THE GERMAN SETTLEMENT AT FRANKENMUTH, MICHIGAN, IN ITS FIRST CENTURY

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THE GERMAN SETTLEMENT AT FRANKENMUTH, MICHIGAN, IN ITS FIRST CENTURY

By

Robert Arthur Dengler

A THESIS

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PREFACE

This present work has been prepared mainly to serve as background material for a detailed study of the speech habits of Frankenmuth, Michigan. The town is unique since three languages are currently in use in the community: English, High German, and Bayrisch. However, in the last fifteen years English has become popular to such an extent that, perhaps, the next generation of Frankenmuth will speak only English.

I wish to thank Dr. Anders Orbeck, Professor of English at Michigan State College, for his aid in the preparation of this work, and Mrs. Barbara Hurrell, who prepared the typewritten copies of it.

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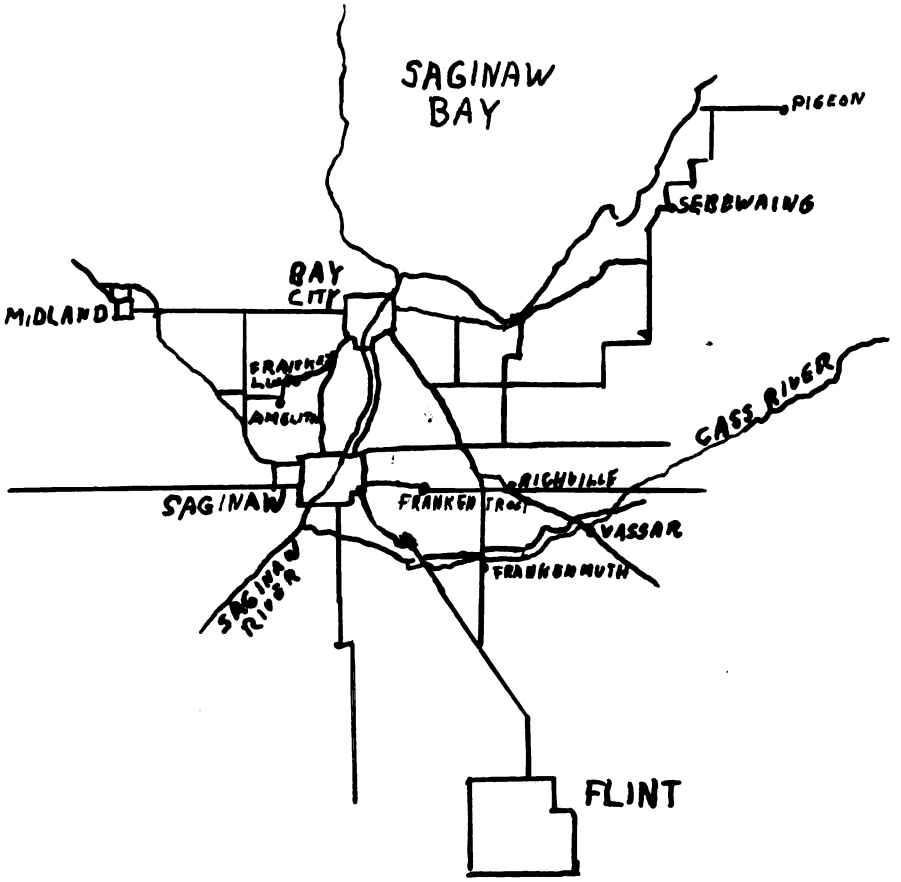
CHAPTER I

THE LUTHERAN BAVARIAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE SAGINAW VALLEY

During the first half of the nineteenth century Michigan developed from a wild territory of virgin forests to a state populated largely by immigrants living in small farming communities and lumbering towns. The population of Michigan increased from a mere 5,000 in 1810 to 300,000 in 1840. Most of the early settlements were concentrated within the area fifty miles north of the Ohio and Indiana borders.

In 1831 there was only one white settler in the Saginaw Valley. The American Fur Company had just sent agents into the district to begin fur trading with the Indians, and the United States Government was maintaining a small fort at Saginaw City in expectation of the coming land boom. In 1837 Saginaw City built its first public building, a combined courthouse and school. However, by 1860 the town was incorporated with a population of 1,712 and boasted lumber mills, general stores, churches, and schools. In addition to Saginaw City, the Saginaw Valley region also had, by the middle of the nineteenth century, five Lutheran Bavarian Settlements: Frankenmuth, Frankentrost, Frankenlust, Amelith, and Frankenhilf.

Michigan's most thickly populated area in the 1830's was Washtenaw County. Ann Arbor, vying for the seat of the state's capital, had a population of almost 1,000. Among the



SAGINAW VALLEY REGION

early immigrants in this region was a group of protestant Germans from Swabia who began settling in Ann Arbor, Scio, and Lodi townships in 1830. By 1833 this colony had grown large enough so that the settlers requested the Mission House at Basel, Switzerland, to send them a minister. Friedrich Schmidt was chosen for this position and arrived in Ann Arbor on August 25, 1833.[1]

That same year Schmidt organized two congregations: the Salem Church in Lodi township and the First German Evangelical Society of Scio. The latter is now called the Bethlehem Lutheran Church of Ann Arbor. In the next few years from his home at Salem Church, Schmidt traveled to Detroit, Monroe, and as far north as the Saginaw Valley, administering to the spiritual needs of the settlers, whether German or not, and doing mission work among the Indians. At his mission station in Scio township he prepared several young men as missionaries for the Indians.[2]

Although Pastor Schmidt's activities became fruitful in many ways, a united Lutheran Church organization never developed from his work. He organized the Michigan Synod in the 1840's, but it received little support from his fellow

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[1]Theodore Graebner, Church Bells in the Forest, 23-24.

[2]Warren Washburn Florer, Early Michigan Settlements, I, 11-13.

pastors. He was never insistant that his churches be Lutheran; it sufficed that they were Evangelical. Eventually some of Schmidt's churches joined the more liberal Synod of the East, some the Ohio Synod, and still others the more conservative Missouri Synod. In later years he was named Gnadenwahl Schmidt by his fellow German pastors who disagreed with his ideas of predestination. He remained active as a minister in his Bethlehem Congregation of Ann Arbor until 1871, when ill health forced him to retire.[3] Schmidt's most significant services to the Lutheran church in Michigan was that he was the pioneer of Indian mission work and that he aided Pastor Loehe in planting the Bavarian Colonies in the Saginaw Valley area.

In the 1830's and 1840's another pastor, Friederich Wyneken, was doing mission work similar to Schmidt's from his own base at Fort Wayne, Indiana. Wyneken was disturbed by what he termed the godlessness of the German immigrants in America who lived in sparsely scattered settlements and either practiced no religion at all or were being evangelized by the Methodists. In 1841 he published, presumably in Germany, certainly not in the United States, a pamphlet Nothschrei,

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[3]Ibid., 14.

in which he described the lack of Lutheran ministers on the frontier to baptize and instruct the German immigrants.[4]

The Reverend Wilhelm Loehe of Neudettelsau (also spelled Neuendettelsau), in the Franconian sector of Bavaria, became interested in the missionary activities of Schmidt and Wyneken around 1840 and started in Germany the journal Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und ueber Nord-Amerika in 1843 to further the cause of missionary work in America among the German settlers and roten Indianer. A set of this journal reposes in the library of the Wartburg Seminary at Dubuque, Iowa, and a few numbers of the journal are reproduced in facsimile in Early Michigan Settlements, Vol. II, by W. W. Florer.[5]

Johann Konrad Wilhelm Loehe (1808-1872) was born in Fuerth, Bavaria. He studied theology at the universities of Erlangen and Berlin and in 1837 became pastor of the country church at Neudettelsau, where he remained all his life.

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[4]E/manuel/ A. Mayer, Geschichte der evangelisch-lutherischen St. Lorenz-Gemeinde, 9; Th/eodore/ Graebner, Lutheran Pioneers II. The Bavarian Settlements of the Saginaw Valley, 7; gives a facsimile of the title page of the first American edition of Wyneken; Nothschrei, which reads, Die Noth der Deutschen Lutheraner in Nordamerika. Ihren Glaubensgenossen in der Heimath ans Herz gelegt. Erste Amerikanische Auflage. Pittsburgh: Druckerei der lutherischen Kirchenzeitung, 1844.

[5]Florer, 30-52. Hereafter referred to as Kirchliche Mittheilungen.

From this rural pulpit he became popular throughout Bavaria as a preacher, and nobleman and peasant alike came to his church to hear his sermons. In 1840 Loehe began training men for mission work in America at his parish, and his zeal for this project soon spread to Hanover and Meaklenburg provinces, where societies were organized to provide the necessary funds to train and send pastors to the New World.[6]

In 1843 Loehe corresponded with one of his missionaries, Pastor W. Hattstaedt, in Monroe, Michigan, about the possibilities of evangelizing the Indians in Michigan. Hattstaedt reported that such mission work was feasible, but could be best undertaken jointly with the Mission House already established by Friedrich Schmidt in Seio.[7] Loehe's idea for Christianizing the Indians was that Lutheran settlements in America would become themselves centers of missionary work among the Indians. He planned to send a group of emigrants under the leadership of a pastor to settle in the vicinity of Indian villages so that the pastor could administer to the spiritual needs of the emigrants and also carry on missionary work among the Indians.[8] Loehe discussed his plan

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[6]Graebner, 18-19.

[7]Mayer, 9.

[8]Graebner, 30.

with Lorenz Loesel, a servant in his household.[9] Loesel recruited a group of people living in Rottstall and the Altmuehlgrund near Nuernberg who were interested in emigrating.[10] The only thing lacking for this group was a leader.

The man chosen by Loehe for this role was Friedrich August Craemer, who for a short time had lived in Loehe's house some years previously. Craemer was a highly educated man. He was a graduate of Erlangen University, where he studied modern languages. In 1841 he was a tutor to the son of the Count Carl von Einsiedel. Later he was a tutor to the children of Lord Lovelace in Davonshire, England, and then became an instructor of German language and literature at the University of Oxford.[11] A pious man, Craemer did not find the Rationalism at Oxford compatible with his Lutheran faith. He had become interested in mission work through reading a copy of Wyneken's Nothschrei, and when informed by his younger brother of Loehe's plan for colonization, he offered his services. Craemer arrived at Neudettelsau in the autumn of 1844 to make preparations with Loehe for the mission colony.[12]

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[9]Mayer, 19

[10]Centennial, One Hundred Years of Grace, St. Lorenz Evangelical Lutheran Church, Frakenmuth, Michigan, 36. Hereafter referred to as Centennial.

[11]Graebner, 30-31.

[12]Mayer, 15.

