kohken, berg, päper, he is storben.* And I found no interference by the neighboring speech communities in the vocabulary on New Knoxville. The New Knoxvillites still hold on tenaciously, in spite of ridicule from the neighbors, to their *Rüe* against *Hunt* ' dog '; *Pütte* against *Soht* ' farm well '; *Pruhm* against *Pluhm* ' plum '; or *küden* against *spräken* ' to speak '.

These rigid lines of demarcation, linguists call them " isoglosses ", between features of the Low German of New Knoxville, New Bremen and Minster in twentieth century Ohio are still indicatative of the dialect regions the early settlers had come from a century ago: Westphalia, Lower Saxony and Southern Oldenburg. This is remarkable if we consider that during

[39] For the discussion of the language problem c. f. Wolfgang Fleischhauer, " Westphalian in Ohio ", *American-German Review*, XXX (1963), 1, 26-30.

all those years the people of these three communities used Low German in their business dealings and social intercourse.

In contrast to the stability of the sound system there has been change and innovation in the lexicon, in the form of loanwords from English. I want to stress that such loans are evidence of the vitality of the dialect, because only a language that changes with the times is alive, and not yet a museum piece. Goethe knew this truth and put it well when he said in his *Maximen und Reflexionen*: " Die Gewalt einer Sprache ist nicht, daß sie das Fremde abweist, sondern daß sie es verschlingt ". Modern life with its technical and scientific advances constantly creates new concepts and these demand new words. For the farmer there are for instance novel technics, the use of chemicals, or new, sophisticated machinery. This borrowing process from the English standard language in the Ohio communities is closely paralleled in rural communities in Germany: Terms like *Silo*, *Mähdrescher*, *Vielfachgerät* and *Autobahn*, borrowed from the High German standard are as integral a part of the lexicon of the Westphalian *Bauer* as *Silo*, *baler*, *spray*, and *underpass* are at home in the *Platt* of the New Knoxville farmer.

The most interesting result of the investigation, however, was the discovery that the colonial speech of New Knoxville had preserved a definite archaic flavor. It has held on to words and phrases that have become extinct in the home dialect of Westphalia, having been replaced there by items from the High German standard. Only in the speech of the very old villagers did I find some of these words still in use. " Goodness gracious, I haven't heard that word for a long, long time," old Ladbergeners, listening to my tapes, would exclaim. " Grandfather used to talk like that."

Such archaic elements, expressions lost in the dialect of the Westphalian village, but still very much alive in the *Platt* of the Ohio community, not only allow the linguist to draw conclusions as to the Ladbergen dialect of a century-and-a-half ago, but also provide new evidence of an interesting phenomenon, observed elsewhere in different languages and various parts of the world, namely the fact that " colonial speech " shows the tendency to resist change and is much more conservative than the mother tongue—another striking example being the remainders of Elizabethan English in the Southern Appalachians.

An historical event and an invention generated some fundamental changes in these German communities: the First World War and the advent of the automobile. Until then daily life and the mores of the community were those of their home across the sea; the original dialect had remained the everyday idiom of each community, faithfully preserved. High German had been the language of church service and instruction. This slowly gave way to English as it did in thousands of churches all through the land. However, some remnants of German have survived into our time. In New Knoxville, for instance, the use of German in church in 1950 was confined to a Sunday morning Bible class. But the minister, when visiting the very old, still read to them from the German Bible.[40]

And the communities have maintained a certain German identity and flavor. Although elusive and hard to pin down, it is very real indeed, easily noticed by an observant visitor to these towns. A news reporter in 1950 made this statement, that would be true of all communities: " But German speech is still often heard when New Knoxville people meet, and the bond of common origin and culture is a very important element in their communal life." [41]

[40] *The Christian Century*, LXVII (1950), 235.
[41] *Ibid.*

Let me close with a few words about the churches in these German towns of Northern Ohio. As I said before, the church has been and has remained the center of community life. And it has been an active church and a vital force. In 1950 the Evangelical and Reformed Church of New Knoxville was chosen in *The Christian Century*'s poll of 100,000 ministers as the rural church most worthy of study in Midwestern and Eastern states. *The Christian Century* called it the physical as well as the spiritual hub of one of the loveliest farm neighborhoods in America, and pointed to the remarkable fact that in 120 years of its existence it has sent thirty-nine men and three women into the Christian ministry. "If that record has been equaled or excelled," the paper added, "the fact deserves publication." [42]

[42] The essay "Evangelical and Reformed, New Knoxville, Ohio", the second of a series entitled "Great Churches of America" appeared in the issue of *The Christian Century* cited in note 40, pp. 233-238. It might be of interest to the reader that the connection with Ladbergen and her church has never been broken. On the occasion of the Centennial of the New Knoxville church in 1938 the Mother Church in Ladbergen sent a German Bible "as a token of her love and affection". In 1950 the pastor of the Ohio church, Dr. D. A. Bode, went to Ladbergen to represent the congregation at the one-thousandth anniversary of the founding of the Church in Westphalia and to present a silver altar cross.

JUNG-STILLING AND THE AMERICAN BACKWOODS

By Klaus Wust

"You think it surprises me to receive letters from North America; no, my dear, that does not surprise me at all for yours is not the first one from that part of the world. Besides, I am used to receiving letters from Asia and from most of the countries of Europe; my correspondence is unusually large and I also consider it a very essential and useful part of my activities. . . ." wrote *Dr. Jung-Stilling, Kurbadenscher Hofrath* in reply to a letter from an unnamed Lutheran clergyman in 1805. The pastor had evidently informed him of the influence his writings had among the Germans in the United States. "I feel like throwing myself in the dust before the Lord of Glory whenever I am given such testimony of blessings spread by my writings," Jung-Stilling continued and then revealed his familiarity with the religious scene in America.[1]

The American pastor must have voiced concern about the followers of Johann Georg Rapp who had arrived during the preceding year. The first group of about three hundred Rappites reached Baltimore on July 4, 1804 aboard the *Aurora*. Two more shiploads of 540 persons altogether landed in Philadelphia in September 1804.[2] Some of these "awakened" Wurtembergers found the German communities in Maryland and Eastern Pennsylvania congenial enough to stay instead of following Rapp to his rigidly organized, utopian Harmony Society not far from Pittsburgh. "As to the Wurtemberg Separatists and their migration to America I must admit, helas!, that much chaff is mixed in with them. For several years already I have earnestly warned in public against such aberrations in *Der graue Mann* and especially in my correspondence. But it was to no avail. No people in Germany have less cause to be Separatists than the Wurtembergers because they still have a large number of awakened and righteous preachers." [3]

Another disquieting development for the Lutheran and Reformed churches in the American backwoods at that time were the camp meetings conducted by Methodists and their German-speaking counterparts, the United Brethren. These emotion-loaded outdoor services were often marked by corporal convulsions and delirious shouting. Stilling seemed to be well aware of the American revival movement when he wrote: "The news of revivals over there . . . is heart-lifting. I had previously read extensive news about the preachers under open skies in a German American newspaper. I dare not pass judgment on people dropping down and fainting—if it would only further the work of the Lord one might be tolerant in such secondary matters." [4]

