

**“NEITHER GERMANS NOR
ENGLISHMEN, BUT AMERICANS”:
EDUCATION, ASSIMILATION, AND ETHNICITY
AMONG NINETEENTH-CENTURY
PENNSYLVANIA GERMANS**

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*I*n 1876, Samuel Baer, the superintendent of county schools in Berks County, a heavily Pennsylvania-German region, wrote to the state's superintendent of public schools about the problems of teaching Pennsylvania-German children. He pointed out that although many speak Pennsylvania German as their first language, they still wanted to learn English while maintaining their distinctive heritage. "We are neither Germans nor Englishmen, but Americans," he wrote.¹

The continuing problem for Pennsylvania Germans is one that is at the core of the ethnic experience for many people: How do they maintain their ethnic heritage and still participate in a national society? What does it mean to be an American for people with a distinctive ethnic ancestry who do not speak English? For the Pennsylvania Germans, the resolution of this dilemma took different forms in different periods, although the long range process involved increasing use of English and incorporation into a national culture and society.

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In an insightful study of Pennsylvania-German ethnicity, Steven Nolt describes how Pennsylvania Germans developed an ethnic identity before the Civil War that was both distinct and also at the same time an identity that was very American.² Nolt has important insights into Pennsylvania-German identity that in some respects remain true to the present. In this paper, I will examine how this sense of ethnicity developed in the second half of the nineteenth century among leading Pennsylvania-German educators and intellectuals, especially in relation to Pennsylvania's public or common school system.

Pennsylvania-German educators confronted issues of language education and cultural identity in the nineteenth century that remain to the present day. Between about 1860 and 1880, leading Pennsylvania-German educators proposed programs that included the use of bilingual education and a strong emphasis on Pennsylvania-German heritage, although, generally, the primary goal of these programs was to encourage students to learn English and participate more fully in the national society. These programs also included a strong emphasis on hiring Pennsylvania-German teachers and respecting Pennsylvania-German cultural practices and institutions. But by 1900, Pennsylvania-German educators had shifted their strategy in teaching. Although they developed organizations that supported their distinct heritage and language outside of schools, they came to encourage a more aggressive curriculum for assimilation in schools and to support immersion in English as the best policy for language instruction. This change came about for several reasons. Between about 1860 and 1900, leading Pennsylvania-German educators shifted from a regional to a more national perspective. In 1860, they were concerned about the domination by more powerful interests, including other ethnic groups; by 1900 the major problem was how to assimilate other more recently arriving ethnic groups, including those from Germany, into a national society.

Ethnic identity is something that changes as people define and redefine themselves. Moreover, its expression can be different in different social contexts: the home, the church, the public, and the school. For most Pennsylvania-German educators and intellectuals, the public school system changed from a context which should embrace local traditions to a context that emphasized a more national experience. But there remained other contexts for expressing Pennsylvania-German ethnicity and indeed some new contexts for expressing this identity were being developed in the second part of the nineteenth century, and continue to be developed into the present.

This discussion takes a dynamic approach to ethnicity. Ethnicity has something to do with a person's and group's perceived past and heritage, but

it is also something that is constructed over time and changes, often shaped by interactions with other ethnicities. Pennsylvania-German perceptions of themselves were shaped by their interactions with others, including people that they called "Yankees" (New Englanders), the "English" (Pennsylvanians with English ancestry), and more recently arriving immigrants from Europe.³

The Pennsylvania Germans

There is no simple or single definition of the "Pennsylvania German" people or their "culture." Generally, the Pennsylvania Germans are the descendants of settlers who came from the regions of Europe that are in the southwest regions of Germany and the adjacent areas of Switzerland and France, a region centered on the Pfalz or Palatinate section of present-day Germany. These settlers migrated in the late seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth century. Most Pennsylvania-German settlements became located in an arc about 30–60 miles outside of Philadelphia in regions of southeastern and south-central Pennsylvania; they also migrated into other parts of the state and into areas of Maryland, Virginia, and Ohio, and even further. Although Pennsylvania Germans have their historical roots in Europe, Pennsylvania-German culture, or more accurately, its variations, was developed in the United States.

Many present-day Americans now associate Pennsylvania-German ethnicity with the Old Order Amish, who self-consciously reject some of modern technology. This image of the Pennsylvania German is perpetuated by a large tourist industry centered in Lancaster, Pennsylvania and commercial film productions, such as the Hollywood production, *Witness*. But Pennsylvania-German ethnicity is far more complicated and diverse. A simplistic but useful distinction can be made between "Plain" and "Church" Pennsylvania Germans. The former, including the Old Order Amish, are Anabaptists, some of whom continue to reject much of modern technology. This paper focuses on the "Church" or "fancy" Pennsylvania Germans who are far more numerous than the "Plain" people, and throughout this paper, the term "Pennsylvania German" is used to refer to these Church People. The Church People are primarily members of the Lutheran and German Reformed (now United Church of Christ) denominations. For the most part these Church groups embraced industrialization and modernization, and today are in many respects assimilated into the national society. Whereas most Amish still speak Pennsylvania

German in their homes; the great majority of Church People stopped using Pennsylvania German as the main language in their homes by the middle of the twentieth century, if not earlier. But during the period that is the focus of much of this paper, from 1850–1900, the Church People spoke Pennsylvania German and followed many distinctive cultural practices.⁴

There were three main languages that were used by Pennsylvania Germans in the nineteenth century: standard or “High” German, Pennsylvania German, and English. These languages influenced one another in the daily speech of Pennsylvania Germans. Pennsylvania German was derived from the dialects of southwestern Germany (and neighboring areas of what is now France and Switzerland). This dialect is somewhat different from standard or “High” German. Present-day speakers of Pennsylvania German tell me that they can understand some of the dialects spoken in southwest Germany today, but they have trouble understanding standard German. Before the middle of the nineteenth century there was no real literary tradition in Pennsylvania German. Most literate Pennsylvania Germans used standard German as their main written language in the beginning of the nineteenth century; as the nineteenth century progressed, however, English became their main language for reading and writing. Many churches held services in standard German, although some Pennsylvania-German terms were mixed in the sermons given by the Pennsylvania-German clergy.⁵ Newspapers and books were published in standard German throughout the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century, again gradually being replaced by English.⁶

Throughout the nineteenth century, Pennsylvania Germans viewed themselves and were viewed by outsiders as a distinct cultural group. Pennsylvania Germans felt the discrimination and prejudices of more powerful ethnic groups, including people that they referred to as “English” and “Yankees.” The “English” included people, primarily of English ancestry, who spoke English as their first language. The “Yankees” were northerners from New York and New England, who many Pennsylvania Germans felt had a condescending and prejudiced attitude towards them.⁷ There were many interactions between Pennsylvania Germans, German immigrants and even Germans in Europe throughout the nineteenth century. Pennsylvania Germans, however, thought of themselves as quite different from other German Americans. They left the German regions long before the modern German nation was formed. They were among the earliest settlers in Pennsylvania, and although often looked down upon by other more powerful ancestral or ethnic groups, they did have claims to participating in the nation’s earliest origins. Their dialect of German was quite

distinct from the standard German spoken by later German immigrants. They were generally farmers and had control over many of the economic and political resources in their regions. Later migrants from Germany in the nineteenth century tended to be from an industrializing Germany, settled in urban areas, and entered into industrialized sectors of the American economy. This sense of difference from other German Americans was enshrined in the original charter of the Pennsylvania German Society, the oldest and most important organization devoted to studying and promoting Pennsylvania-German culture. Founded in 1891, the Society's original charter excluded from membership people whose ancestors arrived in the United States after 1808 in order to restrict the membership of descendants of latter arriving nineteenth century Germans.⁸

Pennsylvania Germans and the Common School System

Schools are often viewed as powerful institutions with the potential to shape culture that can be used to implement policies for the assimilation of different ethnic groups and, although less frequently, they can also be places for the preservation of ethnic identity and cultural differences. Assimilation and domination, and resistance to assimilation and domination are often most visible in the processes of educational policies concerning language use. Language use, especially in a multilingual setting, is not simply about communication, it is also about culture, identity and meaning.

