

“We Are What We Make of Ourselves”: Abraham Reeser Horne and the Education of Pennsylvania Germans

IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY, a group of Pennsylvania German intellectuals and educators developed and celebrated their ethnic identity at the same time that they promoted educational policies encouraging Pennsylvania German children to learn English and assimilate into a national society. Abraham Reeser Horne was a central figure in both efforts, and his life and work illustrate both the development of a modern consciousness of ethnicity and powerful trends towards ethnic assimilation in education.

As a prolific writer and publisher, Horne left a forty-year record of his positions on educational issues in Pennsylvania, and in particular, the education of Pennsylvania Germans. Horne was the publisher and editor of the *National Educator* from 1860 until his death in 1902.¹ Every month, he

I want to thank this journal's editors, Ian Quimby and Jim Wheatley, and the article's anonymous reviewers for their suggestions and criticisms. I am also grateful to Dr. Mahlon Hellerich for his encouragement in my research on Dr. Horne. Finally, I want to thank the staffs of the institutions where I conducted research, including the Schwenkfelder Library, Rohrbach Library at Kutztown University, the president's office and Trexler Library at Muhlenberg College, the Lutheran Archives Center in Philadelphia, the Allentown Board of Education, the archives at Gettysburg College, and the Lehigh Historical Society.

¹ 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, the *National Educator*. For consistency, I will refer to it throughout as the *National Educator*, as it is most commonly referenced, but some libraries, including the Schwenkfelder Library, may catalogue the journal under its different names. An almost complete set of the journal can be found in the Schwenkfelder Library in Pennsburg, Pa. The Lehigh County Historical Society in Allentown, the Library of Congress, and the A. R. Horne Papers in the Lutheran Archives Center, Philadelphia, have less extensive collections.

propounded his views on education, literature, religion, history, health and manners in the pages of his journal. In addition, he wrote books, pamphlets, and articles. Horne was at the forefront of debates about the education of Pennsylvania Germans, who were at that time the largest and most politically influential, non-English speaking ethnic group in Pennsylvania. His writings offer insights into the thinking of an influential, regional educator during the second half of the nineteenth century; but, more importantly, they illustrate important processes in the foundation of the modern educational system and the changing identity of a large ethnic group.

Born on a farm in Bucks County in 1834, Horne died in Allentown in 1902. He witnessed the early phases of industrialization and modernization, including the development of industrial capitalism, the increased use of scientific methodology, the assimilation of local and regional subcultures into national ones, and the differentiation of the social system with many new specialized institutions, roles, and occupations.² These processes shaped the foundation of the common or public school system. Horne was active in developing the public school system in Pennsylvania and in training teachers for that system. In the past thirty years, many historians of American education have argued that public schools were developed to serve the interests of the powerful and wealthy and to meet the needs of a developing industrial society. In this view, the rhetoric of opportunity and equality of the public school system masked a system of control and domination that assimilated children from diverse ethnic groups into a national society and prepared them to be productive participants in capitalist systems of production.³

² For overviews of the concept of modernization, see Talcott Parsons, *The System of Modern Societies* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1971), or for a more recent statement, see Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford, 1990).

³ See for example, Joel Spring, *The American School, 1642-1996* (New York, 1997); Larry Cuban, *How Teachers Taught: Constancy and Change in American Classrooms, 1890-1990* (New York, 1993); Michael B. Katz, *Reconstructing American Education* (Cambridge Mass., 1987); David B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974); for a discussion of these issues in Pennsylvania, see William Henry Issel, "Schools for a Modern Age: Educational Reform in Pennsylvania in the Progressive Era" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1969); and two articles by Issel, "The Politics of Public School Reform in Pennsylvania, 1880-1911," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (hereafter, *PMHB*) 102 (1978), 59-92, and "Americanization, Acculturation and Social Control: School Reform Ideology in Industrial Pennsylvania," *Journal of Social History* 12 (1979), 569-90; see also Paul K. Adams, "James P. Wickersham on Education and Crime in

Horne's life and work point to the complex processes that shaped the education system and its role in assimilation. While it may be naive to argue that the public school system developed only to provide equal opportunity to all, Horne's writings show that it is simplistic to see the public schools only as an instrument serving the interests of the rich and powerful. Horne's educational philosophy was not concerned with control and domination; rather it was grounded in his religious beliefs, his own rural upbringing, his experiences with self-reliance and self-education, and in an Enlightenment emphasis on the child's innate ability to learn. Moreover, Horne's life illustrates that assimilation was not simply a process of domination and absorption. He shared with other Pennsylvania Germans a constant tension between maintaining a distinct culture and participating in a national society. He was often critical of the dominant ethnic groups, especially people he loosely referred to as the "English" (people who spoke English as opposed to Pennsylvania German, and more particularly Pennsylvanians with ancestors from the British Isles) and "Yankees" (people from New York and New England). But like most Pennsylvania German intellectuals of his time, he was a patriotic American and strong supporter of participation in the national society.

The ancestors of Pennsylvania Germans migrated from regions of Germany, France, and Switzerland to Pennsylvania beginning in the late seventeenth century and continuing throughout the eighteenth century.⁴ By the time of Horne's birth, Pennsylvania Germans were mainly settled in a semicircular region about fifty miles outside of Philadelphia that included Lehigh, Northampton, Berks, Schuylkill, Lebanon, Lancaster, and York counties, and parts of Chester, Bucks and Montgomery counties. They maintained and developed distinctive cultural practices and their own language for about two hundred years—well into the first half of the twentieth century—although they influenced, and were influenced by, the national society. Their spoken language, Pennsylvania German, is derived from a dialect of German, but is different from standard or High German.⁵

Nineteenth-Century Pennsylvania" *PMHB* 104 (1980), 411–33.

⁴ The terms "Pennsylvania Dutch" and "Pennsylvania Germans" refer to the same people.

⁵ Following Horne's own usage, I will refer to standard German as "High German," although this does not imply that I think Pennsylvania German is "low" or inferior German. Present-day Pennsylvania German speakers can understand some of the dialects still spoken in the southwestern regions of Germany, but have trouble with High German.

Assimilation was a constant process from the earliest colonial settlements, but it proceeded slowly for these Germans until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when public school policies encouraged assimilation and the use of the English language.

Nowadays, most Americans probably associate Pennsylvania Germans with the Anabaptist religious groups, in particular the Old Order Amish. An important distinction needs to be made, however, between the "plain" Pennsylvania Germans, most notably the Old Order Amish and conservative Mennonites, and the "church" Pennsylvania Germans, who are mostly Lutheran and German Reformed (now United Church of Christ). "Church" people are far more numerous, but in the twentieth century they have been much more assimilated into mainstream American society. By contrast, of course, the Old Order Amish are distinctive in their dress, cultural practices, and their continued use of the Pennsylvania German language. In the nineteenth century, however, church Pennsylvania Germans often spoke the Pennsylvania German language as their first language and maintained many cultural practices that were different from the rest of American culture. Horne was born a Mennonite but converted to Lutheranism. He was a self-conscious and adamant supporter of Pennsylvania Germans as well as a strong proponent of industrial technology and a firm believer in progress.⁶

Most literature on ethnicity in American society is based on the experiences of migrants in urban and industrialized settings in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, or, more recently, the experiences of groups who suffered from economic and racial oppression. The Pennsylvania Germans do not fit easily into either category. Although they suffered from some prejudices from the dominant ethnic groups, they were also an effective political force in the nineteenth century and, as a result of early settlement, they had some control over their economic resources and local institutions.