The financing of this missionary venture was supplied by donations from a group of wealthy people in Mecklenburg. Loehe wrote Pastor Schmidt in Scio, asking him to find a suitable location for the proposed settlement. Schmidt, in turn, told one of his own missionaries, Johann J. F. Auch, at Sebewaing to choose a site for them around the Saginaw Valley region.[13] The name chosen in advance by Loehe for this settlement was Frankenmut, i.e., the Courage of the Franks. The early spelling of the community, as Greenholt's dissertation shows, was without the h.[14] Only once is the h spelling used in Florer's reproduction of the Kirchliche Mittheilungen.[15] The "Gemeinde Ordnung" of 1848 also uses the spelling without h, but the revision of the "Gemeinde Ordnung" of 1852 uses the spelling Frankenmuth.[16] But, however spelled, the name continued until well after 1900, to be pronounced [Frankənmut] and is still so pronounced by many people of German extraction in the Saginaw Valley. Gradually, but well after 1920, a

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[13]Graebner, 33.

[14]Homer Reginald Greenholt, A Study of Wilhelm Loehe, His Colonies and the Lutheran Missions in the Saginaw Valley of Michigan: unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Chicago, 1937.

[15]Kirchliche Mittheilungen, 1846, Nro. 6, section 8.

[16]"Gemeinde Ordnung der Gemeinde Frankenmut" in Florer, II, 10-20, in facsimile. Hereafter referred to as "Gemeinde Ordnung, 1848;" "Gemeinde Ordnung der Gemeinde Frankenmuth," Florer, I, 99-108. Hereafter referred to as "Gemeinde Ordnung, 1852."

second pronunciation [frɑŋkənmuθ] developed among outsiders and has since come into use among some of the townspeople who have taken to speaking English.

Craemer was ordained into the ministry in Bremen on April 4, 1845. I imagine this was more or less a privilege given to Mecklenburgers as a compensation for their financial aid, for certainly Loehe could have ordained Craemer as a minister in Neudettelsau. The group that Craemer led was composed of one married couple, Martin Haspel and his wife, Margaretha, nee Leinberger; four engaged couples: Johann Conrad Weber and his fiancee Kunigunde Bernthal; Lorenz Loesel and his fiancee Margaretha Walther; Johann List and his fiancee Marie Lotter; and Johann Pickelmann and his fiancee Margaretha Auer; two single men, Johann Bierlein and Leonhard Bernthal; and Henry Craemer, a waif whom Craemer had adopted.[17]

On April 20 the Carolina, carrying this band of colonizing-missionaries, weighed anchor. The next day Craemer married the engaged couples who sailed with him. Evidently the Bavarian law which required a man to own property in order to apply for a marriage license prevented these couples from being married in Germany. This law was later to become the underlying factor in settling one of Loehe's later colonies in the Saginaw Valley.

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[17]Centennial, 36.

This first group of Loehe's colonists arrived in New York City on June 8 and were received by the pastor of St. Matthew's Church in New York City. Two days later Craemer married Dorothea Benthien, a woman who had served as a nurse to smallpox patients during the voyage, but not one of the Bavarian colonists. This marriage was in accordance with the advice of Loehe, who urged Craemer to choose a wife before beginning his work in the wilderness of Michigan.[18]

From New York the colonists took the route to Michigan followed by all of the succeeding Bavarian emigrants; to Albany by boat, from Albany to Buffalo by train, and by boat to Detroit. From Detroit Craemer and his group went by boat to Bay City, then called Lower Saginaw, and from there down the Saginaw River to Saginaw City.

Pastor Auch, who had made preparations for this group as Schmidt had instructed him, met them in Saginaw City and quartered them in his home. At this time Auch lived in Saginaw City, but was doing missionary work among the Indians at Sebewaing. The land which he had chosen for the new settlers, about ten miles southeast of Saginaw, they found agreeable to them, for it was near an Indian settlement and also bordered on the Cass River, which could furnish them with drinking water and also serve as power for a flour mill. A square mile of government land was purchased at $2.50 per

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[18]Graebner, 34.

acre. Daily the men walked from Saginaw to this area in order to clear the land and to erect the buildings for the settlement, while the women remained at Auch's home. This group of "Dutchmen" in their Bavarian clothes caused considerable curiosity among the Saginaw folk, for they were the first Germans to settle in the region.

The first buildings at Frankenmuth were the company hut for the colonists, about thirty feet square, and the parsonage for Craemer, which also served as the church. The cattle and farm equipment were bought in common with monies remaining from funds which the people of Mecklenburg had provided for this missionary venture.[19] This is the only instance of common property ownership in the community. The primary problem of the community was the division of land. Loehe intended his colonies in the United States to be parts of the German Reich. The charter, which the colonists signed before departure, pledged them to be loyal subjects of Germany.[20] Naturally, Craemer wanted the new settlement to be planned according to German farm communities, with the farmers living in a group around the church. Pastor Auch advised him that the American way, i.e., each farmer living on his own land, was more

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[19]Kirchliche Mittheilungen, 1845, Nro. 11, Section 25.

[20]Graebner, 89. See also Appendix I.

suitable for them. The settlers accepted Auch's advice, though against Craemer's wish. In the Fall of 1845 the settlers began constructing their own log cabins on their allotted land.[21] Each family repaid the church for their land, and the list of early landowners shows that all of this first group owned their own land by 1854.[22]

As a mission colony Frankenmuth was not successful. The Indians never settled in permanent villages, but moved throughout the area wherever hunting and fishing was plentiful. This meant that the children staying at the mission house would leave with their parents, and also that Craemer would have to follow them to their new location to evangelize the older ones. However, by June 1846 eleven children were staying at the mission house,[23] and on the third day after Christmas three were baptized; Abrupuam, a boy of 17-18 years who took the Christian name of Abraham; his elder sister, who was baptized Magdalene; and his younger sister, who was baptized Anna. These three were children of an English father (doubtless American, for Yankee or English was then applied to the English speaking settlers by the Frankenmuthers), and an Indian mother. After the service Craemer sang some hymns with them which he had translated into the Chippewa language.[24]

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[21]Mayer, 30.

[22]M. A. Leeson, History of Saginaw County, Michigan, 837.

[23]Mayer, 36.

[24]Kirchliche Mittheilungen, 1849, Nro. 3, section 6.

The second group of immigrants from Germany sponsored by Loehe arrived at Frankenmuth in May, 1846. They were farmers and tradesmen from Rottstall, Altmuehlthal, and Ansbach in Bavaria.[25] In this group was the enterprising Hubinger family, who built the village's first flour mill and lumber mill. These settlers, nine families with children, ten married couples and a few single men--some ninety to one hundred souls--, purchased their lands directly from the government. The village began to form around the dam of the saw mill, about a mile from the church.

Loehe, through the reports from Craemer that the Indians did not live in permanent settlements, soon realized that mission colonies in America were not practical. Therefore he conceived a new plan for colonization. Instead of having emigrants leave singly or in small groups, he would organize them before they departed from Germany and send each group under the leadership of a pastor. For his second colony he chose the name Frankentrost, Consolation of the Franks.

In April 1847 twenty-two families under the leadership of Pastor Johann Heinrich Phillip Graebner left Germany to form this new settlement. They had gathered $4,000 among themselves for the purchase of lands, which was sent to Craemer in Frankenmuth.[26] Pastor Graebner recorded his account of the

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[25]Mayer, 43.

[26]Graebner, 42.

journey and the settlement in Die fraenkischen Colonien des Saginaw Thales in Staate Michigan, which, unfortunately, has never been printed. Theodore Graebner, who has had access to this unique copy, quotes some of this manuscript in Church Bells in the Forest, part of which is worth retelling here.

> The instructions of Pastor Loehe provided that I travel in steerage together with my colonists. If our vessell should meet with dangers, I was to think of my own rescue only after the last of my charges had left the ship. In case of extreme peril I should be found ready to remain on board with those who should happen to remain there and comfort them in the moment of death.[27]

The site chosen by Craemer and Graebner for Frankentrost was about seven miles northwest of Frankenmuth. At that time government land cost $1.25 an acre, but Michigan State bonds could be purchased cheaply and were accepted at face value for buying land. Using this financial advantage, the colonists bought the land for only eighty-two cents an acre. For the next ten years Frankentrost was a self-sufficient community without a single road to the outside world, and its only contacts with civilization were through the other Bavarian settlements. As Johann Graebner records:

> The first log cabins were miserable affairs. The floor was the naked clay. No rock was available for fireplaces; these also were made of clay. Most of the tables, chairs, and bedsteads were made by the settlers themselves.

27-[illegible]

Rupprecht's Sausage. The sausage factory was started some thirty years ago. They sell various types of German sausages and are open Sundays for the tourist trade. Hubinger's Super Market has a similar business.

The business district of the village is about a mile up the Cass River from St. Lorenz Church. In 1846 John M. and John G. Hubinger, brothers, built a saw mill on the river near this site, and around it stores and homes were built which formed the community. In 1913 the village built and operated its own electrical power plant, using the river as the source of energy. However, in recent years the town has been serviced by the Consumers Power Company. The Hubingers also built a flour mill along the river in 1870. The Hubinger Lumber Company, though no longer operating a saw mill, is still owned by the family, and their mill, now called the Star of the West Milling Company, produces a special type of flour used for crackers, cookies, and pies.[15]

The three hotels of Frankenmuth (one must go to the motel for a room, however, because the hotels cater only to dinners and parties) have made the town famous. Thousands of people from all over Michigan come every year to the village for Frankenmuth Style Chicken Dinners. The name has become

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[15]"Success of Frankenmuth Attained by Hard Work," Michigan Tradesman, No. 3309 (October 29, 1952), 3-4.

so popular that one restaurant in Detroit specializes in this style of food. On Mother's Day 1952 Zehnder's Hotel alone served 3,504 meals.[16]

Actually the chicken dinners are only unusual from the standpoint of quantity. They are served family style, and the patron may have as much chicken as he desires. The meal includes unlimited quantities of chicken and side dishes, of cottage cheese, noodles, salads, vegetables, pickles and coffee. The business of chicken dinners was traditionally started by Theodore Fischer around 1915, but not until around 1939 did they become popular throughout the state. The menu is prepared by housewives, no professional chefs are employed, and served by girls from the community and neighboring farms. Both the large hotels, Fischer's and Zehnder's, are now owned by the Zehnder family. McNiven's Hotel, once called Gallagher and McNiven's, is now owned by the McNiven family. The Irish name belongs to a Lutheran from Sebawaing, who married one of the Fischer girls.

The former Commercial House, a hotel owned by the Kern family, is now occupied by the Frankenmuth News, which prints a weekly newspaper and also does job printing. The

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[16]"Aunt Maggie," Michigan Tradesman, No. 3309 (October, 29, 1952), 7.

Frankenmuth News was founded by E. W. Gallagher, a merchant from Bridgeport, Michigan, in 1906. Although almost every year the paper gets requests to print a German edition, the News has never complied. Mr. Gallagher knew no German. After 1930 the editorial post was handled by Gallagher's son. The paper is now owned by two outsiders, but is edited by a local person, Irene Zeilinger. Only the editions for the last fifteen years of the News have been preserved. Much of the news is of local church events, but, in general, it is similar to any small town newspaper.

