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THE FRANCONIAN COLONIES OF THE SAGINAW VALLEY, MICHIGAN: A STUDY IN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

By

Howard George Johnson

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
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ABSTRACT

THE FRANCONIAN COLONIES OF THE SAGINAW VALLEY, MICHIGAN: A STUDY IN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

By

Howard George Johnson

This study deals with four German Lutheran communities which originated in Bavaria and were transplanted into the Saginaw Valley of Michigan between 1845 and 1850. The study has three major emphases: (1) to determine major elements of the Franconian culture prior to the emigration to Michigan; (2) to describe and evaluate the development of each settlement's cultural landscape to 1970; and (3) to determine which factors enabled the Franconians to maintain their cultural heritage despite a lack of topographic isolation from other culture groups in the Valley. The hypothesis is set forth that the key unifying elements were the Lutheran Church and the Franconians' agricultural heritage.

An analysis of the Nuremberg area from which the Franconians emigrated and the Saginaw Valley to which they came show few similarities in terms of physical qualities or land use patterns.

The strength of the Church as a unifying element is seen in many ways. The Church provided the initial motivation for establishing the colonies; the Church was the social organization through which community responsibilities and regulations were determined; parochial education was required in each of the settlements and through the years

generated numerous pastors and parochial teachers; a majority of the citizens of each of the townships in which the colonies were located belong to the Franconian congregations despite the presence of numerous churches of other denominations.

That the agricultural background of the colonists is a unifying element is supported by the following facts. Each colony attempted to become a profit-oriented agricultural entity from its inception; the growth of each settlement's population appears closely related to the availability of good farmland and the ease with which land could be cleared and drained; the citizens of each of the settlements remain keenly aware of the agricultural economic base which supports them; when commerce was introduced into the settlements, the first to take hold was related to agricultural needs and production.

Other factors played less important roles in maintaining the Franconian heritage. The German language declined in use rapidly following World War II, but prior to that time served as an unintentional barrier between the Franconians and other culture groups in the Valley. Certain families and individuals were instrumental in shaping the future of the settlements and in taking steps to preserve their heritage.

Differential development among the four settlements is thought to be related to advantages or disadvantages of location. Conclusions drawn from the study indicate potential growth for Frankenmuth and Richville, stagnation for Frankentrost, and elimination of Frankenlust.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author gratefully acknowledges Daniel Jacobson, Clarence Vinge, and Roger Trindell for their advice and counseling during the preparation of this document.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The early settlement and growth of the United States owed its immediate success to the large numbers of European immigrants who came to the New World. Their reasons for coming were many. Conditions in Europe, such as political reforms, religious persecution, overcrowding, and economic strife, were fast becoming intolerable. Many people sought relief from these conditions by re-establishing themselves in America. Others came seeking profit and adventure in the exploitation of America's resources and the exploration of its frontiers. Ship owners and merchants, realizing the potential profits to be gained in trans-Atlantic trade, and laborers skilled in service trades were also quick to establish themselves in America. Thus, motivated by a diversity of reasons, settlers came to America in ever-increasing numbers.

European settlement first occurred along the Atlantic seaboard, eventually spreading westward to the eastern slopes of the Appalachian Mountains. It was not until the late 1700's, however, that large numbers of settlers began pushing westward across the Appalachians, along the Ohio River, and into the Lower Great Lakes region. By 1870 settlement had reached northward into the Upper Great Lakes region and westward across the Great Plains and over the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific.

When the first settlers came to America, they had little accurate knowledge of their new physical milieu. Discovery and early exploration

of North America during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries yielded little specific knowledge useful for settlers. But soon after the establishment of permanent colonies in the early 1600's, a variety of reports, letters, and maps (commonly referred to as tracts) describing America reached Europe. Many of these documents were grossly, even fraudulently, inaccurate and what little useful information they contained was often biased in favor of a particular area or settlement.[1] Nevertheless, these tracts provided Europeans with a general idea of the opportunities and challenges that lay before them, and convinced many of them to come to America.

An example of the type of literature mentioned above was the guide book. These books were published by land speculators, government agencies, and later, by railroad companies.[2] Distributed in Europe, they told of lands available in America and directed people to them, suggesting and describing various routes and means of transportation. One such guide book of particular interest to this study, Des Auswanderers Wegweiser nach dem Staate Michigan, was written and published by E. H. Thompson in 1849.[3]

The overall effect of this dissemination of information about America into Europe was that by the mid-1800's the European immigrants had a much more detailed and accurate idea of what to expect in America, and were, therefore, better able to plan and prepare for life there than were their precursors.

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[1]Ralph H. Brown, Historical Geography of the United States (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1948), p. 5.

[2]Ibid. [3](New York).

Settlement of the Midwest was similar to settlement throughout much of America. It was basically of two types: individual and group settlement. Settlement by individuals and families occurred as settlers moved into a frontier area over a period of time until that area contained a sufficient number of inhabitants to support a town. The communities developed in this manner were usually diverse in their cultural composition, perhaps the birthplaces of the American "melting pot" culture. The individuals involved in this type of settlement moved into areas on the frontier about which little was known. They were often a transient lot, for it was not uncommon for a family to abandon the home they had carved out of the wilderness and move on to meet a similar challenge elsewhere. The growth of frontier populations lured merchants and technicians westward to new markets and jobs, and so the towns crept westward, always following the elusive, constantly advancing frontier.

In contrast to settlement by individuals there was planned settlement by groups. It was common for communities to be organized in Europe and then transplanted to the United States. This practice was especially popular with religious denominations. Because such groups intended to maintain their cultural identity, they often sought to seclude themselves, if not geographically, at least by their customs, laws, religion, and the language of their culture, from neighboring communities. Agents were appointed by the groups to search for suitable community locations and were often authorized to make the actual land purchases. The communities were planned to become permanent features of the New World landscape. These groups perceived and interacted with their new environment as best their culture had equipped them. Thus

each group, working through its cultural heritage, created a particular cultural landscape out of the natural landscape.

This study proposes to analyze the origin and development of four planned communities in the Saginaw Valley of Michigan. These communities, collectively referred to as the Franconian colonies,[4] were established during the five-year period 1845-1850 by congregations of German Lutherans from the rural provinces of Bavaria.

Review of the Literature

Historical geography, as a subfield of human geography, views man as an active agent in a basic man-land relationship and recognizes that the variable of past time, or history, is important to geographical studies. During the twentieth century the underlying concepts of historical geography underwent several modifications. During the first quarter of the twentieth century historical geography was characterized "by a preoccupation with environmental determinism."[5] Examples of this trend to "explain past events in terms of the causal effects of the physical environment"[6] are Semple's American History and its Geographic

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[4]The word Franconian is derived from the word Franks, the name given to the inhabitants of northern Bavaria.

[5]H. Roy Merrens, "Historical Geography and Early American History," The William and Mary Quarterly, published by the Institute of Early American History and Culture, (October, 1965), 538.

[6]Ibid., p. 531.

Conditions, Brigham's Geographic Influences in American History, and the teaching of Barrows in Chicago.[7]

A revival of the spatial tradition and the area studies tradition heralded the popular decline of determinism. Both revived traditions found new life in the exploitation of previously unused primary source material. A spatial study based upon extensive use of primary source materials in Friis' "A Series of Population Maps of the Colonies and the United States."[8] Studies in the spatial tradition such as those by Scofield, Dodge, and Kniffen and Glassie,[9] deal with the "distribution of features of settlements or settled areas."[10]

The area studies tradition was revived from two different approaches, sequent occupance and the reconstruction of past geographies in time. Sequent occupance studies the geography of each stage of occupance which remains relatively stable or unchanging in a particular area. Studies of this type are not restricted to one segment of time and thus present a broader historical context in which the development of a

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[7]Ellen Churchill Semple (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1903); Albert P. Brigham (New York: Chautauqua Press, 1903); Harlan H. Barrows, Lectures on the Historical Geography of the United States as Given in 1933, ed. by W. A. Koelsch, Department of Geography Research Paper No. 77 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

[8]Herman Friis, Geographical Review, XXX (1940), 463-70.

