THE SPATIAL EVOLUTION OF THE GERMAN-AMERICAN CULTURE REGION IN CLINTON AND IONIA COUNTIES, MICHIGAN

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ABSTRACT

THE SPATIAL EVOLUTION OF THE GERMAN-AMERICAN CULTURE REGION IN CLINTON AND IONIA COUNTIES, MICHIGAN

By

Peter Wallace DeForth

The German-American culture region in Clinton and Ionia Counties has been a distinctive cultural island on the Michigan landscape for most of the last one hundred and thirty-four years. But in the last two decades the cultural identity of its inhabitants has been eroding rapidly, probably due to the modernizing influences of vastly increased mobility, technology, and communications. To the casual observer, there is little initial evidence of the cultural heritage of the area. Yet there is enough evidence to encourage the cultural geographer to ask whether a culture region does exist today in Westphalia. And if so, in what form does it exist, and what are the spatial manifestations of its presence?

This thesis concentrates on establishing the existence, identifying the form, and describing the spatial distributions associated with the German-American culture region that grew up around the Catholic German settlement at Westphalia and the Lutheran Germans that settled on its

eastern fringes. In order to achieve this purpose, aspects of both the genetic and functional approaches in cultural geography are utilized to assess the culture, its history, and its manifestations on the cultural landscape, and to identify the cultural processes that have shaped its spatial evolution. The second purpose is to evaluate the usefulness of Meinig's core, domain, and sphere concepts for analyzing and describing a relatively small culture region that is divided into sub-cultures by the religious differences of its inhabitants.

Synthesis of the evidence leads to the inescapable conclusion that there has been and still is a rural German-American culture in Clinton and Ionia Counties. Members of both the Catholic and Lutheran German sub-cultures exhibit religious and social behavior patterns which reveal a regional sense of ethnic consciousness, even though the processes operating in the region have segmented the sub-cultures into a series of religious social systems that have displayed markedly different rates of acculturation. Spatially significant social systems appear to be a better tool for analyzing the spatial evolution of small culture regions that contain sharply divided sub-cultures than do the more generic concepts of core, domain, and sphere, which appear to be better suited to analyzing and describing relatively monolithic cultures.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION, THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

One of the most noticeably German place names in Michigan belongs to Westphalia, a small community located approximately seventeen miles northwest of Lansing. The name stands alone, like the Germans who first settled near the present site of that village. From the small group of five men who emigrated to this area from Westphalia Province, Germany in 1836, the concentration of German pioneers and their descendants has grown to the extent that German-Americans now own virtually all of the land adjacent to the nearby communities of Fowler and Pewamo as well (See Figures 1 and 7).

The first Germans to establish their homes in this vicinity were Catholics, but they were soon joined by a group of German Lutherans who were attracted to the ethnic island and purchased farms on its eastern fringes. To these people coming from abroad, religion was extremely important; many of them had left Europe because of their religious beliefs. From the church attendance in the area today, it is apparent that religion still enjoys a central position in the German-American communities. And the ethnic con-

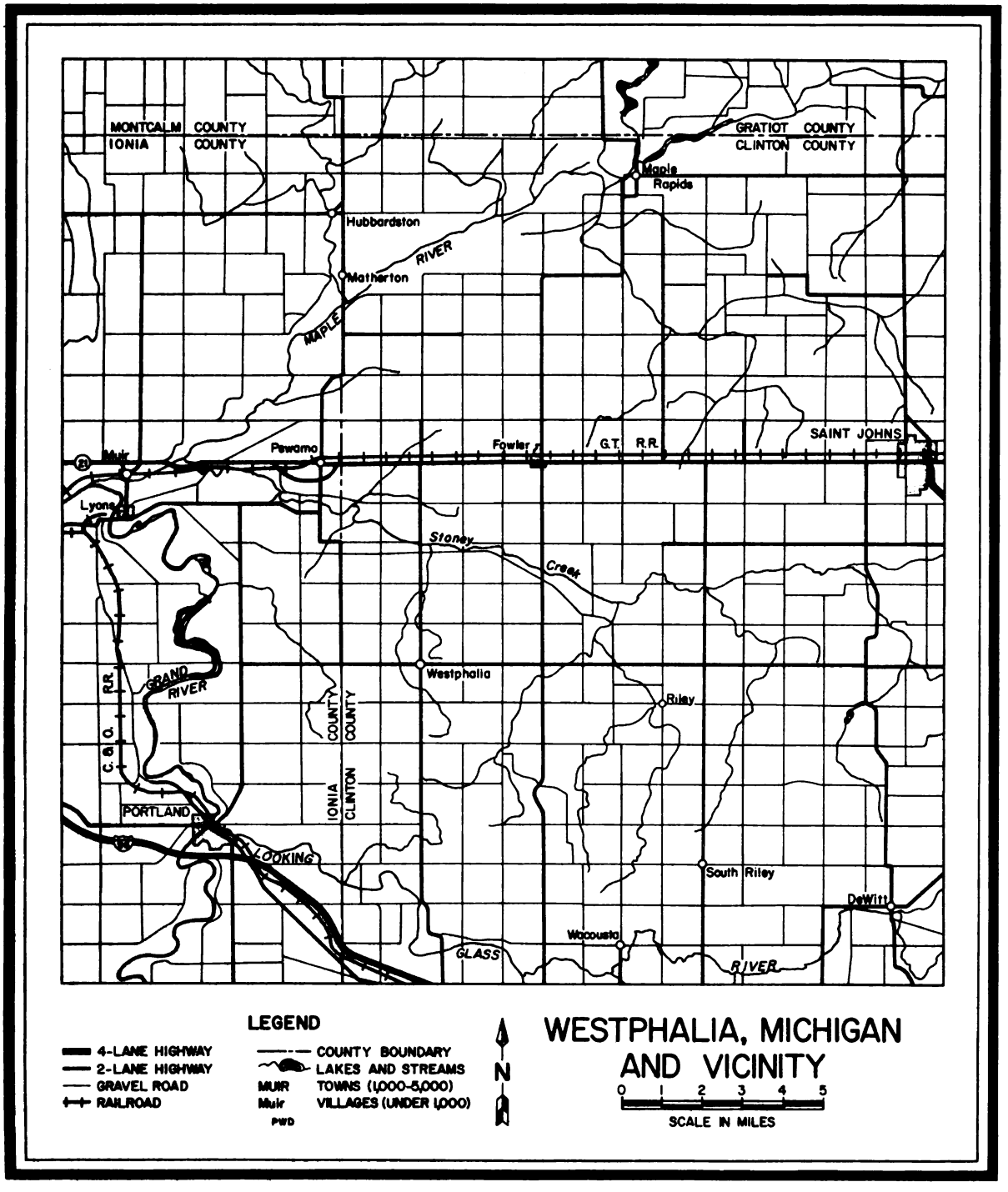
MONTCALM COUNTY
IONIA COUNTY
GRATIOT COUNTY
CLINTON COUNTY
Maple Rapids
Hubbardston
Matherton
MAPLE RIVER
Muir
Pewamo
Fowler
G.T. R.R.
SAINT JOHNS
Lyons
Stoney Creek
Westphalia
Riley
GRAND RIVER
C. & O. R.R.
IONIA COUNTY
CLINTON COUNTY
PORTLAND
LOOKING GLASS RIVER
South Riley
DeWitt
Wacousta
LEGEND
4-LANE HIGHWAY
2-LANE HIGHWAY
GRAVEL ROAD
RAILROAD
COUNTY BOUNDARY
LAKES AND STREAMS
MUIR TOWNS (1,000-5,000)
Muir VILLAGES (UNDER 1,000)
PWD
N
WESTPHALIA, MICHIGAN AND VICINITY
0 1 2 3 4 5
SCALE IN MILES

Figure 1

sciousness among the German-American people there apparently has been reinforced by their religion; while the German language is not heard in everyday community life, it is still spoken at informal gatherings after church services on Sundays in Westphalia.

There is sufficient evidence to conclude that the community of Westphalia and the surrounding German-settled area were initially a "cultural island" surrounded by a sea of Yankee, English-speaking pioneers from New England. One hundred and thirty-four years have passed since the first German settlers arrived in the region, and immigration figures reveal that most of the in-migration of Germans to this area ceased before the turn of the twentieth century. Consequently, many traces of the old German and pioneer ways of life have disappeared. Every one of the inhabitants of this area now considers English to be his primary language of communication, and perceives himself entirely as an American. German is very rarely spoken in public. The dress, the appearance, and the social, political and economic attitudes of the German-Americans there are similar to the characteristics and attitudes of the populace in much of the rest of rural midwestern America.

Yet after being questioned closely, many of the inhabitants admit that some of the most drastic changes in their life style have occurred in the past three decades. All of this evidence poses intriguing questions to the cultural geographer: Does a German-American culture region

exist today at Westphalia? And if it does, in what form does it exist, and what are the specifically spatial manifestations of its presence?

Statement of Problem

The German settlement around Westphalia, Michigan offers the cultural geographer a unique example of the development of a German-American cultural island that, because of religious differences, split into two distinct groups: the Catholic German-American sub-culture and the Lutheran German-American sub-culture.[1] Most of the generation that associated strongly with the cultural heritage of the pioneer groups has, however, passed on, and those that presently survive will in all likelihood be gone within the

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[1]The existence of an American "culture" at the time when the German settlers arrived is debatable. The German-American culture could, I suppose, be considered to be a sub-culture of a larger American "culture" that was homogeneous in its democratic and pioneering traditions and in the fact that it served as a "melting pot" for a tremendously heterogeneous immigrant population. But the German-American culture had characteristics, as will be shown, that made it neither distinctly German nor distinctly American; it may therefore be considered as a culture in its own right, at least in its early stages, and will be treated as such in this thesis. The arrival of the German Lutheran settlers split the German-American culture into two sub-cultures, since the Lutherans could not be accepted as full members in the German Catholic religious community.

In order to facilitate brevity, the German-Americans that belong to the German-American culture group in Clinton and Ionia Counties, Michigan, shall hereafter be referred to simply as "Germans," and the Catholic and Lutheran German-Americans as Catholic and Lutheran Germans. But for the purpose of avoiding confusion in contrasting broad cultural groups, the terms "German-American culture" and 'German-American culture region" shall be retained.

next decade. Almost all of the inhabitants of German descent perceive themselves as members in the American cultural group and believe that their behavior is typically American. And much of the evidence of past cultural homogeneity is rapidly being replaced by a different scale order of homogeneity in the face of the modernizing influences of vastly increased mobility, technology, and communications, all of which tend to level cultural differences.

There are two purposes for conducting this research. The first is to establish the existence, identify the form, and describe the specifically spatial manifestations of the German-American culture region in Clinton and Ionia Counties, Michigan. In order to achieve this purpose, aspects of both the genetic and functional approaches in cultural geography will be employed to assess the culture, its history, its manifestations on the cultural landscape, and the processes that have shaped the spatial evolution of the culture region. The second purpose is to evaluate the usefulness of Meinig's generic core, domain and sphere concepts in describing a relatively small culture region, such as the one at Westphalia, Michigan, by using spatially significant religious social systems as the basic unit of evaluation.

Theoretical Considerations

> Cultural geographers, through application of the concept of culture, seek understanding of the spatial distribution and space relations of man and those fea-

> tures on the earth's surface which have been produced or modified by human action. To this end they have focused their attention upon study of the differences from place to place in the ways of life of human communities and their creation of man-made or modified features.
>
> . . . They study the material and nonmaterial phenomena and processes relevant for an understanding of the spatial distribution of cultures.[2]

Wagner and Mikesell have identified five themes which are central to and have characterized the literature of cultural geography: culture, culture area, cultural landscape, culture history, and cultural ecology. While each theme may be the focus of a particular research project, it is necessary to consider all of the others in relation to the theme under study in order to achieve a balanced approach.[3] And if, as is sometimes the case, the central theme is not well defined, the other themes may be studied in their interrelationships for indirect clues to the missing evidence. In this manner the missing information could conceivably be replaced, or at least approximated, by other pertinent evidence, and the original intent of the study achieved.

The emphasis of this study is on the culture area. The concentration of descendants of German settlers in the

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[2]National Academy of Sciences -- National Research Council, The Science of Geography (Washington, D.C.: Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Geography, National Academy of Sciences -- National Research Council, 1965), p. 23.

[3]Philip L. Wagner and Marvin W. Mikesell, Readings in Cultural Geography (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 23.

vicinity of Westphalia, Michigan, is an accepted fact. But so is their perception of themselves as Americans and not as Germans. The question which inevitably must be answered is whether or not a culture area, or region, still exists; and if it does, then in what form, and over what area? The culture region must be defined by cultural characteristics, or traits, which distinguish it from all of the surrounding cultures. If those traits do not exist in readily identifiable form today, or are not easily distinguished from the traits of the surrounding cultures, then it is necessary to go back in time and examine the culture history from the time when the identifying traits were the strongest. If, as is usually the case, historical records are inaccurate, then the cultural landscape may be examined for information to fill the gaps in those records. Finally, in examining the combined material so obtained, processes which have been operative in shaping and changing the culture region may be identified. From the overview gained in this manner, it should be possible to estimate with reasonable accuracy any spatial variations in culture traits within the area, to discover whether or not it is sufficiently homogeneous and exclusive to be called a region, and to analyze variations in the form and extent of any region so found.

Culture areas, or regions, can vary in size from an entire continent to the dwelling and hunting area of the last two remaining people of an island race that is dying. In using previous studies as a guide to research, it is

logical to assume great differences between macro-region studies and micro-region studies. The Westphalia German concentration approaches the micro-region end of the scale. But in view of the apparent focus of the German communities on the Catholic and Lutheran religions, perhaps the most suitable study available as a theoretical guide is D. W. Meinig's analysis of the Mormon culture region,[4] an area which covers much of Utah and portions of surrounding states.

Meinig was searching for similar information:

> We need to know more precisely just where the Mormons are and just what is the context of their situation in each locality, which means knowing something about when, why, and how they got there and what is their relationship with reference to other local peoples. . . Not only must we know the patterns in greater detail, but we must know more about the processes that created them. If the culture area concept is to be used by geographers to provide new insights and interpretations rather than merely new compartments for the assemblage of commonplace data, such areas must be viewed not as static uniform platforms but as dynamic areal growths.[5]

Meinig discovered through his research that the traditional methods of delineating regional boundaries were essentially useless in describing and analyzing a culture region; he concluded that:

> The context of the Mormon situation is sufficiently varied from place to place to make any single perimeter deceptive; whatever the criteria, the resultant areal

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[4] D. W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LV (June, 1965), pp. 191-220.

[5] Ibid., p. 195.

> compartment cannot possibly reflect adequately those variations. This is, of course, commonly true of cultures; it is one of the most serious difficulties in mapping them, and has been one of the important bases for criticism of the whole culture area concept.[6]

He then proposed a new method of analysis based on the use of certain generic concepts:

> . . . which can express the areal dimensions of significant gradations in the content and situation of the culture under study. In the following section the terms core, domain, and sphere will be defined and used for that purpose. Because cultures are areal growths such gradations are also likely to represent a sequential spread from a locality of origin, or hearth. Thus these terms will be at least suggestive of patterns in both time and space.
>
> A core area . . . is taken to mean a centralized zone of concentration, displaying the greatest density of occupance, intensity of organization, strength, and homogeneity of the particular features . . . It qualifies by all the obvious measures of density, intensity, and nodality . . .
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The domain refers to those areas in which the particular culture under study is dominant, but with markedly less intensity and complexity of development than in the core, where the bonds of connection are fewer and more tenuous, and where regional peculiarities are clearly evident . . .
>
> The sphere of a culture region may be defined as the zone of outer influence and, often, peripheral acculturation, wherein that culture is represented only by certain of its elements or where its peoples reside as minorities among those of a different culture. Sphere boundaries are often less easy to define because there may be fine gradations of culture differences and the limits of influences may be rapidly changing.[7]

This hierarchy appeared to work quite well as a tool of regional analysis for analyzing the Mormon culture. But the Westphalia Germans are far less significant in terms of

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[6] Ibid., p. 213.

[7] Ibid., pp. 213-216.

both numbers and the amount of land they occupy. It had to be assumed that if these concepts were applicable, they would apply only in a modified form. Meinig was able to generalize for large, dispersed groups of Mormons; at Westphalia, the settlement is relatively concentrated, and centers on three small communities. In the German settlement area, it seemed that the rural sociologists' concept of a social system,[8] taken in its spatial context, might prove a better tool for delineating regional cultural boundaries. Preliminary field investigation results pointed toward the existing religious social systems as the most homogeneous cultural groups in the area. In the German-American culture region, the ethnic origin of its inhabitants was the principle feature that separated their culture from the surrounding cultures; but their culture was divided into sub-cultures on the basis of religious differences, and religious social systems, comprised of individual church parishes within each religious sub-culture, would be the lowest unit in the hierarchy. And in the rural countryside, these religious social systems would probably attach spatial significance. Such units would then prove valuable for evaluating Meinig's concepts in a small culture region like the German-American culture region that is the subject of this study.

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[8]Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, Rural Sociology: The Strategy of Change (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957), pp. 1-22.

Methodological Considerations

In the past, cultural geographers in this country have used two different approaches in studying specific research problems: Carl O. Sauer's "genetic approach" and R. S. Platt's "functional approach." The genetic approach, also known as "historical geography,"

> . . . rests largely upon direct field observations, combined with the use of historical data. By piecing together evidence from culture-trait and trait-complex distributions, linguistics, place names, [etc.,] . . . this developmental approach seeks to determine: (1) the origin in place and time of specific cultural features . . . (2) the routes, times, and manner of their diffusion . . . (3) the distribution of former and present cultural areas . . . and (4) explanatory descriptions of the character of former and present cultural landscapes . . .[9]

The functional approach, on the other hand, directs attention

> . . . to the works of man as functional problems in the local environment . . . or to data on human interaction in the endeavor to define regularities in spatial arrangement and flow phenomena . . . The functional approach emphasizes the observation of the present-day scene to determine how things are organized and operated. The key word is 'process' . . .[10]

Both approaches were used in the search for cultural homogeneity in the area occupied by the descendants of the original German pioneers in the culture region. I first exhausted all of the historical sources that could be obtained, including town, church and store records from the

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[9]National Academy of Sciences -- National Research Council, The Science of Geography, pp. 26-27.

[10]Ibid.

area; the results of that research appear in Chapter II. Subsequent field research was directed toward the detection of spatial variation in both the social and the economic behavior of the culture and toward finding and recording visible evidence on the cultural landscape. Then the assembled information was analyzed in order to determine the processes that had been operative in the region. Finally, the German settlement was examined in the light of all the gathered evidence to determine its current structure and to answer the question of whether or not it now may be called a culture region.

Any study of spatial variations in the social behavior of a culture over time more often than not is weakened by the sparsity of recorded evidence relating to changes in social behavior, many of which have occurred subtly and very gradually. The researcher has no alternative but to attempt to identify distinctive behavioral characteristics in the culture as it exists today, and to work backword in time from that position. The information so obtained is consequently limited in time to the current life span of the oldest living members within the culture and subject to all the fluctuations of their memories and personal prejudices. It is further subject to the interpretations of the researcher, who in many cases views the target culture through eyes biased by his own culture's standards and behavior. The evidence in this category is, therefore, principally qualitative in nature, and must be interpreted

cautiously and in conjunction with datable facts in order to determine significant cultural changes through time and over space.

In the case of the German settlement at Westphalia, the author was extremely fortunate in that an earlier study had been conducted. A rural sociologist, Thomas L. Norris, lived among the Germans at Westphalia during the summer of 1950 and worked as a farmhand while gathering information for his thesis.[11] Norris concentrated his efforts on analyzing the structure of the village of Westphalia--the social system located at the site of the original settlement, and therefore most likely to be "traditional" in its retention of ceremony, values, and other characteristics of the early German-American culture that settled there--and upon the process of acculturation within that community. His work proved exceptionally valuable in providing the basis for intelligent field questioning directed at establishing differences between that social system and the other social systems within the region, especially with respect to intra-regional contrasts in traditions, ceremonies, values, and rates of acculturation.

The investigation of one particular culture trait was in this instance an obvious necessity:

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[11]Thomas L. Norris, "Acculturation in a German Catholic Community," (East Lansing, Michigan: Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Michigan State University, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, 1950).

> Language, as an essential medium of human communication, is obviously a critical component of any culture. The exact influence of language upon culture has been guessed at but never clearly established; in any case, language in its turn is strongly affected by other aspects of a culture. Whatever these interrelationships may be, the speech of a community is one of its distinguishing traits.[12]

Research on a related topic, changes in the spelling of the names of German settlers in response to pressures caused by life in America, also appeared to show promise of yielding information concerning relative rates of acculturation among the social systems and for the culture region as a whole.

The economic nature of culture regions was recognized as long ago as 1931.[13] Economic behavior in a culturally cohesive region could reasonably be expected to reflect that cohesion, and, conversely, if cultural considerations in such a region no longer are important relative to economic behavior, then patterns of economic interaction should differ from those of social interaction. In order to find out what had occurred in the German settlement, I directed one section of my field work toward establishing mappable patterns of both economic and social behavior. The resulting maps of interaction were also to be vital in analyzing the processes that had been operative within the region.

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[12]Wagner and Mikesell, Readings in Cultural Geography, pp. 2-3.

[13]Carl O. Sauer, "Cultural Geography," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, VI (1931), p. 623.

The other major category upon which field research was to be focused was the cultural landscape. Evidence of cultural homogeneity was hopefully to be found in the form of pioneer relics, patterns of land use, and settlement patterns and field patterns:

> The cultivated lands that appear so prominently in many landscapes testify not only to a radical change in plant cover but also to the presence of clearly artificial elements: orchards, gardens, furrowed fields, walls and fences, paths and roads, granaries, stables, dwellings, and entire settlements, all in orderly array. In any cultural landscape, the arrangement, style, and materials tend to reflect the presence of a distinctive way of life, or genre de vie, interacting with a given natural setting. Engineering works, architecture, cultivated plants, domestic animals, implements, vehicles, costumes, and much else help to diagnose particular cultures.[14]

Previous studies by Kniffen pointed toward the usefulness of research on house and barn types and suggested classification schemes to aid in such investigations:

> . . . housing even considered alone is a basic fact of human geography. It reflects cultural heritage, current fashion, functional needs, and the positive and negative aspects of noncultural environment. These relationships are more easily appreciated for a simpler era when plant and animal husbandry were dominant pursuits, but are no less true today. There is an element of urgency in dealing with folk housing, for it is largely unchronicled and its overwhelmingly wood composition makes it highly vulnerable to destructive forces, leaving behind little record of its character.[15]

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[14]Wagner and Mikesell, Readings in Cultural Geography, p. 11.

[15]Fred Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LV, No. 4 (December, 1965), pp. 549-550. See also Fred Kniffen, "Louisiana House Types," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, XXVI (1936), pp. 179-193.

Still another source of information found on the cultural landscape was the rural cemetery, which is useful in providing information concerning the spread of the culture region and the use of foreign languages by its inhabitants. Kniffen has suggested other directions in cemetery research:

> Formal disposal of the deceased is a universal practice, and in common with other elements of the occupance pattern should be an essential consideration in individual or comparative study. It reflects traditional values, religious tenets, legal regulations, economic and social status, and even natural environment. Evolution, invention, and diffusion are as nicely exemplified here as with any other cultural phenomenon. Since there is a special reluctance to disturb graveyards, they often lie surrounded by bustling urban activities, preserved for study far longer than might normally be expected of an outmoded folkway. There can be few other subjects as untouched or as promising as the geographical study of burial places.[16]

Tombstone markings are also helpful in providing information on spelling changes in names.

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[16]Fred Kniffen, "Necrogeography in the United States," Geographical Review, LVII, No. 3 (July, 1967), p. 427.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE GERMAN-AMERICAN CULTURE REGION

The Cultural Nucleus

The establishment of the cultural nucleus of the German-American culture region on the site of what is presently the village of Westphalia, Michigan, represented the final step taken by its founders in their escape from the rural society of Germany, which, at that time, was characterized by military oppressiveness, low wages, and religious intolerance. The desire for political freedom and economic betterment, aggravated by religious harassment in a section of Germany in which there were equal numbers of both Protestants and Catholics, prompted many of the inhabitants of the Westphalian and Rheinland Provinces to invest their life savings in a one-way passage to a new life of pioneer farming in America.[1]

The first immigrants to settle in the vicinity of what is now the village of Westphalia, Michigan, were German Catholics. Rev. Anton Kopp, a Catholic priest, and a native of Rüthen, Westphalia, accompanied a group of

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[1]Norris, "Acculturation," p. 24.

families from the rural villages of Helden and Elspe, Westphalia, in their departure from Bremen for the New World on August 26, 1836.[2] The presence of the Catholic priest on this journey was in keeping with the missionary policies of the Catholic Church, which was attempting to simultaneously care for its present members and establish a firm influence in pioneer America.[3]

After landing in New York City on October 3 of the same year, the small group of immigrants journeyed westward on the Erie Canal and finally arrived in Detroit on October 25. Rev. Kopp, acting as a coordinator for the group, contacted the Catholic Bishop of Detroit, Father Friedrich Rese, to determine where the families might obtain land, as the Catholic Church in Detroit was acting as an orientation agency for Catholic immigrants. Bishop Rese advised Rev. Kopp to take his group to Ionia County to acquire homesteads, since the land to the east had already been sold to land speculators. This advice was reinforced by a Mr. Anton Cordes, who had worked with the surveyors in the areas in question; he befriended the immigrants and eventually settled with them. Rev. Kopp and Eberhard Platte journeyed along the Dexter Trail to Lyons, Michigan; after having

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[2]St. Mary's Centennial: Westphalia, Michigan, 1836-1936 (Westphalia, Michigan: 1936), pp. 46, 64.

[3]Norris, "Acculturation," p. 25, citing Jesse Barnhard, American Community Behavior (New York: 1949), p. 248.

difficulties with the language barrier, they were finally able to obtain directions to the land office in Ionia.[4]

Rev. Kopp soon discovered that the better land in the area had already been purchased by speculators, and that the only land available at a price that the settlers could afford lay to the east in Township 6 North, Range 4 West. Representing the settlers, he purchased land there at about one dollar per acre. The speculators had considered the land in that township to be far too swampy and poorly drained to be of any value--a sign which presaged the hardships the German-Americans would face in settling their land. Rev. Kopp then returned to Detroit, where Bishop Rese appointed him a clergyman of the German Mission in that city on November 19, 1836.[5]

Soon thereafter, Joseph Platte, John Hanses, William Theilman, Anton Cordes, and John Salter, following directions provided by Rev. Kopp, journeyed together on foot to their land. After traversing the area, they began to construct temporary log residences on the 560 acres of Section 5 which Rev. Kopp had purchased for them (and which included part of the site of the present village of Westphalia). Mr. Salter, however, soon became discouraged and returned to Detroit, where he eventually sold his share of the land. The men began clearing operations in late November, and by

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[4] Ibid., pp. 26-27.

[5] St. Mary's Centennial, p. 46.

February their families had joined them for the start of many rugged years of frontier farming life.[6]

In 1837 Rev. Kopp returned to the settlement area as its permanent minister; he temporarily resided in Lyons until the settlers completed building a two-room log church/-residence for his use in March of 1838. His arrival was extremely important for the community for a number of reasons. It established a firm link with the Catholic Church in Detroit, which continued to channel newly-arrived German immigrants into the area for several decades. One of the primary causes of emigration from Germany had been religious harassment; the importance of the church, already highly intensified by years of conflict in Germany, was undoubtedly further enhanced in the minds of the settlers by the need for faith to sustain them in their rugged life in a strange, often hostile environment. In addition, the community social systems to which they had belonged in Germany had been successfully merged for centuries with the religious social system of the Catholic Church, and the absence of anyone to fill the status-role of priest signified the virtual absence of the religious social system in itself. The return of Rev. Kopp again brought the combined social systems to a state of equilibrium; once more the settlers could participate in the ritual of weekly mass, which

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[6] Ibid., pp. 46-48.

is so vitally important to believers in the Catholic faith.

The status-role of priest was capably filled by Rev. Kopp. Most of the immigrants had been peasant farmers before leaving Germany; a few were bricklayers or millers, but there were no educated men among them, with the sole exception of the priest.[7] Rev. Kopp was not only the primary source of moral and spiritual comfort, but in the settlers' eyes he was the only man capable of leading the community in its secular affairs:

> He was a man of splendid education, with much energy and force of character . . . Certainly much credit is due to this remarkable man for the spirit of self-sacrifice he exhibited. He remained here in the wilderness, living a life of hardship and poverty in order to be of service to his people and administer to their spiritual needs. Because of his superior education and leadership he was called upon to attend to their temporal and political affairs as well.[8]

The land on which the Catholic Germans were homesteading had not been previously settled, but other lands were being claimed and cleared on all sides of the township. Most of the surrounding pioneers had previously lived in New England or the Middle Atlantic States, or had pushed westward from those states while following the edge of the frontier through settlements in Ohio and Indiana. Isolated pockets of Irish immigrants were moving on to land

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[7]Joseph Scheben, Untersuchungen zur Methode und Technik der deutschamerikanischen Wanderungsforschung an Hand eines Vergleichs der Volkszählungslisten der Township Westphalia, Michigan, vom Jahre 1860. (Bonn, Germany: 1939), Tabelle II.

[8]St. Mary's Centennial, p. 55.

near the present site of Fowler and along Belleview Road in Ionia County, but they represented the only other non-English-speaking element in the immediate surroundings. New German arrivals purchased and settled on land as close as possible to the church and the original settlers. Very few non-German families moved into the area that was being settled by the Catholic Germans. These early settlement trends allowed the German pioneers to attain self-sufficiency with relatively little contact with their non-German neighbors. The German community was from the very beginning a cultural island, and in the face of that fact the Germans were able to perpetuate many of the customs from their way of life in Europe.

The language barrier also served to limit cross-cultural contact, and thereby inhibit acculturation. Of the initial settlers, only Father Kopp could speak even a little English. During the first few years of the settlement, there was relatively little need to learn the language, and for most of the pioneers there was probably little free time in which they could do so.

The German settlers, however, were immediately confronted with a number of mandatory adjustments to the way of life in pioneer America; these adjustments established new cultural traditions and marked the beginnings of the slow process of acculturation.

One of the earliest and most drastic changes encountered was a shift from the nucleated-village patterns of

settlement that the emigrés had left behind in Germany to a dispersed, regular settlement pattern in Michigan. The emigrants from both the Westphalia and Rheinland Provinces had come from areas in which the centuries-old pattern of peasant farmers commuting from their irregular "heap villages" to their often widely dispersed "strips" of farmland was prevalent:[9]

> The arable lands were divided into small, elongated strips, that were arranged in irregular furlongs, or Gewanne, each Gewann being cultivated according to a time-table and usage prescribed by the village community. This is the so-called Gewanndorf in which the village is named after the pattern of property distribution with which it is associated. The village itself consists of a cluster of farmsteads and other buildings, in which the streets are irregular in width and direction, and the houses irregularly disposed with respect to the street frontage and to each other. For these reasons it is called, alternatively, the Haufendorf.[10]

Dispersed habitats, or Einzelhof, are present in those areas in small numbers, but it is safe to assume that the majority of the emigrants to Westphalia Township had been accustomed to life in the Gewanndorf or Haufendorf fashion.

In Michigan, however, the Township-and-Range system

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[9]Villages positively identified as source villages in Germany from which the Catholic emigrants had departed were examined by the author as to their settlement patterns in Deutscher Generalatlas (Stuttgart, Germany: Mairsgeographischer Verlag, 1967-1968); general field and village pattern classifications were obtained by comparing the village locations with information contained in Robert E. Dickinson, "Rural Settlements in the German Lands," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, XXXIX, No. 4 (December, 1949), pp. 239-263.

[10]Dickinson, "Rural Settlements," pp. 242-243.

of land survey, the fact that most of the immigrants were so poor that they could only afford to buy one tract of land, and the necessity for each settler to live as close as possible to the land he was clearing were all factors which forced the individual farmer to live on his own land with his family. This situation resulted in a dispersed pattern of settlement, in which the farmstead was located on the farmer's land, as close to the outside of his section (and therefore, the road) as possible. This new settlement pattern was in distinct contrast to the Gewanndorf pattern, where the farmers lived in the village and belonged to the tightly knit village social systems.

A number of the new arrivals also faced changes in occupation. In addition to those who had been peasant farmers in Germany previously, by 1842 the immigrants from the Rheinland included a blacksmith, a master mason, a bricklayer, a juryman, an innkeeper, a miller, and a cabinet-maker. Since there was essentially no immediate market for their services, these men were forced to find temporary labor in nearby towns or to become farmers in order to survive. In the 1860 census, all of these men except one listed their primary occupations as farmers; the early changes proved to be permanent.[11]

The German pioneers had to make numerous other adjust-

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[11]Scheben, Untersuchungen, Tabelle II.

ments. Initial farming efforts were devoted to "general farming" at subsistence levels. Poverty and the lack of tools and stores forced the pioneers to use frontier expediency in constructing their dwellings and clearing their lands; the first dwelling was inevitably a one-room log cabin, often without windows or closeable doors; and primitive agricultural instruments, such as wooden hoes, spades, shovels and plows, and thorn-bush drags were commonly used.[12] Fire and disease took heavy physical tolls, particularly among the young.

In spite of their relative isolation in the growing German settlement, the pioneers knew that they would have to eventually learn the English language. They had experienced initial frustrations with the language barrier at immigration check-points, on their trips westward, and in the land office, where they were required to sign legal documents they did not understand, but knew to be important. They had to learn some basic English in order to get their grain milled during the first years in nearby Yankee communities, and to conduct other minimal economic transactions. American schooling requirements, the census, and the requirements to keep business and local government records in English were soon to cause further frustration, and the Germans began slowly to learn the necessary words

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[12]Norris, "Acculturation," p. 28.

and phrases.

The Germans also had to adapt to the American political system by establishing a democratic form of local self-government. By 1839, the number of inhabitants had increased to such an extent that the settlers were able to request permission from the Watertown administrative area to separate from the area and form their own township government. The request was granted, and on April 29, 1839, the first township meeting was held. The necessary officers were elected to fill the administrative posts required by the political system; Rev. Kopp was immediately chosen to fill the top post of Township Supervisor. This move in effect merged all three social systems--political, religious, and community--into a single social system that was exclusively ethnic in nature and highly church-centered in orientation. At Rev. Kopp's suggestion, the township was named Westphalia, in honor of the point of origin of the initial group of pioneers.[13]

All of these factors combined led to important changes in both the attitudes of the settlers and the methods they used in earning their subsistence. The old feelings of dependence upon the tightly-knit social systems of the nucleated German village were replaced by a tradition of independence as each farmer became accustomed to the relative isolation of his new homestead. Yet awareness of and

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[13] St. Mary's Centennial, p. 59.

identity with the German community increased, because the alternative of learning the new language and joining the other social systems was far more difficult in an environment which provided more than enough difficulties for mere survival. Numerous major tasks were too time-consuming and difficult for any one family to accomplish alone in the harsh environment; the pioneers were forced to form new social organizations to overcome such problems. "Bees" soon became the principle means by which the entire community would combine its efforts in order to raise a building, clear land for new arrivals, and complete other major tasks; and these "bees" also served to cement community solidarity.

In the face of all these changes, the pioneer families relied even more heavily on their pillar of strength, the Catholic Church, and upon its representatives, Rev. Kopp and his successors. Only the Church and its ritual remained unchanged, and its persisting tradition reminded the German-Americans of the homes and friends they had left behind. Their community social system centered increasingly on the church and its activities.[14] The situation in pioneer Westphalia clearly illustrated Loomis and Beegle's contention that:

Religion serves to establish and reaffirm group ends

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[14]The term Church (capitalized) refers to the Roman Catholic Church in its formal sense, while the term church refers to the community church organization.

> and norms. It maintains group ends over private ends and provides mechanisms and motivation to encourage individuals to contribute to group behavior. It prevents disruption of social systems.[15]

A great deal of emphasis must be placed on the aforementioned events, for they set the standards which governed the later life of the community. Although new cultural traditions had been formed through new relationships within the community, the church and the language barrier together served to prevent general interaction with outsiders, in a form of social boundary maintenance designed to preserve the community in its modified form. The new community, even with its extreme orientation to the Catholic Church, was uniquely different than those communities that the immigrants had left behind in Germany. The growth of the community was fed both by natural increase and further immigration. The settlers formed a cohesive group from the very beginning, and each new German arrival was rapidly assimilated into their social system. The new arrivals, who purchased land as close as possible to the original community because the church was the focal point of its culture and social systems, spread the traditions spatially outward. The German community which had emerged by the end of 1842 was without a doubt the culture hearth from which the German-American culture region evolved.

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[15]Loomis and Beegle, Rural Sociology, p. 203.

Growth of the Settlement

The first group of German settlers had purchased a total of 560 acres of land on Sections 4 and 5 of the township; their land had been selected partly on the basis of its proximity to sources of fresh water: natural springs and a creek, which is known today as Kloeckner Creek. Subsequent growth centered on this area:

> Those people who wished to farm . . . always chose a piece of land contiguous to that already cleared for agriculture, and, therefore, outward growth was uniform.[16]

Both the original pioneer group and the men who followed them during the next few decades were virtually penniless upon their arrival on the homesteads they had purchased, and the environment was an inhospitable one:

> The settlers . . . were very poor. The plans for establishment of a community were not well worked out before leaving Germany, as was the case of the Franks in the Saginaw area. The location of remote Westphalia was not very favorable at that time. The many swamps of the township added to the difficulty of upbuilding the community.[17]

Letters from the settlers to relatives and friends, however, were full of enthusiasm about their new homes and the freedom they were enjoying, and prompted many of those remaining behind to follow on a similar course of action.

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[16]William B. Kemp, "A Study of German Culture in Clinton County" (East Lansing, Michigan: Unpublished comprehensive field problem, Department of Geography, Michigan State University, 1964), p. 21.

[17]Warren W. Florer, Early Michigan Settlements: Washtenaw, Westphalia, Frankenmuth (Detroit, Michigan: Herold Printing Company, 1941), p. 29.

During the years 1838-1842, immigrants from the Westphalian Province arrived in increasing numbers. In 1841, the first group of immigrants from the Adenau District of the Rheinland Province in Germany arrived in Detroit; they also were Catholic Germans, and were directed to Westphalia Township, where they acquired farmland and settled near the original group of Westphalians. Adenau was during the next two decades to become the principle source region for emigration to the new settlement in Michigan. The causes underlying the emigration from that district were similar to those that had spurred the movement from Westphalia Province:

> The same general social conditions existed in the Adenau District as in Swabia. The essential difference was that of the Confession of Faith. The story of 1830-1850 in the Rheinlands and in Southern Germany (Bavaria and Swabia) embraces the causes of the emigration to Michigan. Here in Westphalia, Michigan, as in other communities, they were united by faith.[18]

Initial growth of the settlement was relatively rapid, and the chief source of the early growth was inmigration. By the end of 1842, at least 70 German Catholic families with a total of 264 members had settled on and were in the process of clearing 2811 acres of land within the township (See Figure 2 and Table 1).[19]

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[18] Ibid.

[19] St. Mary's Centennial, pp. 64-66.

Figure 2: -- 1842: Extent of the German-American culture region around Westphalia, Michigan. The areas depicted in this map represent the land owned by German-American settlers in 1842. Information on which this map is based was extracted from deed descriptions in historical records.

Sources: St. Mary's Centennial: Westphalia, Michigan, 1836-1936 (Westphalia, Michigan: 1936), pp. 64-66; and William B. Kemp, "A Study of German Culture in Clinton County" (East Lansing, Michigan: Unpublished comprehensive field problem, Department of Geography, Michigan State University, 1964), p. 21 (fold-out map).

