

Pennsylvania FOLKLIFE

SUMMER 1978



The Dialect Church Service

The Dialect Church Service in the Pennsylvania German Culture

By Don Yoder

1.

The linguistic history of the Pennsylvania Germans is complex. The student dealing with the culture has to be competent in three languages — High German, which was the cultural language in the earlier stages of the culture's development; English — the cultural language today; and Pennsylvania German or "Pennsylvania Dutch" dialect — the language of everyday communication in family and neighborhood¹. If we add to this High German as influenced by dialect, and English as influenced by dialect, we get a total of five rather than three "languages" which have been in use in varying combinations with each other since the culture first began to shape up in the colonial period².

The stages of linguistic development parallel the acculturation of the German and Swiss settlers of the 17th and 18th Century and the continuing acculturation, Americanization, or secularization of their descendants to the present. As is the case with all ethnic groups with a non-English language, linguistic acculturation is forwarded or slowed by the group's sense of ethnic identity in relation to the dominant culture. In other studies I have traced the development of the ethnic self-consciousness of the Pennsylvania German community³. In this paper I wish to concentrate on the linguistic developments, in particular the very recent development of dialect services in the Pennsylvania German churches.

In my earlier studies I have analyzed three trends in Pennsylvania German linguistic history: Germanizing, Americanizing (radical anglicizing), and dialectizing. The Germanizing and Americanizing trends developed in the 18th Century and continued into the 19th Century, when in the public aspects of the culture English

¹For the linguistic history of the Pennsylvania Germans, see Don Yoder, "The Pennsylvania Germans: A Preliminary Reading List," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XXI:2 (Winter 1971-1972), 5-7. For trilingualism, see J. William Frey, "Amish Triple-Talk," *American Speech*, XX:2 (1945), 85-98.

²Ralph C. Wood, "Pennsylvania High German," *Germanic Review*, XX (1945), 299-314.

³Don Yoder, "Akkulturationsprobleme deutscher Auswanderer in Nordamerika," in Günter Wiegmann, ed., *Kultureller Wandel im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1973): pp. 184-203; and Don Yoder, "Pennsylvania German Folklore Research: A Historical Analysis," in Glenn G. Gilbert, ed., *The German Language in America* (Austin, Texas, 1971), pp. 70-105, 148-163.



Dialect Sunday School Program, Huff's Church, 1974.

won out over German. The institutions involved in the struggle were church, school, and family. One by one these institutions gave up High German, leaving English and dialect surviving together in the 20th Century. The school dropped German first, in the mid-19th Century when the free public or state schools replaced the German-language parochial schools of the churches and sects⁴. The churches continued German services at a dwindling schedule (3 services German, 1 English per month in the earlier period to 3 services English and one German service per month

⁴Clyde S. Stine, "The Pennsylvania Germans and the School," in Ralph Wood, ed., *The Pennsylvania Germans* (Princeton, N.J., 1942), pp. 103-127.

in the later era)⁵. The year 1935 is the approximate cutoff date for the dropping of all German services in the Pennsylvania German rural churches, with the exception of the sects — Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites — which still continue to use a High German which has been described as “Pennsylvania High German” — somewhere midway between standard German and the dialect, although nearer to standard German⁶. In some cases after 1935 funerals and private communion were conducted in German at the request of individuals, but the public services of the Lutheran and Reformed (United) Churches, the largest church groups in the culture, were now English rather than German.

The language transition was a bitter and difficult one, with strong opinion ranged on either side. From 1806, when the first all-English Lutheran church was set up in Pennsylvania (St. John’s in Philadelphia), after a lengthy court case⁷, until the 1930’s, when the last German services were dropped in the rural congregations, countless discussions and arguments were held, and pamphleteering and journalizing carried on, over the “language question”. The arguments ran from the old folk cliché that “after all, God spoke German” (citing Genesis I in Luther’s version) to the pragmatic Americanizing stance that English was after all the national language and to continue German was a handicap to local progress.

2.

Pastor Helmuth of Philadelphia was the great “Germanizer” in the culture in the period from the Revolution of the War of 1812⁸. In his lengthy “Appeal

⁵See in particular, Heinz Kloss, “German-American Language Maintenance Efforts,” in Joshua A. Fishman, ed., *Language Loyalty in the United States: The Maintenance and Perpetuation of Non-English Mother Tongues by American Ethnic and Religious Groups* (The Hague, 1966), pp. 206-252. For a regional example, see Ira D. Landis, “The German-English Transition in Lancaster County,” *The American-German Review*, June 1945, 8-9, 27.

⁶As late as forty years ago the 1935 *Schedule for Longswamp, Ziegel’s & Hill Church*, three rural Reformed churches in Lehigh and Berks Counties, Pennsylvania, listed German services for the Hill Church on January 6, February 3, March 3, March 31, German Communion on April 28, May 26, June 23, July 21, German Harvest Home Service on August 13, September 15, German Communion on October 13, November 10, and December 8. There was one English service a month at the Hill Church at this time. The Pastor was Donald M. C. Englert, now professor of Old Testament at the Lancaster Theological Seminary.

⁷See C. F. Huch, “Die deutsche Sprache in den deutschen Kirchen,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins von Philadelphia*, Heft 20 (1911), 23-26; for the language quarrels in Philadelphia Lutheranism, see James Carson, *Trial of Frederick Eberle and Others* (Philadelphia, 1817). Eberle and associates were accused of “illegally conspiring together. . . to prevent the introduction of the English language into the service of St. Michael’s and Zion’s Churches”.

⁸Justus Heinrich Christian Helmuth (1745-1825) was a distinguished scholar, founder of the German department of the University of Pennsylvania, and front-ranking leader of American Lutheranism in the second, post-Muhlenberg generation. See the *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 515-516.

to the Germans in America,” published in 1813, he predicts the cultural loss that would come when the culture shifts from German to English:

Your English-raised children now lose all the edification which they could have in the German worship service — the beautiful German prayers — the fine catechising — the many spiritual songs and hymns, with which our forefathers comforted themselves in necessity and at death, and where the English language is much too poor that one could ever translate them correctly; all the fundamental devotional books, which they can no longer read in their mother tongue; German seriousness in worship, which — say what one will — is encountered in no English church in such biblical purity, and so equally removed from all sensual fanaticism on the one hand and on the other from the ice-cold manner of a pure rationalist, as in a well-ordered German church.

Neither the Presbyterians with their sense of order, nor the Methodists with their “fire,” nor the Episcopalians are proper church homes for the Germans. His plea is to remain German, found German schools to perpetuate German culture here. Like other onesided Germanizers he indulged in romantic prophecy:

What would Philadelphia become in 40 years, if the Germans there remain German, if they keep their language and customs? It would not even take 40 years for Philadelphia to become a German city, as much as York and Lancaster are German counties . . . And what would in this case become of all Pennsylvania and the upper part of Maryland in 40 or 50 years! An entirely German state, where the beautiful German language would commonly be spoken, as years ago in Germantown, even in the high state councils and in the courts⁹.