[9]Edna Scofield, "The Origin of Settlement Patterns in Rural New England," Geographical Review, XXVIII (1938), 652-63; Stanley D. Dodge, "The Frontier of New England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries and Its Significance in American History," Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, XXVIII (1942), 435-39; Fred B. Kniffen and H. Glassie, "Building in Wood in the Eastern United States: A Time-Place Perspective," Geographical Review, LVI (1966), 40-66.

[10]Merrens, op. cit., p. 540.

landscape is presented as the culmination of several stages of occupance. Whittlesey first described this approach in his article "Sequent Occupance."[11] "This approach served to dramatize contrasts between one occupance era and the next. But in doing so it slighted place-to-place variations that existed in any one period and minimized changes"[12] between eras and how or why they occurred.

The reconstruction approach is static, studying the geography of a certain area at a particular point in time. It makes little reference to cause and effect relationships and makes no attempt to describe geographical changes through time. Two of the best examples of this approach are Darby's publications on Domesday England and Brown's reconstruction of the eastern seaboard of the United States.[13]

Yet another approach, proposed by Carl Sauer, is known as cultural-historical geography. The approach is basically genetic and stresses the origin and diffusion of features of the landscape. Sauer emphasizes the idea that man as an active agent works through his culture

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[11]Derwent Whittlesey, Annals of the Association of American Geographers, XIX (1929). Further examples and discussion of the sequent occupance model are found in the following articles: Richard E. Dodge, "The Interpretation of Sequent Occupance," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, XXVIII (1938); Stanley D. Dodge, "Sequent Occupance of the Illinois Prairie," Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia, XXIX (1931); Alfred H. Meyer, "Circulation and Settlement Patterns of the Calumet-South Chicago Region of Northwest Indiana and Northeast Illinois," Proceedings of the XVIIth Congress, International Geographical Union, Washington, D.C., (1952).

[12]Merrens, op. cit., p. 542.

[13]H. C. Darby, The Domesday Geography of Eastern England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952) and The Domesday Geography of Midland England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954); Ralph H. Brown, Mirror for Americans: Likeness of the Eastern Seaboard, 1810 (New York: American Geographical Society, 1943).

to create a cultural landscape. Thus the culture of a group determines to what degree it can perceive the potential of an environment and in what manner it will interact with an environment.[14] Sauer recognizes that cultures evolve through time, and because of this the cultural landscape would also evolve. He views the landscape as an evolving entity and seeks causal links between a culture and the lanscape it creates.[15]

Studies by Broek, Jordan, Meinig, Mikesell, and Wacker demonstrate this approach.[16] This study is also of the cultural-historical

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[14]Carl Sauer, in his "Foreword to Historical Geography," (Annals of the Association of American Geographers, XXXI [1941], 9) defines culture as the invented or acquired habits, attitudes, skills, and preferences of a culture group. Recently J. O. M. Broek and J. W. Webb defined culture as "the traits that give human groups their distinctive character and that condition the manner in which each group perceives and uses its habitat." (A Geography of Mankind [New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968], p. v.) J. E. Spencer and W. L. Thomas's definition that culture is "a way of life developed by partially isolated groups sharing unique experiences in space and time" (Cultural Geography: An Evolutionary Introduction to Our Humanized Earth [New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1969], p. 4.) differs from those previously cited, yet all agree that culture is a dynamic entity, constantly changing as it amasses tradition, confronts the ideas and concepts of neighboring groups, or generates such ideas from within itself. For purposes of this study, culture is defined as that dynamic and evolving socio-economical, technological, ideological structure through which man acts within and upon his environment.

[15]Carl Sauer, "The Morphology of Landscape," University of California Publications in Geography, II, 2 (1925).

[16]J. O. M. Broek, The Santa Clara Valley in California: A Study in Landscape Change (Utrecht: A. Oosthoeck, 1932); T. G. Jordan, German Seed in Texas Soil: Immigrant Farmers in Nineteenth-Century Texas (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966); "The Texan Appalachia," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LX (September, 1970), 409-27; D. W. Meinig, The Great Columbia Plain: A Historical Geography, 1805-1910 (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1968); Imperial Texas: An Interpretive Essay in Cultural Geography (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969), Southwest: Three Peoples in Geographical Change, 1600-1970 (London: Oxford University Press, 1971); Marvin Mikesell, "Northern Morocco: A Cultural Geography," University of California Publications in Geography, XIV (1961); Peter O. Wacker, The Musconetcong Valley of New Jersey: A Historical Geography (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1968).

tradition for it seeks to describe the evolving cultural landscape of the Franconian colonies and to delimit causal relationships between the Franconian culture and the cultural lanscape.

Research Aims

The primary objective of this research is to test the hypothesis that the two factors which influenced the development and perpetuation of the Franconian cultural landscape were an agricultural peasant heritage and a unifying religious belief. This will be done first by describing and analyzing the cultural landscape of the Franconian colonies as it developed in the Saginaw Valley in terms of: (1) the settlement pattern and population distribution, (2) the shape of the fields and the types of crops grown, (3) the tools and techniques of farming, (4) communication and transportation systems, (5) the types of houses and barns, and (6) the types of economic and commercial use of land other than farming.

The second test of the hypothesis will consist of measuring the degree to which the colonies were able to maintain their uniqueness despite a lack of topographical isolation from neighboring communities and an ever-increasing amount of contact with other cultures due to improved communication facilities. This measure will be taken by analyzing the amount of land sold to "outsiders", the number of inhabitants of each colony who were not members of the Lutheran Church, and the degree to which they retained use of their native language.

Variables other than the agricultural heritage and unifying religious belief are recognized by the author as having played lesser roles in shaping the evolution of the Franconian's cultural landscape

and preserving the Franconian heritage. These additional variables, such as adherence to Old World dialects, customs, dress, and political ideologies were short-lived in the Franconian colonies, whereas the agricultural heritage and the strength and growth of the Church are vigorously demonstrated to the present.

The culture history of the Franconians will be studied as the secondary objective of this research, to gain a basic understanding of the heritage they brought with them to America, and to provide a generalized description of their previous environment for purposes of comparison. This will be done principally in terms of (1) the physical environment in Bavaria from which these people emigrated, (2) the settlement patterns commonly found in their homeland, and (3) the degree of technology with which they supported themselves. Franconian culture history should also reveal their motives for coming to the New World, and the institutions which provided the social structure of the people.

Methodology

The following methodological guidelines will be used in researching this study. Much theologically-oriented literature is available which deals with the founding of the Franconian colonies.[17] It is assumed that this material will also yield information regarding the motives behind Franconian emigration and the initial settlement activities of the Franconians in Michigan. An attempt will be made to determine

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[17]Much of this literature is cited in Chapter IV.

which individuals, if any, played significant roles in founding the settlements.[18] Material is also available which indicates the cultural preparedness of the Franconians for their venture by describing their pre-emigration heritage. Brief comparisons of the Bavarian and Michigan environments will be made to determine the degree to which the emigrants might have been required to adjust to their new milieu. Franconian settlement patterns in Michigan will be reconstructed and mapped from interviews, perusal of documents, letters, reports, and by personal observation of settlement sites.

The influence of agriculture on each community will be measured by determining the rapidity with which land was cleared for farming, and by listing types of commerce which develop and noting the degree to which they are agriculturally oriented.