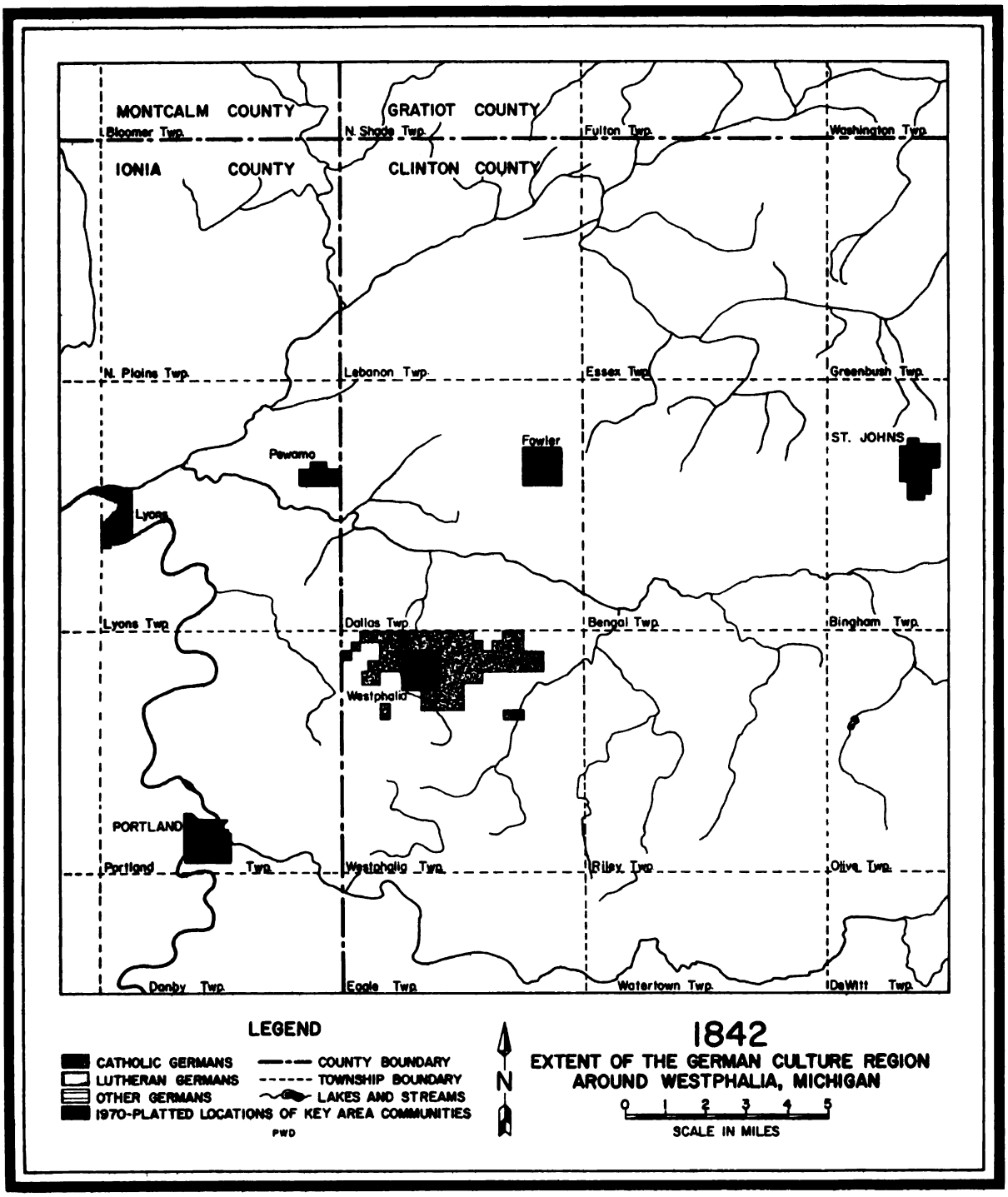
MONTCALM COUNTY
GRATIOT COUNTY
Bloomer Twp.
N. Shade Twp.
Fulton Twp.
Washington Twp.
IONIA COUNTY
CLINTON COUNTY
N. Plains Twp.
Lebanon Twp.
Essex Twp.
Greenbush Twp.
Fowler
ST. JOHNS
Pewamo
Lyons
Lyons Twp.
Dallas Twp.
Bengal Twp.
Bingham Twp.
Westphalia
PORTLAND
Portland Twp.
Westphalia Twp.
Riley Twp.
Olive Twp.
Danby Twp.
Eagle Twp.
Watertown Twp.
DeWitt Twp.
LEGEND
CATHOLIC GERMANS
LUTHERAN GERMANS
OTHER GERMANS
1970-PLATTED LOCATIONS OF KEY AREA COMMUNITIES
COUNTY BOUNDARY
TOWNSHIP BOUNDARY
LAKES AND STREAMS
PWD
N
1842
EXTENT OF THE GERMAN CULTURE REGION
AROUND WESTPHALIA, MICHIGAN
0 1 2 3 4 5
SCALE IN MILES

Figure 2

TABLE 1

NEWLY ARRIVED GERMAN IMMIGRANTS SETTLING NEAR THE SITE OF WESTPHALIA, MICHIGAN (1836-1842)

Year of Arrival	Families from Westphalia Province	Families from Rheinland Province	Total Families	Total Number Arriving
1836-7	4	0	4	15
1838	7	0	7	24
1839	11	0	11	39
1840	5	0	5	7
1841	13	10	23	108
1842	9	11	20	71

Source: St. Mary's Centennial: Westphalia, Michigan, 1836-1936 (Westphalia, Michigan: 1936), pp. 64-66.

The original settlement consisted of scattered dwellings, with each family living on its own land, and the small two-room log church, which was located about one-half mile west and north of the present center of the village. The church and most of the dwelling units were built on knolls because the land in the area was extremely swampy and had not yet been drained.[20]

By July of 1842, the congregation had become so large that the parish decided to build still another church, and purchased ten acres of land along the southeast corner of Section 5; this land is still occupied by the Catholic Church and its associated buildings. The growth of the

[20] Ibid., p. 64.

village of Westphalia upon that corner near the church site was a direct reflection upon the importance that the church held for the community of settlers; it is also direct evidence on the cultural landscape of the church-centered culture which settled there.

The early economy of the community was based entirely on farming. Crops raised included oats, hay, wheat, and various vegetables.[21] Where possible, the farming methods were those which had been used in Germany:

> When the early settlers were ready to harvest their wheat they cut it by hand with a sickle or scythe, or later with a cradle. It was also gathered up by hand and tied in bundles. Each farmer thrashed his own wheat with a hand flail. It was sometimes pounded out on ice, on barn floors or on any other hard surface. This method of flailing wheat was not new to the settlers for this custom also prevailed in Germany at that time.[22]

Wheat was the first "cash" crop, and it had to be taken to the nearby Yankee settlements to be milled: the farmers brought back what they needed and sold the rest:

> Cattle were scarce then and the usual custom was to pack a two-bushel bag of wheat upon the back, carry it on foot through the woods to Lyons or Portland to be milled and bring back the flour in the same manner. John Hanses also recollected later, how he used to drag barrels of flour from Portland on a hand sled, and halt every few minutes to lift the flour over fall-

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[21] Although there is no substantial evidence to indicate that these immigrants were "potato Germans," some of the older residents believed that they had heard that the early settlers tried to plant potatoes, but that the soil was not well-adapted to potato growth, and the attempts failed.

[22] St. Mary's Centennial, pp. 50-51.

en trees which were in the way.[23]

There were very few livestock in the early years because they were so expensive. Because of the lack of draft animals, burning became the principle method of clearing land:

> The early settlers usually chopped down the trees in such a manner as to make them fall in a heap as much as possible. When burned up, this left quite a cleared space. After they had made a clearing in this manner they tilled and cultivated it as well as possible with the tools at hand.[24]

The pioneers needed money to be able to have some of the necessities of life. They acquired funds by selling their small crop surplusses when they could, by laboring in nearby communities, by manufacturing and selling charcoal to nearby blacksmiths, and by selling ashes from their clearing operations, black salts, raccoon furs, and deerskins. They often travelled as far as Jackson and Detroit to market the last five items, which, according to one account "probably brought in more ready cash in some years, than was realized from their crops."[25]

The settlers were able to contribute a small amount to the church for the sustenance of the priest, and, eventually, for the establishment of a church school. Rev. George Godez had succeeded Father Kopp in 1843, and in

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[23] Ibid., p. 51.

[24] Ibid., p. 54.

[25] Ibid., p. 68.

1846 he was able to hire a Yankee resident of Westphalia Township, Moses Bartow, to teach the English language to the pioneer children. From the very start, the church was entirely responsible for conducting the school. Rev. Godez instructed the children in German and religious matters in one half of the old log church, which was used as a school until a better building could be erected, and Mr. Bartow used the other half.[26] The importance attached to learning English is evidenced in the fact that English instruction pre-dated by at least four years the law requiring that all children receive at least three months schooling in English per year.[27]

Among the immigrants who arrived after 1842 were occasional tradesmen, a number of whom eventually answered the community's growing needs for essential services and began to establish small businesses at the section corner near the church. Anton Dunnebacke erected the first house on the village site in 1849 and opened a cobbler's shop in his residence.[28] The Township Post Office located near the church corner in 1850. In 1852 Joseph Platte transferred his general store to the village site near the church:

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[26]Ibid., p. 66.

[27]Kemp, "A Study of German Culture," p. 10.

[28]Judge Sherman B. Daboll, Past and Present of Clinton County, Michigan (Chicago: A. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1891), p. 500.

> Mr. Platte owned considerable land thereabout and his object in removing his store was to found a village. His lead was followed by others and in due time the town took on shape and population.[29]

By the end of 1852 the settlement at the corners near the church included the shoemaker's shop, two taverns, the general store, a blacksmith shop, and a resident physician's office. The first sawmill was started in 1856, and the first grist mill was built in 1858.[30] The small community forming at the site of the village very soon became known locally as "the settlement," or "Dutch-town" (because its inhabitants spoke Deutsch, the German language.[31]

The rapid growth of the German Culture Region in this time can best be seen in immigration figures and in the growth of the church. At least 151 male immigrants had settled in the community by 1860.[32] The first frame Catholic Church was erected on the church property in 1847; this church, known as St. Peter's Church, was reputed to have had a capacity of 400 people. A third index of the growth of the region is the yearly number of baptisms in the Westphalia Church (See Table 2). By 1858 the rate of natural increase was at its peak, and by 1860 the total

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[29] St. Mary's Centennial, p. 80.

[30] Ibid.

[31] F. S. Ceaser, "Forgotten Communities of Central Michigan" (Lansing, Michigan: Address to the Greater Lansing Historical Society, May, 1963), p. 15.

[32] St. Mary's Centennial, pp. 65-78.

TABLE 2

BAPTISMS IN ST. MARY'S PARISH, 1839-1862

Year	Number Baptized	Year	Number Baptized
1839	5	1851	21
1840	6	1852	44
1841	13	1853	56
1842	21	1854	52
1843	24	1855	80
1844	26	1856	102
1845	35	1857	108
1846	36	1858	124
1847	24	1859	104
1848	31	1860	91
1849	29	1861	115
1850	48	1862	114

Source: St. Mary's Centennial: Westphalia, Michigan, 1836-1936, (Westphalia, Michigan: 1936), pp. 110-111.

natural increase since 1839 surpassed the immigration totals to that date.[33]

It is not, therefore, at all surprising that the priest was soon more than busy in ministering to his parish and supervising school activities. Rev. Kopp served two non-consecutive terms as Township Supervisor; he was the first--and last--priest to serve in the political system. Thereafter church and state were kept separate, at least to outside appearances, although the priest's influence in secular matters was no doubt exceptionally strong. Rev. Godez similarly served briefly as the first postmaster of Westphalia, commencing in the year 1850;[34] he was probably chosen because of his constant contact with all the people in the parish. But he vacated the job as his parish responsibilities grew.

Arrival of the Lutheran Germans

In the 1850's compulsory military prescription and economic oppression in the Mecklenburg Province in northeastern Germany led people in widely scattered locations to depart the country for America. In the process of striking out for the unknown, it was natural that some of the families should meet other Germans while in transit, and that they should form small groups based on common

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[33] St. Mary's Centennial, pp. 68-69, 110-111.

[34] Ibid., p. 66.

ethnic, linguistic, and religious bonds. Since many of these immigrants usually had no specific destination in mind, they often stayed together as groups and settled in one area. There was seldom a minister accompanying such a group with the aim of maintaining an established social system.

Such was the case with a small group of Lutheran Germans who had left such widespread points as Schwerin, Pommern, Mölln and Marxhagen; the Nuffer, Luecht, Rossow, Schultz and Hoerner families met somewhere along the journey to Detroit at an undetermined time in the early 1850's. Some of the families found temporary work in Detroit, and others went to Ohio in search of a home.[35] It was inevitable that these immigrants should hear that a German settlement had been established in Westphalia Township:

> Learning of an established German community in Westphalia which was organized in 1836, because of a common language, the early immigrants came by stagecoach or on foot making their way through the wilderness to 'The Settlement,' bringing with them only meager belongings . . . The German immigrants established residence in the area about two and one-half miles south of Dallas.[36] Here they obtained day-work in the community for the Westphalia pioneer farmers who had already cleared some of the land. They worked in exchange for food, other necessities, and a small amount of wages. These people immediately took up land in order

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[35]Mrs. Clarence Light, Built on the Rock, 1869-1969: In Commemoration of the 100th Anniversary of the Organization of St. Peter Lutheran Congregation (Riley Township, Michigan: St. Peter Lutheran Church, 1969), pp. 4-5.

[36]The town of Dallas was located three-fourths of a mile east of the present site of Fowler.

> to build homes and produce food. Some of the early families upon arriving in Detroit, went into Ohio for a time, but after a few years they, too, moved northward and established permanent residence in Michigan.[37]

The exact date of the Lutherans' arrival in the vicinity of the Catholic settlement is not recorded, but there is some evidence that event occurred in the mid-1850's. The earliest readable tombstone in the Lutheran cemetery three and one-half miles south of the present site of Fowler commemorates the death of a member of the Nuffer family in 1858, and lumber mill records indicate that the Rossow and Nuffer families were purchasing lumber as early as 1860.[38]

The Lutheran settlers had to make the same principle adjustments as did the Catholics who had arrived approximately twenty years before. The Lutheran Germans had departed an area containing several types of settlement patterns. Among the most common were the Gutshöfe, or large landed estates which were often surrounded by a cluster of workers' cottages. Also common in Mecklenburg were: the Rundling villages of Slavic origin, in which the villages were organized in clusters for defense purposes; some settlements of the Gewanndorf type; and occasional dispersed

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[37]Light, Built on the Rock, pp. 4-5.

[38]Joseph Bohr, "Ledger of the Bohr Lumber and Grain Mill, 1850-1866" (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Unpublished records located in the Michigan Historical Collection, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor), entries under December 29, 1860.

Einzelhöfe.[39] All of these forms, except the last, are nucleated villages. In Michigan, the Lutheran Germans settled in dispersed patterns, as had the Catholics, and for the same reasons. The Lutherans also faced similar problems in changing professions, establishing homes, and struggling with the English language.

There were, however, a number of important differences between the initial German Catholic situation and the situation when the Lutherans began to arrive. The Lutherans found it much easier to converse with fellow Germans than with neighboring English-speaking Yankee pioneers, in spite of the fact that many of the German Lutherans spoke Platt-Deutsch, or "Low German," while their Catholic neighbors conversed in Hoch-Deutsch, or "High German" dialect; and the Lutheran Germans decided to stay in the vicinity of Westphalia. Although they did not face the total isolation that the German Catholics had experienced as a result of the language barrier, the German Lutherans were isolated from the Catholic social system because of their religion: membership in the Catholic Church was an absolute prerequisite to membership in the highly church-centered German Catholic social system. The arrival of the German Lutherans, then, was the event which split the German-American culture into two distinct cultural sub-systems; and the

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[39]Dickinson, "Rural Settlement," pp. 252-260.

basis of the split was the religious difference between the two groups. The traditions of the German-American culture were carried on in both sub-cultures, for the Lutherans learned readily from the experiences of their Catholic pioneer neighbors. But the Lutherans were forced to establish a distinct group identity by the mere fact of their exclusion from the German Catholic social systems; and because of their beliefs in Lutheranism, they also probably wanted to remain apart from the Catholics.

Yet the path to a separate identity was not easily taken. The area into which the Lutheran Germans were moving had already been occupied for the most part by various pioneer groups, and clearing and draining of the privately owned land was well underway. The German Catholics had expanded their land holdings contiguously in a tight circle around the village of Westphalia, purchasing land as near as possible to the settlement (See Figure 3), and Yankee and Irish pioneers had purchased and settled much of the land surrounding the German holdings. An 1864 plat map of Clinton and Gratiot Counties reveals that the first six German Lutherans to settle there purchased available land in relatively scattered locations on the eastern and northern fringe of the Catholic-settled area;[40] only one concen-

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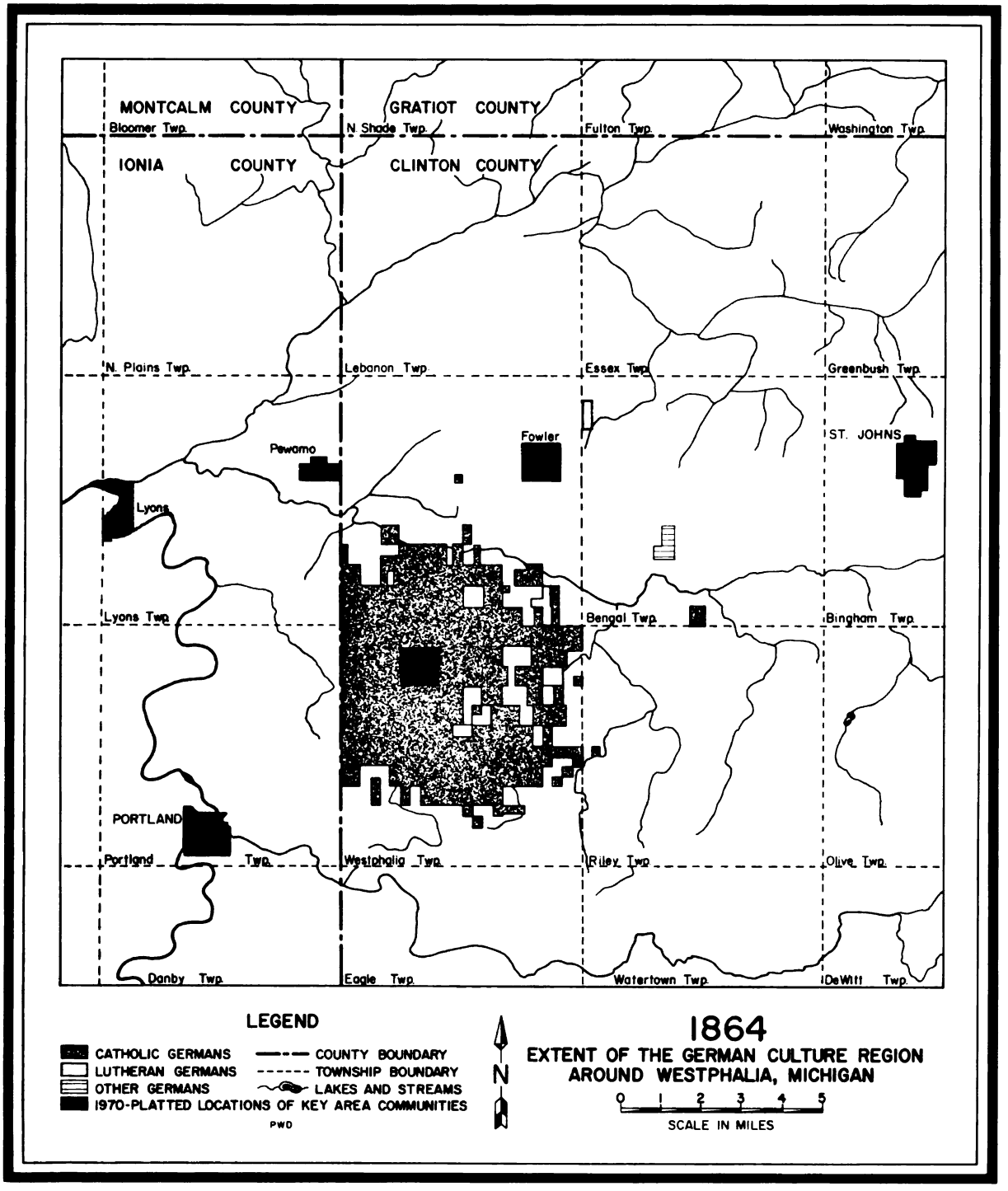
[40]D. S. Harley, J. P. Harley, J. D. Nash, H. G. Brigham, and M. C. Wagner, Map of the Counties of Clinton and Gratiot, Michigan (Philadelphia: Samuel Geil, Publisher, 1864).

Figure 3: -- 1864: Extent of the German-American culture region around Westphalia, Michigan. The areas depicted here represent the land owned by German-American settlers and their descendants in 1864. Information on which this map is based was extracted from a plat map of Clinton County. A similar map for Ionia County was not available.

Source: D. S. Harley, J. P. Harley, J. D. Nash, H. G. Brigham, and M. C. Wagner, Map of the Counties of Clinton and Gratiot, Michigan (Philadelphia: Samuel Geil, Publisher, 1864).


MONTCALM COUNTY
GRATIOT COUNTY
IONIA COUNTY
CLINTON COUNTY
Bloomer Twp.
N. Shade Twp.
Fulton Twp.
Washington Twp.
N. Plains Twp.
Lebanon Twp.
Essex Twp.
Greenbush Twp.
Fowler
ST. JOHNS
Pewamo
Lyons
Lyons Twp.
Bengal Twp.
Bingham Twp.
PORTLAND
Portland Twp.
Westphalia Twp.
Riley Twp.
Olive Twp.
Danby Twp.
Eagle Twp.
Watertown Twp.
DeWitt Twp.
LEGEND
CATHOLIC GERMANS
LUTHERAN GERMANS
OTHER GERMANS
1970-PLATTED LOCATIONS OF KEY AREA COMMUNITIES
COUNTY BOUNDARY
TOWNSHIP BOUNDARY
LAKES AND STREAMS
PWD
N
1864
EXTENT OF THE GERMAN CULTURE REGION
AROUND WESTPHALIA, MICHIGAN
0 1 2 3 4 5
SCALE IN MILES

tration of three Lutheran homesteads could be found at a site three and one-half miles south of the present location of Fowler.

The scattered pattern of settlement which characterized the Lutheran Germans during their early years in Clinton County is not surprising in view of the difficulty of obtaining good land in an area with a high level of private ownership; nor is it unexpected in view of the fact that the families were from such widely scattered points of origin in Germany, and had probably not had the opportunity to form a cohesive group based on common backgrounds and previous acquaintances, as had the German Catholics.

Although religious convictions among the German Lutherans were probably just as strong as those of the Catholics, and reliance upon religious faith to sustain them in their rugged life just as necessary, the Protestant requirements for continuous attendance at services were far less stringent. As a consequence, it was not until September 29, 1861 that the Lutherans banded together for the first time as a religious unit of worship; the St. Peter Congregation of Dallas Township was formed, and whenever Lutheran ministers from Owosso and Grand Rapids journeyed to the area, religious services were held in the homes of members. In 1869 the congregation built a frame church and parsonage on three acres of the Nuffer family property in the aforementioned small concentration of Lutheran farms; Rev. Joseph Smith came to serve as the

first resident minister. In 1871 the church affiliated with the Missouri Synod of the Lutheran Church and became known as the St. Peter Evangelical Lutheran Congregation, Unaltered Augsburg Confession.[41]

The number of German Lutheran families who immigrated into the area and settled on the eastern fringe of the Catholic lands in later years was considerably smaller than the number of Catholic families who settled in the culture region, and from a much wider range of points of origin.[42] Relatives of the German Lutherans did not follow them and settle in the region in such great numbers as among the Catholic Germans. And the German Lutherans were not present in large enough numbers in any one township to gain political control of a township until well after the turn of the century. No clearly defined trade center evolved to exclusively serve the Lutheran community.

The Lutheran community members had, however, established traditions that were based on the way of life they had left behind in Germany; the independence they had exhibited in leaving Germany as individuals who had no idea of their destination; the methods of pioneer survival they learned from the German Catholics; and their formation of

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[41]Light, Built on the Rock, pp. 5-7.

[42]The results of the author's survey indicated Lutheran Germans settling there originated in such distant points as Bavaria and Alsace-Lorraine. The evidence, which is somewhat sketchy at best, indicates that no two unrelated families came from the same points of origin.

a social system having strong ethnic and linguistic identity with the German Catholics, but isolated from the Catholic community because of their religion. The cultural traditions of the Catholic and Lutheran German-Americans were more closely related to each other than to those of any other cultural group in the immediate vicinity; but there were still enough differences between the two groups to justify identifying them as separate sub-cultures within the German-American culture.

Expansion of the German-American Culture Region

During the 1860's, the Catholic Germans continued to purchase land as close as possible to the village and to thereby expand concentrically outward from it, while the Lutherans located on the north and east fringes of the area of Catholic settlement. In 1864, virtually all of the German settlers were within a three- to four-mile radius of Westphalia's growing trade center; most of the area within that radius was owned by Germans (See Figure 3). The radius figure of three to four miles is of interest because that is precisely the distance which was the maximum walking distance on the average between the European nucleated village and the most distant fields belonging to it; any field further away caused too much inefficiency due to commuting time, and was considered non-defendable. In the case of the German-American culture region, the figure has significance because growth beyond that point moved in dif-

ferent directions at different times for varying reasons, and eventually resulted in the segmentation of the German-American culture region into a series of distinct religious social systems that were spatially differentiated.

The village of Westphalia continued to grow. The Germans, as might be expected, were beer-lovers, and in 1861 they built a brewery that continued in operation until prohibition was imposed in 1908, when Clinton County "went dry." Another tavern was built in the village in 1862.[43] As more and more immigrants arrived, and more and more babies, it was soon apparent that the frame church was no longer large enough. In 1867 construction was started on a new church. The scope of the project reflected both upon the prosperity that the region was starting to enjoy and the esteem in which the Church was held in the community. A good local supply of clay for bricks was available, so a brickyard was established to cut the costs on building the church. The new building was completed in 1869 at a cost of $70,000. It included an interior furnished with black walnut from the forests of Westphalia, Germany. A Detroit firm made the pews in return for black walnut grown in the township forests and donated by the members. The new church reputedly held more than 1500 people. Bricks from the brickyard were

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[43]Norris, "Acculturation," p. 37.

also later used in the construction of a rectory, which was completed at the same time as the church; several business buildings; a school; and a convent for the Sisters of Charity, who arrived in 1874 to begin teaching.[44]

In the meantime, virtually all the free land surrounding the German settlement had been purchased by private citizens, and other small trade centers were appearing nearby. To the northeast, the community of Dallas had been started in 1857 as the temporary railhead on the Detroit and Milwaukee Railroad. As the railroad moved west, more and more people came through the town, but few stopped to settle there, and no business would locate there because the town was built on very low, swampy soil. In 1867 the citizens decided to move the town west three-fourths of a mile to land owned by J. N. Fowler of Detroit. The new town was first called Isabella, but in 1869 it was renamed Fowler.[45] Settlers rapidly moved into Fowler because of its favorable position as a rail shipping point on high ground; most of its early inhabitants were Irishmen, from the Irish settlement in the area, and Yankees.

To the northwest of Westphalia, in the year 1857 another small concentration of Yankee settlers along the rail line formed the village of Pewamo. The new town, named after an Ottawa Indian Chief, was incorporated in 1871.

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[44]St. Mary's Centennial, pp. 13, 30-31, 80.

[45]Daboll, Clinton County, p. 506.

Because of its swampy location, Pewamo also developed quite slowly; in 1871 it had only a grist mill, a small stave-making business, two general stores, a blacksmith shop, three small protestant churches, a tavern and post office.[46]

The 1870's saw the end of the major period of immigration of Catholic Germans into the culture region:

> . . . the community had absorbed as many persons as it could support, and although the trade center provided employment for many newcomers, Westphalia finally reached the saturation point. Most of the farm land had been purchased and was being developed to a point concomitant with the level of technological sophistocation of those times. Lack of transportation facilities, a source of power, or any unusual reserve of raw materials for industrial purposes has operated against the community.[47]

Plat maps of the region made in 1873 and 1875 support this contention (See Figure 4). When compared with the map of 1864, the combined 1873-1875 county maps show that the concentric spread of Catholic German land ownership had slowed considerably due to the fact that "outsiders" had already purchased most of the other lands. The primary areas of expansion during the period were those on the extreme northwest and southeast of the Catholic zone, on land which had not been previously purchased because it was so swampy. It is noteworthy, however, that some of the

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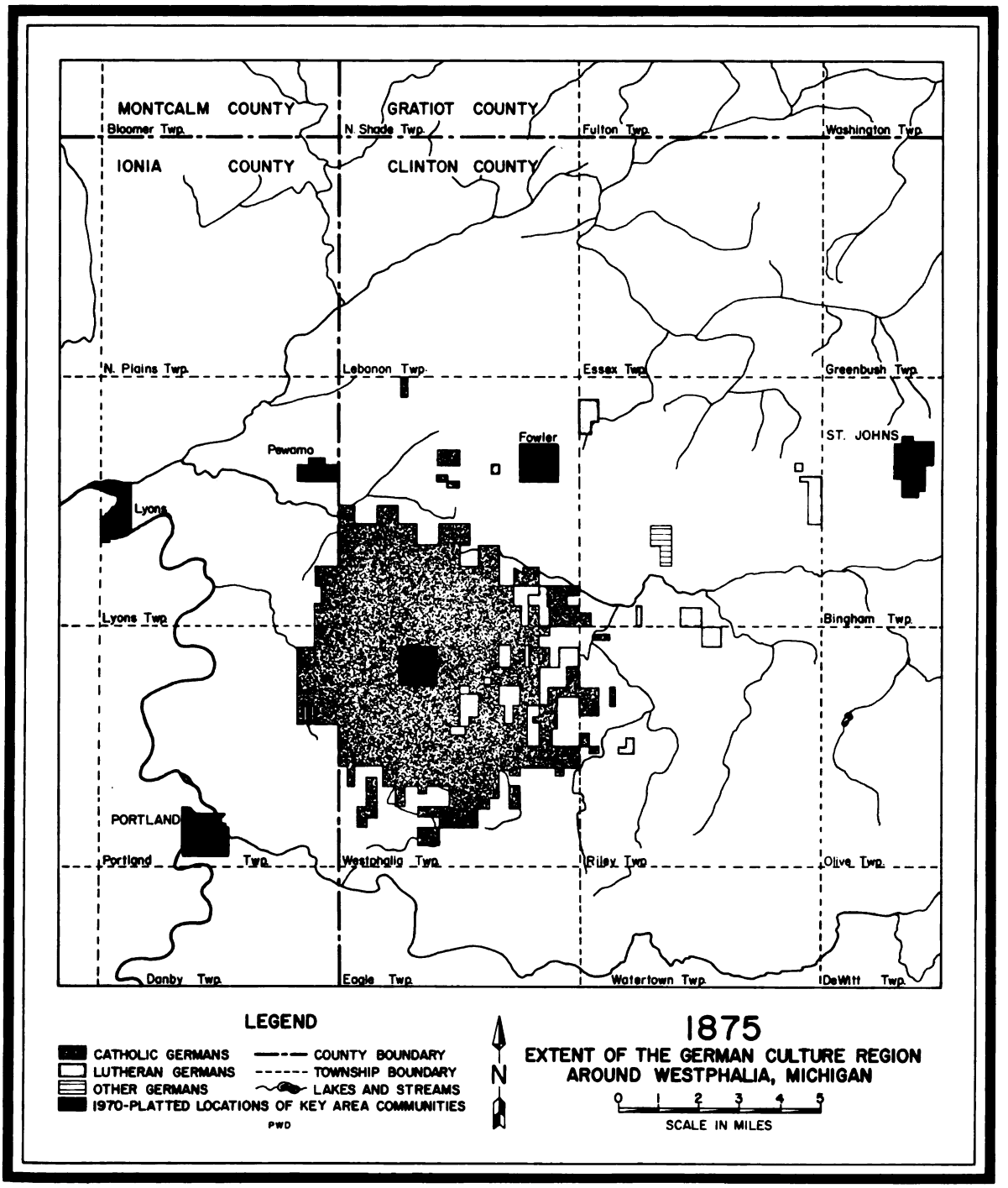
[46]John S. Schenck, History of Ionia and Montcalm Counties, Michigan (Philadelphia: D. W. Ensign and Company, 1881), pp. 252-256.

[47]Norris, "Acculturation," p. 43.

Figure 4: -- 1875: Extent of the German-American culture region around Westphalia, Michigan. The areas depicted here represent the land owned by German-American settlers and their descendants in 1875. Information on which this map is based was extracted from county atlases from the period.

Sources: D. J. Lake, Atlas of Clinton County, Michigan (Philadelphia: C. O. Titus, Publisher, 1873); and Atlas of Ionia County, Michigan, (New York: F. W. Beers and Company, 1875).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EXTENT OF THE GERMAN CULTURE REGION
AROUND WESTPHALIA, MICHIGAN
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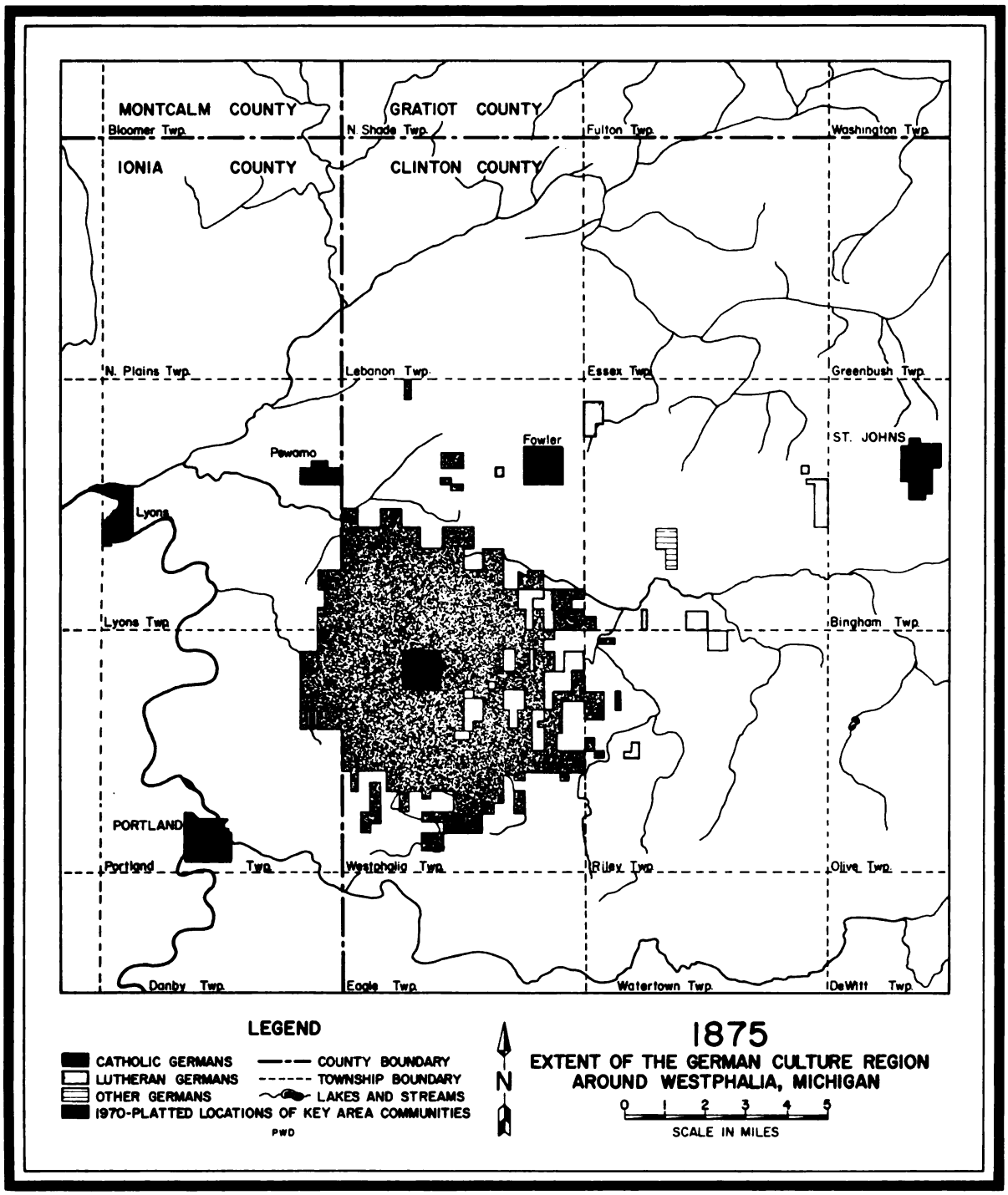
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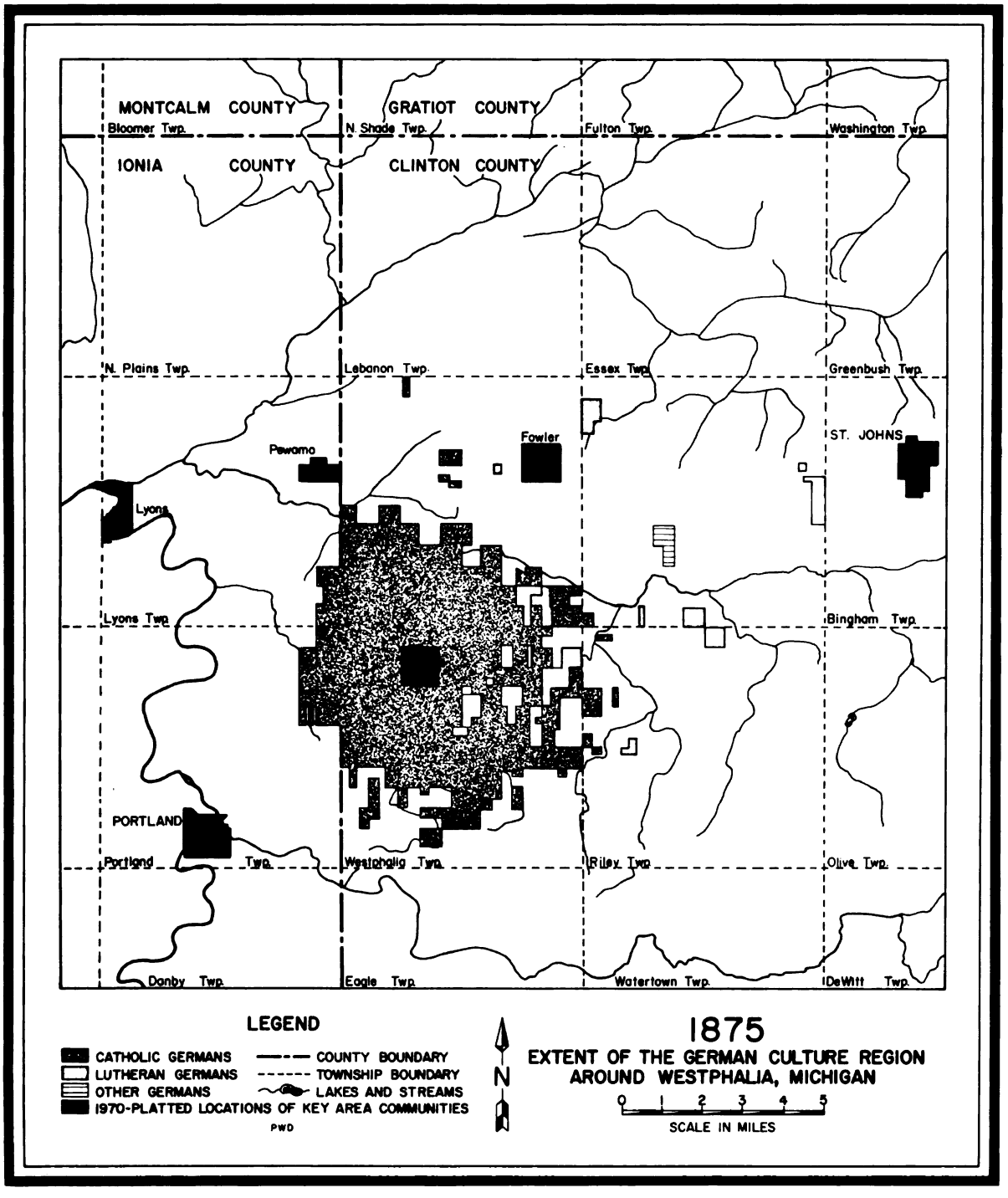
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EXTENT OF THE GERMAN CULTURE REGION
AROUND WESTPHALIA, MICHIGAN
0 1 2 3 4 5
SCALE IN MILES

German Catholics were beginning to break from the "solid" edges of the culture region and purchase homes north and east of Stoney Creek, which for a long time had acted as a barrier both because of its lack of good fords and its location at the "optimum" distance of three to four miles from the village. The purchases were probably scattered in distribution because they had to be made when other pioneers left the area or were willing to sell their homesteads for other reasons.