It is common for scholars to assert that educational policy in the United States was hostile towards linguistic and cultural diversity. Usually this is part of a broader argument that views the American educational system as a system of assimilation, even domination, in incorporating diverse ethnic groups into a national society.⁹ But in the nineteenth century there was some tolerance for linguistic diversity and there were several efforts to maintain bilingual programs in schools, especially in areas with high numbers of German immigrants.¹⁰ There has been some attention to issues of bilingual education among the broader German-American population, but there has been little examination of educational policies among the Pennsylvania Germans. As discussed above, the Pennsylvania Germans, unlike many other ethnic groups, arrived in the colonial period and maintained distinctive cultural practices until well into the twentieth century. Well-established in some rural parts of Pennsylvania, they also had some degree of economic and political control over the areas where they settled. These circumstances gave

them more control over the educational policies in their schools and also a somewhat prejudiced perspective on later emigrating ethnic groups, including those from Germany.

One of the earliest and most explicit efforts to use schools as a means to assimilate a diverse population in North America was directed towards the Pennsylvania Germans in colonial Pennsylvania. Benjamin Franklin among others was concerned about the political loyalty and cultural differences of Pennsylvania's large German population. William Smith, who became the Provost of the College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania), was among the more radical proponents in this group for anglicizing the Pennsylvania Germans. The group proposed a "charity" school system that would not only educate Pennsylvania's German population but also assimilate and anglicize them. The plan was started in the early 1750s, and ended up in pretty much total failure ten years later. Many Pennsylvania Germans saw it as a ruse to assimilate their children and refused to participate.¹¹ Over 100 years later, Martin Brumbaugh, a Pennsylvania German who was superintendent of schools in Philadelphia, first commissioner of education in Puerto Rico, and eventually a Governor of Pennsylvania, was still indignant. He praised Christopher Saur (Sauer), a German printer in Philadelphia who opposed the plan: "Against Dr. Smith's plans to take from the German his language, his national fealty, his religion, this Christoph Saur raised his voice, and through his newspaper his voice became many-tongued, and sounded round every German hearthstone in the country."¹²

In 1834 when the Pennsylvania legislature passed a common or public school law, the Pennsylvania Germans were confronted with another systematic effort to educate their children, although this effort affected all of Pennsylvania's children. As there had been 80 years earlier, there was some initial resistance among many Pennsylvania Germans to these legislative acts. Representatives from Pennsylvania-German regions were among the strongest opponents of these acts, although there were also some influential Pennsylvania Germans, including several governors, who supported these laws. The school acts eventually led to the development of a widespread system of education, and to the development of a corps of professional educators.¹³

By the Civil War, a group of Pennsylvania-German educators had emerged in the public education system who directly confronted the problems of cultural differences and language use in schools. County superintendents in Pennsylvania-German regions were clearly concerned about the children's lack

of ability in English. The superintendent reports in the late 1850s discuss the problems faced by Pennsylvania Germans in Berks¹⁴, Northampton¹⁵, and Lancaster Counties.¹⁶ J. P. Wickersham was superintendent of schools for Lancaster County (and later became state superintendent of public schools). In his report to the state's superintendent of public schools for 1856, he wrote: "The teacher's task is necessarily first, to teach his pupils to speak and think English; and when it is recollected that they hear nothing but German at home or among their school mates, that task is very difficult, and, we need not wonder that the work of teaching geography and grammar is sometimes entered upon with reluctance."¹⁷

More specific discussions of the problems of teaching Pennsylvania-German children come from the pages of the *Pennsylvania School Journal* (PSJ), which was the official journal of the state's department of public instruction. In 1860, P. W. Malone complained that Pennsylvania-German students were learning English too "mechanically" without any real comprehension of what they were learning.¹⁸ Thomas Foster, county superintendent for Carbon County, said that it was necessary to have teachers who knew Pennsylvania German and then he advocated bilingual classes.¹⁹ The problem was more thoroughly addressed by P. B. Witmer who spoke at the state teachers association meeting in September 1860: "The plan of instruction in our common schools, seems to disregard the Pennsylvania German altogether; and hence the School Committees, Directors and others, are loud in their condemnation of those teachers who permit its use by pupils, even in their intercourse with each other." Witmer, whose name suggests that he was a Pennsylvania German himself, made a statement that would be common among many observers, including Pennsylvania-German ones: "it is known, that German pupils rank in secondary aspect in intellectual growth." Witmer proposed a system of bilingual education, suggesting that students work back and forth between English and German. He also proposed that children would learn English by simple association with their English speaking classmates: "they are much more susceptible when acted upon by mutual association, than by the discipline of the school room."²⁰

Witmer's article presents some of the major features of the approach advocated by leading Pennsylvania-German educators for the next 15–20 years. There should be an emphasis on learning English, but teachers should use the child's home language as a mechanism to achieve this end. The method of instruction should be based upon translating back and forth between Pennsylvania German and English. And, finally, Witmer was claiming that the Pennsylvania

Germans have a different character or temperament that has to be taken into account when teaching them. The use of bilingual instruction and the specific method of translating back and forth were becoming widespread approaches in Pennsylvania-German regions by 1860.²¹

In a paper published in the *Pennsylvania School Journal* in 1863 entitled, "How to Teach German Children the English Language," John S. Ermentrout outlined a school language policy that not only advocated a bilingual approach to education, but also emphasized the cultural factors that affect language use and education.²² Ermentrout was the superintendent of public schools for Berks County. He was a Pennsylvania German who was educated at Marshall College (now Franklin and Marshall) and had served as a German Reformed Minister. In his paper, Ermentrout presented a view of American society that is very similar to the "melting pot" thesis that became popular early in the twentieth century: "The real greatness and strength of the American nationality consists in its being made up of elements derived from every civilized community in the world: and though these elements are not as yet perfectly assimilated, the time is coming when they shall be organized into one, single, compact whole, presenting to the gaze of the philosopher an assemblage of the virtues and peculiarities that are now subdivided among the various nations of Europe."²³

Ermentrout viewed education as part of a broader process that might today be understood as "cultural identity," although Ermentrout did not have that terminology in 1863. Ermentrout said that Pennsylvania Germans had their own "constitutional genius" that had to be considered when educating them. He also argued that English was the dominant and national language, which should be learned by all Pennsylvania Germans. But learning this national language did not mean that Pennsylvania Germans would lose their distinctive cultural practices: "Once fully convinced that, though required to use our language, our Germans will not be called upon to sacrifice their proper character and social customs, they will readily fall in with our plans of education, and prove, by their aptness to learn, that they are worthy of the highest culture."²⁴

Ermentrout argued that teachers in the region should know the Pennsylvania-German language and also be sympathetic to the background of the Pennsylvania-German people. Like many other Pennsylvania Germans he was sensitive to the prejudices and discrimination of outsiders. He thought that German professorships should be established in different schools and colleges. In the end of his speech, like Witmer, he then sketched out a system of bilingual education in which students translated back and forth between

English and Pennsylvania German. Ermentrout emphasized the etymological relationships between the languages and thought that showing these relationships might be helpful in instructing pupils.

