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CONTENT OF THE SCHWENKFELDER HISTORICAL LIBRARY

By REV. LESTER K. KRIEBEL

Honored President, members of the Society of the Descendants of the Schwenkfelder Exiles, and their guests.

It is my privilege in the limited time that I have, to speak about some of the treasures in our Schwenkfelder Historical Library at Pennsburg. Also, I have brought with me a dozen or so exhibits as examples of some of the products of the times when these books were produced.

Before entering into my discussion, may I make a remark to the effect that I do miss, along with the other members, the presence of our very worthy educator and friend, Dr. Samuel K. Brecht, who was always very much interested in the activities and affairs of this Society.

We have in the Schwenkfelder Historical Library a rather complete source for the historical and religious, as well as the social activities of the Schwenkfelder people. We have, also, sources concerning other religious groups — events connected with the Roman Catholic Church, and the Lutheran denomination, and many covering the activities of the Society of Friends or Quakers.

Also, we have sources dealing with legal transactions and with various family agreements; any amount of account books, personal and of industrial enterprises, and the only known source of papers dealing with certain facts pertaining to matters of the State. I give you an example of the last statement: When the State built the concrete highway from Palm to Pennsburg, our Library possessed the only source stating and describing the legal width allowed the State to make the highway. A representative was sent in from Harrisburg, and established the proper width and requirements, and thus saved some unnecessary trouble and litigation.

We have sources on educational beginnings and expansion among the Pennsylvania Germans covering a period of approximately 200 years. These include manuscripts on education, and correspondence covering the period from 1738 to 1740 relating how this instruction was carried on. We have the two original journals of Goschenhoppen and Towamencin school books of 1764, giving instructions and regulations of the two schools founded in the Upper and Lower Schwenkfelder Districts, now known as Hosensack and Towamencin respectively. We have the original publications of 1770 of the School Regulations. "Schul-Ordnung" compiled by Christopher Dock whose memory, incidentally, we honored some months ago. There are only two editions of that work on School Regulations, and we are proud to have both.

We have a large and impressive collection of schools texts from the earliest period down to the present day including all departments and subjects. This past summer Professor Louis Charles Karpinski, Professor of Mathematics, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, was writing "The History of Arithmetic by Progress of Numbers Through the Centuries; Arithmetic Around the World, 1933 B. C. to 1933 A. D." He discovered some information on early text books, "The Columbian Calculator" and "The Youth's Columbian Calculator" by Almon Ticknor, and found that we were the sole possessors of these texts. He got in touch with us, and we furnished the information he wanted.

In the fields of politics, we have appointments to office, early data on the elections in the early period of our country's history. We have letters reflecting the attitude of our people in regard to the laws of 1775 and on through the Revolutionary Period. We are the sole possessors of information about General Pulaski's movements after the battle of Germantown. The State Department in Harrisburg and the War Department in Washington have availed themselves of this information in completing their records.

Concerning newspapers: We possess an interesting collection if not a very large one. We have the only known copy of an early American German newspaper printed in Philadelphia — the only copy extant in the United States. This fact was acknowledged by the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts, some time ago. We have a complete record in our files of the local publication of "Town and Country", Pennsburg, Pennsylvania, from 1899 to the present date. Also, we are custodians of a complete file of the German publication, "Bauern Freund," for nearly 100 years; and possess a complete file of the "Geistliche Magazine" of Germantown; and also possess a paper entitled "Zur Heimat" dated 1770 which contains a complete list of Russian Mennonites who migrated beyond the Mississippi in this country.

As for Geography, we have early American publications and many maps dating from the middle of the 18th century, giving European and American boundaries.

In mathematics, we are custodians of some very interesting and old surveying instruments, an old compass which was used on a Jacob's staff instead of a tripod. The Jacob's staff was a rod on which the compass was erected, not too accurate, but the best they had. We have samples of Jacob's staffs in the museum department of our Historical Library. One of these interesting objects was made by Benjamin Rittenhouse in 1789. There is extant also a large collection of drawing tools, illustrative of the work done in early colonial periods.

Musical instruments: We possess any number of books on music. Our people were interested in hymnology. This included composing hymns and tunes and arranging them properly for practical purposes in their worship service. We have a Krauss tuning fork, brought from Europe and used in the early days here. The Krauss family was outstanding for its musical work, and built many pipe organs in the early period of the Schwenkfelders in America.