The largest industry in the town is Universal Engineering, founded in 1926 by both local and outside financing. It produces machine tools and employs some 400 people, many from neighboring towns. Frankenmuth Brewery has grown from a small pre-prohibition plant to a modern large industry employing over 200 people. It sells beer and Old English Ale throughout Michigan. Geyer's Brewery is more typical of Frankenmuth. Small, employing about thirty, it has been in the Geyer family since 1874. The recipe is reputed to have been the same during all these years, and the beer is still made in the brewery built in 1890. The company is now expanding its business to Saginaw, Bay, and Tuscola counties. Across the street from the brewery is Geyer's Tavern. Because the family was forbidden by present liquor laws to operate a tavern as well as a

brewery, the building now serves as the office of the village clerk. Only the brass rail and the taps were removed from the building for this change.

The Feuer Unterstuetzung Verein was organized in 1868 by a group of citizens. It was reorganized in 1941 and is now the Frankenmuth Mutual Fire Insurance Company. It insures buildings throughout the Saginaw Valley, and true to the "Gemeinde Ordnung," has never been involved in a law suit. The Frankenmuth Mutual Auto Insurance Company was organized in 1921. It serves auto owners in the Saginaw Valley. Its business reputation is equal to that of the fire insurance company. These companies, like all businesses in Frankenmuth, do not limit their associations only to Lutherans.

Lorenz Hubinger, Jr. said in 1900 that for any emergency on which he and Pastor Mayer could agree the town could produce half a million dollars from the gold hoarded in homes in twenty-four hours.[17] The Frankenmuth State Bank, affiliated with the Bank of Saginaw, was founded in 1910 to alleviate this sugar bowl saving system. Its officers are members of the community. The bank's resources are over $8,000,000.

Although the Lutheran Church has never forbidden its members from seeing movies and does not have an official board

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[17]Russell, 338.

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[17]Russell, 338.

of censorship, the cinema is considered as a possible source of corruption. Members of the church are to use their own discretion in attending movies, but when in doubt as to the morality of a film, they should ask the advice of the pastor. The most conservative members of the church still attend only those movies which they consider will be educational. At various times business men around Frankenmuth considered building a moving picture theater in the village, but none were successful in completing the project. In 1946 Albert Wakeman, a farmer from Fenton, Michigan, secured a theater building permit from the village council, and constructed the Ken theater, Ken being the heart of Frankenmuth. The selection of films is like those offered in any small town theater. Monday is Dish Nite and Thursday is Cash Nite. The theater operates every night of the year except Christmas Eve.

Most of the farms in the area which were bought by the early settlers have remained in the hands of their descendents. All of them are prosperous, and many a farmer's estate in the township is worth over $30,000. The average farm in the district is between eighty and one hundred twenty acres, the crops being wheat, oats, and sugar beets.

Although the village has never frowned on the conveniences of modern living, the homes having refrigerators, deep freezers, TV sets, etc., the love of complete

independence and a desire for isolation still persists. In 1950 Government officials from Washington investigated an unusual decision by the village. Frankenmuth had refused Federal aid for building a dike along the Cass River. Funds for this project were supplied by the village treasury, local taxes, and contributions. There is no dislike of the Federal Government by the villagers; they simply like to do things in their own way with their own money. In April 1953 almost the whole township of Frankenmuth was zoned as residential property, farms included. A large General Motors Corporation plant is now being constructed about four miles north of the village, and the people want to regulate any commercial building in their own area which may result from this nearby industrial expansion. This plant will also affect the growth of Frankentrost and Richville, since it is also only a few miles from these villages. It is well known in Saginaw that every year on the date which the township taxes are due to Saginaw County, the treasurer of Frankenmuth Township reports to the Court House with a check for full payment of the township's taxes. He is always the first in the county to do so. Tradition says that one year when a merchant of Frankenmuth could not meet his tax bill, the necessary money was loaned to him by friends, so that this record would not be broken.

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH

As a mission colony Frankenmuth was not successful, because the Indians moved throughout the Thumb Area of Michigan in search of better hunting and fishing grounds. Craemer, therefore, was required to make long trips through the forests to their villages in order to evangelize them. Most of Frankenmuth's missionary activities seem to have been discontinued when Craemer left the settlement in 1850. Edward R. Baierlein, a graduate of the Mission House at Leipsic, Germany, came to Frankenmuth in 1847 to aid Craemer with his mission work. In 1848 Baierlein, hearing that there was a large Indian settlement in the vicinity of St. Louis, Michigan, some fifty miles northwest of Frankenmuth, founded Bethany Mission near this village. At the Bethany Mission he translated into the Ojibway language parts of Luther's Catechism, some hymns, and a speller and reader. A copy of the catechism reposes in the library of Concordia Seminary at Fort Wayne, Indiana. In 1849 the Missouri Synod assumed charge of the Bethany Mission, thereby freeing Frankenmuth from the costs and responsibilities. In 1853 Baierlein left the mission to accept a call for mission work in East India, and gradually the mission station at Bethany ceased to operate. Later

he wrote a book Im Urwald: Bei den rohten Indianern, describing his experiences at Bethany Mission.[1] The book was published in Germany and evidently was not circulated too widely in America, for I have not been able to locate a copy. W. W. Florer, a faculty member at the University of Michigan, is now preparing a book on the mission activities of Baierlein at Bethany.

Craemer describes the life and education of his Indian converts at the Frankenmuth Mission in a report to the Lutheraner. The group of young boys and girls, usually around ten in number, lived barracks style with Craemer's wife as the matron. Probably the company hut, which was no longer used by the settlers, was used to house these children. They were taught hymns, spelling, reading and counting in German, "some English," and Luther's Small Catechism in their own language.[2] It is reported that at the seventy-fifth anniversary in 1920 of St. Lorenz Church of Frankenmuth, Phillip Gruet, a seventy-three year old Indian, one of the early converts to Christianity, delivered a short address to the congregation in gutem Deutsch.[3] The church records of

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[1]Ludwig Ernest Fuerbringer, 80 Eventful Years, 23.

[2]Friedrich August Craemer, "A Report on the Mission Colony at Frankenmuth, Michigan," Lutheraner, V, (September 12, 1848), 3. Reproduced in translation in H. O. A. Keinath, Documents of the Lutheran Church, 40.

[3]Hoffman, 47.

Frankenmuth show that thirty-one Indian children were baptized by Craemer during his five year stay at the village and a few others by his successors.[4] Today the only reminder which the community has of its original purpose as an Indian mission is the Indian Cemetery at St. Louis, which is still tended by the St. Lorenz congregation.

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pastors from Missouri and formed a new synod. The main tenet of this new organization, called the Missouri Synod, was that the ministers of this group remain true to the original doctrines of faith as set down by Martin Luther, and especially that they follow the precepts of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession.[6] Today one may see on most cornerstones of most of the Missouri Synod churches the name of the church followed by U.A.C., e.g., Holy Cross Evangelical Lutheran Church, U.A.C., the abbreviation for the Unaltered Augsburg Confession.[7] All church members and ministers of the Missouri Synod were required to associate in religious affairs only with other members of the synod. This precept for the most part still holds true today in the synod. Mixed marriages, marriages of a Lutheran with a non-Lutheran, are permitted, but ministers cannot perform marriage ceremonies where both parties are non-Lutheran. A non-synod member may

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[6] "The First Constitution of the Missouri Synod, 1847," reproduced in translation in Keinath, 35-36.

[7] The Augsburg Confession, penned in 1530 by Melancthon states the views of Luther and his followers regarding free will, original sin, the sacraments of the church, etc. The Altered Augsburg Confession of 1540 by Melancthon differs with Luther's views on free will and communion. J. L. Neve, Story and Significance of the Augsburg Confession, 87-96, states that the differences are minor.

be a witness at a baptism, but not a sponsor, since a sponsor is held responsible for the Christian education of his ward. Under the constitution of the Missouri Synod each congregation is permitted to choose and dismiss its own minister and to govern itself in non-doctrinal matters. About thirty years ago a congregation in Michigan dismissed a minister mainly because his sermons were documented with anecdotes. He was in no way disgraced in the synod for this method of preaching and now has a parish in the northern part of the State.

Divinity students of the Missouri Synod become candidates for the ministry upon graduation from the seminary. Once they are installed in a church, i.e., have a permanent position as a clergyman, they assume the title of pastor or reverend. Installing may be done by any pastor in the church. In recent years the Missouri Synod has joined with the Wisconsin, Slovak, and Norwegian Synods to form the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference. The Missouri Synod now usually refers to itself as the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod.

The Constitution of the Missouri Synod was exactly opposed to Loehe's beliefs. By 1853, Loehe, back in Germany, saw no hope of saving his Bavarian settlements--the other pastors and congregations by this time had followed Craemer's example and joined the Missouri Synod--from what he called their "popery," while the Missouri Synod lost all hope of

convincing him of his errors in church organization. In his farewell letter, dated August 4, 1853, written from Germany to the Saginaw Valley settlements, Loehe states that since it is impossible for their relationship to continue as it has been, he must sever all connections with them. He especially is grieved that they consider the congregation as supreme in its own affairs, Loehe wanting bishops as district governors, and that a minister has no separate higher status. He also considers as popery their reluctance to associate with churches not members of the Missouri Synod.[8]

Frankenmuth today has two churches, both members of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference. St. Lorenz, the church founded by Craemer in 1845, has an average Sunday attendance of 1600, and St. John's, founded in 1880, has about 200 members attending worship on Sunday. The congregation of St. Lorenz has always called the best available ministers and at times was as long as six months without a permanent pastor while choosing one whom the congregation deemed qualified. Many of their pastors left for higher positions at the church's seminaries, and some like Dr. Emanuel A. Mayer became famous in the synod for their sermons. The requirement for the St. Lorenz pulpit has always been scholarship, and never a matter of Bavarian heritage.

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[8]Loehe, "Farewell Letter," reproduced in translation in Keinath, 50-53.

Pastor Friedrich August Craemer left Frankenmuth in 1850 when he was called as professor to the Concordia Seminary at Ft. Wayne, Indiana. Loehe sent Rev. Carl Roebbelen, a native-born German who received all his education there, to replace him on May 2, 1851. Because of Roebbelen's ill health, J. A. Huegli was called to assist him in 1857. Huegli remained there only one year and then moved to Saginaw, and in the same year Roebbelen resigned and returned to Germany, where he died in 1866.[9] In 1858 Rev. Ottomar Fuerbringer was then called from Freistadt, Wisconsin. Ottomar Fuerbringer was born in Gera Ruess in Saxony on June 10, 1810. He received all his education in Germany, graduating from the University of Leipsic in 1830. He emigrated with a group of Saxons to Perry County, Missouri in 1838, and was one of the founders of the Concordia Seminary at St. Louis, Missouri, in 1839. For a short time he was professor of classical literature at the seminary.[10]

Fuerbringer's son, Ludwig, was called to assist him in 1885, and when the elder Fuerbringer died a few months later, he became first pastor. Ludwig Fuerbringer was born in Frankenmuth on March 29, 1865. At thirteen he attended

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[9]Hoffman, 11.