Significantly, this passage of Stilling's letter was underlined in ink in the copy of the *Evangelisches Magazin* owned by the Rev. Paul Henkel, the foremost itinerant preacher of the Lutheran church. The same volume,

[1] "Brief vom Stilling," *Evangelisches Magazin* I (Philadelphia, 1812), 132-134.
[2] Christiana F. Knoedler, *The Harmony Society* (New York, 1954), 6-8.
[3] "Brief . . . ," *loc. cit.*, 134; *Der graue Mann* (1795-1816) was Stilling's own magazine. He refers his correspondent to an attack on the sectarian enthusiasts in No. 16.
[4] "Brief . . . ," *loc. cit.*, 133-134.

curiously, contains an admonition to Paul Henkel by the 1811 Synod meeting of the Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania:

> ". . . that Mr. Paul Henkel be the itinerant preacher this year for three months in the states of Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia and Tennessee. For certain reasons Dr. Helmuth has been asked to inform him of this synodical resolution and advise him to stay away from Camp Meetings on his tours if he should encounter such deviations from our evangelical ways." [5]

Paul Henkel was known to have preached at backwoods revivals in order to offset the appeal of the emotional barrages of Methodist exhorters. Stilling's comment no doubt interested him and probably strengthened his own conviction that the Lutherans should not remain passive lest they lose their rural flocks to the new faith.

Henkel, like many of his contemporaries in the western parts of Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, was well familiar with the books of Johann Heinrich Jung-Stilling. Numerous surveys of German books owned by preachers, farmers and craftsmen in the American hinterland between 1780 and 1830 indicate that Stilling was the only contemporary author in Germany who enjoyed widespread and unquestioned popularity. Most of his writings were offered by booksellers and hawkers soon after their appearance in Europe, indeed, new titles were eagerly awaited and when they reached Philadelphia, Baltimore, Lancaster or Hagerstown, printers mused over them to decide whether the sale of imported editions from Germany or a local reprint would be more profitable.

Apart from a few sophisticated immigrants, mainly in the port cities, the German population in the Middle Atlantic and Southern states had simple tastes when it came to books. Religious themes predominated everywhere from the often extensive libraries of clergymen to the limited bookshelf of sectarian farmers. The Bible, T. J. van Braght's *Märtyrer-Spiegel*, excerpts from Martin Luther's writings, Johannes Arndt's *Wahres Christenthum*, the anonymous prayerbook *Ernsthafte Christenpflicht*, Gerhard Roosen's *Christliches-Gemüthsgespräch* and a few sweet-worded pietistic titles covered the whole extent of literary interest west of the Blue Ridge.[6] The then contemporary classical literature in Germany was totally unknown to the immigrants of the 18th century and their descendants. Much of it would not have appealed to the backwoods readers at any rate whose "worldly" readings were limited to an occasional broadside describing a particularly gruesome murder or a public hanging. Booksellers evidently did not burden their shelves with Goethe, Lessing or other non-religious authors. Jacob D. Dietrick's *Bücherstohr* and circulating library in Hagerstown offered the usual pious fare but also—and this was no doubt exceptional so far from the coast—a couple of books by Wieland and Kotzebue in 1801.[7] Solomon Henkel at New Market, Virginia, published a list of his stock in 1809. From among the thirty-seven German titles advertised (all devotional material or practical handbooks) Stilling with *Der Christliche Menschenfreund* is the sole representative of contemporary writers in Germany.[8]

[5] *Evangelisches Magazin* I (1812), 15. For Paul Henkel (1754-1825) see Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans* (Charlottesville, Va., 1969), 132-134, 156, 270.

[6] Wust, "The Books of the German Immigrants in the Shenandoah Valley," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* XXXII (1958), 74-77.

[7] *Catalogue of Jacob D. Dietrick's Circulating Library* (Hagerstown, Md., 1801), 90-98. Copy at Maryland Historical Society.

[8] *Virginische Volksberichter*, New Market, Va., April 19, 1809.

By that time Jung-Stilling's popularity was spreading throughout the back settlements. Imported copies of *Henrich Stillings Jugend* and the novels, *Florentin von Fahlendorn* and *Heimweh* made their way into distant parsonages. Their golden words enlivened many a sermon by country preachers whose language thirsted for new, pleasing expressions in an environment of linguistic isolation. Pennsylvania printers soon found it profitable to reprint Stilling's books rather than rely on costly and uncertain shipments from overseas. Dieter Cunz located no less than 13 American reprints published between 1797 and 1821.[9] The earliest one was *Florentin von Fahlendorn* (Reading, Pa., 1797). Heinrich B. Sage, publisher of the popular *Weltbothe* in Reading which also circulated south of the Potomac, issued among others the first American editions of the combined *Lebensbeschreibung* (1811), *Siegesgeschichte* with *Nachtrag* (1814) and *Theorie der Geister-Kunde* (1816). Extant copies of the Reading edition of *Siegesgeschichte* turned up in recent years at country sales in remote sections of Virginia and West Virginia.

Pennsylvanian printers were not the only ones to cash in on Stilling's popularity. The increasing demand in western Maryland and the adjacent South prompted John Gruber of Hagerstown in 1807 to reprint in two volumes the 1803-05 Nürnberg issues *Der christliche Menschenfreund.*[10] Numerous copies of these pious, moralizing tales have survived to this day, some found in such unlikely places as Bergton, Forestville, Rural Retreat and Toms Brook in Virginia and Green County, Tennessee. Excerpts were welcome copy for newspapers such as Gruber's own *Westliche Correspondenz* and the New Market *Virginische Volksberichter.* In the *Menschenfreund* Gruber offered advance subscriptions to Stilling's *Theobald oder die Schwärmer*, a 420 page edition he produced the following year according to Seidensticker.[11] Likewise he proposed to publish Stilling's *Siegesgeschichte der christlichen Religion* for $1.25. But three years later he admitted in his almanac that he had calculated the price too low. " Nowadays food prices, materials and wages are much higher than before," was his still familiar lament and he now suggested $1.75 for it. Since the only copies of this title located in Maryland and Virginia all bear Sage's Reading imprint, Gruber might never have printed the *Siegesgeschichte* although years ago Seidensticker found the *Nachtrag* published by Gruber & May in Hagerstown in 1815.[12]

The Henkel firm in New Market, Virginia with its network of agents from Winchester south into Lincoln, Rowan, Stokes and Guilford counties, North Carolina, and Granby County, South Carolina, did not only sell Gruber's and Sage's reprints of Stilling but also issued a brief excerpt of *Heimweh* from its own press in 1815. To this pioneer publisher in a western Virginia hamlet of 300 souls belongs the credit of having printed in 1814-15 the first English translation of a work by Stilling in America:

Scenes in the World of Spirits.[13]

The translation from the third original edition was the work of Gottlieb Shober (1756-1838) of Salem, North Carolina. Shober, a member of the

[9] Dieter Cunz, " Nachwort " in his edition of *Henrich Stillings Jugend, Jünglingsjahre, Wanderschaft und häusliches Leben* (Stuttgart, 1968), 385. (Reclam Universal-Bibliothek Nr. 662-666)

[10] Felix Reichmann, " German Printing in Maryland, A Check List, 1768-1950," *The Report SHGM* XXVII (1950), 9-70. Item # 100 (pp. 12, 34). For John Gruber (1768-1857) see Dieter Cunz, " John Gruber and His Almanac," *Maryland Historical Magazine* XLVII (1952), 89-102.