Ernst Ludwig Brauns, who had served Lutheran churches in Pennsylvania before 1820, returned to Germany and kept up a barrage of highly critical treatments of American-German culture from the Germanizing standpoint. The “anglicized Germans” or “Irish-Germans,” as he calls them, form a large and vocal party in the German churches, particularly in the cities. Their purpose is to “remove German from the churches and substitute English in them, since their ‘ladies’ and their children, who speak only English, don’t understand German anymore.” For this the parents were to blame, and he laments that American-Germans could not keep up German services as do those much older German congregations in Russia, Denmark, England, Turkey and elsewhere that Germans have settled. He is against the introduction of English

⁹“Zuruf an die Deutschen in Amerika,” *Evangelisches Magazin*, II (1813), 43-47, 65-71, 174-177, 193-197. For an analysis of Helmuth as Germanizer, see Heinz Kloss, *Um die Einigung des Deutschamerikanertums: Die Geschichte einer unvollendeten Volksgruppe* (Berlin, 1937), Ch. 5: “Die Helmuth-Bewegung”.

1935 Schedule

FOR

Longswamp, Ziegel's & Hill Church

All times are Standard Time, unless otherwise marked. (D. S. T.) Daylight Saving Time.

All services are in English, unless otherwise marked. (G) services in German.

- Jan. 6—Hill (G) 9.30 A. M.
- Jan. 13—Ziegel's, 10 A. M. Longswamp 2 P. M.
- Jan. 20—Hill, 9.30 A. M.
- Jan. 27—Longswamp, 10 A. M. Ziegel's, 2 P. M.
- Feb. 3—Hill, (G), 9.30 A. M.
- Feb. 10—Ziegel's, 10 A. M. Longswamp, 2 P. M.
- Feb. 17—Hill, 9.30 A. M.
- Feb. 24—Longswamp, 10 A. M. Ziegel's, 2 P. M.
- Mar. 3—Hill, (G), 9.30 A. M.
- Mar. 10—Ziegel's, 10 A. M. Longswamp, 2 P. M.
- Mar. 17—Hill, 9.30 A. M.
- Mar. 24—Longswamp, 10 A. M. Ziegel's, 2 P. M.
- Mar. 31—Hill (G) 9.30 A. M.
- Apr. 7—Ziegel's, 10 A. M. Longswamp, 2 P. M.
- Apr. 14—Hill, 9.30 A. M.
- Apr. 21—(Easter) Longswamp, Communion, 9.30 A. M. Ziegel's, 2 P. M.
- Apr. 28—Hill, German Communion, 9.30 A. M.
- May 5—Ziegel's, Communion, 9.30 A. M. Longswamp, 2 P. M. (D. S. T.)
- May 12—Hill, English Communion, 9.30 A. M.
- May 19—Longswamp, 9.30 A. M. (D. S. T.) Ziegel's, 10 A. M.
- May 26—Hill, (G), 9.30 A. M.
- June 2—Longswamp, 9.30 A. M., (D. S. T.) Ziegel's, 10 A. M.
- June 9—Hill, 9.30 A. M.
- June 16—Longswamp, 9.30 A. M. (D. S. T.), Ziegel's, 10 A. M.
- June 23—Hill, (G), 9.30 A. M.
- June 30—Longswamp, 9.30 A. M. (D. S. T.) Ziegel's, 10 A. M.
- July 7—Hill, 9.30 A. M.
- July 14—Longswamp, 9.30 A. M. (D. S. T.) Ziegel's, 10 A. M.
- July 21—Hill, (G), 9.30 A. M.
- July 28—Longswamp, 9.30 A. M. (D. S. T.) Ziegel's, 10 A. M.
- Aug. 4—Hill, 9.30 A. M.
- Aug. 11—Longswamp, 9.30 A. M. (D. S. T.) Ziegel's, 10 A. M.
- Aug. 13—Hill, Harvest Home, German, at 9.30 A. M. English at 7.30 P. M.
- Aug. 25—Longswamp, 9.30 A. M. (D. S. T.) Ziegel's, Harvest Home, 10 A. M.
- Sept. 1—Hill, 9.30 A. M.
- Sept. 8—Longswamp, Harvest Home, 9.30 A. M. (D. S. T.) Ziegel's, 10 A. M.
- Sept. 15—Hill, (G), 9.30 A. M.
- Sept. 22—Ziegel's, Communion, 9.30 A. M. Longswamp, 2 P. M. (D. S. T.)
- Sept. 29—Hill, 9.30 A. M.
- Oct. 6—Longswamp, Communion, 9.30 A. M. Ziegel's, 2 P. M.
- Oct. 13—Hill, German, Communion, 9.30 A. M.
- Oct. 20—Ziegel's, 10 A. M. Longswamp, 2 P. M.
- Oct. 27—Hill, English Communion, 9.30 A. M.
- Nov. 3—Longswamp, 10 A. M. Ziegel's, 2 P. M.
- Nov. 10—Hill, (G), 9.30 A. M.
- Nov. 17—Ziegel's, 10 A. M. Longswamp, 2 P. M.
- Nov. 24—Hill, 9.30 A. M.
- Dec. 1—Longswamp, 10 A. M. Ziegel's, 2 P. M.
- Dec. 8—Hill, (G), 9.30 A. M.
- Dec. 15—Ziegel's, 10 A. M. Longswamp, 2 P. M.
- Dec. 22—Hill, 9.30 A. M.
- Dec. 29—Longswamp, 10 A. M. Ziegel's, 2 P. M.

At Longswamp Church, Preparatory Services will be held Friday evening, 7.30, before Communion.

At Ziegel's Church, Preparatory Services will be held Saturday evening, 7.30, before Communion.

At Hill Church, Preparatory Service will be announced in due time.

All members and friends are cordially invited to these services.

DONALD M. C. ENGLERT,

Mertztown, B. 1.

Telephone 572

Preaching schedule for Longswamp Reformed Parish, Donald M. C. Englert, pastor, 1935.

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Church Notices

Rev. R. B. Lynch, Luth. Pastor.
English services at Kutztown at 10 a. m.
English services at Kutztown at 7.30 p. m.
Sunday school at Kutztown at 8.30 a. m.

Rev. Geo. B. Smith, Ref. Pastor.
German services at Maxatawny at 10 a. m.
English services at Bowers at 2 p. m.
English services at Kutztown at 10 a. m.
English services at Kutztown at 7.30 p. m.
Sunday school at Kutztown at 8.45 a. m.
The services at Maxatawny will be conducted by Rev. Harvey Miller, of Topton, and those at Kutztown by Rev. James Dengler, of Philadelphia.

Rev. E. H. Leinbach, Ref. Pastor.
German services at St. Peter's Church at 10 a. m.
English services at Fleetwood at 7.30 p. m.

Rev. J. W. Blittner, Luth. Pastor.
Sunday school at Kutztown at 8.45 a. m.
German services at Kutztown at 10 a. m.
No services in the evening.

Rev. S. N. Dissinger, Evan. Pastor
Sunday school at Kutztown at 9 a. m.
German preaching at 10 a. m.
Y. P. S. of C. E. at 6.30 p. m.
Preaching at 7.30 p. m.
German preaching at Virginsville at 2 p. m.
Prayer meeting Wednesday 7.30 p. m.

Rev. J. O. Schlenker, Luth. Pastor.
German services in the New Jerusa-lem (Dunkel's) Church at 10 a. m.
English services in Bethel Zion's Church at Grimsville at 2 p. m.
Sunday school at both places one hour before the services.