[10]Portraits and Bibliographical Record of Saginaw and Bay Counties, Michigan, 549-50.

Concordia College in Ft. Wayne, a four year school organized to prepare men for further study at seminaries, and upon graduation matriculated at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis. In his book 80 Eventful Years Fuerbringer describes his pastorate in Frankenmuth. It was a great help to him that he had been reared in the community, because much of his pastoral calls was carried on in Bayrisch. As did many of his associates, Fuerbringer continued his study of the Hebrew testament on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, and read the Greek testament on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.[11] In May, 1893, Fuerbringer was called to teach at the seminary in St. Louis. Later he became president of the institution and remained active in its affairs until his death in 1947. His son, Alfred Fuerbringer, for many years president of Concordia Teachers College in Seward, Nebraska, was appointed as president of the Concordia Seminary in St. Louis in 1953.[12]

Pastor Emanuel A. Mayer, author of the St. Lorenz's fiftieth anniversary book (1895), replaced Fuerbringer in 1893. Mayer was born in Mannheim, Germany, in 1859, and received his early education there. He emigrated to America with his family at an early age and was graduated from Concordia Seminary, Ft. Wayne, in 1880. From 1894-1900 he

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[11]Fuerbringer, 153-161.

[12]"Men from Missouri," Time, LXI (April 27, 1953), 80-81.

was assisted by his father, Rev. August A. H. Mayer.[13] The elder Mayer, educated in Germany, was nearly seventy-six years old when he came to Frankenmuth.

On Christmas Day 1900 Rev. Henry Voss was called as assistant pastor to Emanuel A. Mayer. Voss was born in Mecklenburg, Germany, in 1860. He received his early education there and his theological training in America.[14] In 1931 Rev. A. C. Klammer was called from Good Thunder, Minnesota, as assistant pastor when Voss resigned because of old age. Klammer, a native born American, received his education in the seminary at St. Louis. He still serves as assistant pastor in the St. Lorenz Church. Upon the death of Emanuel A. Mayer in 1940, his son, M. E. Mayer, assumed the office as first pastor to the church. He received his early education in Frankenmuth and his theological training at St. Louis. Both of the present pastors of St. Lorenz, Klammer and Mayer, preach services in German as well as in English.

Although the separation of church and state is one of the main precepts of the Missouri Synod, in a community like Frankenmuth where all are of the same faith, the minister's advice is occasionally sought in what would

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[13]Mills, II, 309.

[14]<u>Ibid</u>., 309.

normally be temporal affairs, such as what clubs and organizations it is advisable to form. The minister may also be called upon to arbitrate family affairs. In affairs of business however, the minister is seldom called upon for advice by his parishioners. In Frankenmuth book and magazine salesmen from outside the community sometimes call upon the minister for an endorsement, believing that his approval will induce members of his parish to subscribe to their literature.

In the Missouri Synod it is the minister who decides if divorce is permissable by any of his church members, the only grounds being adultery and extreme cruelty. The guilty party in a divorce is excommunicated, which means his membership is dropped from the church roll call. Often in matters of divorce, or of a proposed marriage which might seem irregular, the minister makes his decision with the council of the voting members of the church. Divorce is such a rare thing in Frankenmuth that no one seems to remember when one last occurred.

Leeson, in his History of Saginaw County, Michigan, gives an interesting account of the authority of the ministers in Frankenmuth during the early days.

> During the [Civil] war the people of this township [Frankenmuth] adopted a novel way to fill their quota. The town is a German settlement; the pastor is a regular patriarch, whose counsel

> is sought in temporal as well as in spiritual matters. He called his parish together, and announced that the quota of the town must be filled, and that he had selected certain of young unmarried men to go. He read their names and told them they or their fathers must go. Every one of them enlisted instantly, and were mustered into the 31st Regiment August 27, 1864.[15]

How true this story is no one can tell, but Emanuel A. Mayer relates in his history of the church that it was laudable that the single men went freely to fill the draft quota of the Civil War.[16]

Church membership is divided into three categories: souls, communicant members, and voting members. A soul is any member associated with the church, including children and non-Lutheran spouses of church members. Communicant members are those who are confirmed. Children are usually confirmed when they have completed the eighth grade at the parochial school. This status of communicant membership entitles one to receive communion, to belong to various church organizations, and to be buried in the church cemetery. Voting members are males over twenty-one years of age whose membership is held in good standing. Membership, however, in this category is not automatic, for a person is invited to this status by the other voting members. All business

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[15]Leeson, 839.

[16]Mayer, 90.

of the church is in the hands of the voting members. They call new ministers, plan building programs, decide whether the conduct of any member warrants rebuking or even excommunication. They elect a board of trustees, who act as officials of this group as well as of the church. A voting member is not considered elected in the Puritan sense. At present St. Lorenz has 2771 souls, 1947 communicant members, and 699 voting members.

Each congregation in the Church is at liberty to choose which of the prescribed forms of church services to use, the difference between these various forms being mainly how the Kyrie and other rituals are chanted and spoken. The St. Lorenz congregation is noted for using the most elaborate forms of worship in the Order of Service. Until 1901 the cantor was responsible for church music. The title is no longer used, but one of the school teachers has as part of his job the duty of furnishing church music.

Private confession at the pastor's house before holy communion is also permitted by the Church. Although it was seldom practiced in the United States, it was used extensively in Bavaria during the nineteenth century. The emigrants of Loehe brought private confession with them to the New World, and until 1893 it was the standard procedure at Frankenmuth.[17] Finally a choice was given of either

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[17]Mayer, 86.

private or general confession, *i.e.*, silent confession before the service. As late as 1920 private confession was available to the members of St. Lorenz.[18] It appears that St. Lorenz was one of the few, if not the only Lutheran church in Michigan, at any time to use private confession.

There are four cemeteries in Frankenmuth: the Old Cemetery of St. Lorenz, the New Cemetery of St. Lorenz, St. John's, and a public cemetery. In the Old Cemetery, used mainly until 1880 at which time the new church was built, there were no family plots. People were buried in rows as they died, and the tombstones are set in neat rows. All of them, without exception, have German inscriptions and usually include the deceased's confirmation verse, which also was usually the text of the sermon for his funeral. In 1896 a new set of cemetery rules was formed by the congregation, making three sections in the New Cemebery, an infants', single adults', and family plots. The alottment of a family plot does not, however, give ownership to the family, for the plots remain the property of the congregation. There are also special regulations as to the inscriptions and type of headstones which may be used.[19] I saw only a few markers in the New Cemetery inscribed in German. St. John's offers

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[18]Hoffman, 13.

[19]*Ibid.*, 15-17.

either single or family plots. In the cemeteries of both churches only members of the congregation may be interred.

It is said that almost every home in Frankenmuth has at least one member who is either a parochial school teacher or a minister. In the last century over two hundred men from the community have served the church in these capacities. The town ranks second in this respect only to Perry County, Missouri, home of the Concordia Seminary. St. Lorenz has a special fund which provides financial aid for any needy ministrial student or future parochial school teacher from the congregation.

Not much information is available on St. John's Church, which was founded in 1880. The congregation stems from a mission in Mittlefranken—an area four miles north of Frankenmuth. This mission was founded in 1863 and was affiliated with the Michigan Synod. Shortly after the mission moved into the village and became St. John's Church, it joined the Wisconsin Synod. Both Synods, being members of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference permit St. John's and St. Lorenz to associate with each other in religious affairs. St. John's is small, having around 600 souls compared with St. Lorenz's 2771, and does not support a parochial school, but church members usually send their children to St. Lorenz school for a Christian education.

By 1930 St. John's was offering morning church services in English as well as in German. However, it was not until 1939 that St. Lorenz inaugurated morning services in English, i.e., providing double headers in the parlance of the clergy. Previous to this time there had been occasional Sunday evening vesper services in English at St. Lorenz. In 1945 attendance at St. Lorenz was 1100 at German services and 350 at English; in June 1948 attendance was 896 at German and 402 at English.[20] Today attendance at both services is about 800 each. St. John's averages about 150 at English and 50 at German worship. In perhaps ten or fifteen years, German will be discontinued in church services at St. John's.

The decline of German at St. Lorenz is reflected in the anniversary literature of the church: the fiftieth (1895) and seventy-fifth (1920) books were in German, the latter using occasional English idioms, e.g., porch, town-hall, village, public school and garden spot, while the centennial book (1945) is in English and uses only three German words, Altsitz (the old home), Konfirmandenhaus (confirmation house), and Pfarrer (pastor).

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[20]"State's 'Most Patriotic Town' Still Speaking German," Detroit News, News Pictorial (August 5, 1945), col.1, 10-11. Also "Bulletin of St. Lorenz Lutheran Church," Fourth Sunday after Trinity (June 20, 1948).

CHAPTER IV

THE SCHOOL

It is the desire of the Lutheran parochial schools to give students a Christian as well as secular education. They have always conformed in spirit, if not in fact, to the laws of the state regarding curriculum and teacher standards. In accordance with the belief of strict separation of church and state, however, they will accept no financial aid from the state. They were leaders of the opposition to the recent question of state aid for parochial schools.[1]

The parochial school teacher in Frankenmuth ranks second only to the minister in commanding respect. His title is teacher and married teachers are provided teacherages for their families. This respect for teachers is carried over to the public school instructor now that there is a public school as well as parochial schools in the district, and in 1950 a teacherage was built for the superintendent of public schools.

All the parochial teachers in the community have been trained at either Lutheran teacher colleges or at

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[1] I am indebted to Teacher E. F. Rittmueller, principal of St. Lorenz School, for much of the information in this chapter.

other Lutheran institutions of higher learning. Most have a degree and all hold a state teacher's certificate. Until ten years ago all of them had a command of German and many of them today have a trace, though usually slight, of a Germanic accent. Their English speech, however, is not that of the community. The older instructors have acquired a knowledge of Bayrisch if they didn't know it when entering the community. Most of the younger members of the faculty, however, either know no German or have met only the minimum college language requirements. Teachers, parochial as well as public, are accorded the same privileges as other citizens and may smoke or drink a beer whenever he so desires.

The first teacher in the community was Candidate J. L. Flessa (1846-1847), who assisted Craemer with some of his ministerial duties as well as instructing the Indian and parish children. Teacher Pinkepank (1847-1854) replaced him and acted as both the cantor and teacher. Cantor Riedel served the community as teacher from 1854 to 1901. As early as 1854 he had eighty students.[2] The school building was probably near the village.