Recent writing on ethnicity challenges the assumption that ethnic

⁶ At present, there are church Pennsylvania Germans who follow some distinctive cultural practices, including some dialect differences in their use of the English language; and the Old Order Amish have made some accommodations to modernization. For discussions of the Amish, see John Hostetler, *Amish Society* (Baltimore, 1980); Donald Kraybill, *The Riddle of Amish Culture* (Baltimore, 1989). For discussions of church Pennsylvania Germans, see Ralph Wood, ed., *The Pennsylvania Germans* (Princeton, 1942); William Parsons, *The Pennsylvania Germans: A Persistent Minority* (Collegeville, Pa., 1985); Scott T. Swank, ed., *The Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans* (New York, 1983); Don Yoder, *Discovering American Folklife: Studies in Ethnic, Religious, and Regional Culture* (Ann Arbor, 1990); Homer Tope Rosenberger, *The Pennsylvania Germans, 1891-1965*, (Lancaster, 1966).

identity is the outcome of an innate, primordial sentiment, or the attempt to preserve an authentic ancestral heritage. Ethnicity is constructed and redefined, often as a way to develop boundaries with other ethnic groups. Modernization and industrialization can lead to rapid assimilation, but they also can result in the reconstruction of local and regional identities, including a heightened sense of ethnicity. These ethnic and regional identities often include the use of history and tradition to achieve political goals. Sometimes history and tradition can be used to legitimate a privileged position; other times, they are used as a form of resistance against a dominant group.⁷ Pennsylvania Germans used their history and traditions in both ways. They wanted to legitimate their position in American society as the descendants of early American settlers, and they also wanted to build pride to resist the prejudices of more powerful groups. These processes of assimilation and differentiation, resistance and accommodation are apparent in Horne's life and work.

Abraham Reeser Horne (1834–1902) was born on a farm in Bucks County.⁸ Some of his formal education came from a hired schoolmaster, but he learned much on his own. He learned how to speak English from another boy and taught himself how to read German from his father's books.⁹ In

⁷ Werner Sollors, *The Invention of Ethnicity* (Oxford, 1988); Sollors, ed., *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Dissent in American Culture* (Oxford, 1986); Mike Featherstone, ed., *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity* (London, 1990); Roland Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (London, 1992); E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, Eng., 1983); Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York, 1991); Richard Handler and Jocelyn Linnekin, "Tradition, Genuine or Spurious," *Journal of American Folklore* 97 (1984), 273–90; Richard Handler, *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec* (Madison, 1988); Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley, 1990); for a perspective on these processes in a Pennsylvania German region at present, see William W. Donner, "Assimilation and Localism: Some Very Small Towns in Mass Society," *Sociological Inquiry* 68 (1998), 61–82. Readers should keep in mind that the analytical concepts, "ethnic group" and "ethnic identity," were developed by social scientists in the twentieth century, see Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity*, 23–24; Philip Gleason, "Identifying Identity: A Semantic History," *Journal of American History* 69 (1983), 910–31. I use these terms because I find them helpful for understanding processes in the nineteenth century.

⁸ The main source for Horne's life is found in the obituary published by the *National Educator* (hereafter, *NE*) 43 (Jan. 1903) 1–4. For more biographical and personal information about Horne, see William W. Donner, "Abraham Reeser Horne: To The Manor Born," *Der Reggeboge* 33 (1999), 5–17.

⁹ *NE* 35 (Sept. 1894), 4.

1854 he entered Pennsylvania (now Gettysburg) College, a Lutheran institution. In 1855, while in college, he was baptized and confirmed as a Lutheran by the famous Lutheran theologian, Simon S. Schmucker. After graduating from Pennsylvania College in 1858, he moved to Quakertown to establish the Bucks County Normal and Classical School. He ran the school for five years and had a total of 396 pupils. In 1860 he was ordained as a Lutheran pastor. In the same year he began publishing the *Educator and Teacher's Journal* (later the *National Educator*).

In 1863 he closed the Bucks County Normal and Classical School and accepted a pastoral calling to serve a rural group of churches around Turbotville south of Williamsport in Northumberland County. In 1865, he accepted a call to St. Mark's Church in Williamsport. In 1867 he became the first superintendent of public schools in Williamsport, while still keeping his congregation. In Williamsport, Horne oversaw an increase in the number of schools from thirty-three to forty-seven and in pupils from 2,844 to 3,383.¹⁰ By the early 1870s, Horne had a rising reputation in Pennsylvania education. In 1869 he served as vice president of the state's organization of county school superintendents; in 1871, Williamsport hosted the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania State Teachers' Association with Horne as chairman of the local committee; in 1872, he was president of the executive committee organizing the State Teachers' Association meeting in Philadelphia.¹¹

Horne left Williamsport in 1872 to take the post of principal of the Keystone State Normal School in Kutztown (later Kutztown State Teachers College; now Kutztown University). The move is another indication of his rising reputation in Pennsylvania education. Keystone was established by Pennsylvania Germans to be a center of education for Pennsylvania Germans.¹² From 1867 until 1892, the school's yearly catalogue included a section on the importance of teaching German and educating Pennsylvania Germans. Horne himself was very interested in developing Keystone as a center for the education of Pennsylvania German teachers who would, in

¹⁰ *Report of the Superintendent of the Common Schools of Pennsylvania for the Year Ending* [hereafter, *School Report*] 1870, 251; *School Report* 1871, 245. These are the reports of various county and municipal superintendents to the state superintendent.

¹¹ *Pennsylvania School Journal* (hereafter, *PSJ*) 18 (1869-70), 64; *PSJ* 20 (1871-72), 69; *PSJ* 21 (1872-73), 72.

¹² *PSJ* 15 (1866-67), 207-8; see also Lee Graver, "Beacon on the Hill: The Centennial History of Kutztown State College," *Kutztown Bulletin* 99 (1966), 1-173, Rohrbach Library, Kutztown University.

turn, educate Pennsylvania German children.¹³ He was initially successful at Keystone: in 1872 the school had 330 students, in 1875 there were 516 students.¹⁴ But in 1877 Horne left Keystone after a dispute with its board of trustees. The dispute derived from a variety of causes: Horne's mismanagement of finances, salary disagreements, the board's disapproval of his loose disciplinary style, and the actions of several members of Horne's own family (among other problems, his son David was found drunk).¹⁵

The next fall, Horne went to Muhlenberg College in nearby Allentown, where he took over as principal of the classical, or preparatory, school, and established a new normal, or teachers' training, department. Horne entered into an arrangement with the board of trustees whereby he kept 75 percent of the financial proceeds from the departments managed by him and returned 25 percent to the college. Again, Horne's first years were marked by successes: there were forty-three students in the preparatory school before Horne's arrival, the number jumped to 193 in Horne's first year, including students in the newly founded Normal Department. But in 1882 Horne left Muhlenberg, after experiencing administrative, financial, and family problems that were similar to those at Keystone. (His son David had a drunken confrontation with Muhlenberg's President.)¹⁶

After leaving Muhlenberg College, Horne worked briefly for an insurance company. In 1885 he became the pastor of several rural churches around Allentown, serving until his death in 1902. He was also elected to the Allentown school system's Board of Control from 1885 to 1891 and again from 1900 until his death in 1902.