In contrast, the same period witnessed an increase in the number of Lutheran immigrants entering the area, and although the Lutheran pattern of settlement continued to be scattered for the same reasons, there was a noticeable trend in which the new Lutheran arrivals tended to settle to the east of the Catholics, and even to the east of the established Lutheran German homesteads; this shift was probably due both to their desire to be near the established church and to the availability of land, which was greater away from the edges of the Catholic-settled areas.

The 1870's were also a period in which internal expansion of the trade centers was common. The farmers in the region had completed the process of clearing most of their land and were building large, permanent residences and raising extraordinarily large families (in some cases with as many as eighteen members in one family). The farmers could now ship their wheat and corn and other products to market by rail, and were, in general, prospering;

this strengthened the economy of the trade centers and enhanced their growth.

By 1873 the village of Westphalia had added a harness and saddle manufacturer, a tin shop, a drug store, and had one of the community's sons serving it as an attorney and law counsellor. The boom-town growth of Fowler by that date had supplied the community with a manufacturer of shoes and boots; two hotels; two resident physicians; a wooden-bowl manufacturer; a sawmill and lumberyard; two blacksmiths (one of whom was a wagon-maker); a dealer in medicines, flour and feed; a real estate agency; a general store; and a Justice of the Peace.[48] Pewamo by 1875 had added only a school and the services of two shyster "backwoods" lawyers; it had lost the Presbyterian Church and a carriage-making business that started seven years before.[49]

The period from 1876-1896 can best be characterized as a period of segmentation within the German-American culture region; a glance at the county atlases of the 1890's readily reveals the reasons behind such a development. (See Figure 5). The tremendous increase in the amount of land owned by Lutheran Germans is perhaps the most striking feature, but of even greater importance is

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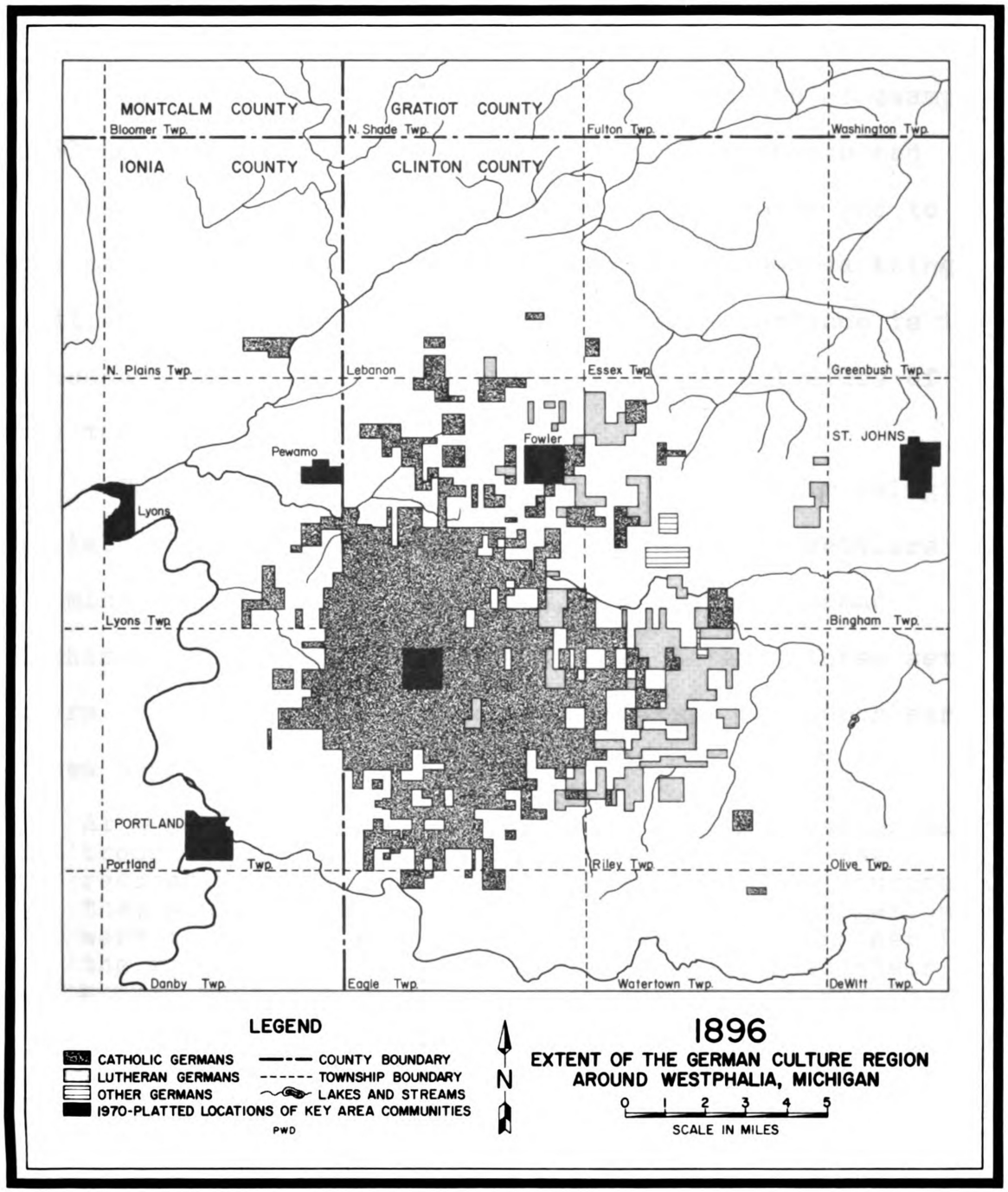
[48]D. J. Lake, Atlas of Clinton County, Michigan (Philadelphia: C. O. Titus, Publisher, 1873), pp. 23, 51.

[49]Schenck, Ionia and Montcalm Counties, pp. 252-255.

Figure 5: -- 1874: Extent of the German-American culture region around Westphalia, Michigan. The areas depicted here represent the land owned by German-American settlers and their descendants in 1874. Information on which this map is based was extracted from county atlases from this period.

Sources: Standard Atlas of Clinton County, Michigan. Chicago: Compiled and Published by George A. Ogle and Company, Publishers and Engravers, 1874.; and Atlas of Ionia County, Michigan. New York: C. O. Sherr and Company, 1874.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AROUND WESTPHALIA, MICHIGAN
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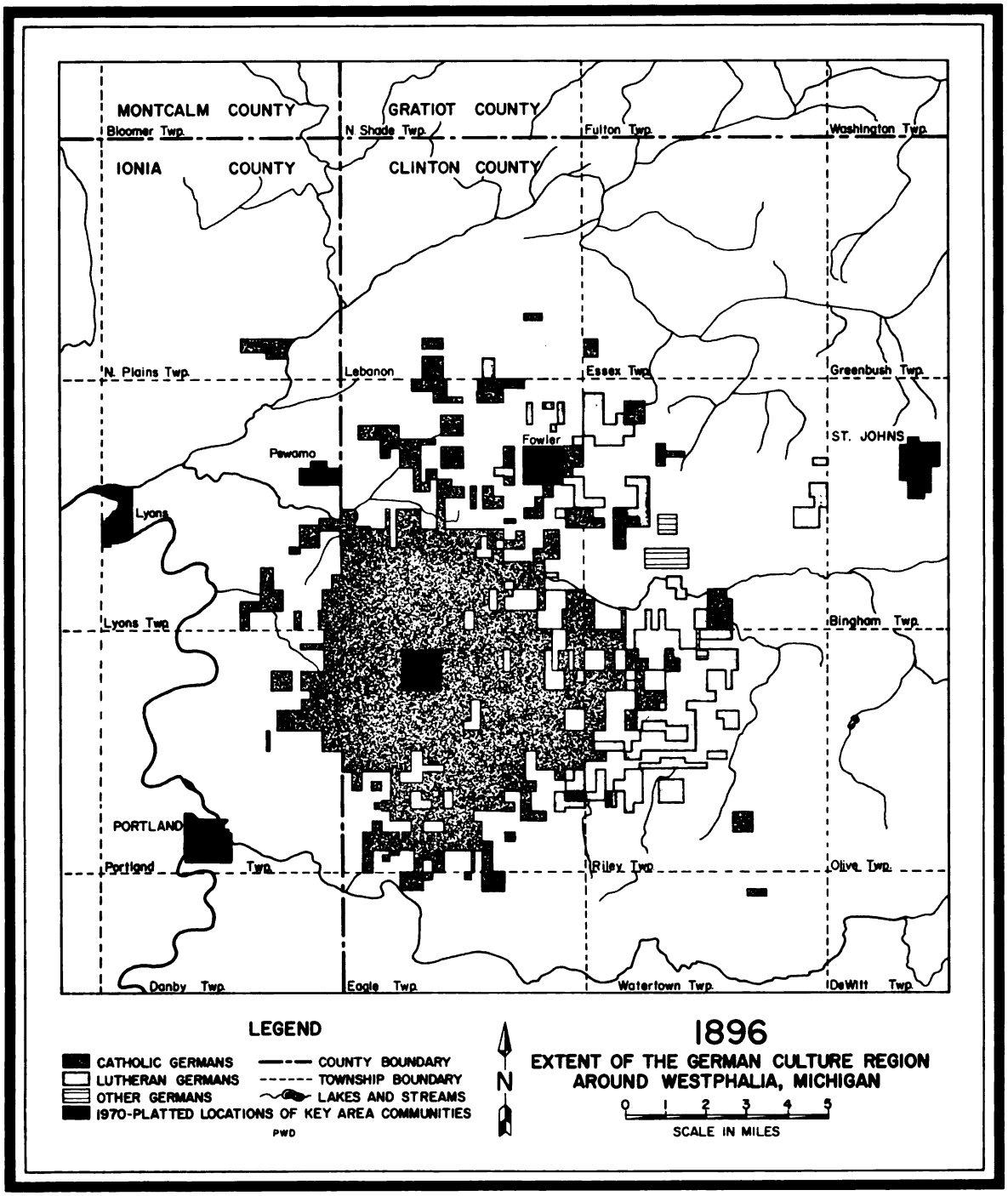
Figure 5: -- 1896: Extent of the German-American culture region around Westphalia, Michigan. The areas depicted here represent the land owned by German-American settlers and their descendants in 1896. Information on which this map is based was extracted from county atlases from the period.

Sources: Standard Atlas of Clinton County, Michigan (Chicago: Compiled and Published by George A. Ogle and Company, Publishers and Engravers, 1896); and Atlas of Ionia County, Michigan (New York: J. B. Beers and Company, 1891).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SCALE IN MILES

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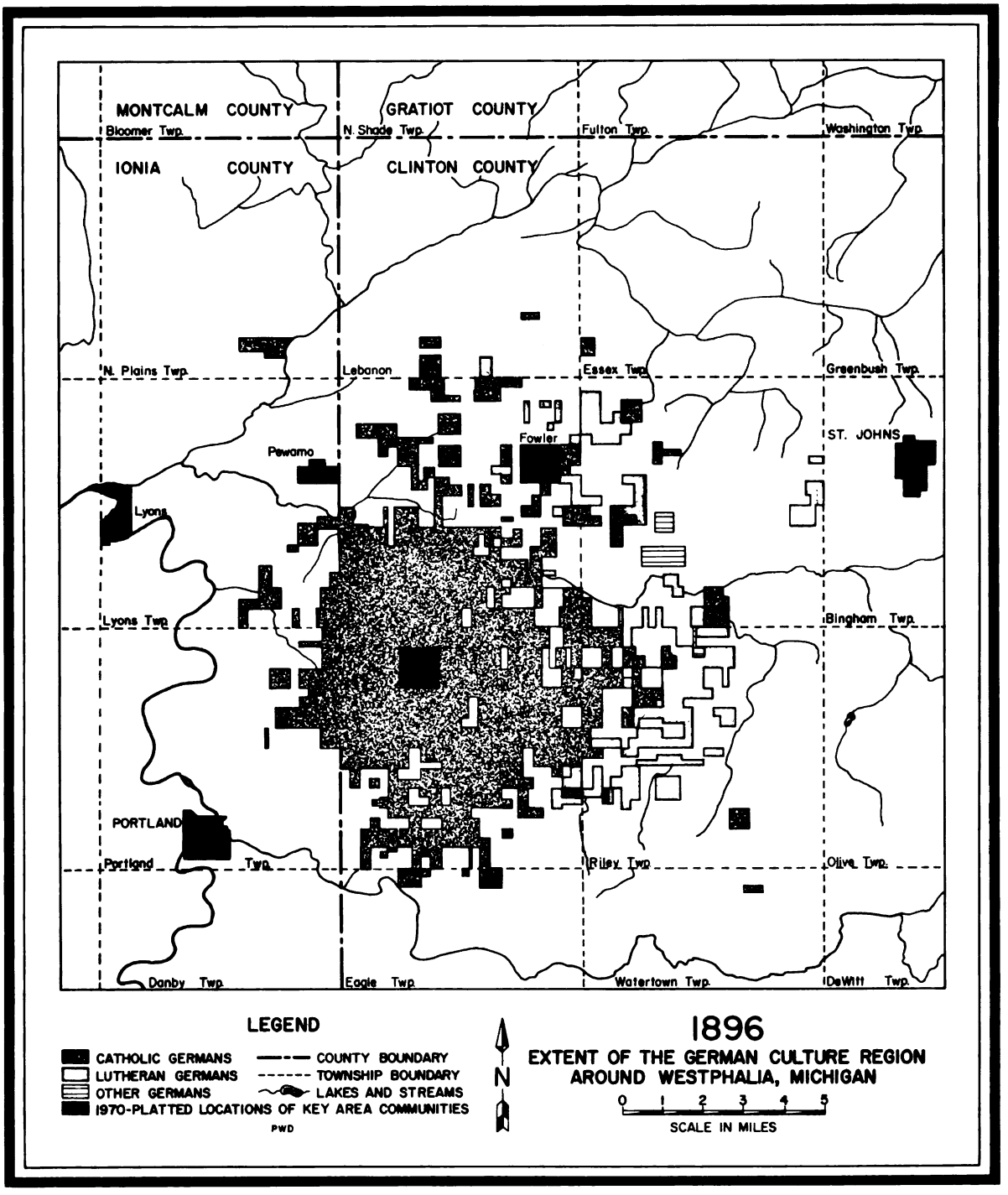
Sources: Standard Atlas of Clinton County, Michigan (Chicago: Compiled and Published by George A. Ogle and Company, Publishers and Engravers, 1896); and Atlas of Ionia County, Michigan (New York: J. B. Beers and Company, 1891).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the formation of two distinct concentrations of Lutherans, one of which was centered in Riley Township, and the other around Fowler. Expansion by the Catholic Germans to the west was essentially stagnant, due both to the high level of Yankee land ownership there and the presence of swampy lowlands near the Grand River. Catholic expansion had increased beyond the four-mile line to the south and to the east, in the latter case pushing into the area being settled by the Lutherans. Of particular importance is the presence of scattered Catholic settlers on all sides of the town of Fowler.

The Lutherans were the first to split their religious social system. There were, in addition to the settlers farming just outside of the town, a number of German Lutherans living in the Fowler trade center. These settlers considered the eight-mile round-trip to church services each week to be excessive:

> At a meeting held on January 6, 1878, this matter was brought under consideration and an agreement was reached whereby, although there would be two churches, they would remain one parish . . . Both congregations were to support the one pastor, assist one another in the maintenance of the parsonage, and to hold their annual meetings jointly. Each congregation was to maintain its own house of worship without expense to the other congregation and each church was to have its own set of officers.[50]

The settlers living in the Fowler area built their own church, in accordance with the terms of the agreement, but

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[50]Light, Built on the Rock, p. 7.

this did not solve the similar problem of the majority of the Lutheran settlers in Riley Township, who were commuting a like distance to the original church on the Nuffer property. The Riley Township Lutherans purchased a five-acre plot at the center of the intersection line between Sections 7 and 8 of Riley Township in October, 1886; two years later their new brick church, which is still standing, was completed. The old church was still used for annual meetings and other joint purposes until 1894, when a new frame building was erected in Fowler and the old church abandoned;[51] different ministers served each congregation, and the split was complete.

The Catholic Germans living in the Fowler area had the same problem, although to them it was probably even more critical, as they had a much greater distance to travel than had the Lutherans; and they considered the weekly trip to be a necessity. The English-speaking Catholics in Portland, Eagle, Lyons and Fowler had long been considered by the Diocese to be a part of the Westphalia Parish; Rev. Godez had made weekly visits to these outer areas until his departure from Westphalia in 1873.[52] The area near Fowler had a particularly heavy concentration of Irish Catholic settlers; when the Catholic Germans began moving in, it was only a matter of time until the

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[51] Ibid.

[52] St. Mary's Centennial, p. 13.

Germans and the Irish near Fowler banded together to request a separate Catholic Church for that community. In 1881 the Holy Trinity Catholic Church was completed, and the new priest positioned the statues of the patron saints of the Germans and the Irish side-by-side on the altar.[53] Neither the Germans nor the Irish felt ill at ease with the arrangement, as the services were entirely in Latin.

The Catholic Germans in Fowler still had strong ethnic and kinship ties to the Westphalians, but they began slowly to form their own social system and to mix more freely with non-Germans; in doing so, the Catholic Germans near Fowler were forced to use the only common language--English--much more frequently than those in their parent community. Evidence of this is found in the Fowler Catholic Cemetery, located three miles west and one mile north of the town, where only two gravestones have German inscriptions, in spite of the fact that the cemetery was started in the same year the church was completed.

The German Catholics in the Fowler area had established their own social system. The original split between the two Catholic communities was merely caused by convenience; subsequent differences that appeared were based upon the variations in the rates of acculturation in the two communities. In 1887 the Sisters of St. Dominic, from Racine, Wisconsin, opened a Catholic school in Fowler,

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[53]Kemp, "A Study of German Culture," p. 29.

and the athletic rivalry that subsequently sprang up between the two Catholic social systems was probably to a large degree due to a boundary-maintenance reaction of the parent system to the loss of its members to a new parish.

Segmentation of the German Catholic portion of the region took another form when forty young Catholics, unable to find satisfactory land available in the area near the community, banded together and travelled north to the Beal City area, approximately eight miles northwest of Mt. Pleasant, Michigan, where they purchased land and established a new German Catholic settlement and parish. At the same time the German Catholic region began to experience out-migration of its young people. The large farms simply could not afford to support all of the children in the huge Catholic families once the children had reached maturity. The German-Americans did not practice primogeniture; the father usually turned his farm over to one, or at the most two of his sons, and the rest of the sons had to find a farm elsewhere or leave the region and find employment. If the young girls did not marry at an early age, they, too, left to find work in Lansing, Grand Rapids, Detroit, and other urban areas.[54]

While Catholic immigration had essentially ended in the 1870's, Lutheran immigration into the area was then at its height. It gradually began tapering off in the 1880's

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[54]Norris, "Acculturation," p. 44.

until it ended in the 1890's:

> In Michigan up to the great depression of 1893 it is fairly easy to trace the history of the German colonists. In 1893 the German immigration practically ceased, due to the rise of modern German industry and partly due to the situation in America.[55]

The new Luthern German arrivals, the grown children of the first Lutheran families, and the Catholic Germans were all competing for lands as they became available in the western portions of Riley and Bengal Townships. The Catholics were probably a little leery of purchasing very far into Riley Township, simply because there was no Catholic Church near enough to that portion of the region to make the weekly travel time to Sunday mass worth settling there. For the Lutherans, this was no problem, as their church was close at hand, and they were able to purchase the majority of the land to the east of their church when it became available as the former Yankee owners died or moved away; for the first time a solid concentration of Lutherans became evident in Riley Township.

Economic growth continued during these years. Evidence of continued prosperity among the diligent farmers, both Catholic and Lutheran, can still be seen in the huge barns built during that period. In 1882, Westphalia was incorporated. New businesses that had located in the community included a wagon-maker, two more cobblers, another general store, an ashery, another blacksmith shop, a coop-

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[55]Florer, Early Michigan Settlements, p. 7.

er's shop, a creamery, a tailor shop, and a cabinet shop. A Volunteer Fire Department was formed in the same year, and wooden sidewalks were built along the roads one-half mile on each side of town to make the going easier for school children. A weekly German newspaper "Die Zeitung" was published for several years in the mid-1880's, but was discontinued when the publisher moved to Lansing. In the 1890's another large hotel was added, and a number of other smaller businesses. Catholic residents were beginning to have enough leisure time to form organizations, all of which were church-sponsored; both a band and a choir were performing by this time.[56]

Fowler also continued its steady growth by adding a variety of small businesses. Catholic German encroachment into all phases of that community's life was well-illustrated when the bank was established in 1890, with "Michael Spitzley, the Westphalia Capitalist," as its vice-president.[57] Some of the more important businesses added at this time included the Weiber Lumber Company and a well-drilling firm.[58]

Pewamo experienced its most rapid increase during

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[56] St. Mary's Centennial, pp. 80-107.

[57] Daboll, Clinton County, p. 506.

[58] 100 Years of Progress: Fowler Centennial, 1857-1957 (Fowler, Michigan: Special newspaper edition, publisher unknown, 1957), p. 31.

this period, having gained by 1881 two more general stores, two grocery stores, a drugstore, a weekly newspaper, an "honorable" attorney, and another grain-milling and shipping business. Pewamo owed its sudden upsurge in prosperity to its growing status as a grain-shipment point and to its new position as a railway freight station for many of the nearby communities. Its population had grown to 350 in 1881, but remained static in the next decade.[59]

The period from 1896 to World War I saw both expansion of the areal extent of the German-American culture region and expansion of the newly-formed religious social systems, as well as the appearance of an entirely new social system. County maps made during this period show that the grown children in each group continued to purchase land as close as possible to their source area as soon as it became available (See Figure 6). The Catholic farmers in the region expanded the limit of virtually solid Catholic land ownership an average one mile distance on all sides. Noteworthy trends included: the formation of an almost-solid "lane" of settlement between Westphalia and Fowler; the appearance of German Catholic farmers on all sides of Pewamo, in Portland, and on the south side of the Looking Glass River; the northward extension of scattered German Catholic settlement to the

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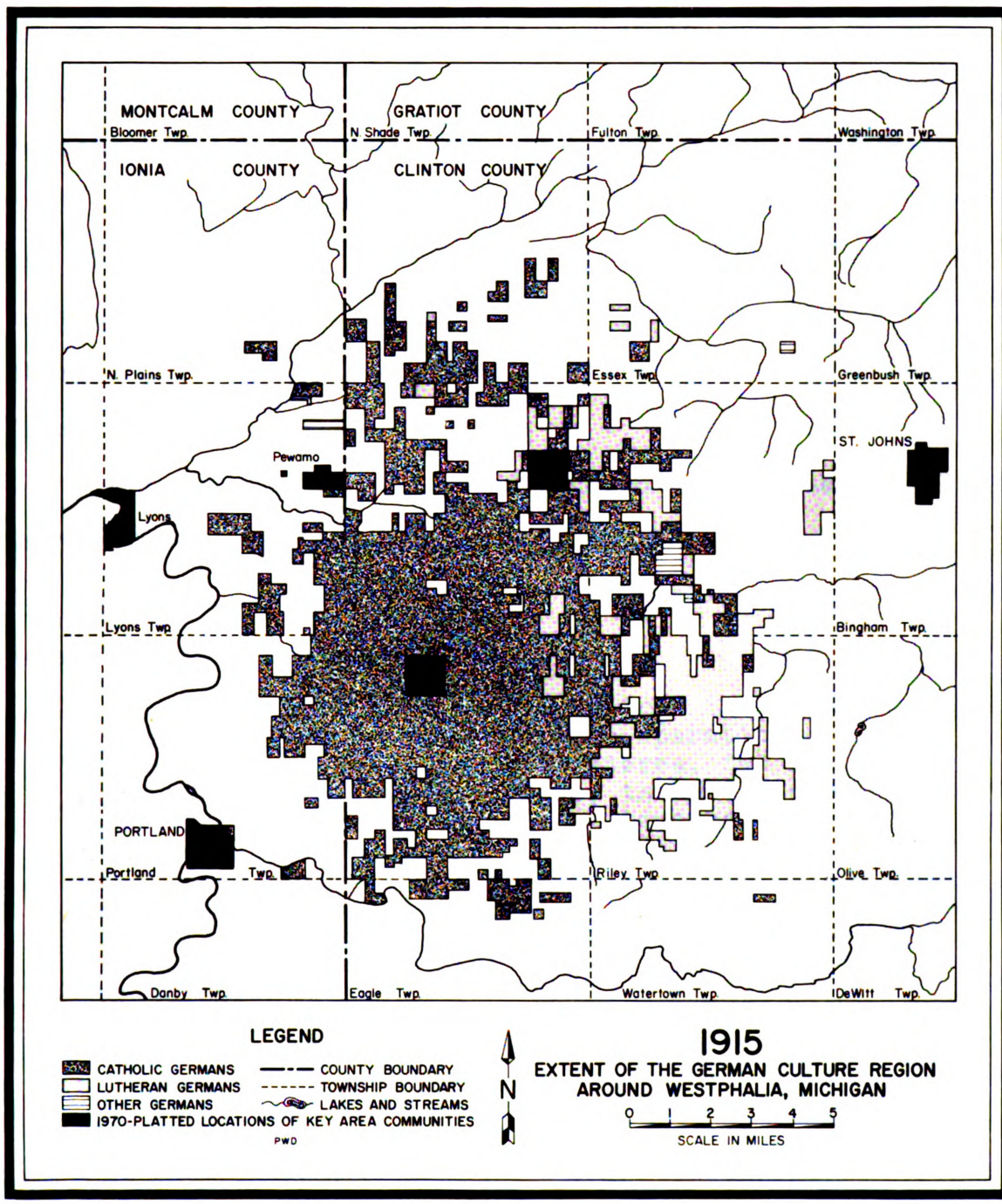
[59]Schenck, Ionia and Montcalm Counties, pp. 254.

Figure 6: -- 1915: Extent of the German-American culture region around Westphalia, Michigan. The areas depicted here represent the land owned by German-American settlers and their descendants in 1915. Information on which this map is based was extracted from county atlases from the period.

Sources: Standard Atlas of Clinton County, Michigan (Chicago: Compiled and published by George A. Ogle and Company, Publishers and Engravers, 1915); and Standard Atlas of Ionia County, Michigan (Chicago: Compiled and published by George A. Ogle and Company, Publishers and Engravers, 1906).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EXTENT OF THE GERMAN CULTURE REGION
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Maple River; and the consolidation and expansion of the southern Lutheran social system in Riley Township.

The most important Catholic event of the period was the formation of a new Catholic parish in Pewamo, which occurred in 1906.[60] The new congregation was formed for reasons similar to those for the formation of the Fowler parish, but in Pewamo the German Catholics alone dominated the new parish. The effects of the move were similar to the effects experienced in Fowler. Pewamo became the third important religious social system in the Catholic German sub-culture.

The turn of the century represented the high point in the development of the three important trade centers in the culture region. By 1911, Westphalia had reached the level of its present population; it

> . . . had a little over five hundred inhabitants, and the following businesses were in operation: two department stores, two hardware stores, two farm implement businesses, a post office, three ice cream parlors, a bank, a butcher shop, several taverns, a bakery, harness shop, two restaurants, a livery shop, barber shop, drug store, two furniture and undertaking establishments, two millinery shops, two doctors, a grist mill, two creameries, a blacksmith shop and a hotel. The parish had about five hundred families within its jurisdiction.[61]

In 1900 the "largest grain elevator on the "line" was erected in Fowler; other important businesses established there during the period included a bulk oil distributor,

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[60] St. Mary's Centennial, p. 111.

[61] Norris, "Acculturation," p. 38.

a hardware and implement store, a clothing store, a milk-trucking firm, another general store, a barber shop, and a newspaper.[62] A grain elevator was constructed in Pewamo at that time, as was a new Catholic Church, but precise information concerning the stage of development then can not be found. From the style, condition, and number of buildings and abandoned buildings that are present in the village today, and the fact that the population total was only three persons larger in 1906 than in 1881,[63] it may be assumed that very little growth had occurred there since the 1880's.

Unfortunately, county atlases and plat maps are not available at appropriate intervals to adequately and precisely indicate the changes in settlement trends between World War I and the present, or to indicate periods of rapid spatial growth. The major trends in settlement had already been established, however, by the start of World War I, and this fact is apparent in comparing maps of the extent of the culture region in 1915 and 1969 (See Figure 7). Comparison of the two reveals that the German Catholics have been slowly consolidating their position by purchasing land within the confines of the 1915 limit of scattered German Catholic settlement, in much the same

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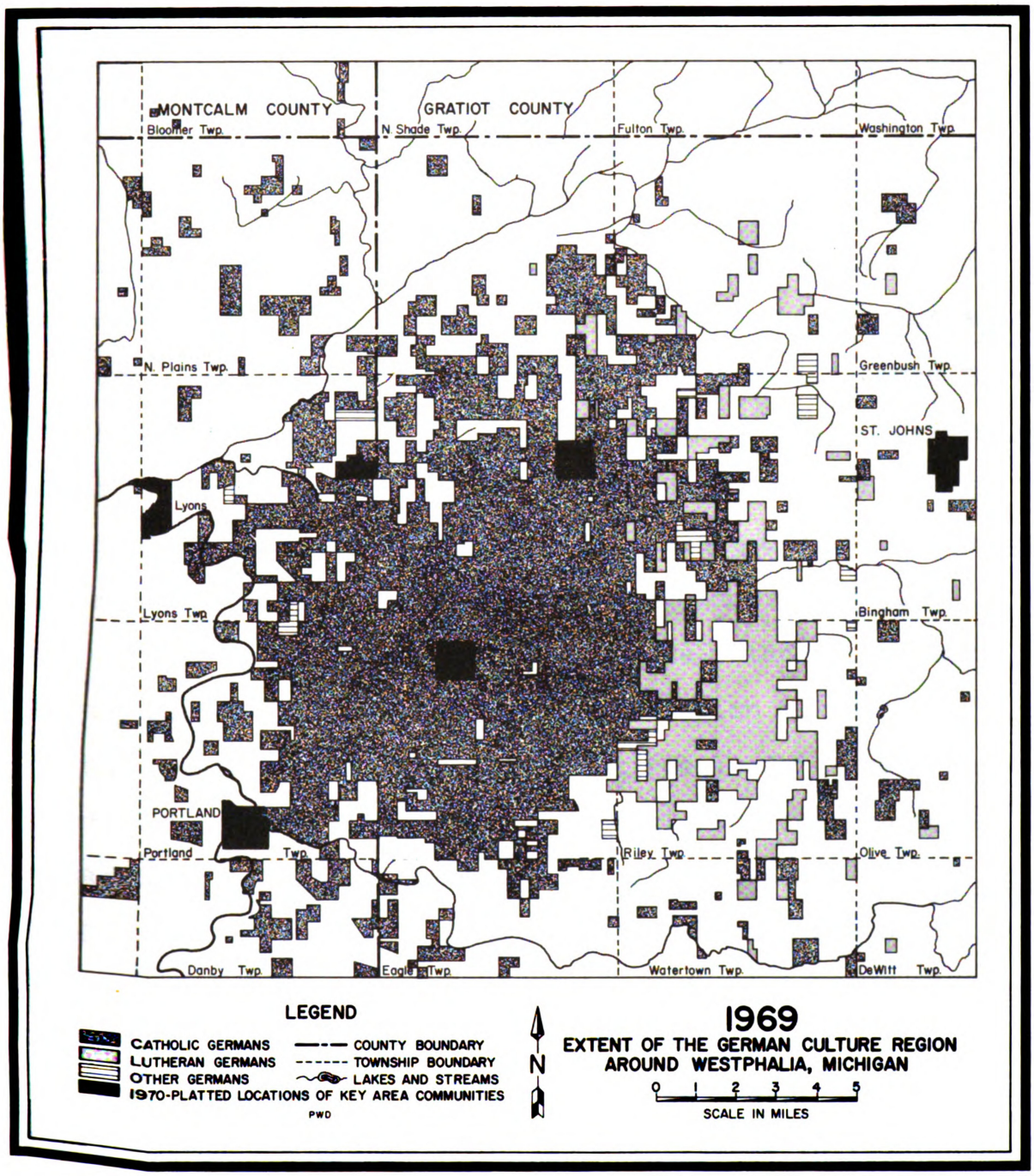
[62] Fowler Centennial, p. 31.

[63] Rev. E. E. Branch, History of Ionia County, Michigan (Indianapolis, Indiana: B. F. Bowen and Company, Inc., 1916), p. 515.

Figure 7: -- 1969: Extent of the German-American culture region around Westphalia, Michigan. The areas depicted here represent the land owned by descendants of the settlers of the German-American culture region in 1969. Information on which this map is based was extracted from current county atlases and plat books.

Sources: The following county atlases or plat books, all published by Rockford Map Publishers, Rockford, Illinois, were used as source material for this map: Triennial Farmers' Atlas and Residents' Directory, Clinton County, Michigan: 1967; Farm Plat Book, Ionia County, Michigan: 1963; Triennial Atlas and Plat Book, Montcalm County, Michigan: 1969; and Tri-Annual Atlas and Plat Book, Gratiot County, Michigan: 1967.


MONTCALM COUNTY
GRATIOT COUNTY
Bloomer Twp.
N. Shade Twp.
Fulton Twp.
Washington Twp.
N. Plains Twp.
Greenbush Twp.
ST. JOHNS
Lyons
Lyons Twp.
Bingham Twp.
PORTLAND
Portland Twp.
Riley Twp.
Olive Twp.
Danby Twp.
Eagle Twp.
Watertown Twp.
DeWitt Twp.
LEGEND
CATHOLIC GERMANS
LUTHERAN GERMANS
OTHER GERMANS
1970-PLATTED LOCATIONS OF KEY AREA COMMUNITIES
COUNTY BOUNDARY
TOWNSHIP BOUNDARY
LAKES AND STREAMS
PWD
N
1969
EXTENT OF THE GERMAN CULTURE REGION
AROUND WESTPHALIA, MICHIGAN
0 1 2 3 4 5
SCALE IN MILES

manner as their forefathers, and at the same time slowly expanding the outer limit of scattered settlement. The heaviest purchasing efforts appear to have been concentrated in a northeasterly direction towards Fowler and in a southwesterly direction towards Portland. The line of solid Catholic settlement extends to the western boundary of both Lutheran areas; indeed, the Catholics have purchased a number of the farms which formerly marked that boundary, and even the original site of the first Lutheran church is now completely surrounded by Catholic-owned property. Expansion of the Lutheran area is slight, however, and it appears to have taken an easterly trend in its direction. A few non-Lutheran Protestant Germans are now located at widely spaced points throughout the region.

Further segmentation in both the Catholic and Lutheran portions of the German culture region has occurred during this period, but it has not resulted in the formation of new parishes; rather, as the culture expanded spatially, farmers located on the extreme edges of the region have tended to slowly shift their church attendance to other, closer communities which had established parishes years before. By the 1920's, Catholic Germans on the southwestern fringe began attending St. Patrick's Church in Portland, a parish which had been formed in 1877.[64] Catholics on the extreme eastern fringe of the Fowler

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[64] St. Mary's Centennial, p. 111.

parish have similarly shifted their church attendance to St. Joseph's Catholic Church in St. Johns, which was formed in 1870; cemetery evidence indicates that the first Catholic movement into the area occurred prior to 1925.[65] German Catholics now comprise about 41 per cent of the St. Patrick's parish and 19 per cent of the St. Joseph's parish. St. John Lutheran Church in St. Johns was organized in 1869 by a group of Lutheran German families not directly connected with the German-American culture region; some Lutheran Germans living in the very eastern-most portions of Riley, Bengal and Essex Townships began attending services there by the late 1920's, but most of those that originally joined the Riley church have retained their membership in that church. Less than 20 per cent of the Lutheran parish at St. Johns is composed of former members of the Riley or Fowler parishes.

In spite of the impression of continued expansion which the plat maps seemingly provide, out-migration from the region has continued. One of the primary causes is that the rate of natural increase among German families, especially the Catholics, has continued to be high in relation to the availability of farmland and the number of

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[65]Because of the deep emotional feelings attached to place of burial, the date of first burials in cemeteries, and in particular in consecrated ground in the Catholic sections, is a highly significant indication that the person buried there had become a part of the social system in that community before his death.

employment opportunities in the culture region's trade centers. A 15 per cent sample survey taken in the winter of 1969 from 199 farms in the German-American culture region revealed that the mean family size, including only farm-operating parents and their children presently residing on the farms, was 6.47 persons in German Catholic families; 3.94 in German Lutheran families; 5.13 in other Protestant German families; 4.29 in non-German families; and an average 5.51 for the entire sample. The latter figure shows that for the region as a whole there are 3.51 children for each set of parents.

The German-American culture region has supported a constant population since the turn of the century. If the region's economic base continues to be agriculture, and if the methods of land inheritance persist, then out-migration may be expected to continue. The types of out-migration that might occur have already been suggested: when sons of German farmers do not inherit or take over the family farm, they either obtain available farm land outside of the culture region or leave the area altogether for employment opportunities in the cities; and daughters who do not marry local boys usually move to the cities to obtain work.

Visual inspection of Figure 7 gives the impression that since 1915, a number of German Catholics have purchased farm land in scattered locations on the edge of the

twelve townships in which the culture region is concentrated. In each township immediately adjacent to the twelve-township tier, a count of names that are unquestionably of German-American culture region origin reveals that some of the Germans leaving the culture region are purchasing farms which are near to the culture region, but well outside the primary and scattered secondary concentrations of Germans (See Table 3). The vast majority in this category were Catholic Germans; Lutherans appeared only in Clinton County in Greenbush, Olive, Bingham and DeWitt Townships, all of which are on the eastern edge of the culture region.

Many of those interviewed within the culture region stated that sons and daughters had departed their homes to seek their fortunes in nearby Michigan cities. In order to discover the directions out-migration has taken, the author checked telephone directories from the ten most-frequently mentioned cities for names known to occur within the German-American culture region with great frequency (See Table 4).[66] Some of the names proved to be unsuitable for this purpose; they were apparently so common

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[66]In both the plat map and the telephone book checks, the same selective criteria used in establishing the extent of the culture region were used in eliminating from all counts persons who could not be reasonably expected to be descendants from Germans in the German-American culture region. These methods are deficient in that they ignore the out-migration of an undeterminable number of presently married female descendants; but the problems of obtaining such total information would be insurmountable. It can only be assumed that the information noted here applies to the male descendants of the German settlers.

TABLE 3

GERMAN FARM OWNERS WHO HAVE MIGRATED FROM THE CULTURE REGION TO ADJACENT TOWNSHIPS, 1967

County and Township	German Farm Owners	All Farm Owners
Montcalm County		
Bushnell Township	4	280
Bloomer Township	13	286
Gratiot County		
North Shade Township	3	198
Fulton Township	8	245
Washington Township	8	283
Clinton County		
Greenbush Township	16	239
Bingham Township	14	227
Olive Township	10	290
DeWitt Township	9	265
Eaton County		
Delta Township	6	261
Oneida Township	4	242
Roxand Township	15	277
Sunfield Township	6	251
Ionia County		
Sebewa Township	13	262
Orange Township	11	196
Ronald Township	12	238
Ionia Township	5	231

Sources: The following county atlases or plat books, all published by Rockford Map Publishers, Rockford, Illinois, were used as sources: Triennial Farmers' Atlas and Residents' Directory, Clinton County, Michigan: 1967; Farm Plat Book, Ionia County, Michigan: 1963; Triennial Atlas and Plat Book, Montcalm County, Michigan: 1969; Tri-Annual Atlas and Plat Book, Gratiot County, Michigan: 1967; and Tri-Annual County Atlas and Plat Book, Eaton County, Michigan: 1966.