In 1858 Craemer, during a visit to Frankenmuth, advised the congregation to form an English district school along with the parochial school. Karl G. Pfieffer was called

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[2]Mayer, 96.

as the English public school teacher in that year. However, since everyone in the community was of the same faith, he was regarded as one of the parish and was maintained by the church.[3] This eventually led to a combining of public and parochial schools in the same building; a similar arrangement was followed in most of the other Bavarian communities.

In 1861 a school was built in the western part of the township, where Cantor Riedel taught parochial subjects to half the group while Pfeiffer, the public school teacher, taught English to the other half. This system was followed in the subsequent schools in Frankenmuth township for many years. Sometimes one teacher doubled in both capacities, being the public as well as the parochial teacher.

The system of combining both schools in this way was not illegal in idea. The state required that the public school be held 180 half days each year, and since the schools in the township were open 180 full days, the parishioners considered this to fulfill the state requirement. The salary of about $300 a year was paid half with community taxes and half with church funds. The first objection to this arrangement by state officials was voiced in 1895, but not until 1903 was there a separate public school building.

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[3] Ibid., 97.

Just what the curriculum offered in these early schools is unknown. The following is the proposed program for Lutheran schools of the Missouri Synod. This could not have been followed according to schedule, since the Frankenmuth schools divided their day into half English and half German instruction.

DAILY PROGRAM FOR A LUTHERAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL--1854

The following daily program for a Lutheran elementary school, such as the Missouri Synod fostered from the beginning, was presented to the Chicago Conference of teachers by H. Barthel. It assumes that the school is in session five days a week, six hours per day. The children are divided into three classes:

1. Those who can read correctly and readily (richtig und fertig)

2. Those who can read correctly but not readily

3. Those who can read neither correctly nor readily

Monday

9:00-10:15 A.M.
Morning devotion. Then religious instruction according to Luther's Small Catechism.

10:15-11:00 A.M.
Bible reading for the first class. Penmanship for the second and third classes. Note: After the reading, the teacher lets the children relate what they have read. Similarly, the second class is questioned on the reading.

11:00-12:00 M.
First half of period, mental arithmetic for the first and second classes, spelling for the third, in second part of period, singing.

1:00-2:00 P.M.
Penmanship for first class, reading of stories for second; spelling with the third class.
Note: If time is insufficient for third class, continue with it in next period.

2:00-3:00 P.M.
Arithmetic for all children.

3:00-4:00 P.M.
English combined with German language lessons.

Close with prayer.

Note: For each the third class will memorize a small part of the catechism or a short Bible passage and recite it immediately after the reading lesson.

Tuesday

Same as for previous day.

Wednesday

9:00-10:30 A.M.
Morning devotion. Then Bible History according to Huebner's Histories combined with reading of this history by first and second classes.

10:30-11:30 A.M.
First class: German language
Second class: Penmanship
Third class: Reading

11:30-12:00 M.
First class: Continuation of previous period
Recitation by second and third classes

1:00-2:00 P.M.
Arithmetic for first and second classes; reading for third class.

2:00-3:00 P.M.
General topics with all classes.

3:00-4:00 P.M.
English reading and language lessons.

Close with prayer.

Thursday

> Same plan and subjects as for Monday and Tuesday, except that in the second hour of the morning the first class reads a hymn from the hymn book.

Friday

> In the morning, same plan as for Wednesday, except that in Bible History the class does not read. The first two hours of the afternoon same as Wednesday. In the third period the corrected German language lessons are returned and new assignments made. The first class recites memory work. In preparation for Sunday, the epistle and gospel lessons are read by the first class.
>
> Close with prayer.[4]

Ludwig Fuerbringer relates that much of his education at Frankenmuth--this would be around 1870-1880--was in the Franconian dialect, the correct name for what the Frankenmuthers call Bayrisch, because many of the children could not understand either High German or English. Even the English half of the day was usually in German, and he reports the teacher as often settling a point by saying: "Wir wollen einmal sehen was Webster sagt."[5]

Since Cantor Riedel never learned to speak English, the school in the village, founded in 1868, divided the students into two groups, one group studying in English under one teacher and the other in German under Riedel. History

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[4]Reproduced in translation in Keinath, 59-60.

[5]Fuerbringer, 23.

and geography were usually in German, but arithmetic was taught in English, for as the village sage puts it, "They knew if you wanted to make money you have to know arithmetic in English."

By 1914 all the parochial schools limited German instruction to one period a day and only religion and memorizing, i.e., learning Luther's Small Catechism, were taught in German.[6] This condition prevailed until about 1937 at which time religious instructions were offered in either language. As late as 1943 some religion was still taught in German.

The instruction of German became voluntary with the introduction of English religious instruction. Today German is elected by the pupils. No German instruction is offered in the first grade, the teacher not being able to teach the subject. According to Teacher Rittmueller, about twenty-five pupils enroll for it in the second grade, some fifteen in the third grade, and about five in the fourth grade. No German is offered above this level. The decline of German in the school reflects the feeling of the parents. The only

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[6] Luther's Small Catechism contains the articles of faith, i.e., the Ten Commandments, Apostles Creed, etc., with an explanation of each one. It also gives an explanation of the sacraments of the Church. The second half of the book contains about five hundred Bible verses which document the articles of faith.

pupils studying it are the children of parents who say, "Mein Kind soll Deutsch lernen!" There is some hope in the faculty that eventually there will be one class in German composed of students who really desire it.

In 1927 all the rural parochial schools were consolidated as the St. Lorenz School, which is usually referred to as the German School by many of the public school teachers. This was the first such consolidation of parochial schools in the Missouri Synod. Over four hundred pupils now attend there in the several grades from first to eighth, and are instructed by a faculty of ten teachers, mostly men. The building includes a gymnasium, cafeteria, auditorium, and music room. Physical education and music are considered important parts of the curriculum, the choir having seventy-five pupils. School buses, owned by the school, transport the country children to and from the school. After the eighth grade the children of St. Lorenz usually go to the Frankenmuth Township School for grades nine and ten, and then complete their education at Arthur Hill High School in Saginaw, where they study either the academic or commercial course.

The present public school building of Frankenmuth Township, about a mile outside the village was constructed in 1925. Another building is now under construction to enlarge the system to twelve grades. The curriculum meets

state requirements, but the relationship between the public school and St. Lorenz is still close, for the parochial music teacher also instructs the band at the public school. Enrollment at the public school is about 180 students (compared with St. Lorenz's 400), comprising some students from St. John's Church, which does not have a school, some non-Lutherans, and the ninth and tenth grade students from the whole township.

German home life does not seem to impede the learning of the students. St. Lorenz claims no difficulties at all in this respect, though the elementary teachers in the public school report that sometimes words are spelled phonetically as they are heard at home. The students from the village are known for their scholarship in the high school, as many as fifteen of the twelfth graders ranking in the upper ten per cent of their class.

Students who desire to enter the ministry or the field of parochial school teaching usually enroll at the Michigan Lutheran Seminary in Saginaw or at one of the other church preparatory schools in the country for grades nine to twelve. Upon graduation from these institutions students matriculate either at a theological seminary or at one of the Church's colleges or universities. Public school graduates usually return to the village and are employed at one of the of the local industries. Some continue their education at

church colleges or public institutions; most are boys who study engineering, agriculture, or business administration.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL LIFE

Family and social life in Frankenmuth centers mainly around the church.[1] Although the father is the head of the family, he is by no means a tyrant. Important family decisions are made jointly by the husband and wife and sometimes together with the older children in the family. Family meals begin and end with a prayer, and an evening devotion is held by the family before retiring, although this practice is now often being incorporated with the closing prayer of the evening meal. The devotion consists of the reading of the Bible and religious tracts supplied by the church. The father or oldest son is usually the reader. Though these devotions are often held in German, many homes now use English, probably because the church literature is now almost entirely in English.

The important family events are baptisms, confirmations, and weddings. All the relatives and friends of the family are invited to the home for dinner whenever any of these events are celebrated. Card playing and other games are usually not played at these functions, since as many as forty people may be present; therefore the day is spent

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[1] I have obtained the information for this chapter mainly from sources in Frankenmuth.

simply in conversation. The honored guests at these occasions are the school teacher or minister, if the family is fortunate enough to have this privilege, and, at baptisms, the sponsors.

Confirmation, held on Palm Sunday, is an important event in a child's life, since by this ceremony he is accepted as a communicant member of the church, which gives him a feeling of maturity. A child to be qualified for confirmation must have been properly instructed in the doctrines of the Christian Church and have been examined by the minister before the congregation as to his knowledge of them, which amounts to knowing Luther's Small Catechism by memory. The child must be at least fourteen years of age or in the eighth grade at the parochial school. A child may still be confirmed in German at St. Lorenz Church, but German confirmation is now seldom practiced. The last religious instructions in German were given in 1943. Part of the child's interest in confirmation is the many gifts he expects to receive, which are always of some practical value, religious books, clothing, and money. At the family dinner Bayrisch is usually spoken. There is no special religious rite performed at the reception at the home.

Betrothals are contracted by the couples themselves with the consent of the parents. Although an engagement does not constitute a marriage or give the couples any pre-marital

privileges, it is considered a solemn vow which should not be broken. There are no particular age requirements for marriage different from those of the State of Michigan. Most couples are married between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-five, the groom usually being a little older. Wedding receptions are usually held at the home of the bride or at one of the guest rooms at a hotel. Food and beer are served and most of the entertainment is conversation, usually carried on in Bayrisch.

Children are baptized when a few weeks old, usually in the church. Sponsors are usually relatives or close friends, and must be members of the Church; otherwise they could qualify only as witnesses. It is the duty of the sponsor to be responsible for the Christian education of the child in case his parents die. The sponsor usually remembers the child's birthday, confirmation, and wedding with gifts.

In the "Gemeinde Ordnung, 1848," which has fifty-one names, twenty-five of the Christian names were Johann; Georg is a weak second with six.[2] The "Gemeinde Ordnung, 1852," was signed by eighty men; forty-three were named Johann and fifteen Georg, including one initial G and one abbreviation, Geor.[3] The Civil War draft list shows

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[2]"Gemeinde Ordnung, 1848," in Florer, II, 10-20.

[3]"Gemeinde Ordnung, 1852," in Florer, I, 99-108.

one hundred eighty-two names, eighty-four with John and sixteen with George.[4] The most popular middle names on these lists are Georg and Michael. John does not appear once as a middle name on any one of these three lists of names. On the Town's honor roll of over two hundred World War Veterans John appears only once and George three times as Christian names. Harold leads the list with nine, Arnold, Norman, Frank, and Harry each appear four or five times. The only Germanic spelling of this list is Lorenz, Helmuth, and Ludwig.