Despite his problems as an administrator, Horne was always a popular teacher and effective communicator.¹⁷ In 1881 he was awarded an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from Lebanon Valley College. He was also a popular lecturer at teacher institutes, a forerunner of teacher training

¹³ *School Report* 1873, 240; *School Report* 1874, 226; *School Report* 1876, 234.

¹⁴ Graver, "Beacon on The Hill," 37; *School Report* 1875, 225.

¹⁵ Faculty Minutes, Keystone State Normal School, Nov. 30, 1876; Feb. 4, 1876, Rohrbach Library, Kutztown University; Minutes, Board of Trustees, Keystone State Normal School, Oct. 2, 1874; Dec. 19, 1874; May 31, 1875; Aug. 6, 1875; Nov. 1, 1876; May 26, 1878, Rohrbach Library, Kutztown University; *Reading Eagle*, May 28, 1878; also see Graver, "Beacon on the Hill," 43-51.

¹⁶ Board of Trustee Notes, 1877-1899, President's Office, Muhlenberg College, for June 27, 1878, 44-45; June 24, 1880, 77; June 29, 1881, 101; Minute Book of the Faculty of Muhlenberg College III, June 22, 1881, 22, Trexler Library, Muhlenberg College.

¹⁷ See, for example, *PSJ* 8 (1859-60), 6-8; Wickersham, *A History of Education*, 453; *NE* 39 (July 30, 1898), 4; Graver, "Beacon on the Hill," 50.

sessions, and while at Muhlenberg began to give summer institute lectures in Texas and Louisiana.¹⁸

All the time that he was teaching and preaching, Horne was also writing and publishing. Most notably, starting in 1860 and continuing until his death in 1902, he published the *National Educator*. It appeared monthly, sometimes bimonthly, and for a few years, weekly. As he moved, so did the place of publication of his journal, publishing it in Quakertown, Turbotsville, Williamsport, Kutztown, Allentown, and, finally, Catasauqua. The *National Educator* was a wide-ranging journal with a general focus on educational matters, but it also contained articles about literature, travel, history, morality, and religion. Issues varied in length from four to thirty-two pages, with several pages devoted to advertising. Horne often reprinted articles from other national literary and educational journals. In his columns on education, he included summaries of meetings of state educational associations and local county teacher institutes. The journal also included practical suggestions and activities for classroom teachers. There were correspondents or contributors who wrote about a variety of subjects, usually with an educational theme. At times, he had special sections on music, language, bookkeeping, science, and mathematics that were managed by different editors. Like anyone who has left such a long record, his views were not always consistent and some of them changed over the course of the forty-two years that he published the *National Educator*.

Early editions of the *National Educator* describe itself as "a journal devoted to the interests of the young, the advancement and improvement of Common Schools, and the cause of EDUCATION and morality . . ." ¹⁹ The journal maintained an interest in issues concerning Pennsylvania Germans, although not to the degree asserted by some writers. ²⁰ There was a period in the early 1870s, while Horne was at Keystone, during which the *National*

¹⁸ Several biographers assert that after leaving Muhlenberg, Horne was offered the presidency of the University of Texas in 1882. I cannot find any evidence to support this claim. But there was an advertisement in the *National Educator* for the University of East Texas in Tyler with Horne listed as president. In any case, he remained in Allentown. See *Allentown Democrat*, July 19, 1882, 2; *NE* 21 (June 15, 1882), 8; and *NE* 21 (July 1, 1882), 8.

¹⁹ *NE* 1 (Aug. 20, 1860), 2.

²⁰ See Wickersham, *A History of Education*, 657; Alexander Waldenrath, "Abraham Reeser Horne: Proponent of Bilingual Education," *Bucks County Historical Society Journal* 2 (1977), 16-26; Harry Hess Reichard, "Pennsylvania German Dialect Writings and their Writers," *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society* 26 (1918), 121.

Educator became a weekly journal and developed a special focus on Pennsylvania Germans.²¹ Later in the 1870s, the journal changed focus and once again became a more general educational and literary journal, although Horne continued to examine Pennsylvania German issues and defend their interests. Except for the few years in the 1870s, issues of the journal had many more articles concerning general educational and literary matters than articles focused on the special interests of Pennsylvania Germans. Although it is difficult to estimate its circulation, it was probably between 800 and 1000 in the 1870s, perhaps more later in Horne's life. After the *Pennsylvania School Journal*, which was the official organ of the State Department of Education and distributed free, it was the longest lasting and probably most influential regional educational journal of its time period in Pennsylvania.²²

Horne also wrote numerous other works, including articles about Pennsylvania Germans.²³ In 1893 he published *Common Sense Health Notes*, a book that discussed ways to stay healthy. Health had also been a frequent topic in his columns in the *National Educator*. This book took a homeopathic approach to health grounded in Horne's religious beliefs. God had made the human body healthy and balanced, and human organs maintained this balance by expelling harmful elements through the natural processes of sweating, breathing, urination, and defecation. Poor health was the result of improper human activity that altered this balance. As he would do in most of his writings on education, Horne presented information based on ordinary observations and experience, what he termed "common sense."²⁴

Horne's educational philosophy was not one of discipline, domination, and control. His approach was grounded in his "common sense" system using a child's natural inquisitiveness to understand the world. He believed

²¹ NE 13 (Oct. 7, 1873), 2; also NE 14 (Sept. 8, 1874), 2.

²² See notebook with subscription list in *A. R. Horne Papers* in the Lutheran Archives Center at Philadelphia; see also John S. Ermentrout, *Historical Sketch of Kutztown and Maxatawny, 1776-1876* (Kutztown, 1876), 15; Wickersham, *A History of Education in Pennsylvania*, 656.

²³ A. R. Horne, "The Pennsylvania Germans," in Alfred Mathews and Austin Hungerford, eds., *History of the Counties of Lehigh and Carbon in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1884), 23-42; A. R. Horne, "Proverbs and Sayings of the Pennsylvania Germans," in *Pennsylvania German Society, Proceedings* 2 (1894), 47-54; A. R. Horne, "The Worth and Character of the Pennsylvania Germans" in *A Collection of Papers Read Before the Bucks County Historical Association* (Easton, Pa., 8 vols., 1908) 1:333-49, originally read in 1885.