In 1866, Ermentrout was instrumental in establishing Keystone State Normal School, a state chartered teacher-training school in Kutztown that had a primary focus of serving the needs of Pennsylvania Germans. The school was established by subscription from Pennsylvania-German farmers who lived near the town of Kutztown in northeastern Berks County. Ermentrout served as its first Principal until 1872 while also keeping his post as county superintendent until 1869. The Board of Directors of Keystone were Pennsylvania Germans and, according to contemporaneous accounts, they spoke in Pennsylvania German at their meetings, although all records and minutes were kept in English. The school was clearly oriented to serving the needs of surrounding Pennsylvania Germans by providing teachers for their children. The school catalogue included a statement about the importance of learning the German language from its founding in 1866 until the catalogue for the 1892–93 year.²⁵

Another advocate for the education of Pennsylvania Germans was Samuel Baer, Ermentrout's successor as county superintendent of Berks County schools. Baer, like Ermentrout, was from Berks County in Pennsylvania and Baer knew Ermentrout well. Baer had been certified by Ermentrout to be a teacher and held a position at Keystone while Ermentrout was the principal.²⁶

In 1875 Baer became superintendent of public schools in Berks County. Like most other Pennsylvania-German advocates of bilingual education, Baer felt that Pennsylvania-German students should learn English. In his report to the state superintendent for 1876, Baer wrote the statement that was the leading quote for this article: "Nor do we think that the German should be the language of our schools. We are neither Germans nor Englishmen, but Americans. The English is the language of our country and as a matter of course, it must be the language of our schools. The great work of our schools then, is to teach the English language, at least to the extent that our children will be able to understand what they read and to converse readily in this language."²⁷

In 1877, Baer gave a speech to a convention of the state's teachers on the problems of teaching Pennsylvania Germans.²⁸ Baer started his talk by differentiating Pennsylvania Germans from other German Americans, noting that Pennsylvania Germans spoke a different dialect of German and had a longer history in the United States. He summarized the view of many Pennsylvania

Germans, saying "These Pennsylvania Germans differ from the foreign Germans in this, that they have been thoroughly Americanized."²⁹ Although he was willing to support bilingual programs for other German Americans, he felt that they had too much German in their courses: "The Pennsylvania German need less German. With them the child should be started in English, and the German merely used as a means of teaching."³⁰

Baer recognized that language is about more than communication and explained why it is such an important issue: "Man is especially jealous of his language. It embodies the golden memories of his life. It is the symbol of his nationality."³¹

Like Ermentrout, Baer felt that learning English should be the primary goal of learning for the Pennsylvania Germans, although without losing their identity. Educational programs should recognize the "character" of the children: "For the Germans we claim an education, first, according to the principles of the German type of character, and second, one that will make them a fit complement and counterpoise to the Puritan and other elements of the nation, giving every other element the same right to become a factor in the great life-flow of the nation."³²

And like Ermentrout, Baer argued for training and hiring Pennsylvania-German teachers to teach in regions with Pennsylvania-German students. He listed several reasons why there should be Pennsylvania-German teachers for Pennsylvania-German students arguing that there would be easier communication and that such teachers "can better appreciate the difficulties of their pupils, because they themselves have to labor under the same disadvantages." He also pointed out that hiring Pennsylvania-German teachers offered job opportunities that would encourage more Pennsylvania Germans to continue their education.³³

Baer then presented some teaching techniques that would encourage instruction in both English and Pennsylvania German but with an emphasis on learning English. Baer emphasized that the method must be accessible, "that is the child must learn from a living instructor, just as a child learns from the lips of its mother" and practical in giving "a constant exercise in the English already acquired." Baer emphasized a series of object lessons with translations back and forth between the two languages with an increasing emphasis on English.

The strongest advocate of incorporating Pennsylvania-German culture and language into the curriculum was Abraham Reeser Horne, a colleague of both Ermentrout and Baer, who worked with both men. In 1872, Keystone State

Normal School hired Horne to be its principal. Horne was an ordained Lutheran Minister who had established his own Classical and Normal School in Quakertown, Bucks County, and then served as superintendent of public schools for Williamsport, Pennsylvania. Horne also edited a journal from 1860 until 1902 that provides an invaluable source for understanding his views on education and the situation of Pennsylvania Germans more generally. Over the course of 42 years, this journal went through a variety of different names and formats, was sometimes printed monthly and other times biweekly, and is best known by the name of *The National Educator*.³⁴

Like Ermentrout and Baer, Horne was a strong advocate of programs for developing pride in their cultural identity and heritage. Horne, in his school reports from Keystone to the state superintendent of public schools, is quite clear that he viewed the school as having a special mission to serve Pennsylvania Germans and their interests.³⁵ His views on language education were somewhat inconsistent during the 1870s: usually he supported bilingual education with the ultimate goal of learning English, but at times he proposed learning standard German rather than English.³⁶

In one editorial from *The National Educator*, Horne praised Pennsylvania Germans and argued that English is a dialect of German. He then disparaged New England "effeminacy," and even speculated that German may become the dominant language of the United States.³⁷ Horne advocated school policies that encouraged learning both English and German. He praised school districts, such as Harrisburg, Erie and Williamsport, which maintained separate German schools, and he praised districts, such as Schuylkill, which required competency in German for promotion to higher grades. He suggested that the Williamsport school district introduce German as a required subject. He defended the Milwaukee school district for allowing instruction in German and argued that it is better to learn a live language than two dead ones, Latin and Greek.³⁸

But Horne, like other Pennsylvania-German educators, most often argued that students should learn English. In one editorial he argued that Pennsylvania is a German state, that teachers should be bilingual, and that German professorships should be established at major universities. Horne nevertheless asserted the importance of English: "Every child attending our school should receive sufficient knowledge of English, to be able to hold intelligent conversation, and conduct correspondence in this language."³⁹ In his first report to the state superintendent of schools after taking over as principal at Keystone in 1872, Horne wrote about the importance of educating

Pennsylvania Germans in English, claiming that two-thirds of the students came to Keystone with an “inadequate” knowledge of English.⁴⁰

More than any other Pennsylvania German of his times, Horne developed a program and materials for educating Pennsylvania Germans, and especially materials for educating them by using the Pennsylvania-German language. Horne’s most notable work is his *Pennsylvania German Manual*, first published in 1875. Horne’s manual included exercises to help Pennsylvania Germans to correctly pronounce English. It also included large sections written in Pennsylvania German, often with content that emphasized the customs and accomplishments of Pennsylvania Germans.⁴¹

In the preface to his *Manual*, Horne wrote that 6–800,000 Pennsylvania Germans needed to “acquire a sufficient knowledge of English to enable them to use that language intelligently.”⁴² Unlike many others, including some Pennsylvania Germans, Horne did not consider Pennsylvania Germans to be academically inferior: “That our Pennsylvania German can reason and study as well as others, is abundantly proved by the fact that in mathematics, where language is less of a desideratum than thinking and reasoning, they are found to be full equal, if not superior, to those whose mother tongue is English, or the high German.”⁴³

The 1875 preface to the *Manual* includes the statement that the book will help those who speak only Pennsylvania German to learn “the two most important languages, English and high German.”⁴⁴ But later editions of the *Manual* omitted the goal of learning high German, reflecting a change in Horne’s thinking and a general trend towards emphasizing English that will be discussed below.

Horne was among a group of pioneers in developing written material in the Pennsylvania-German language. Before 1860, most writings in Pennsylvania German were sporadic, earthy letters to newspaper editors. Beginning in about 1860, people began writing in Pennsylvania German and developing it into a literary language. By 1875, Horne could draw upon a nascent literature in Pennsylvania German in compiling his *Manual*. The *Manual* made a very substantial contribution to this literature and included the first dictionary of the Pennsylvania-German language. Horne’s *Manual* was developed to provide material for students to use in school. Before the *Manual*, all school materials had to be in either standard German or English.⁴⁵

Like Ermentrout and Baer, Horne saw a relationship between educational attainment and pride in heritage and ancestry. The *Manual* was not only a means for learning to read and write, it was also a compilation of Pennsylvania-German history and culture. Horne included biographical sketches of important

Pennsylvania-Germans and sections that described Pennsylvania-German activities and celebration.