The strength of Lutheranism will be measured by comparing church membership data with census data on the township level to determine proportions of Lutherans in each township.[19] Parochial education will also be analyzed by comparing parochial school enrollment figures with public school figures, and by noting the number of pastors and teachers generated by the Franconian parochial school system.

Limitations of the scope of this study preclude attempts to define the effective area of Franconian settlement by mapping distributions

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[18]Numerous references indicate the validity of this approach, among them: I. M. King, John O. Meusebach: Colonizer in Texas (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966).

[19]Similar methodology was used by James P. Allen in his recent article "Variations in Catholic-Protestant Proportions Among Maine Towns," Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers, III (1971), 15-18.

of surnames, although studies using that methodology have recently proven successful.[20]

The Study Area

The four Franconian colonies are situated in the Saginaw Valley, near the city of Saginaw (Figure 1). Frankenmuth, founded in 1845, is located approximately ten miles southeast of Saginaw on the Cass River. Frankentrost was established the following year on a site seven miles northwest of Frankenmuth and seven miles east-southeast of the city of Saginaw. A third colony, Frankenlust, was established in 1848 on a western tributary of the Saginaw, the Squ-qua-ning, approximately ten miles north of Frankentrost. In 1850 the fourth colony, Frankenhilf, was founded "on the Cheboygening River, four British miles from three different places: Frankenmuth, Frankentrost, and the English settlement of Tuscola on the Cass River."[21]

The Saginaw Valley, as the German settlers found it, was sparsely populated by Indians, and by English and French settlers. The valley, having once formed the lake bed of Saginaw Bay, was relatively flat, composed of a sandy loam soil, and densely forested with virgin stands

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[20]Recent studies using distribution of surnames include: James Bohland, "The Influence of Kinship Ties on the Settlement Patterns of Northeast Georgia," Professional Geographer, XXII, 5, (September, 1970) 267-69; Richard L. Nostrand, "The Hispanic-American Borderland: Delimitation of an American Culture Region," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LX (December, 1970) 638-61; Wilbur Zelinsky, "Cultural Variations in Personal Name Patterns in the Eastern United States," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LX (December, 1970) 743-69.

[21]Theodore Graebner, Church Bells in the Forest (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1944), p. 56.

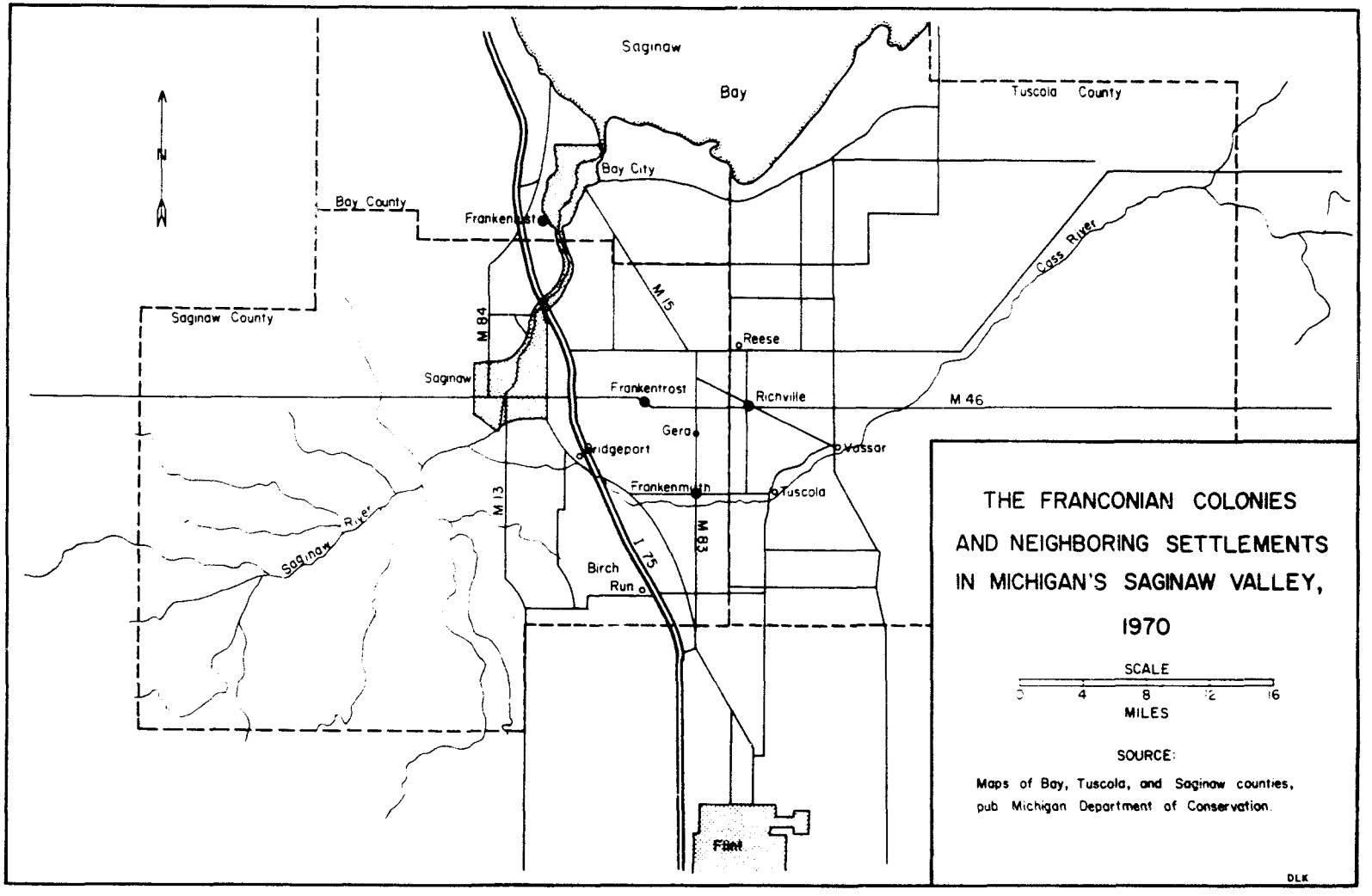
Saginaw
Bay
Tuscola County
Bay City
Bay County
Frankenlust
Saginaw County
M 84
M 15
Cass River
Reese
Saginaw
Frankentrost
Richville
M 46
Gera
Bridgeport
Vassar
Frankenmuth
Tuscola
M 13
M 83
I 75
Saginaw River
Birch Run
Flint
THE FRANCONIAN COLONIES
AND NEIGHBORING SETTLEMENTS
IN MICHIGAN'S SAGINAW VALLEY,
1970
SCALE
0 4 8 12 16
MILES
SOURCE:
Maps of Bay, Tuscola, and Saginaw counties,
pub Michigan Department of Conservation.
DLK

Figure 1

of oak, hickory, and white pine. Economic activity of the valley focused on the city of Saginaw, where lumbering and salt-mining interests were located. Subsistence agriculture was characteristic, with all crops used to feed the populace of the city.

CHAPTER II

THE FRANCONIAN HERITAGE

The Physical Setting

The people who settled the Franconian colonies in Michigan emigrated from an area surrounding the city of Nuremberg in Bavarian Germany.[1] To better understand their preparedness to meet the challenges of settling a new land, it is necessary to examine the physical and cultural environment of their homeland.

Landforms

Nuremberg is situated in a portion of the present-day province of Bavaria which historically was called Franken, after the Franks who occupied the region. To the west of Bavaria lies the province of Baden-Wurttenberg, formerly known as Schwaben, "named after a branch of the Alemannic tribes which occupied the south-west corner of Germany in later Roman times."[2] The two provinces occupy that area of southern Germany between the upper Rhine River valley and the Czechoslovakian border known as the Mittelgebirge or Central Uplands. In Mesozoic and

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[1]Most of the colonists emigrated from these villages near Nuremberg: Amberg, Ansbach, Bamberg, Erlangen, Habersdorf, Kulmbach, Neumarkt, Neuendettelsau, Neustadt, Obererlbach, Rostall, Schwabach, Windsbach, and Wattenbach.