²⁴ A. R. Horne, *Common Sense Health Notes* (Chicago, 1893).

in the power of natural observation, both in the child and in the teacher. Just as his book about health had emphasized the natural balance of the body, his writings about education assumed that God had made children to be naturally curious and that the human mind had the capability to understand the natural world through direct observation. Horne's philosophy of education reflected his agrarian, democratic roots and the influence of Enlightenment thinking about education. Learners were all equal in their natural ability to understand the world; it was the role of educators to ensure that this potential was fully realized. Horne's philosophy derived not from an ideology of mass production and corporate capitalism but from an earlier, more entrepreneurial stage of American capitalism that emphasized independence, self-reliance, and a faith in ordinary "common sense" understandings of the natural world.²⁵

Horne's views on classroom instruction were influenced by the method of Johann Pestalozzi, a very popular figure among educators in the mid nineteenth century, whose views had been shaped by the writings of Rousseau.²⁶ Lessons were to have immediate and concrete objects of illustration. Students moved from the known to the unknown, from the concrete to the abstract. Teachers should use a child's natural curiosity and build upon the natural learning processes of a child's everyday life outside of school. Horne frequently argued for using immediate examples from the real world to inspire a child's natural inquisitiveness. Learning should be related to practical examples and outcomes. Horne believed that children are naturally active, and this natural activity, not the fear of being punished, should become the basis for learning. Mathematics classes should start with objects and examples in the classroom; for example, students could figure out how much wood is needed to make the walls of the school building. Geography should be taught by asking pupils to make maps of the schoolyard. Botany, astronomy and geology could be understood through field trips and direct observation. Horne wrote a pamphlet to show how simple, home-made apparatus could be used to demonstrate laws of

²⁵ An early version of Horne's philosophy of education can be found in an essay, "Tracts for Teachers and Parents," *NE* 4 (Feb. 1864), 40-42; *NE* 4 (March 1864), 56-57.

²⁶ See for example, H. Warren Button and Eugene Provenzo, *History of Education and Culture in America* (Boston, 1989), 71-73; Spring, *The American School*, 135-38.

chemistry and physics.²⁷

Horne opposed outside influence on educational decisions, which he considered local or personal matters (politically he was a Democrat). He was a strong advocate of local control of schools. He railed against what he saw to be the dominance of other groups, especially the English and Yankees, in the education system. Although a strong supporter of education, Horne took a strong stand against compulsory education because he felt that it was an oppressive invasion of individual rights. Towards the end of his life he wrote: "A system that has been voluntary and 'free' is now subjected to the police powers and greatest boons when forced down the throat, become irksome and odious." In this same editorial, Horne used language similar to many present-day critiques of American education: "Not till the pupil loses his individuality and independent spirit and subordinates himself to the system does he become satisfactory to the teacher."²⁸ Horne also felt that school discipline and governance should involve the active participation of students not the disciplinary actions of the teacher. Horne frequently described his approach to school management and discipline by citing Thomas Jefferson: "That is best governed which is least governed."²⁹

Throughout his life, Horne argued that humans acquired their personal abilities and characteristics through their life experiences: individuals were not born with differing innate abilities, intellectual endowments, talents, or predispositions, as most of his contemporaries supposed. Horne argued that every individual was born with the same potentials that had to be developed. He made this argument on religious grounds: God does not favor some humans over others. Thus, education was a crucial endeavor in developing the individual. For Horne, education extended beyond formal schooling to include an individual's experiences, natural observations, and self-improvement. Late in life, he told a teacher's conference: "The work of the student is a life work; and we are what we are by means of our own

²⁷ NE 16 (May 18, 1877), 7; NE 26 (Sept. 1, 1885), 4; NE 27 (Feb. 1, 1887), 4; NE 16 (July 13, 1877), 52; NE 38 (Sept. 11, 1897), 4-5; Abraham Reeser Horne, *Easy Experiments for Schools and Families with Home-made Apparatus* (Allentown, 1885), pamphlet at the Lehigh County Historical Society, Allentown, Pa., and Library of Congress.

²⁸ NE 38 (Nov. 27, 1897), 5; see also NE 13 (March 24, 1874), 2; NE 35 (Jan. 26, 1895), 4.

²⁹ NE 24 (April 1, 1884), 2; see also NE 11 (April 1871), 56; NE 21 (Oct. 1881), 8; *School Report* 1875, 226; NE 16 (July 13, 1877), 57.

individual work—we are what we make of ourselves."³⁰

In the late nineteenth century, Pennsylvania Germans were defining an ethnic identity and Horne was a central figure in this movement. An increased self-consciousness about their history and culture can be found in articles, books, journals, and organizations devoted exclusively to their interests. This movement to define and celebrate the Pennsylvania German heritage must be understood in the broader context of more general trends throughout American society. Following the Civil War, the nation was developing patriotic traditions at the same time that many different ancestral and regional groups were forming to commemorate their contributions to the nation.³¹

The Pennsylvania German language had no written tradition and no standardized orthography, but a literary tradition began to develop in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Before this time, most works in Pennsylvania German had been amusing and earthy letters to the editors of newspapers; serious publications used High German. Literate Pennsylvania Germans wrote and read in High German or, increasingly, in English.³² Henry Harbaugh, a leading pastor of the German Reformed Church and editor of the *Guardian*, a religious journal, began to write poetry in the Pennsylvania German language. His book of verse, *Harbaugh's Harfe* (Harbaugh's Harp), was published in 1870. Edward Rauch, a journalist, began writing a column in Pennsylvania German in the late 1860s, and in 1873 he published a short-lived journal, the *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, that included columns in Pennsylvania German. As scholarly interest developed, S. S. Haldeman wrote the first grammar of the language in 1872. Outsiders also began to take an interest in Pennsylvania Germans: Phebe Gibbons wrote an account of their practices for *Atlantic Monthly* that was expanded

³⁰ *PSJ* 46 (1897–98), 58; see again *NE* 4 (Feb. 1864), 40–42; see also *NE* 9 (Jan. 1869), 5; *NE* 11 (Oct. 1871), 137; *NE* 16 (July 13, 1877), 137; *NE* 26 (Feb. 15, 1886), 4. *NE* 26 (March 1, 1886), 4; *NE* 27 (Sept. 1888), 99.

³¹ Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*.