Horne's overall pedagogy was influenced by Johann Pestalozzi, a famous Swiss educator who stressed the importance of a child-centered approach to education. In using Pennsylvania German as the starting point for teaching, Horne was advocating, in Pestalozzian fashion, that the teacher should start where the child was, with a language that the child understood. Horne taught a college class in Pennsylvania German while he was at Keystone and used his *Manual* as the textbook.⁴⁶

Horne's *Manual* went through three more printings (1896, 1905, 1910), and seems to have enjoyed some popularity as a general reference book, but it never seems to have been widely used in schools.⁴⁷ One serious problem confronting Horne was that there was no standardized orthography for writing in Pennsylvania German. Some writers used an orthography based upon standard German spellings; others used an orthography based upon American English pronunciations. Even today there is considerable controversy about orthographic conventions for Pennsylvania German. Most academically trained writers support a spelling system based on standard German; while regional writers, many of whom do not have knowledge of standard German, often use a variety of spelling systems based on English. Horne knew standard German very well, but he opted for an orthography that was phonetic and based upon English orthographic conventions. Horne's orthography used diacritic marks and was never popular.

Bilingual education was controversial in the 1870s, as it still is over 130 years later. The *Pennsylvania School Journal* recorded the responses to Baer's speech in 1877. Several commentators came down strongly for English-only instruction. A Mr. Lehman said: "I think the best way to teach English is to have the pupils speak English and English only." But it is interesting that the state superintendent, James Wickersham, took a stand for bilingual instruction that was even stronger than Baer's, arguing to teach the child to read and write in German first and then shifting primarily to the use of English.⁴⁸ At a teacher's institute in January 1879, Horne gave a talk that argued for bilingual education, even advocating that English students learn standard German. Horne argued that knowing different languages is simply part of a good education, "As many different languages as a man can use, so many times is he man." A debate followed his talk. A Rev[erend] Wood supported an English-only policy of instruction, saying: "If I were to go to Germany I would tell my family to use the German, but not so in the English speaking country."

Another commentator, Jos[eph] McClure, agreed: "There can be but one language in a community. If I had the power I would wipe the Pennsylvania German out of existence." E. G. Schwartz argued that English is the dominant language but a teacher needs to know Pennsylvania German in order to be able to teach the students. Another Reverend, A. J. G. Dubbs, defended the use of different languages: "I believe in a man who can use both hands." It seems clear from the surnames involved that Pennsylvania Germans were advocates of a bilingual approach and Scotch-Irish and English were advocates of immersion in English, although State Superintendent Wickersham was a very notable exception.⁴⁹

In the 1860s and 70s, Horne, Baer and Ermentrout were the leading advocates of an approach to teaching that still today can be viewed as culturally sensitive. Certainly, they were asserting their pride in their heritage. But they were also influenced by child-centered educational approaches of Pestalozzi, who was enjoying (and continues to enjoy) some popularity among progressive American educators.

These three men were also all involved in the same projects, in particular at Keystone State Normal School. They were important contributors to the beginning of a broader movement towards developing pride in Pennsylvania-German ancestry and heritage. They also represent a period in which there was the strongest advocacy for the use of Pennsylvania German in the classroom. The movement to develop and define a Pennsylvania-German cultural identity would continue to grow through the rest of the nineteenth century, well into the twentieth century and in some respects remains at present. But the support for the use of Pennsylvania German in education would diminish, and by 1900, Pennsylvania-German educators, including Horne, emphasized the importance of immersion in English, discouraged the use of Pennsylvania German in schools, and supported a curriculum that emphasized national themes.

Controversy and the Movement Toward English

The changing views of Pennsylvania-German educators can be understood as a reflection of broader changes in Pennsylvania-German language use and the three languages that shaped that use: standard German, Pennsylvania German, and English. By the Civil War, Mahlon Hellerich argues that the Pennsylvania Germans could be divided into three groups in their use of language. There was a trilingual group of people who wanted to maintain

standard German, along with the use of English and Pennsylvania German. There was a rising group of bilinguals who used Pennsylvania German at home with family and friends, but conducted business and interacted with the public in English. People in this second group had very little interest in preserving standard German. The third group relied primarily upon the use of English, limiting their use of any other language.⁵⁰ Over the course of the nineteenth century, the majority of Church People population shifted away from using standard German to English as their main literary language, and over the course of the twentieth century, they moved away from using Pennsylvania German to using English as their main spoken language.

In the 1860s and 1870s, there were some Pennsylvania Germans who were strong advocates for the use of standard German, although these people usually supported the use of English, as well. D. E. Schoedler wanted to establish a Normal School in standard German at Brodheadsville in Monroe County and even had plans for the school drawn up. The school was to be named the Wickersham English-German Normal School, after the state superintendent of schools, and apparently even had some approval from state authorities. Although some writers assert that there was opposition to the project from the state because of its emphasis on German, regional historians report that the project fell apart because of a lack of funding and local disputes.⁵¹

Probably the strongest advocate for the use of High German during this period was Samuel Brobst. Brobst was born in 1822 to a Pennsylvania-German family in Lehigh County. He underwent religious training at Marshall College and was ordained a Lutheran Minister in 1850. He tried, apparently with limited success, to organize German language Sunday schools, and then edited some German language religious journals with more success. Brobst was the driving force behind the *Verein der deutschen Presse*, which supported the use of standard German in Pennsylvania publications (Horne was another member of the group) and Brobst was also a strong supporter of the continued use of standard German in Lutheran churches. But Brobst was not opposed to the use of English; he simply wanted to use and preserve standard German. Brobst was always somewhat sickly, apparently suffering from tuberculosis. With his death in 1876, standard German lost its strongest supporter among the Pennsylvania Germans.⁵²

By the time of Brobst's death, standard German was already losing its place as an important language among Pennsylvania Germans and there were important advocates for the dominance of English. George Baer, who became President of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, was a strong supporter

of Pennsylvania Germans and the first President of the Pennsylvania German Society. As early as 1875, he argued that Pennsylvania Germans must be educated in English as the national language.⁵³ Baer can be viewed as representing the interests of wealthy Pennsylvania Germans who had become successful in the emerging capitalist society. But support for the primacy of English was also increasing among a broader class of Pennsylvania Germans that included teachers, preachers and many others. In a paper read in 1906, J. H. Bassler recalled his education at the Myerstown Academy (later Palatinate College which was eventually merged with what is today Albright College). Bassler recalled that most students spoke Pennsylvania German and that a headmaster who could speak that language was appreciated by parents. But in the school there was a strict English-only policy: "Renner did a commendable thing in promptly putting a stop to the use of Pennsylvania German on the school grounds by exacting a penny fine for each word used."⁵⁴ And the faculty minutes at Keystone report that even Horne, one of the strongest proponents of the language, felt obliged to limit the use of "German at the table," presumably referring to the use of Pennsylvania German by students during meal times.⁵⁵

Across the nineteenth century, there was a general trend away from the use of standard German to a greater use of English as the main literary and written language, although Pennsylvania German continued to be spoken in the home and on the streets. Generally, because of the state's large German speaking population, legislators in Pennsylvania were sympathetic to the interests and needs of its German-speaking residents and adopted policies that allowed the use of German in state documents and institutions.⁵⁶ The public schools were able to use languages other than English, in particular German, as the language of instruction in schools. Decisions about language use were left to the school directors in each school district. Nevertheless, most school directors and school boards in areas with high concentrations of Pennsylvania Germans did not use German as their language of instruction, rather they preferred the use of English. The reports of county superintendents for public instruction included figures for the number of students studying in German and English. There never was an especially high percentage of students being taught in German, even in Pennsylvania-German regions. The highest percentages are from Berks, Lehigh and Northampton Counties, all in the eastern part of the state. From 1850 to 1866, the percentages of students taking German dropped significantly in these areas: 9.2% to 5.07% in Berks; 24.64% to 6.45% in Lehigh; and 19.55% to 5.78% in Northampton. Lebanon County had an even

more significant drop from 9.2% to 0.64%. Across the entire state, the figures fell from 2.6% being educated in the German language in 1850 to 0.9% in 1866.⁵⁷ This change came about for a variety of reasons. There were limited materials to teach in Pennsylvania German (Horne's *Manual* was about the only possible textbook). There were textbooks in standard German, but standard German is somewhat different from Pennsylvania German, and, as discussed above, most Pennsylvania Germans felt they were different from Germans and other German Americans. It also reflects the fact that there was only limited support for using German as a language of instruction among the ordinary Pennsylvania Germans who elected school directors and that limited support was eroding during the middle of the nineteenth century. English was becoming the preferred language even among an electorate that included many who did not speak it well.