TABLE 4

MIGRATION OF SELECTED CULTURE REGION FAMILIES TO NEARBY CITIES, AS REFLECTED IN TELEPHONE DIRECTORIES, 1967

City	Family Names			
	Thelen	Fedewa	Rossow	Martens
Lansing	30	23	3	7
St. Johns	7	6	5	9
Flint	0	1	0	1
Saginaw	1	1	5	6
Detroit	1	7	11	34
Battle Creek	0	0	0	6
Kalamazoo	0	0	0	4
Portland	13	24	0	0
Ionia	1	1	0	0
Grand Rapids	2	2	0	6

Sources: 1969 Michigan Bell Telephone Company Telephone directories for Lansing, St. Johns, Flint, Saginaw, Detroit, Battle Creek, Kalamazoo, Portland, Ionia, and Grand Rapids.

that there were numerous other German families with the same name who had come from source areas outside the culture region to the cities being checked. The figures for the name of "Martens," a German Lutheran name, are included in Table 4 precisely because they suggest the statistical distortion introduced by such an occurrence.[67] Two Catholic names, "Thelen" and "Fedewa," and one Lutheran name, "Rossow" were selected as representative of the distribution which was found by this method.[68] The results of this method showed, surprisingly enough in view of what had been said in the interviews, that, with the exception of the Portland, St. Johns and Lansing directories, there were very few names from the culture region appearing in the directories of the cities checked. The directory information shows that Catholic out-migration concentrated on Lansing and Portland, with some of the Catholics entering St. Johns. The Lutherans, on the other hand, have concentrated on an eastward out-migration, with names appearing with relatively high frequency (compared to family numbers presently living in the culture region) in Saginaw,

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[67] Families which were known to have had relatively small family size in the German-American culture region could hardly have been expected to produce the large numbers of families of the same name in such widely spread cities in such a short period of time; such names were, therefore, eliminated from consideration.

[68] These names were distinctive enough, for reasons discussed in Appendix I, that families bearing these names could be expected to have direct ties to families in the German-American culture region.

St. Johns, and Detroit.

The combined information derived from the plat maps, the telephone directories, and natural increase statistics suggests a number of possible, but in many respects questionable, conclusions about the nature of out-migration of young German males from the region. The first is that young German Catholic men, being unable to find a farmstead in the immediate area of the culture region, tend to remain in the farming profession and purchase a farm in townships that are relatively close to their source area, or find employment in a town which is also relatively close. The German Lutherans, on the other hand, are barely maintaining their rate of natural increase at a one-to-one replacement level, and have still lost young people through out-migration, both to cities and to scattered farmsteads to the east; farm ownership in the Lutheran area appears to be either relatively static or on the decline.[69] The large number of Germans, especially Catholics, found in townships near the culture region

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[69]This contention is strongly supported by evidence gathered in field work and interviews. Many Lutheran farms have passed out of the hands of the original family settling there simply because there were either no male children or relatives interested in taking over the family farm after the death of the owners. This is the reason Catholics have been able to purchase many of the farms originally owned by Lutherans on the western edge of Lutheran settlement. The condition of farm buildings, which is related to the amount of available farm labor (and, therefore, children) was also found to be proportionally poorer among the Lutheran-owned farms than on the family-rich Catholic-owned farms (See Chapter III).

and in cities nearby, suggests that proximity to their old "home" is still a very important factor to many seeking jobs outside of the region, and that cultural cohesion may still be a relatively strong force among the Germans.

The economy of the culture region since 1915 has exhibited trends which tend to contrast in certain respects with the image of spatial expansion offered by the plat maps of land ownership. The economy has continued to be centered primarily upon agriculture, and perhaps the best indicators of the "health" of such an agriculture-based economy may be found in the growth or decline of the trade centers serving the region.

Just prior to World War I, both Pewamo and Westphalia encountered a levelling-off phase in their economic activities, from which neither has been able to progress significantly. But Fowler continued to grow slowly until just after World War II; possible reasons for its growth almost surely include the fact that it was the original rail-shipping point for agricultural products from the culture region. In addition, many of the Catholic and Lutheran Germans have close relatives in the Fowler vicinity, and visits there were probably reinforced by that situation. At any rate, Fowler had become the primary produce-marketing point for the culture region prior to World War I, and maintained that position until the late 1940's, when decreasing costs of trucking grain locally began to give farmers in the area other options. This

fact alone seems sufficient to explain the slow, steady expansion of services in that community.

During the "great depression" of the 1930's, the economy of the region, based as it was upon diversified "general" agriculture, apparently suffered relatively little. After the depression was over, one area bank proudly advertised "No home or farm mortgage foreclosure during the entire period of the depression," and the ownership of farms, as revealed by the plat maps, changed very little.[70]

The appearance of the automobile had little effect upon trading or social-behavior patterns prior to the late 1940's; the newer social systems had already been established before this new form of transportation appeared in the area. The lack of good roads within the area, through which no major transportation route passed, did not facilitate consolidation of the social systems; the radii of the agricultural hinterlands served by each community stayed relatively constant. The German communities remained in many respects isolated from the main trends in American culture.

The years immediately after the Second World War, however, saw some profound shifts in both the economic and social behavior of the Germans in the culture region. Both World Wars had proved to be a cultural shock to the Germans

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[70]St. Mary's Centennial, p. 141.

in Michigan, many of whom enlisted and were consequently fighting their own relatives. The wars also served the purpose, however, of initiating many young men from this isolated culture area to many elements of the larger American culture. They came back to Westphalia more willing to interact with other social systems than many of their parents had been, and infused with new understanding of the world outside the culture area. The appearance of radio, television and other forms of mass communication also rapidly eroded many of the cultural barriers that had existed for more than a century. Most important of all, the construction of better secondary roads in the region and the growing numbers of automobiles facilitated greatly increased social interaction rates, both within the region and without. Germans now could purchase farms well outside the culture region and still be within a few minutes' drive of their close relatives. They also could travel outside the region with relatively little expense, both to market their produce and to purchase goods which were cheaper for various reasons than they were inside the region. The Germans were quick to take advantage of the latter opportunity, and their economic behavior rapidly became very "Americanized" in its nature.

These changes also had an effect that was characteristic of a trend occurring then in much of the rest of the rural sector of the American economy; some of the small businesses, such as clothing dealers, in Fowler, Pewamo

and Westphalia began to go out of business because they could not compete with the greater efficiency and cheaper prices that could be found in larger communities and cities such as St. Johns, Ionia, and Lansing. The villages of Fowler, Pewamo and Westphalia began to experience a decline in services provided within the community by local people. This decline continues today, just as it does in much of the rest of rural America; the trend has been sharply accelerated by the appearance of discount stores in the larger towns and cities. The effects of this trend can be readily seen in all three villages in the form of numerous vacant or abandoned commercial buildings.

The farming profession also has been suffering in recent years, primarily because market prices have lagged behind the inflationary cost of living while the increased use of machinery has greatly raised the fixed costs of operation. Many farmers have felt that another part-time occupation was either desirable or necessary to supplement their income from farming. The improved roads built in the last decade and the abundance of automobiles have made that desire attainable, and many of the farmers now are commuting to part-time jobs in Lansing, St. Johns, Portland, Ionia, and other communities. Some have even found farming so unprofitable that they have abandoned it in favor of other occupations; while continuing to live on their old farmsteads, they now commute to full-time jobs in the city. A survey taken in 1964 through the Catholic schools

in Fowler and Westphalia revealed that 129 out of 294 parents surveyed were employed full-time on their farms; 67 had secondary occupations elsewhere, and 96 had no farm income.[71] Among the Lutherans, a similar trend is noticeable, and perhaps better developed:

> A survey made in January, 1969 showed that thirty-six families derive their entire living from the land, the remaining one hundred twenty-six families have an income, either totally or at least partially, separate from farming income. The sources of income are varied and include office, shop (industry), postal employee, clerk, construction, education, Federal employee, professional and business.[72]

Care must be used in interpreting these figures, however, as included in them are a number of people who now live in homes that belong in a category peculiar to American life in the last decade--the rural non-farm. "Rural non-farmers" include those farmers who have given up farming as a profession and continue to live on their farm even though they are employed elsewhere. But, increasingly, rural non-farmers are persons working in the city who find life in the countryside both more inexpensive and more refreshing, and who build new homes there with little or no thought of farming the land.

In the German-American culture region, the rural non-farms are found both in new housing developments in all three villages, and alongside the country roads, es-

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[71]Kemp, "A Study of German Culture," p. 45.

[72]Light, Built on the Rock, p. 26.

pecially near the St. Peter Lutheran Church at Riley. Interviews in these houses and with numerous area residents revealed an even more significant trend: the majority of new homes are being occupied by sons and daughters who had previously out-migrated to find employment in nearby cities. Because the cost of commuting to their jobs is no longer prohibitive, these young men and women are returning to live in the region where they were born.

This form of "re-migration," while benefitting the community in terms of tax money and essential services, such as gasoline and fuel oil purchases, is doing little to rejuvenate the decline in other non-essential services in these rural villages, as those who commute to jobs in the larger towns and cities also will probably tend to make their purchases in the cities where they work, if the prices there are cheaper.

Available census figures for the townships and villages in which the German culture region is principally located support the view that the farm population of the region has remained relatively constant (See Table 5). Of the three area villages, only Pewamo's population has remained static. But the increase in the populations of Westphalia and Fowler is deceptive; according to numerous local sources, the increases prior to the 1960's reflected in large part a post-depression trend, in which retired farmers were moving to the villages to be closer to the churches and the social life there after their sons took

TABLE 5

GERMAN-AMERICAN CULTURE REGION AND VICINITY
POPULATION CHANGES, 1910-1960

	Population					
	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960
Townships						
North Plains	1292	1153	1096	1106	1030	1108
Lyons	2232	1945	2123	2130	2295	2556
Portland	2743	2746	2674	3123	3795	4462
Danby	1030	951	900	1024	1093	1255
Lebanon	1011	915	834	814	737	705
Dallas	1523	1494	1614	1632	1686	1924
Westphalia	1427	1317	1249	1297	1417	1581
Eagle	1095	981	1101	1109	1089	1273
Essex	1355	1229	1247	1271	1348	1377
Bengal	980	874	863	925	845	893
Riley	1107	906	875	867	896	982
Watertown	1211	1071	1196	1219	1585	2008
Communities						
Fowler	476	472	561	579	675	854
Pewamo	289	316	392	415	432	415
Portland	1832	1899	1902	2247	2807	3330
St. Johns	3154	3925	3929	4422	4954	5629
Westphalia	366	325	328	386	459	560

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, I, Characteristics of the Population, Part 24, Michigan (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), pp. 24-16, 24-17; and U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1930, I, Population: Number and Distribution of Inhabitants (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931), pp. 520, 523.

over the family farm. In comparison to the young farm owners with large families, these retired people spend relatively little in the community, and must therefore be considered relatively unimportant to the village economy.

The businesses and services currently located in the three principle villages appear in Table 6. Fowler obviously offers the widest range of services, and is still a very active grain-shipment point. In all three communities economic decline, at least in some forms of commerce, was reflected in the form of large percentages of abandoned commercial buildings, many of which had been vacated within the past five years. The heaviest proportion of abandonment was found in Pewamo, where there were as many abandoned buildings as there were operating establishments.

The prevalent type of farming is still "general" in nature, even though there has been a slight tendency toward consolidation of farms as the ineffiency of the smaller farms gradually takes its toll. Figures for Westphalia Township production for 1945 and 1955, which are considered to be representative of the production for the entire region reflect this fact (See Table 7).[73] Corn is

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[73]Census figures for minor civil divisions in the agricultural census taken in 1965 were not available, even to the Extension Service. The agricultural production data for Westphalia Township were compared with the data for the other townships in the region and were indeed found to be typical of the region as a whole.

TABLE 6

COMMUNITY BUSINESSES AND SERVICES, 1969

Business or Service[a]	Pewamo	Westphalia	Fowler
Gas Station	1	2	3
Restaurant	0	2	1
Bank	1	1	1
Post Office	1	1	1
Fire Station	0	1	1
Taverns	2	3	3
Grocery Stores	1	2	2
Medical Office	0	1	1
Implement Store	1	0	2
Grain Elevator	1	1	2
Depot	1	0	1
Lumber Yard	0	2	1
Lumber Mill	0	0	1
Barber Shop	1	1	2
Beauty Shop	1	1	1
Furniture Store	1	2	1
Catholic Church	1	1	1
Methodist Church	1	0	0
Lutheran Church	0	0	1
Public Elementary School	1	0	1
Parochial Elementary School	1	1	1
High School[b]	1	1	1
Town Hall	0	1	1
Village Hall	0	1	0
Car Wash	0	1	1
Hardware and Appliances	0	1	1
Funeral Home	0	1	1
Bowling Alley	0	1	1
Electrical Contractor	0	1	0
Junkyard	0	1	0
Telephone Company Building	0	1	0

[a]Other businesses and services found only in Fowler are a department store; a tailor shop; a florist; a drug store; a jewelry store; a feed store; a meat locker; a sporting goods store; two life insurance salesmen; a slaughter house; a welding shop; V.F.W. Center; a hotel; a fuel oil distributor; two car dealers; a body shop; and a vacuum cleaner service center.

[b]Westphalia and Pewamo public high schools are consolidated.

TABLE 7

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS, 1945-1955

Reported Item	1945		1954	
	Farms Reporting	Units	Farms Reporting	Units
Crops (Acres)				
Corn	138	2999	141	4125
Winter Wheat	129	2311	126	2297
Alfalfa	57	592	---	1388
Oats	147	2320	---	2871
Clover	123	1758	---	1498
Barley	41	436	---	----
Rye	1	12	---	---
Irish Potato	119	201	---	250
Sugar Beets	24	1610	---	179
Soy Beans	5	30	---	---
Dry Field and Seed Beans	105	1468	---	144
Hay	---	---	---	2974
Livestock (Units)				
Cattle	148	2052	150	2978
Hogs	136	2429	105	1129
Sheep	113	4379	75	2045
Milk Cows	145	1042	142	1320
Poultry	141	1377	118	15008

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Agriculture: 1954, "Counties and Minor Civil Divisions," Michigan Section (Washington, D.C.: Unpublished records, 1954), Sheet 5, Tables 1-3; and U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Agriculture: 1945, "Counties and Minor Civil Divisions," Michigan Section (Washington, D.C.: Unpublished records, 1945), Tables 1, 3, and 4.

still the principle cash crop; oats, winter wheat, hay, clover, and alfalfa are also being produced in large quantities. Sugar beets were virtually eliminated during this ten-year period as an important crop, and corn seems to have taken up the remaining acreage.

There have been a number of changes in animal husbandry practices, however. Cattle production increased by almost 50 per cent during the period, and became the principle form of livestock-raising; dairy cattle also registered a significant increase. Sheep and hog production, on the other hand, was cut almost in half. According to the County Extension Agent,[74] these trends have continued, but with two noteworthy changes: the size of dairy herds is increasing, but the number of farms engaged in dairying is decreasing; and poultry raising has become a specialty, wherein only one or two farms in the whole region are engaged. The farming economy is apparently slowly reorienting toward serving the nearby city areas through specialization in livestock and dairying.

The churches in the region have all experienced varying degrees of change both in their physical plants and in their functions in the communities. St. Mary's Catholic parish has maintained a fairly constant adult membership of approximately 650 parishoners. Holy Trinity Catholic

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[74] F. Earl Haas, Clinton County Agricultural Extension Director, a private interview at St. Johns, Michigan, March, 1969.

Church in Fowler has grown steadily with the size of the community, and now ministers to an equal number of persons, almost all of whom are Germans. The Pewamo Catholic Church has a current adult membership of about 200. Both St. Peter Lutheran Church in Riley Township and St. Paul's Lutheran Church in Fowler have about 150 members on their rolls. All of these churches have been remodeled or rebuilt since 1915, but such details are irrelevant to this study.[75]

The ministers of the churches have considered the primary function of the church to be religious education, and, with the sole exception of St. Paul's Lutheran Church in Fowler, all have established some kind of parochial school at one time or another. The elementary schools supervised by the Catholic Churches in Westphalia and Fowler have been in operation continuously since their inception. In the early 1940's, the Catholic priest in Westphalia was finally able to establish a state-supported parochial high school there. A Catholic elementary school was started in Pewamo in the 1930's, and has similarly persisted.[76] The German Lutherans opened a parochial elementary school, St. Peter Lutheran School, near the Riley

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[75]The sources for the figures listed in this paragraph are unpublished church membership lists which have no title and cannot be otherwise cited.

[76]Arnold Schaeffer, retired resident of Pewamo, Michigan, a telephone interview, December, 1969.

church in 1941.[77]

Although the Lutherans have experienced few problems in operating their private parochial elementary school, education has long been a "bone of contention" between the German Catholics and the State of Michigan:

> The first school was a German affair taught by the priest. The Constitution of 1850 required all classes to be taught in English. During the First World War, German was banned in the schools as subject matter. Later laws placing more stringent requirements upon the school systems have been met with some difficulty in Westphalia. At the present time, the law requires that a child attend school until his sixteenth year. . . . during the spring of 1950, the state officials declared the high-school system to be essentially a religious parochial organization because of religious objects used on the walls of classrooms and because all instruction was given by nuns . . . about fifty percent of the books in the library were of a religious nature. At a meeting on July 10, 1950, the community decided that the school should convert to a Church-supported parochial organization rather than make the changes the State demanded.[78]

The Fowler parish made the opposite decision, and its youth soon began attending the public high school in Fowler. The Westphalians, after less than a decade of supporting a Catholic High School, found the expenses too high and capitulated; a new consolidated public high school was built midway between Westphalia and Pewamo at the intersections of Centerline and Clintonia Roads. But financial problems have continued to plague the Catholics; there are not enough nuns to teach many of the elementary

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[77]Light, Built on the Rock, p. 29.

[78]Norris, "Acculturation," pp. 48-49.

grades, and the parochial schools have been forced to hire elementary teachers at current Michigan rates.[79] All three of the Catholic parishes have begun to find the costs of such measures to be prohibitive, and have in the last two years commenced turning over first and second grade children to the public schools for instruction.

The Historical Basis

This chapter has been concerned with tracing the development of the German-American culture region from its origins in Germany through the formation of a clearly distinct culture hearth, in which culture traits from the original culture existed side-by-side with the new traditions initiated in answer to the requirements of American culture, to the establishment of new religious social systems on the periphery of the culture hearth as the culture region expanded spatially. The forms that both external and internal migration of its members have taken, the relative isolation its members have enjoyed by virtue of their common language and their location, and the growth of distinguishable spatially significant religious social systems all suggest that the culture region has continued to exist, at least until the recent past. On the other hand, a number of factors suggest that the culture region has disintegrated or dispersed to such an

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[79]Rev. Aloysius Miller, St. Mary's Parish, Westphalia, Michigan, private interview, April, 1969.

extent that it can no longer be called a culture region: the economic behavior of its members in recent years; their occupational mobility; the scattered nature of their settlement on the edges of the region; their general competence today in the use of the English language; and the fact that it has been 134 years since the first Germans settled in Clinton County.

In order to determine whether or not the German culture region is more than a mere clustering of farms belonging to descendants of the Germans who initially established a culture region at that location, it is necessary to examine the area today for signs of homogeneity among its members and on the cultural landscape.

CHAPTER III

THE SEARCH FOR CULTURAL HOMOGENEITY: RESULTS OF FIELD RESEARCH

The Need for Field Research

The historical evidence gathered in the previous chapter merely served the purpose of establishing the fact that a German-American culture region did at one time exist near Westphalia. It provided indirect indications that social and cultural processes had operated in the region in such a manner as to create two distinct sub-cultures, with a subordinate series of social systems within each. The available historical records were not very helpful in supplying information concerning the effects of that segmentation upon the social and cultural homogeneity of the region over space and through time. The changing structure of the culture region could therefore only be uncovered through the use of field research techniques designed to reveal "the areal dimensions of significant gradations in the content and situation of the culture under study"[1] during the period since the culture hearth was es-

[1]Meinig, "The Morman Culture Region, " p. 545.

tablished at Westphalia.[2]

This chapter will be primarily concerned with reporting the results of my field work, which utilized both the genetic and functional methods to identify intra-regional variations both in the homogeneity of the German-American culture and on the cultural landscape.

The Social Bases

> Westphalia is primarily a religious social system not only because all members of the community are included within the Church, but also because the Church is the focus of community interest . . . the Church promulgates two kinds of values. First, it enforces the value clusters about a religious principle, and secondly, it reinforces the social solidarity of the group.[3]

Norris's characterization of the Catholic German social system at Westphalia Village in 1950 showed community interest to be centered on the church, which, he believed, was also the primary force preserving the German cultural traditions within the community.

The key figure in that combined community-religious social system was the priest, whose frequency and regularity of contact with all other individuals in the social system was exceeded by no other member of the community; the primary cause of such contact was the priest's performance of official functions: hearing confessions, con-

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[2]The general nature of these field techniques is reported in Appendix I.

[3]Norris, "Acculturation," p. 69.

ducting masses, etc. The priest was the most highly respected figure in the community, in spite of the fact that he tended to isolate himself from routine interaction with lay members of the community, except when engaged in the performance of his duties. The nuns of the church were even more aloof from the community, remaining a distinct group in both ceremonies and social contact; yet, as school and religious instructors, they held extremely important status-roles within the community,[4] and were considered to belong in the priestly status:

> Members of the priestly status are concerned chiefly with leading, teaching and deciding. However, this does not mean that this status category does not concern itself with the conduct of the group at large in the 'category of events.' To the contrary, although they do not participate with the individuals in the system on the same level, they do provide sanctions for the manner in which such activities shall be carried out. For instance, mating cannot take place except through a pattern of interaction with the priest, by the publishing of banns and participating in a prescribed wedding ritual.[5]

Other social groups within the system achieved status levels based on both religious and secular criteria. All members of the community were considered to be in a "classmate" status subordinate to the priestly group; the various levels within this status included: the old men who had retired from active farming or commercial pursuits; the wage-earners, who for the most part possessed land, a home,

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[4] Ibid., pp. 73-75.

[5] Ibid., p. 75.

a family, and economic independence, and who held strategic power in both secular affairs and religious social activities; the young, unmarried teenagers of each sex, who were busy preparing for their roles as adults; the young children; and the women:

> Women as a group hold a substantially different status position from men as a group, and this differentiation, which is manifest in the role activities allotted to members of this status category, constitutes one of the more significant thematic emphases of this society.[6]

In addition, Norris found general life-styles of individuals residing in town enough different from the life-styles of those living in the country, in spite of close kinship ties between both groups, "to warrant making a distinction between them."[7]

Within these groups in the social hierarchy were located a number of specific ascribed roles which reflected upon the value systems of this segment of the culture. Distinctions between male and female roles were then still very clear on all levels:

> A premium is placed upon male children for the simple reason that male children are a greater economic asset. Women are considered to be 'weaker' and cannot be expected to do the heavy work which a farm hand must do. One farmer put it this way: 'I have two boys and my wife has eight girls.' The male more frequently originates action to the female, although there are a few instances where the female seems to dominate the males. But the general pattern maximizes the position of the male and minimizes that of the female. This pattern holds with greater force in the open country

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[6] Ibid., p. 78.

[7] Ibid., pp. 76-78.

> than in the village . . . The male is supposed to assume leadership in maintaining order in the family. The roles of male and female are so clearly defined and taught from childhood that there are few discussions regarding the validity of male authority.[8]

Parent-child relations in the region, especially in the rural areas, reflected a deep, inbred respect by children for their parents. This respect could be seen in the manner in which young men between twenty and twenty-five years of age instantly obeyed the commands of their fathers while working in the field. Urban values were at that time beginning to find their way into the community, but apparently had not done too much to significantly disrupt these relationships as late as 1950.[9]

Marked changes in many of these relationships were already underway by the time Norris completed his thesis, and he recognized this fact:

> The ascribed roles which the community defines as essential to maintain itself have been subject to more modification in the last fifteen years than in the preceding one hundred. As compared to nearby satellite German Catholic communities such as Fowler and Pewamo, Westphalia remains arch-conservative on all fronts, but it cannot be denied that the old order is changing, giving place to the new. And while most young people do not openly revolt against the old system, almost imperceptible changes in the orientation of the group are continually altering the total behavior of the community.[10]

Even more abrupt changes in the social balance have

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[8] Ibid., p. 82.

[9] Ibid., p. 84.

[10] Ibid., p. 88.

occurred during the past twenty years. While the key figure continues to be the priest, his authority and policies relating to the community are now subject to review and limitation by members of the parish through the parish council, an organization of thirteen men chosen by the parish for that purpose. From the 1890's to the early 1960's, the priest had been informally advised of parish matters by a church committee of the top leaders from the church social organizations. In 1966 the church committee was replaced by the parish council in accordance with an edict from the Vatican.[11] The change which occurred was universal; but it was significant on the local level in that it changed a key element in the social structure of the Catholic community. The education crisis has forced the church school to accept non-religious community teachers who teach side-by-side with the nuns, and to shift instruction on some levels to public schools, a factor which has probably weakened the hold of the Church on the community's children. In addition, the status-roles of the nuns have been changed by Vatican policy to coincide more with contemporary modes of dress and behavior, and this has affected their relations with the community, although the change is so recent that the effect at this time is difficult to analyze.

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[11]Rev. Aloysius Miller, St. Mary's Parish, Westphalia, Michigan, a private interview, April, 1969.

In the post-war years a number of factors led to rapidly accelerating rates of interaction between the German-Americans and the other cultural groups outside their region: the rapid intrusion of all forms of mass media into the community; the greatly increased mobility of its residents due to the boom in automobile ownership; and the tendency of many members of the community to acquire "commuter jobs" in nearby cities. It may safely be assumed that the increased interaction would markedly affect behavior patterns in the previously isolated German-American culture region, and that changes in the internal structure of the region would almost surely follow.

The German Catholics at Westphalia were affected by these changes more than any other group, for their social system had been the most effective in preserving the German-American cultural traditions. According to numerous local sources, the primary changes included a sharp increase in the number of persons in the wage-earning status, which now embraces both men and women commuting to jobs in cities and towns outside the region; an advance in the status position of women, due both to a change in the values in the region and the fact that many of them are now wage-earners as well as housewives; and a change in the relationship between the adolescents and their elders in the community, which is thought to be a result of the "outside influences" that are now "corrupting" the formerly respectful attitudes of the younger generation.

Information obtained from interviews with members of both the Fowler and Pewamo Catholic Parishes leads to the conclusion that the social systems formed there as each new church became established were very similar in their social structures to the system at Westphalia. The church remained the focus of community attention in those two villages, and the relationships between the priestly status and the Catholic German community have been in both instances exactly the same as those described for the Westphalia system. When each new parish was formed, its secular structure was also probably a copy of the Westphalia system, and many of the traditions from the culture hearth must have been carried over into the new social systems.

But there were two fundamental differences between the conditions existing during the formation of the culture hearth at Westphalia and those existing during the formation of the two new related social systems in Fowler and Pewamo. In the first instance, the German Catholics establishing parishes in the latter two communities were not separated by great distances from the cultural influences of their friends and relatives in the culture hearth. In the second place, the Germans establishing social systems in Fowler and Pewamo were doing so in communities already settled by non-Catholic, non-German pioneers. The first factor made it relatively easy for the German Catholics in the satellite communities to retain the traditions of the culture to which they had previously belonged. The second

factor probably operated initially to reinforce a sense of ethnic isolation among the German Catholics within the newly formed parishes. Because of this, however, the German Catholics in the Fowler and Pewamo areas were almost immediately forced to increase economic, political and social interaction with the other settlers and tradesmen that were now their neighbors. The German Catholics in Fowler even had to share their revered church with the Irish settlers, and in both cases there were Protestant churches operating in the village when the Catholic Germans arrived.

Given these initial conditions, it was reasonable to postulate that the social systems in both Fowler and Pewamo would retain the principle characteristics which would identify them as segments of the Catholic German-American sub-culture, instead of becoming separate sub-cultures with different traditions. It was hypothesized, however, that the higher rates of interaction between Fowler and Pewamo Catholic Germans and non-Germans would result in the former groups acculturating, or adjusting to and assimilating the characteristics of the English-language-speaking cultures around them, much more rapidly than would their kinfolk in the relatively isolated, monolithic German Catholic social system in and around Westphalia.

Analysis of the social structure in the Pewamo and Fowler Catholic parishes today tends to confirm this hy-

pothesis. The same changes which occurred in Westphalia in the past two decades have occurred in both of the other villages, but apparently at a much earlier date than at the culture hearth. The process of acculturation may be charted by examining both positive characteristics of the social system, such as the presence of culture traits or elements that have been assimilated by the changing system, and negative characteristics, in the form of the absence of traits or forms found around the culture hearth. By either criterion, the social systems in Fowler and Pewamo have acculturated much more rapidly than has the system at the culture hearth. Fowler Catholic Germans have sustained the most rapid rate of acculturation, perhaps because of the fact that the German Catholic social system was formed there more than twenty years before a similar group gathered in Pewamo, and perhaps because Fowler was closer both physically and economically to the mainstream of interaction with the rest of Michigan. The best evidence in support of these contentions is found in changes which have occurred in values, ceremonies, organizations, and the use of the German language, all of which are discussed below.

The German Lutherans, because of their non-Catholic religion, their scattered pattern of settlement, and relatively informal organization, formed a sub-culture that was distinct from the German Catholic sub-culture, even though the Lutheran Germans were ethnically and linguistically

closer to the German Catholics than to any other group in the vicinity.

The German Lutheran sub-culture was from the very start more heterogeneous in its nature and less formal in its relationships within its social system than was the early Westphalia Catholic German sub-culture. The early Lutheran settlers were few in number and scattered in location; they were, as a consequence, slow in comparison with the Catholics in forming a church congregation and constructing a church building. But it may not be concluded from this statement that the Lutheran community, once established, was any less church-centered than the Catholic settlement; unlike the Catholics, the Lutheran Germans never had a small trade center that was exclusively their own community, and for them the binding force that has held their social system together has been the Lutheran Church.

Relationships between the established Lutheran Church and the Lutheran social system were markedly different from those within the Catholic German sphere. The Lutheran minister was not sent by the Church with the settlers for the purpose of establishing a mission, but was "called" to service in the Lutheran community by a "voters' meeting" of all the adult members in the congregation.[12] As the Lutheran German sub-culture grew in numbers and split into the Fowler and Riley congregations, voters' meetings

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[12]Light, Built on the Rock, p. 6.

continued to be an important method of accomplishing major tasks in each social system. The minister was far more subject to control by the church laymen in matters of both procedural policy and financial expenditures than was his Catholic counterpart. After World War I, lay control of the Lutheran minister gradually shifted to committees of laymen, variously called "elders," "trustees," or the "church council." Protestant churches have traditionally emphasized lay participation in making decisions regarding church policy and financial management at the local level more than have the Catholic parishes, and the German Lutheran churches at Fowler and Riley are no exception.

The fact that the Lutheran minister has been subject to more control than the Catholic priest implies that the minister may have been regarded more as an equal by members of his congregation than were the members of the priestly status in the Catholic communities. In addition, the fact that the minister and the Lutheran churches in the two social systems were associated with the ritualistic and behavioristic guidelines established by the Missouri Synod of the Lutheran Church serves to confirm the supposition that relations within the communities were more informal; the ritual of the Missouri Synod is much less demanding of the time of the congregation members than is the Catholic ritual. The Missouri Synod merely offers guidelines for the behavior of its local ministers, whereas the Vatican asks its priests and nuns to conform to more rigid canons

that greatly restrict their social behavior. The Lutheran minister has therefore been able to mingle more freely and informally with his congregation than his Catholic counterpart. Indeed, the minister has been able to involve himself directly in many of the parish social activities as a participating member. Like the Catholic priest, he was the key to maintenance of the Lutheran German social system because he was more frequently in contact with all members of the system than was anyone else. Because of his position, he was probably as highly respected in his community as was the priest in religious matters, but he certainly has not enjoyed the same level of influence concerning the secular affairs of his social system as has the Catholic priest.

The levels of social status within the Lutheran social systems are very similar to those found in Westphalia, and many of the same changes have occurred. The most important differences stem from the dispersal of the Lutheran German farmsteads from the very beginning and the related fact that no singularly Lutheran German trade center has been established. Members have gathered primarily to attend church and church-related activities. These relationships have not been reinforced by large-scale economic and secular interaction, with the consequence that social boundaries between the status levels are not as well developed in the Lutheran social systems. An additional consequence is that no town-country dichotomy is found in the Riley congregation, and there is very little evidence of any such

dichotomy existing in the Fowler congregation.

In spite of the fact that the German Lutherans initially formed a sub-culture, that sub-culture was never welded together by constant economic interaction and concentration of settlement, as was the case in the German Catholic sub-culture; and the distance factor split the Lutheran sub-culture into two segments less than ten years after the formation of the initial church congregation. The Lutherans, forced by these circumstances to interact with non-Germans even more frequently than were the Catholics, also tended to acculturate much more rapidly than the Westphalians. Evidence concerning the Lutherans' rate of acculturation could likewise only be found in traceable changes occurring in their value orientations, the nature of their local organizations, their ceremonies, and in the use of the German language in their social systems.

Spatial Changes in Values

Norris identified a series of thematic emphases which he felt to be representative recurring values in the culture of the New England Yankees that had migrated to the vicinity of the region in which the Germans had settled:

1. The Puritan ethic typified in the exhortation to 'Feare God & walke ye in hys wayes.'
2. The desirability of industriousness and hard work.
3. A high value on academic training
4. Emphasis on individualism
5. A high value on thrift and frugality
6. Inventiveness

7. The superiority of the Yankee and his way of life.
8. Health [13]

In contrast, he pointed to Kluckhohn's disclosure of thematic emphases characteristic of contemporary American culture:

1. Consciousness of the diversity of their biological and cultural origins.
2. Emphasis upon technology and upon wealth.
3. The frontier spirit.
4. Relatively strong trust in science and education.
5. Relative indifference to religion.
6. Unusual personal insecurity.
7. Concern over the discrepancy between the theory and the practice of culture.[14]

On the basis of his field experiences, Norris proposed that the key thematic emphases in the social system of Westphalia in 1950 included:

1. Focus of community attention centered upon religion as expressed through the framework and ritual of the Church.
2. Low value of academic training, except for the priestly class.
3. High premium on physical strength and endurance.
4. Regard for personal property and privacy.
5. Consciousness of linguistic, ethnic, and religious homogeneity and distinctness.
6. Strong confidence in that which can be overtly demonstrated as of immediate practicality.
7. Thrift and frugality.
8. Subordination of women.
9. Industriousness, 'work for work's sake.'
10. Rigid authoritarian orientation as emphasized in the virtues of respect, obedience, and immediate response to persons vested with authority, and in the precise definition of roles.

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[13] Norris, "Acculturation," pp. 129-130, citing S. H. Holbrook, The Yankee Exodus (New York: 1950), Chapter xxiii.

[14] Ibid., citing Clyde Kluckhohn, Mirror for Man (New York: 1949), p. 239.

11. Cultural superiority.[15]

I used these thematic emphases as the basis of field questioning in order to determine the rates and levels of acculturation attained in the various sections of the German-American culture region.

It is readily apparent, in comparing and contrasting the thematic emphases of the Westphalian social system with those found in both early and contemporary American culture, that the values in 1950 in Westphalia were still in conflict with those of the "typical" America.[16] If that were the case, then the presence of these values in the region now would constitute strong evidence in support of the belief that a German-American culture region exists and is still thriving today. But if those values have gradually disappeared and been replaced by contemporary American values, at least in some portions of the region, then it should be possible to trace the disintegration of the culture region and discover whether new boundaries to the region can in fact be established.

The focus of community attention centered upon religion, as expressed through the framework and rituals of the church, is a theme which is still strong in the three primary Catholic social systems, and especially so in

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[15] Ibid., p. 130.

[16] Ibid., pp. 130-132.

Westphalia. There appeared to be little abatement in attendance at weekly masses or interaction among the members of the church through social organizations and events. The reasons for the continuation of emphasis on this value probably include the Catholic religion's mandatory requirements for consistent attendance at masses and confession; the continuing education of Catholic German children in Catholic parochial schools; and the conservative attitudes, characteristic of much of rural America, that place high values on attendance in church. The proportion of this continuing emphasis attributable to the fact that the church-goers were German was impossible to determine. In the Portland and St. Johns segments, attendance and participation were also at a high level. Among the Lutheran Germans at Riley, the focus on religion has been especially intense because that group had no community around which to center its social system; some evidence of the intensity can be seen in the fact that former members of the Riley parish who moved to Lansing years ago still drive there on Sundays regularly to attend church services. Attendance has also remained constant at St. Paul's Lutheran Church;[17]

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[17]The information in this section, except where otherwise documented, was obtained from repeated interviews in the spring of 1969 with the following church pastors: Rev. Aloysius Miller, St. Mary's Parish, Westphalia; Rev. Albert Schmitt, Holy Trinity Catholic Church, Fowler; Rev. Thomas J. Bolger, St. Joseph's Catholic Church, Pewamo; Rev. Herman Rossow, St. Paul's Lutheran Church, Fowler; and Rev. Marvin Barz, St. Peter Lutheran Church, Riley Township.

the German Lutheran congregation there, too, is composed primarily of rural people. It appears that the attitude of growing indifference to religion, which is supposedly characteristic of much of American culture today, is still concentrated in the urban areas in this section of Michigan.

Norris noticed that the Westphalian social system placed a low value upon academic training, except for the priestly class. During the early years of the culture region, church-related professions were the highest goals to which the youth of the Catholic community could aspire; this is evidenced by the fact that by 1936, Westphalia Parish had produced one bishop, ten priests, sixty-four nuns, and had six more prospective priests in seminaries throughout the country.[18] But the primary occupation most children in the community desired was that of a land-owning farmer, and the value placed on education suffered accordingly. Parents in the community simply did not encourage their children to go on for higher education. This pattern apparently held true throughout the culture region until World War II. Today that attitude appears in the Westphalian social system more than in any of the other portions of the region.

State laws require that children attend school until they are sixteen years old. Most of the children in the

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[18] St. Mary's Centennial, pp. 35-43, 96-101.

Westphalia and Pewamo school systems now attend and complete high school because of that requirement, but only 10 to 20 per cent go on to any form of higher education whatsoever. In Fowler, where the Catholic children attend a public high school, there has been a marked increase in interest in higher education in recent years; approximately 50 per cent of the Catholic youths there are going on to college, business or trade schools of some sort, as opposed to the 5 to 10 per cent that did so in 1950. The Lutherans in Fowler were apparently the first to feel that higher education was a necessity; today 70 to 80 per cent of the high school graduates are continuing their education even further. Children of members of St. Peter Lutheran Church attend a public high school in St. Johns, and about 60 per cent of those who graduate continue on to higher levels. The variations in these levels are probably attributable to the readiness of each social system to accept non-German-American values, including the penchant for higher education, which have been infiltrating the area through many different forms of mass media in the past 20 to 30 years. Perhaps the most significant fact is that there is still some reluctance on the part of the children in the Westphalia social system to continue their education.

A somewhat-related characteristic is the high value placed on physical strength and endurance in young men, for it is precisedly that quality which makes them useful,

good farmers. This pattern is manifest in the avid interest in high-school sports that is present in all of the social systems in the region. It is evident that all of the farmers in the area consider this attribute to be fully as important in their sons as intelligence, and in the Westphalia social system, it has been regarded even more highly than in the other systems.