[2]Margaret R. Shackleton, Europe: A Regional Geography (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), p. 396.

Tertiary times this region accumulated depositional material from the Hercynian Mountains. The layers of alluvium deposited on the eastern flanks of the mountains were further tilted upward toward the northwest. Stream erosion removed successive layers leaving the more resistant rock strata protruding above the surface as escarpments. A series of these west- or northwest-facing escarpments now punctuate the otherwise level topography. The valleys of the region are generally steepsided to the east and rise gently to the west rim of their respective escarpments. "In Franken sandstone outcrops over a wide area to give the distinctive regions of the Frankenhohe and Steigerwald."[3] In places these escarpments attain heights of six hundred to one thousand feet above the plains. The sandstone layer dips to the south where it is covered by fertile marls, and to the east where glacial outwash sand has blanketed it "giving the infertile, forested soils of the Regnitz basin around Nuremberg."[4]

> The river system of the scarplands is particularly complex, owing to the fact that there has been a major reversal of drainage. The rivers in early Tertiary times apparently flowed down the dip-slope towards the Danube, but the development of the Rhine rift attracted drainage in that direction, as the floor of the rift is several hundred feet lower than the upper Danube valley. Accordingly a complicated series of river captures took place, which accounts for the numerous elbows of capture, for instance the notable series along the middle Main valley.[5]

Many of the villages from which the Franconian colonists emigrated are located in the valley of the Regnitz River, a river that has been captured from the tributary system of the Danube and is now part of the Rhine watershed.

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[3] Ibid. [4] Ibid., p. 397. [5] Ibid., p. 398.

Climate

Climatic data accumulated by meteorologists in Nuremberg show distributions assumed typical of the neighboring countryside with but slight exceptions due to local relief and circulation. As seen in Table 1, precipitation totals approximately 24 inches annually with a maximum concentration of 39 per cent during the summer months and a minimum 16 per cent in the winter. Autumn and spring rains account for 23 and 22 per cent of the total respectively. Temperatures are fairly moderate with a mean monthly high in July of 64.7°F. and a mean December low of 29.5°F. These mild temperatures and the resultant long growing season, plus the seasonal rainfall distribution mentioned above, produce a climate favorable for agricultural pursuits.[6]

Soils and vegetation

Soil types in this area vary considerably on a local scale from the residual soils formed on the outcroppings and exposures of various layers of sedimentary rock which dominate the topography, to the transported soils formed of large amounts of loess and glacial fluvial outwash, a result of both alpine and continental glaciation. Soils range in type from gray-brown to rendzinic, and in texture from sandy loam to silt loam. The gray-browns and degraded chernozems of the zonal order

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[6]This station is classified according to the 1953 Koppen-Geiger system of climatic classification as Marine West Coast (warm summer) using the following criteria: (1) mean temperature of the coldest month lies between 26.6°F. and 64.4°F.; (2) sufficient precipitation in all months; (3) the warmest month mean is less than 71.6°F. and at least four months have means over 50°F. Arthur Strahler, Introduction to Physical Geography (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965), pp. 105-10.

TABLE 1

MONTHLY TEMPERATURE AND PRECIPITATION DATA FOR NUREMBERG, GERMANY AND SAGINAW, MICHIGAN

Month	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	Year
Nuremberg, Germany													
Temperature (°F)	29.5	31.3	38.6	46.7	55.4	61.8	64.7	63.3	56.6	46.9	38.9	32.2	47.1
Precipitation (Inches)	1.69	1.53	1.37	1.57	2.16	2.79	3.54	2.95	1.81	1.81	1.61	0.47	24.34
Saginaw, Michigan													
Temperature (°F)	23.5	23.0	34.5	44.5	55.5	67.5	71.0	68.5	62.0	55.0	37.5	26.5	46.5
Precipitation (Inches)	1.61	1.74	2.17	2.37	3.52	2.71	2.88	2.85	2.84	2.52	2.13	1.79	29.13

Source: U.S., Department of Commerce, Weather Bureau, World Weather Records, 1950-1960, Vols. I-II (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965-67)

are associated with stands of deciduous timber and forest-grassland transition zones respectively. The brownish-colored, somewhat acidic gray-brown podzols are found over much of western Europe. Leaching of the A horizons is moderate and the soil provides the nutrients needed to support growths of maple, beech, and oak trees. Much of the natural deciduous vegetation was removed to increase the amount of cultivated land during the settlement of Germany[7] and the deciduous trees were replaced by a secondary growth of conifers. The degraded chernozem soils occur frequently in conjunction with loess deposits and are quite fertile due to the high lime content in the loess. Because of the transitional nature of their location between the forests and grassland, the degraded chernozems experience some leaching in the A_2 horizon, yet remain very productive especially for small grain farming. A third major soil type found near Nuremberg, rendzina, is classified as a calcimorphic soil of the intra-zonal order. It is typically dark gray or black at the surface, with soft subsurface layers of light gray or white material. This soil is rich in calcium carbonate as it was formed of the parent rock, chalk. Natural vegetation on rendzina soil is grassland.[8] A composite of the natural vegetation near Nuremberg includes deciduous and coniferous forests and natural grasslands. The soils also support a vigorous agricultural production: cereal crops (wheat, two row barley, white oats),

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[7]H. C. Darby, "The Clearing of the Woodland in Europe," in Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth, ed. by William L. Thomas, Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 196.

[8]Strahler, op. cit., pp. 177-91

root crops (sugar beets, potatoes), fruit trees (apple, plum, pear, cherry), cultivated grasses (clover), and viticulture.[9]

Material Culture Traits

Settlement types

Another phase of the Franconians' background deals with the basic settlement and house types which existed in Bavaria at the time of their emigration. Numerous articles have attempted to differentiate between the various types of settlements found in Germany and generally agree that the Strassendorf, Angerdorf, and Waldhufendorf were most prevalent. Dickinson describes the Strassendorf type in these words: "In the former [Strassendorf], two series of farmsteads face each other in two rows on a road which existed before the settlement."[10] J. M. Houston elaborates further in this excerpt from his Social Geography of Europe.

> Across North Central Europe and with scattered areas to the south, extends the "street" village or strassendorf. This type of nucleated settlement is commonly associated with colonization in the forested lands and therefore dates from the rodungszeit or forest clearance of the Middle Ages. . . . The first permanent settlement of many Slavonic peoples was associated with such "street" villages and therefore some writers have attributed this type to Slavonic tradition. However, it is certain the German colonists also settled in many "street" villages.[11]

Description of the Waldhufendorf type of settlement is given by

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[9]Shackleton, op. cit., p. 34.

[10]Robert E. Dickinson, "Rural Settlements in the German Lands" Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. XXXIX, No. 4 (1949), 254.

[11]James M. Houston, A Social Geography of Europe (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., 1963), p. 105.

Dickinson as follows:

> The second type of medieval field system and village settlement is found especially in reclaimed marshland and forest clearings, though it is not peculiar to such areas. In the "forest village" (Waldhufendorf), the farms are arranged in a series, like beads on a chain, along a broad valley bottom or route. The farm holding (Hufe) consists of one belt of land running back from the farm to the limits of the village area and including meadow, arable land, and woodland.[12]

The prevalence of a third type of village settlement, the oval-shaped Angerdorf, is due to "the systematic clearance of the forest behind the road settlement and the organized colonization, supervised by 'locators.'"[13] The Angerdorf consisted of several farmsteads located around an almond-shaped common which usually contained the village church and pond.