Rev. Wm. F. Bond, Luth. Pastor.
Class lectures at Huff's Church to-day (Saturday) at 9.30 a. m.
Class lectures at Longswamp to-day (Saturday) at 2.15 p. m.
Sunday school at Bowers at 8.30 a. m.
German services at Bowers at 9.30 a. m.
Sunday school at New Jerusalem at 1 p. m.
English services at New Jerusalem at 2 p. m.

Rev. Wm. H. Kline, Lutheran Pastor.
Catechetical lectures at Fleetwood to-day (Saturday) at 2 p. m.
Sunday school at Topton at 2.15 p. m.
German services at Fleetwood at 10 a. m.
Sunday school at Fleetwood at 9.30 a. m.
English services at Topton at 7.30 p. m.

Rev. A. L. Brumbach, Ref. Pastor.
German services in the New Jerusa-lem (Red) Church at 10 a. m.
German services at Weasnersville at 2 p. m.

Rev. R. S. Appel, Ref. Pastor.
German services at Shartlesville at 10 a. m.

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Newspaper notice of German services in Kutztown area, 1915.

services into German churches, since English alternating with German eventually drives the German out¹⁰.

These are typical samples of the Germanizing stance which continued in Pennsylvania throughout the 19th Century. The Americanizing movement is in a sense more complex, for it attacked both the High German language and the Pennsylvania German dialect. I have recently republished what was perhaps the most violent antidialect blast that ever appeared in print in Pennsylvania, an anonymous newspaper editorial in the *Lebanon Courier* in 1858:

As the inevitable product of this continued backward motion, we now have the degenerated, mutilated, confounded, hybrid creation which is made to answer the linguistic wants of the German districts of Pennsylvania . . . Indeed, we boldly assert that the Pennsylvania Dutch is an anachronism, a rotten relic of national ties, severed many years ago and consequently superseded by those of the adopted country; a decrepit reminiscence of a semi-civilized epoch, unworthy of our age, which ought to be wiped off from existence¹¹.

¹⁰See in particular, "Die Englisierung der Deutschen in Amerika," Ch. XXVI in Ernst Ludwig. Brauns, *Practische Belehrungen und Rathschläge für Reisende und Auswanderer nach Amerika* (Braunschweig, 1829), pp. 351-369. He calls the Anglified Germans "Eirischdeutsche".

¹¹This anonymous article appeared in the *Lebanon Courier*, January 29, 1858, and February 26, 1858. It was republished, with an introduction by Alfred L. Shoemaker, in *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, III:15 (January 1, 1952), 2-3. For a lengthy excerpt see Don Yoder, "Pennsylvania German Folklore Research," pp. 155-156.

Pennsylvanisch
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Dienst
Die Gricht Karrick
Leck Kill, Pa.
Sundag Chets Am Halver Ocht
September 26, 1971

Program, Leck Kill U. C. Church, 1971.

In an address at one of Pennsylvania's colleges in 1875, George F. Baer went on record as opposing the use of the dialect for church services:

As far as Pennsylvania German is concerned, it is simply a dialect, the patois of the Pfalz, with the addition of English words. It is a mistake to imagine that it can be brought to the level of a language which one can teach and use in literature for the exchange of thought. It can never become a literary language and it has always been used only in spoken form. Not for a moment would the Pennsylvania Germans permit its use in the pulpit. Just think what would happen if Luther's Bible translation or the majestic old chorales and hymns were transformed into Pennsylvania German! And that in this day and age! It is impossible to create a literature in the Pennsylvania German language¹².

3.

The 20th Century began with predictions of the rapid disappearance of the dialect, now that High German was obviously being displaced by English. The public schools stepped up their campaign to displace the dialect with English. Older teachers who grew up "Dutch" and had become school adminis-

¹²George F. Baer, *The Pennsylvania Germans. An Address Delivered at the Dedication of Palatinate College, Myerstown, Pa., December 23, 1875* (n.p., n.d.); the address also appeared in the *Mercersburg Review*, XXIII (1876), 248-267. For Baer's career, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 489-490.



Pennsylvania Dutch Worship Service

Main Stage 2:00 p.m.

July 4, 1976

Bicentennial Service, Kutztown Folk Festival, 1976.

trators did their bit to aid the decline of the dialect. Dialect was forbidden in school and even on the school grounds — which has happened in other contexts with Spanish and Navaho and other American languages. (I have begun to record these attitudes from retired teachers who lived through this anti-dialect period¹³.)

In the 1930's what has been called a "dialect renaissance" began in Pennsylvania, with the foundation of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society (1935) and the development of a whole series of dialect institutions involving "dialect events" sponsored by local groups¹⁴. Chief among these new "events" was the so-called *Versammlung*, an all-dialect evening gathering held once a year in a dialect-speaking community¹⁵. A variant was the *Grundsau Lodch* or "Groundhog Lodge" founded at the same time to provide a dialect evening with a hearty meal and plenty of Dutch humor in the late winter, around "Groundhog Day" or Candlemas (February 2). At the same time other dialect "events" arose — dialect spelling bees and liars' contests. There was at this time also a growth of dialect theater and dialect radio programs¹⁶.

None of this, of course, was organically connected with religion, except that the *Versammlinge* were sometimes held in churches and ministers sometimes delivered the main address or *Versammlung Raed*¹⁷. The latest development in this chain of dialect organizations has been the development within Pennsylvania German religion of dialect church and Sunday School services. The development of all-dialect services appears to have come in the 1940's. (I am not prepared at this time to review the entire history and spread of the movement. I am, however, researching its history, gathering recordings made at past services, collecting the dialect programs, and by letter and interview attempting to reconstruct the motivation of the movement from the ministers and laymen who appear to be responsible for the phenomenon.)

There appear to be three types of dialect service in connection with the Pennsylvania German churches:

1. The first is the full liturgical service held in the Lutheran or Reformed (United) Church, often in the "union churches" over the countryside where both denominations have shared a church building from the

¹³See my Folk-cultural Questionnaires No. 19: "Pennsylvania German and High German," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XX:3 (Spring 1971), and No. 20: "The Country School," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XX:4 (Summer 1971).

¹⁴For the Pennsylvania German awakening of the 1930's, see Homer T. Rosenberger, *The Pennsylvania Germans, 1891-1965* (Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, 1966), Ch. VII, pp. 194-229; and Don Yoder, "Pennsylvania German Folklore Research," pp. 81-83.

¹⁵A. F. Kemp, "The Pennsylvania German *Versammlinge*," *Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, IX (1944), 187-218.

¹⁶Albert F. Buffington, ed., *The Reichard Collection of Early Pennsylvania German Dialogues and Plays* (Lancaster, 1962).

¹⁷Russell W. Gilbert, "The Oratory of the Pennsylvania Germans at the *Versammlinge*," *Susquehanna University Studies*, IV (1951), 187-213; and "Pennsylvania German *Versammlung* Speeches," *Pennsylvania Speech Annual*, XIII (1956), 3-20.



**PENNSYLAWNICH DEITSCH
GOTTES DIENST**

**ST. PAULUS EFANGALISCHE
LUDRISCH KEIRICH**

Telford, Pa.

der 30 September, 1973, 2:30 pm.