[11] Oswald Seidensticker, *The First Century of German Printing in America, 1728-1830* (Philadelphia, 1893), 172.

[12] Reichmann, *loc. cit.*, 12, 36; Seidensticker, *op. cit.*, 194.

[13] Lester J. Cappon and Ira V. Brown, *New Market, Virginia, Imprints 1806-1876* (Charlottesville, Va., 1942), 8.

Moravian Brotherhood and an ordained Lutheran minister, wielded much influence among the North Carolina Germans and maintained close contacts with English-speaking clergymen. It was not until 1831 that another title, *Heinrich Stillings Leben*, appeared as *Stilling's Life* in an American English translation in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Altogether, a count of British and American translations based on B. Q. Morgan's bibliography for the period 1810-1864 lists only 10 titles by Jung-Stilling.[14] While simple German-speaking Americans received his works with unusual enthusiasm considering the scant intellectual preoccupations of most of them (not excluding here the rural clergy), to English-speaking Americans Stilling remained virtually unknown outside some religious circles, notably the New England Universalists.

Many reasons may be advanced for Stilling's popularity among the rural clergy and many common people in the German back settlements. The clearly religious tenor of his writings distributed in America exempted them from the scorn and suspicion with which most other contemporary European authors were received. There was nothing in them of " the triumph of reason " against which country pastors so vehemently preached. People in a land that had only recently been tamed, that had still been the raw frontier a generation earlier, were receptive to the strange blend of mystic, spiritualistic and theosophic elements of Stilling's writings. Extant sermons by roving Paul Henkel or by George Daniel Flohr of Wythe County in the far southwest of Virginia betray the same child-like faith and sentimental pietism that pervades Stilling's autobiographic works.[15] The pietism of Halle which had strongly influenced the early Lutheran ministers of Pennsylvania, seemed sedate, dry and almost lifeless if compared to the emotional approach to faith in the backwoods congregations. Moreover, Stilling masterfully described the good, simple village life as no other writer had, a life that many people on the erstwhile frontier were about to build for themselves. Nor was his piety confined to narrow denominational lines. In a region where Reformed pastor William Otterbein joined Mennonite Martin Boehm to preach Methodist principles, where " Lutherans, Presbyterians, Mennonites, Baptists and Methodists all drew near the Lord's table and many were not able to avoid shouting," [16] Moravian Gottlieb Shober offered communion in Lutheran churches, William Hauck, the Reformed pastor, was licensed to preach by the Lutherans and the brother of the most ardent Lutheran Paul Henkel was the Methodist pioneer preacher Moses Henkel, in such a region Stilling's openmindedness toward confessional differences was more than welcome. Even the seclusive Dunkers could find pious passages to their liking as a result of Stilling's proximity to the *Täufer* in Elberfeld.

Likewise Stilling's combination of interest in medicine and religion was shared by numerous country preachers who doubled as medical practitioners. At least in the area west of the Blue Ridge, no evidence of any particular impact of *Das Heimweh* could be discerned. Dieter Cunz has pointed out that this four volume novel with its masonic and apocalyptic features was blamed for much of the Swabian emigration to Russia.[17] Generally, secret societies were frowned upon by the country clergy and, save for a few sectarians, the faithful were not infected by the chiliastic

[14] Cunz, " Nachwort," 385-386; Henry A. Pochmann, *German Culture in America 1600-1900* (Madison, Wis., 1957), 346.

[15] Paul Henkel (1754-1825). Manuscript sermons in Tusing Collection. New Market, Va.; G. D. Flohr (1759-1826). A collection of his popular and evangelic sermons in J. T. Tabler (ed.) *Sermons and Essays* (Baltimore, 1840), 1-265.

[16] *The Life and Journal of the Rev'd Christian Newcomer* (Hagerstown, Md., 1834), 99.

[17] Cunz, " Nachwort," 381-382.

fever which had seized so many Wurtembergers in the Old Country. The generation of farmers and hunters grown up along the frontier was too practical-minded to indulge in speculations about the millenium. Fear and hardship of the pioneer days were yielding to an optimism without, however, extinguishing all interest in the supernatural and occult. Superstition in connection with many features of daily life was rampant in all early American settlements. Stilling's *Szenen aus dem Geisterreich* and more yet his *Theorie der Geisterkunde* supplied fare similar to the grim, locally produced broadsides which were found by posterity folded away in Bibles and devotional tracts.

Jung-Stilling's letter cited at the beginning is evidence for the fact that he was well aware of his North American audience and that he relished it. In a way, his was the very last "foreign" German influence on the descendants of the American German migration of the 18th century. With the progressive language transition in the land between Potomac and Saluda his work fell into complete oblivion. Time-worn volumes unearthed in attics and barns, lingering on shelves of country junk stores—one copy was even rescued from a county dump—and finding their way to Saturday vendues among "sundry old Dutch books" bear testimony of Stilling's bygone popularity. Just like this entry among the appraised estate of George Daniel Flohr of Wythe County, Virginia (some 450 miles southwest of Philadelphia), neatly written into the county Will Book by a bilingual clerk:

"Heinerich Stillings samtliche Werke—Henry Stilling's worcks $10 . . ." [18]

[18] Wythe County Will Book III (1827-1831), 265-266.

MARYLAND SCHOLARS AT GERMAN UNIVERSITIES
1824-1910

By JOHN T. KRUMPELMANN
Tulane University

The same Yankee enterprise which sent Yankee "pedlars" with "wooden nutmegs" and "wooden hams" down the Mississippi River to New Orleans and New England circuit riders west of the Alleghanies was responsible for the expedition of Yankee clippers to the four corners of the world. The fault lay not in them if their Stars and Stripes as well as their Puritanism, their Abolitionism and their thrift and their learning were not disseminated throughout the States of the Union and the Nations of the World. Their zeal, which succeeded in establishing in New England "the Hub" of early American cultural endeavor, deserves and receives our highest commendation. The failure, or the tardiness, of Southern scholarship to match the resourcefulness and the aggressiveness of our New England cousins by proclaiming the erudition of the Southern tier of States would deserve censure were it not for the fact that the destruction of the cultural pattern of our agrarian South was accomplished just when the South had attained its florescent stage, and that the resultant ruin and desolation was so great that a "struggle for existence" rather than a restoration of lost values and past accomplishments was all that was possible.