Although data was not available to give exact descriptions of the house types of each village near Nuremberg, it can be assumed that they would not differ greatly from the dominant type in the area. This dominant type is discussed by Houston in these words:

> Over the loess belt of Central and Western Europe, associated with the rich grain lands, there is the fourth zone of house-types. The characteristic feature of the houses is a separate accommodation for man and beast. It is highly probable that this multiple type of dwelling has spread considerably beyond a formerly more restricted zone. It is prevalent in the Danube basin and extends into Bulgaria and Serbia. It is predominant in the Frankish type of Germany and in Bohemia and extends across the loess lands.[14]

Agriculture

One of the most notable culture traits of the Franconians was their knowledge of and active participation in agricultural production.

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[12] op. cit., p. 256.

[13] op. cit., p. 107.

[14] Ibid., p. 131.

Their utilization of the plow was based on the practice of animal husbandry which existed in Central Europe prior to medieval times. "The essential feature of plow agriculture, in contrast to other forms of cultivating the soil, is the integration of animal husbandry with plant production."[15] The use of animals served several functions for the farmer. Cattle, horses, and swine were raised to provide food, hides, power, and manure. Using animals in production, the farmer could expand the amount of land under cultivation. Animate power was used to remove tree stumps--the final phase of forest clearance--and later to draw the plow across the newly formed fields. Introduction of root crops into Central Europe further prompted clearing of woodlands during late medieval times.

As population grew in density the value of each parcel of cleared land increased, leading farmers to consider soil conservation techniques. Contour plowing was widely practiced in Bavaria to conserve soil on the numerous sloping fields. Another conservative technique, fallowing, emerged as man increased his capacity to clear and plow more land than he could sow in any one year. Concomitant with fallowing was the introduction of "green manuring," the use of leguminous plants to nourish and revitalize the soil. Several variations of the three-field system were developed in Bavaria in conjunction with the above mentioned practices. The use of a systematic approach to the layout of fields marks a significant change from the piecemeal approach used earlier.

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[15]Gottfried Pfeifer, "The Quality of Peasant Living in Central Europe," in Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth, ed. by William L. Thomas, Jr., p. 249.

Non-material Culture Traits

Social organization

Social organization of the Franconians was closely tied to the land and the church. The family was not only the basic social unit, but also served as a production unit, especially in carrying the agricultural work load. On a higher order, the village provided a vehicle for social interaction and cohesion. In Bavaria the citizenry of a village often also comprised the entire congregation of the local church, and in some instances church constitutions and regulations were applied to all civil matters of the village. The village or congregation determined the fallowing schedule and the quantity and distribution of crops grown. Inheritance procedures that led to fragmentation of land parcels were banned by villages throughout Bavaria in favor of undivided claim by the natural heir to the land of his father.[16]

Motives for emigration

Circumstances in Bavaria up to the early 1800's aroused speculation in the free land and opportunities available in America. The fore-mentioned land inheritance policy offered a second or third son little hope of becoming a landowner. This dilemma was further emphasized by the land reform policies which limited ownership of land to a relatively small number of the nobility. According to Pfeifer,

> . . . the so-called "reform movements" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries brought the greatest amount of peasant land into the hands of the nobility. . . . The large owners

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[16]Ibid., p. 257.

> received emoluments for the liberation of their peasants amounting to one-third of the peasant land and, in some cases, even one-half.[17]

Failure to own land not only limited a young man's opportunities to pursue farming as a vocation, but negated his chances for matrimony since land ownership was a prerequisite for obtaining legal permission to marry. Widespread local warfare, a holdover from feudal times, continued to make demands on the peasant class both in terms of military service and in the damages wrought to and supplies demanded from agricultural production. In addition to these local urgings, the Franconians received a beckoning call from America.

Germans, among them many of the Lutheran faith, had early joined the gradually increasing movement of people to America and, upon arriving, formed an integral part of the westward expansion into the Old Northwest Territory. There they settled on individual farmsteads, widely scattered and often isolated from each other. Their desire to hold organized communion and worship services regularly was rendered all but hopeless due to their dispersion and to a shortage of pastors. As a temporary solution many pastors became traveling preachers so as to minister to as many of their faith as possible. One of the most able of the preachers, Friedrich Dietrich Conrad Wyneken, originated his travels in Fort Wayne, Indiana. It was Wyneken who first explained the situation in America to the Lutherans in Bavaria, in a tract published in Stade in 1840.[18] His plea for assistance came to the attention of the pastor in

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[17]Ibid., p. 266.

[18]Herman F. Zehnder, Teach My People the Truth! (Bay City, Michigan: By the Author, Box 404, 1970), p. 13.

Neuendettelsau, Wilhelm Loehe. Loehe's immediate concern for the American Lutherans is revealed in an article he submitted in 1841 to a widely-read Franconian paper, the Sonntags-Blatt, entitled "The Lutheran Emigrants to North America: An Address to the Readers." As Loehe explained,

> Shall our brethren no longer worship in the church of their fathers, filled with the breath of the Lord, and instead, recline at the miserable shacks of sectarianism? Shall German piety decay in the new world under the influence of human propaganda? I beg you, for Jesus' sake, take hold, organize speedily, do not waste time in consultations! The salvation of immortal souls is at stake![19]

Beyond the article Loehe personally trained and sent seven missionaries to America by June of 1844, among them Georg Wilhelm Hattstaedt. Hattstaedt journeyed to Monroe, Michigan, and in his work there became acquainted with Friedrich Schmid, a pastor involved in mission work among the Indians. Hattstaedt, in his correspondence with Loehe, repeatedly noted the rich mission field extant among the Chippewa in northern Michigan. Based on his conviction to serve both the Indian and German populations in America, Loehe conceived the idea of planting a congregation of Lutheran families into the wilderness to bring strength to other Lutherans in the area, and to preach by the examples of their daily lives, the gospel of Christ. Thus motivated, Loehe assembled a small group of families and recruited the leadership of pastor Friedrich August Craemer to implement his scheme. This congregation, motivated both by Loehe and by the fore-mentioned conditions in their homeland, set out on their journey to Michigan in the spring of 1845.

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[19]Ibid., p. 14, citing Nördlingen Sonntags-Blatt, XI (January 10, 1841), cols. 9-14.

CHAPTER III

THE SAGINAW VALLEY PRIOR TO 1845

The Physical Setting

As the Franconians arrived in the Saginaw Valley, they encountered physical and cultural landscapes unlike those they had known in Bavaria. In order to appreciate the growth and development of the Franconians' cultural impact on the Saginaw Valley, an examination of the physical and cultural features extant prior to their arrival is in order.

Landforms

The Saginaw Valley of Michigan is structurally unlike the Nuremberg area of Bavaria. The Saginaw Valley was formed during the glacial advances and retreats which shaped the Great Lakes system, and was once part of an inland waterway which extended from present-day Saginaw Bay to the southern end of Lake Michigan, thus dividing the lower peninsula of Michigan into two parts.[1] As the Great Lakes assumed their present shapes and dimensions, the land which had formerly been inundated by Saginaw Bay emerged as that part of the land mass of Michigan's lower peninsula known as the Saginaw Valley.

> Its extreme length north and south is something over 125 miles; its extreme breadth about 120 miles. That portion

[1]Charles B. Hunt, Physiography of the United States (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman and Company, 1967), pp. 236-37.

> of it, the waters of which drain through the Saginaw river proper, comprises about 170 townships, as per Government survey, over 6,000 square miles, and over 4,000,000 of acres.[2]

Several features in the valley point to its watery past. The topography is predominantly level with some local relief in the vicinity of the watercourses and beach ridges which dissect the valley. Original survey reports of the Frankenmuth, Frankentrost, and Frankenhilf localities use the terms "level," "gently rolling," "a little rolling," and "undulating" to describe the topography.[3] Dr. M. C. T. Plessner, in an 1881 address before the Pioneer Society of Saginaw City, describes not only the valley's relief and drainage features, but also alludes to the presence of beach ridges.