Dialect Service at Telford Lutheran Church, 1973.

pioneer period. These "union churches" are in a very real sense folk institutions expressing the Pennsylvania German ethos.¹⁸

If one maps the area where dialect services have been and are being held in Lutheran and Reformed (United) churches, one finds that the dialect service territory extends from Northampton County on the Northeast to York County on the Southwest, including Lehigh, Montgomery, Berks, Lancaster, Lebanon, Schuylkill, Dauphin, and Northumberland Counties. Among the individual churches involved (this is only a selective list) are Emmanuel (Stone) Church at Petersville / Northampton County, Forks Union Church of Stockertown / Northampton County, St. John's U.C.C. Howertown / Northampton County, St. Paul's Union Church, Trexlertown / Lehigh County, New Bethel (Rosenthal) Church, Kempton / Berks County,

¹⁸The "union churches" (*gemeinschaftliche Kirchen*) of Eastern Pennsylvania and other areas settled by Pennsylvania Germans, were usually joint arrangements by the Lutherans and Reformed, who owned the building in common, and alternated services. They were analogous to the *Simultankirchen* of the Palatinate. For bibliography on the Union Church, see Don Yoder, "Lutheran-Reformed Union Proposals, 1800-1850: An American Experiment in Ecumenics," *Bulletin Theological Seminary of the Evangelical and Reformed Church in the United States*, XVII:1 (January 1946), 39-77.



**Pennsylvanisch Deutsch
Gottes Dienscht**

BINDNAGEL LUTTRISCH KARRICH
PALMYRA, R. D. 1, PA.
DER SECHS UN ZWANSICHTIGT JUNI, 1977
AN UHRE DREI NUMERDAG

Der Breddicher Rev. Warren C. Heinly
Der Helfer Pastor Guy R. Grube
Der Gemez Vörsinger Israel B. Earley
Die Gemez Piano Spielern Martha Clouser
Die Chor Piano Spielern Naomi Hand
Die Aerigel Spielern Myra Earley
Der Chor Tri-Valley Senior Citizens Choir

DIE ORDNUMG

AERIGEL VORSPIEL — Am I a soldier of the Cross
Isaac Watts
*AAFANGS LIED — (Page 10 - No. 8)
O Hett'ich yuscht en Dausend Zung
*AAFANGS WADDE (Opening Versucles - Page 1)
BEKANNT MACHE Introduction
CHOR SINGES Gottes Liewe — Dot is wo die Engeline
DER PSALME (23rd Psalm - Page 3)
SCHRIFT GELES Matthai 7:21-29
ZWETT LIED — (Page 6 - No. 2)
Gott hot die welt recht gut gemachte
DIE BREDDICH "Schwätze net Schwätze"
ES FREIGEWICHT OPPERGELD Offering
Aerigel Spiel — But the Lord's Mindful of His Own
Mendelssohn
CHOR SINGES Vest niver ins Galoalta Lond
Ich vair so garen — Wilkum Heim
*ES GEBET Mrs. Jennie Carl, age 87, oldest member of
Tri-Valley Senior Citizens Singers
*EM HERR SEI GEBET (Lord's Prayer - Page 1)
*DER SEGEN Benediction
*CHOR SINGES SCHLUSS LIED Gott sei bei Eich
AERIGEL NOCHSPIEL Postlude - H. P. Hopkins
*Die Leit Selle Schtee

REV. DR. WARREN C. HEINLY

Born Dec., 1903 in Berks County, Albany Township. Graduated — Muhlenberg College in 1928 and Mt. Airy Seminary in 1931. His first parish was Howertown, Stone Parish, Northampton, Pa. from 1931 to 1936. Rev. Heinly served the following Parishes — St. Peter's Lutheran Church, Allentown, Pa.; Grace Lutheran Church, Lancaster, Pa. Presently he is the 30th Pastor to Minister to the needs of the Bindnagle Congregation. He came to Bindnagle in Oct. 1969 and has been the guiding spiritual light from that date to the present.

CHURCH HISTORIAN ISRAEL B. EARLEY

Born July, 1904, Palmyra, Pa. Was educated in Palmyra. He was Sunday School Superintendent from 1930 to 1956, Treasurer from 1946 to the present time. Directed the Bindnagle Church Choir for 20 years.

PASTOR GUY R. GRUBE

Born May, 1939, New Ringgold, Schuylkill County. He was called to Trinity Lutheran Church, Valley View, Pa. July, 1973. He has studied at Bangor Theological Seminary, Maine and at the Theological Seminary in Philadelphia. While studying at Bangor Seminary he served the First Congregational Church, United Church of Christ, Milford, Maine, for 3 years.

TRI-VALLEY SENIOR CITIZENS PENNA. DUTCH CHORUS

Originates from the extreme western end of Schuylkill County, Valley View, Pa., Route 11, midway between Pottsville and Millersburg. This group was organized in the autumn of 1974. It runs the gamut from spirituals and hymns to folk songs and skits. With these tools they try to fan the tiny spark of Pennsylvania German dialect that is still smoldering in our midst. This is the only known singing group in the area dedicated to "Halta in grosse ehr hock, die liebe, die vesti mutterschproch". Robert Schroppe, Public Relations, was instrumental in helping to organize the group and keep this dying heritage alive in the area. Naomi Hand was asked to serve as arranger and pianist because of the wealth of knowledge of the spirituals acquired from her grandmother, Valeria Gable, Hegons, Pa.

Service at Bindnagle's Lutheran Church, 1977.

Christ Lutheran Church, Dryville / Berks County, St. Paul's Church, Fleetwood / Berks County, Reed's Church, Tulpehocken / Berks County, U.C.C. Church, Lenhartsville / Berks County, Friedens Lutheran Church Hegins / Schuylkill County, Christ Church, Leck Kill / Northumberland County, St. Paul's (Artz's) Church, Sacramento / Dauphin County, Swamp Church, Reinholds / Lancaster County, St. Jacob's U.C.C. Church, Brodbeck's / York County; and Mt. Carmel Lutheran Church, York County.

In most cases these services are sponsored by the churches themselves, or by lay groups within them. In other cases they are sponsored by organizations such as the dialect group which calls itself the "Fereinicht Pennsylvanish Deutsch Fulk, Inc." which sponsors dialect services at various churches in Eastern Pennsylvania every Spring and Fall¹⁹. There are now so large a number of churches holding dialect services, if only once a year per church, that one can, by traveling about, attend a dozen or more dialect services from Spring to Fall.

Among the Lutheran and Reformed (United Church) ministers and lay speakers who star (or starred) at the dialect services are Clarence Rahn of Berks County, who was also a star performer at the *Versammlinge* and *Grundsov Lodches*; Ralph E. Starr of Berks County; Paul D. Yoder of York County; Franklin F. Glassmoyer; Richard Druckenbrod; Donald Geschwindt;

¹⁹The "Fereinicht Pennsylvanish Deutsch Fulk Inc." is made up principally of dialect-speaking residents of Lehigh, Northampton, and Berks Counties, Pennsylvania. They also sponsor a country school museum and publish a journal called *Da Ausauga*, now in its fifteenth volume.