There was no "lend-lease" in those days, no friendly enemy-troops to assist in reconstruction and to protect the defeated white Southerners vis-a-vis the hostile Southerners and the occupation forces. Many valuable records had irretrievably "gone with the winds", others were temporarily dislocated. Only the coming of post-World-War-I prosperity and well-being made a resurgence of literary activity and research possible in Mencken's "Sahara of the Bozarts". Much remains to be researched, but the gleaners are few and the greener pastures of science, industry and commerce seem to be more attractive, even to the few humanists, than are the memories of ante-bellum aristocracy.

In 1935 the Harvard University Press published a study by a New England Gentleman and Harvard scholar, Orie W. Long, *Literary Pioneers. Early American Explorers of European Culture* which was needed and welcomed by students of German-American cultural relations; but its field of research was restricted to academic interests and to New England "pioneers", one might dare to say to Harvard scholars and Massachusetts men of the ante-bellum nineteenth century. The appearance of Professor Harold Jantz's article "German Thought and Literature in New England, 1620-1820" in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* in 1942 (XLI, 1-45) extended the field both chronologically and in subject-matter but remains geographically provincial. My *Bayard Taylor (1825-1878) and German Letters* (Hamburg, 1959) extended the field southward but only incidentally penetrated beyond the Mason-Dixon Line, even though the author was convinced that the South had also displayed much interest in German culture in the first half of the Nineteenth Century. This conviction

resulted in the appearance in September 1965 of my volume *Southern Scholars in Goethe's Germany* (University of North Carolina Press).

To match Long's Everett, Ticknor, Cogswell, Boncroft, Motley and Longfellow the southern volume deals chiefly with the Hugenot, Hugh Swinton Legare, George Henry Calvert, Jesse Burton Harrison, Thomas Caute Reynolds, Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve and James Woodrow *in extenso*, and notes the German cultural interests and studies of hundreds of other young Southern scholars.

Although much has been revealed in that volume of the roles which Marylanders played in the invasion of cultural Germany, much of the interesting data uncovered in that research could not be included in the published volume.

The chapter on George Henry Calvert (pp. 23-45) is devoted to a scion of the founding family of Baltimore, a descendent of Lord Baltimore and, on his mother's side, of the renowned Flemish painter, Peter Paul Rubens. He later became the first Democratic mayor of Newport, Rhode Island. Chapter Six is devoted to Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, a native of Charleston, South Carolina, who later moved to Virginia and terminated his career as the "Arch Apostle of the Classics" (*SS i GG, p. 133*), having been the first appointee to the original faculty of the Johns Hopkins University.

Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University, has entitled him "the most eminent classical scholar and teacher that America has produced". (*SS i GG, p. 108*). Of course there are frequent mentions of Marylanders in *Southern Scholars in Goethe's Germany*, but there is much more that should be added, as the following remarks will indicate.

My studies included extensive searches into the matriculation documents of the universities of Goettingen, Bonn, Marburg, Heidelberg, Munich and Berlin (Humboldt University) for the first half of the Nineteenth Century.

As early as 1910 Professor Daniel B. Shumway published in the *German-American-Annals* (N.S., vol. 8, pp. 171-254) an article "The American Students of the University of Goettingen" which reveals that between 1830 and 1860 South Carolina sent more of her sons to study in Goettingen than did any other state with the possible exception of Massachusetts. He lists all Americans (circa 1200) who studied at Goettingen and comes up with 31 who, between the years of 1824 and 1910 claimed Maryland addresses. I have listed as Marylanders not only those students who were residents of that state at the time of their Goettinger Matriculation (Shumway's list) but also those students who later became illustrious in positions and/or careers in that state, *e. g.*, Gildersleeve and Remsen.

"Realizing the likelihood of error" I make for my list the same apology Shumway makes for his, when he writes: "Of course mistakes are bound to occur in such a compilation inspite of the utmost care." (p. 159 f.) The inability to attain complete accuracy is due in part to the facts that there was no uniformity in the matriculation practices at the several universities and that, in some cases, the individual students, who evidently made their own entries in the registration records, were both poor penmen and possessors of an imperfect knowledge of the German language. I have endeavored to retain the original expressions of the young Americans where the intent is clear, despite the inaccuracy of their vocabulary. In some cases the entries in this "Address Book" are at variance with those in the official matriculation records. The Heidelberg matriculation is preserved in a monumental work of seven large volumes: *Die Matrikel der Universitaet von 1386-1662.* Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Gustav Toepke, Erster Theil 1386-1581, Heidelberg, 1884 (pp. 697) through Siebenter Theil (pp. 701) *Register*

1704-1870. A copy is found in our Library of Congress. This form has been accepted as the standard for our listings.[1]

Other records in diverse forms and more difficult to discover and to decipher were examined at the universities named. With the assistance of the following notes and abbreviations the general reader with little or no knowledge of German should be able to understand and appreciate the endeavors of our youthful Southern pioneers at the six universities here introduced in the earlier decades of the Nineteenth century, when Germany attracted and enlightened such a large number of our academic intelligentia.

Abbreviations and Notes

1.	= indicates number in this list
#	= indicates the semester matriculation—number in the University records, if any.
*	= father or guardian
c/o	= student's local (university) address
7.20, 11.20.	= Matriculation fee 7 (11) florins 20 Groschen. The smaller always indicates that the student has previously matriculated at another European university.
Mich.	= Michaelmas
Ost.	= Easter
SS i GG	= *Southern Scholars in Goethe's Germany*, University of North Carolina Press, 1965
Sh.	= Shumway, Daniel B.
chem.	= Chemistry
DAB	= Dictionary of American Biography
ep.	= Episcopal
ev.	= Protestant
Ju.	= Jurisprudence
jü.	= Jewish
lu.	= Lutheran
Me., Md.	= Medicine
me.	= Methodist
pb.	= Presbyterian
philos.	= Philosophy
pr.	= Protestant
theol.	= Theology

[1] Columbia University has a work *Goettingen Universitaet Die Matrikel der Georgia—Augustus Universitaet 1737-1837* (R. 378. 43; S. G. 2). Goetz von Selle, 1937; 2 v. 30 cm., which I have not consulted.