³² See Earl Francis Robacker, *Pennsylvania German Literature: Changing Trends from 1683 to 1942* (Philadelphia, 1943); also Reichard, "Pennsylvania-German Dialect Writings."

into a book in 1874.³³ Towards the end of the century, in 1891, the Pennsylvania German Society was established to celebrate Pennsylvania German culture and its contributions to American society and to combat the tendency among other influential Americans to denigrate or ignore Pennsylvania Germans and their achievements.³⁴

Horne was in the middle of these developments. He reprinted Harbaugh's poems in early editions of the *National Educator*, he wrote for Rauch's *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, and, as discussed above, he was principal of a normal school devoted to the educational interests of Pennsylvania Germans. When the Pennsylvania German Society was established, Horne was one of thirty-one founding members and was on the committee that wrote the Society's constitution. He was also at the forefront in recording and promulgating the culture and language. In 1875 Horne published his best known book, the *Pennsylvania German Manual*, while he was principal at Keystone.³⁵ A second expanded edition was published in 1896, and two other editions were printed by one of his sons, after his death, in 1905 and 1910. In the preface to the first edition of the *Manual*, Horne advocated a multilingual approach to education and presented German as a language on equal footing with English. He wrote that the purpose of the book was "To render such assistance to those who speak Pennsylvania German only, as will enable them the more readily to acquire the two most important modern languages, English and high German, has induced us to prepare this manual."³⁶

The *Manual* was written, in part, to provide Pennsylvania German students with a reader so they could learn to read in their own language. Horne was following his educational philosophy of starting with the students' own knowledge in order to teach reading in a developed literary language, either English or High German. Later he explained the book's

³³ For discussions of this movement, see Robacker, *Pennsylvania German Literature*, 72-118, and Rosenberger, *The Pennsylvania Germans*, 53-90; Henry Harbaugh, *Harbaugh's Harfe* (Philadelphia, 1870); S. S. Haldeman, *Pennsylvania Dutch, a Dialect of South Germany with an Infusion of English* (London, 1872); Phebe Earle Gibbons, *Pennsylvania Dutch and Other Essays*, (Philadelphia, 1874); E. H. Rauch, *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, (Lancaster, Pa., 1873).

³⁴ *The Pennsylvania German Society, Proceedings* 1 (1891); Rosenberger, *The Pennsylvania Germans*, 78-87.

³⁵ A. R. Horne, *Pennsylvania German Manual, for Pronouncing, Speaking and Writing English* (Kutztown, 1875); later editions were published in Allentown in 1896, 1905, 1910.

³⁶ Horne, *Pennsylvania German Manual* (1875), 3-4.

purpose: "affording Pennsylvania German children an opportunity to learn English, by using the only medium at their command for doing so, namely, their own language."³⁷ The book included exercises to help Pennsylvania Germans pronounce English words. Another section contained Pennsylvania German poems, proverbs, ballads, stories, and short biographies of famous Pennsylvania Germans, all written in Pennsylvania German (later editions provided English translations). In the three later editions, there were "object lessons" that included pictures followed by terms and explanations of each picture in three languages: Pennsylvania German, English, and High German. Finally, Horne included a Pennsylvania German dictionary with English and German translations, which was the first dictionary of the dialect.

The *Manual* enjoyed some popularity as a general reference book among Pennsylvania Germans and went through four editions.³⁸ It was an imaginative way to help students learn English. At the same time the *Manual* became the first comprehensive resource for Pennsylvania German culture, language, and history. Horne included various Pennsylvania German cultural practices, using them as a way to build pride in the culture and to educate readers. Horne's book is an example of a rising consciousness and pride in ethnic identity, and in this sense is a very modern book. It is also a book that is about 100 years ahead of its time in its bilingual educational strategy of using a child's home language as a means to learn a national language.³⁹

Throughout his life, Horne was a strong and partisan proponent of Pennsylvania German interests in the pages of the *National Educator*. He was harsh in his criticism of those groups that he felt were prejudiced towards the Pennsylvania Germans, in particular "Yankees" and the "English." Although these ethnic categories no longer resonate in present-day American society, they reflected important concepts and power relations in the minds of nineteenth-century Pennsylvania Germans. Horne complained about Yankees on a variety of occasions: when Palatinate College

³⁷ NE 17 (Dec. 1877), 40.

³⁸ It was probably not used extensively in schools, see Reichard, "Pennsylvania German Dialect Writing," 127; Robacker, *Pennsylvania German Literature*, 75. As will be explained, Horne himself came to advocate English-only instruction; moreover, the book used a phonetic orthography that never became popular.

³⁹ See, for example, James Crawford, *Bilingual Education: History, Politics, Theory, Practice* (Los Angeles, 1991), 26-27.

hired "Yankee" educators; when some "Yankees" spoke at a State Teachers' Association meeting; when the Normal School at Shippensburg hired a "Yankee"; when a "Yankee" was hired to speak at an institute; when "Yankees" talked too much at a national superintendent's conference; and when G. W. Curtis, the "arch Yankee" editor of *Harper's Weekly*, disparaged German teachers. His response to the state's plan to pay off the debts of the state's normal schools as part of an administrative takeover was to label it a "Yankee trick."⁴⁰

He was especially angry when people in Pennsylvania German areas hired non-Pennsylvania Germans to teach: "The day has gone when our people were subjected to the humiliation, that we had no material among our people to fill offices of responsibility and trust, but that the incumbents of such offices must be imported from the English or, worse yet, from the Yankees."⁴¹ He could be hostile towards organizations that he thought represented Yankee interests, including the leading educational organization in the country, writing: "Well, we have long since been convinced that the Nat[ional]. Ed[ucation]. Ass[ociation]., so called, is an institution purely in the interest of Yankeedom, and only national in name."⁴² His editorials often compared Pennsylvania German regions favorably with other regions of Pennsylvania, both in terms of productivity and in their support of education.⁴³

Horne was always a strong supporter of Pennsylvania German interests, but his changing views on language use reflect his commitment to a national identity. Language is clearly one of the most important measures of ethnic identity and assimilation. It was a special problem for Pennsylvania German educators because many Pennsylvania German students, including Horne in his youth, did not speak English, which was the main language of instruction. Horne is usually credited with being among the very strongest of Pennsylvania German proponents of maintaining and teaching both High

⁴⁰ NE 17 (July 1878), 152; NE 17 (Aug. 1878), 168; NE 18 (July 1879), 152; NE 37 (Jan. 15, 1887), 1; NE 31 (March 16, 1891), 4; NE 15 (Feb. 24, 1875), 2; NE 16 (Jan. 12, 1877), 2.

⁴¹ NE 18 (Nov. 1878), 24; see also NE 15 (Dec. 18, 1875), 2; NE 13 (April 14, 1874), 2; NE 14 (Sept. 30, 1874), 2.

⁴² NE 31 (Sept. 1, 1890), 5.

⁴³ NE 13 (March 1873), 40; NE 13 (April 14, 1874), 2; NE 13 (July 14, 1874), 2; NE 16 (May 18, 1877), 8; NE 17 (Oct. 1877), 9; NE 17 (Aug. 1878), 24.

German and Pennsylvania German in schools.⁴⁴ But his views about the preferable language for instruction were at times contradictory and changed considerably over the course of his life. Compared with his contemporaries, Horne took some very strong stands in support of using Pennsylvania German as a language of instruction, and he occasionally even supported teaching students to read and write in High German rather than English. He made his strongest statements in support of Pennsylvania German and High German in the early 1870s, while teaching at Keystone and when the *National Educator* focused on Pennsylvania German issues. But, like most of his contemporary Pennsylvania German intellectuals, Horne also supported learning English, and late in his life he made some very strong statements in support of forcing Pennsylvania German students to abandon their native language in order to learn it.