Nathan Schaeffer succeeded Horne as principal of Keystone State Normal School and represents a changing emphasis among Pennsylvania-German educators. Schaeffer was born in 1849 to a wealthy farmer who was one of the original founders of Keystone State Normal School. He graduated from Franklin and Marshall College, spent two years studying in Germany and was ordained as a Reformed minister. He stayed at Keystone until 1893 when he became the state superintendent of public instruction. He held that post, through both Republican and Democratic administrations, until his death in 1919. Schaeffer was a strong advocate of Pennsylvania-German interests and for many years served as a Board member of the Pennsylvania German Society. Although a strong proponent of learning foreign languages and a strong supporter of Pennsylvania-German interests, Schaeffer was not an especially strong proponent of using Pennsylvania German or German in schools. At the beginning of his term as principal, the Keystone catalogues added a long section with an emphasis on learning English that preceded the already existing section emphasizing the importance of learning German. In that year, the catalogue also included a new section that discussed the importance of learning "The Ancient Classics." In his reports to the state superintendent, Schaeffer seems more concerned that students learn Latin and Greek rather than German. Schaeffer was trying to raise the prestige of Keystone as an academic institution and probably viewed the emphasis upon Latin and Greek as evidence of the school's scholarship.⁵⁸

In 1892–93, Schaeffer's last year at Keystone, the catalogue dropped all three special sections of the Classics, English and German, suggesting that issues of

language use were becoming less relevant to the developing institution: English had become the dominant language.

Throughout his life, Schaeffer was a strong advocate of learning English. In 1878 in his first report to the state superintendent as principal at Keystone, Nathan Schaeffer wrote: "The great problem which confronts the people of eastern Pennsylvania is undoubtedly the question of language. It is their duty to acquire the ready use of the English, without neglecting the claims of their mother-tongue."⁵⁹ And by 1890, Schaeffer was strongly advocating the use to English: "These children of foreign parents cannot become good citizens and play their part in the future development of the United States unless they acquire the language of business and civil life. The future welfare of such pupils necessitates instruction in English, to the neglect of tongues spoken at home."⁶⁰

By the 1890s, Horne himself became an advocate for immersion in English, although he too remained a staunch supporter of Pennsylvania-German interests. In one editorial written in 1894, Horne recalled that he spoke German (presumably Pennsylvania German) until the age of eight and then learned English when his father brought an English speaking child to live with him. He continued in the same editorial: "Talk English and make everyone around you talk, regardless of blunders. Teachers place a sign over the entrance of their school grounds, even as our old friend Prof. O. S. Fell, did, at the Macungie Institute, thirty-five years ago: 'No German allowed to be spoken on these grounds.'"⁶¹

In the final year of his life, an editorial appeared in Horne's *National Educator* complaining that people are still using Pennsylvania German as their primary language. The editorial claims that there is not enough emphasis upon English, which is learned at school but not used at home. His plea that children must learn English was couched in terms of the social changes of the late nineteenth century: "They must learn English. The world moves. It has advanced with great strides, the past thirty years. We must keep pace with it."⁶²

J.S. Ermetrout died in 1881. Samuel Baer lived for many years more, but did not take a visible stand for bilingual education. As president of the state teacher's association in 1884, Baer talked about the topic of "Education and Labor," a presentation that fits into a pattern of using schools as institutions of assimilation and support for industrializing the United States.⁶³ The archival files in the Berks County Historical Society suggest that by 1890 Baer was a strong advocate of Americanization and patriotism in the schools, and there is nothing to indicate any special interest in bilingual education at that point.

The issues of bilingual education and Pennsylvania-German ethnicity are not mentioned in any of his reports as superintendent of Reading's schools to the state superintendent for the years from 1891–1896, although he almost certainly must have encountered some, if not many, students who spoke Pennsylvania German as their first language. The school pamphlets that we have left from this time also suggest that Baer was emphasizing national, not regional, themes including the poetry of Whittier, Longfellow, and patriotism. There is only one echo of the issue of bilingual education that is found many years later. In a speech in 1912, Baer reminisced about the importance of John Ermentrout in furthering Pennsylvania-German identity, describing him as "the first educator in the land who had the courage to boldly stand up and defend his people" and in this speech he did obliquely refer to his earlier plan for bilingual education.⁶⁴

There is one other Pennsylvania-German educator who should be considered in any discussion of bilingual education, although not so much for his policies towards Pennsylvania Germans as towards other ethnic groups. Martin Brumbaugh had a Ph.D. in education, taught at the University of Pennsylvania holding its first position in Pedagogy, served as superintendent of schools for Philadelphia, was appointed the first commissioner of education for Puerto Rico, served as President of Juniata College, and even managed to be elected Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Brumbaugh was a strong supporter of Pennsylvania-German heritage, serving on the Board of the Pennsylvania German Society and writing in support of Pennsylvania-German accomplishments. His criticism of the "charity" schools was described earlier. But Brumbaugh was more than an educator of Pennsylvania Germans, he was an educator with national influence. Brumbaugh was also a leading advocate of Americanization, and supported the systematic introduction of nationalist themes into public education, and as an administrator implemented these policies, as commissioner of education in Puerto Rico and then later as superintendent in Philadelphia. In Puerto Rico, Brumbaugh was a strong supporter of introducing American patriotism into the Puerto Rican schools. Nevertheless, Brumbaugh also supported policies that allowed for bilingual education, the preservation of Spanish and the hiring of indigenous teachers. Brumbaugh's policy was somewhat enlightened for the time, and it seems reasonable to speculate that his sensitivity to linguistic and cultural diversity was helped by his understanding of issues confronted by Pennsylvania Germans.⁶⁵

There were several reasons for the increasing dominance of English as the language of Pennsylvania Germans, both within and outside of schools.

As the nineteenth century progressed, English became more and more important as their literary language. Pennsylvania-German intellectuals attended colleges in English, they wrote their reports in English, and they published journals and books in English. Raised in the United States, Pennsylvania-German preachers became less comfortable giving their sermons in standard German. The Pennsylvania-German language was developed as a written language during the period between 1860 and 1900, but was mainly used for nostalgic poetry and humorous short stories. It never became a full literary language. Pennsylvania Germans became further and further removed from the cultural contexts that supported the use of standard German. English became dominant as the literary language and the language for formal social settings like courts, churches and schools.

Pennsylvania-German educators, like Horne, Baer, Schaeffer, and Brumbaugh had reasons to support the use of English and educational policies that emphasized participation in a national society. They themselves had mastered the English language, and the success they enjoyed in their careers could be partly attributed to their success in the English language. They were loyal to the values and ideology of freedom and independence that they associated with the American nation and largely expressed through the English language. They wanted to be patriotic supporters of the nation at a time when there were large numbers of immigrants with many different languages who were arriving in the United States.

These educators, moreover, were increasingly becoming part of a professional and national class of educators.⁶⁶ They were aligned with Pennsylvania-German educational interests but they were also professional educators who pursued careers that took them beyond the region. Ermentrout spent most of his educational career in Berks County, although he was a minister in Norristown and left the state during his conversion to Catholicism. Horne worked throughout southeastern Pennsylvania including in Quakertown, Williamsport, Kutztown and Allentown, gave lectures in Texas and Louisiana, and even considered taking a permanent position in Texas. Baer moved from Reading to Harrisburg and eventually to Maryland where he died. Schaeffer and Brumbaugh were even more orientated to state and national issues than those of a region. As discussed above, Schaeffer was the state superintendent of public instruction for 26 years. Brumbaugh was a professor at the University of Pennsylvania, a Commissioner of Education in Puerto Rico (Schaeffer temporarily replaced him at the University of Pennsylvania), superintendent of schools in Philadelphia, state governor, and

then President of Juniata College. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Brumbaugh and Schaeffer were not simply Pennsylvania-German educators, they were state and national educators who were focused on widespread concerns in the American educational system including the integration of immigrants and diverse ethnic groups into mainstream American society. They were national educators who happened to have Pennsylvania-German ancestry and interests.