Maryland Scholars at German Universities
1824-1910

1. Calvert, George Henry, America.
   Goettingen: # 349, Feb. 3, 1824. Philos. * Particulier, Etats unis de l'Amerique. c/o Senator Berg, Nicolaistr.; Breda Johannisstr.; Mich. 1824—Ost. 1825, c/o Keil, Juedenstr. Calvert arrived at the Crown Inn Jan. 1, 1824. On Jan. 24 he moved to Birkenbuschhaus, Weenderstr. 37. cf. *S. S. in G. G.*
2. Zoller, Edwardus, Baltimore-Americanus, Medicina.
   Marburg: Apr. 29, 1827, age 17½, * Physician in Baltimore. Relegatione publica punitus, d. 30. Aug. 1828.
3. Keerl, William M., Baltimore.
   Berlin: Mich. 1828, Medicine. * M. D. c/o Poststr. 5. Came from Paris. Left Berlin Jan. 22, 1829.
4. Boehm, Charles, Baltimore, N. Amerika.
   Heidelberg: # 361, Oct. 29, 1831, age 19½, Medicine, pr. * Merchant. c/o Maler Prof. Nuss. Also Ost. 1832. 11.20. (First American at Heidelberg). One week later, Nov. 5, 1831, registered at
   Heidelberg: # 479, Nicolaus Niembsch von Strehlenau, age 29, of Cstad, Ungarn (i. e. the poet) Nicolaus Lenau (1802-1850), Catholic, Medicine. (earlier, Univ. of Vienna) who landed in Boehm's Baltimore on Oct. 8, 1832. On the day of his Heidelberg registration Lenau wrote: "Wenn ich mich einst in Amerika umsehe." After March 1832 America is constantly mentioned in his letters. He left Heidelberg about the middle of March. On March 15, 1833 he leased at Economy, Pennsylvania to Ludwig Haeberle the land he had purchased in Crawford County.
   Goettingen: Boehm matriculated Apr. 24, 1833, Medicine, c/o W. Blume, Gothmannstr. He continued in Goettingen, registering, at Mich. 1835. Here he died before the end of the semester. He was a member of the Corps. # 247. Suevia, 15/12/1831.
5. Walker, A., Baltimore (Sh.)
   Goettingen: Mich. 1836—Ost. 1836. Science.
6. Batzell, Edward, Baltimore.
   Berlin: # 70, Oct. 24, 1840, America, Philos. * Particulier, (Cambridge). c/o 1 Bauakademieplatz.
   Goettingen: Ost. 1841—Mich. 1841. (Sh.)
7. Frampton, Singard A., Charleston, S. C., N. A.
   Berlin: # 378, Nov. 4, 1840.
8. Johnson, Reverdy, jr., United States.
   Heidelberg: # 47, May 1, 1844, age 18. pr. Ju. * Advocat, Baltimore. 11.20. c/o Hochstaeder, Merchant.
   Berlin: # 29, Oct. 16, 1844. Ju. * Advocat c/o 67 Jaegedstr. Transfer from Heidelberg 14/3/45

HEIDELBERG: # 237, May 13, 1845, pr. Ju. (earlier Berlin) 7.20. See DAB and *N. O. Times-Picayune*, 23/5/62

9. Ogslon, Georg, North America.
   HEIDELBERG: # 267, Oct. 31, 1844. age 17, pr., Ju.; guardian, Advocat, Baltimore. Remained 3 semesters, Ost. 1845 and Mich. 1845-1846, c/o Frl. Gerlach, widow.
10. Pennington, Wm. C., Baltimore.
   HEIDELBERG: # 362, Oct. 14, 1845, age 17. * Baltimore; pr., Ju., 11.20. c/o Prof. Behagel. Also Mich. 1846-1847.
   BERLIN: # 443, Mar. 31, 1847. Ju. * Advocat. c/o 150 Friedrichstr. at same address, also Mich. 1847—Ost. 1848 Ost. 1848—Mich. 1849.
11. Pennington, Jaz. Wm. Charles, Maryland.
   HEIDELBERG: ex-slave, (not matriculated)
   Honorary degree, Mich. 1849 See *DAB*
12. Tiffany, Francis, Baltimore.
   BERLIN: Nov. 11, 1848, Theol. * Merchant. c/o 13 Behrenstr. Brussels, 5/2/49 See C. L. Tiffany. (DAB)
13. Geddings, Edward Wyatt, Baltimore.
   BERLIN: # 53, Oct. 1840. Medicine. c/o Prof v. Kunz, 32 Mittelstr., also Ost. 1850; Mich., 1850; Ost., 1851 at 2 Bauhof. Mich., 1851 and Ost., 1852 at 8 Hausvogtei, Ost. 1853 and Mich., 1853 at 47 Unt. d. Linden (73 Friedrichstr.) May 20, 1854 transcript Vienna.
   BERLIN: # 722 Am 16 Apr. 1853 (2 nd registration).
14. Atkinson, J. S., Baltimore.
   GOETTINGEN: Ost. 1851—Mich., 1851. Ju. (Sh.)
15. Gildersleeve, Basil Lanneau, Charleston—Virginia—Maryland.
   BERLIN: # 901, Oct. 2, 1850, Charleston, S. C., U. S. A. Philos. * Prediger, c/o Dorotheastr. 22, Depature Apr. 14, 1851.
   GOETTINGEN: # 40, Ost. 1851—Ost. 1852. c/o Wedenmeyer, Weenderstr. 58, and Deuerlich, Weenderstr. 59.
   BONN: Lanneau—Gildersleeve, Basil, Richmont (sic!) Apr. 26, 1852-Mar. 8, 1853.
   GOETTINGEN: Ph. D. March 15, 1853. See more data *SS i GG*, p. 104 ff. and notes 182 ff. and *DAB*.
16. Pennington, H. Baltimore.
   BERLIN: # 534, April 22, 1854, Philos. * Advocat. c/o 146 Friedrichstr. for 3 semesters. Transcript Oxford.
17. Easter, John Day, Baltimore.
   GOETTINGEN: Mich. 1852 to Mich. 1854, Philos. (Sh)
   HEIDELBERG: # 424, Oct. 28, 1854, age 24; Baltimore, America, * Privatier, Baltimore; pr. Chem. 7.20. Ph. D. (Heidelberg) Dec. 11, 1854 in Natural Science.
18. Tiffany, Charles Comfort, (See No. 12, *supra.*)
   HEIDELBERG: # 140, Apr. 28, 1855, age 25. Baltimore, Md. U. S. A. * Rentier, Williamsport, Penna; pr., Theol., 11.20.
   BERLIN: # 327, Oct. 21, 1855, age 25, Baltimore; * Rentier. Theol. (earlier) Heidelberg c/o 146 Friedrichstr. Transcript from Heidelberg 4/2/56.
19. Carroll, Charles, Baltimore in Maryland.
   GOETTINGEN: Mich. 1854—Ost. 1855. * Boston. Philos.

BERLIN: # 626, Apr. 21, 1855. * Merchant. Philos. c/o 141 Friedrichstr. Transcript (Goettingen) 28/6/55. (Not in Shumway list).

20. Slingluff, Charles B., Baltimore.
HEIDELBERG: # 150, Oct. 25, 1859, age 19, Baltimore, America. * Banker, Baltimore; pr. Philos. 11.20.
HEIDELBERG: # 93, Oct. 30, 1863, age 23. America; * Banquier, Baltimore; pr. Ju. 7.20. Also Ost. 1864.

21. Brewerton, Henry Feltus, Baltimore, America.
MUNICH: # 70, Oct. 24, 1860. Philos. c/o Fuerstenstr. 21

22. Johnson, Harrison T., Annapolis, Maryland.
HEIDELBERG: # 119, May 9, 1862, age 22, Annapolis. * Chancellor, Maryland; pr., Ju. 11.20.
HEIDELBERG: # 196, Oct. 27, 1863, age 23, 11.20. (Fee should be 7.20.)

23. Goldsmith, S. Baltimore.
GOETTINGEN: Mich. 1863—Ost. 1864. Baltimore. Law.

24. Mitchell, John, Maryland.
HEIDELBERG: # 72, Oct. 20, 1863, age 21, Maryland America. * Planter, Maryland; ep. Ju. 11.20.