The tradition of independence that was initiated when the settlers built their farmsteads in a dispersed pattern of settlement was reflected in a high regard for personal property and privacy among the German-Americans. The importance of personal property may be related to the fact that the most important achievable status-role within the communities in the culture region has been that of farm owner. When he attempted to do field work for his thesis, Norris quickly discovered just how strong the regard for privacy was in the Westphalia area:

> . . . the bulk of information was secured by the use of non-directive interviews on an informal basis. In this way, it was possible to avoid the appearance of being unnecessarily inquisitorial in a community where any direct question is apt to be resented as an interference in personal affairs . . .
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> No amount of explaining was sufficient to convince some people of the nature of the study. At first, some people suspected the investigator of being a 'bolshevik' or communist; others were convinced that he was a 'Washington man' from the F.B.I., or a secret bank inspector. At various times early in the study it was rumored that the newcomer was a private detective or an income tax specialist checking on local incomes. It is extremely difficult to explain clearly and concisely the nature of an anthropological study in acculturation to persons not oriented to the level

of abstraction which such work involves.[19]

In both the German Catholic and Lutheran sub-cultures the regard for personal property was still found to be a highly emphasized value in 1969. It is interesting to note, however, that the populace had been "educated" by the mass media and other outside influences to such an extent that I was able to conduct direct interviews successfully, with only seventeen refusals on visits to 226 farms in the culture region. Information was readily obtainable so long as no information was sought concerning property values, taxes, or other items the farmers considered to be "sacred" subjects that were not to be discussed with outsiders.

The consciousness of linguistic, ethnic, and religious homogeneity and distinctiveness varied throughout the region. It is highly significant that in all instances the people in the culture region considered themselves to be Americans above all else; none were found who thought of themselves as Germans in an American community. The German-Americans could not help but be sensitive of their identity, though, for they have long encountered pressures and prejudices in the world outside their culture region. Many historical records of Clinton and Ionia County pioneer days have seemingly made a point of ignoring the existence of the German settlement. The settlers have endured a century of being called "Krauts" and other uncomplimentary

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[19]Norris, "Acculturation," pp. 13-15.

names by their non-German neighbors, and the German-Americans have gone through two agonizing world wars fighting against their relatives in the Fatherland. Some antagonisms still apparently exist, both within the region and outside of it.[20]

The consciousness of linguistic, ethnic and religious homogeneity is most evident at present in the social system at Westphalia, where the elders and the middle-aged wage-earners still gather after church for a session of chit-chat in the German language. Most of the younger children are not being instructed in the language, however, and its use will probably end after the current generation has passed away. In Fowler and Pewamo, a sense of German identity appears only rarely at special social and family gatherings. The Lutheran German adults in the Riley parish continue to maintain a sense of their cultural identity; their centennial pageant, conducted in August, 1969, revealed their awareness of their heritage. Most of the Lutheran children in that congregation, however, are not learning German. The Lutheran Germans in Fowler do not even use the German language at social gatherings or fam-

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[20]For example, while I was eating lunch one day in a Fowler establishment, I overheard one customer say, "Those damned Germans never cared about anybody but their own." And there are religious antagonisms as well; I first discovered the presence of the Lutheran Germans while on a pilot study in the region in 1968, when I was told by one indignant elderly lady I was questioning that "There are no damned Catholics in this house!"

ily reunions anymore.

The Germans in the Westphalia social system demonstrated to Norris a strong confidence in that which could be shown to be of immediate practicality, particularly in matters relating to purchases of farm equipment and priorities in accomplishing maintenance on their farmsteads. A German farmer would sooner buy equipment to increase efficiency in his production of farm goods, or preserve his barn, than keep his house in prime condition. "A farmer with three or for boys and a dozen cattle would consider a milking machine an unnecessary item as long as he could benefit from an abundant labor supply."[21] All of the ministers interviewed by the author perceived that while the "over-thirty" people in their parishes still believed thrift and frugality to be virtuous attributes, the younger generation was consistently and wastefully carefree in its attitudes towards spending. The adults felt that their sons and daughters were "typically American" in this respect.

Comments have already been made concerning the subordination of women. Women were prepared from birth to assume their functions as housewives and mothers, and were considered to be definitely inferior in status to men. Women were expected to sit on one side of the church and men on the other in both the Catholic and Lutheran churches

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[21]Norris, "Acculturation," p. 139.

in the early days of the communities. Although the precise date of the shift to a combined-family seating arrangement could not be determined in any of the churches, elders in the Catholic Church believe it occurred in the German Catholic churches at the turn of the century. Surprisingly, the Riley Lutheran congregation maintained separate seating until the 1940's.[22] Women have been excluded from many of the church social organizations and relegated to various "Ladies' Societies." The real emancipation of the women in the culture region as a whole has come in the last twenty years as women have gained economic independence in increasing numbers and become contributers to the family income. Many of the young unmarried women have left the region to seek jobs and husbands elsewhere, and the independence of women is now an established fact in the culture region.

The Germans have long prided themselves on their industry in performing necessary tasks. The good general condition of the farmsteads in the culture region reflects this pride. More than 60 per cent of the German Catholic members of the Westphalia Parish and 70 per cent of the German Lutherans in the parish of St. Peter Lutheran Church work part-time or full-time away from their farms, and it

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[22]St. Peter Lutheran Church Centennial Committee, "Built on the Rock" (Riley, Michigan: Unpublished text of a pageant depicting the history of St. Peter Lutheran Church, August 17, 1969), p. 11.

is suspected that percentages for commuting jobs in the remainder of the region are similar. Ministers from all the churches reported that they had received many favorable comments from industrial leaders in Lansing and other Michigan industrial cities, all of which reflected upon the industry of the German workers from this region.

The high value attached to rigid authoritarian orientation emphasized in the virtues of respect, obedience and immediate response to persons vested with authority still exists within the region. In both Westphalia and Pewamo, regard for parental authority is still considered to be quite high, but the ministers have noticed signs that it is beginning to erode. Among the Fowler Catholic children, there is a distinguishable trend for children to question parental authority ever more frequently. The Lutheran pastors similarly noted a trend toward dissolution of this norm. Yet both Catholic and Lutheran German ministers felt that the Lutheran German children were more obedient than the average non-German children.

The feeling of cultural superiority which Norris observed in the Westphalia social system either has totally disappeared or exists in only subtle or rarely-expressed forms. All of the ministers believed that this element has disappeared from the culture region, and this field worker was unable to discover any signs of such a feeling. Most of the evidence that might have been interpreted in this light appeared to be more related to the thematic em-

phasis on consciousness of linguistic, ethnic, and religious homogeneity and distinctness.

Religious and Secular Organizations

The author believed that a comparison of the number and type of religious and secular institutions in the various segments of the region would possibly reveal the strength of the aforementioned focus of community interest on religion throughout the region. Organizations in the Westphalia social system were again used as the basis of comparison.[23]

In Westphalia, the balance between religious and secular organizations is heavily weighted in favor of the former. Church-sponsored organizations include the Knights of Columbus, a men's ritualistic fraternal order which meets every two weeks and presently has 275 members; the Catholic Order of Foresters, which is a men's organization based on insurance benefits, has 200 members, and meets once each month; the Holy Name Society, which is "dedicated to the encouragement of the minor virtues, with special emphasis on combatting profanity," has a membership of about 300, and meets thrice yearly; the St. Joseph's Society, which is a mutual-benefit insurance society that meets

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[23]Current membership information was obtained in each instance from pastors of the parish in question. Specific information relating to the purpose of these organizations is located in Norris, "Acculturation," pp. 61-68.

twice yearly, and currently has 350 on its membership rolls; the Christian Mothers Society, which has 350 members, meets four times each year, and is concerned with religious training of children, and with preparations for major social ceremonies; and the Young Ladies Sodality, to which 40 single young women presently belong in order "to promote devotion to the Blessed Mother." Norris has clearly outlined the overall function of the religious organizations:

> These organizations not only serve to reinforce the religious values of the church, but also bring members of special interests based on sex and age into contact for periods of heightened interaction to the end that the statuses which these organizations represent can be clarified and made explicit, thus maintaining the equilibrium of the community.[24]

Most of these organizations were formed in the first twenty-five years of this century. Membership has remained constant for the most part in these organizations within the last twenty years, with two exceptions; the Holy Name Society and the Young Ladies Sodality had, respectively, 100 members and 61 members more in 1950 than they do at present. The membership drop in the first of these two may reflect an increase in indifference to religious values, for the Holy Name Society's principle function is not social, but purely religious. The decreasing membership in the Young Ladies' Sodality can probably be attri-

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[24] Ibid.

buted to the increasing exodus of young unmarried females to jobs in other communities immediately after they graduate from high school.

Many of the religious groups serve social functions other than those religious functions for which they were ostensibly formed, and in that sense they are very much like the Kiwanis Clubs and other such secular clubs found in many communities with mixed religious composition; the difference in Westphalia is that these functions are still relegated to organizations sponsored by the Catholic Church. The community's bowling alley, for example, was built and is being operated by the Knights of Columbus.

In 1950 Norris observed that:

> Secular activities in the community are based chiefly on recreational interests . . . [Secular organizations] are far less stable for they have no central coordinating agency. However, the secular organizations are not yet those essential to the conservation of the system.[25]

Religious organizations have continued their virtual monopoly of community social life in Westphalia. The only formally-organized secular organization is the Junior Chamber of Commerce (Jaycees), a community service organization currently consisting of about 75 young adults, almost all of whom belong to the Catholic Church. Other more informal organizations include a community band which has been in and out of existence for varying periods of

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[25] Ibid., pp. 61, 67-68.

time since 1884, a bowling "Boosters League," and numerous card-playing clubs among the women.[26] The soft-ball league which was very much in operation in 1950 has been discontinued.

The Pewamo Catholic Church has a small membership in comparison with Westphalia; only about 200 adults belong to the church, and the number of religious organizations reflects this fact. The only formally-organized society is the Holy Name Society, which has about 100 members, and apparently fulfills a social as well as a religious function in the community. Members of the church do belong to the Knights of Columbus, but they have to travel to Portland, St. Johns or Westphalia for meetings, as there is no chapter located in Pewamo. The only secular club in the community is a "21 Club," which is formed primarily as a social club for couples. Both the religious and secular clubs apparently assume some responsibility for community projects.

Catholic religious activities are significant in the community of Fowler. There is a very active Christian Mothers Society, which has approximately 250 members; a Knights of Columbus chapter, with 300 members; a socially active Holy Name Society, with about 250 members; and a Catholic Order of Foresters, which is relatively recent in origin and has only 125 members.

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[26] Ibid., pp. 61-63.

Fowler, probably because the community has a mixed religious content, also has a number of secular organizations which are better developed than they are in any of the other communities. Formal social organizations include the Jaycees, which number approximately 100 and are very active in community affairs; the Busy Bees, an organization of community women; and a Conservation Club. Informal organizations include bowling leagues, card clubs, and public school-related activities for the children. The Catholic and Lutheran Germans and non-Germans alike take part in many of these activities in addition to their own religious activities.

There are three principle religious organizations related to the Lutheran church in Fowler, which has 160 adult members at present. Thirty women in the congregation are active in the Ladies' Aid Society, which is a social organization that has taken on many diverse projects and tasks related to the church, including financial support for new furnishings. The primary purpose of the Lutheran Women's Mission League, which was only organized in 1954, is to support the Church mission work abroad. The Walther League is an organization which provides Christian education and activities for the young people of the church; the current membership is 25. All of these organizations have a social function as well as a religious purpose, but membership in them does not appear to attach the status that

is so evident in the Catholic organizational hierarchy. Many of the church members participate in secular activities as well.

St. Peter Lutheran Church sponsors the same national organizations, but for the members of that church there are no alternative secular organizations to which they can belong, as there is no community trade center; membership in the church organizations is consequently quite high. The Ladies Aid and the Lutheran Women's Missionary League have been merged into one organization for purposes of convenience in arranging meetings, and the combined group presently numbers 75. The Walther League has 30 active members. A fourth organization, formed because of the need to deal with the problems of maintaining the parochial school at the church, is the 50-member Parish Teachers Association (PTA).[27]

In neither Lutheran Church are there formal social organizations for the men. Church responsibilities are relegated to "boards" of men. In Riley, the congregation has established a Board of Elders, a Board of Trustees, a Board of Finance, a Board of Education, and a Church Council. The Fowler Church has a similar organization.

The general impression received from this over-view of the religious and secular organizations in the social

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[27]Light, Built on the Rock, pp. 33-37.

systems of the culture region is that church activities play an especially important part in the lives of members of the Westphalia Catholic social system and the Lutheran system at Riley, and that church organizations are probably least important in the social lives of the Lutherans at Fowler and the Catholics at Pewamo.

Cultural Ceremonies and Traditions

The nature and intensity of ceremonies and visual traditions associated with a culture reflect both the focus of that culture's attention and the extent to which change and acculturation have occurred over time within the culture in response to outside forces.

Norris analyzed ceremonies at Westphalia by categorizing them as either rites of passage or rites of intensification:

> The rite of passage is centered upon changes which occur in the life of the individual. First Communion, for example, marks a significant change in the interaction pattern of the child with members of the group in the German Catholic Community. This change is marked by a ceremony which symbolizes that change and is followed by heightened interaction between the child and members of the group. Rites of intensification follow disturbances which are the concern of the entire community and so are group-centered. The rogatory services which mark the beginning of the planting season in the community of this study mark the change in routine activities which accompany this season, and this ceremony brings the members together because of the importance of the crisis. Both rites of passage and rites of intensification serve to increase interaction for the innate function of re-affirming group solidarity, for the temporal-spatial separation which occurs among members of any group is in itself a crisis unless means are found to unite the participating

members with regularity.[28]

Among the rites of passage within the German Catholic religious system in Westphalia were baptisms, first communion, confirmation, eighth-grade graduation, high-school graduation, marriage ceremonies, and funerals. Of these ceremonies, the two graduation ceremonies only were unique to the Westphalia social system in that they were primarily religious ceremonies; the rest could be found in ritualistic form in both the Catholic and the Lutheran German churches, and may be considered to be characteristic of the Christian religion as a whole. Spatial significance can be attached to such ceremonies only when variations in the nature of the ceremony and the attention given to the ceremony in different parts of the region are examined.

For many years in Westphalia the eighth-grade graduation ceremony was the most elaborate and most church-oriented in nature, for it represented the final step in the educational process of the majority of the community's youth; the young graduates in caps and gowns attended a pre-graduation baccalaureate mass that was usually a far more impressive ceremony than the actual typical mid-western graduation ceremony which followed.[29] When the Westphalia High School became a parochial school in 1950,

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[28]Norris, "Acculturation," p. 6.

[29]Ibid., pp. 108-110.

the same type of ceremony preceded high-school graduation ceremonies.

When administration of the Westphalia high school passed from church hands to public control, graduation ceremonies were also shifted in 1961 to the new consolidated high school between Westphalia and Pewamo. In the past school year the eighth grade has also moved to the new location as it came under public auspices. The baccalaureate masses preceding graduation ceremonies are still observed; in fact, the graduates are required to attend mass in both Pewamo and Westphalia. But the eighth grade ceremony is being de-emphasized because so many children are going on to high school, and the eighth-grade graduates no longer wear caps and gowns to mass. It is interesting to note that a Catholic priest was included among the last three commencement speakers at the consolidated high school; the influence of the Church is still strong, even in what is now a public school system.

The Fowler Catholic Church has similar baccalaureate ceremonial masses for both its eighth-grade parochial and public high-school graduates. No baccalaureate ceremonies are held in the Lutheran churches at either Fowler or Riley. Graduation ceremonies for eighth-graders are held in the church at the St. Peter Lutheran School, but are devoid of any especially religious ceremony, other than the usual invocation and benediction that typify the secu-

lar graduation ceremonies in this country.

The only other rite of passage exhibiting interesting variations throughout the region was the wedding ceremony. The pomp and duration of Catholic weddings and the comparative simplicity of most Protestant weddings are well-known. It is of great significance, however, that in the German culture region virtually the entire congregation of each church attends weddings in its church and the post-nuptial activities which follow. In Westphalia, the average estimated wedding attendance is 550; in the Fowler Catholic Church, the average is 400; in Pewamo it is 150; and in the Lutheran churches at Fowler and Riley the average attendance is 150 and 200, respectively. The nature of the festivities following the ceremony is also important. The "Puritan Ethic" characteristic of the Yankees in the area simply does not allow parties to follow most wedding ceremonies; the German Catholics, though, would not do without their traditional beer at the reception. In Westphalia, a reception with beer and dance band in the parish hall basement is an indispensible part of every wedding. In Fowler, there is beer at the reception, but no dancing. In Pewamo, those who want to hold a reception with beer and dancing are generally forced to use the American Legion Hall in Portland, for there are no facilities for receptions in the village. Among the German Lutherans, there is relatively little drinking during wedding

receptions, and only at the Riley Church is dancing during receptions seen.

Among the secular rites of passage, graduation from public high schools and junior high schools has attached increasing importance as the parochial schools have faded from view. Birthdays are observed in the American tradition. German Catholics used to observe the day of an individual's patron saint, but this practice was discontinued years ago and the pattern of discontinuance was not traceable.[30]

The most important rites of intensification in any religious system are the church services which draw the members together. St. Mary's Church holds either three or four masses on Sunday, depending upon the season, daily masses during the rest of the week, Rosary and Litany services each evening, and numerous other special masses during the year; attendance at weekly mass averages 400-500 people.[31] In Holy Trinity Catholic Church at Fowler, only three Sunday masses and two masses during the week are held, and the same is true for the Pewamo Catholic Church. The Fowler Lutheran Church holds only one service on Sundays, and the Riley Church conducts two services on Sundays; the low frequency of services in comparison to

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[30] Ibid., pp. 116-117.

[31] Ibid., p. 121.

the high frequency of Catholic masses is a normal pattern for American Protestant Churches.

Some of the special religious rites could be identified as traditions brought from Europe. One of the most important seasonal changes in the lives of the farmers was the time in which spring planting was started. Among the Catholics in Germany there was a special rogation ceremony, and the tradition was continued in America, even to the present, although in somewhat modified form. Norris reported in 1950:

> The procession, headed by the priest, walks a few rods away from the Church into one of the fields. Formerly, these processions were extremely elaborate. Attendance varies according to general planting conditions at the time. If conditions have been unfavorable, there is a large attendance, but if they have been good, the farmer is more apt to remain at his work.[32]

Although a rogation service is held in St. Mary's Church three days before Ascension Thursday each year, the procession outside the church was eliminated in 1965; the priest reports that now only about 20 per cent of the farmers attend that service. The Fowler Catholics still hold an outside procession to honor the occasion, but the Pewamo Church discontinued even the service shortly after World War II. In the Lutheran churches a rogation Sunday is observed on the church calendar, but there has not even

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[32] Ibid., p. 123.

been an agricultural tone in the sermons in the last two decades, and no evidence of any special ceremonies from the past could be found.

Another rite often attributed to the cultural heritage of the German Catholics was the Corpus Christi procession, an elaborate feast and procession held yearly 60 days after Easter to honor the Blessed Sacrament. This procession was common in Southern Germany and Austria at the time the early emigrants departed Westphalia; however, it was apparently not an established tradition in the part of Germany that was the source region for the Westphalia immigrants, for it was not a part of their early religious ceremonies in the settlement. The ceremony was introduced by Rev. Godez, a native of Austria, sometime in the mid-nineteenth century:

> They were elaborate ceremonies in which four altars were constructed one-quarter mile north, east, south and west from the center of the village. Evergreen shrubbery was planted about the altars and along both sides of the roads. The altars were profusely decorated with linen, draperies and flowers. The priest carried the Blessed Sacrament from the Church to each of these altars, followed by the congregation reciting prayers and singing hymns. The Benediction was given at each altar and at the moment of the Elevation, anvils prepared with gunpowder were set off.[33]

Full processions were discontinued in the last decade of the nineteenth century, and the brief outdoors processions were finally moved inside in the early 1950's, where

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[33] Ibid., pp. 91-92.

they are now held on Sundays instead of Thursdays, in order to allow factory workers to participate. No evidence of Corpus Christi processions could be found in either the Fowler or Pewamo Catholic Churches.

It is interesting to note that both the Catholic and Lutheran German churches have incorporated Thanksgiving and Memorial Day, both of which are secular holidays, into their calendar of special religious observances.[34]

Secular rites of intensification include the observance of voting, special family gatherings and reunions, dances, and the celebration of American holidays. Perhaps the most important occasions for the Catholic Germans in the culture region are the three community picnics held each summer. In Westphalia, the picnic is on the prime date of July 4; it is sponsored by the Catholic Church, with voluntary help from the church organizations, for the benefit of the parish. "Gabling stands, eating places, a band stand, beer garden, raffle and bingo stands are set up on the Church property through cooperative labor," and baseball games and a band concert are featured.[35] Similar events are held in Fowler in August and Pewamo in June, and it is traditional for all of the parishioners in each community to attend the other two communities' picnics, both for the purpose of maintaining German com-

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[34] Ibid., pp. 123-124.

[35] Ibid., p. 125.

panionship between the social systems and raising funds for each parish. In 1966, St. Mary's Church listed a $17,706.30 revenue from the summer festival in its annual financial report.[36]

German folklore and traditions surviving to the present day are a rarity; it would have been necessary for the researcher to live among the people for a long period of time in order to be able to ferret them out, for not one person interviewed would admit to any knowledge of German traditions currently in use. Probably the major problem in finding such traditions is one of perception; if people perceive themselves as Americans, they tend to view everything they do as "typical American behavior."

Some of the older people in the region were able to recall a very few German traditions. The current Catholic priest at Westphalia remembered that in his youth it was "Krist Kindsen," the Christ child riding on a donkey, who brought the gifts to children at Christmas-time; instead of leaving cookies for Santa Claus, the children left straw and oats for the donkey.[37] Mourning periods used to last a year or more, and the men wore black armbands and the women wore veils, in keeping with European customs, un-

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[36]St. Mary's Parish Financial Report: 1966, (Westphalia, Michigan: St. Mary's Catholic Church, 1967) , p. 3.

[37]Rev. Aloysius Miller, St. Mary's Parish, Westphalia, a private interview, March, 1969.

til at least 1935.[38] In the Riley Lutheran Church:

> 'Christian Lehre' was a part of the German Lutheran Church from its formation in this country. This was a type of Sunday School in which the younger children, even several years after they were confirmed, would occupy the front pews of the church--the boys on one side, the girls on the other--and as the Pastor would ask questions from the Catechism, the children took turns answering.

This custom was part of every Sunday church service well into the 1920's. In commemoration of last year's centennial celebration at St. Peter Lutheran Church, the congregation has re-instituted the use of the "klink-beutel"--a satin bag with a wooden handle which was used in the early years of the church--to collect the Sunday offering.[39]

The nature of culturally-related activity, as revealed through ceremonial rites of passage, rites of intensification, and traditions observable in the culture region, effectively demonstrates that the majority of the characteristics which can be related to the German-American culture region that was quite clearly established in the nineteenth century are to be found in strength only in the Westphalia Catholic social system and the St. Peter Lutheran social system. The other systems appear to be losing or have lost their cultural identity much more rapidly.

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[38]Norris, "Acculturation," p. 116.

[39]St. Peter Lutheran Church Centennial Committee, "Built on the Rock," p. 10.

The Use of the German Language

> There has been considerable language change and linguistic drift in the last century. In the beginning, the community had no members capable of speaking the English language, unless it was the priest. All verbal and written communication was in German. Today, all formal communication, whether in town meeting or Church, is in the English language, and most people speak a more nearly adequate variety of English than German. Occasionally, one can find an elderly person who is reluctant to use English, and the more isolated farm families use German almost exclusively. Thus, there will also be an occasional school child who knows little English. But on the whole, English prevails over German. Even the language of informal communication is a 'Gebrochen Deutsch' which consists of a liberal mixture of both languages.[40]

The trend toward universal use of the English language as the primary means of communication in the culture region has continued, and the author found that in 1969, none of the 199 families interviewed throughout the culture region were using the German language as their primary means of communication within their homes, although numerous families believed that they still had the capabilities to converse informally.

Available evidence on immigration routes taken by these settlers tends to support the view that there were relatively few people coming into the region with a knowledge of English; with few exceptions, the Germans migrating into the Westphalia settlement came directly from Germany, with only a few brief stops on the way. Language assimilation probably took place principally within the

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[40]Norris, "Acculturation," p. 140.

culture region, and should be traceable through such documents as church records and store records, and through cemetery evidence.

Catholic Church records proved to be only slightly helpful in this respect, for the priests kept many of their church records in Latin. This is unfortunate; since the priests were usually the first to learn the English language, they probably would also have been the first to use English in keeping their records. Consequently, in all three Catholic parishes in the culture region, only the very first baptismal and burial records in the Westphalia Church appeared in German; all the rest were in Latin or English. The township records proved to be even less helpful, for they were required to be kept entirely in English. Early store ledgers were also recorded primarily in English, although the use of the German spellings and distinctive letter characters, such as the umlaut vowels, was traceable into the late 1880's.[41] In all of the Catholic portions of the region, therefore, the principle evidence for language changes was obtained from tombstone inscriptions and interviews with area residents.

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[41]Bohr, "Ledger of the Bohr Lumber and Grain Mill." Other records of interest are located in the Michigan Historical Collection, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; they include Theresa Bohr, "Millinery and Dressmaker Shop Account Book, 1878-1884" (Westphalia, Michigan), and assorted business records of the Bohr General Store, Westphalia, Michigan, 1850-1866.

Two factors were extremely important in starting and accelerating the language assimilation process throughout the region. The Constitution of 1850 required schoolteachers in Michigan to teach all classes in the English language, except for classes in foreign language grammer. During the period of intense anti-German sentiment in World War I, the teaching of the German language was prohibited by the government.[42] These two occurrences were extremely important to the German Catholics, for their native language was not used in the formal ritual of the church, or in the political meetings, and it was only in the school system that formal requirements existed as to the use of their native language by the children.

In Westphalia, teaching of the German language was never again resumed after the war ban was lifted. Announcements in the church continued to be made in German well into the 1930's. In the German Catholic cemetery there, inscriptions in the English language first appeared in significant numbers in the 1890's, and the general use of German on tombstones was discontinued in the 1920's, although a few inscriptions were found that were as recent as the 1940's. The shift to the use of the English language was apparently gradual; today, even those most proud of their heritage use German occasionally at social gatherings after

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[42]Norris, "Acculturation," p. 48.

church. But the language has been so modified that four area residents who served in Germany at various times in the last decades found that they had extreme difficulty in communicating with their relatives in Germany.

In Fowler, the change came even earlier, perhaps as a result of the greater interaction rates between German Catholics and the Yankees there. Latin was used in the church, and English in the schools, because of the presence of large numbers of Irish in the church. In the Catholic cemetery west of Fowler, which was established in 1881, only two tombstones contain German inscriptions, and the rest are in English. In the Pewamo, St. Johns and Portland Catholic cemetery sections, all of which reflect German Catholic use starting generally in the 1920's and 1930's, no inscriptions in German could be found. Area residents near Fowler and Pewamo still report informal use of the German language, but those in Portland and St. Johns report little or no use of their native tongue.

The history of change in the use of the language among German Lutherans is far better documented, in spite of the fact that the early records of St. Paul's Lutheran Church in Fowler were destroyed by a fire in the church. Church records at St. Peter Lutheran Church in Riley Township were written in German until January 6, 1930, when the shift was made to English. The record of sermons in German has been preserved:

> Originally, divine services were conducted in the German language and the children went to the "German School" which was a period of instruction in religion, the German language, and other subjects. The Pastor was the Teacher at this school, and the "Schoolhouse" was an addition on the north side of the parsonage. Confirmation, too, was conducted in the German language until 1924 when the class was divided, two members of the class being confirmed in the German language and the remaining ten in English. Beginning in the early twenties, divine services were conducted every other Sunday in the English language and the opposite Sundays in German. This arrangement seems to have continued until 1939. Then, recognizing the growing need for more worship and pastoral services in English, on July 9, 1939 it was voted that English services would be conducted every Sunday and holiday, German services every second and fourth Sunday in an early service. Due to the decline in use of the German language and inability of the younger pastors to preach German, German services were discontinued in the closing months of 1947.[43]

In the St. Paul Lutheran Church, sermons in German were discontinued in the 1930's, when a new pastor who was unable to speak the language arrived. The Germans in the social system at Fowler reportedly don't even converse informally in German any more, and only the elders do in the Riley system.

The first English inscription on a Lutheran German tombstone in the old cemetery south of Fowler appeared in 1866, and English and German inscriptions are mixed in the Lutheran cemeteries since that date. German appears on tombstones most frequently in the Riley church cemetery; the most recent tombstone bearing a German inscription is dated 1963.

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[43]Light, Built on the Rock, p. 17.

Results of survey questions concerning 1969 levels of German language proficiency in the culture region appear in tabular form in Table 8 and in their spatial relationships in Figures 8-10. In order to eliminate as much variance as possible from the statistical data, the persons being interviewed were asked a series of control questions designed to establish their proficiency from the author's point of view, rather than from their own. It was readily apparent from the start that those who did speak German either perceived themselves as having very low proficiency, or desired that the author believe that they spoke very little German. The usual comment was "Oh gosh, we hardly speak it at all." When pressed, however, many of these individuals admitted that they could carry on conversations quite well, and even in some cases write the language.

A comparison of proficiency levels among German parents reveals that a surprising number of families in the region are still capable of speaking German at some proficiency level or another. Only 8 out of 110 German Catholics and 10 out of 32 German Lutheran parents interviewed spoke no German at all, whereas 13 of the 16 other-Protestant Germans spoke no German. Such a comparison also reveals that a higher proportion of German Catholics interviewed converse in their native tongue at higher fluency levels than do the Lutherans.

TABLE 8

GERMAN LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY IN THE CULTURE REGION, 1969

Level of Proficiency	Number of Families				
	All Germans	German Catholics	German Lutherans	German Protestants	Non-Germans
Adults					
Compositional Ability	13	7	6	0	0
Fluent Conversation	21	18	3	0	0
Everyday Conversation	33	32	1	0	0
Occasional Conversation	31	24	5	2	0
Only a Few Phrases	29	21	7	1	0
Retired Elders					
Compositional Ability	5	2	3	0	0
Fluent Conversation	12	9	3	0	0
Everyday Conversation	8	8	0	0	0
Occasional Conversation	4	3	1	0	0
Only a Few Phrases	1	1	0	0	0
No Capability	128	87	25	16	41
Minors					
Compositional Ability	0	0	0	0	0
Fluent Conversation	1	1	0	0	0
Everyday Conversation	3	3	0	0	0
Occasional Conversation	2	2	0	0	0
Only a Few Phrases	34	30	4	0	0
No Capability	118	74	28	16	41
Number of Families in Each Category	158	110	32	16	41

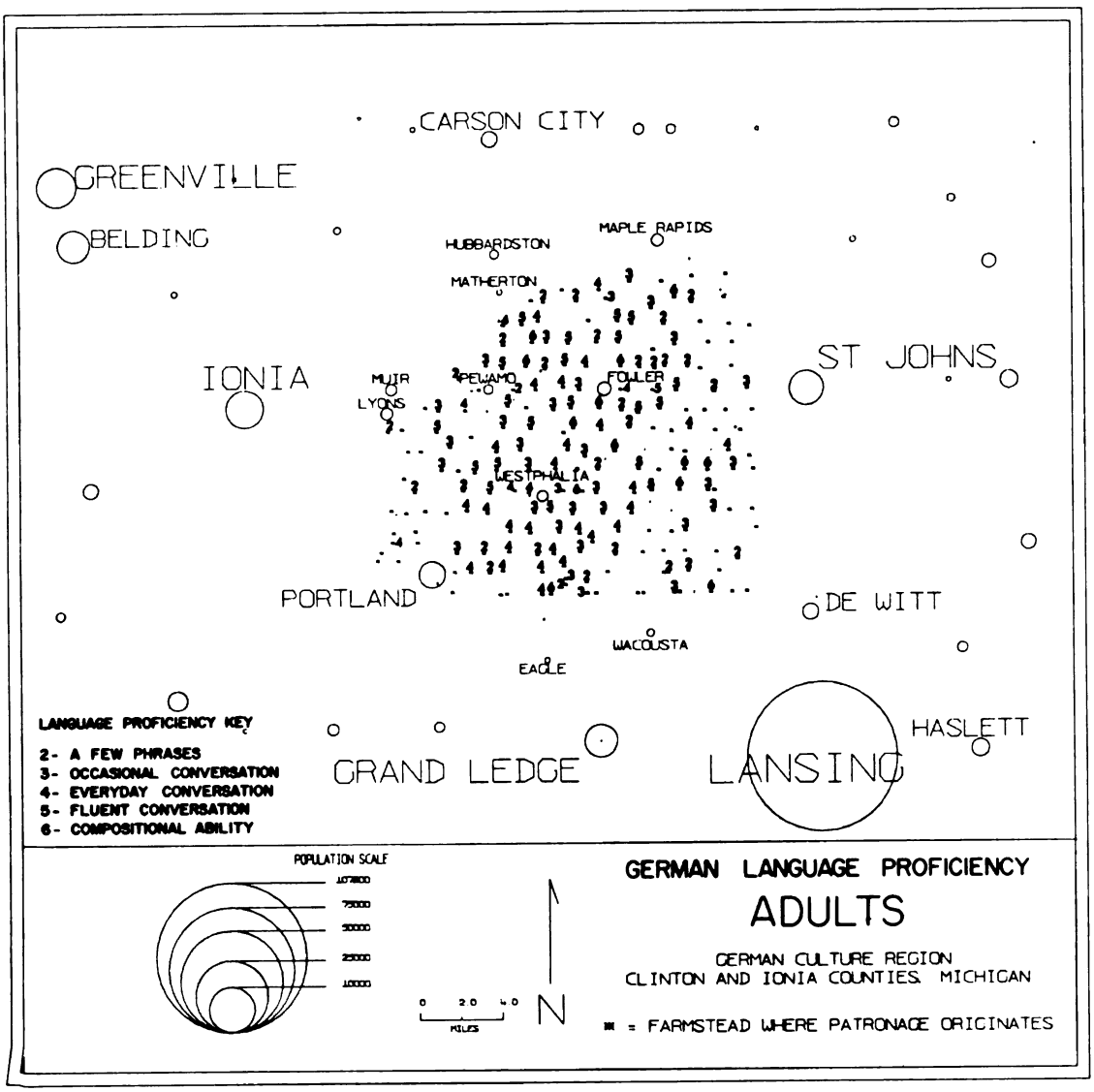
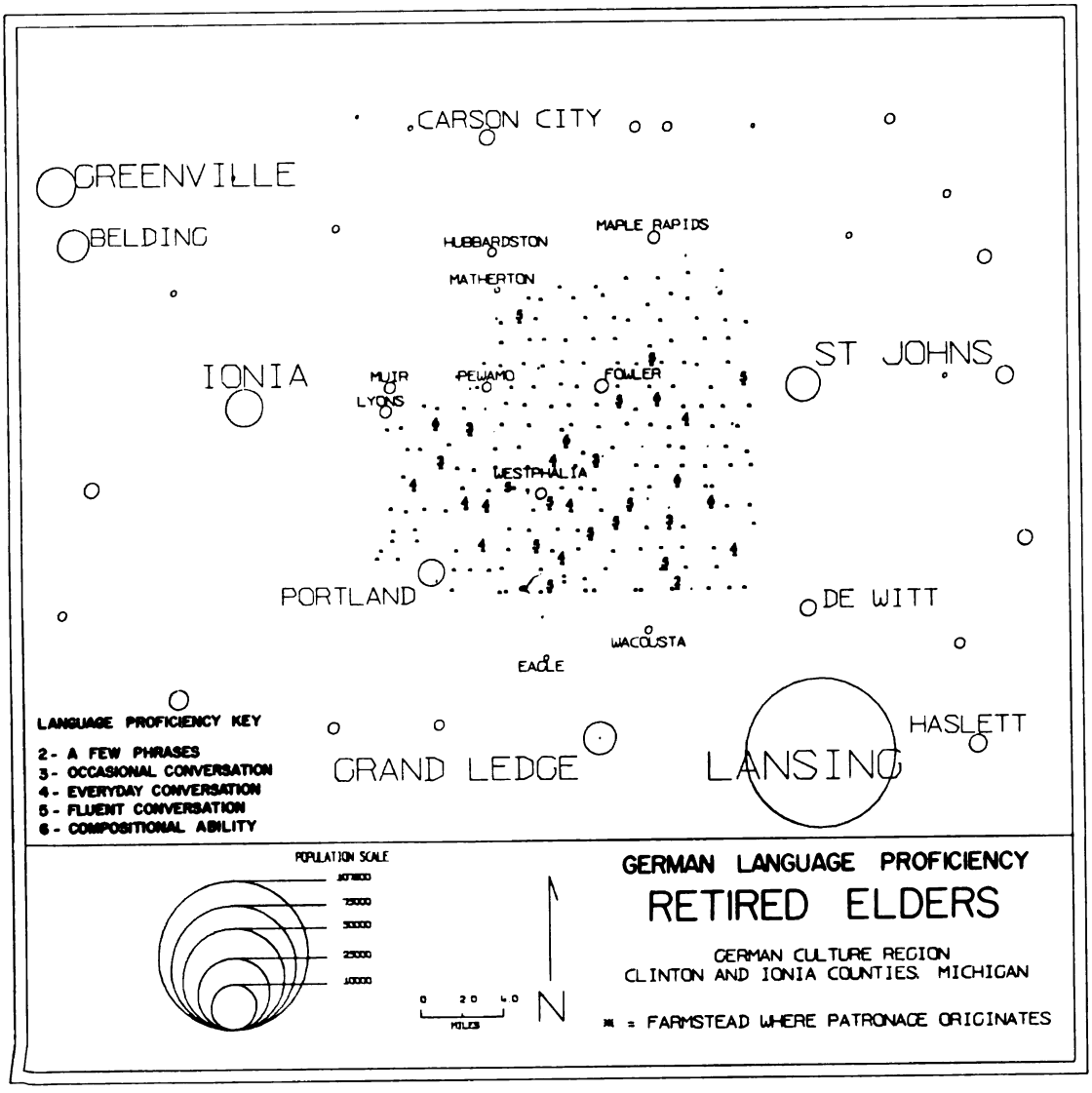

CARSON CITY
GREENVILLE
BELDING
HUBBARDSTON
MAPLE RAPIDS
MATHERTON
IONIA
MUIR
PEWAMO
FOWLER
LYONS
ST JOHNS
WESTPHALIA
PORTLAND
DE WITT
WACOUSTA
EAGLE
HASLETT
GRAND LEDGE
LANSING
LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY KEY
2- A FEW PHRASES
3- OCCASIONAL CONVERSATION
4- EVERYDAY CONVERSATION
5- FLUENT CONVERSATION
6- COMPOSITIONAL ABILITY
POPULATION SCALE
75000
50000
25000
10000
0 20 40
MILES
N
GERMAN LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY
ADULTS
GERMAN CULTURE REGION
CLINTON AND IONIA COUNTIES. MICHIGAN
= FARMSTEAD WHERE PATRONAGE ORIGINATES