There are also portraits in oil, crayon, water color, lithographs, copper plate prints, and a large variety of manuscripts with illuminated writings. This art is properly known as "Fraktur Schriften". At this point I would like to call your attention to Mr. Henry Borneman's book dealing with the early Pennsylvania German illuminated manuscripts, a fine work with many splendid examples. This book contains an excellent treatment, reliable and authentic, of the history and illustration of that interesting work. And we have one of the finest collections of "Fraktur Schriften" in the country.

There is also in our Library a very large and valuable collection of Schwenkfelder letters, giving accounts of religious feelings of the people, and, in the 18th century, books and correspondences bearing information of tremendous historical importance.

We have an interesting group of signatures, such as the signatures of all males of over sixteen years of age of the original Schwenkfelder exiles, after they landed in Philadelphia, Pa., September 22, 1734. Also, a complete list of the passengers of the St. Andrew compiled by the secretary of the captain, (Captain Stedman). This is but one example out of the priceless collection of signatures.

We preserve and house many Bibles of European and American origin. The oldest Bible in this collection is the Anton Koberger Bible of Nurnberg, dated 1483 — a very fine specimen, and I invite you some time to stop at the Historical Library and see this old book, printed with wooden movable type, and containing fine steel plate illustrations, crude in the representation, but forceful in character, bearing an art of their own. Included in our collection is a Latin Bible of 1527. From a sentimental point of view the most interesting Bible we possess is the Worms Bible of 1529 which was the personal possession of Caspar Schwenkfeld von Ossig. Many of the margins are annotated in his own hand, especially the Psalms, and some of the prophets show extensive use by him, to say nothing of the New Testament, and especially the Gospels. In addition, we have a Concordance of 1530 and later Concordances dating from the 17th century, Latin and Greek Concordances, and Hebrew ones; a Polyglot and Pentabla edition of the Bible — the Polyglot edition bearing the Greek, Latin and German text of the Holy

Scriptures, and the Pentabla giving the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, Jewish, and Holland versions in German. Many of the old Bibles of the 18th and 19th centuries contain interesting family records preserved only in these books. So you see what a loss we would suffer if these Bibles would not be preserved. Supplementary to the Bible collection is a vast literature on Bibles.

We also preserve over three thousand deeds, many of them written on parchment, some of them bearing the signatures of William Penn and his sons, Thomas and Richard. Approximately fifty per cent of these deeds are not recorded, so you see what a wealth of historical data we are able to provide for this section of the country. These deeds begin with 1681 and deal with transactions down through the 18th century, dealing especially with southeastern Pennsylvania with few exceptions. Valuable historical data is obtainable by a study of these documents which have been used considerably by individuals and corporations.

I want to call your attention to one class of books which we refer to as *Sammelbände*. 'Sammel' is taken from the German verb 'to gather or collect' and the word 'bänd' means a volume or book, so you see the word 'Sammelbänd' means a collection or binding together of several or many books in one volume. People in the old days could not afford to bind each tract separately — they took five, or eight, or a dozen and a half and bound them under one cover. Some interesting examples are among those that I will show to you.

In the needlecraft department we have any number of samplers, linen work, and so forth.

We have three interesting collections of American Indian lore containing several thousand specimens. These collections were placed here by local authorities on Indian lore, Mr. F. F. Huber, Pennsburg, Pa., Mr. William H. Schultz of Palm, Pa., and Mr. Lamar Mumbauer of Pennsburg, Pa.

We are the possessors of a Herbarium containing several thousand specimens.

We also have some interesting Babylonian inscriptions written on tablets with cuneiform writing and dating back to 3200 B. C. — a limited collection, but interesting and significant in its way.

We have several old chests which came with the Schwenkfelder exiles on the sailing vessel, the *St. Andrew*, of 1732.

An interesting furniture collection illustrates the life of the people in Silesia at the time of our forefathers' leaving there. We have an interesting collection of continental paper money of Pennsylvania and

other parts of the country, and records concerning banking and commerce. We have one Pine Tree Shilling dated 1652 which was found in an apple orchard adjoining the Towamencin Schwenkfelder Church property which evidently was lost outside of an old store and school house about the period of 1770.

We are pleased to house a unique collection from Shansi, China, through the courtesy of the Schwenkfelder missionary, Flora K. Heebner, who has been on that field for more than 33 years. This collection contains pieces of money dated from 206 B. C. to A. D. 23; also an old urn dating from the time of Christ and taken from a Han Dynasty grave.