Neither Germans nor Englishmen: Both American and Pennsylvania German

By 1900, Pennsylvania Germans were supporting the pervasive use of English in the classroom and they were adopting a national curriculum. But at the same time they were also continuing to develop and define a distinctive Pennsylvania-German identity that would be expressed outside of schools in their homes and special organizations. A vibrant Pennsylvania-German literature developed after 1860, even without a standardized orthography. There were regular newspaper columns, poetry and even plays that were written in Pennsylvania German, in addition to the translation of English literature into Pennsylvania German (including parts of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Irving's *Rip Van Winkle*, and Gilbert and Sullivan's *H.M.S. Pinafore*). English language newspapers continued to replace the German language ones, but these English language papers began to include regular columns in the Pennsylvania-German language. The literature itself is clearly American in its origins and themes, often falling into the contemporary pattern of regional American humorists. It is especially noteworthy that this literature developed at the same time that standard German was receding in usage among the Pennsylvania Germans. This rise of a Pennsylvania-German literature can be viewed as part of a rising American identity that had a regional ethnic emphasis.

In 1891, a group of Pennsylvania-German intellectuals (including Horne) formed the Pennsylvania German Society. The founding members of the Society were concerned that historians and the public at large had a prejudiced view of Pennsylvania Germans that minimized their important contributions to the founding and development of the nation. The Society's founding proclamation states that it was established "for the purpose of bringing their forefathers into such recognition in the eyes of the world, and especially their

own children, as they deserve." The yearly proceedings of this Society were all in English as were its yearly publications, although the Society did publish some materials in the Pennsylvania-German language and try to encourage and document its development as a literary language.⁶⁷

Nathan Schaeffer, George Baer, and Martin Brumbaugh all served on the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania German Society; Horne was a founding member, although eventually dropped from membership for not paying his dues. All these men, including Horne by 1900, were strong supporters of the use of the English language in schools. But, as Nolt has shown for an earlier period, they were also forging a distinctive Pennsylvania-German identity that was also an American identity.

Many present-day scholars argue that revivals of regional and indigenous languages can be understood as movements to resist a global cultural hegemony that seeks to dominate and assimilate all forms of cultural differences. Usually, this cultural hegemony is seen as part of the expansion, through colonization and more recently through global capitalism, of economic and cultural domination by powerful, wealthy, western nations, in particular the United States, over weaker, marginal, and less powerful peoples from developing nations in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. Thus, Martin Brumbaugh's efforts to introduce American patriotism into the Puerto-Rican school system can be viewed as at best an attempt at assimilation and at worst as part of a process of economic and cultural domination. Whatever the validity of this perspective, it needs considerable clarification for understanding the position of nineteenth century Pennsylvania Germans in regards to their ethnic identity and language. Their increasing emphasis on the use of the English language and their endorsement of patriotic symbols in schools can be understood as part of an effort to ensure the assimilation and loyalty of nineteenth century immigrants to a national culture. At the same time, their development of a Pennsylvania-German literature and advocacy of Pennsylvania-German culture were not necessarily a form of resistance to American society, rather an assertion of their own legitimate claims to being American with a distinctive cultural tradition. But the development of this independent identity largely took place outside of the school system. Within schools, Pennsylvania Germans supported a more national curriculum and came to strongly support English as the main, even only, language of instruction.

The experience of Pennsylvania Germans had some similarities with the experiences of other ethnic groups, but also some important differences. In the nineteenth century there were several notable programs supporting the use of German in cities with large German populations such as Milwaukee,

St. Louis, and Cincinnati. The program with the strongest support for the use of German in schools was found in Cincinnati, which had a strong German language program until World War I.⁶⁸

But the dominance of English and assimilation into a national society was often motivated by the ethnic groups themselves. In a general survey of linguistic policies across the United States, Heinz Kloss found that generally Americans were tolerant and sometimes even supportive of using diverse languages in their schools and public institutions. He argued that the single most important factor in the acceptance of languages other than English was "a function of the degree to which an ethnic group has become established in its area of settlement."⁶⁹ Kloss also found that in most cases, members of various ethnic groups wanted to learn English. Kloss summarized the situation in these terms: "the non-English ethnic groups in the United States were Anglicized not *because of* nationality laws which were *unfavorable* to their languages but *in spite of* nationality laws relatively *favorable* to them."⁷⁰ This analysis fits the situation for Pennsylvania Germans.

Pennsylvania-German perspectives on ethnicity and education must be understood in terms of their specific cultural and historical experience. Educators such as Horne and Baer knew about the German language programs in other states. As discussed above, Baer felt these programs used too much German for the Pennsylvania Germans, whom he felt were more acclimated to English and "thoroughly Americanized" as opposed to more recent immigrants from Germany. Pennsylvania Germans had resided for a long period in their region and did indeed have a large degree of control over language use. In 1860, they were trying to develop programs that tolerated, if not supported, their language and culture, but they wanted their children to learn English. As a long settling group, they also came to see themselves as more Americanized than many later arriving ethnic groups. By 1900, Pennsylvania-German educators had adopted policies that were far less tolerant of linguistic and cultural diversity in public institutions such as schools.

In an examination of changes among German ethnics in Philadelphia in the twentieth century, Kazal found that many Germans lost their sense of distinctive German ethnicity and adopted a more general notion of themselves as "white." Over the course of the twentieth century, these German ethnics retained very limited cultural activities or events to express their ethnicity.⁷¹ Among the Pennsylvania Germans, there were some similar patterns of assimilation and culture loss. The shifting of Pennsylvania-German educational policies from a regional to a national perspective can be understood as part of

a realignment in seeing themselves as part of a dominant national society as opposed to more recent immigrants, including ones from Germany. But there is a very significant difference between the Germans in Philadelphia described by Kazal and the Pennsylvania Germans. The Pennsylvania Germans maintained and in many respects developed many distinctive cultural traditions during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. They continued to build upon the distinctive cultural traditions and indigenous literature that they had developed in the late nineteenth century. Newspapers in Pennsylvania-German areas switched from German to English, but included regular Pennsylvania-German language columns. Churches dropped the use of standard German, but in the 1930s many started holding occasional church services in Pennsylvania German, which had not been used in churches during the nineteenth century. Organizations developed that held annual gatherings to celebrate the Pennsylvania-German culture and speak the Pennsylvania-German language. Many local communities developed historical societies and cultural festivals with a special emphasis on Pennsylvania-German culture and history. Not all people with Pennsylvania-German ancestry participate in these events and many seem to have been assimilated into a general "white" ethnic identity, similar to that described by Kazal for Philadelphia's Germans. But many other Pennsylvania Germans continue to participate in activities and events that reflect their distinctive ethnicity.⁷²

Pennsylvania Germans were more assimilated into the general American society than later arriving German immigrants by 1900. During their long history in the United States, they had also established a sense of their own ethnic distinctiveness. During the late nineteenth century and through the twentieth century, they were able to maintain and develop this identity at the same time that they continued to be assimilated into American society. Neither German nor Englishmen, but American, they also managed to develop and maintain a recognition of their distinctiveness.

Diverse Approaches to Diversity

Controversies of language use and cultural diversity are longstanding ones in American society and education. If these problems go deep to the origins of American society, so too do attempts to develop educational policies that address these issues. Being among the earliest European settlers and also retaining their cultural distinctiveness well into the twentieth century, the

Pennsylvania Germans have had a very long experience with these processes of ethnicity and education.