25. Craig, James, Baltimore.
HEIDELBERG: # 78, Oct. 20, 1863, age 22, Baltimore, Maryland. * Planter in Florida; pr. Ju. 11.20. Also Ost. 1864

26. Gordon, Alexander, Baltimore.
HEIDELBERG: # 81, Oct. 20, 1863, age 20, Baltimore, U. S. A. * Rentier, U. S. A.; pr. Ju. 11.20.

27. Claughbaugh, Usher, Baltimore.
HEIDELBERG: # 88, Oct. 20, 1863, (age not given), America. * Merchant, Baltimore; pr. Philos. 11.20. Also Ost. 1864 and Mich. 1864-1865.

28. Slingluff, Charles, Baltimore.
HEIDELBERG: # 93, Oct. 20, 1863, age 23, America. * Banquier, Baltimore; pr. Ju. 7.20. (See No. 20, *supra*)

29. Johnson, Harrison L. (address-book Johnsen)
HEIDELBERG: # 196, Oct. 27, 1863, age 23, Annapolis. * Kanzler, America; pr. Ju. 11.20. (Evidently a reentry of No. 22, *supra*.) (Registration fee should have been 7.20.)

30. Stinnecke, Henry A., Baltimore.
HEIDELBERG: # 262, Nov. 10, 1863, age 22, Baltimore, America. * Physician, Baltimore; ep. Ju. 11.20. Also Ost. 1864 and Mich. 1864-1865.

31. Slingluff, Frank, Baltimore.
HEIDELBERG: # 2, Apr. 21, 1864, age 18, Baltimore, Maryland. * Banker, Baltimore; pr. Chem. 11.20. Also Mich. 1864-1865 and Ost. 1865. This is evidently the younger brother of No. 28 (above). It further seems that returning students No. 28 (20) and 29 (22) were conscious of the fact that they were "alte Herren". N. B. the "Banker" of No. 20 "Banquier" for No. 28, the "Chancellor" of No. 22 the "Kanzler" of No. 29. Further the Marylanders # 72, # 78, # 81, # 88 and # 93 must have come as a group to Heidelberg, perhaps Nos. 29 and 30 also belonged to the group. Cf. the registration dates.

32. Damman, J., Baltimore.
GOETTINGEN: Mich. 1865—Ost. 1866. Baltimore. Law. (Sh.)
33. Donaldson, Thomas, Baltimore.
MUNICH: # 501, Dec. 6, 1865, Baltimore, North America; Catholic. Natural Science, c/o Maximilianstr. $5a^3$.
34. Wiss, E., Baltimore.
GOETTINGEN: Ost. 1865—Ost. 1866. Laws. (Sh)
BERLIN: Mich. 1866—Ost. 1868, c/o 12 Charlottenstr.
35. Mehrens, John, Baltimore, Maryland.
MUNICH: # 652, May 24, 1865, Medicine. c/o Amalienstr. 63
Also Mich. 1865, Medicine, c/o Sendlingerstr. 1^1
" Ost. 1866 " c/o Muellerstr. 1^1
" Mich. 1866 " c/o Landwehrstr. 9^2
GOETTINGEN: Ost. 1867—Ost. 1869 (6 semesters) Medicine.
Also Ost. 1871—Mich. 1871 (1 semester) Medicine (Sh.)
36. Crook, Frank, Baltimore, Maryland.
GOETTINGEN: Mich 1867—Ost. 1868. Chem. (Sh.)
37. Remsen, Ira, New York, America.
MUNICH: # 223, Oct. 31, 1870. Chem. c/o Tuerkenstr. 82^3.
Also Ost. 1868.
GOETTINGEN: Ph. D., 1870 (Chemistry). Colleague of Basil L. Gildersleeve in the First Faculty of Johns Hopkins University. Later became President of that University. (See *SS i GG* p. 107 f., 184 and *DAB*)
38. Kunkel, J. J., Maryland.
GOETTINGEN: Mich. 1868—Ost. 1869, Frederick, Maryland; Chem. (Sh.)
39. Miller, Alamby M., Maryland.
HEIDELBERG: # 229, Dec. 15, 1868, age 20. Frederick City, Maryland; * Prediger, Petersburg, Va., pb., Ju. 11.20.
Also Ost. 1869. Address-book: Petersburg, Va.
40. Williams, R. D., Baltimore.
GOETTINGEN: Mich. 1869—Mich. 1870, Baltimore, Chem. (Sh.).
41. Stadtler, Sam'l, Baltimore.
GOETTINGEN: Mich. 1870—Mich. 1871, Baltimore; Natural Science (Sh.) Received. Ph. D.
42. Poultney, Carroll, America.
BERLIN: Ost. 1871. Natural Science. c/o 22 Schoeneb. Ufer.
GOETTINGEN: Mich. 1871—Mich. 1872, Baltimore. History (Sh.)
43. Morrison, Robert B., Baltimore.
GOETTINGEN: Mich. 1871—Mich. 1872. Baltimore. Medicine. (Sh.)
44. Shryrock, Richard Fuller, Baltimore.
GOETTINGEN: Mich. 1878—Mich. 1879. Baltimore. Law. (Sh.)
45. Ellett, Maryland.
GOETTINGEN: cf. "American Colony" MS (Goettingen).
"Historical and other Data" Vol. II, p. 65.
Mr. Ellett, Maryland, shot himself Nov. 20, 1874.
46. Mahon, R. W., Baltimore.
GOETTINGEN: Ost. 1880. Baltimore. Chem. (Sh.)
47. Mish, Frank W., Maryland.
GOETTINGEN: Mich. 1885—Mich. 1886, Clear Springs, Md., Philos. (Sh.)

48. Reese, Dr. Charles L., Baltimore.
GOETTINGEN: Ost. 1886—Ost. 1887, Baltimore. Modern Languages. (Sh.)
49. Hempl, George, Baltimore.
GOETTINGEN: Mich. 1886—Mich. 1887, Baltimore. Modern Languages. (Sh.) Berlin, Strassburg, Tuebingen; Ph. D. Jena, 1889. See *DAB* and *Who's Who* (America) 1920-1921.
50. Franklin, Fabian, Baltimore.
GOETTINGEN: Mich. 1891—Mich. 1892. Baltimore. Math. (Sh.)
51. Mc. Crae, Th., Baltimore.
GOETTINGEN: Ost. 1899—Mich. 1899. Baltimore. Medicine. (Sh.)
52. Baker, F. S., Baltimore.
GOETTINGEN: Ost. 1900—Mich. 1900. Baltimore. German. (Sh.)
53. Gemmingen von William G., Baltimore.
GOETTINGEN: Mich. 1900—Ost. 1901. Baltimore. Philos. (Sh.)
54. Ellett, W. B., Virginia (cf. No. 45, *supra*).
GOETTINGEN: Mich. 1901-1904. Blacksburg, Va., Agricultura. 63 rd. Patriarch, Summer 1902-Nov. 1902
55. Hobelmann, F. W., Baltimore.
GOETTINGEN: Mich. 1901—Mich. 1902. Baltimore. Medicine. (Sh.)
56. Shann, E. L. (Colony Book has L. E.), Baltimore.
GOETTINGEN: Mich. 1902— + 1903. Baltimore. Natural Science. (Sh.)
57. Shann, P. E., Baltimore.
GOETTINGEN: Mich. 1902—Mich. 1903. Baltimore. Chem. (Sh.)
58. Smith, W. H., Baltimore.
GOETTINGEN: Ost. 1905—Mich. 1905. Baltimore. Medicine. (Sh.)
59. Machen, John (Gresham), Baltimore.
GOETTINGEN: Ost. 1906—Mich. 1907. Baltimore. Theol. (Sh.)
MARBURG: (See *DAB*)
60. Ember, Aaron, Baltimore.
GOETTINGEN: Ost. 1910—Baltimore. Orientalia. (Sh.)