Now, I want to call your attention to a few of the outstanding memorial collections in our Library. Perhaps the most outstanding family memorial library so far as extent is concerned is the Amos Schultz Family collection which contains many manuscripts dating from the 16th century. There is the Jacob B. Stauffer library of Harrisburg containing several thousand volumes; the Dr. George K. Meschter library (literary, theological, medical); the Dr. Oscar S. Kriebel memorial library with approximately 3,350 pieces containing books, manuscripts, pamphlets, and a vast correspondence containing historical data of the Schwenkfelder Church; Perkiomen School for Boys, and the various Boards on which he served; the Prof. Howard W. Kriebel memorial library with approximately 1950 pieces; the Rev. Edwin S. Anders memorial library; the Gov. Samuel W. Pennypacker library which is the only one extant under his name; the Dr. Samuel K. Brecht memorial library and collection containing interesting papers, records and minutes of the various Boards on which he served, interesting school text books, and a great number of miscellaneous information of historical import; and the Rev. Nathaniel B. and Silas Grubb collection.

We have the most complete Mennonite collection in the United States, save one, and that is the Goshen, Indiana, collection of the Mennonite people themselves. However, our collection compares very favorably with that one.

Before I show these exhibits, I should like to tell of an interesting thing that Dr. Johnson and myself unearthed this summer in one of the interesting books, an old Latin Bible. Usually one or two of these discoveries are made during the year. We were exhibiting a Bible collection for one of the religious organizations of our Church. During this work, we found in one of the books a piece of paper which was rather interesting. A rough translation was made from the paper written by Balthaser Hoffman which was supplemented by Christopher Schultz, whose memory we honored at our historical services on September 23,

1939. You will recall that a Christopher Hoffman and Balthaser Hoffman were sent as deputies of the Schwenkfelders to Vienna to sue for tolerance from Charles V. The people spent nearly nineteen thousand dollars to secure religious tolerance, but in vain. During some five years that the Hoffman family was in Vienna the following event took place.

"Let it be known that when I was in Vienna I purchased a *Bibliam Sacram Volgata Editionis*.

"We had not taken any book with us except the *Deutsch Passional* and a *Halle Testament*: but this secretly and insecurely. I did not have to hide this Bible even though I did not show it to anyone. As time dragged on I planned a study of the Epistles aiming to prepare comments for my own benefit and required, therefore, the Greek text. Consequently, I purchased the New Testament in Greek and Latin, Sebastian Schmid interpr., and the *Dictionarium*, F. David Zuner(?), in Greek, Latin and German. Also I had an urgent desire for the Hebrew Bible a long time before the mission. In Vienna I found it, but it was very cumbersome and high in price, and, therefore, I postponed buying it; but when I found it in Prague in a more convenient size and at a cheaper price, I bought it. These books I do not regard as my own, except the *Dictionarium*. It so happened on one occasion that a letter from his mother for Gottlob Hauptmann, Furier (Quarter-Master) with the Beyreuth Regiment, was enclosed with our post; and as I delivered this letter to him in his billet, he gave me a gulden, and for this gulden I regard the *Dictionarium* as my own. The other three I regard as property of the *Gemeine*. And while under present circumstances no one in particular is the owner of these three books, although they are invaluable, I can do nothing else than to say that with me it is a great concern that the *Gemeine* should have the use of the same. Since the purchase of these books was in this wise and through an unexpected way, in which the original text of the entire Holy Scripture came into our hands, I consider it on the part of God, a method He had during this time of unrest. So far as my use is concerned, during the time I had them in my hands, I do not regard myself worthy, and far less do I consider having attempted to or obeyed the purpose of God in the same; nevertheless, I hope that in spite of all unworthiness and limited ability, I may have used a small part to my benefit and in support of our theological truth. It is my wish as God gives life and peace that after me they might be used toward furthering the truth which is a matter of very great concern to me.

B. H.

"Anno 1766, February 2, Balthazar Hoffman delivered the above named three books into my hands after having declared that on account of infirmities of age he could no longer use them and loaned them to me for my use, and his thought he expressed as is given above. Furthermore, he encouraged me to purchase the Hebrew Dictionary and the Septuagint Greek Text, the Syriac Testament and Syriasmum. It was his intention that all of these books might be kept together.

Christoph Schultz"

Now, Madame President, I have brought along samples of the various books we have in our library for you to examine. Thank you kindly for your patience in listening to me. I wish to express my gratitude to the President and organization for inviting me here this evening to speak on these matters which lie very dear to my heart.