Figure 8


CARSON CITY
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MATHERTON
IONIA
MUIR
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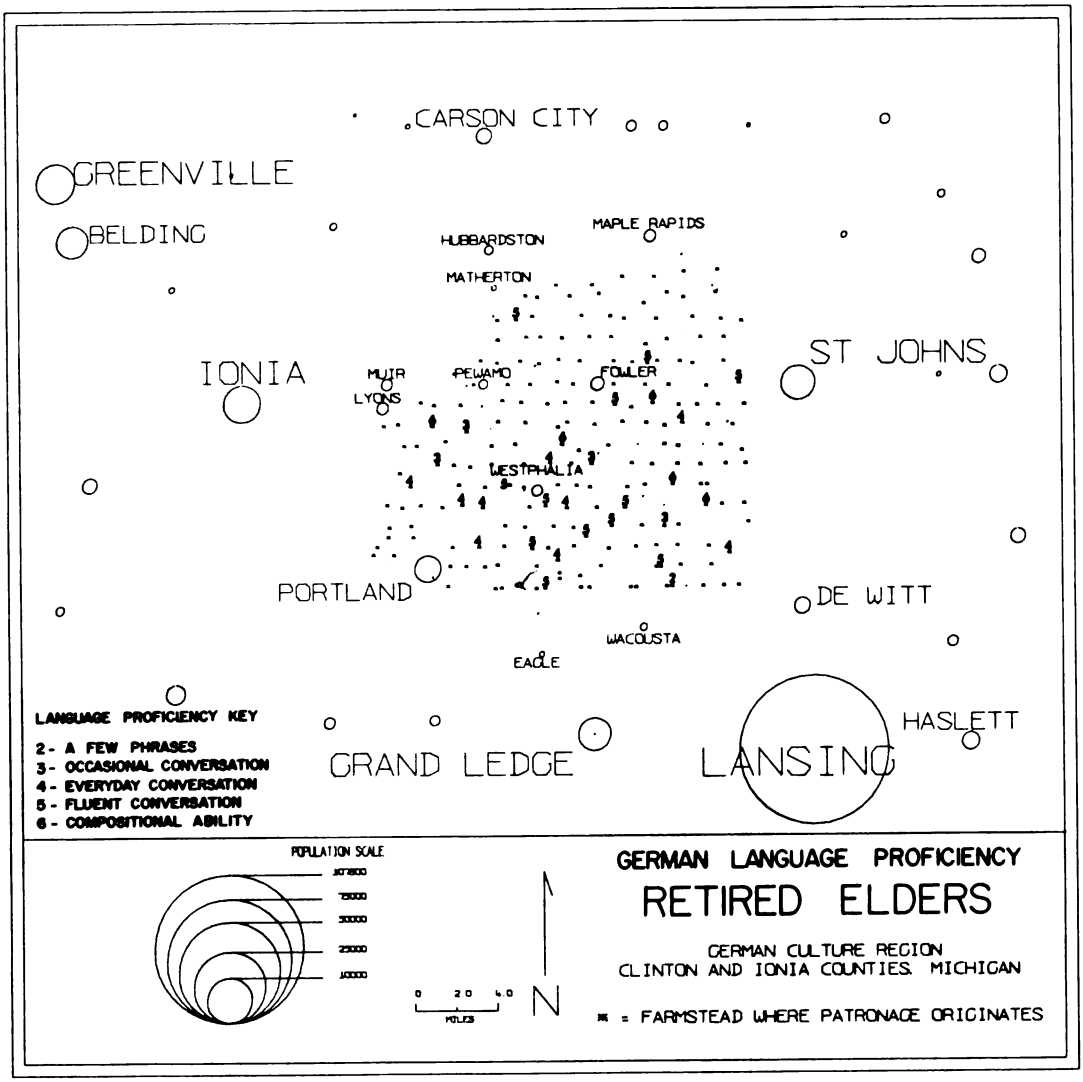
WESTPHALIA
PORTLAND
DE WITT
WACOUSTA
EAGLE
HASLETT
GRAND LEDGE
LANSING
LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY KEY
2 - A FEW PHRASES
3 - OCCASIONAL CONVERSATION
4 - EVERYDAY CONVERSATION
5 - FLUENT CONVERSATION
6 - COMPOSITIONAL ABILITY
POPULATION SCALE
75000
50000
25000
10000
0 20 40
MILES
N
GERMAN LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY
RETIRED ELDERS
GERMAN CULTURE REGION
CLINTON AND IONIA COUNTIES, MICHIGAN
= FARMSTEAD WHERE PATRONAGE ORIGINATES

Figure 9


CARSON CITY
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WACOUSTA
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GRAND LEDGE
LANSING
LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY KEY
2 - A FEW PHRASES
3 - OCCASIONAL CONVERSATION
4 - EVERYDAY CONVERSATION
5 - FLUENT CONVERSATION
6 - COMPOSITIONAL ABILITY
POPULATION SCALE
107800
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10000
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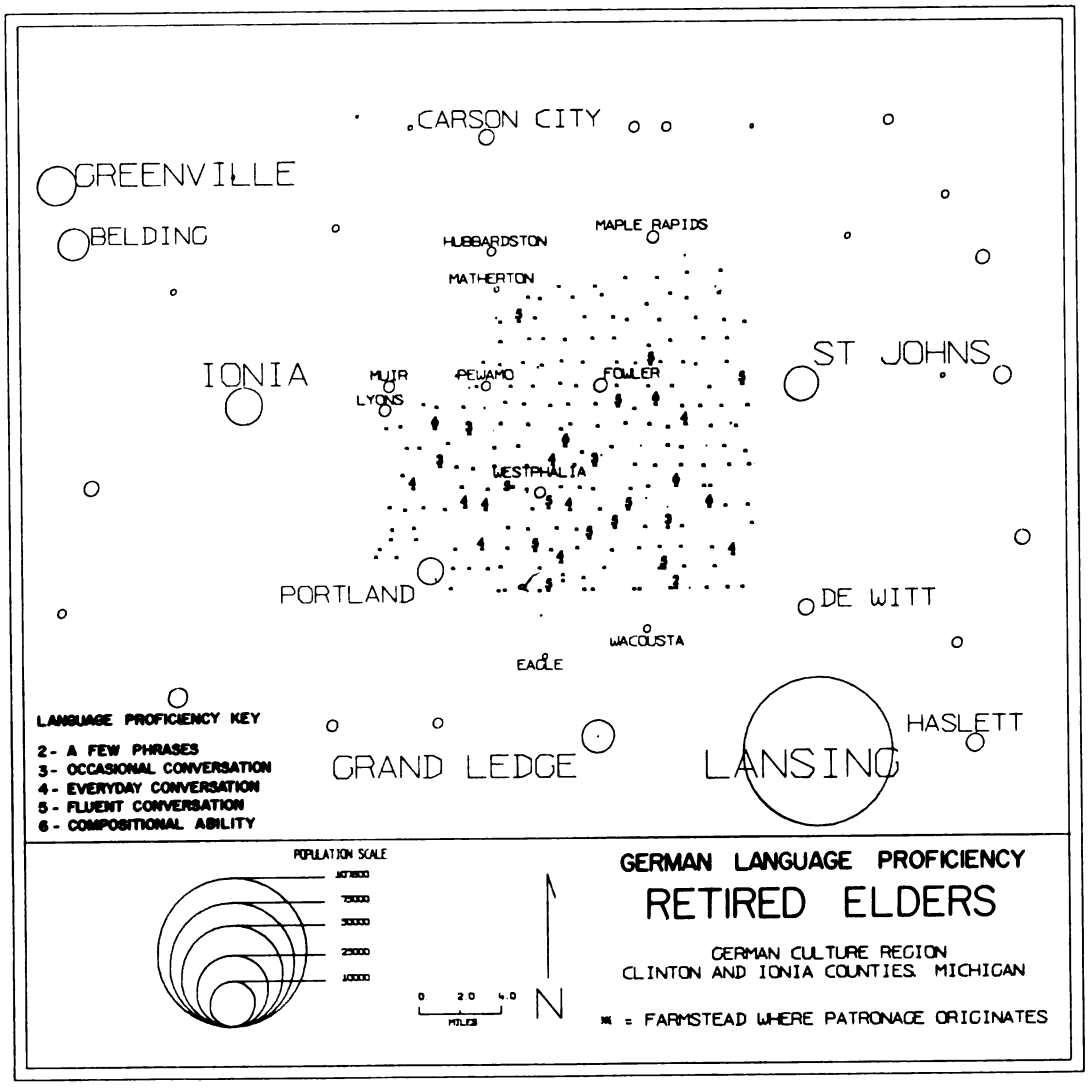
MILES
N
GERMAN LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY
RETIRED ELDERS
GERMAN CULTURE REGION
CLINTON AND IONIA COUNTIES, MICHIGAN
= FARMSTEAD WHERE PATRONAGE ORIGINATES

Figure 9


CARSON CITY
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3 - OCCASIONAL CONVERSATION
4 - EVERYDAY CONVERSATION
5 - FLUENT CONVERSATION
6 - COMPOSITIONAL ABILITY
POPULATION SCALE
75000
50000
25000
10000
0 2.0 4.0
MILES
N
GERMAN LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY
RETIRED ELDERS
GERMAN CULTURE REGION
CLINTON AND IONIA COUNTIES. MICHIGAN
= FARMSTEAD WHERE PATRONAGE ORIGINATES

Figure 9

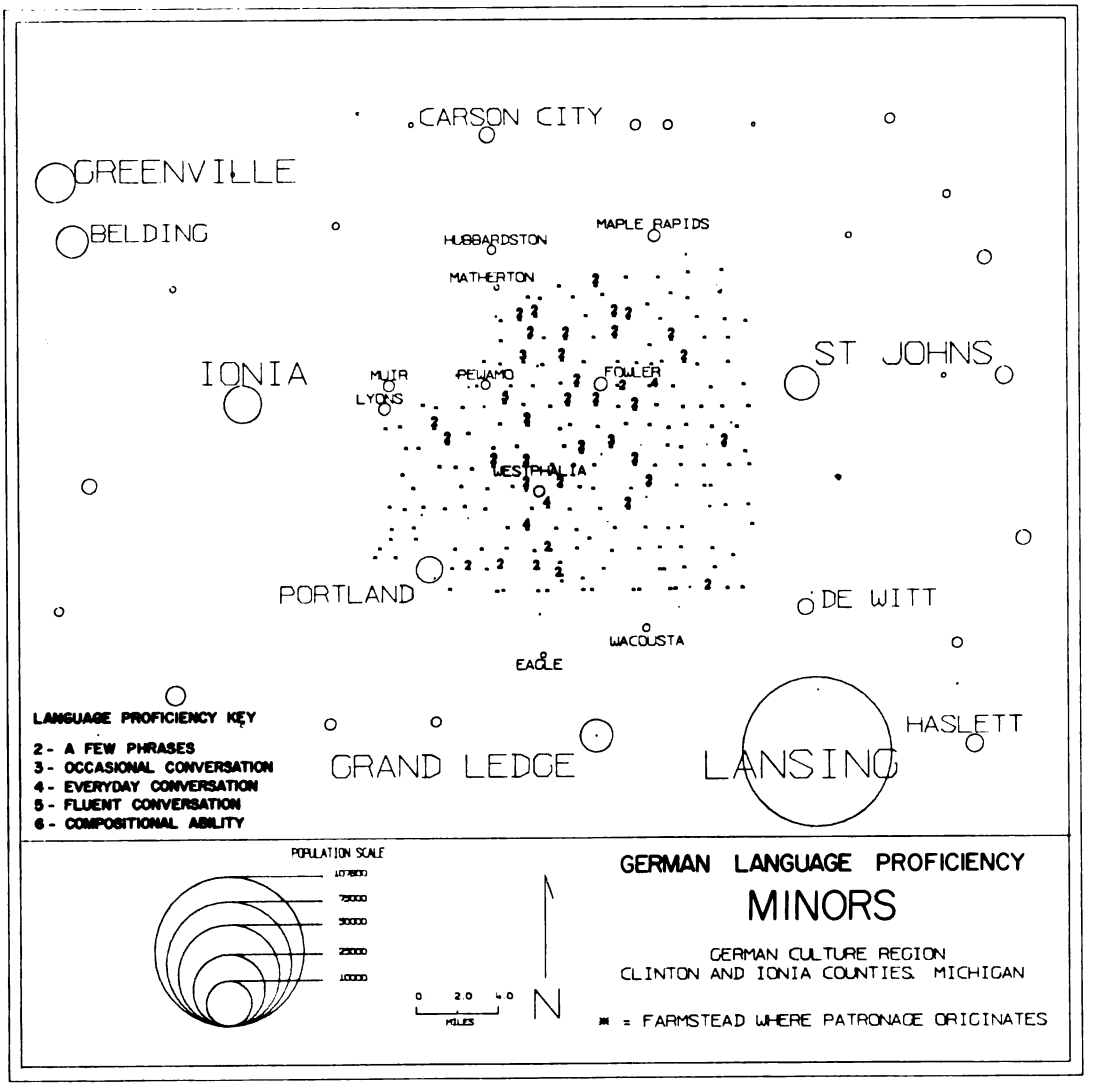
CARSON CITY
GREENVILLE
BELDING
HUBBARDSTON
MAPLE RAPIDS
MATHERTON
IONIA
MUIR
PEWAMO
FOWLER
LYONS
ST JOHNS
WESTPHALIA
PORTLAND
DE WITT
WACOUSTA
EAGLE
HASLETT
GRAND LEDGE
LANSING
LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY KEY
2 - A FEW PHRASES
3 - OCCASIONAL CONVERSATION
4 - EVERYDAY CONVERSATION
5 - FLUENT CONVERSATION
6 - COMPOSITIONAL ABILITY
POPULATION SCALE
75000
50000
25000
10000
0 2.0 4.0
MILES
N
GERMAN LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY
MINORS
GERMAN CULTURE REGION
CLINTON AND IONIA COUNTIES, MICHIGAN
= FARMSTEAD WHERE PATRONAGE ORIGINATES

Figure 10

The mapped proficiency of adult German parents also reflects the current extent of German settlement far better visually than do the proficiency maps for minors and retired elders living on their farms. In the map for adults, some clustering of high values of proficiency is evident near the communities of Westphalia, Fowler, and Pewamo, and near Riley Lutheran Church, but high values can also be seen on farmsteads that are relatively isolated as well; perhaps this could be attributed to the fact that the social systems are in fact cohesive, and not distance-dependent.

The map of language proficiency among retired elders still residing on the farmstead exhibits a clustering of these people near Westphalia, with generally high values on almost all farmsteads; the old people still know the language and use it. There is a large area of German farms north and west of Fowler which have few elders living on the farmstead; the author was told that the oldsters like to move back to Westphalia to live out their retirement, and this may be the reason for the void.

That void may also be partially explained, however, by the fact that the area to the north of Fowler is that most recently settled in Catholic expansion of the culture region boundaries, and that many of the families in this area are still relatively young; the map of families containing children who speak some level of German nicely

fills that void. Very few of the children under 21 years of age speak German with any degree of proficiency, and that is significant in itself for showing the extent to which the acculturation process is operative in the region. But the fact that some of the children do is important evidence that the culture region does exist today.

It is difficult to draw any clear boundaries on the basis of these maps alone, but, when taken together, the three maps and the statistics do show evidence of some homogeneity with respect to use of the German language within the area that contains the greatest concentration of German settlers.

Changes in the Spelling of Names

One of the inevitable problems experienced by the early German settlers each time they came into contact with their Yankee neighbors was the difficulty in communicating the correct pronunciation and spelling of their names. German phonetics and English phonetics simply did not match easily, and the Yankees were not educated in the differences between spellings in German and in their own language. Accordingly, there was almost immediate pressure on the Germans to change the pronunciation and spelling of their names to conform to accepted English phonetic rules. I attempted to determine precisely what changes had occurred in name spellings in order to be able to identify and categorize the Germans in the region as to religious affi-

liation, and to discover whether or not there might be any spatial dimension to the name changes.

The pressures on the German settlers must have been tremendous from their very first days in this country. All legal documents, such as land deeds, required recognizable signatures. Census takers wrote down their own interpretations of name spellings in accordance with the way they believed the name sounded; in 1850, for example, the census shows the English mutilation of a few German Catholic names among the settlers in Ionia County: the "Füchs" family name appeared as "Fox"; "Koch" became "Cook"; "Pfeifer" became "Fifer"; "Schneider" was spelled "Snider"; and "Hauck" was rendered "Hawk."[44] Name spellings listed in the 1860 Census exhibited an even wider range in spelling variations (See Table 9).

Apparently, many of the German residents of the area simply accepted the spelling in English which they found easiest to communicate in dealing with non-Germans; many of the spellings today reflect English phonetic similarity to the German pronunciation of the original German family name, as is evident in the examples already mentioned. The only reliable indicators of such change, however, appear to be church records and tombstone inscriptions; all

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[44]"Census of 1850, Ionia County, Michigan" (Allegan, Michigan: Abstracted and typed by Mrs. C. A. Robbins Monteith and Hannah McIntosh, Cady Chapter, N.S.D.A.R., 1956).

TABLE 9

SPELLING CHANGES IN GERMAN FAMILY NAMES

Original Spelling	1860 Census Spelling	Current Spelling
Anton Füchs	Anthony Fox	Fox
Adam Vidua	Adam Fedawa	Fedewa
Anton Ginsterblum	Anthony Kinserbloom	Gensterblum
Anton Klöckner	Anthony Clockner	Kloeckner
Johann Schmitt	John Smith	Schmitt, Smith
Johann Thelen	John Taylor	Thelen
Quirin Freund	Anna Fraunt	Freund
Johann Schäfer	John Shafer	Schafer
Johann Lehmann	John Leyman	Lehman
Johann Spitzlei	Jacob Spitzler	Spitzley
Englebert Esch	Inglebird Ash	Esch
Conrad Zimmer	Conrad Cemmar	Zimmer
Heinrich Radermacher	Henry Rademacher	Rademacher
Johann Schüller	John Sheller	Schueller
Peter Simons	Peter Simmons	Simon
Joseph Bauer	Joseph Bower	Bauer
Johann Müller	John Miller	Miller

Sources: Joseph Scheben, Untersuchungen zur Methode und Technik der deutschamerikanischen Wanderungsforschung an Hand eines Vergleichs der Volkszählungslisten der Township Westphalia, Michigan, vom Jahre 1860 (Bonn, Germany: 1939), Tabelle I; and St. Mary's Parish Financial Report: 1966 (Westphalia, Michigan: St. Mary's Catholic Church, 1967).

others, including county atlases, early censuses, store records and even present county plat maps are notorious for introducing incorrect spellings. It is very significant that the name spellings, once adopted, have apparently in some manner been standardized for each family and have, with a few minor exceptions, remained constant since they were adopted; church records show little or no variation in name spellings of the families in all sections of the region. Plat maps infer that just the opposite is the case, and are certainly to be less trusted than the church records.

The changes in and standardization of spelling occurred at a very early date in the culture region; most elders interviewed recalled that the name changes had occurred during their fathers' or grandfathers' lives. No information was available concerning why or how the changes had occurred. And, what is more distressing, the changes were not traceable because of the poor reliability of the early sources in spelling the settlers' names properly. Consequently, no spatial relationship whatsoever could be established for the changes, or for rates of acculturation; name changes only proved valuable in identifying landowners as to their religion for mapping purposes.

Economic and Cultural Orientation

Both the history of the culture region and the field evidence compiled to this point suggest that each of

the three primary Catholic social systems and the two Lutheran social systems exhibit internal social cohesion to the extent that it is a distinguishing characteristic of the German-American culture. If this is the case, then it is not unreasonable to expect that the economic behavior in such a region might reveal patterns of activity that reflect a degree of cultural cohesion.

During the survey of the region that I conducted in 1969, 199 farmers in the region were asked to identify the town which they patronized most frequently for each of twelve specified goods or services: heating and plumbing services, groceries, hardware, clothing, department stores, farm implements, gasoline purchases, banking services, drug stores, postal services, automobile services, and medical services. In order to establish patterns of social behavior with which the economic patterns could be compared, the area residents interviewed were also asked to identify the town in which they spent most of their social or leisure time, the town in which they attended church, and the town at which their most recently-deceased ancestors were buried. The information obtained in this manner was then mapped with the aid of the CALCOMP Plotter on the Control Data Corporation 3600 Computer.[45]

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[45]The maps were drawn by MAPIT, a computer program assembled by Robert Kern and Gerard Rushton at Michigan State University's Computer Institute for Social Science Research. The program was modified by the author to fit the data for this study.

Interaction in each category appears in the form of lines drawn from the farmstead where patronage for a particular good or service originates to the community in which the good or service was obtained most frequently.[46,47]

It is only necessary to use seven of the fifteen maps that were obtained in this manner: the three maps pertaining to social behavior and the four maps of economic interaction which were found to best approximate the major variations in economic behavior in the survey (See Figures 11-17).

The map showing the primary town where the residents of the rural countryside attend church services clearly segregates the religious social systems within the area. The farms served by the Westphalia and Pewamo churches are

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[46] If the respondent did not utilize a particular service or buy a particular good listed on the survey form, or if he obtained that good or service at a community outside the boundaries of the computer map, no line was drawn, and only the farmstead asterisk appears.

[47] The type of map obtained in this fashion is the same as the "desire-line" maps which are commonly used in studies related to central-place theory in economic geography; for example, see Brian J. L. Berry, Geography of Market Centers and Retail Distributions (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967). But a comparative analysis of economic behavior among the Germans and non-Germans at the scale required to use central-place theory was both beyond the scope of this study because of time considerations and of little value to this study because of the small size of the culture region. My intention is to use these maps merely as a device for comparing the economic and social behavior of the people living in the German-American culture region; the emphasis is on identifying behavior that might indicate cultural cohesion, not on classification of economic behavior within the region.

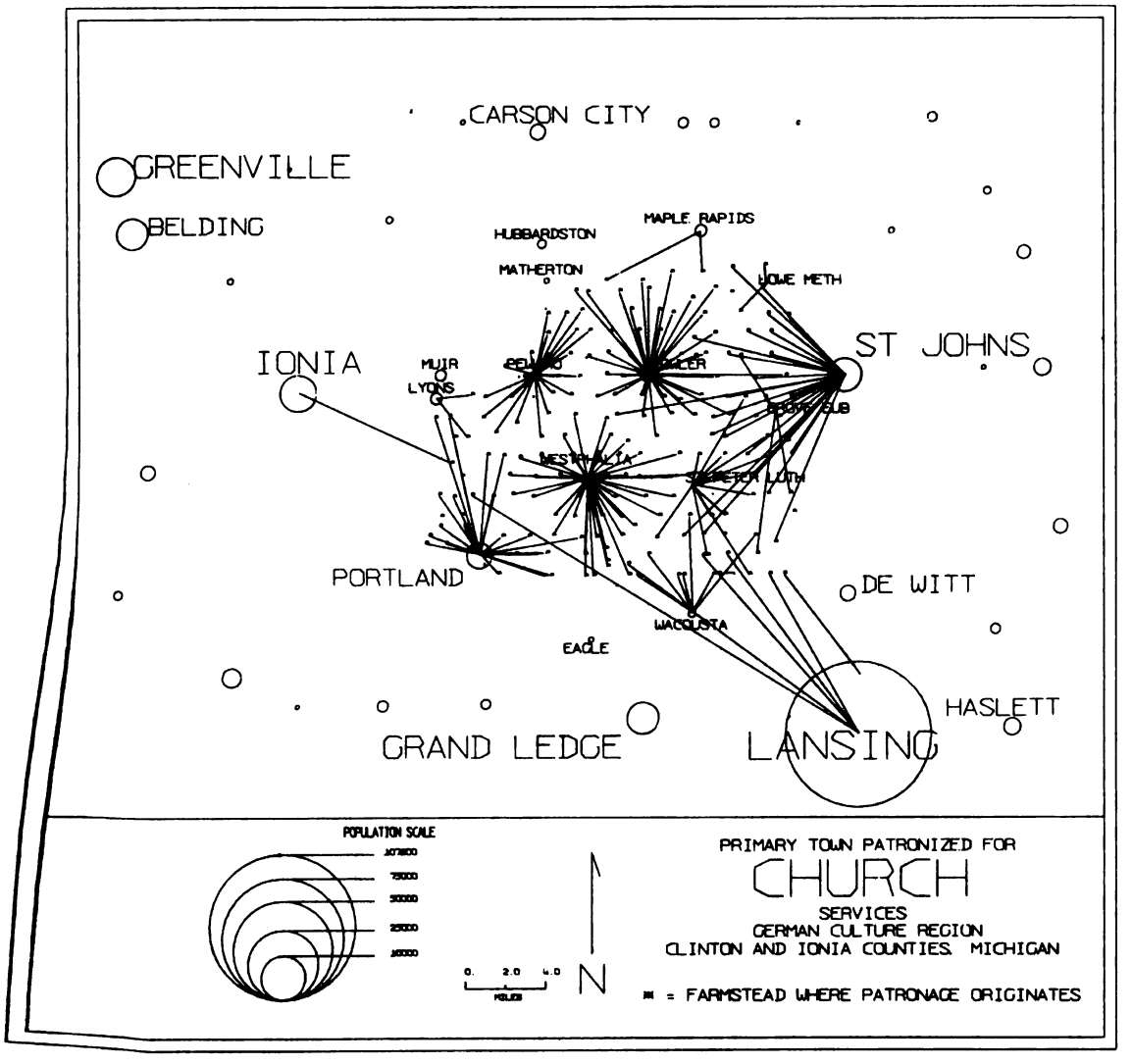
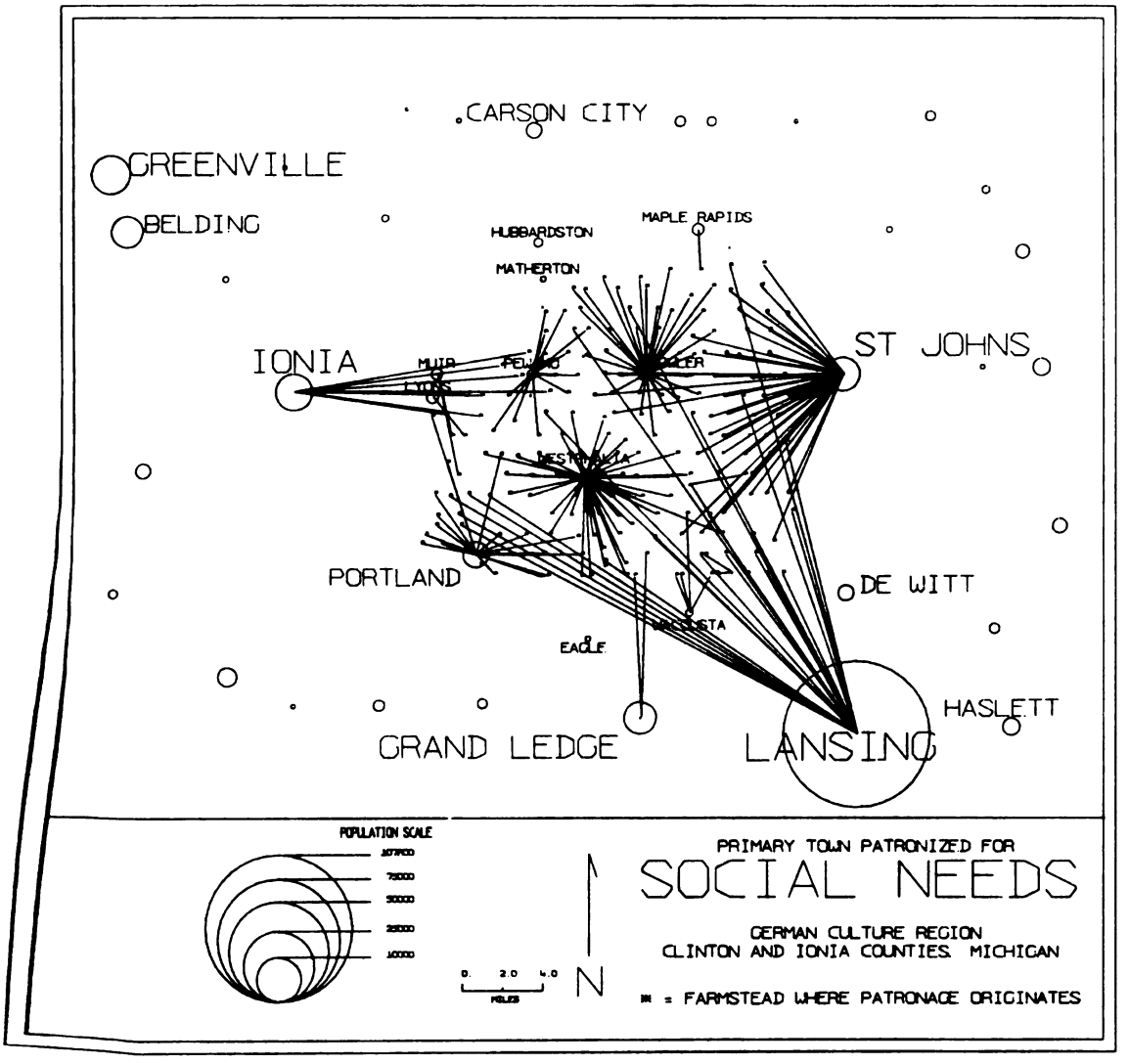

CARSON CITY
GREENVILLE
BELDING
HUBBARDSTON
MAPLE RAPIDS
MATHERTON
HOWE METH
IONIA
MUIR
LYONS
ST JOHNS
PORTLAND
DE WITT
WACOUSTA
EAGLE
HASLETT
GRAND LEDGE
LANSING
POPULATION SCALE
PRIMARY TOWN PATRONIZED FOR
CHURCH
SERVICES
GERMAN CULTURE REGION
CLINTON AND IONIA COUNTIES. MICHIGAN
N
= FARMSTEAD WHERE PATRONAGE ORIGINATES

Figure 11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GREENVILLE
BELDING
HUBBARDSTON
MAPLE RAPIDS
MATHERTON
IONIA
ST JOHNS
PORTLAND
DE WITT
EAGLE
HASLETT
GRAND LEDGE
LANSING
POPULATION SCALE
PRIMARY TOWN PATRONIZED FOR
SOCIAL NEEDS
GERMAN CULTURE REGION
CLINTON AND IONIA COUNTIES. MICHIGAN
= FARMSTEAD WHERE PATRONAGE ORIGINATES
N

Figure 12

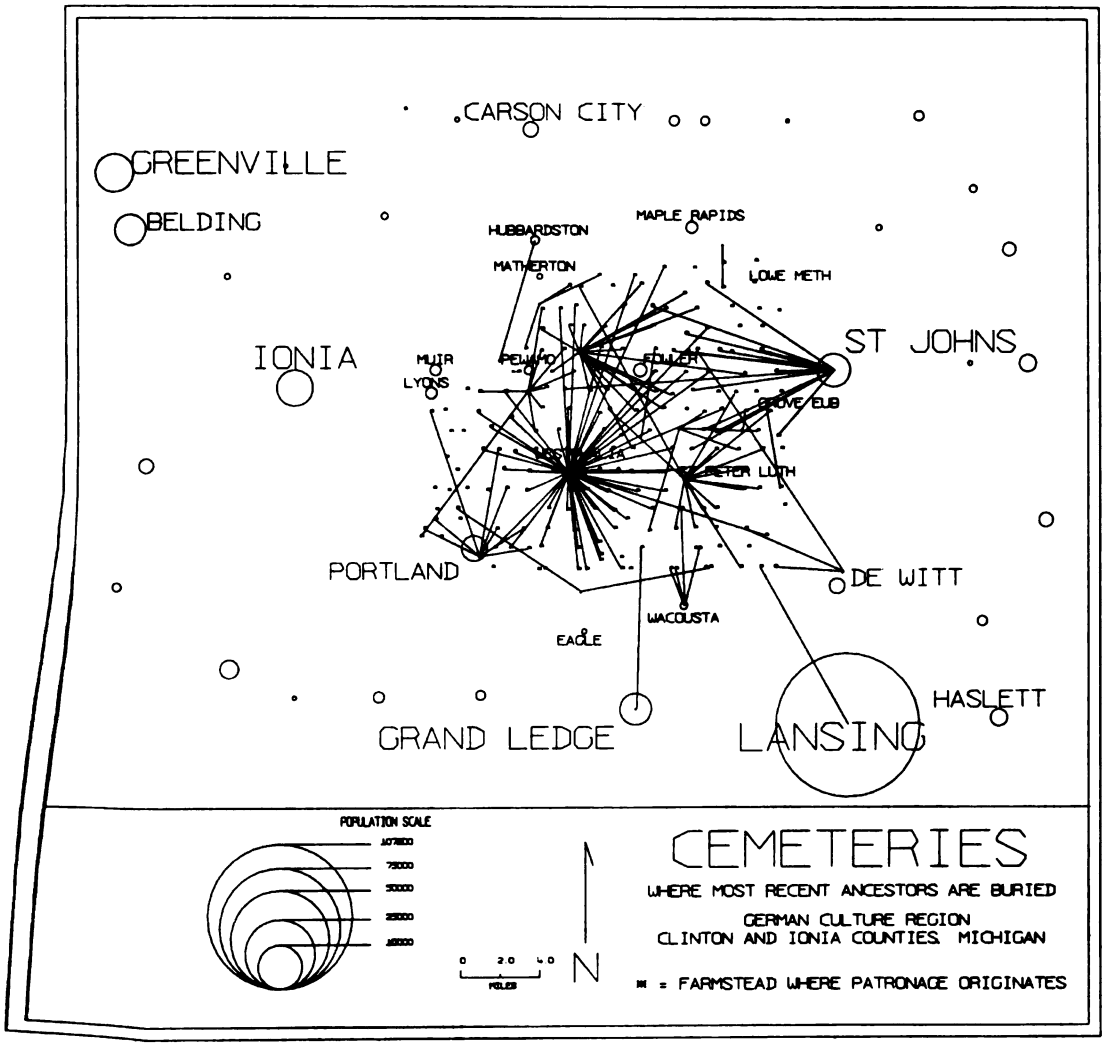
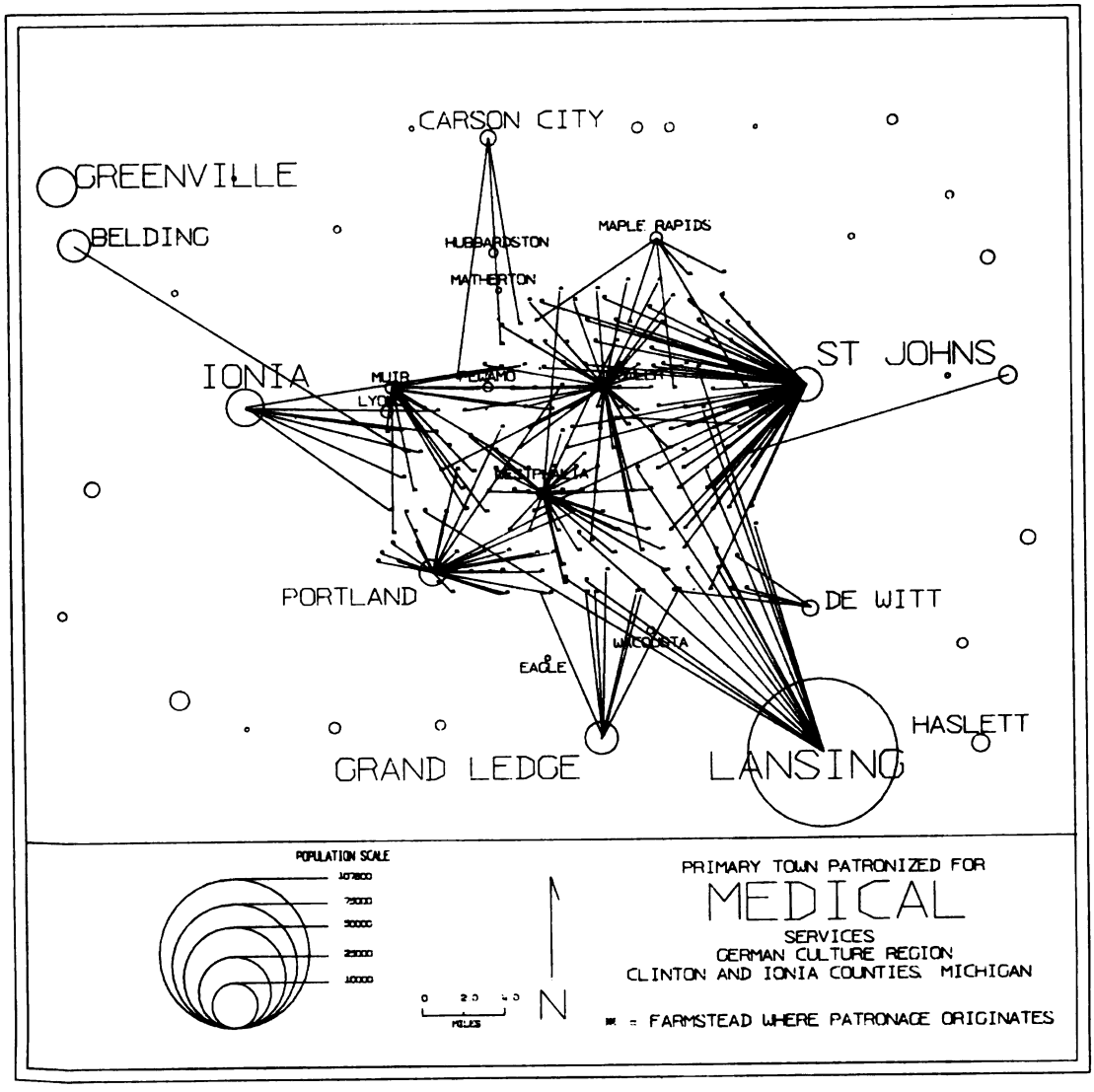

CARSON CITY
GREENVILLE
BELDING
HUBBARDSTON
MAPLE RAPIDS
MATHERTON
LOWE METH
IONIA
MUIR
LYONS
ST JOHNS
GROVE EUB
PORTLAND
DE WITT
WACOUSTA
EAGLE
HASLETT
GRAND LEDGE
LANSING
POPULATION SCALE
CEMETERIES
WHERE MOST RECENT ANCESTORS ARE BURIED
GERMAN CULTURE REGION
CLINTON AND IONIA COUNTIES MICHIGAN
= FARMSTEAD WHERE PATRONAGE ORIGINATES
N

Figure 13


CARSON CITY
GREENVILLE
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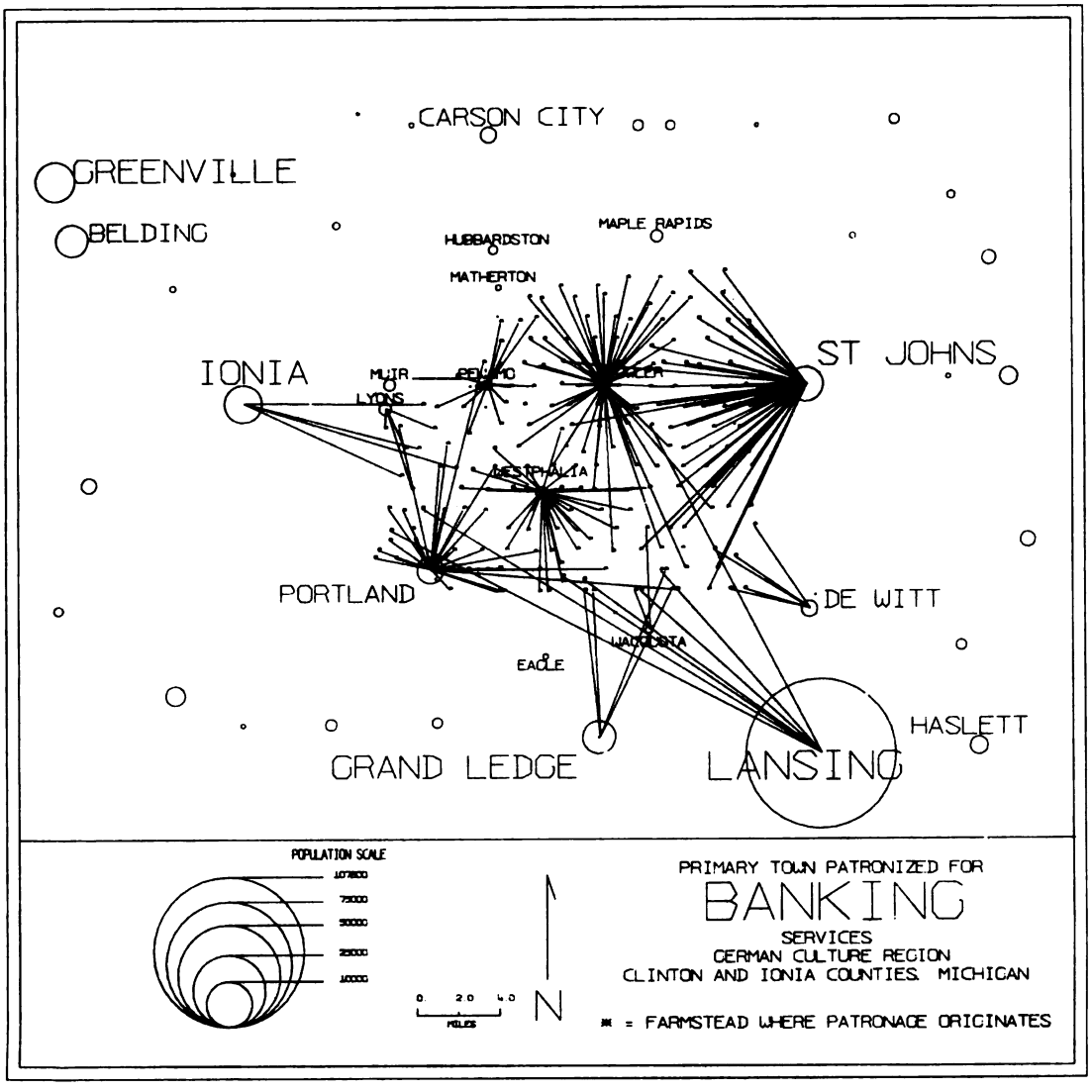
HUBBARDSTON
MAPLE RAPIDS
MATHERTON
ST JOHNS
IONIA
MUIR
LYONS
PORTLAND
DE WITT
EAGLE
WACCONDA
HASLETT
GRAND LEDGE
LANSING
POPULATION SCALE
PRIMARY TOWN PATRONIZED FOR
MEDICAL
SERVICES
GERMAN CULTURE REGION
CLINTON AND IONIA COUNTIES, MICHIGAN
= FARMSTEAD WHERE PATRONAGE ORIGINATES
N