Until about 1890 a child in Frankenmuth took his sponsors' first names at baptism as his own first and middle names; therefore two or more children in the same family could have the same first name. This practice seems to have been common in the other Bavarian communities in the Saginaw Valley, for my mother, a member of the third generation of Amelith, has as her first and middle names those first names of her sponsors. As an example of this condition in Frankenmuth we find on the Civil War Draft List: John Mathew Hubinger and John George Hubinger, John Mike Hilder and John George Hilder, and George Bernhard Piner and George Mike Piner; all pairs being brothers. As members of the John L. Krafft family we find Anna Margareth, Anna Barbara, and Anna Marie, all sisters.[5]

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[4]Civil War Draft List is in Florer, II, 55-59.

[5]Leeson, 843.

From this confusion of Christian names there developed sets of nicknames which people used: Elisabeth, Lis and Lisle; John, Hans and Hunnie; Thomas, Doms and Domele; Frederick, Fritz and Fred /Fret/; George, Gor and Gergle; Henry, Heiner; Marie, Marele. This group is complete as citizens of Frankenmuth can recall, for most of these nicknames have gone out of usage, or at least there is now a variety of Christian names so that now only one of the above pairs need be used. The suffix le used above is the Bayrisch diminutive, and since my name, Robert, is an uncommon name among the Bayrisch, my grandmother, a member of the second generation from Amelith, coined the name Boberle for me when I was a boy. In the days when there were few Christian names to choose from, one would refer to John Schmidt as the Schmidt's John to avoid confusion as to which of the many Johns in the conversation was meant. Pastor Ottomar Fuerbringer was notable for knowing every one of his parishioners by his baptismal name as well as by his nickname.[6]

Theoretically every communicant member of the Church can read, since it is necessary that a man continue to read the Scriptures throughout his life to keep regenerating his Christian faith. In practice this holds true, although the

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[6]Mayer, 81.

requirement may be relaxed somewhat in cases of the mentally retarded, e.g., people with 80 I.Q. As seen above the Frankenmuthers value the Christian education of the young second only to the function of the church.

In the fiftieth anniversary book Dr. Mayer reminded his congregation of the importance of reading the church periodicals and admonished them that the church archives which hold these journals are not being used enough by church members. He continues that many homes have fine libraries of devotional and other literature. "In Luthers Schriften, Walthers Pastorale und 'Rechte Gestalt' sind manche wohlbeschlagen." The periodicals which Dr. Mayer recommended for reading are Lutheraner, Lehre und Wehre, Synodalberichte, Missionstaube, Kinderblatt, Kranken und Waisenfruend, and Deutsche Freikirche.[7]

Mr. Edw. F. Rolling of the Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Missouri, informs me that all of these journals have been discontinued except Lutheraner. He gives these dates as to which time the other journals discontinued publication: Lehre und Wehre, 1929; Missionstaube, 1933; Kinder und Jugenblatt, 1938; Schulblatt, now in English, the change occuring many years ago; Evangelische Lutherische Freikirche was published in Germany and went out of print

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[7]Mayer, 86-87.

during World War II; Synodalberichte and Kranken und Waisenfreund were both discontinued many years ago. Der Abendschule, which was also read in Frankenmuth, was published by the Louis Lange Publishing Company, a firm which discontinued business about fifteen years ago. As long as the above periodicals were published they were circulated in the homes of Frankenmuth with the exception in later years of the Evangelische Lutherische Freikirche. Frankenmuthers now read the church journals which are printed in English such as the Lutheran Witness and Michigan Lutheran.

There is not much reading of secular literature by the people of Frankenmuth. There is no library in the village and no pressing demand for one from the citizens. However, books may be borrowed by the citizens from the public libraries in Saginaw. A few families subscribe to the current book clubs, but the majority of the people select their popular reading from the news stand at the local drug store, which was founded in 1937. This lack of interest in reading by Frankenmuthers does not reflect the attitude of the Church, which has English and foreign literature departments in all of its colleges and universities. It is interesting to note what this environment of Frankenmuth can do. Some ten years ago I met an illiterate from the village who had learned to read in school, but by the time he was thirty-five years old "just forgot it." This, of course,

is an extreme case. The German language newspapers in Saginaw, all of which were discontinued by World War I, never circulated widely in the village, and I found no evidence of anyone subscribing to today's Detroiter Abend Post. At present the Saginaw and Detroit newspapers have a large circulation in the town, and there is probably not a home in the township which does not subscribe to at least one of them.

Membership in fraternal orders like the Masons and Elks is forbidden by the Church, mainly because they are considered another form of religion and because people of all faiths may join them, which is against the Missouri Synod doctrine of mixed congregations. A few of the non-Lutherans in the village do belong to these societies, but no discrimination is shown against them in business or social affairs for this reason. Membership in Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts was also forbidden for many years by the Church, mainly because the oath to do a good deed a day was considered as a self-righteous act, and also because they were considered as stepping-stones to fraternal orders. Since in recent years the Boy Scout Oath has been changed to a promise, membership in these organizations is now permitted. In 1945 Boy Scout and Girl Scout troops were organized in Frankenmuth, sponsored by St. Lorenz Church. Membership in business organizations, charitable groups, and political

groups has never been forbidden by the Church. The Frankenmuth Rotary Club was organized in 1939. It has about thirty-five members and is active in community affairs. The American Legion Post of Frankenmuth was organized in 1919. At present the membership is over one hundred and fifty. Recently the club built a Legion home, most of the labor being done by club members.

The Church has never agreed on the morality of dancing, and although it is permitted by many pastors, it is viewed by some church leaders as a source of corruption when performed by unmarried couples. Although there are no dance halls in Frankenmuth, in recent years Frankenmuthers have danced at their private parties and those sponsored by clubs in the village. Smoking and the consumption of alcholic beverages is permitted in moderation by the Church, likewise card playing, but not gambling in any form.

The most popular festival of the community is the Kinderfest, the children's picnic of St. Lorenz Church, which is held once each year on a Sunday sometime during the summer in the church grove. Church services combining both English and German are held at the picnic grounds, the church band playing the hymns. After services picnic lunches are eaten. In the afternoon there is a band concert, contests with prizes for the children, and some games like baseball and bowling for the adults. Since 1920

the children have been carried by automobiles, rather than by wagons, in the procession from the town to the grove.[8]

Although the people of the community have private parties in their homes and the town's secular organizations like the Rotary Club and the American Legion sponsor various activities, the functions of church organizations offer by far the most important opportunities for social life among the people of the community. The ladies aid societies of both churches play an important part in the social life of the women. Having over four hundred members, the St. Lorenz Ladies Aid Society, founded in 1895, prepares the food for all the events of the church. The Ladies Aid members are devoted to foreign mission work, which keeps them active in collecting funds and gathering necessary items for church missions overseas. During World War II they were active in sending packages to the soldiers from the church who were serving in the armed forces both in the United States and overseas. After the war the Ladies Aid Society sent many Care packages to the war-torn parts of Europe, and had a special relief project for the people of Neudettelsau, Germany, the town from which many of their ancestors left Europe.

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[8]Hoffmann, 38.

St. Lorenz Church has three choirs; the Concordia Male Choir, a mixed choir, and a treble choir, in addition to the children's choir. The Concordia Male Choir, which was organized in 1879 by Cantor Riedel, sings secular as well as religious numbers. The Frankenmuth Lutheran Band, for a time associated with the Saginaw Lutheran Band, plays for church picnics both in Frankenmuth and in the neighboring communities, and together with the Concordia Male Choir gives a concert in the community once each year. The repertoire of the band is mainly marches and popular band music. The Gera Dramatic Club of St. Lorenz was organized in 1916. At present it is affiliated with the church's Senior Walther League (see below). The dramatic club produces one or two plays a year, usually comedies.

Both churches in the community have a men's club (called a bund until the Nazi Bunds in America during the 1930's gave the word an unpatriotic connotation), a Junior, and a Senior Walther League. The Walther League groups, named after the minister who organized these young people's groups throughout the Lutheran Church, meet monthly for a social and religious evening. They also are engaged in various activities to raise funds for the Lutheran summer camps, which many of them attend. The men's clubs of both churches are interested in the general improvement of the church, mainly the church property. They discuss needed

developments and usually do the necessary labor of church improvement themselves. All of these clubs transact their business in English. The Ladies Aid and men's clubs did use German for their business meetings during the early days of the community, but the change into English was so gradual that no one recalls when or why the change took place. It is safe to assume, however, that by the middle of the 1930's, English became the official language of these clubs.

CHAPTER VI

ON THE SPEECH OF THE COMMUNITY

Since the community has been isolated from Germany for over one hundred years, the German vocabulary used by the man in the street is full of English words and English words Germanicized.[1] There is no attempt by the people to find the German words for modern household appliances like refrigerator, gas stove, or vacuum cleaner; automotive technical terminology like accelerator, battery, or spark plug; medical terms, or agricultural terms. It is reported that many English words were Germanicized in the minutes of church meetings when they were kept in High German. Many speakers mix the two languages, or really three, counting their Bayrisch, even when they know the German words. One hears: Er is bloss seventy-five; Es was ganz brown von die iron; Ich werd' ihn schau'n wo die timberland is; Ich glaubt' it was etwas anders; Ich mocht' one egg doch; Mein car tu' nit starte.

Surnames on the "Gemeinde Ordnung" Civil War draft list, and the list of township land owners show that no change in spelling has occurred throughout the years except

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[1] This is by no means an exhaustive study of the speech habits of the Frankenmuthers, but merely gives a few examples to show how their many years of relative isolation in America has affected their speech.

that the umlaut is now replaced by an e, as Lösel has become Loesel and Nüchterlein, Nuechterlein.[2] In some cases, however, an Anglicized pronunciation has developed, e.g., Bernthal is pronounced with either a /t/ or /θ/, Loesel with either an /ø/ or /e/, and Knieling with either a /kn/ or /n/. In the village one may hear either the German or Anglicized pronunciation of the church, St. Lorenz, /lo:rents/ or /lɔrəns/ and even the name of the town itself, /ˈfraŋkənmu:t/ or /ˈfræŋkənmuθ/. Names as common today as they were one hundred years ago are List, Loesel /ˈløsəl/, Haubenstricker /ˈhaʊbənʃtrɪkər/, Nuechterlein /ˈnyçterlɪn/, Fischer /ˈfɪʃər/, Bernthal /ˈbɛrntəl/, Bierlein /ˈbi:rlɪn/, Schriefer /ˈʃri:fər/, Trinklein /ˈtrɪnklɪn/, and Weiss /ˈvəɪs/ or /ˈwæɪs/.

Often the Frankenmuther when speaking English with his neighbor or with any person who he feels knows German will use a German or Bayrisch term to express le mot juste. One may hear: I feel a little wackelig (shaky); He kleckert (slobbered) on the tablecloth (an expression used in many German homes in the Saginaw Valley); and He verhunzt (botched) it. A common expression among the Bayrisch speaking people of the Saginaw Valley is: Hock' de Hien (Sit down).