LIST OF BOOKS EXHIBITED AFTER THE ADDRESS

1. Bohemian Hymnal, 1580, used by the Schwenkfelders in worship services at private homes in the early period in America.
2. Sammelbande — two different editions.
3. Epistolar OB — some of the letters and treatises of Casper von Schwenckfeld gathered and compiled by his literary executors following his death December 10, 1561. The complete collection of his works at that time comprised four volumes. This fine specimen represents one of them.
4. Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis — This was the actual Bible purchased by Balthaser Hoffman when he was in Vienna with the Schwenkfelder deputation in the period May 1721 to 1726.
5. Biblia Pentabla, Vol. 1.
6. Deutsch Passional, 1575 — one of the most beautiful devotional work prepared by Schwenckfeld for use of his followers in their private services in the Conventicles held throughout Germany.
7. Polyglotten Bibel.
8. "Pennsylvania German Illuminated Manuscripts" by Henry S. Borneman.

GERMANS IN PENNSYLVANIA

By RICHARD HARRISON SHRYOCK, PH.D.

Professor of American History, University of Pennsylvania

Madame President, Members of the Society, and guests: As your president has just observed, your officers are a courageous group. They not only wrote to me to invite me to speak, but they have just assured me that they were anxious to have me talk for a long time. As a matter of fact, I don't intend to attempt any relation of the actual history of the Pennsylvania Germans as the title given in the program might seem to imply. Despite the courage of your secretary, I think your interest might wane after the first four or five hours. What I would prefer to do would be to take a reasonable length of time to suggest to you certain interpretations of the place which the Pennsylvania Germans in general have had in American history.

That is no simple matter, even if you touch only on points of major significance. Perhaps I should not have called them Pennsylvania Germans — perhaps one should just say "Pennsylvania Dutch" and let it go at that. You are all familiar with the controversy that has raged around the name of these people. Personally, I prefer the phrase Pennsylvania Germans for the very simple reason that whatever it meant originally, today the name "Pennsylvania Dutch" is misleading. In the past ten years I have been asking every one of my classes "Who were the Pennsylvania Dutch?" and a large percentage stated that "they came from Holland and settled in Pennsylvania."

After one has decided to use the phrase Pennsylvania Germans, however, the plot begins to thicken. Just whom do we mean by Pennsylvania Germans? Do we mean only those few hundred thousands who still speak the Pennsylvania German dialect? Or do we mean all the descendants of the Germans who settled in Pennsylvania in the Colonial period, whether or not today they happen to be German or English-speaking people? Personally, I prefer the latter. The first conception is a distinctly cultural one. The second may look at first glance like a biological (racial) conception of the Germans and their descendants. Now, as a matter of fact, racial interpretations of history are not in vogue here at the present time. They *are* in vogue in Germany, and I found it quite interesting to discuss the Pennsylvania Germans in Berlin last summer with Dr. Meynen and Dr. Kloss, who are very well-informed on the subject. These German scholars apparently like the definition I suggest — that is, they like to think of the Pennsylvania Germans as all those who are descended largely from

the original German settlers. You may see in that only a biased point of view; but there are reasons for accepting it which may be mentioned here in passing.

When some of our friends who speak the dialect tell themselves "We are the only real Pennsylvania Germans. We know the language," there is some validity in that, but I think it is an assumption which is not entirely valid. No one doubts the importance of language in determining the character of any given people, but language is not the only important factor. As far as I can determine, for example, my father's family in Pennsylvania once spoke German. I can't find out whether it was High German or the dialect, but for the last hundred years no one in the family has spoken any sort of German. Nevertheless, the family retains certain German traditions. For example, our Lutheran connections can certainly be traced to the Pennsylvania German origin. I suspect that if we went out and studied it we would find areas of Pennsylvania in which there are certain types of families maintaining German traditions long after they have lost the original language. So I am going to accept that broader definition on cultural as well as upon racial grounds.

I think there has been so much difference of opinion and confusion as to just what is meant by this group, that we had better discuss even further just what we are going to talk about. The subject is made all the more complicated by this broad definition suggested. First of all, there are various types, diverse groups among our Pennsylvania Germans. Among them, curiously enough, is no small number who have forgotten that their people ever were Germans. Recently I happened to say to one of my relatives, in referring to my father, that he was a Pennsylvania German. She immediately drew herself up and said, "It's a lie!" After some discussion, she admitted that the family did go back to people who were German; but added hurriedly that we certainly were not related to "those dumb Dutch of the Cumberland Valley."