Language use is not only about language but also identity. For the Pennsylvania Germans, the development of Pennsylvania German as a literary language reflected a movement in their identity away from standard German and a Euro-German identity towards an identity that was Pennsylvania German and also American. The emphasis upon English throughout the second half of the nineteenth century reflects their commitment to a national identity that they associated with the English language.

Although viewed as traditional and rooted in the past, ethnicity and ethnic identity are never static. They are constructed and redefined, shaped and reshaped by their historical and cultural contexts. Among the Pennsylvania Germans, this ethnic identity was constantly developed and reformulated. Partly this reshaping was the result of economic and social factors that influenced the country, notably industrialization and urbanization. And partly this reshaping was the result of interactions with other ethnic groups. The Pennsylvania-German educators had different problems in 1860 and 1900 and these derived from a changing cultural and ethnic landscape. At both times they wanted fuller participation in American society. But in 1860 their problem was domination by the "English"; in 1900 the greater problem was how to assimilate foreign immigrants into American society.

Many academic readers of this article will be disappointed by some of the assimilationist policies adopted by these Pennsylvania-German educators. Today, many of us are more tolerant and supportive of cultural and linguistic diversity. Many present-day Pennsylvania Germans themselves lament the loss of their language. But these nineteenth century Pennsylvania-German educators proudly saw themselves and their children as Americans. Education would both make their children more successful in the national society and also provide opportunity for their economic development. They were developing an educational system that they felt served their own best interests and those of their children.

NOTES

1. *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1876* (Harrisburg: The Superintendent, The Department of Public Instruction), 13. These are the reports from the state's superintendent of public instruction (formerly called superintendent of common schools until 1874), 1835–1936; hereafter these reports will be referred to as *SR* for School Report followed by their year.

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2. Steven Nolt, *Foreigners in Their Own Land: Pennsylvania Germans in the Early Republic* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2002).
3. The terms "ethnicity" and "identity" were developed by social scientists in the twentieth century. These are not terms that nineteenth century Pennsylvania Germans themselves used, but I believe that these terms do refer to important processes in Pennsylvania–German experience during the nineteenth century. On the dynamics of ethnicity, see Werner Sollors, *The Invention of Ethnicity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) and Sollors, editor, *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Dissent in American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); for an important discussion of the term *identity*, see Philip Gleason, "Identifying Identity: A Semantic History," *The Journal of American History*, 69 (1983), 910–931.
4. The monikers, "Pennsylvania German" and "Pennsylvania Dutch" refer to the same group of people. For a general discussion of Pennsylvania Germans, see Don Yoder, "Pennsylvania Germans" in Stephan Therstrom, editor, *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), 770–772. For discussions of the Amish, see John Hostetler, *Amish Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1993) and Donald Kraybill, *The Riddle of Amish Culture*, Revised Edition (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 2001). For discussions of Church Pennsylvania Germans, see Ralph Wood, editor, *The Pennsylvania Germans* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942); Scott T. Swank, editor, *The Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1983); Don Yoder, *Discovering American Folklife: Studies in Ethnic, Religious, and Regional Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990); Homer Tope Rosenberger, *The Pennsylvania Germans, 1891–1965*, Pennsylvania German Society, Volume 63 (Lancaster: Pennsylvania German Society, 1966).
5. The use of Pennsylvania German as the primary language in church services is a relatively recent twentieth century development, see Don Yoder, "The Dialect Service in the Pennsylvania German Culture", *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 27 (1978), 2–13.
6. See Heinz Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition*. (Rowley, MA: Newberry House, 1977), 141.
7. For contemporaneous accounts of the terms "English" and "Yankee," see Phebe Earle Gibbons, *Pennsylvania Dutch and Other Essays*. Reprinted by Stackpole Books with a new introduction by Don Yoder (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 2001, originally 1872), 11, 394; Francis T. Hoover, *Enemies in the Rear, or A Golden Circle Squared* (Boston: Arena Publishing Company, 1895), 16, 17.
8. For discussions of the sometimes uneasy relations between Pennsylvania Germans and German immigrants, see Don Yoder, "The Pennsylvania Germans: Three Centuries of Identity Crisis" in Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, eds., *America and the Germans, Volume I: Immigration, Language, Ethnicity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 42–65; John J. Appel, "Marion Dexter Learned and the German American Historical Society" *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 86 (July 1962), 287–318; Rosenberger, *The Pennsylvania Germans*, 85–86.
9. See, for example, Joel Spring, *The American School: 1642–2004* (New York: McGraw–Hill, 2004); Michael B. Katz, *Reconstructing American Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987). For this perspective in respect to language policy, see Roseann Duenas Gonzalez and Ildiko Melis, eds., *Language Ideologies*, Volume I (Education and the Social Implications of Official Language) and Volume II (History, Theory, and Policy) (Urbana, ILL: National Council of Teachers of English and Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2000). For a general discussion of language ideologies, see Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard, and Paul V. Kroskrity, eds., *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

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10. Heinz Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition*, (Rowley, MA: Newberry House, 1977); Carolyn R. Toth, *German-English Bilingual Schools in America: The Cincinnati Tradition in Historical Context* (New York: Peter Lang, 1990); Steven Schlossman, "Is There an American Tradition of Bilingual Education? German in the Public Elementary Schools, 1840-1919," *American Journal of Education*, 91 (1983), 139-186.
11. See Samuel Edwin Weber, *The Charity School Movement in Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1905/1969); more recent discussions are found in Sally Schwartz, *A Mixed Multitude: The Struggle for Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York: New York University Press, 1987), 185-204; and Toth, *German-English Bilingual Schools in America*, 28-31.
12. M. G. Brumbaugh, "An Educational Struggle in Colonial Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania School Journal* (hereafter *PSJ*), 47 (1898), 65-71. Ironically, as Commissioner of Education in Puerto Rico, Brumbaugh implemented some Americanizing educational policies.
13. See James P. Wickersham, *A History of Education in Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, PA: Inquirer Publishing Company, 1886), 320-21.
14. *SR* 1855, 27-28.
15. *ibid.*, 78.
16. *SR* 1856, 143.
17. *ibid.*, 143.
18. P. W. Malone, "Thoughts on the Instruction of German Children in English Schools," *PSJ* 8 (1859-60, April 1860), 297-98.
19. Thomas L. Foster, "Teaching German Children," *PSJ* 9 (1860-61, April 1861), 301.
20. P. B. Witmer, "How to Teach the Pennsylvania Germans," *PSJ* 9 (1860-61, September 1860), 94-6.
21. *SR* 1860:25; *PSJ* 9 (1860-61, April 1861), 301.
22. J. S. Ermentrout, "How to Teach German Children the English Language", *PSJ* 12 (1863-64, September 1863), 80-84.
23. *ibid.*, 81.
24. *ibid.*, 82.
25. See Lee Graver, "Beacon on the Hill: The Centennial History of Kutztown State College," *The Kutztown Bulletin*, 99, 1966; See also announcement of Keystone's opening in *PSJ* 15 (1866-67, March 1867), 207-8.
26. See discussion in William W. Donner, "Samuel Baer and John Ermentrout: 19th Century Advocates of Bilingual Education in Berks County," *Der Reggeboge* (Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society), 38(2004), 9-18.
27. *SR* 1876, 13.
28. Samuel A. Baer, "The Educational Problem of the German Element" *PSJ* 26 (1877-78, September 1877), 109-114.
29. *ibid.*, 109.
30. *ibid.*, 111.
31. *ibid.*, 110.
32. *ibid.*, 111.
33. *ibid.*, 111.
34. The journal went through several changes in format and name, being called *The Educator and Pennsylvania Teacher*, *The Educator and Teacher's Journal*, *The Educator and The Museum*, and finally, for

the last 25 years of its life, *The National Educator*. For consistency, I will refer to it throughout this article as *The National Educator*, and abbreviate it as *NE* in references. Libraries, including the Schwenkfelder Library where there is an almost complete run, catalogue the journal by its different names.