Very early in his career, in the late 1850s and through the Civil War, Horne advocated the use of English in schools. He described English as the world's dominant language and even had kind things to say about Yankees.⁴⁵ Then, following the Civil War and into the late 1870s, he made his strongest statements in support of learning Pennsylvania German and High German, sometimes even advocating that one or the other replace English as the language of instruction in some schools.⁴⁶ In 1873 Horne made a stand for multilingual teaching in the *Pennsylvania Dutchman*. He expressed a common concern of his contemporary Pennsylvania German educators that teachers of Pennsylvania Germans be knowledgeable in their students' language. Then Horne proposed a system of multilingual education:

Pennsylvania German for Pennsylvania pupils and High German for European German pupils is perhaps best at first. The Pennsylvania German can be made introductory to the High German. As such it can be used and taught with advantage where pupils are accustomed to speak that language. Oral expressions,

⁴⁴ For example, see Waldenrath, "Abraham Reeser Horne"; Reichard, "Pennsylvania German Dialect Writings," 122; Clyde S. Stine, "Problems of Education among the Pennsylvania Germans," (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1938), 80-81; Heinz Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition* (Rowley, Mass., 1977), 151; Joshua Fishman, *Language Loyalty in the United States: The Maintenance and Perpetuation of Non-English Mother Tongues by American Ethnic and Religious Groups* (The Hague, 1966), 220.

⁴⁵ PSJ 7 (1858-59), 365-66; NE 2 (May 23, 1862), 1; NE 3 (Feb. 2, 1863), 3.

⁴⁶ During this period, Horne sometimes referred to the Pennsylvania German language and High German interchangeably, although they were quite distinct in speech, and Pennsylvania German was only beginning to be used as a literary language. Horne, moreover, had developed a distinctively non-German orthography for representing Pennsylvania German in the *Pennsylvania German Manual*.

articles written in pure Pennsylvania German in newspapers and especially Harbaugh's poems can be employed in teaching pronunciation, translation, construction and simple grammatical forms.⁴⁷

The first edition of the *Pennsylvania German Manual*, published in 1875, reflected this educational strategy. In one editorial from the *National Educator* from this same time period, Horne praised Pennsylvania Germans and noted that English is a dialect of German. He then disparaged New England "effeminacy" and even speculated that eventually German may become the dominant language of the United States.⁴⁸

In the 1870s, Horne advocated school policies that encouraged learning both English and High German. He praised school districts, such as Harrisburg and Erie, that maintained separate High German schools, and he praised counties, such as Schuylkill, that required competency in High German for promotion to higher grades. He suggested that the Williamsport school district introduce High German as a required subject. He defended the Milwaukee school district for allowing instruction in High German and argued that it is better to learn a live language than two dead ones, Latin and Greek.⁴⁹ Horne also was a member of the *Verein der deutschen Presse*, which was established to support the use of High German in Pennsylvania's schools and government documents.⁵⁰

But even in the 1870s, when Horne was strongest in his support of Pennsylvania German and High German, on some occasions he also argued that English should be the main language of instruction and every child should learn it. In an editorial written in 1873, he argued that Pennsylvania is a German state, that teachers should be bilingual, and that German professorships should be established at major universities. He, nevertheless, asserted the primacy of English: "Every child attending our school should receive sufficient knowledge of English, to be able to hold intelligent

⁴⁷ A. R. Horne, "Pennsylvania German," in the *Pennsylvania Dutchman* 1 (1873), 75; also cited in Heinz Kloss, *Das Volksgruppenrecht in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* (Essen, 1940), 279–80.

⁴⁸ NE 13 (Feb. 1873), 26.

⁴⁹ NE 7 (Jan. 1867), 11; NE 13 (Feb. 1873), 25; NE 13 (Dec. 9, 1873), 2; NE 11 (June 1871), 84; NE 13 (June and July 1873), 83.

⁵⁰ The Verein had limited success and was disbanded after the death of its founder, S. K. Brobst, in 1876, see Clyde S. Stine, "The Pennsylvania Germans and the School," in Ralph Wood, ed., *The Pennsylvania Germans*, (Princeton, 1942), 121; Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition*, 141.

conversation, and conduct correspondence in this language."⁵¹ At the Lehigh County teacher's institute in January 1879, Horne argued for bilingual education, even advocating that English students learn German. He argued that knowing different languages is simply part of a good education, saying, "As many different languages as a man can use, so many times is he a man." Horne's comments started a debate. A Reverend Wood supported an English-only policy of instruction, saying: "I would throw special languages out of the school. 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, Joseph 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. Do not attempt to perpetuate it. If I were a County Superintendent, I would call in English teachers and send the German teachers to English districts." 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. A. J. G. Dubbs defended the use of different languages: "I believe in a man who can use both hands." Later, at the same meeting, Horne replied to his critics, explaining that he really was advocating the use of Pennsylvania German as a means to learn English. Explaining his reasons for using Pennsylvania German as a language of instruction in schools, Horne said: "We do not wish even to retain it, but while we have it, we hold that it is a means to teach a child not familiar with any other, and thus facilitate the teaching of English."⁵² In an editorial written in 1879, Horne again affirmed the primacy of learning English, putting in block letters, "Let every American master the English language." Horne then concluded this editorial with the comment that in many respects the German language is a better language than English.⁵³

In the late 1870s and early 1880s Horne's editorials generally advocated using both English and Pennsylvania German in educating Pennsylvania German students, although with a clear emphasis that the primary goal of using Pennsylvania German in schools should be to facilitate the learning of English.⁵⁴ Using the "object method" of instruction, bilingual instructors

⁵¹ NE 13 (Feb. 1873), 26-28; see also NE 13 (March 1873), 42; NE 11 (Oct. 1871), 136.

⁵² NE 18 (Jan. 1879), 49-50, 53.

⁵³ NE 18 (Sept. 1879), 188.

⁵⁴ NE 18 (May 1879), 120-21; NE 18 (Aug. 1879), 169; NE 18 (Sept. 1879), 188; NE 25 (Nov. 1, 1884), 1.

should teach children the English terms for everyday objects and then build to sentences, translating back and forth between English and Pennsylvania German.⁵⁵

By the 1890s, Horne was taking stronger positions for the primacy of English. The preface to the second edition of the *Pennsylvania German Manual*, published in 1896, omitted the goal of acquiring High German, which had been included in the preface of 1875, and left only the goal of learning English for its readers. In his later writings, especially after 1890, he advocated an approach to learning English in schools by total immersion—forbidding the use of Pennsylvania German—rather than bilingual education. In one editorial written in 1894, Horne recalled that he did not speak English until the age of eight, learning the language when his father brought an English speaking child to live with them. 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."⁵⁶

In the final year of his life, an editorial appeared in the *National Educator* complaining that children are still using Pennsylvania German as their primary language. The editorial claims that there is not enough emphasis on English, which is taught in schools but not used at home. He justified his plea that children must learn English by referring to the dramatic 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."⁵⁷ English had become both the language of America and the language of progress.