In Memoriam

ERNST FEISE. With a memorial lecture by Bernhard Blume of the University of California at San Diego, the Department of German of The Johns Hopkins University, the Goethe Society of Maryland and the Department of Modern Languages of Goucher College together with numerous friends honored the lifework of one of the leading German scholars of the United States, Ernst Feise. Born in Braunschweig on June 8, 1884, he died here on June 16, 1966. For many years, particularly during the dark days of the 1930's and 1940's, Professor Feise was a member of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland. The invitation to the memorial lecture held on March 4, 1967 at Goucher College contained the following sketch of Dr. Feise's life and achievement:

Following his gymnasium days in his native Braunschweig, Ernst Feise studied at the universities of Berlin, Munich and Leipzig. While *Germanistik* was his main field, his interest in the theater, in French literature, and in prosody were furthered by the rich literary productivity of the period and by the scholars with whom he was privileged to study.

After receiving his doctor's degree from Leipzig in 1908, Dr. Feise came to the United States to join the German Department at the University of Winconsin. The scholarly distinction that he attained at Wisconsin and that was enhanced during the fifty-five years of his career was rooted as much in his teaching as in his publications; both show the depth of his literary sensitivity and his profound humanity. His articles on Goethe are lasting contributions to German studies as are those that deal with the *Novelle* after Goethe. His genuine poetic gifts are revealed in his translations of Heine's poetry as well as in his own verse. His paramount interest in Goethe and in the cultural life of Baltimore led him to found the Goethe Society of Maryland in 1932.

Ernst Feise's teaching career in this country was spent successively at the universities of Wisconsin, Ohio State and The Johns Hopkins, to which he was called in 1927. He spent his summers from 1931 to 1948 directing the German School at Middlebury College, from which he received an honorary degree of Doctor of Letters in 1950. From Germany came additional honors: the Gold Medal of the Goethe Institute and the Grand Cross of Merit, one of the highest awards of the Federal Republic. After his retirement from The Hopkins in 1952, Goucher College was fortunate in persuading him to teach advanced courses on Schiller and Goethe.

While all who knew him were grieved by his death, they continue with the members of his family to be strengthened by those profoundly human qualities that characterized him as a man, a teacher and a scholar.

> "Enough, if something from our hands have power
> To live, and act, and serve the future hour."

AUGUST MENCKEN. For half a century the famous row house at 1524 Hollins Street held an unusually close and self-contained family. The last Mencken to live in it was August; he died after a heart attack on May 9th, 1967. Though he was the brother of a truly remarkable man, to whom he was devoted, he was also his own person. He was born in Baltimore on February 18, 1889. In his early schooling he followed Henry but then diverged to educate himself as a civil engineer. He worked for railroad construction firms for two years in the South and then returned to Baltimore. By the time the United States entered World War I, he was incharge of construction at the booming military base of Fort Meade.

After the war he became vice-president of an engineering firm, directing various projects. For six years in the 1930s, he put his mind to designing distilleries for the American Cider and Vinegar Company. He found the work amusing as well as instructive. When World War II arrived he supervised construction at the Edgewood Arsenal.

His profession reflected itself in some of his hobbies. He enjoyed building miniature engines and machines. They were done with exquisite care as were the ship models he shaped from time to time. One is now at the Naval Academy Museum at Annapolis; several others are in the collections of the Maryland Historical Society. That he was a meticulous craftsman was shown further by his woodworking: under his hand a wooden box became a work of art. Here August was the opposite of Henry, who more than once admitted amiably that he could not even tie a bow with ease.

August said that he loved ships all his life, and out of that love came his initial book, *First Class Passenger*. It told the story of ocean voyaging from its beginnings to the present. Close to his brother as he was, August inevitably gravitated into writing. He was no specialized scholar, however, who mined merely a single vein. His next book was the macabre *By the Neck*, a short history of hanging. It was an anthology of executions, culled by August chiefly from 19th and 20th century sources, with full editorial apparatus added. Thereafter came *The Railroad Passenger Car*, a lavishly illustrated history filled out with accounts by an assortment of passengers. The last of August's four books took years to write. It was entitled *Designing and Building the Great Pyramid*. To it he brought his lifelong skills as an engineer along with an enterprising imagination. It allowed him to visualize the construction of the Great Pyramid with an authority which no one else, apparently, had shown. It attracted little notice even from those specialists who should have been interested; but here and there, in Oxford and Cambridge, Berkeley and Chicago, requests reached him for the volume.

At the same time that he was computing his way carefully through the construction of the Pyramid, he was enjoying himself with a new genre, the comic short story on death. These stories he printed privately in pamphlet form, the most memorable being "The Fair Chanteuse," "The Reluctant Bride," and "The Glamorous Mrs. Kite." Through their pages stalked Sheriff J. P. Keefer, the lawyer Dangerfield Shovel, and the enterprising undertaker Mortimer Vontz, all with their eyes on the potential or actual corpse. The corpse, it should be added, was often female; for August throughout his long life regarded the female sex with some reserve.

He was a bachelor, as was Henry till he reached fifty. After Henry's wife died in 1935, the two brothers kept bachelor hall in Hollins Street. Regardless of the turbulent world outside, it was pleasant within until 1948.

In November of that year Henry suffered a stroke which crippled him

severely but did not end his life. If anything made it supportable for him during the remaining eight years, it was August's devoted care. All reports show that Henry made a difficult patient. He could hardly be blamed. He could no longer write; he could no longer read; and when he wanted to speak the proper words failed him. He felt half-dead. But August helped him with a kind of unceremonious dedication which would be hard to equal. He was not only Henry's brother, he was Henry's best friend.

August must have found a great void in his life after his brother's death in 1956. However, he continued with his writing and correspondence, and he kept up his friendships. Many of his old friends had died but the few who remained continued to be good companions. He did not move much from Hollins Street. A few years ago he became seriously ill. He had a heart attack, which was followed by a grim variety of other ailments. He ordered a stair elevator installed in the house so that he could reach the second floor without walking; but otherwise he made a minimum of concessions to his worsening health. His voice remained vigorous if gravelly; his sardonic sense of humor did not leave him. Like his brother he viewed the outside world as a circus, if a maniacal one. In his final year he was in and out of the hospital. He died at the Union Memorial Hospital in his sleep. Like his brother, again, he left an epitaph: it was that his only regret was that he had not sinned more.