Now this sort of reaction aroused my curiosity. How is it that an educated person would have this feeling about the background of her own folk? How account for this unhappy state of mind? What opinions, moreover, have Americans generally had of these people and their role in our history? As a matter of fact, one always finds two contrasting, extreme points of view on the history of the Pennsylvania Germans. There are those who have held very low opinions of them and have been known to express those opinions on more than one occasion. On the other hand, one always finds those who have had the highest respect for the traditions of the Pennsylvania Germans. There is no time to go into this story in detail, but here are just a few examples.

It is always good form to begin with Benjamin Franklin. Franklin, you may remember, kindly referred to the Pennsylvania Germans as "those Palatine boors" and added that those who came over here were usually of the more stupid sort. That is the observation of the great sage of the English-speaking colonists. It well illustrates the unfriendly type opinion. Yet within a year or two of that statement, just the opposite view was expressed by an Englishman, Mr. Lewis Evans, whose interesting notes of what he observed in Pennsylvania have just been published by Professor Gipson of Lehigh University. Evans wrote in glowing terms of what splendid people he found the Germans to be. Among other things, he declared that the prosperity of the Province was dependent on the industry and superior agriculture which these people had contributed.

There are many other illustrations, both *pro* and *con*, which could be given if we had time. One observer said the Germans were like "wood-born savages, who are so stupid that they cannot even speak the English language." It is perfectly obvious throughout this record, that the one unforgivable thing about these Palatines was that they could not speak God's language. But suppose we jump ahead a hundred years or so.

Glance into the files of the New York *Nation* for the eighteen-eighties. You will find one of the usual controversies going on about Philadelphia. "What is the matter with Philadelphia?" It all sounds very much like 1939! At any rate, people were writing into the *Nation* in 1880 giving their versions of the chief difficulties in the City of Brotherly Love. Opinions varied. One man just blamed it all on the Pennsylvania Railroad and let it go at that. Another writer interested me because he came back to this theme — "the whole trouble with Philadelphia is the sort of people who live in it — the Quakers and the Dutch." He admitted that Germans were good farmers, but did not see much hope for Philadelphia as long as it continued to be led by the two groups mentioned.

About this time, however, those who held a high regard for the Pennsylvania Germans were reinforced from a new quarter. A group of Germanic scholars began to collect records, publish histories, establish institutions. You have, for example, the publications of such scholars as Sidensticker and Learned at the University of Pennsylvania, whose contributions to the history and philology of the Pennsylvania Germans were of fundamental importance.

Now come right down to our own period and take the recent works of history referring to these people. One still finds the same sharp contrasts. Riegel, in his able work *America Moves West*, declares that

the Pennsylvania Germans were a rough, cantankerous people who settled in the central part of Pennsylvania and who made so much trouble that everyone hoped they would soon leave for the frontiers. Wecter, in his history of the wealthy classes, mentions the Pennsylvania Germans as a group of mere "tenant farmers" who settled in Pennsylvania and Maryland. On the other hand, Morrison's *Oxford History of the United States* declares that the Pennsylvania Germans were by far the best farmers in America. And Professor T. J. Werthenbaker, of Princeton University, in his recent work on the Middle Colonies, gives two or three chapters to a sympathetic discussion of the whole social and cultural life of the Pennsylvania Germans. Here are the same contrasts in attitude in 1930-39 that one found in 1750. I submit that there is probably no other group which has played a continuous part in the life of the nation for more than two hundred years, which has been and still is the subject of such sharply divergent opinion on the part of their fellow Americans. There seems to be little dissension, for example, about the New England tradition, or the tradition of Old Virginia. Now why is there a conflict only with regard to the Pennsylvania story?

There are several possible explanations. In the first place, consider the language barrier. Most Pennsylvania Germans spoke the Palatine dialect. This imposed a barrier between the Germans here and their English-speaking compatriots. The records of the former were in German — High German, originally. American historians prefer to read English. Consequently, I don't think it is unfair to historians to say that they simply did not read the record.