35. *SR* 1873, 240; 1874, 226; 1876, 234.
36. See Heinz Kloss, *Das Volksgruppenrecht in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* (Essen, 1940), 279–80.
37. *NE* 13:2 (February, 1873), 26.
38. *NE* 7:1 (January, 1867), 11; *NE* 13:2 (February, 1873), 25; *NE* 13:20 (December, 1873), 2; *NE* 11:6 (June, 1871), 84; *NE* 13:3 (June and July 1873), 83.
39. *NE* 13:2 (February, 1873), 26–28; see also *NE* 13:3 (March, 1873) 42; *NE* 11:10 (October, 1871), 136.
40. *SR* 1872, 267–70.
41. For discussions of Horne's life, see William W. Donner, "We Are What We Make of Ourselves": Abraham Reeser Horne and the Education of Pennsylvania Germans, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 124 (October 2000), 521–546, and "Abraham Reeser Horne: To the Manor Born," *Der Reggeboge* (Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society) 33 (1999), 3–17. The main source for Horne's life is found in the obituary published in *NE* 43 (January 1903), 4.
42. *Pennsylvania German Manual, for Pronouncing, Speaking and Writing English* (Kutztown, PA: Urlick and Gehring), 3. Later editions of the *Manual* were published in 1896, 1905, and 1910 in Allentown.
43. *ibid.*, 3.
44. *ibid.*, 3–4.
45. The best reviews of the development of Pennsylvania German literature are Harry Hess Reichard, "Pennsylvania German Dialect Writings and their Writers," *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society*, Volume 26 (Lancaster, Pennsylvania German Society, 1918), and Earl Francis Robacker, *Pennsylvania German Literature: Changing Trends from 1683 to 1942* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943).
46. The copybook of the final examination from this class is in the archives at Rohrbach Library, Kutztown University; see also *NE* 18:4 (January, 1879), 49–50, 53.
47. Reichard, "Pennsylvania German Dialect Writings and their Writers," 127; Robacker, *Pennsylvania German Literature*, 75.
48. *PSJ* 26 (1877–78, September 1877), 114.
49. *NE* 18:4 (January, 1879), 49–50, 53. Wickersham's endorsement of bilingual programs might have been aimed at developing support for the public school system among the general German population of Pennsylvania, many of whom were recent migrants from Germany.
50. Mahlon Hellerich, "Chapter III: Allentown 1861–1865" in Mahlon Hellerich, editor, *Allentown 1762–1987: A 225 Year History, Volume One 1762–1920* (Allentown, Pennsylvania: Lehigh County Historical Society, 1987), 159–65. Some of the more conservative Anabaptists still maintain a form of standard German in their church services. Hellerich is referring to the situation in Allentown, PA, although his analysis is relevant for Church Pennsylvania Germans everywhere.
51. See Henry C. Hoffman, *Brodheadsville in the Days of Yore* (Western Pocono Community Library, Brodheadsville, PA., No Date), especially Chapter 4; Henry C. Hoffman, (no date), *Landmarks of Monroe County*, (Western Pocono Community Library, Brodheadsville, PA., No Date), 20; Clyde S. Stine, *Problems of Education among Pennsylvania Germans*, Ph.D. diss., (Cornell University, 1938),

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- 77–78. It is interesting that in Samuel Baer's personal papers at the Berks County Historical Society, there is a copy of a speech by D. E. Schoedler taken from the *Pennsylvania School Journal*. Baer marked a section that advocates the use of bilingual education.
52. S. K. Brobst, "English and German in the People's Schools" *PSJ* 21 (1872–73, September 1872), 90–94, 92. For brief descriptions of Brobst's life, see Ralph C. Wood, "S. K. Brobst—Our Pennsylvania Dutch Leader" in *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 1:14, August 4, 1949, 7; Reverend Samuel K. Brobst: Sunday-School Founder, Minister and Editor, *The Pennsylvania-German*, Volume 8 (August 1907), 360–64.
 53. George Baer, *The Pennsylvania Germans: An Address Delivered at Palatinate College*, December 23, 1875, 22–25, pamphlet in the Berks County Historical Society.
 54. Captain J. H. Bassler, *The Myerstown Academy*. Paper read at the Lebanon County Historical Society, April 20, 1906, Volume III, Number 12.
 55. Faculty Notes, Keystone State Normal School, Feb 15, 1877. Rohrbach Library, Kutztown University. I also have a letter in my personal possession dated 1845 from a schoolmaster who insisted on immersion in English as the best method for teaching Pennsylvania German students.
 56. See Kloss, *American Bilingual Tradition*, 140–151.
 57. These figures presumably refer to the use of standard German in the classroom. They also could include classes of later emigrating Germans. *SR* 1850, 74–5; *SR* 1861, 236; *SR* 1866, 310–311.
 58. See Schaeffer's report for 1883, *SR* 1883, 281.
 59. *SR* 1878, 243
 60. *NE* 31:15 (November 15, 1890) 31, an editorial cites article by Dr. Schaeffer in *New England Journal of Education*.
 61. *NE* 35:10 (September 8, 1894), 4; see also *NE* 27:8 (August 2, 1886), 5. As early as 1876, Horne proposed in a short editorial that schools prohibit the use of German to ensure that students learn English, see *NE* 15:140–141 (April 7, 1876), 2.
 62. *NE* 42:10 (June, 1902), 4.
 63. Samuel Baer, "Education and Labor" in *PSJ* 33 (1884–85) no. 3, September 1884, 100–107.
 64. Samuel A. Baer, Reunion Address, Public School Bulletin (Reading PA) Volume 2(4), December 1912, 8.
 65. Earl C. Kaylor, Jr., *Martin Grove Brumbaugh: A Pennsylvanian's Odyssey from Sainted Schoolman to Bedeviled World War I Governor, 1862–1930* (Madison: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1996), especially pages 159–64. Aida Negron De Montilla, *Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public School System, 1900–1930* (Universidad de Puerto Rico: Editorial Universitaria, 1975). For a discussion of Brumbaugh's role in educational reform, see William Henry Issel, *Schools for a Modern Age: Educational Reform in Pennsylvania in the Progressive Era*, Ph.D. diss., (University of Pennsylvania, 1969).
 66. See, for example, David B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), and David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership, 1820–1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1982).
 67. Homer Tope Rosenberger, *The Pennsylvania Germans, 1891–1965*, 78–87.
 68. Steven Schlossman, "Is There an American Tradition of Bilingual Education?" *American Journal of Education*, 91 (1983), 139–86.
 69. Heinz Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition*, 288. See also Steven Schlossman, "Self Evident Remedy? George J. Sanchez, Segregation, and Enduring Dilemmas in Bilingual Education," *Teachers*

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- College Record* 84 (1983), 871–907; Jonathan Zimmerman, "Ethnics Against Ethnicity: European Immigrants and Foreign Language Instruction, 1890–1940," *Journal of American History*, 88 (2002), 1383–1407.
70. Kloss, *American Bilingual Tradition*, 285.
71. Russel A. Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German–American Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).
72. The author is conducting ethnographic research on these issues. See also Don Yoder, "The Dialect Service in the Pennsylvania German Culture," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 27 (1978), 2–13; Don Yoder, "The Pennsylvania Germans: Three Centuries of Identity Crisis" in Trommler and McVeigh, eds., *America and the Germans*, 42–65; David L. Valuska and William W. Donner, "The Past and Future of the Pennsylvania German Language: Many Ways of Speaking German; Many Ways of Being American," in Andreas Gardt and Bernd Huppau, eds., *Globalization and the Future of German* (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2004), 229–242; William W. Donner, "Loss uns Deitcha was m'r sin: Leave us Dutch the way we are': The Grundsow Lodges," *Pennsylvania German Review* (Spring 2002), 39–57; William W. Donner, "Assimilation and Localism: Some Very Small Towns in Mass Society," *Sociological Inquiry* 68 (2002), 61–82.