> It is a very flat country, only a few low hills in it, that were formerly covered with heavy primeval forests. The valley is very much intersected by many rivers, the Saginaw being the largest. Its tributaries are the Cass, Flint, Shiawassee and Tittabawassee, coming from the four points of the compass. . . . A peculiar feature of this region is that the lakes and lakelets, so abundant north and south of us, are here entirely missing. Saginaw valley has undoubtedly been the bottom of a great lake. Its soil is 80 to 100 feet above the rocks and boulders; on top of this is rich, alluvial black loam, varying in depth from six to eight inches; the hills are mostly covered with sand.[4]

J. T. Blois described the area as either level or undulating with marsh and wet prairie.[5] Poor drainage and the resultant swampy conditions of

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[2]Michael A. Leeson, History of Saginaw County, Michigan (Chicago: Charles C. Chapman & Co., 1881), p. 291.

[3]Original surveyor's reports of T12N, R6E; T12N, R7E; and T11N, R6E on file at Michigan State Historical Society Archives, Lansing, Michigan.

[4]Quoted in Leeson, op. cit., p. 220.

[5]Homer Reginald Greenholt, A Study of Wilhelm Loehe, His Colonies and the Lutheran Indian Missions in the Saginaw Valley of Michigan (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago Divinity School, 1937), p. 91.

much of the land was also evidenced by the high incidence of malaria and ague among the settlers in the valley.

Climate

The climate of the Saginaw Valley differed from that of the Bavarian homeland in several ways. In Michigan, temperatures were more severe during the winter months, were hotter during the summer, and the annual precipitation was greater.[6] Precipitation totals approximately 29 inches annually (Table 1) with nine months each receiving more than 2 inches, and with the majority of precipitation occurring as rain. Mean temperature extremes are greater than those in Nuremberg, with a mean February low of 23.0°F. and a mean monthly high in July of 71.0°F. The growing season is delayed until early May by the colder Michigan winters, and lasts approximately 150 days, into mid-October.[7] A letter from the Franconians to Bavaria enumerates several climatic differences between Bavaria and Michigan as they affected the settlers.

> In the first place the winter was longer than in Germany and the summer seemed hot. . . . No one ventured to plant garden vegetables or potatoes before the end of April. But it was not really necessary to do that anyway . . . because growth was very rapid once summer arrived.
>
> The old-world practice of working from early in the morning to late in the evening was not conducive to health in Frankenlust. Linen shirts soon had to give way to those made of

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[6]This station is classified according to the 1953 Koppen-Geiger system of climatic classification as Humid Continental using the following criteria: (1) mean temperature of warmest month above 50°F. (2) coldest month mean below 26.6°F. (3) sufficient precipitation in all months (4) warmest month mean is below 71.6°F., and at least 4 months have means above 50°F. Strahler, op. cit., pp. 105-10.

[7]U.S., Department of Agriculture, Yearbook of Agriculture, 1941: Climate and Man (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1941), pp. 916-17.

> cotton because the workman perspired copiously and was annoyed by the cold linen against his body. As a rule the laborer also wore a red woolen undershirt under the cotton shirt since the physician explained the climate demanded it.[8]

Soils

The soils of the Saginaw Valley are closely associated with the topography of the area and with the Humid Continental climate which prevails. There are two major soil types in the valley, the gray-brown podzols of the zonal order, and the hydromorphic soils of the intrazonal order. The gray-brown podzols develop in those areas where greater relief provides adequate drainage. Abundant annual precipitation leaches base elements from the A horizons of the gray-brown soils and deposits these base elements in the B horizon, thus the soil surface tends to be moderately acidic. The luxurious deciduous forests which thrive on the gray-brown podzols lessen the impact of the leaching process by retrieving base elements from the B horizon and returning them to the surface as dead branches and leaves. Soil color ranges from the dark browns of the A horizon to the yellowish and reddish browns of the B horizon. Although the natural agricultural potential of the gray-brown podzols is limited, when treated with lime and fertilizers they make highly productive farms.[9] Hydromorphic soils, the second major type found in the valley, develop in areas with inadequate drainage. Two subtypes are commonly found. "Meadow soils are formed on the flood plains of streams where drainage is somewhat better than in the bogs, but is nevertheless poor."[10] They are dark brown to black in color and develop under a

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[8]Greenholt, op. cit., p. 142.

[9]Strahler, op. cit., p. 182.

[10]Ibid., p. 184.

grass vegetative cover. Humic-gley soils, a combination of meadow and half-bog soils, develop under a forest cover in level areas with poor drainage, and are identified by a gray, sandy A horizon overlaying sticky brown subsoils. Both hydromorphic subtypes exhibit a glei or clay subsurface strata.[11] Though drainage was a problem throughout much of the valley, early settlers recognized the potential of its soils as is summarized in the following statement:

> The soil is all that the farmer could desire. A deep, dark, sandy loam, with a yellow or blue clay subsoil is found throughout the valley. At intervals a small boulder formation may occur, but generally the rich soil is free from rock.[12]

Vegetation

The natural vegetation of the Saginaw Valley was dominated by forests. Original survey records note large quantities of "1st rate timber" consisting of elm, lynn, ash, sugar, oak, beech, hickory, and pine. "Fruit trees such as the wild apple and the wild cherry were to be found in the forest [as were] many nut-bearing trees," reports one settler.[13] Another described the vegetation as follows: "The forests consisted of pines on the hills and hemlock, oak, beech, maple, elm and ash on the plains. There is comparatively little prairie in the valley, and that is very low."[14]

The immensity of the forests had a noted impact on the settlers in the valley. Several authors refer to the "heavy forest" or the

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[11]Ibid.; and U.S., Department of Agriculture, op. cit., p. 227.

[12]Leeson, op. cit. p. 288.

[13]Greenholt, op. cit., p. 116.

[14]Leeson, op. cit., p. 220.

"heavy timber"; some considered it "impenetrable"; others give accounts of persons becoming lost in the forests for several days within a short distance of their homes. Of greater economic importance was the later recognition that the immense forests could be converted into equally immense profits by lumbering concerns.

Although the physical environment of the Saginaw Valley held promise of future prosperity, it was initially foreboding and considered to be a "nameless waste."[15] Public opinion of the area can be summarized by the following reply given to the philosopher DeTocqueville by the register of the Detroit land office, when asked which part of Michigan was least settled:

> Toward the northwest. About Pontiac and its neighborhood some pretty fair establishments have lately commenced, but you must not think of fixing yourselves further off; the country is covered by an almost impenetrable forest, which extends uninterruptedly toward the northwest, full of nothing but wild beasts and Indians. The United States proposes to open a way through it immediately, but the road is only just begun and stops at Pontiac. I repeat that there is nothing to be thought of in that quarter.[16]

The Cultural Setting

Indian landscape

Prior to 1815 the cultural landscape of the Saginaw Valley was dominated by the cultures of its various Indian inhabitants. Clark Wissler in his book Indians of the United States has classified the Indian tribes of the Upper Great Lakes region as belonging to the Algonquin Indian family. Several tribes of this family inhabited the Saginaw

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[15] Ibid., p. 291.

[16] Ibid.

Valley at one time or another. Plessner relates a sequence of tribal occupance as follows:

> It is said that the Sac and Fox tribes occupied this valley, and gave it the name it bears, and that the Chippewas [Ojibways] came over from Canada, defeating the former tribes in three great battles, two of them being fought on the Saginaw river, and the last and decisive one on the Cass river driving the Sac and Fox tribes south and west.[17]

Blois indicates the presence of two other tribes in the valley, the Ottawa and the Potawatomi.[18] Wissler's descriptive analysis of the Algonquin life style is invaluable in estimating the cultural impact these Indian tribes had on the valley's landscape.