Consider a second factor. Those who deride the Pennsylvania Germans as being an earthy people will say: "History does not show many leaders among Pennsylvania Germans." Of course there was Muhlenberg, but he was an exception. But what really happened when the Pennsylvania German "went to town," literally and figuratively? The chances are that he moved to Philadelphia or some other city. He lost his dialect because English was spoken there by the majority. He became well known. Was he then looked to as a Pennsylvania German? No, he became simply an American — or a Philadelphian. David Rittenhouse is rarely regarded as a Pennsylvania German, yet he came from that stock. Jefferson, when asked if he could think of any Americans whose minds were the equal of the best European intellects of his day named just three Americans — and one was David Rittenhouse. Joseph Leidy, outstanding American scientist, was of a Pennsylvania German family, but is never thought of outside of Philadelphia as a Pennsylvania German. When a New England boy went

to Boston and achieved fame, he was always remembered as a New Englander. But when a Pennsylvania German goes to town he is no longer a Pennsylvania German, but an American. The process of anglicization thus automatically deprived the Pennsylvania Germans of the leaders they produced.

Think also of how historians have dealt with these people. It just happened that the kind of history in which scholars were interested during the nineteenth century was the sort in which the Pennsylvania Germans were not particularly interested. In general, the Palatine colonists were not very active in politics. The language barrier and other factors made this field a difficult one for them. Hence they were naturally overlooked by historians writing political history. Conversely, the very things in which Pennsylvania Germans were most interested — agriculture, folk art, music and so on — were the very things to which historians, until very recently, gave little attention. I am sure that most historians, asked what was the most important cultural center of early America, would say Boston or Philadelphia. Boston certainly had an interesting tradition in certain special fields, such as theology and literature. But time was when it was difficult in Boston to carry a tune! Suppose you made music a criterion of culture. In this case, Bethlehem would be the most important center, because of the musical achievements of the Moravians in that region.

One final remark. Despite the recognition their own writers have given them in the past fifty years or so, you do still detect in some of the writing by Pennsylvania Germans, and in their attitudes toward their own story, the suggestion of an inferiority complex. Of course that has many manifestations. It may take the form of over aggressiveness. This may be illustrated by a phase of German history which is frequently overlooked. Some of the southern Germans who migrated in the early eighteenth century went West, as we know, to Pennsylvania. But others moved to the East into Russia and Bessarabia. These latter folk developed a marked superiority complex. That is, the same people who in Pennsylvania developed a tendency to apologize, were inclined in Russian to feel very proud of themselves. The descendants of German settlers in Russia — estimated to be as many as one million in 1914 — always felt themselves very superior to their Russian neighbors. As late as 1919, observers who went into Russian hamlets could tell in a moment whether they were in a German village or a Russian village. I think this difference in the reaction of similar groups of German settlers was due to the differences in the two areas of settlement.

In Pennsylvania they came into a progressive English-speaking community where the majority rather looked down on them for their

ignorance of English, and where they felt they had to explain themselves. In Russia they went into a country quite backward in comparison with Germany, and felt themselves superior. Yet I suggest that it is high time their descendents acquired a little superiority complex in Pennsylvania as well as in Eastern Europe.

Many of the Germans who settled here originally were, it is true, relatively poor people. But they were certainly the best farmers in America. Travellers going through the American colonies in the eighteenth century always found that farming among the Germans was very much better than among the English. And there is nothing to apologize for in regarding artisanship. The Germans had long been among the best artisans in Europe and they maintained their record over here. Remember only the Conestoga wagon, the so-called "Kentucky Rifle," and the log cabin — all primarily the products of early German-American skill.

What about other examples of cultural achievement? We have mentioned music and such other arts as Dr. Kriebel has described as being peculiar to the Pennsylvania Germans. If we had time and it was necessary, we could relate many other achievements in the arts, sciences, and learning.

I conclude by calling to your attention to one most significant fact. There was one special field in which they are unchallenged — agriculture. Why were they so superior to the British as farmers? The Pennsylvania Germans were farmers from the start, while many of the English settlers were not. The latter were frequently unemployed English townspeople, who had little interest in agriculture as such. They were thinking primarily of profits. It made little difference what they farmed as long as they could make money, and the consequence was a ruinous system. Compare this with the work of the German farmer. He knew how to pick good land, while the British often did not. Having picked out his land, he set out to farm it properly. He was not thinking primarily in terms of a money economy. I think he was dreaming of bigger and better barns, and this made a great difference — if not in his lifetime, in that of his children and grandchildren. The English developed a culture more quickly. They developed the "First Families" of Virginia while the Germans improved the "First Farms" of Pennsylvania. The contrast speaks for itself. I would repeat in all seriousness, therefore, that the Pennsylvania Germans should acquire at least that moderate sense of superiority which will end for all time any tendency to excuse or "justify" their heritage. For this involves, in certain respects, the most creditable tradition in American history.

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EXILES

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