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[2]"Gemeinde Ordnung, 1848," in Florer, II, 10-20.

Ludwig Fuerbringer recalls an example of the use of Bayrisch by Frankenmuth delegates at synodical conferences. During a heated argument concerning the publication of the individual church's funds, some members considered it a legal matter and others a church matter. The delegate from Frankenmuth arose and said: "Dees is nit gesetzlich und nit evangelisch; dees is business."[3]

The German idiom creeps into the English speech of the villagers. One hears: I was by John's yesterday; I don't hear any more (any longer) from him; Haven't you a job yet? (yet is a common way to end a question); Come here once, I want to tell you something; and in the Centennial is found "3½ acres were purchased of Mr. Edwin Bierlein to enlarge the new cemetery."[4] Taverns are always referred to as beer gardens, although the taverns in the village have signs designating them as taverns. An aunt is usually referred to as Tante, but the younger generation usually pronounces it Tanni. Guys is used for both genders instead of fellow or kid: "Where was you guys last night?" Yes is heard, but ja or ja ja is very common. Sentences showing strong feeling often begin with noch: "Noch, are you

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[3]Fuerbringer, 152.

[4]Centennial, 39.

still here yet?" A bit incongruous to this mixture of languages is the "Gift Shoppe" of one of the hotels.

At present the speech habits in the community are in a state of flux. There are distinct levels of development among different families in the community and even within each family itself. Age and social status seem to make little difference. However, most of the young women who serve as waitresses in the restaurants of the hotels have assimilated the pronunciation of the General American spoken by the customers. Even so there are a few traces of a Germanic accent among these girls, and the young men their age have a more pronounced accent than they. Most of the elementary school children conform to General American pronunciation, but some have the same consonant and vowel pronunciation as their grandfathers.

The most general characteristic among all speakers is confusing a final /z/ with /s/: /Jusiŋ, was/, and /w/ with /hw/: /wɛr, wɛn, wat/, the latter general in the Saginaw Valley regardless of racial background.

/θ/ has four variations: /fɛt, θɛt, dɛt, tat/. /θɛt, θə, etc./ are the usual pronunciations of the more educated people, the minister who is a native of the village, and those on Main Street who come in contact with the guests of the hotels.

/k/ becomes voiced in /ŋk/ combinations and is also voiced finally; /θɪŋg/ think, and we find /ˈfraŋkənmut, ˈfraŋgənmut, ˈfraŋkənmuːθ/ as the pronunciations of the natives for their village. /ˈegɹs/ acres, /ˈpɛŋgeks/ pancakes.

/s/ is not often confused with /z/ except in consonant combinations: /zəˈlaɪls/ slice, /zɔˈmɔl/ small, /zəˈmog/ smoke.

/p/ usually remains /p/ when initially in a word or finally, but the lips are pressed together more than normally; otherwise it becomes /b/: /ˈpiːbl/ people, /ɪksˈəmbl/ example.

/d/ often becomes /t/ finally: /ˈgartən/ garden, /ˈglɛt/ glad, /ˈbɛnt/ bend, /ˈbartəntər/ bartender.

/t/ finally is pronounced /tə/: /ˈtæt/ that, /ˈbɛt/ bet, /tə/ is often substituted in consonant combinations: /ˈtəˈwɛnti/ twenty. /t/ is also confused with /d/: /ˈwʌndəd/ wanted, /ˈbɔd/ bought, /ˈwɔtɹ/ water.

/tʃ/ becomes /dʒ/: /ˈdʒɛri/ cherry, /ˈdʒʌrʃ/ church.

/dʒ/ becomes /tʃ/: /ˈɛtʃ/ edge, /oˈrɪtʃnəl/ original, /ˈtʃɔb/ job.

/b/ initially the lips are pinched in the closure. It is seldom confused with /p/ in the initial syllable of a word, but often initially within a word: /ˈhʌspin/ husband, /ˈbɛpi/ baby.

/f/ finally is /v/: /mid lo:v/ meat loaf, /kʌvi/ coffee.

/w/ has three pronunciations: /w/, /v/, /f/; /was, fʌs, vas/.

/v/ has three pronunciations: /vɪlɪdʒ, fɪlɪtʃ, wɪlɪltʃ/,

/faɪf/ five, /ɔf/ of.

APPENDIX I

SELECTIONS FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FRANKENMUTH CONGREGATION - 1845

This "Kirchenordnung" is the work of Pastor Wm. Loehe of Bavaria and was brought to Michigan with the first group of Franconians in 1845. It reveals the strong confessionalism of this group and also Loehe's idea of church government.

1. We profess our adherence to all the confessional writings of the Lutheran Church: To the Augsburg Confession, its Apology, the two catechisms of Luther, the Smalcald Articles, the Formula of Concord, or, in short, to the Book of Concord of 1580 as it first appeared in Dresden. Thereby we profess our adherence to the Lutheran Church itself. To her we unreservedly belong, we and our children, our ministers and our school teachers.

2. Our ministers and schoolteachers by an oath declare their acceptance of the complete Lutheran Concordia of 1580, not only <u>in so far as</u>, but <u>because</u>, it agrees with the Word of God; not merely for the sake of conformity and obedience, but out of their own innermost conviction. This regulation is to be embodied in the oath of ordination.

3. In preaching and teaching, our ministers and schoolteachers use the German language exclusively. Our firm resolve is to be and remain German. We are organizing a congregation which is to remain German forever. This also is to be observed by our ministers and school-teachers.

4. When a vacancy occurs in our ministerial office, it is to be filled by calling a Lutheran pastor or by choosing one from a group of Lutheran candidates applying for the position.

5. Whenever a vacancy exists in our ministerial office, this is to be announced, if necessary, by the president of the synod to which we belong, and applications are to be made to him.

6. The president of the synod, or a neighboring pastor appointed by him, (who must enjoy our confidence or else yield to another), arranges for the election of a committee on election.

7. This committee on election is to be chosen from the men of the congregation who are eighteen or older.

8. The number constituting the committee on election is determined according to the number of eligible members of the congregation, but should not be less than four. In case of a tie vote, the president of the synod decides the matter.

9. For the election of this committee all confirmed members of both sexes shall cast their votes.

10. The president of the synod will promptly report all applications received to the committee on election; thereupon this body may in some ways ascertain the sentiment of the congregation.

11. As soon as the period for receiving applications has expired, the president, together with the election committee, determines the day on which the election is to be held; at this election the president shall appear in person, or be represented by a duly authorized pastor of the neighborhood.

12. For the purpose of the election, the president, or his representative, and the committee on election meet in the vestry or some other suitable place.

13. During these deliberations, the congregation, under the guidance of a neighboring pastor, is assembled to pray for the gift of the Holy Spirit; they are to remain in the church singing and praying until the election proceedings are ended.

14. The president of the synod will at once inform the congregation of the result of the election giving the name of the pastor-elect and such personal information as may be convenient.

15. Thereupon the Te Deum is to be sung in German, and, after prayer has been offered for the pastor-elect, the congregation is to be dismissed with the benediction.

28. If a pastor already in office, or some other servant of the church, has been or is to be, convicted of unworthiness and incompetence, the congregation cannot dismiss him, but must register a complaint with the president of the synod.

30. If the congregation fails to lodge a complaint against an unworthy and incompetent pastor, the president of the synod, even without special invitation, shall go there and conduct a visitation. If the pastor, or whatever title the servant of the church may have, is found to be unworthy or incompetent, the president shall dismiss him.

40. The occasional emoluments shall be paid as follows:

For a baptism in church	.50
For a home baptism in congregation	1.00
For a home baptism outside of congregation	2.00
For a confirmation	2.00
For a marriage in the church	1.00
For a wedding sermon	1.00
For communion of the sick	.50
For burial with commitment	1.00
For burial with address at grave	1.50
For burial with sermon	2.00

43. Each colonist will designate a piece of his holdings as church property.

48. The pastor is in charge of this church property.

70. In our congregation no one can enter a mixed marriage.

81. Our pastor receives the Lord's Supper our of his own hands.

86. We have earnestly resolved to instruct our own children.[1]

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[1]Reproduced in translation in H. O. A. Keinath, Documents of the Lutheran Church, 29-31.

APPENDIX II

Gott ist ein Gott der Ordnung

Gemeinde-Ordnung

der

Gemeinde Frankenmuth

Da es der Wille des Herrn ist, dass Alles ehrlich und ordentlich zugehen soll, die Gesetze dieses Landes aber! den einzelnen fuer ein streng geordnetes Gemeindeleben wenig beschraenken, so sehen wir uns gedrungen, folgende Gemeinde Ordnung unter uns aufzurichten, durch welche wir uns jedoch keineswegs der Obrigkeit entziehen, sondern nur vermeiden wollen, dass nicht jeder uns nach Willkuehr handle, und wir nicht gezwungen sind, bei jeden Fall uns an ein fremdes Gericht zu wenden, von dem es noch dazu hoechst wahrscheinlich waere, dass seine Beamten sich nicht einmal aeusserlich zu einer Kirche hielten. Wir haben dazu desto mehr gefallen, da es hier braeuchlich ist, dass Nachbarn unter sich solche freiwillige Uebereinkuenfte treffen.

II

Da jedes Glied der Gemeinde, an den Wohlthaten des Gemeindelebens Antheil hat, so ist auch jedes Gemeinde oder Kirchenglied verbunden, nach seinem Vermoegen an den Lasten

der Gemeinde, als Pfarr und Cantor Gehalt, und zu allen kirchlichen Zwecken beizutragen, welche freiwillig unterschrieben werden doch so dass der Verstand darueber zu wachen hat.

III

Gemeinde Arbeiten sollen in folgender Weise geschehen, jedes Glied arbeitet fuer seine Person jaehrlich einen Tag, das uebrige freiwillig. Knechte und grossjaehrige Soehne arbeiten jaehrlich einen Tag. Wittwen sollen frei sein wenn sie keine grossjaehrigen Soehne haben, die Grossjaehrigkeit wird auf 18 Jahre festgesetzt. Im Bezug auf das Holzhakken fuer Pfarrer und Cantor. Jedes ordentliche Gemeinde Glied, haut im Wald 1 oder 1½ Klafter, je nach dem Beduerfniss, und liefert es auf dem Platz, und hakkt es klein zum brennen.

IV

Im bezug auf Kirchen und Verbindungswege, finden wir uns durch das Gebet der Liebe gedrungen, es nicht blos bei den gesetzmaessigen Sectionswegen zu lassen, sondern verbinden uns wechselsweise die noethigen Wege frei zu geben, doch so, dass sie nicht etwa schraeg ueber die Felder gehen. Ueber diese noethigen Wege, die zum Theil schon jetzt zum Theil in Zukunft noethig werden, werden, hat die Gemeinde einen Beschluss gefasst den 29 Januar 1850, naemlich: dass,

so weit unsere Ansiedlung geht, alle zwei Lot breit; und alle Lot laeng, oder: zwischen zwei Sectionswege, in die Mitte davon, ein zwischenweg angelegt werden soll, jeder 4 Ruthen breit ausser diesen, ist noch ein noethiger Weg zwischen Haspel und Kirchenland angelegt, 2 Ruthen breit. Nach einem spaeteren Beschluss der Gemeinde sollen die oben bezeichneten Wege bleiben, aber nur einstweilen die Wege, welche nicht ausgelegt sind, und doch geoeffnet werden muessen, koennen 2 Ruthen breit gemacht werden, bis sie zu Hauptwegen ausgelegt werden.