CARL BODE

GEORGE ALTOFF BINGLEY, a long time member of our Society, was born in Watertown, New York on November 12, 1888, and died at Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore on February 27, 1966. On his mother's side (Eva Jane Altoff) he was solidly of German descent. His father, John Wesley Bingley, was a native of Yorkshire, England, and a distinguished engineer. George Bingley attended high school in Watertown. From 1907 until 1910 he was an undergraduate at Princeton University where he obtained his A. B. degree. His diploma was signed by Woodrow Wilson. He was a member of Dial Lodge. While he studied at Princeton, his father retired and took up residence in Hanover, Pennsylvania. Soon after his graduation, George Bingley went to Japan where he was an instructor in government schools at Osaka from 1911-1913. After a two years' residence in Japan he decided to pursue courses in mathematics in Germany, a subject in which he excelled. On his way to Germany he travelled over the Trans-Siberian Railway. Two years as a student in mathematics at Göttingen followed where he learned both to write and speak German. After his return to this country he went back to Princeton and received a M. A. degree. Due to his poor eyesight Bingley was disqualified for military field service but he served as a sergeant in the 472nd Engineers. Later he was an instructor at Brenau College, Georgia, a technological school. At the conclusion of World War I he was appointed an instructor of mathematics at the U. S. Naval Academy which marked the beginning of a distinguished career at Annapolis. Interrupted only by extensive travels in Europe, Professor Bingley taught at the Academy until 1923 and afterward for more than 30 years at St. John's College. He served both as professor of mathematics and German. For many years, he was secretary of the faculty committee which supervised the college's program of instruction. Professor Bingley also was the author of translations from texts by German and classical Greek mathematicians, many of which students at St. John's still use. He was a member of the Board of the Philadelphia Symphony and, in Baltimore, of the English-Speaking

Union. Following his retirement in 1954, Professor Bingley and his wife, the former Elizabeth Gordon, moved to Baltimore, where he had been living at the time of his death. George Bingley was buried beside his parents in Mount Olivet Cemetery in Hanover, Pennsylvania, the birthplace of his mother.

WILLIAM B. MARYE AND A. RUSSELL SLAGLE

WILLIAM H. LLOYD, a well known Maryland politician and a passionate lay historian, died on September 21, 1969, apparently of a heart attack, while on a cruise of the Delaware River near Philadelphia that was sponsored by the Swedish Colonial Society. Born in Philadelphia, he was the son of John S. Lloyd, a banker. He attended Friends Select School and Episcopal Academy in Philadelphia and studied agriculture at Pennsylvania State University. A Republican, Mr. Lloyd served in the House of Delegates from Dorchester county from 1938 to 1942. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the First District congressional seat in 1942, 1946 and 1960. During his years in the General Assembly he was the only Republican from the Eastern Shore. At the time of his death Mr. Lloyd was head of the Maryland-Virginia Farm Agency.

He was president of the Society of the War of 1812, Commander of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, president of the Huguenot Society, a member of the Society of the Cincinnati and a member of nearly 30 other historical societies, among them our Society.

For several years prior to his death the Hon. William H. Lloyd was a very active member of the German Society of Maryland to which he brought a large number of new members.

ANTON HAGEL, a native of Marburg in Hesse, died at the age of 79 on January 20, 1967. He came to Baltimore in 1912, taking a job in a bakery. Two years later he established his own bakery at Pratt and Ann streets, operating it until his retirement in 1957. He was a past president and treasurer of the Retail Bakers Association of Baltimore, and treasurer for 30 years of the Potomac States Association of the Baking Industry. A member of the Knights of Columbus and the Baltimore Kiwanis Club, he was also a former board member of Spring Grove Hospital. Anton Hagel's services to the German American community of Baltimore were manifold. During the years of World War II he was president of the Deutsches Haus, Inc. and was instrumental in saving this central institution of German group life from succumbing to extreme financial difficulties. At the time of his death he was honorary president of the Deutsches Haus, Inc. The German Society of Maryland lost in Anton Hagel a generous and active member and supporter. For many years he was a vice president of the German Society. He also belonged to the boards of directors of the German Home for the Aged and the German Correspondent, Inc., the company which saved the German-language newspaper in Baltimore from an early demise. He was laid to rest on the Holy Redeemer Cemetery in his adopted home town.

EDWARD F. ENGELBERT, JR. died on October 27, 1968 at the age of 54. Like his father and two brothers, he joined our Society several years ago and is well remembered for his interest in German Americans in the public and church life of Baltimore. At the time of his death he was chief of the retail sales tax division in the State's comptroller's office. Born in

Birnamwood, Wisconsin, Mr. Engelbert was brought to Baltimore by his parents as a boy. He graduated from Southern High School and then in 1941 with highest honors from the University of Baltimore School of Law. During World War II Mr. Engelbert worked in Baltimore in the durable goods division of the Federal Office of Price Administration. He became associated with the State Comptroller's office in 1947 and served as legal adviser and assistant to the division's Chief Administrator from 1947 until 1960. He was regarded as one of the outstanding authorities on sales and tax administration in the nation and was frequently consulted by foreign administrators and those in other states when new programs were adopted.

Mr. Engelbert was throughout his life in Baltimore a member of Martini Lutheran Church, where his father, the Rev. Edward F. Engelbert, served as pastor for more than 50 years. Mr. Engelbert was a member of the church council, had served on the board of directors of the Augsburg Lutheran Home and had been a delegate to the national convention of the Missouri Synod of the Lutheran Church.

Mr. Engelbert spent most of his leisure time at a summer home on the Choptank River near Cambridge on the Eastern Shore. Survivors include his wife, Mrs. Grace Engelbert; a son, Edward F. Engelbert, III; a daughter, Miss Sandra Lee Engelbert; his father, the Rev. Edward F. Engelbert; two brothers, George A. and Erwin H. Engelbert; and a sister, Mrs. James Dunn, Jr.

ERNEST G. MARR. On January 12, 1970, our Society lost one of its most respected members when Dr. Ernest G. Marr died suddenly at his Baltimore home at the age of 82 years. He was born in Saxe-Weimar, Thuringia, in 1887. Dr. Marr came to the U. S. as a young man. He took his B. S. at Johns Hopkins University, his M. D. at the University of Maryland. During 1920, he returned to Berlin for postgraduate study and research under Professor Klemperer, with whom he perfected a technique for rejuvenation which became world-renowned. On the staffs of Franklin Square Hospital, Maryland General Hospital, and Church Home and Hospital, Dr. Marr was a physician in general practice in Baltimore for 57 years. Many a German immigrant will gratefully remember the services he rendered to anyone who was in need. This spirit of concern for others who like himself came to this country in search of a new home, prompted his active membership in the German Society of Maryland. Dr. Marr is survived by his widow, a son, Dr. William G. Marr, a daughter, Miss Patricia Marr, and four grandchildren.