Sterling Schnell; J. William Wartluft; Merrill Q. Ressler; Harlan Breininger; Sherwood Haas; Frank W. Ruth; Clarence G. Reitnauer; Roy W. Meck; and Larry Neff. In addition some German-speaking ministers from the "sects" have been pressed into preaching duty in the "churches" — a favorite among these was Peter Gress, Bishop of the United Zion's Children in Lancaster County.

2. The second type of dialect service is the evangelistic type service, held by the evangelistic sects — the United Brethren and Evangelicals, now United Methodist, and others — church organizations which were the product of acculturation between German pietism in Pennsylvania and Anglo-American Methodism, with the preponderant formative influence from the latter²⁰. Since these denominations were anti-liturgical, the German which they used in preaching in the 19th Century was said to be closer to dialect than the German used by the college and seminary-educated Lutheran and Reformed clergy. Some of them, "Mose" Dissinger for one example, developed into genuine *Volksprediger*²¹.

Besides, the evangelistic churches developed a strong native hymnodic tradition which was partially in the

²⁰For the influence of Anglo-American revivalism on the Pennsylvania German churches and sects, see Paul H. Eller, "Revivalism and the German Churches of Pennsylvania, 1783-1816," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1933; also Don Yoder, *Pennsylvania Spirituals* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1961).

²¹See Thomas R. Brendle, "Moses Dissinger," in Milton Rubincam and Thomas R. Brendle, *William Rittenhouse and Moses Dissinger, Two Eminent Pennsylvania Germans* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania, 1959).

dialect. This involved the so-called "Dutch Choruses" which I have analyzed in my book *Pennsylvania Spirituals* (1961)²². These were an American hybrid product of German language and the Anglo-American camp-meeting songs which fused when the camp-meeting or "bush-meeting," as Pennsylvanians called it, reached Pennsylvania soon after 1800. A body of several hundred "choruses" (white spirituals) were developed, many of which are still known and loved especially by older singers who grew up before 1900 when the camp-meeting and revival song tradition was still German (or bilingual) in language.

In my recording of this living folksong tradition — actually it is the only still functional folk-song tradition among the Pennsylvania Germans apart from the "slow tunes" (*langsame Weisen*) of the Old Order Amish and the Old Order Mennonites²³ — in a dozen counties of Eastern and Central Pennsylvania in 1946—1952 and 1959—1961 I found that my best informants were those born in the 1870's and 1880's. They knew the fuller versions of the chorus-verse patterns, they knew the older modal tunes associated with the earliest stratum of the camp-meeting music²⁴, they knew the long chains of verses which are associated with each chorus. My younger informants often were strong on the choruses and weak on the verses, producing a truncated version of the songs. Because of the love of the people of these evangelistic denominations for their own "choruses," they are strongly featured in the dialect services of these churches. Sometimes they are advertised as "English and German Hymn Sings" or "Song Services".

One of my dear friends and informants from the E.U.B. church, the Reverend Harry M. Tobias, is one of the leaders in this movement in his own group of churches²⁵. In a letter to me dated April 27, 1967, he listed "a few" of the coming dialect events of that year in which he was to participate:

- a) April 16th Pennsylvania German service in Fontana EUB at 7:30, sing and preach.

²²See also Albert F. Buffington, "Dutchified German" *Spirituals*, Lancaster, 1965.

²³For transcriptions of the Amish "slow tunes," see Joseph W. Yoder, *Amische Lieder* (Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, 1942). For the most recent list of works on Amish hymnody, see Don Yoder, "What to Read on the Amish," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XVIII:4 (Summer 1969), 14-19.

²⁴George Pullen Jackson, the leading researcher in the "white spiritual" field, traced many camp-meeting tunes to what he called the "Celtic strain" of American folk music, the dances and folksong tunes from the British Isles, many of them in the more unusual modes, which were part of the American folk repertoire in the 18th Century. See his *White Spirituals of the Southern Uplands* (Hatboro, Pennsylvania, 1964), second edition.

²⁵For Harry M. Tobias, his career as minister and songleader, and some songs as sung by him, see *Pennsylvania Spirituals*, pp. 169-172, 224, 293; songs nos. 20, 28, 33, 81.

- b) May 14th EUB Bicentennial at Long's Barn near Neffsville. This will be a large service, possibly 10,000 people. I have 10 min. for Pennsylvania German singing.
- c) May 21st a Pennsylvania German program in Ruhls EUB as part of our centennial. Sunday School at 2 P.M. (Pennsylvania German), Rev. John Burkholder, teacher. German service at 3 P.M., Rev. Monroe Dourts the German preacher. Rev. Miller will be the song leader and I'll be the Liturgist.
- d) July 10th at 7:30 P.M. Pennsylvania German service at Bowman's Park [Camp Meeting] near Leighton.
- e) July 30th at 10:30 A.M. preach for the Schaefferstown 2-day celebration. The 3 churches of Schaefferstown will combine for this event and will be held on the Schaeffer farm, and in the barn in the event of rain.
- f) August 27th Cocalico Church of the Brethren, English and German Hymn Sing.

The events listed by my informant appear to be very close to the grass-roots level of Pennsylvania German culture and reveal a growing interrelationship on this level between the evangelistic churches and the "plain sects" (Mennonite, Brethren). In a sense this rings true to the "folk" character of the evangelistic movement which has been commented on in detail both by Heinz Kloss (1937)²⁶ and myself (1961)²⁷.

3. The third type of dialect service is the all-dialect Sunday School. The Sunday School is a lay-controlled institution wherever it is encountered in American Protestantism, and it is natural that it should come to express the linguistic preferences of the parishioners in the Pennsylvania German churches. One of the pioneer spots to begin this movement was the Huff's Church (*Die Huffa Kaerrich*) at Hereford in Berks County, Pennsylvania, a Union Lutheran and Reformed (United) Church. Here the Sunday School superintendent, Clarence G. Reitnauer, is responsible for its development. The Huff's Church "Pennsylvanish Deitch Sunedag Shul," as it is called in the bulletin, is held in May each year. The services are held in the afternoon — *am halwer drei* — in the large second-story sanctuary of the country church which seats at least 900 people. I attended the first of these in 1969 and the church was full.

4.

How can one analyze this development, so recent, so tentative, and yet so important to the people within whose culture the phenomenon has developed?

²⁶Kloss, *Um die Einingung des Deutschamerikanertums*.

²⁷*Pennsylvania Spirituals*, Ch. III, "Bush-Meeting Religion: A Sociological Analysis," particularly pp. 114-116.

Trinity (Great Swamp)
United Church Of Christ

Spinnerstown and County Line Roads
SPINNERSTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA

REV. WILLIS K. HECKLER, B.D., Pastor



Founded 1734

To all who are visiting with us today, we extend, in the name of Christ, a hearty welcome. May you find here an experience of true Christian worship and fellowship. If you are seeking a church home, we invite you to unite with us.

Cover of dialect program, Great Swamp United Church, 1975.

It appears at this stage of my research that there are three principal approaches one might take, the liturgical-church historical, the linguistic, and the sociological approach involving acculturation and ethnic identity theory.

1. From the liturgical standpoint the dialect services represent in the case of the Lutheran-Reformed groups a reversal of opinion on dialect use in church services from the widespread attitude in the 19th Century that the dialect was too "common" for liturgical use. (Statements by George F. Baer²⁸ and S. K. Brobst²⁹ can be recalled here.) The dialect was all

²⁸Baer, *The Pennsylvania Germans*, p. 24, cited supra.