Horne never directly explains his changing views on the preferable language of instruction. But it is clear that he came to view mastery of English to be essential for success in American society and decided that

⁵⁵ NE 17 (March 1878), 88; NE 18 (Jan. 1879), 56; NE 24 (Dec. 15, 1883), 4.

⁵⁶ NE 35 (Sept. 8, 1894), 4; see also NE 27 (Aug. 2, 1886), 5. As early as 1876, Horne proposed in a short editorial that schools could prohibit the use of German to ensure that students learn English, see NE 15 (April 7, 1876), 2.

⁵⁷ NE 42 (June 1902), 4.

immersion was the best strategy for learning it. His shift to advocating the primacy of English paralleled changing trends in the thinking of many Pennsylvania Germans leaders. Accounts of meetings of educators in the 1860s and 1870s show that many people were advocating bilingual education in Pennsylvania German and English, although primarily as a means of teaching Pennsylvania German children to speak English.⁵⁸ There was a growing consensus among Pennsylvania German intellectuals that their children should learn English. George Baer, who became president of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, was another strong supporter of Pennsylvania Germans, but he argued that they must be educated in English because it was the national language.⁵⁹ Even two of the strongest proponents of using the German language, D. E. Schoedler, who unsuccessfully planned to open a German language normal school, and S. K. Brobst, who was the driving force behind *Verein der deutschen Presse*, advocated teaching bilingual classes, but with the ultimate goal of teaching English to Pennsylvania German students.⁶⁰ The Pennsylvania German Society published dialect writings, but almost all its proceedings and publications were in English.

By 1900 all influential Pennsylvania German educators supported the use of English in schools to the exclusion of Pennsylvania German and High German.⁶¹ In many respects, this represented a shift in strategy from using bilingual classes as a means to learn English to advocating total immersion in English. Nathan Schaeffer, Horne's younger colleague, was the foremost Pennsylvania German educator of this period. In addition to being the principal at Keystone for sixteen years and then serving for more than twenty-five years as the state's superintendent of public instruction, he was an important member of the Pennsylvania German Society and for many years served on its board. But Schaeffer, who supported the use of Pennsylvania German earlier in his career and spoke English with an accent, became a strong advocate of teaching English in the public schools to the exclusion of home languages, including Pennsylvania German. As state

⁵⁸ PSJ 9 (1860-61), 94-96; PSJ 8 (1859-60), 297-98; PSJ 9 (1860-61), 301; PSJ 12 (1863-64), 80-84.

⁵⁹ George Baer, *The Pennsylvania Germans: An Address Delivered at Palatinate College*, Dec. 23, 1875, 22-25, pamphlet in the Berks County Historical Society, Reading, Pa.

⁶⁰ PSJ 17 (1868-69), 82; PSJ 21 (1872-73), 90-92.

⁶¹ See Stine, "Problems of Education among the Pennsylvania Germans," 77-79.

superintendent of public instruction he oversaw the implementation of laws that mandated English as the only language of instruction in Pennsylvania's public schools.⁶²

There were practical pressures on the Pennsylvania German language. Pennsylvania German was not a developed, literary language, and indeed, there was no standardized orthography. Pennsylvania German educators themselves were immersed in English and many were not comfortable speaking and writing in High German. In 1889 Horne wrote a book about Joshua Yeager, a rural pastor in Lehigh County. It was written in both English and German because the older members of Yeager's congregations, Horne claimed, could not understand English and younger ones could not read German.⁶³

Keystone State Normal School was often described as a Pennsylvania German school, and Horne asserted that its trustees used Pennsylvania German in meetings.⁶⁴ But all transactions, correspondence (including that of trustee and faculty meetings) were in English, and English was the language of instruction. While he was principal at Keystone, faculty members complained that some students were speaking "German at the table," presumably Pennsylvania German while dining. The minutes of the next faculty meeting report that Horne said "he has done his utmost to stop German talking."⁶⁵ In 1893 Keystone's catalogue dropped its section advocating the importance of learning German for its students.

Horne himself lived in a world permeated by the English language. Almost everything he published was in English. His personal notes left at the Lutheran Archives Center in Philadelphia were all written in English. English was apparently the first language of Horne's own household and children.⁶⁶ His wider society was essentially an English speaking one. The various journals he loved to read and then borrowed to include in the

⁶² For a biography of Schaeffer, see Charles Dison Koch, *Nathan Schaeffer, Educational Philosopher* (Harrisburg, 1951); for examples of Schaeffer's promotion of English only language instruction, see: *NE* 31 (Nov. 15, 1890), 4; *PSJ* 44 (1895-96), 289-90; *PSJ* 48 (1899-1900), 277; Stine, "Problems of Education among the Pennsylvania Germans," 78-79; for examples of Schaeffer's earlier support of the Pennsylvania German language, see *NE* 13 (Jan. 1873), 8; *NE* 18 (Jan. 1879), 49-50, 53.

⁶³ Abraham R. Horne, *Das Leben und Wirken von Pater Josua Jager, Evangelische-Lutherischdem Prediger* (Allentown, 1889); see, *NE* 35 (Aug. 1894), 4.

⁶⁴ *School Report* 1872, 269.

⁶⁵ Faculty Minutes, Keystone State Normal School, Feb. 17, 1877; March 1, 1877, Rohrbach Library, Kutztown University.

⁶⁶ *NE* 17 (Dec. 1877), 40.

National Educator were written in English. Horne, furthermore, was a practical educator and entrepreneur, and he viewed mastery of English as essential for a successful life in the United States. With his emphasis on natural learning methods and his own experience of learning English from a monolingual playmate, he probably came to view immersion as the most effective method of learning it.

Finally, the move to English was furthered by a desire among Pennsylvania Germans to differentiate themselves from other Germans in American society. Language had important symbolic ramifications affecting how ethnic groups were perceived. Nationally, the use of English came to be associated with patriotism and the assimilation of foreigners.⁶⁷ Most Pennsylvania German intellectuals wanted to distinguish themselves from German immigrants who arrived in the nineteenth century. In Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Milwaukee these later-arriving Germans established bilingual schools.⁶⁸ Pennsylvania's public school laws gave local directors control over choosing a language of instruction, and did not fully prohibit other languages besides English until 1911. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of school districts in the Pennsylvania German regions insisted on instruction in English.⁶⁹ In 1877 Samuel Baer, the county superintendent for public schools in Berks County, made an eloquent speech before the annual meeting of the State Teachers' Association that explained both his desire to preserve his Pennsylvania German heritage and still participate in a national society. He advocated the learning of English, although he argued that Pennsylvania German teachers who were bilingual would make the most effective instructors for Pennsylvania German students. He emphasized that Pennsylvania Germans were different from the more recently arrived Germans in other regions who had established bilingual or German language programs: "Pennsylvania Germans differ from the foreign Germans in this, that they have been thoroughly Americanized." Horne reprinted Baer's

⁶⁷ Crawford, *Bilingual Education*, 22.