Figure 14


CARSON CITY
GREENVILLE
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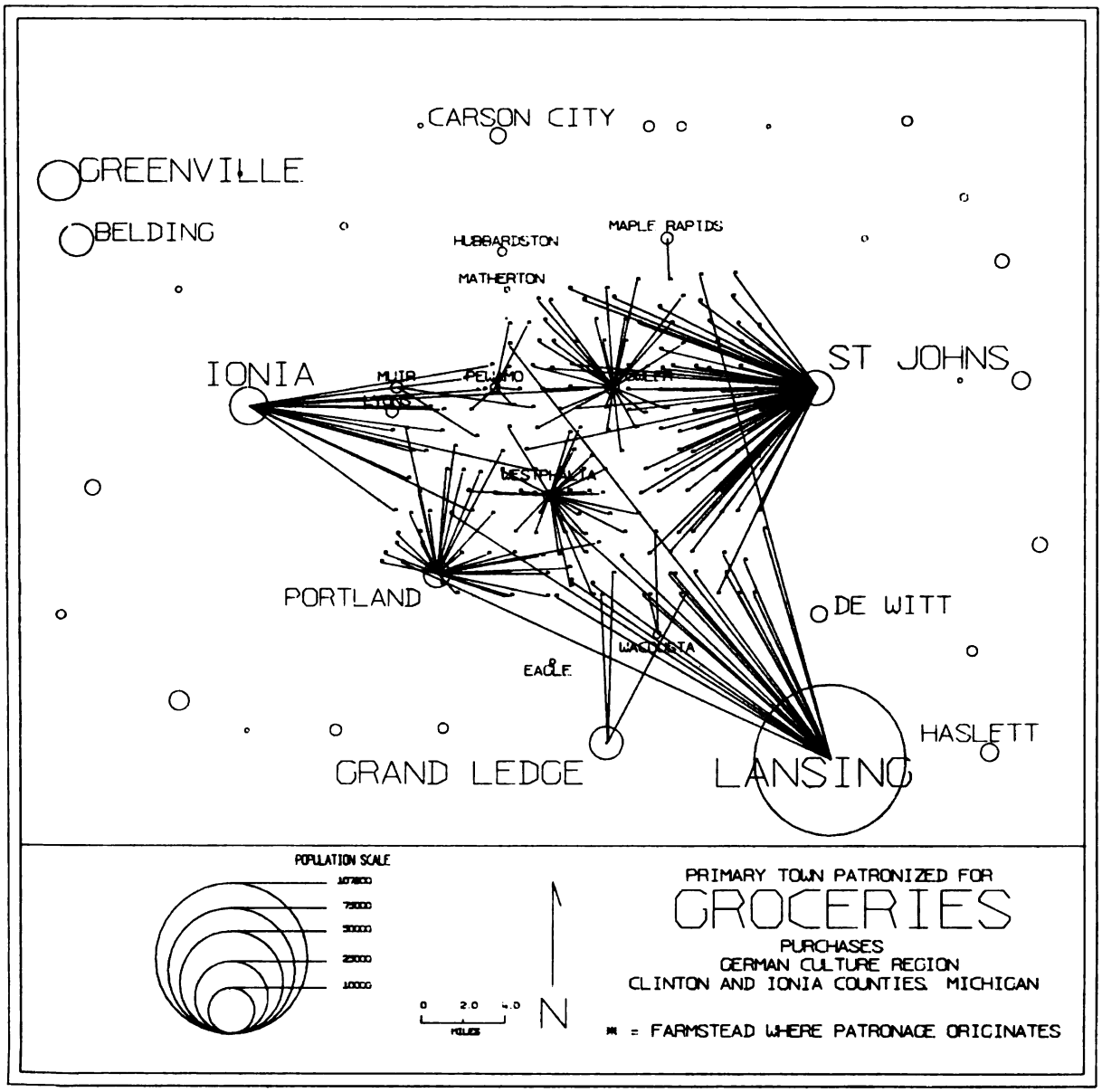
HUBBARDSTON
MAPLE RAPIDS
MATHERTON
IONIA
MUIR
LYONS
ST JOHNS
WESTPHALIA
PORTLAND
DE WITT
EAGLE
HASLETT
GRAND LEDGE
LANSING
POPULATION SCALE
PRIMARY TOWN PATRONIZED FOR
BANKING
SERVICES
GERMAN CULTURE REGION
CLINTON AND IONIA COUNTIES. MICHIGAN
= FARMSTEAD WHERE PATRONAGE ORIGINATES
N

Figure 15


CARSON CITY
GREENVILLE
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MATHERTON
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PEWAMO
ST JOHNS
WESTPHALIA
PORTLAND
DE WITT
WACONDA
EAGLE
HASLETT
GRAND LEDGE
LANSING
POPULATION SCALE
PRIMARY TOWN PATRONIZED FOR
GROCERIES
PURCHASES
GERMAN CULTURE REGION
CLINTON AND IONIA COUNTIES, MICHIGAN
= FARMSTEAD WHERE PATRONAGE ORIGINATES
N

Figure 16

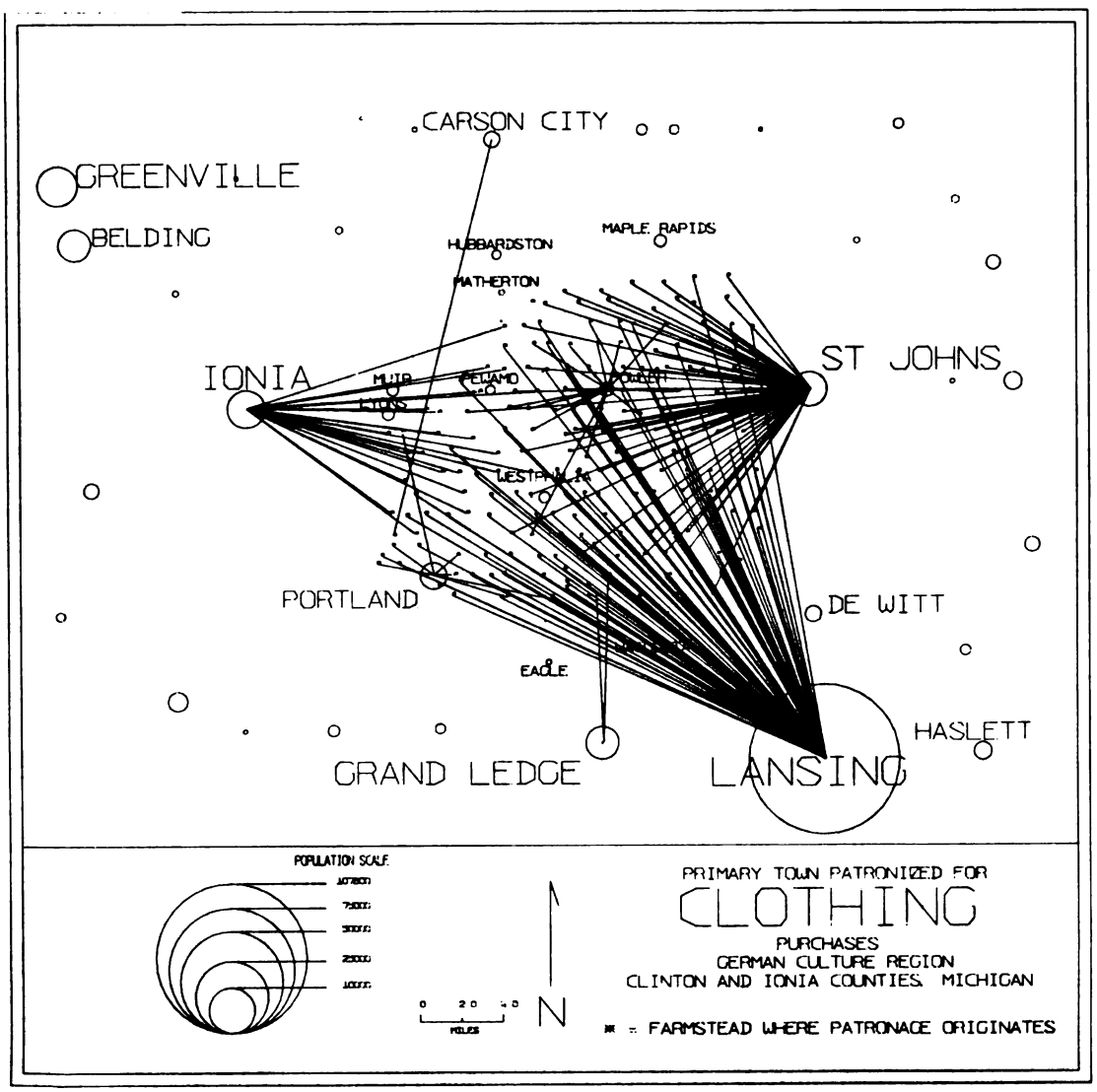
CARSON CITY
GREENVILLE
BELDING
HUBBARDSTON
MAPLE RAPIDS
MATHERTON
IONIA
ST JOHNS
PORTLAND
DE WITT
EAGLE
HASLETT
GRAND LEDGE
LANSING
POPULATION SCALE
N
PRIMARY TOWN PATRONIZED FOR
CLOTHING
PURCHASES
GERMAN CULTURE REGION
CLINTON AND IONIA COUNTIES, MICHIGAN
= FARMSTEAD WHERE PATRONAGE ORIGINATES

Figure 17

owned almost exclusively by German Catholics, and the farms served by St. Peter Lutheran Church are owned by German Lutherans. The Fowler parish area in this map includes both German Catholics and German Lutherans, but the Lutherans are concentrated to the north and east of Fowler. St. Johns churches are attended by some German Catholics and Lutherans as well as the majority of people in the area who have other religious faiths. Portland attracts some of the German Catholics. The other systems are not related to the culture region or its people.

Several interesting visual impressions may be obtained from this first map. Most striking is the fact that the boundaries between the social systems are so clearly delineated. In the case of Westphalia, church attendance appears to be somewhat distance-dependent, with a five- to six-mile maximum radius of travel; the road pattern is square, which accounts for the visual elongation in east-west and north-south directions. Church attendance in Pewamo is elongated along an axis tending northeastward; this pattern is most probably caused by the barrier effect of the Maple River to the northwest and the proximity of the Fowler and Westphalia systems to the east and south. Cultural cohesion is indicated by the elongation of attraction of the Fowler system to the north and the Westphalia system to the south. Also evident is the fact that the Riley Lutheran Germans are located to the east of St. Peter Lutheran Church; this map shows clearly

that Lutheran settlement was pushed eastward as the Catholic settlement expanded contiguously outward from Westphalia.

The patterns revealed in the map of travel for social purposes are very similar to those in the map of church attendance, although there are some important differences. Some of these differences were caused by variations in individual perceptions of precisely what constituted social "needs" or "purposes." Many of the farmers just laughed when they were asked where they spent their leisure time. Others perceived social time as time spent in various forms of entertainment, including movies, sports events, bowling, and card-playing. But most significant of all is the fact that an estimated 80 per cent of the German Catholics perceived social time as time spent in church-related activities. This is not the case among the Lutherans, who have fewer social organizations sponsored by their church; most of the Lutherans spend their social time in St. Johns or Lansing. The importance of the automobile in affecting these patterns of interaction is also apparent; those who live within the region, but near to major highways, tend to travel greater distances to spend their leisure time in such communities as Ionia, St. Johns, and Lansing. The rapidly shifting values in the region are also reflected in the travel of a few of the members in each religious social system's area of influence to the larger communities

farther away for this purpose, even in the heart of the Westphalia segment; thirty years ago, habitual spending of social time at movies and similar forms of entertainment at such distances away from the church and the community would have incurred community disapproval.

The map of cemeteries where the most recent ancestors have been buried reveals both the extent of the culture region, in terms of farmers who are of German descent, and the direction that migration and new settlement within the region have taken. The dominating feature is the cemetery at Westphalia; the outlines of that pattern virtually coincide with the outlines of the three primary Catholic religious social systems shown on the map of church attendance. Since strong emotional ties generally determine the place where dead are interred, this pattern may be considered indicative that in the recent past, throughout the entire German Catholic sub-culture, there has been a sense of affiliation with the culture hearth at Westphalia. The patterns on the cemeteries map also support two conclusions made previously: the German Catholic expansion through land purchases in recent years has been directed to the north and east; and the Lutheran concentration is now to the east of its former church centers.

The pattern of travel for medical services differs in many respects from the patterns already examined. Some German Catholics who long since moved to the far edges of

the region return to Westphalia for medical services from the "family doctor there. But there is a distinct tendency for people in all sections of the region to travel to the town in which they feel they can receive the best medical services, irregardless of any cultural attraction to one center. The larger centers with a greater variety of medical specialists attract people from greater distances, as might be expected; such a pattern of behavior is common throughout America, and the existence of that pattern is an accepted fact.

The pattern of banking activity approximates the patterns of religious and social interaction, but there are some subtle differences. The size of the hinterland served by each community appears to vary proportionally with the population of the town. One interesting aspect of this map is the behavior of the German Lutherans at Riley, many of whom apparently patronize Fowler for their banking services more than they do St. Johns, even though the latter city is in some cases both larger and closer; possible reasons for this behavior might include family ties with the Fowler Lutherans. It is highly noteworthy that none of the German Lutherans bank in Westphalia.

Grocery shopping patterns are quite typical of the general shopping habits of contemporary rural occupants in this country. Patronage of the Fowler, Westphalia, and Pewamo community grocery stores has fallen off consi-

derably. The farmers have discovered that it is cheaper in the long run to travel to supermarkets and discount houses in Ionia, St. Johns, Portland and Lansing, than to pay for the convenience of making short trips to their neighborhood community stores, which by economic necessity cannot charge the lower prices found in the larger cities. The patterns evident in the map of religious social systems may still be seen, but are much weaker and eroded on their peripheries.

The most striking change in shopping behavior is seen in the map of travel for purchases of clothing. The original social system patterns have completely disappeared. Of the three German communities, only Fowler now has a clothing store; the other clothing stores in those communities have long since gone out of business, because they could no longer compete with the stores with wide ranges of goods and low prices in the larger cities. Residents of the culture region feel that the same trend is apparent in most of the other areas of retail trade, and that the community service centers are gradually dying.

The maps of patronage for church services, social needs and cemeteries have proved useful in identifying the religion-centered social systems in the culture region and in outlining general boundaries of both the culture region as a whole and the social systems within the region. In the maps of economic patronage, however, beha-

vior did not strictly follow the patterns established in religious and social orientations of the area citizens, but in some cases differed radically and followed patterns one might expect to find in any heterogeneous rural area in the Midwest. The only logical conclusion is that German cultural cohesion no longer extends to the economic sphere, except in those instances where extreme emotional sensitivity attaches, as was the case in banking behavior.

Evidence on the Cultural Landscape

Spatial variations in the way of life of a culture are usually reflected in some outwardly visible manner on the cultural landscape that is their home. Field research aimed at uncovering such variations was initially concentrated on an examination of patterns of land use, settlement and field patterns, and relics of the pioneer and early farming days, as the researcher believed that spatial variations in these items could be most readily observed.

The most immediately apparent effect of man's occupance of the area is the almost total clearing of the virgin forest area that covered Clinton and Ionia counties in the 1830's. The early settlers were forced to cut down the hardwoods in order to obtain land to farm. As soon as the more desirable flat, dry areas had been cleared, the settlers had to clear and drain the numerous tamarack swamps that dotted the till-plain and moraine upon which they had settled; drainage ditches are a common feature,

even today. An analysis of land use patterns within the seven German-occupied townships in Clinton County reveals the extent of clearing operations (See Table 10).

TABLE 10

1960 LAND USE IN CLINTON COUNTY, SELECTED TOWNSHIPS

Township	Per Cent Farmland	Per Cent Forested	Per Cent Unused
Lebanon	83	12	5
Dallas	96	2	2
Westphalia	93	6	1
Eagle	89	7	4
Essex	93	5	2
Bengal	97	2	1
Riley	94	5	1

Sources: BDJ-series aerial strip photography of Clinton County, Michigan, taken in the summer of 1950 by Abrams Aerial Survey Corporation, Lansing, Michigan; and untitled land-use maps of townships in Clinton County, prepared by the Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, Lansing, Michigan, in 1960 for its own use.

The high percentage of cleared land is not an unusual feature of this small portion of the American Corn Belt; Birch notes that "most Corn Belt counties have over 90 per cent of their land area in farms."[48]

Examination of aerial photographs of southern Michi-

[48] B. P. Birch, "Farmstead Settlement in the North American Corn Belt," Southampton Research Series in Geography, No. 3 (Southampton, England: November, 1966), p. 29.

gan revealed that the types and patterns of land use found within the culture region were not appreciably different from the types and patterns of land use that characterize the "dairy and general farming area" of the southern portion of the Lower Peninsula, the agricultural area in which the German region is located.[49] The majority of the land is devoted to the raising of wheat, but hay, corn, oats and pasture are used also as feed crops for dairy cattle, hogs, and poultry.

As has been previously noted, the immigrants settled the land in a completely different manner than that to which they had been accustomed. The nucleated settlement from which the farmers in Germany commuted to their small, scattered "strip" holdings each day was replaced by a pattern of settlement in which the farmers lived on their isolated farmsteads. The change was not a matter of time-consuming, gradual adjustment, but an abrupt change forced on the farmers by the Township-and-Range system of land survey. The villages and trade centers never were residences from which the farmers commuted. And the street patterns which evolved in the communities were as rectilinear in their orientation as the land platted to the town by the surveyors; there was no hint in the new American settle-

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[49]E. B. Hill and Russel G. Mawby, Types of Farming in Michigan, Special Bulletin 206 (East Lansing, Michigan: Agricultural Experiment Station, Michigan State University, September, 1954), pp. 25, 32-33.

ments of the generally confused pattern of the "heap village" that most of the Germans had left behind.

The location of the farmsteads in the countryside and the field patterns on the farms similarly reflected a linearity in pattern, and were no less a revolutionary change to their owners. The German-Americans, who had been accustomed to farming narrow, elongated, odd-shaped, and widely-scattered strips while in Germany, consistently purchased their land in regular-shaped square or rectangular tracts because this was the way the land was sold. The Old-World custom of dividing the land among all the children of the owner after his death was discarded for the most part, and where the land was divided or sold, it was generally passed on in regularly-shaped parcels. The consequence is that, even today, both land-ownership and field patterns are rectilinear. Again, this pattern is not peculiar to the German-American culture region, but is typical of settlement in the American Corn Belt:

> . . . land was consistently transferred to private ownership, in areas where the land acts applied, as regular-sized and regular-shaped tracts arranged with north-south and east-west boundaries. These tracts were most commonly square quarter sections (160 acres), square quarter-quarter sections (40 acres) and whole sections, as well as rectangular 80 and 320 acre portions of sections. These blocks, or combination of smaller tracts, and, in particular, the 160 acre quarter sections became the basis of the common Corn Belt farm units. Once settlement was established, some of the land was divided off and sold by settlers to be acquired by neighbouring farmers. Many of these parcels were also geometrically shaped units . . . Even today, after several generations of modification and enlargement, many farm units reflect the original geo-

> metric divisions of the land. In the same way the fields reflect these geometric arrangements of the landscape.[50]

The initial temporary dwellings built by the pioneers were often log cabins built as a matter of expediency near a source of water or on the highest ground in the midst of the swampy land they were draining, as I regretfully discovered while I was checking former log cabin sites! The second, permanent farmsteads were, however, almost without exception located on the side of the farm nearest the roads, which eventually were built along the section lines; this pattern is typical of most of the American Midwest. Since the farmsteads were relatively isolated from the very beginning, and the boundaries of farms did not meet with great frequency except at section corners, the farmsteads today generally appear at random intervals along the roads, and are not often grouped together, except in the case where members of the same family built houses in close proximity.[51]

One hundred and forty-three years have passed since the first German settler arrived and cleared his land in the Westphalia area, and it has been eighty years since the last major stream of immigration into the culture region

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[50]For a thorough discussion of the theoretical explanations for the growth of these settlement and field patterns, see B. P. Birch, "Farmstead Settlement in the North American Corn Belt," pp. 25-57.

[51]Ibid.

dwindled to a mere trickle. The traces of the initial stages of settlement have for the most part disappeared in that interval. The initial temporary log-cabin residences have all disappeared, perhaps falling victim to the German penchant for neatness. Only one log barn was found.[52] The early pioneers fenced their lands with zig-zag, split-rail fences, behind which they planted Osage Orange thistle bushes, so that when the fences rotted, there would be a natural hedge of thistles to take their place and keep the cattle penned. Both the fences and the thistles proved ineffective, and were replaced as soon as better wire substitutes were available. A few rotting remnants of these fences and occasional patches of Osage Orange can still be seen,[53] but they are rapidly being cleared off the land.

There are surprisingly few German place and feature names in the region, except in the instances where German proprietors used their names for local business concerns. Westphalia is the only German town name; Lehman, Hanses, and Thelen Roads, and Kloeckner Creek (all named after German pioneers) are the only other features bearing Germanic names.

There are, then, relatively few pioneer relics available on the cultural landscape, and investigation of land

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[52]See below, p. 181, Figures 24 and 25.

[53]The best example of such a rail fence can be seen in Section 4, Riley Township.

use, field and settlement patterns revealed little evidence that could be interpreted as a distinguishing characteristic of the cultural landscape in the German region.

Analysis of House Types

Since all of the original log pioneer dwellings in the culture region had been destroyed prior to the beginning of the research for this thesis, it is impossible to draw any conclusions about the source of the ideas used in constructing such dwellings. We are left with only the following description of such structures:

> Houses were constructed of logs, and the cracks were filled with a clay and straw mixture. The board ceilings were supported by logs, and access to the loft was by a ladder. A clay chimney housing an open fireplace was erected at one end of the cabin. Shingles for the roof were split by hand, and whatever nails and hinges were needed had to be purchased. Most of the furniture, including beds, cradles, cabinets, chairs and tables were made by hand.[54]

It was therefore necessary to shift attention in the search for cultural homogeneity to the second, more permanent dwellings, most of which were built between 1850 and 1900, and are still in use today. At each household I visited while conducting my field survey, the major house type, roof form, chimney type and placement, building materials, and axis orientation were recorded, along with the nature of any decorative woodwork, or "gingerbread." The survey yielded a surprisingly small variation in house

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[54]Norris, "Acculturation," p. 28.

types (See Table 11).

The most frequently-encountered house type was that which Birch identifies as the "Prairie Tee" house (See Figure 18) which

> . . . is generally composed of a light but strong frame which is clapboarded over and has been built by the 'balloon' method of construction . . . Tee houses are composed of two parts with the main downstroke of the ground plan and the end of the crossbar together forming the front of the house in most cases. Roofs are almost always of the gable form and basements are common. Variations do occur in this arrangement, some houses having the floor plan arranged with the front of the house in some other position. Finley and Scott separated out Tee, Ell and inverted Tee arrangements although the distinction between these are often difficult to make so that all of these variants are here grouped together . . . Other variations also occur in the width of the ground plan . . . most of these prairie houses display too little style or decoration to allow them to be associated with any particular origins. The main factor by which variants can be distinguished is the arrangement of the storeys. Many of the houses . . . have two storeys . . . Houses with one storey throughout are also common.[55]

In the German-American culture region, all varieties of the "Prairie Tee" were found. They were commonly of frame construction, with peak or "gabled" roofs, and an offset internal chimney. In all but seven cases, the houses were oriented with the crossbar of the "T" perpendicular in axis-orientation to the road, with the porch and front door located along the base of the "T" facing the road.

The next most commonly-seen house consisted of wide-ranging variations on the "I-Type" house described by

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[55]Birch, "Farmstead Settlement in the North American Corn Belt," pp. 51-53.

TABLE 11

HOUSE TYPES AND CHARACTERISTICS

House Type or Characteristic	Entire Sample	All Germans	German Catholics	German Lutherans	German Protestants	Non-Germans
House Types						
Prairie Tee	94	78	54	19	5	16
I-Type	24	17	14	1	2	8
Square, Two-story	31	22	15	3	4	9
Cross	17	15	10	3	2	2
Estate	2	1	0	0	1	1
Shotgun	1	0	0	0	0	1
Bungalow	1	1	0	1	0	0
Upland	8	8	5	3	0	0
Modern Miscellaneous	21	16	12	2	2	5
Characteristics						
Peak Roof	163	132	92	28	12	31
Pyramidal Roof	31	22	15	3	4	9
Shed Roof	3	3	2	1	0	0
Internal Chimney	150	124	84	26	14	26
External Chimney	47	33	25	6	2	14
"Gingerbread"	25	22	16	6	0	3
Construction Material						
Frame	174	140	95	30	15	34
Brick	12	9	7	1	1	3
Stone	10	7	7	0	0	3
Axis Orientation[a]						
Prairie Tee, Perpendicular to Road	87	72	51	18	3	15
I-Type, Parallel to Road	24	17	14	1	2	7
Cross, Perpendicular	17	15	10	3	2	2
All, Parallel	84	64	44	10	10	20
All, Perpendicular	114	94	66	22	6	20

[a]Orientation with respect to the long axis in relation to the major road serving the farmstead. In the case of the Prairie Tee house, this is the orientation of the crossbar of the "T."

Figure 18: -- "Prairie Tee" house. Note single story on the stem of the "T", and the porch with "gingerbread" wood decoration.

Figure 19: -- "I-Type" house. The two-story section to the right has been added. The original unit on the left has the front door facing the road, a common feature of the "I-Type" houses observed.

Kniffen; such houses all have in common: "gables to the side, at least two rooms in length, one room deep, and two full stories in height." The "I-Type" house, according to Kniffen, diffused westward from the Middle Atlantic States and is to be found throughout the Midwest.[56] Near Westphalia, it was found with the long axis always parallel to the road and the door in the front, and more often than not with a one- or two-story addition built on the back (See Figure 19).

The "Square, Two-story, Pyramidal-roof" house was also observed frequently. This type of house generally contained two-room depth and width, was of frame construction, had a full-length porch attached at the front, and, with one exception, faced the road. Ten of the 31 houses of this type observed were built in brick, and in several instances, the clapboard had been replaced with stucco as an outer covering. This type of house (See Figure 20) is commonly seen throughout the Upper Midwest.

The author discovered one fairly common area house which has not been mentioned previously; because of the shape of its floor plan when viewed from above represented a cross, it will simply be referred to as a "Cross-Type" house (See Figure 21). This house is often seen with a

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[56]Kniffen, "Folk Housing," pp. 553-560.

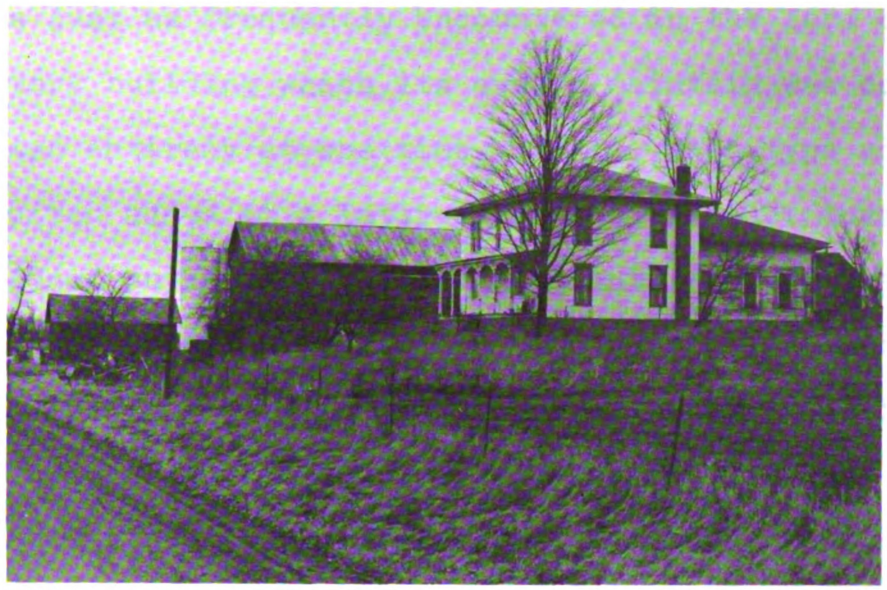

Figure 20: -- "Square, Two-story, Pyramidal-roof" house. The front door and porch of this type invariably face the road, but are seldom used. Note the large addition to the rear of the basic unit.

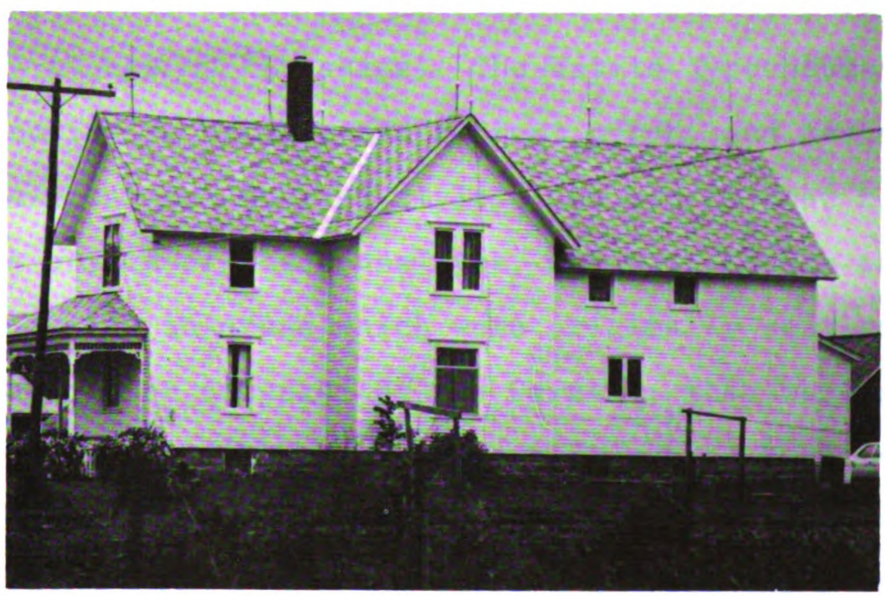

Figure 21: -- "Cross-Type" house. The long axis is perpendicular to the road. The section to the right appears to have been added after the original construction (Note the lower roof line).

two-story "T" front section and a one-story rear addition, but is just as frequently encountered in the form of a two-story building which its owners maintain was constructed entirely at one time. Small, shed-type additions were often added at a later date, and the fact that they were added on is most readily apparent, whereas the main structure appears to have been constructed as a single unit. The long axis is always perpendicular and the crossbar parallel to the trend of the road.

One other house observed has not been mentioned elsewhere, but appeared in the culture region only twice and may not therefore be considered a significant house type to this study: the "Estate-Type" house (See Figure 22). This large house appears from one side to be a "Square Two-story Pyramidal-roof" house, but when viewed from above, it has an "L" shape. The 'Estate-Type' houses were two stories in height, had a front porch, and had shutters, in classical New England style. The owners knew nothing of the origin of the house type, but both houses observed were located in areas which were originally settled by Yankees and later occupied by the Germans; they were presumably built by the Yankees, and are discussed here only because of the fact that they were unusual features.

Other miscellaneous house types built near the turn of the century were seen with low frequency. One small house, nicknamed the "Upland" house type by the author,

Figure 22: -- "Estate-Type" house. When it is viewed from the left side, this house appears to be a square, two-story house. Note the New-England-style shutters.

Figure 23: -- Modern ranch-style home. This type is usually characterized by a rectangular floor plan, two-to-three-room length and two-room depth. Most of the rural non-farm homes observed belong in this category.

for lack of a better name, was similar in many respects to Kniffen's "Tidewater-Type" house; this house usually had one-room width, was two rooms deep, and one story high--often with an attic room--and more often than not had either a rear lean-to shed-roof addition, or a shed-roof addition on the side beneath one gable. Examples of Kniffen's "shotgun" and "bungalow" houses were also seen, though rarely.[57]

The most often-observed modern house recorded in the culture region was the ranch-style home (See Figure 23), which is usually one story high, rectangular in floor plan, and occasionally has a basement. Other types, such as split-level homes and modern colonial-style homes, had been constructed on former farmsteads. The significance of the newer dwellings observed was that many of them were on rural non-farms.

The most uniform aspect of all of the house types observed was that their orientation was either perpendicular to or parallel to the road system, a factor which again reflects the effect of the Township-and-Range system, but is in no way unique to the culture region. One might be misled by the large proportions of a few house types that were found; any conclusion of homogeneity peculiar to the culture region rapidly disappears when-

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[57]Fred Kniffen, "Louisiana House Types," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, XXVI, No. 4 (December, 1936), pp. 179-193.

ever adjacent areas are subjected to a cursory check, for all of the house types found in the area are found in similar numbers in adjacent areas, and, indeed, throughout much of southern Michigan. Even within the culture region, the use of a single house type is not restricted to any one religious or ethnic category, as a glance at the survey results shows (See Table 11). Nor is there any particularly uniform spatial arrangement of the house types; a map of house types constructed during the field research was useful only in conveying the fact that the "Prairie Tee" house was present in large numbers and dispersed throughout the area.[58] Only 25 houses were decorated with any type of "gingerbread" decorative woodwork, and no uniformity could be detected in the styles that were observed; only two examples of "Bavarian-style" eaves handiwork, which reminds one of the ski-lodge architecture popular today, were seen.

The discovery that was most deflating of all to any notions of possible diffusion patterns for house types in the region occurred when one area resident informed the interviewer that the resident's "Prairie Tee" farmhouse had been built according to plans obtained from the Sears-Roebuck catalog at the turn of the century: This comment was confirmed by another resident of the same type of

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[58]This map is not reproduced herein as it was deemed insignificant.

house, and a similar claim was made by an owner of a "Square, Two-story, Pyramidal-roof" home. The author was unable to verify these claims by obtaining the actual house-plans, but the Sears-Roebuck catalogues, starting in the spring of 1908, did advertise building plans with illustrations that bore marked similarity to many of the house types observed; Sears even furnished a builder's "kit" of lumber and materials for some of the house plans.[59] To complicate matters futher, the most elaborate "gingerbread" observed in the German-American culture region could also be found in the pages of the same catalogues. This discovery suggests that perhaps other agencies offering building plans may have been operating at an earlier date, and makes it impossible to make any valid conclusions about the origins and dispersals of house types, either within the region or without, unless the exact date of construction of each house and the origins of the house plans are investigated.

One of the few valid generalizations that can be made about house types within the culture region is that the larger houses, particularly the "Square, Two-story, Pyramidal-roof" house and the "Cross-Type" house, seem to be located on the larger and more prosperous farms. Extreme caution must be used in any further attempts to connect

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[59]Sears, Roebuck and Company, Catalogue No. 117, Spring (Mail) Edition (Chicago: 1908), pp. 594-597.

house types with the German culture; the only safe generalization which can be made in this respect is that the orientation of the farm buildings represents the completeness of the adaptation of the Germans to the settlement patterns imposed by the Township-and-Range system of land survey.

Analysis of Barn Types

The barn types found in the culture region were also examined with respect to style, type, and orientation. One remarkably well-preserved example of a double-crib log barn, similar to that identified, but not described, by Kniffen,[60] is still standing on the southwestern quarter of Section 9, Westphalia Township. The barn, estimated to be 120 years old, originally belonged to William Theilman, a member of the first pioneer group to settle in the area. The cribs of the barn were constructed with square-notched logs, and the original log beams still support the roof. The floor between the two cribs was heavily planked, and may have been used for thrashing purposes. The exterior of the barn had been covered by planking in 1929, and sheds were added on the end (See Figures 24 and 25). According to the present owner, the barn was typical of several which had been destroyed in the area, but once again there

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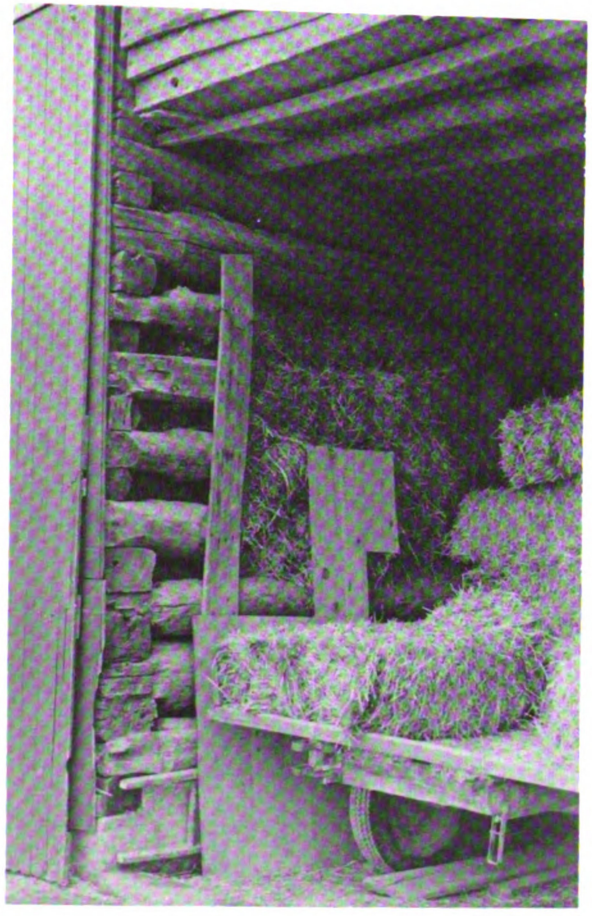
[60] Fred Kniffen and H. Glassie, "Building in Wood in the Eastern United States: A Time-Place Perspective," Geographical Review, LVI (1966), pp. 40-66.



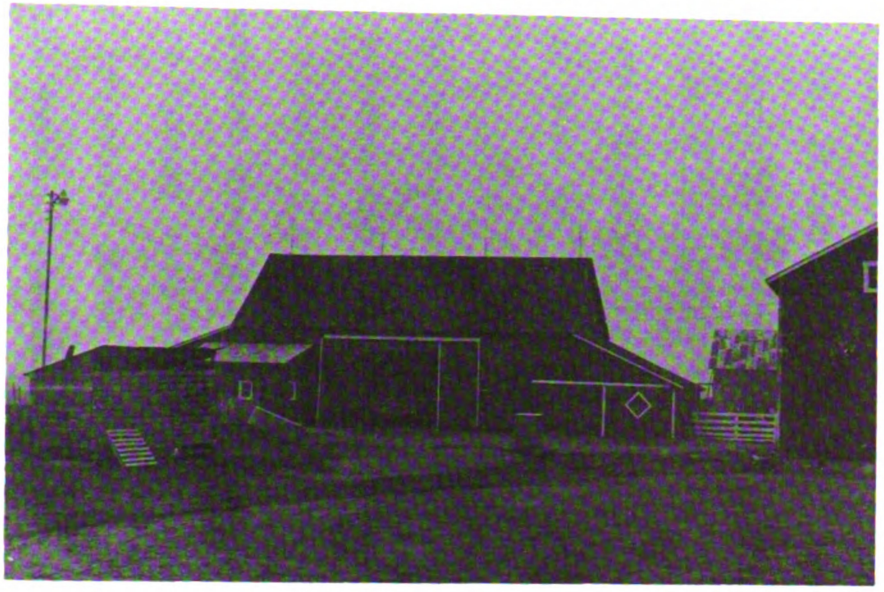


Figure 24 (above): -- Double-crib log barn. During the 1920's the logs were covered with planks and sheds were added on each end.