²⁹In 1850 Samuel Kistler Brobst made the statement, "Zu unserm Leidwesen haben wir schon zu verschiedenen Malen vernommen, dass Lehrer, die doch gut deutsch reden können, pennsylvanisch-baurisch-deutsch reden, wenn sie Kinder unterrichten. Ja, wir hörten schon von Predigern, die z.B. bei Sonntagsschul-Festen sich einer ganz gemeinen Bauern-Sprache auf der Kanzel bedienen" ("Schlechtes Deutsch beim Unterricht," from the *Jugendfreund*, quoted in the United Brethren church paper, *Geschäftige Martha*, November 26, 1850. Sunday Schools were institutions which were usually low-church and controlled by the laity. They entered the Lutheran and Reformed churches through the influence of Anglo-American revivalism.

right for the "sects" who didn't know any better, who boasted of their lack of academic training for the ministry, but not for the "churchly" groups. For the latter it was a case of either standard German or English. Today, when the High German has disappeared from the scene, and English liturgy has conquered, the Lutheran-Reformed group can press for recognition of dialect liturgy and hymnody at least for an annual commemorative service. While the services can now profit by using a full and good dialect translation of the four gospels done by a local German professor named Ralph C. Wood (he began with the gospel of Matthew which he published in Germany in 1955 and in 1968 published the four gospels)³⁰, the hymns sung at many of these dialect services represent a lower level of literary achievement. In fact one might say that they represent a popular-culture influence on the liturgical churches, since the majority of them are simply translations into dialect of common Anglo-American "gospel songs"³¹. In a sense, then, we can interpret the dialect services, judging them liturgically and church-historically as a partial reshaping of the "churchly" tradition by the popular-culture approach of the evangelistic groups.

A more formal collection of worship materials for dialect services was prepared in 1974 by Pastor Frederick S. Weiser and published in *Der Reggeboge: Quarterly of the Pennsylvania German Society*, VIII:2 (June 1974). It includes the Lord's Prayer translated by Russell W. Gilbert, Opening Versicles translated by Pastor Larry M. Neff and Russell W. Gilbert; the 23rd, 27th, 84th, 90th, and 121st Psalms (Gilbert); and these original hymns: "Gott, nimm mich an der Hand," "Gott hot die Welt recht gut gemacht," and "Gott iss mei Freund im ganse Yaahr," by Gilbert. Translations of hymnic materials include several by Pastor Neff: "Holy, Holy, Holy," "O for a thousand tongues to sing," "O God our help in ages past," and "O worship the King"; two by the late Arthur D. Graeff: "How great thou art" and "Jesus, I live to thee"; and the rest by Gilbert: "Rise up, O men of

³⁰Ralph C. Wood, *Es Evangelium vum Mattheus: Aus der griechische Schprooch ins Pennsilvendeitsch iwwersetzt* (Stuttgart, 1955); "The Four Gospels Translated into the Pennsylvania German dialect," *Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society*, I (1968), 7-184.

³¹"Gospel songs" or "gospel hymns" were popular-culture religious songs based on Bible themes. They were created for urban revival meetings of the post-Civil War era, as for example the Moody and Sankey revivals of the 1870's. They were poems, with chorus, set to popular music which one commentator referred to as "music hall tunes". They are very different in spirit from the *Kernlieder* of the Lutheran and Reformed traditions. For the gospel song in Pennsylvania, see *Pennsylvania Spirituals*, pp. 5, 423-429. Among the most active translators of English gospel songs into Pennsylvania German versions are Ralph Starr, William LaRose, Larry Neff, Florence Bayer, and Hattie Brunner.

<p>DIE GRÜNDUNG FA ES KAERICHE TINSHT AN DER ALT SCHWUMMER KARRICH</p> <p>DA PARRA FON DIE G'MAY PARRA DONALD GESCHWINDT DA BREDDICHER DA DISHOP PETER GRESS DIE ORIGEL SCHPIELER DIE NISSUS BETTY GESCHWINDT DA INSCHLICHT AM-SCHTECKER DA KARL GESCHWINDT</p> <p>DES ORDNUMG MRS. BETTY GESCHWINDT</p> <p>DER FORSCHPIEL *ES AIRSICHT LIED-"Kum Du Almechtler Gott" *DIE ANRUUFUNG ES AIRSICHT CHOIR LIED - "Selicha Ruhheit" - Brunner DIE HEILICHA SCHRIFT - Johannis 14:1-6 ES GEBAYDT ES ISWETT CHOIR LIED - "Gott, Nimm Mich An Der Hand" Gilbert ES TSWEIT LIED - "Tzeek Mich Nacher" SAACHE BEKANNT WACHE DIE FREIGEBICH UFFER ORIGEL MUSIK</p> <p>*GEBAYDT ES BREDDICH LIED - "Yasus, Ich Leb Zu Dir" DIE BREDDICH - "Sea Des Gottes Lomm" Beim Bishop Peter Gress</p> <p>EN GEBAYDT UND AM YASUS SEI GEBAYDT *ES LETSICHT LIED - "Wohn In Meere" *DER SEGEN UND DREIFACH AMEN *DER NACHSCHPIELE *Mir Bitten, Luss Uns Aufstehen</p>	<p>AM YASUS SEI GEBAYDT UNSER FATER, UER DU BISICHT IM HIMMEL, GEHEILIGT WERDE DEINA NAMA, DEIN REICH KOM'E. DEI WILLIE GESCHEH AUF ERDEN, WIE IM HIMMEL. UNSER TAGLICH BROT GIB UNS HEUTE, UND VERGIB UNS UNSERE SCHULDEN, WIE AUCH MIR VERGEBEN UNSEREN SCHULDIGEN. UND FÜHRE UNS NICHT IN FETSUCHUNG, SONDERN ERLOSE UNS FOM BASOM. DENN DEIN IST DAS REICH, UND DIE KRAFT, UND HERRLICH- KEIT IN EWIGKEIT. AMEN. *****</p> <p>MIR WELLA FELLA DUNK SAMGA ZU DIE HATTIE BRUNNET FA DES AIRSICHT CHOIR LIED, DIE SCHRIFT UND ES LETSICHT LIED IWV'SETZA.</p> <p>DA BISHOP PETER GRESS IS KENN FREMDE ZU UNS LIET. AM WAR GEBORRA UND UFFGABRUICHT IN UNSER NOCHBARSCHAFT. MIR SIN ALL FROH OS ER KOMMA HUT KENNA.</p> <p>MIR SIN OR'IG FROH EICH ALL WIDDER BU SEHNA. KUMMA NOCH EFTER AN DIE ALT SCHWUMMER KARRICH. IHR SEID GEWISS OLFARTD WILKOMM. ALSO, IHR SEID ALL EIGALAWDA FA IN UNSER SOCIAL HALL ZU GAE NOCH DIE BREDDICH FA KOFFEE UN KOOCHA UND MIT NUNNER ZU SCHWEITZA.</p> <p>EIN GROSSER DANK ZU ALL DIE OSS G'HOLFA HEN DES FIERT DEUTSCHE REICH BEI NUNNER ZU HOLTA. LUSS UNS NET UNSER NUDDER SPROUCH FERGESSEA.</p> <p>DIE OLLDORR BLUWAE SIN GEVVA BEI DA JIM UN LILLIE EMES IN DAS GEDANKNIS IHRA GELIEBTA.</p>	<p>"KUM DU ALMECHTIGER GOTT"</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Kum Du Almechtler Gott, Helf uns Dei Nema singa; Helf in der Lober Fater mit Herrlichkeit, Iver allus g'wünscht, Kum un rule iver uns, En longle tzeit. 2. Yasus, O Gott, kum how, O! unser Fiend shick fardt, Luss uns net falla, Luss Dei Almechtigkeit, Unser Fersicherung sei! Mei Seele tsu dere winsh ich, Gott, hair uns oi. 3. Kum, geb uns Heilicher Droscht, Dei hellich tzeligness schlog fore, In darra sctunnn. Du wu Almechtich bischt, Rule in yadem hartz, Gae net funn uns weit fardt, Greftlicher Geischt. 4. Du bischt yo drei in ain, Aavicher lobe fer Dich, Aavich so fardt. Dei grosser Kaynich Reick Gae'n mir in Lushda nei, Laava so fardt, Liebe und ehre. Amen.
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The Swamp Church (United Church of Christ) features dialect services. This one was in 1967.