Verguetung der Wege

Wer ein Lot breit hat, hat den Weg auf einer Seite allein zu tragen eine Ruthen breit, haben mehrere an der Lot breiten, und so viel daran haben, haben nach der Zahl der Acker zu vergueten, und soll vom Acker 4 Dolar und fuer das Land klaeren, das einen der Weg abnimmt 4 Dolar bezahlen.

Werden Wege durch umgestuerzte Baueme verlegt, so haben die angrenzenden Besitzer, sie alsbald wieder zu reinigen. Ueberhaupt soll auf den Bau der Wege die groesstmoeglichste Sorgfalt verwendet werden. So wie ein solcher Wege ausgelegt ist, wird er in die Gemeinde Ordnung mit einer genauen bezeichnung eingetragen.

V

Ueber Einfriedigungen zwischen Nachbar und Nachbar sollen folgende Bestimmungen gelten.

a) Wenn Sie, Sie voraussichtlich in kurzer Zeit beide gebrauchen, so soll sie mitten auf die Grenze gestellt werden, und von beiden gemeinschaftlich gemacht werden.

b) Will spaeterhin ein Nachbar die Einfriedigung des andern mit benuetzen, so soll ihm das frei stehen, er aber gehalten sein, den andern seine Muehe billig zu vergueten.

c) Unter der Voraussetzung, dass es bei uns nicht muthwilliger Weise geschieht, soll in dem Fall, dass der eine Nachbar mit seiner Einfriedigung auf Grund und Boden des andern gerathen ist, bei uns kein Pfandrecht geuebt werden, sondern beide gehalten sein, sich guetlich miteinander zu vergleichen.

d) Alle Einfriedigungen sollen moeglichst gut gemacht sein, 5 Fus hoehe haben und duerfen die 4 untern Riegel nicht weiter als 3½ zoll auseinander sein.

e) Das Zucker, Syropp und Essigmachen im freien offnen Wald, wenn nicht Geschirre aufgestellt sind, dass das Vieh, Schwein und Rindvieh kein Wasser haben koennen, verbieten wir einander bei 5 Dolar Strafe, und jeder hat die Pflicht, wenn er es von einem sieht es anzuzeigen, und wenn ein Vieh solches Wasser saeuft und stirbt, hat ein solcher den Schaden zu ersezen.

VI

Ueber den Schaden den Nachbarsleute, etwa vom Vieh und Geziefer den andern erleiden, und ueber billige Verguetung derselben, sollen folgende bestimmungen gelten:

a) Hat einer Rindvieh oder Pferde, die ueber die Einfriedigungen springen, und sie richten in eines andern Feld Schaden an, so soll wenn sie sich nicht guetlich vergleichen koennen, vor allen Dingen untersucht werden, ob die Einfriedigung der Ordnung gemaess, und fest genugt gebaut war, und ob nicht etwa das naeher als 6 Fuss and der Fenz stehende Korn das Vieh verreizt hat, anderseits ob der Eigenthuemer des Viehes die noethigen Vorsichtsmassregeln sein Vieh vom springen zu verhindern gebraucht hat oder nicht, stellt sich dabei zur Gewissheit heraus, dass er durch gemachte Anzeige oder sonst weiss, dass sein Vieh diese Untugend hat, er aber die noethigen Vorsichtsmassregeln nicht gebraucht hat, ferner dass auch die Fenz regelmaessig gebaut war, so hat er nicht allein den Schaden zu ersezen, sondern auch die Unkosten der Beschauung zu tragen. Sollte das Vieh so schlimm sein, dass es auch durch Vorsichtsmassregeln nicht an dem hineinspringen zu verhindern waere, so muesste solches Vieh abgeschafft oder eingesperrt werden.

b) Wenn der Schaden durch Schweine angerichtet wird, so soll es das erstemal dem Nachbar angezeigt, und er auf-

gefordert werden sie einzusperren, oder sonst Vorsichts-massregeln treffen; thut er das nicht, und sie brechen durch eine regelmaessig gebaute Fenz, so hat er den Schaden und Unkosten zu tragen, der andere durch sie aber nicht Pfaenden, noch viel weniger toeten.

c) Wenn Nachbarn ueber das gegenseitige halten vom Geziefer, keine guetliche Uebereinkunft treffen, und das Geziefer des einen richtet wiederholt im Felde des andern Schaden an, ohne dass er sich zu einen guetlichen Ersatz versteht, so soll ihm die Abschaffung auferlegt werden, oder jedesmal Schande-ersaz und Unkosten zu tragen haben.

d) Hat jemand stoessiges Vieh, so muss er Vorsichts-massregeln treffen, wenn dieselben nicht ausreichen, muss solches Vieh abgeschafft, und angerichteter Schaden ersetz werden.

VII

a) Sollte jemand beim Faellen des Holzes oder sonst wie das andern Vieh beschaedigen oder toeten, so hat er, wenn sie sich nicht guetlich miteinander vergleichen koennen den Schaden zu ersezen, jedenfalls hat er die Pflicht seinen Nachbar von dem Unfall anzeige zu machen. Das Rindvieh soll im Januar und Februar Morgens ein halben Tag eingesperrt bleiben.

b) Findet jemand ein todes Vieh in seinem Land, oder

wohl gar nahe an einen Weg, so soll er, wenn er das Vieh kennt, es dem Eigenthuemer des Viehes anzeigen, und derselbe hat es alsbald wegzuschaffen. Ist das Vieh unbekannt, so soll er zwei oder drei Mann dazu nehmen, die es mit besehen, u. dann eingraben oder sonst wie wegschaffen.

c) Boese bissige Hunde, duerfen nicht ohne Beisskorb laufen, auch nicht mit, ohne Beisskorb aufs klaeren genommen werden, sondern muessen an der Ketten hangen bleiben. Die Saeubeis muessen von Jacobi bis Lezten October eingesperrt werden, oder der Eigenthuemer, hat den Schaden den sie anrichten zu tragen.

VIII

Um diese gesezlichen Bestimmungen Aufrecht zu erhalten, die noethigen Anordnungen zu treffen Aufsicht zu fuehren und bei vorkommenden Streitfaellen schiedsrichterlich zu entscheiden, waehlt die Gemeinde durch Stimmenmehrheit, nach der Vorschrift des Staats Gesezes wegen Incorporieren des Kirchenguts, 6 Trostees wovon der Vorsteher und Kirchenpfleger auf drei Jahre, 2 Kirchenraethe auf zwei Jahre, und 2 Bevollmaechtigten auf ein Jahr gewaehlt werden, diese Wahl muss jaehrlich den 6 Januar stattfinden. Dieselben sind fuer ihre Amtsfuehrung der Gemeinde verantwortlich, und kommen ihnen folgende Rechte und Pflichten zu.

IX

Dem Vorsteher kommt zu:

a) So oft es noethig ist eine Gemeinde Versammlung zu berufen und zu leiten.--Er hat dabei Aufsicht zu halten, dass keines der ordentlichen Glieder der Gemeinde ohne triftige Entschuldigung wegbleibt; er hat den der ohne triftige Entschuldigung fehlt, eine ernste Ermahnung zu ertheilen.

b) Die noethigen Geldbeitraege vierteljaehrlich einzucassieren und zu entrichten.

c) Bei noethigen Gemeindearbeiten die Anordnung und Bestellung der Leute zu treffen, und mit Huelfe der bevollmaechtigten strenge Aufsicht zu fuehren, wer ohne triftige Entschuldigung wegbleibt, soll ernstlich ermahnt werden! Auch soll die Zeit auf welche man bestellt ist, genau eingehalten werden:--wiedrigenfalls man nachzuarbeiten hat.

d) Bei vorkommenden Streitfaellen mit den bevollmaechtigten das Schiedsrichterliche Amt genau nach obigen Bestimmungen zu verwalten, und die Entschaedigung fuer etwaigen Zeitverlust dem schuldigen Theil aufzulegen.

e) Ueber sonstigen Zeitverlust und Unkosten der Gemeinde jaehrlich Rechnung zu stellen; damit sie ihm auf eine billige und passende Weise verguetet werden.

f) Wenn sich welche bei dergleichen Gelegenheiten versuendigen und Hartnaeckig bleiben oder oeffentliches

Aergerniss gegeben haben, dem Pfarrer Anzeige zu machen.

X

Die bevollmaechtigten sind in obigen Faellen, und sonst wo es noetig ist die Gehilfen des Vorstehers, und in siener Abwesenheit oder bei Verhinderung desselben, ist abwechselnd einer von ihnen sein Stellvertreter, dem dann die gleichen Rechte und Pflichten Zukommen.

XI

Alle diese Bestimmungen sind so lange in Kraft und Gueltigkeit, als sie nicht durch einen Gemeinde Beschluss mit 3/4 Stimmen abgeschafft werden, oder abgeaendert werden. Zusaeze und neue Paragraphen sind gueltig so bald sie von der Gemeinde angenommen sind.

Bei Abstimmungen werden die Stimmen nach der Zahl der Anwesenden gezaehlt, wer also nicht zugegen ist, verliert seine Stimme:--wofern er sie nicht bei moeglichen Faellen schriftlich einsendet.

XII

a) Jeder der in die Gemeinde aufgenommen wird, hat fuer seine Person (auser den 20 zigsten Acker zur Vermehrung des Kirchenguts nach der Kirchenordnung) 2½ Dolar in die Kirchencasse zu bezahlen.

b) Kauft aber einer Land von einem, der den 20ten

Acker schon davon abgegeben hat, so hat der Kaeufer nicht den 20ten Acker, auch nicht den 20ten Schilling abzugeben, sondern er soll nach seinem Vermoegen in die Kirchencasse bezahlen.

c) Will ein unbekannter oder fremder, von einem Land kaufen in der Gemeinde, so soll ihn der Verkaeufer zuvor Aufmerksam machen, auf unsere Kirchen und Gemeinde Ordnung, dass er sichs zuvor auch vorlesen laesst, oder dass er sich auch anschliessen will. pp. oder wenn er (der Verkaeufer) selber besorgen muss, dass ihn die Gemeinde nicht aufnehmen kan:--so soll er zwor der Gemeinde Anzeige machen.

Den es kan niemand Glied unsere Gemeinde sein, der sich nicht zur Lutherischen Confession bekennt, oder sich im Bann befindt.

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