The Algonquins were a woodland people with an economy based on hunting. They raised some maize and vegetables, but at no time depended on agriculture as their main support. The Algonquins were masters of the art of tanning deerskins, taught woodcraft to the white man, but were almost ignorant of the use of copper and knew nothing about iron. Their pottery was basic, as were their textile arts. They could spin strong cord from the fibers of the nettle and the bark of the lynn tree, yet they wove nothing but bags and belts, making their clothing instead from soft, tanned skins. Woodcraft skills included construction of snowshoes and specialization in the use of birchbark, not only for canoes, but also for covering houses, for containers, and for paper.[19]

Indian settlements favored riverine locations which were later used as bases of European settlement. Plessner remarks, "The Indians

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[17]Quoted in Leeson, op. cit., p. 220.

[18]J. T. Blois, Gazeteer of the State of Michigan (Detroit and New York: n.p., 1840), p.64.

[19]Clark Wissler, Indians of the United States (Garden City and New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1966), pp. 114-16.

had wigwams on the Tittabawassee, opposite Freeland, near the mouth of Swan creek, and at Chesaning and Taymouth, until they were removed to Isabella county."[20] Fox's comments reveal that the riverine site of Saginaw City was favored by the Indians also.

> The spot upon which Saginaw City now stands, was called by the Indians Ke-pay-sho-wink, meaning the great camping gound.
>
> Here it was that the natives all rendezvoused in the spring after finishing their sugar making and winter hunting. It was their custom to come in and settle with the traders, and have a general, grand jubilee for two or three weeks . . . .[21]

Indian culture is also reflected in the toponymy of the valley. Many of the physical features and settlement sites retain their Indian names to the present, thus perpetuating the cultural landscape of the tribes.[22]

The Indian population of Saginaw Valley in the 1840's consisted of thirteen bands of Chippewa numbering approximately 1600 persons.[23] This figure represents the reduction of a population that may have reached 3000 for, according to Fox, up to two-thirds of the former population died of small pox:

> During the summer of 1838, the small pox broke out among the Saginaw Indians making fearful havoc among them, and taking about half, if not two-thirds of their number to the hunting grounds of the Great Spirit . . . .[24]

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[20]Leeson, op. cit., p. 227.

[21]Truman Fox, History of Saginaw County (Saginaw, Michigan: Saginaw Enterprise Printers, 1858), pp. 9-10.

[22]The following are examples of Indian place names in use today: (1) settlements--Kawkawlin, Chesaning, Wahjamega, Sebewaign; (2) watercourses--Cheboyganing Creek, Beaver Creek, Tittabawassee River, Shiawassee River, Wisscogin Creek.

[23]Blois, op. cit., p. 64.

[24]Fox, op. cit., p. 10.

Another factor which led to decreasing numbers among the Chippewa population was the deeding of their land to the government and their subsequent removal to government reservations. The Chippewa deeded their land to the government in a series of treaties dated 1819, 1821, 1837, and 1838. In return for their land they were given varying amounts of cash and rights to land in less populated sections of Michigan. Movement of the Indians from the Saginaw area was described in these words: "[The Indians] are fast leaving for the north, to take possession of the land which Government has given them. Many of their villages are already deserted, and it will not be long ere they will all have passed from us."[25]

That the Indian population of the valley was in need of spiritual aid was surmised by the government years before Wilhelm Loehe of Bavaria had heard of the plight of the red man and resulted in an abortive attempt by the government at mission work. The Treaty of 1819 was significant not only because land changed hands, but also because through it the government made the first attempts to bring Christianity to the Indians in the Saginaw area. "One of the conditions of the treaty of 1819 was that the Indians were to have a blacksmith and a 'blackcoat,' a missionary, sent to them."[26] Zacharias Pitcher, an assistant surgeon in the army stationed in Saginaw, describes the results of this initial mission effort in these words:

> When the treaty was made with the Saginaw Indians, they were to have a Blacksmith and a Missionary sent to them. Accordingly Mr. Hudson came among them in the latter capacity. After a while the Indians became dissatisfied with the restrictions probably placed upon them by him, and sent back word that

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[25] Ibid.

[26] Zehnder, op. cit., p. 38.

they wanted to "swap" off the Missionary for another Blacksmith. Shortly after which Mr. Hudson left.[27]

The above observations make possible several generalizations concerning the cultural impact of Indian populations on the landscape of the Saginaw Valley. The tribes recognized certain riverine sites as favorable for occupance and there established distinctive assemblages of living quarters. They practiced hunting and fishing of certain animals and selected several varieties of natural vegetation for use as foodstuffs and materials. Their skills in woodcraft provided items such as snowshoes and canoes which were valuable assets in coping with the environment. Many of their toponymic efforts have survived to the present. Perhaps the most significant cultural impact of the Indian population, in terms of this study, was the fact that they were early recognized as a potential field for missionary activity and, as such, provided much of the motivation for the establishment of the Franconian colonies.

European landscape

The arrival of the first European settlers in the Saginaw Valley in 1815 marked the onset of a new cultural landscape. Lewis Campau, a French fur trapper, is believed to have been the first European settler in the valley, his arrival heralding an influx of French, Irish, and English settlers. These Europeans focused their activity, as had the Chippewa, on the banks of the Saginaw River and its tributaries, with fur trapping and trading their major interests. In 1822 the government established a fort at Saginaw which was garrisoned for just one year

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[27]Fox, op. cit., pp. 5-7.

before being abandoned. The establishment of the fort did lure some settlers into the valley, especially to the banks of the Tittabawassee River; however, vested interests were also actively trying to keep immigrants from the area.

> Indians, trappers and agents of the American Fur Company spread reports that the region was unsuited for anything except wild beasts. When the United States Government withdrew its military contingent from the post at Saginaw City in 1823, ostensibly on account of sickness, it appears that speculators and promoters interest [sic] in the lands near Detroit and in the lower counties used sickness as a way of prejudicing settlers against the whole region. . . .
>
> In addition the latter frequently persuaded the immigrants that they would simply waste time by visiting Saginaw Valley; that they stood in danger of drowning in freshets; and that the mosquitoes would almost devour them.[28]

As Saginaw City grew slowly in size and population, the need for a city plan became apparent, thus a plan with ten or twelve streets was laid out in 1822. At that time the town consisted of several log houses and the log house surrounded by a stockade which had served as the fort.[29] By 1831 the population of Saginaw City had reached thirty[30] and in 1834 the first saw mill was established on the Saginaw River. The year 1837 witnessed a building boom in Saginaw due to the real estate speculation efforts of several citizens who sought to make a fortune should a canal be dug between the Bad and Looking-glass Rivers, thus linking the Grand and Saginaw River systems. The canal proposal fell through, economic panic struck the city, and Saginaw once again became little more than an assortment of buildings in advanced stages of disrepair and abandonment.

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[28]Greenholt, op. cit., pp. 92-93.

[29]Leeson, op. cit., p. 224.

[30]Ibid., p. 291.