Die Aiirscht
Pennsylvanish Deutsch Kaerich
Der Acht Un Zwanzisht June 1959

bei da
St. John's UCC Kaerich
Kutztown, Pa.
Am Faddel iver Tsey

Die Bredicher

Der Paare Richard Druckenbrod
Funn Die Plainfield Kaericher, Pa.
Der Paare Aaron Brumbach
Funn Kutztown, Pa.
On Die Ariegel Jean Bortz

St. John's United Church, Kutztown, Program, 1959. Held in connection with the Folk Festival.



Huff's Church Program, 1973. Cover design by Clarence G. Reitnauer.

God," "Now thank we all our God," "My God! How wonderful thou art," "I need thee, precious Jesus," "Abide with us, our Savior," and "What a Friend we have in Jesus". Finally there are two camp-meeting spirituals: "Ich will schaffen," and "O, wie lieblich iss Yesus".

The booklet has already been widely used at dialect services in various parts of the Pennsylvania German area. While it is premature to plot its long-range effects, its range of song and the high quality of its translations will undoubtedly aid in restoring a churchly tone to the dialect services in the churches. As good money drives out bad, so good translations may replace the insufficient variety.

2. Linguistically the services can be analyzed from their relationships with literary German, spoken dialect of everyday communication, and liturgical English. (Fortunately I have available over a dozen recordings of separate services which will be useful for linguistic as well as for event-analysis.) The "translations" of liturgical elements used in the services are closer to standard German or liturgical English versions depending on whether the translator was a German professor within the culture, a minister with some knowledge of the older German liturgy, or a layman who knows only English and the everyday dialect. While some elements, like hymn translations, are now diffusing widely, there is enough local inspiration in the composition of the dialect liturgies to point to the value of comparative study. One sample of this approach is to compare the different expressions used, for only one example, for the term "church service". They range from "Gottesdienst" (pure German) to the coined translation "Kaerriche Diensch" (literally "church service") which has no analogue in German, with the midpoint reached in the expressions "Deutsche Kaerrich" (German Church) and "Deutsche

Breddich" (German Sermon, i.e., Service). Both of the latter are justifiable in the dialect on the analogy of the two dialect expressions for "Harvest Home" — "Aernkaerrich" (literally, Harvest Church) and "Aernbreddich" (literally, Harvest Sermon)³².

3. Sociologically we can look at the phenomenon in the framework of acculturation theory and more recently, ethnic identity theory³³. Acculturation theory explains the earlier stages of the linguistic development of the culture, with the shift from German to English in the official levels of the culture. Ethnic identity theory may provide a sharper focus for the analysis of the recent development of dialect institutions ranging from the "secular" *Versammlung* to the "sacred" dialect liturgy. The dichotomy "sacred-secular" is not absolute here, because at the *Versammlung*, as Russell W. Gilbert points out (1956), the *Versammlung Raed* or "fersammlung address" contains both humor and a moralizing thrust³⁴. It is frequently given by ministers and is in fact a kind of secular sermon or what the Pennsylvania Germans used to call a "Waerdagsbreddich" (weekday sermon). And the dialect services are not without their humor, particularly in the sermon illustrations (*exempla* have a way always of reaching popular and even folk

³²Don Yoder, "Harvest Home," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, IX:4 (Fall 1958), 2-11.

³³Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York, 1964); Erik H. Erikson, "Psychosocial Identity," *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, VII, 61-65, with basic bibliography; see also Erikson's *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (New York, 1968).

³⁴Russell W. Gilbert, "Religious Services in Pennsylvania German," *Susquehanna University Studies*, V:4 (May 1956), 277-289.

 <p>Pennsflawnish Deitsch Sunndaw Shule on da Huffa Kaerrich Der 17^{ten} Moi, 1970 om holver drei.</p> 	<p>DIE HELICH SCHRIFT John 11:14f</p> <p>11-Ich bin der Gute Shoaf-Hender. Der Gute Shoaf-Hender gebbt sei Laeva fer die Shoaf. 12-Owerr aener es yuscht ge-dingt is, un segent die Shoaf nat, shpringt fest wo der Wulf kummt, un laast die Shoaf a-rea. Der Wulf fongt dari, un die omerrk shprings alla-wagga fert. 13-Der Ge-dingt Moan geht fert, da-weil es er yuscht ge-dingt is, un er gebbt nu um die Shoaf. 14-Ich bin der Gute Shoaf-Hender un ich keenn mei Shoaf, un die Shoaf keenn Mich.</p> <p>Psalm 21</p> <p>1-Der Herr is mei Shoaf-Hender, ich hob ven Mangel. 2-Er macht mich mauer-leia in der green Wayt. Er fertt mich on'a shful Vasser. 3-Er dat mei Saet uff-boowa. Er nemmt mich darrich der Ge-recht Wag, weil weil Sei Wille is. 4-Won ich aw darrich'a Daw last, wah der Shoofa fom Doodt is, darrich ich mich nat, weil Dub bet mier biest. Dei Shetcka un Dei Shetck die draeshta mich. 5-Du setst en Dusch, full Eken, fer mich, grawt bet meina Feind. Du shalt Axl uff mei Kupp. Mei Kellich is ful, un laest iwer. 6-Ich bin share us Oufes un Barren-hartzich-kaet (zu mier kummt, alla dawg fun mein Laeva, un ich will aewich in Gottes' Houa wuhu).</p>	<p>DIE LESSENT FER HEIT Sutt m'r im Shiff bleiva³ Matthew 14: 22-33</p> <p>22-Grasht noach-der-hond hat Yaesus g'saet sei Yinger sulda es Shiff nemma un noch der ommer side geh, weil Er die fiela Leit fertt shicka dat. 23-Wie Er die gross drupp Leit fertt g'abicht a-hoi hut, is Er goss-a-lich, uff der Barrick gongt fer bahe. 24-Bel sellera tzeit wor's Shiff mitta im Sae, un die Wella hen's rum g'shmissa. Der Wind is der letia waeg kumma. 25-Darrich die Nocht is Yaesus tau chow ge-luffa kumma, uff em Wasser. 26-Wie die Yinger Ehe g-aehna hen, uff'm Vasser, lawfa, is'ma der Fer-shond all serra, sip hen ge-maind es wear en Cristd. Sie hen sich atrieb g'farrich. 27-Owerr grawt nob hat Yaesus tau ehna g'shweitt, in hut g'saet, "Seit in guter mood, es is Mich, seit nat-long." 28-Nob hat der Peter g'saet, "Herr, wem's Iich is, waeg ich sutt tau Dyer kumma uff's Wasser." 29-Nob hat Yaesus g'saet, "Kumma, ... Wie der Peter mus'm Shiff wor, is er uff'm Wasser ge-luffa, sarrich Yaesus. 30-Wie er owerr der arrick Sharrren g'astob ful, is er bong werra, un is a-longa wunn g'ete. Wie hat es g'ruht, "Herr sate mich." 31-Nob hat Yaesus sei Hand nous g'ahra-let, un hat ehu g'fonga, un hat g'saet, "Du bist so wunnig! Thawka! Fer-wos hast du ge-tweivelt!" 32-Wie Yaesus un der Peter in'a Shiff kumma on, hat der Sharrren grawt noach ge-luht. 33-Eye was im Shiff wora, sin kumma un hen Yaesus aw-ge-bayt, un hen g'saet, "Worlich, Du bist Gottes' Sohn!"</p>
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Dialect Sunday School, Huff's Church, 1970. Scripture readings, center and right.