⁶⁸ Carolyn R. Toth, *German-English Bilingual Schools in America: The Cincinnati Tradition in Historical Context* (New York, 1990); Steven L. Schlossman, "Is There an American Tradition of Bilingual Education? German in the Public Elementary Schools, 1840-1919," *American Journal of Education* 91 (1983) 139-86; see also Clyde S. Stine, "The Pennsylvania Germans and the School," 105-107; Stine, "Problems of Education among the Pennsylvania Germans"; Heinz Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition*.

⁶⁹ Stine, "Pennsylvania Germans and the School," 120-21; Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition*, 150.

speech in the *National Educator*.⁷⁰ In his report to the state superintendent for 1876, Baer had written about similar concerns, stating about the Pennsylvania Germans: "We are neither Germans nor English, but Americans."⁷¹

This distinction between Pennsylvania Germans whose ancestors had settled in the region during colonial times as opposed to the more recent migrations of Germans during the nineteenth century was widespread among Pennsylvania Germans. In order to exclude the descendants of more recent German migrants from membership, the original charter of the Pennsylvania German Society restricted full membership to those Pennsylvania Germans whose ancestors arrived in the migrations before 1808.⁷²

The change in Horne's position on the language issue during the last quarter of the nineteenth century also reflected a much longer-term pattern in Pennsylvania German attitudes towards their ethnic identity. In the eighteenth century, Pennsylvania Germans strongly resisted an attempt to develop a system of "Charity" schools that would teach them in English.⁷³ By the late nineteenth century, there was a growing consensus among Pennsylvania German intellectuals that children had to master English, although there was some disagreement about whether the best method would be through bilingual education or complete immersion. By the early twentieth century, most school districts in Pennsylvania German regions had no provision for bilingual education, and many Pennsylvania German educators emphasized immersion in English as the best method for learning it. By 1950 it would have been very unusual for a church Pennsylvania German to start school without fluency in English.⁷⁴

In a survey of state and national language policies in the United States,

⁷⁰ *PSJ* 26 (1877-78), 109-14; *NE* 16 (Sept. 1877), 115-16.

⁷¹ *School Report* 1876, 13.

⁷² Don Yoder, "Let's Take the Blinders Off!" *Pennsylvania Dutchman* 3 (May 1, 1952), 1, 5-6; Rosenberger, *The Pennsylvania Germans*, 85-86; for discussions of the relations between Pennsylvania Germans and other German-Americans, see Don Yoder, "The Pennsylvania Germans: Three Centuries of Identity Crisis," in Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, eds., *America and the Germans*, vol. 1, *Immigration, Language, Ethnicity* (Philadelphia, 1985), 42-65; John J. Appel, "Marion Dexter Learned and the German American Historical Society" *PMHB* 86 (1962), 287-318; Toth, *German-English Bilingual Schools in America*, 44.

⁷³ M. G. Brumbaugh in *PSJ* 47 (1898-99), 65-71; Parsons, *Pennsylvania Germans*, 126-32.

⁷⁴ Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition*, 141; Stine, "Problems of Education among the Pennsylvania Germans."

Heinz Kloss has argued that groups who have the longest history of settlement have the most control over policies affecting language, including the official use of languages other than English. Kloss also found that, in general, official government policies were tolerant, sometimes supportive, of linguistic diversity. The replacement of many different languages by English is not the outcome of national or local political policies, rather it is the result of the desire by members of different ethnic groups to learn the nation's dominant language. Whether or not this argument is really valid for all ethnic groups, it is valid for Pennsylvania Germans. They had some control over decisions about language use in schools and, ultimately, strongly supported the use of English.⁷⁵

Coming from a rural, Pennsylvania German background and living to be a school board controller in an urban school system, Horne's life and writings provide a view of the processes that shaped the modern educational system from the vantage point of a non-English speaking ethnic group. His life and work suggest that the public school system was not simply an edifice constructed by elite experts to serve the needs of corporate capitalism; men like Horne contributed to that system because they saw it as offering them and their constituencies important opportunities. Horne's life also suggests the tensions between some of the idealistic educational philosophies that motivated the public school movement in the middle of the nineteenth century and the actual development of large public school systems in the early twentieth century. Horne's educational philosophy was grounded in independence, self-reliance, and a trust that "common sense" and innate curiosity would provide access to a wide-ranging understanding of the world. His failures as an administrator suggest his own limitations in the educational system that eventually developed, which placed a greater emphasis on financial, administrative, and disciplinary control.⁷⁶ But his educational philosophy points to a child-centered pedagogy that persisted throughout the development of the public school system and which continues in many present-day debates about effective teaching.

Horne was also a central figure in the development of a sense of ethnic

⁷⁵ Kloss, *ibid.*, 183-89.

⁷⁶ See David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership, 1820-1980* (New York, 1982).

identity and an interest in the cultural heritage of his people. Pennsylvania Germans began their own literary tradition, they recorded their unique cultural practices, and they celebrated the contributions of their ancestors to the national society. Horne's *Pennsylvania German Manual* was a prime example of this movement. But this sense of ethnicity was not developed in a vacuum; it was shaped in the context of relations with other ethnic groups. Horne and other Pennsylvania German intellectuals were ambivalent about their relationship with the dominant language and culture. As Pennsylvania Germans they were neither dominant nor marginal, but somewhere in between. They were part of the dominant culture to the extent that they spoke the dominant language, albeit with an accent. They asserted their claim to being of an older stock to counter the prejudices of other early settling groups. Staking out territory for themselves in the American culture and economy, Pennsylvania German intellectuals and educators may have resented the "English" and "Yankees," but they also wanted to distinguish their longer heritage in America from that of later immigrants to the United States, including those from Germany. Moreover, they wanted to ensure full participation of Pennsylvania Germans in what they understood to be the opportunities and progress of American society. They emphasized Pennsylvania German contributions to the national society and tried to develop pride in Pennsylvania German culture.

A hundred years later, their descendants speak fluent English, encounter less prejudice, and participate more fully in American society. These Pennsylvania German educators and intellectuals also began a movement that would successfully record and celebrate their language and traditions in books, journals, museums, and festivals. For the most part, however, their descendants preserve few of these traditions in their everyday lives. With each passing generation, there are fewer speakers of the Pennsylvania German language and fewer informal contexts where it is used. It is very rare for a church Pennsylvania German born after 1950 to be fluent in the language. And, in the changing contexts of American ethnic relations and definitions, most present-day Americans, including many with Pennsylvania German ancestry, would probably consider Horne's nineteenth-century categories of "English" and "Yankee" as archaic.

A diverse, energetic, and prolific—if somewhat disorganized—educator, Horne confronted many issues that remain important in American society a hundred years after his death. There are continuing debates about the role of education in American society, and Horne's views on education remind

us that a liberal child-centered approach to education has deep roots in American society. American schools still debate the advantages and disadvantages of bilingual education for children who do not speak English, a controversy that Horne saw from both sides over the course of his career. Finally, the experiences of Horne and his Pennsylvania German contemporaries provide a nineteenth-century perspective on defining and redefining an ethnic group and identity in American society.

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