Figure 25 (left): -- Interior construction of the log barn. Note the squared-notching at the log junctions, the hand-hewn planking overhead, and the opening for the hay storage crib.

was no hint available as to the origins of this type of barn. Even though, as Kniffen suggests, such barns diffused westward from German Pennsylvania, no positive connection can be made between the German Pennsylvanian barns and the barns in the culture region near Westphalia; available evidence indicates that most of the Germans in Westphalia came directly from Germany, and it is not likely that they made an intermediate stop in Pennsylvania on the way.

The second stage of barn building in this region occurred between the 1850's and 1880's; the product of this era was a small, rectangular barn of hewed-timber construction, covered over with vertical planking, and having a gabled or "peak" roof (See Figure 26). Livestock were kept on the ground level, and an artificial bank was built up to the second level to accomodate wagons for unloading hay into the storage cribs there. This barn is somewhat similar to the "New England English Barn,"[61] and its methods of construction may well have been obtained by the Germans from their Yankee neighbors, for there are numerous barns of this type throughout the Yankee areas surrounding the culture region.

As the farmers expanded their operations by clearing more and more land, they found that they were also in need

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[61] Fred Kniffen, "Folk Housing," p. 558.

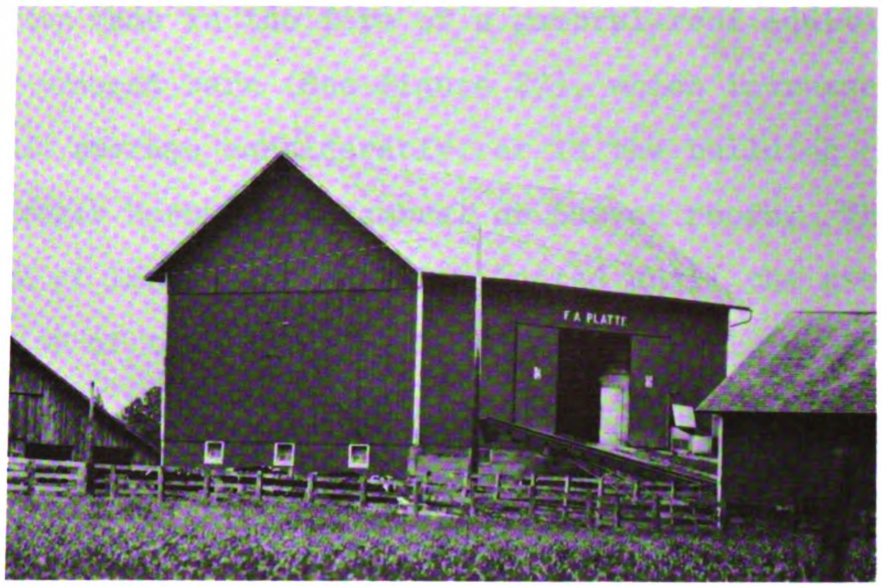

Figure 26: -- New England "English" Barn. This barn type is usually less than one hundred feet in length and has two hay storage cribs on either side of the door. Note the gabled roof and the man-made road "bank" to the main hay storage area

Figure 27: -- New England barn modified to increase hay storage capacity by addition of a gambrel roof. The modification here is clearly visible at the old gable-roof line.

of more storage space for hay for their livestock; the solution came in the form of a gambrel-roof addition to their present barn (See Figure 27), which increased the hayloft storage considerably, or in the building of larger and longer barns with gambrel or curved roofs. The third period of large barn building lasted until the great depression of the 1930's. There were several design variations (See Figures 28 and 29); barns with high gambrel roofs, in which the lower portion of the gambrel roof was on an angle with the vertical of about 65 to 70°, were the most popular barns throughout the area, but in the northwest corner of the culture region, barns with a low gambrel roof (with an angle of 45° on the lower portion) appeared to be just as prevalent.

Although in many sections of Lower Michigan the barns built prior to World War I have fallen into disrepair and are being replaced by modern sheet-metal-covered "pole barns," in the German-American culture region the old barns have been kept in such good shape that relatively few of the new structures have been erected.

Analysis of barn types was directed toward the older structures (See Table 12). High gambrel barns appeared in the greatest numbers, and the "medium" barn size was most popular. The orientation of the barns, as in the case of the house types, was the single most consistent characteristic, with the barns being oriented either paral-

Figure 28: -- High-gambrel-roof barn. These barns were generally more than one hundred feet in length; most of them have been built since the 1880's.

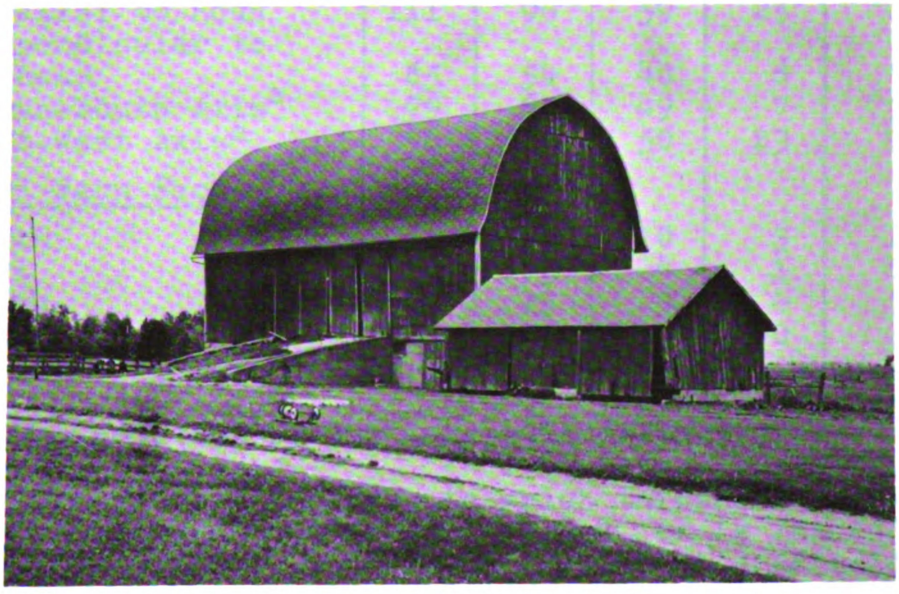

Figure 29: -- Curved-roof barn. These barns were observed to be some of the largest barns in the area, and were generally greater than one hundred and fifty feet in length. Note the double doors and the built-up roadway.

TABLE 12

BARN TYPES AND CHARACTERISTICS

Barn Type or Characteristic	Entire Sample	All Germans	German Catholics	German Lutherans	German Protestants	Non-Germans
Barn Types						
Log	1	1	1	0	0	0
English	51	38	27	6	5	13
High-Gambrel	99	82	50	23	9	17
Low-Gambrel	4	3	3	0	0	1
Curved-Roof	21	20	18	2	0	1
Barn Sizes						
Large (Over 150')	20	16	14	1	1	4
Medium (100'-150')	101	87	58	22	7	14
Small (Under 100')	55	41	27	8	6	14
Orientation						
Parallel to Road	111	90	59	25	6	21
Perpendicular to Road	65	54	40	6	8	11
North-South Axis[a]	79	63	49	7	7	16
East-West Axis[a]	96	80	50	23	7	16
Banked Barn Faces:[b]						
North	16	15	10	3	2	1
East	7	5	4	1	0	2
South	15	13	9	4	0	2
West	17	15	13	0	2	2

[a]Orientation of the long axis of the barn.

[b]The side of the barn to which the banked roadway to the main storage area is constructed, or is located in the instance where the barn is located on a hillside.

lel to or perpendicular to the road. Where a second barn was constructed on a farmstead, it was generally oriented perpendicular to the axis of the first, in order to conserve space and leave the maximum amount of land available for farming purposes. The figures for orientation and axes must be interpreted with some caution, however, for the author was limited by time considerations to conducting interviews primarily along east-to-west roads, and that fact introduces some bias into the sample; it is probably responsible for the larger figures for barns parallel to the road and barns with an east-west axis. In spite of the fact that only 34 of the 176 farms with barns were located on north-south roads, the orientation of barns on those famsteads appears to follow the same rules. This contention was later strengthened by unrecorded observations made during traverses of north-south roads for other purposes. Farmers had in some cases constructed their barns on the side of a small slope to take advantage of a natural roadway to the second level, but the orientation of barns "banked" in such a manner was also consistently perpendicular or parallel to the grid system of roads. Orientation in this case also may be interpreted as cultural adjustment to the survey system.

Since the scope of this study precluded an examination of barn characteristics in all of the southern portion of Michigan, it was impossible to accurately differ-

entiate the barns within the region from those in the surrounding areas. And the fact that barn plans as well as house plans appeared in the Sears Roebuck catalogs highly increased the complexity of classification for purposes of analysis of diffusion of barn types and particular features on barns.

But certain characteristics were either notably present or absent within the region, as compared to the immediate surrounding Yankee area. Curved-roof barns appeared to be more popular within the culture region. And gambrel-roof barns in the Yankee areas, with very few exceptions, had a curled quarter-circle semi-trough at the bottom of either side of the roof; this feature did not appear in the German-American region with any great frequency.

Travelling barn painters left decorative markings, such as four-leaf clovers and special-design decorative white trim, as their own special signature and a form of advertising; such markings consequently were of little use as indicators of cultural homogeneity.

Findings of the preliminary study for this thesis indicated that the number and condition of buildings on the farmsteads might serve as indicators of both inter-culture and intra-culture differentiation. In the 199-farm sample, the number of buildings in addition to house and barn on each farmstead averaged: on all German farms, 4.53; on German Catholic farms, 4.66; on German Lutheran farms,

4.69; on German Protestant farms, 3.31; and on non-German farms, 3.46. The German Lutheran and German Catholic farms together averaged more than one additional building per farm more than other farms in the sample. The condition of all farm buildings on each farmstead also varied among the same categories (See Table 13). The proportion of build-

TABLE 13

CONDITION OF FARMSTEAD BUILDINGS (OTHER THAN HOUSES)

Condition of Buildings	Entire Sample	All Germans	German Catholics	German Lutherans	German Protestants	Non-Germans
Excellent	51	44	39	5	0	7
Good	43	36	24	8	4	7
Fair	54	40	27	7	6	14
Poor	40	29	14	10	5	11

ings in good and excellent condition to those in fair and poor condition on the German Catholic farms was approximately 1.56 to 1. The same ratio for the German Lutherans was 1 to 1.30; for the other German Protestants, 1 to 2.75; and for the non-Germans, 1 to 1.79. These findings confirmed the general visual impression that the German Catholic farm buildings were far and away the best-maintained buildings in the area. Such results are understandable in view of the fact that the larger Catholic families have more

children and are able to accomplish more of the less-essential work, i.e. upkeep for appearance's sake.[62] But even more interesting is the finding that on the farms of the German Lutherans, who are merely maintaining a stable population growth rate, the buildings are still in generally better condition than on the farms of their German Protestant and non-German neighbors. The well-known German penchant for neatness and cleanliness is apparently reflected within the German-American culture region in the condition of these farmstead buildings.

Cemeteries

The value of cemetery studies in tracing the growth of the culture region and the use of the German language within the region has already been amply illustrated. During the course of my field research, I visited twenty-one rural and town cemeteries which proved to be of value in relation to this study in several other respects.

It is logical to expect that burial practices, which are accompanied by religious rites of passage designed to soothe the emotional disturbances caused by deaths, would be strongly affected by religious factors. In a culture region differentiated from the surrounding area by both strong religious and ethnic distinctions, it is even

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[62] See above, p. 73.

more reasonable to assume that burial practices might show sharp regional variations.

The Catholic Church requires that all Catholics be buried in consecrated ground. This requirement has been so strictly observed that there are very few "small-family-plot" cemeteries in the culture region. Where Protestants and Catholics are buried in the same cemetery, as was the case in St. Johns and Portland, there are segregated sections of consecrated ground reserved for the Catholic burials.

Rural cemeteries in the culture region tend to be segregated both by religion and by ethnic stock, although in the past three decades burials have been segregated more on the basis of religion than of ethnic stock. The German Catholic cemetery at Westphalia is the largest of such cemeteries and perhaps the most uniform in its religious and ethnic composition; many German Catholics who have moved to relatively distant sections of the region still prefer to be interred at Westphalia when they die. A small German Catholic cemetery is located south of Pewamo. The German Catholics in Fowler share their cemetery with the Irish. There are German Lutheran cemeteries at the Riley Church and at the location of the first German Lutheran Church south of Fowler, although the latter is no longer in use. And there are numerous Yankee cemeteries throughout the culture region, cemeteries which

are remnants of the culture that resided there before the Germans expanded spatially over the land the Yankees had owned. A similar trend has occurred even among the Germans; the old Lutheran cemetery south of Fowler is now entirely surrounded by land owned by German Catholics.

Another way in which the cemeteries showed a regional variation was in the level of upkeep. The cemetery at Westphalia is exceptionally well-landscaped; it even has an elaborate grotto for memorial services. The church spent approximately $2,200.00 in 1966 for maintenance help alone,[63] and that amount appears to be an average expenditure; the cemetery reflects the extensive care it receives. The Fowler cemetery is also clean and well-maintained. The original Lutheran cemetery south of Fowler has been unused since 1939, and when the author viewed it for the first time in 1968, it was grown over with weeds. But 1969 was the Centennial Year for the St. Peter Lutheran Church, and the cemetery has been cleaned. The cemetery at the Riley church is also landscaped and very well-kept. Most of the rural Yankee cemeteries, especially those in what is now an area of exclusively German settlement, are not as well maintained; there tend to be more Yankee cemeteries with fewer graves in each cemetery. Relatively few of the Yankee cemeteries are located near churches, and the small

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[63] St. Mary's Parish Financial Report: 1966, p. 5.

numbers of descendants still left in the area have not maintained them on an organized basis like the churches.

Price has shown that "tombstones themselves may be categorized as cultural landscape features."[64] Tombstone styles generally followed the same chronological pattern as that which he identified. Unfortunately, a thorough examination of the German tombstone inscriptions would have been far beyond the range of this study; the author believes that research in that direction would, if pursued, prove to be helpful in identifying traditions and other characteristics of the early cultures. Yet some interesting features were observed; several of the tombstones, in old-world fashion, had receptacles in which a picture of the deceased was placed. One tombstone in the Westphalia cemetery held direct evidence of acculturation in the form of a name change: on one side of the obelisk was the name Anna Maria Schmith, an inscription in German, and the date of death: 21 August 1879; on the opposite side of the same tombstone inscribed in English was the name of her husband, who died in April of 1907: A. M. Smith.

Tombstone inscriptions also gave evidence of the harsh environment the pioneers faced. The area the settlers moved into was swampy, and the attendant rattlesnakes took a toll; the words schlangen-gebissen appear both on the

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[64] L. W. Price, "Some Results and Implications of a Cemetery Study," Professional Geographer, XVIII (July, 1966), pp. 204-205.

burial records and on some of the early grave markers.[65] Fires were a deadly hazard in an area where burning was the accepted way of clearing brush. And the epidemics took many lives, especially among the children. The Centennial Committee of St. Peter Lutheran Church, when it was examining the old cemetery south of Fowler, observed:

> "Of the 83 tombstones which are today readable and could be deciphered, 32 children had never become teenagers; 41 (nearly half) had never reached the age of 25 years, while 12 had passed the years of threescore and ten . . . When an epidemic would strike, parents would almost fearfully assume their children would fall victims. One family rushed their three-year-old son with his long curls to the photographer so they would at least have a nice photo of him. This family had a happy situation because their son did not become ill:[66]

Cemetery evidence, then, has proved useful in a number of different ways, and has the potential to provide considerably more information than the time allowed for this study would permit the author to obtain. It served as an indicator of culture spread and acculturation and showed the influence of religious and ethnic considerations in burial practices. The German cemeteries in general show better upkeep than their Yankee counterparts in the nearby areas. And the fact that the Catholic cemetery at Westphalia and the Lutheran cemetery at St. Peter Lutheran Church in Riley are by far the best-maintained within the region

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[65] St. Mary's Centennial, p. 54.

[66] St. Peter Lutheran Church Centennial Committee, "Built on the Rock," p. 8.

is almost certainly a manifestation of the importance those churches and grounds hold for the Catholic and Lutheran German-Americans that maintain them.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHANGING STRUCTURE OF THE CULTURE REGION: PROCESSES, CURRENT SYNTHESIS, AND CONCLUSIONS

Processes Shaping the Culture Region

Having studied in detail the culture history, the characteristics of the culture as they vary over time and through space, and the reflections of the works of men on the cultural landscape, the cultural geographer can then proceed to an analysis of the processes which have helped to shape the evolution of the culture area. In the German-American culture region in Clinton and Ionia Counties, it is possible to identify six major cultural processes that have been responsible for the particular spatial development that the region has experienced: (1) demographic changes and movements; (2) the conscious perpetuation of cultural solidarity; (3) cultural spread; (4) the development of technology; (5) social segmentation; and (6) acculturation. Each of these processes has had a direct effect on the form and function of the culture region, and upon the spatial patterns associated with it.

Demographic changes and movements have spatial significance in that they affect the numbers and the characteristics of the occupants in the culture region, and

therefore their ability, relative to the rest of the cultures in the immediate surroundings, to establish, perpetuate, and spread the traditions of their own culture. The demographic movements and changes of import in the German-American culture region may be divided into four categories: (1) in-migration; (2) natural increase; (3) out-migration; and (4) re-entrance of out-migrants.

The original causes of in-migration among the German Catholics coming to Westphalia were listed as military oppression, low wages, and religious intolerance. The German Lutherans described compulsory military prescription and economic oppression as the general reasons they had left the Mecklenburg Province--very similar reasons. No doubt the later economic depressions and famines in Europe added impetus to the flow. The un-mentioned sufficient conditions necessary to the development of this pattern of movement must have been the promise of a better way of life in America and the fact that immigration was open. Later, as was shown so clearly in the case of the Catholic letters to relatives at home, family contact and encouragement must have been a factor. The German Catholic in-migration was channeled, both by the Diocese of Detroit and by kinship; the German Lutheran in-migration was more haphazard, with relatively few other family members following the first from each family to come, and with most of the Lutherans having apparently heard of the

existence of a "bunch of Germans [no religion or origin specified] settling somewhere near Ionia."

In-migration of German Catholics apparently dwindled in the 1870's, for a number of unspecified reasons. Probably the bettering of economic and social conditions, a trend that became apparent in Europe in the latter half of the nineteenth century, had something to do with it; also, by that time most of the empty land in the vicinity of Westphalia had been purchased and occupied, and the constant communication between the German Catholics and their relatives must have relayed that fact. Among the German Lutherans, the in-migration did not consist of relatives following the first families into the region, but of individual families trickling in one at a time; this perhaps accounts for the slow continuation of Lutheran in-migration after Catholic in-migration had ceased. But the impcsition of immigration quotas, followed closely by the First World War, put a stop to all further significant in-migration into the culture region.

The rate of natural increase, especially among the Catholic Germans, was high, with many families having more than a dozen children. This may have had something to do with the fact that the Catholics have the reputation of being prolific, but it probably resulted more from the need for many hands to help with clearing the land and maintaining the farm in an environment that often

took a heavy toll of young lives. The "family farm," which was and still is the economic unit in the region, led the German Catholics to place a high value on large families. Yet this still does not explain why the early Lutheran families had on the average considerably fewer children, usually between three and five; and the author was unable to discover the reason--it must lie somewhere in the value systems maintained by the two different religions. In the twentieth century the rates have dropped considerably, perhaps due to the availability of better medical facilities, a factor which has tremendously reduced infant mortality and has also eliminated the need for large families in order to have even a few children survive; to the lack of available land in recent years, which forces excess children to out-migrate; to the rising costs of living, which have made large families an economic burden; and to better methods of contraception.

Out-migration has taken several forms. In one case, an entire group of German Catholics departed and formed a new parish at Beal City; the young women who have not married in the community have travelled to nearby cities to find employment; and some of the excess young men, who could not find a farm or did not want to go into the priesthood, were forced to travel to nearby towns and cities to obtain a job. The cause of out-migration is simply that the families within the region have been so large that not

all of the children could obtain a farm or find employment there, and some consequently had to leave, as the members of the German-American culture have not been in the habit of splitting up their holdings among all of the children. Due to the values system of the culture, until the past few decades very few of the children left voluntarily for the purpose of obtaining a higher education, unless, as in the case of the German Catholics, it was to enter the priesthood. The figures from the telephone-book survey and the pattern of expansion to farms in nearby townships outside of the culture region boundaries imply that very high values are placed on an individual's remaining in the culture region. Only since World War II has there been an easing of this trend; the opportunities offered by secular higher education are now recognized and sanctioned to some degree.

Yet the high value placed on remaining within the region and attaining landowner status is reflected to some degree in a more recent trend, one which has occurred since 1950: re-entrance of out-migrants into the region, where they now live near their relatives as respected members of a commuting economy, often on a new home on a small plot of land near the old farmstead. This is, of course, the phenomena of the rural non-farm, a new feature on the American rural landscape. Many of the young German-Americans have returned to the region to live, even though their

daily jobs are in Lansing or communities even further away. This is true of both the Lutheran and Catholic Germans. The German-American culture region, which has, since the turn of the century, maintained a fairly constant population in terms of absolute numbers, may once again begin to grow.

A second major cultural process operating in the region has been the conscious perpetuation of cultural solidarity, a feature of German-American life in this culture region that has helped establish and maintain a pattern of concentrated settlement. The process first began operating during the formation of the culture hearth, when the settlers combined the German traditions of language, folkways, agricultural life-style, strong religious orientation, and kinship ties with the American pioneer tradition; the dispersed, grid-system settlement pattern; the political system requirements; and a developing tradition of independence. The Lutherans adopted essentially the same new traditions, but were separated by an unyielding religious barrier into a second sub-culture. The organization of the culture region, then, was on the basis of religion. And religion has long been known to be a force that stands for preservation of established, traditional norms. Both Catholic and Lutheran Germans felt a strong need for religious faith to sustain them in their rugged pioneer life, and the churches were only too glad to serve

and fill that need; the new traditions were adopted as the ideal, and became the "normal" way of life for the Germans. The church brought everyone of a similar faith in the region together, whether through church services or social functions, and reinforced the adopted values.

Several other factors have helped maintain cultural solidarity. The language barrier was unquestionably important in this respect. The youths in school, which was also administered by the church, were educated in an environment which led them to respect the agricultural way of life and their German background; these learned values were reinforced by ceremonies, such as the rogation service, and the use of the German language by their elders, the school teachers, and the ministers--all of the important figures in their lives.

Kemp suggests that isolation has also played an important part in maintaining the old tradition; even today, no major highway goes through the culture region. He further theorized that the movement of the retired people into the village of Westphalia, combined with the out-migration of those who felt less strongly about staying there than the average, concentrated and intensified the tendency toward a conservative life style there. The very growth of the culture region may have had a similar effect in the Catholic community:

> . . . One can hypothesize that the process of growth was, in fact, a self-preserving process. The identity

> of the Westphalian community intensified as the German culture spread, for as more and more area was occupied by people with a similar set of values and way of doing things, the center of the area became more isolated in terms of contact with outside ideas.[1]

In the German Lutheran area there has been a slightly different situation; the German Lutherans did not have a culture hearth as such, but have been concentrating their settlement more and more around the Riley area through the years. One can argue that this concentration process is probably also reinforcing the values of the social system there, which is totally focussed on the church. Certainly the factors relating to language and education apply in the same fashion as in the German Catholic sub-culture. Yet because the isolation of the Lutherans was not as total as that at Westphalia, they may have adopted outside values more readily, just as the German Catholics in the communities other than Westphalia may have done, in the process of acculturation.

Many of the original manifestations of this process have disappeared. The most open displays of solidarity appear at the summer picnics, weddings, and other ceremonies. There is now an awareness of identity as Germans, and some pride in that fact, but there is no question that both the Catholic and Lutheran Germans in the culture region have subordinated any feeling of that nature to the

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[1]Kemp, "A Study of German Culture," pp. 37, 40.

feeling that they are first and foremost Americans.

The third process, cultural spread through the buying and selling of land, led to a "pattern of contiguous outward growth of German settlement," primarily through the buying and selling of land, in the Catholic portion of the region, as was seen in the expanding land ownership patterns displayed in Chapter II. The conditions aiding this process included demographic increase; the high value placed on rural life in general and the farming profession in particular in the region; the desire to stay close to family and friends; the desire to be close to the church and community; the economic desire for a larger farm or additional pieces of land; the cost of land nearer Westphalia, and the attendant lack of available land inside the area of concentrated German settlement; and the desire to obtain better quality land.[2]

Among the German Lutherans, however, there was a different pattern of settlement from the very beginning; the process was one of concentration as much as it was one of cultural spread. All of the above factors apply, except the availability and cost of land near Westphalia was not important; the Lutherans located on the northern and eastern fringes right away. The other factors above led first to a concentration, and later to a spread around that con-

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[2] Ibid., p. 31.

centration at the Riley church. The Lutherans were able to buy land in the Riley area because it was well to the east of what the Catholics considered to be a desirable distance from their church. The increased mobility since the advent of the automobile has, however, changed the relative importance of these factors, and the Catholic Germans are now buying land well into the middle of the Lutheran area.

The development of technology is a process which has occurred largely outside the region, yet technological change has resulted in drastic changes in the lives of most of the people living in the German-American culture region. Resource-converting techniques, in the form of advancing agricultural land-use technology, have spread better agricultural practices throughout the country, and indeed, throughout the world. When the German-American culture region was in its early stages, all of the farmers were engaged in subsistence farming. As clearing and farming operations progressed, the farmers were able to capitalize on their successes and shift gradually to cash crops. The economy of the region underwent the first of a series of changes in form and function, and became a rural trade-center economy. The increasing prosperity of the farmers led to a change in life style, with bigger and better houses and barns reflecting the change; and new agricultural machinery was no small part of the reason for

that prosperity. The automobile and the tractor, signs of increasing mobility, freed the farmer from many of his old patterns of behavior and greatly increased his interaction with the outside world.

The most striking effects of technological change can be seen in the most recent change in the economic form and function of the region, that from a trade-center economy to a part-time farming/part-time commuting economy, in which many of the farmers have enough time both to farm and work elsewhere. This is in part due to the fact that it is becoming more expensive to compete in farming operations, and in part to the increased mobility caused by the automobile. Evidence of the changes which have taken place was seen in the computer map series on economic interaction; some changes were noticeable even in the patterns of social interaction. The rural German-Americans here are beginning to show the economic behavior patterns typical of rural America, and the trade-center economy is, as a result, definitely on the decline.

Social segmentation has already been discussed in detail. The general causes of that process included religious differences and convenience. The Lutheran Germans, unable to join the Catholic sector of the German culture, formed their own sub-culture, in essence forming two subcultures by removing the exclusive dominance of the Catholics. New spatially significant social systems based on

religion were formed as the spatial growth of the original system and limited mobility of the culture region's inhabitants prevented further growth of the existing systems from a practical standpoint; one church simply could not handle all of the Germans conveniently. As the new social systems were formed around a new church, each grew stronger with the increasing interaction among its members; this led to the formation of new friendship ties and an increased feeling of independence from the old system--in some cases to the point of friendly rivalry as the systems continued to grow farther apart. It also led to new spatial patterns of social behavior.

The final process is one of the utmost importance to the topic of this thesis: acculturation. For it is acculturation that has been responsible for the eradication of many of the signs of cultural homogeneity in the region. Acculturation simply represents adaptation to and assimilation of the traits of nearby cultures. The Germans started the process by adapting to American political and educational requirements and the settlement pattern, and they have been "travelling further down the road" ever since. Evidence of that fact is everywhere in the region: in the changing values; in the declining use of ceremonies that characterized the early settlement; in the decline in the use of the German language at varying rates throughout the region; in the appearance of secular institutions, even

in Westphalia; in the social and economic patterns of behavior; in name spelling changes; and on tombstones in the cultural landscape. The rate of acculturation has been differential; some parts of the region have acculturated much more rapidly, as there are few signs of German influence other than the inhabitants' names; and others have maintained their cultural solidarity almost until the present. Acculturation has worked with some of the processes shaping the culture region and against some of the others.

During the early years of subsistence agriculture, the Germans made the necessary adaptations to the requirements placed on the settlers by the governments, and little more, for there was very little contact with the outside. As the region changed to a trade center economy, however, increased interaction with the outsiders became a necessity for sheer economic survival. Acculturation in the early years was retarded by the language barrier, a sense of cultural identity, the tendency of the church to aid in the perpetuation of the old traditions, by external prejudice, and by the isolation of the area--all of the same factors that helped maintain cultural solidarity.

The people in the various segments of the culture region have acculturated at different rates. Both in Westphalia and in the St. Peter Lutheran Congregation there is a certain pride in the old way of life. Pewamo Catho-

lics and Fowler Lutherans have adapted somewhat more rapidly, and the latter the most rapidly of the two; the probable reason is that both, although in a separate congregation, have moved into already established communities and have been forced to interact with non-Germans. The Catholics in Fowler, Portland, and St. Johns have joined congregations in which they were a minority, a factor which lends itself to an extremely high rate of interaction--and, therefore, acculturation. Of the two sub-cultures, the Lutheran Germans have had the greatest chance for interaction with others, and this probably explains the reasons behind their relatively more rapid assimilation of American culture.

Perhaps the most energetic burst in the rate of acculturation throughout the region occurred just after World War II. Many young people who had been in the military brought home new ideas and new values. The general increase in mobility brought about by the automobile occurred at that time, and interaction between people in all parts of the region and the outside world increased markedly. But the most dramatic changes were probably the result of the introduction of mass media forms into the culture region, especially radio and television, on which the people learned about everything that contemporary Americans were doing. The youngsters, especially, were affected, and it was only a matter of time until the old values and

traditions would blend with the new.

All of the major processes interacted with each other to give the culture region its "peculiar flavor." The picture presented here is that of a dynamic region, changing with the willingness of its people to gradually disappear into the anonymity of American society. All of the processes named have spatial implications for this region, and for other similar regions that are composed of religious social systems.

Current Synthesis and Conclusions

Synthesis of the evidence presented herein leads to the inescapable conclusion that there has been and still is a rural German-American culture in Clinton and Ionia counties, Michigan. That culture, established initially by German Catholics from the Westphalia and Rheinland Provinces in Germany, was split into two sub-cultures on the basis of religion after the arrival of the Lutheran Germans, who adopted all of the characteristics of the initial culture except the Catholic religion. The pattern of growth of these two sub-cultures differed markedly, but both eventually segmented into a series of religious social systems.

Processes operating on the culture since it was established tended to preserve as much of the old structure of the culture as possible until after World War II, when the uniqueness of the region began to rapidly disappear in

the face of heavy pressures from the mass media and increased interaction of the people with the world outside. Yet evidence of cultural assimilation does not outweigh the evidence of cultural homogeneity which has been found. The persistence of a sense of ethnic regional consciousness, no matter how slight, still differentiates the area from the surrounding Yankee culture, as does the ability to speak German, which was still found in all sections of the culture region. The religious and social behavior patterns together, in a culture region which was based on religion, are highly significant indicators that the emphasis on religion persists.

But it is necessary to keep in mind the fact that the culture region is disappearing rapidly. Most of the evidence remaining on the cultural landscape is being destroyed by various forces at an ever-increasing pace. The agencies of change are touching the region as they never were able to before because of its isolation from the mainstream of American cultural progression.

The question concerning the form and the spatial extent of the culture region is not so easy to answer. As might be expected in any study of cultural features, there is a gradation of complex characteristics which would prove impossible to map in single-map form. There is no easy boundary or series of boundaries. The map of land owned by the various groups in 1969 (See Figure 7) merely pro-

vides an idea of the proportion of land owned by Catholic German-Americans to that owned by Lutheran German-Americans, and is useful therefore only in identifying by patrilineal descent the approximate location of the two subcultures. The map of cemeteries (See Figure 13) is useful in establishing general outlines of the culture region in the recent past, but does not provide information on present boundaries of cultural influence. The map of social needs (See Figure 12) is misleading because the pattern it presented depended on the individual's interpretation of what precisely constituted social time. Patterns of economic behavior do not appear to reflect any current sense of cultural cohesion. Perhaps the only map which can satisfy the need for a unit-measure map in generic classification is that of the primary town patronized for church services (See Figure 11); this is the map upon which the religious spatial social systems and the discussions related to them are based. And it is a most logical map to use for this purpose, since the culture region's most persistent point of focus has been its religious structure. Both social and economic segmentation probably took place originally along the same lines as religious segmentation.

The discussion of processes pointed toward the differences that occurred in each segment's origin, and it can be assumed, since the people in the new segments have identified themselves with their new social systems, that

the early differences resulted in a spatially different rate of evolution in each segment.

But when we try to generalize this pattern with the aid of Meinig's classification system, we run into difficulties. There are two sub-cultures in the German-American culture region, and one of those two did not have a culture hearth of its own. If we ignore religion, a core-domain-sphere hierarchy could be set up, with the boundaries of the spatial social systems acting as hierarchy boundaries. Yet the region is so small that it does not have nicely-developed density variations in any category. Even if we take Meinig's terms in their broadest possible meanings, it is still difficult to use them for this purpose. How would the Pewamo area, in which about half of the population is German Catholic, be classified? For the German Catholics are certainly dominant in their own religious system there! And what about the case of Fowler, where both Catholic and Lutheran German systems are present?

I would suggest that perhaps Meinig's scheme is inappropriate for classifying sections of small regions where the cultures being examined have more than one distinguishing trait, as was the case in the German-American culture region, and further that in small culture regions where the culture is focussed on one particular type of social system, such as the religious social systems we have seen

here, the use of spatial social systems is a much better device for both analysis and description; it allows much more freedom in discussing the variations that do occur. On this basis it is possible to make some conclusions concerning the German-American culture region.

In the German Catholic sub-culture, the Westphalia social system has managed to maintain the cultural traditions for the longest period of time, although even that system has lost many of the strong religious and ethnic characteristics that were cherished for so long. The next most conservative system would be the Pewamo system, for it does not share its church with another culture. Third in line would come the Fowler Catholic system, for the Germans there tend to dominate the Catholic Church now; in both Portland and St. Johns this is not the case, and in view of the late dates of German affiliation in those two towns, there was probably very little development of any distinctive German-American culture.

Among the Lutheran Germans, the dominant social system is clearly that of the St. Peter Lutheran Church at Riley, for in that system the old traditions have been maintained the longest. The Fowler German Lutheran social system has kept few of the old traditions alive, and is probably the least "German" in its orientation of any of the German-American social systems.

This thesis has shown that the German-American cul-

ture region was formed and has continued to exist in Clinton and Ionia counties, although it is rapidly disappearing through the process of acculturation. Most of the methodological indicators used herein were significant indicators of culture change, and can be used to identify spatial variations in the historical and functional evolution of small culture regions. The use of spatial social systems as an element of structural analysis is an excellent device for dealing with similar culture areas.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX I

FIELD TECHNIQUES

I conducted a preliminary study for this thesis in the spring of 1968. At that time, I concentrated my research on discussions with the old-timers in the area, members of the clergy, and other area citizens who were reputedly well-informed about the region's history; on traversing the area, making random interviews to check on the origins of the settlers; and on examination of the features on the cultural landscape. This study provided useful information and helped to establish the directions that the later thesis research would take.

After completing library research on historical records on the subject, I again went into the region briefly to examine church records, store records, and other documents that were available only from private and church sources. By December, 1968, the most feasible plan of research appeared to be the personal distribution of questionnaires, to be picked up after a three-week interval. The questionnaires were designed to reveal the respondent's ethnic and religious background, the source region of the respondent or his ancestors, proficiency in speaking Ger-

man in the family, the location of the cemetery where his most recent ancestors were buried, information on cultural relics in the area and traditions in the family, where the respondent attended church and spent most of his social time, and where he shopped most frequently for twelve different goods or services. A second part of the questionnaire was not given to the respondent, but was filled out by the interviewer in his car after the questionnaire had been delivered, as it would have been too confusing to the respondent; on this portion were recorded the farm coordinate location; the number of buildings in addition to the house and barn, and their condition; the house types and characteristics; barn types and characteristics; and house and barn orientation, both in relation to the road system and the cardinal directions.

The plat maps of the area revealed that German landowners were concentrated in a twelve-township area. Since the road system was the standard Township-and-Range one-mile grid system, the area was just too large to allow the interviewer time enough to conduct a completely random sample; I consequently made the decision to travel along the east-west road systems and distribute questionnaires at one- to two-mile intervals. Approximately half of the questionnaires were distributed before I left for Christmas.

The first sight that greeted my eyes upon returning

to the area in January was a group of children ice-skating on the road: Matters were made worse by the fact that only about 20 per cent of the respondents had filled out the questionnaires. I then switched to the direct interview method, using the questionnaires as a basis for the interview. This technique proved to be very successful as soon as the farmers became convinced of the authenticity of the research. The author was refused interviews at only seventeen houses, and successfully completed 199 interviews throughout the region. Wherever feasible, the author checked farms on north-south roads close to the east-west road in an attempt to eliminate some of the bias in the reporting of house and barn-type orientation. The sample obtained was approximately a 15 per cent sample of the farms in the region, and a good cross-section of the residents (See Table 14).

Approximately one month total time was spent in the field in this fashion. While conducting these interviews, I also visited all of the cemeteries in the region and recorded all other cultural features observed.

Aerial photographs of Clinton and Ionia County were used to check patterns of land use, settlement and field patterns, and orientation of farmsteads on a larger scale than was possible in the field.

For purposes of constructing the maps used in Chapter

TABLE 14

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SURVEY

Characteristic	Entire Sample	All Germans	German Catholics	German Lutherans	German Protestants	Non-Germans
German Ancestry	158	158	110	32	16	0
Both Husband and Wife German	102	102	84	15	3	0
Husband German	45	45	19	14	12	0
Wife German	11	11	7	3	1	0
Non-Germans	41	0	0	0	0	41
Catholic	112	110	110	0	0	2
Lutheran	33	32	0	32	0	1
Other Protestant	54	16	0	0	16	38

II, church records and tombstone evidence were found to be the most reliable means of identifying family names as to religious and ethnic associations. Plat map spellings proved to be extremely unreliable. Wherever I had doubts about a particular characteristic, such as religion, associated with a specific name, I checked the information in the field by direct interviews. In some cases this proved to be an impossible task, as all survivors of the family in question had disappeared; for example, on some of the older maps, Yankees named "Fox" had moved into an area southwest of Westphalia, and shortly thereafter were followed by a German family named "Füchs," who settled

nearby. On the early plat maps, both names appeared as "Fox;" and the "Füchs" family later changed its name formally to "Fox." Because of shifts in land ownership patterns among both families since that time, it is now impossible to discover just which family initially settled which land, and therefore, to determine which family on the plat map was the German family. In all such cases, the questionable names were deleted from the list of German-American names from which the land ownership maps for Chapter II were compiled.

Similar problems were encountered in the attempt to derive information on out-migration from the culture region. But fortunately, there were several families in the culture region with exceptionally distinctive names. The best example of this type of name belongs to the "Fedewa" family. For the first "Fedewas" were in reality an Italian family with the name of "Vidua" who moved to Germany and lived there for more than a century before emigrating again, this time to Michigan with the German emigrants. Even though the family retained their Italian name spelling when they came to this country, their Germanic pronunciation of "Vidua" led the Yankees to dub them "Fedewa," and the latter name was apparently adopted by all of the "Vidua" family. It is highly improbable that there is any other "Fedewa" family in the entire world that is not descended from these Germans in Michigan. Such a name was, consequently, ideal for purposes of determining out-migration.

But the majority of German names had to be eliminated for this purpose because they are relatively common; the name "Martens" is an excellent example.

Ministers of the various churches provided the most consistently valuable information about the social systems they served, and they proved to be valuable allies when the author was knocking on other doors in the culture region. But the extreme problems Norris encountered in his field work no longer exist, at least to any great extent, and the field research proceeded quite smoothly.

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