levels) and Sunday School exhortations³⁵. And, as is proper for Pennsylvania German culture, both institutions often include socializing and eating together. It is significant that the central institution of the culture, the Church, at last has felt the pull of the linguistic preferences of its people. While the dialect service movement has little relation to the earlier Germanizing tendency in the culture (unless it could be explained as a mild and gentle form of Anthony Wallace's nativist or revitalization movement?)³⁶, it does make clear the fact that the dialect is now thought important enough to be used in the "sacred" atmosphere of the Church.

Dialect services have faced the same range of attitudes in other German cultures as in the Pennsylvania German culture. An important example is the movement to introduce Low German (*Plattdeutsch*) services in North German areas where High German never established itself completely. Albrecht Jobst in his volume *Evangelische Kirche und Volkstum* (1929)³⁷ cites an anonymous article, published by a clergyman in the *Evangelische Zeitung* in 1829, which "points up the difficulties which lie in the way of a Low German peasant's understanding of the High German language." He called for the "elevation" of regional dialect to liturgical language and with it the creation of a dialect devotional literature. *Plattdeutsch* sermons and Bible instruction were begun but they nowhere displaced High German. In most cases the kernel of the service remained High German — prayers, hymns, and liturgy — while the sermon and Bible instruction were given in the local dialect. In the 20th Century the demand shifted to a full *Plattdeutsch* liturgy and *Plattdeutsch* hymnody to match. Some sporadic progress was made in this area, although as Jobst points out, "the translation of high German hymns into *Plattdeutsch* turns out, from experience, very seldom favorably, and for the composition of (new) *Plattdeutsch* hymns as well as a *Plattdeutsch*

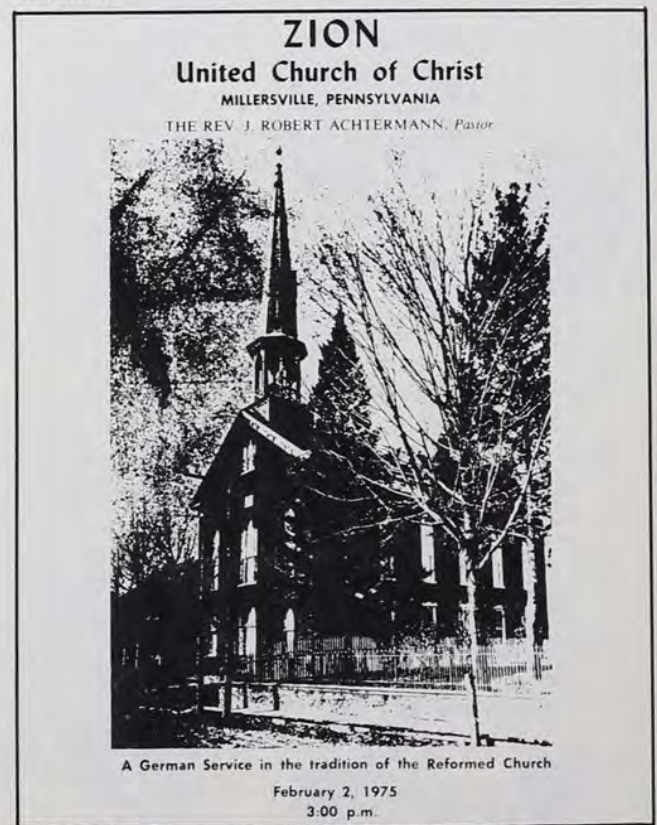
³⁵Preaching in the European vernaculars had of course a long history in Europe. One of the most famous of vernacular preachers was Bernardino of Siena, whose *Prediche Volgari* are in Siense dialect. "When I go about preaching from place to place," he wrote, "I no sooner arrive at a particular spot, than I diligently strive to acquire the popular dialect. Thus I have laboured, and ended by speaking to people on a variety of topics in their own tongue". According to his biographer, he also "adopted a style accessible and appropriate to the multitude, interlarded with popular dicta, bywords and proverbs" (Paul Thureau-Dangin, *Saint Bernadine of Siena*, translated by Baroness G. von Hügel (London, 1906), p. 174. For his *exempla*, including fables, see pp. 176-179. For the *exempla* in general, see Frederick C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum* (Helsinki, 1969).

³⁶Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," *American Anthropologist*, 58 (1956), 264-281; see also his *Religion: An Anthropological View* (New York, 1966).

³⁷Albrecht, Jobst, *Evangelische Kirche und Volkstum: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Volkskunde* (Stuttgart, 1938), pp. 224-228.

translation of the Bible the talents of a genius are required if the work is to succeed." In my researches in the German colonies in Rio Grande do Sul in 1969 I found that of the several varieties of ethnic German settlement in that Brazilian province only the Pomeranians had succeeded in using a dialect (*Pommerplatt*) liturgy. Copies of the liturgy were preserved in manuscript by the clergy so that the dialect movement there (and the wave had already passed its crest in 1969) had not reached the level of general acceptance.

Surely in an age when the "folk mass" and the "jazz mass" can enter the sacred atmosphere of the Catholic and Episcopal services, when liturgical dance has been rediscovered by the Christian Church, and when liturgies have been vernacularized in Catholicism and the liturgical Protestant churches, the movement for dialect services in the Pennsylvania German speaking parishes of Eastern and Central Pennsylvania can be seen for what it is — a significant effort from the grass roots to preserve and maintain the Pennsylvania German mother tongue. It is significant that the Church, which was the last traditional institution in the Pennsylvania German community to preserve High German, should be the last of the older institutions in the culture to attempt to preserve Pennsylvania German.



A few Eastern Pennsylvanian churches have held commemorative services in High German. This one was at Millersville in Lancaster County.

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