As lumbering interests grew in the Saginaw region, more immigrants were drawn to the city, more buildings were erected, and transportation linkages were established with cities to the south and east. The first German immigrants to settle in the valley arrived some time prior to the lumbering boom, though disagreement exists as to the exact date of their arrival. John Russell, in The Germanic Influence in the Making of Michigan, states that "Germans had moved into the city of Saginaw as early as May 13, 1837."[31] Plessner, however, lists the arrival of the first Germans as being about 1840. He further relates,

> The first Germans who came to this valley were three Westphalians. . . . They found some work in the city, soon bought wild land on the "cross-roads," and made excellent farms of it. . . . "Dutch Henry" . . . was a model of a German farmer, a hard, steady worker, economical, a good neighbor, without any political ambition, but devoted to his Church--the Lutheran--which he assisted freely as far as his means would permit.[32]

The above descriptions of increasing European activity in the Saginaw Valley indicate the major changes which took place in the cultural landscape. Settlement activity, although still focused on riverine sites, assumed new styles and dimensions. The economy was no longer based on hunting and food gathering, but had expanded to include manufacturing, trade, and agricultural pursuits, and was implemented with techniques and tools alien to the Algonquin culture. Toponymic changes marked the influx and strength of the European cultures in the valley, although many Indian place names persisted. The European landscape evidenced increased contacts with other parts of the state as is seen in the transportation linkages which were developed. Increased contact

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[31]John Andrew Russell (Detroit: University of Detroit, 1927), p. 93.

[32]Quoted in Leeson, op. cit., p. 225.

ultimately led to more publicity concerning the valley, and served as a catalyst to promote further immigration. Thus upon their arrival, the Franconians encountered a cultural landscape dominated by European culture groups, with the Algonquin culture experiencing a steadily diminishing role in the valley.

CHAPTER IV

THE FRANCONIAN COLONIES 1845-1855

Conception, Motivation, Implementation

Franconian immigration into the Saginaw Valley resulted in the establishment of four colonies and led to the creation of a cultural landscape new to the valley. Each colony was preconceived in Bavaria and was organized to achieve specific goals. As was described in Chapter II, the first colony was organized to fulfill two objectives. It was first to serve as a mission colony bringing Christianity to Indians in the Saginaw Valley; and secondly, the colony was to provide a vehicle which would promote regular worship opportunities for those Lutherans living in Michigan who might otherwise be lost to the church. That meeting these challenges would require both dedication and fortitude can be seen in the name Frankenmuth, which Loehe chose for this first colony, for Frankenmuth is literally translated as "the courage of the Franks."

Reports to Loehe from the Frankenmuth colonists and from pastors elsewhere in Michigan indicated that this type of effort to Christianize Indians was less fruitful than expected and that his original concept was in need of modification. Loehe also became more aware of the tendency of immigrants to settle in widely scattered communities in Michigan, thus fragmenting any regional religious unity which might otherwise have

developed. Thus his second colony, Frankentrost, was organized to complement the first by locating it in the immediate vicinity of Frankenmuth. This intention can be observed in Loehe's statement rationalizing the choice of the name, for Frankentrost means "consolation of the Franks" and was chosen because "the first emigrants having had the COURAGE to settle on strange, Indian soil, the successors of these shall take CONSOLATION from these their brethren and rest assured that the same divine favor and guidance are to be their lot likewise."[1] Loehe at this time appears to have abandoned mission work among the Indians as a major objective of colonization, although many Indians were reported to have attended school and catechism sessions in Frankentrost.

Reports of the growth of the first two colonies reached Europe and were received by various church-related groups with great interest. One of these groups, the Bavarian Society for Inner Missions, envisioned the establishment of several colonies replicating the Loehe colonies, but based on financial support derived from a circulating colonization fund. The monies in this fund were to be used exclusively for the purpose of church colonization. ". . . it was called 'circulating' because it was to buy the first complex of land for new settlements and after its sale was to shift to other localities for the same purpose." The Society's goal was to sell plots of land purchased through the circulating fund, "only to immigrating Lutherans," thus the site of each large land purchase would ultimately become the nucleus of a congregation "of purely Lutheran confession after the fashion and constitution of Frankenmuth and Frankentrost." Land purchases were to be made through the fund "until

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[1]Graebner, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

the metropolis of Frankenmuth there had grown a number of Lutheran parishes, and these would be joined into a synod . . . ."[2] The first colony established according to the above-mentioned guidelines was named Frankenlust--"joy of the Franks." The Society consulted with Loehe at length about plans for the colony and agreed upon Ferdinand Sievers as the pastor who was to assume responsibility for it. Sievers' work in Michigan was prodigious in its scope; his sermons were heard not only in Frankenlust, but also in Saginaw, Bay City, Amelith, and as far away as the Minnesota Territory. In his capacity as custodian of the circulating fund, Sievers sold parcels of land in the original Frankenlust purchase, and used the then-replenished fund to purchase a large acreage in the vicinity of Frankenmuth. His report of this purchase reached Loehe, who in turn informed the Society that land was then available for a fourth colony.

Motivation for establishing a fourth colony was not only mission-oriented, but also derived from Loehe's concern over the social ills that befell many of his countrymen. Under the existing marital laws in Bavaria, young men and women were not able to marry unless they possessed the amount of property which the state had decreed was required for issuance of a marriage license. This decree assumed increasingly greater impact as the numbers of the poverty-stricken progressively increased, the end result being that more and more couples turned to immoral practices and that many children were born out of wedlock and grew up in poverty and contempt. Loehe believed that emigration might serve to rescue those who had fallen, by giving them opportunities to own homes of their own

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[2] Ibid., pp. 48-49.

and to start life anew in more favorable circumstances. Loehe, together with the mission society, devised a colonization plan that would offer to qualified persons a piece of land and a cabin in the new colony and employment and wages on a regular basis so that these persons could gradually repay the Society for its initial outlay. Qualified persons were those who were penitent of their former behavior, who would declare allegiance to the church constitution of Frankenmuth, and who had enough money for passage to Michigan and sufficient resources to meet initial living expenses there.[3] Since this colony was based on the premise of helping others, it was named Frankenhilf, meaning "aid for Franks."

Introduction of Franconian Culture to the Saginaw Valley

Frankenmuth

The first Franconian settlement in Michigan--Frankenmuth--was organized in Neuendettelsau, Bavaria, and established in the Saginaw Valley in 1845. Under the leadership of Friedrich August Craemer, thirteen colonists sailed from Bremen on April 20, 1845. They arrived July 10 in Saginaw City where they were greeted by Pastor Schmid of Ann Arbor and Missionary Auch.

The colonists' first order of business was the selection of a site for Frankenmuth. Schmid and Auch had made preliminary appraisals of the area to determine suitable sites for the colony and had procured maps of several potential sites from the land offices in Detroit and Flint. While most of the colonists remained in Saginaw, Craemer, Auch,

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[3]Greenholt, op. cit., p. 146.

several colonists, and a surveyor left Saginaw to inspect the recommended sites. The land they chose was in the Indian Reserve Land.

> According to Pastor Craemer's description, Frankenmuth had an excellent location and fine soil--along the beautiful Cass River with possibilities for mills and hay. The post road and post stations, Bridgeport, were five or six miles away, Saginaw City 15 to 20 miles, the industrious Flint eight hours, and the English Tuscola less than two hours.[4]

The topography demonstrated greater relief than that of surrounding land and the Cass River ensured a water supply. The colonists, after deciding to purchase 680 acres, sent Auch to Detroit to retrieve the cash deposited there, and then to the land office in Flint where the purchase was transacted. By mid-August the men of the colony had cleared a small portion of land and had constructed a temporary communal cabin which was to house the colonists until they had time to erect their own homes.

Before further construction could take place, a suitable village plan had to be agreed upon, thus Craemer met with the men of the colony on August 13, and presented to them a plan which he and Loehe had previously devised. Craemer's plan

> . . . was to measure 32 acres in a suitable spot for housing sites. He proposed that four acres be assigned to each property holder and an equal number to the church. In this way the congregation was to be kept intact and organized in the manner of the Bavarian village. Also he advised them to reserve space for more than 80 houses which he expected succeeding immigrants to erect. Furthermore, the original colonists, in disposing of lots from the space, were to be allowed to realize a fair profit.[5]

The colonists, however, rejected Craemer's proposal and decided instead that each would prefer to live on his own farm. Frankenmuth became the

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[4]Zehnder, op. cit., p. 51.

[5]Greenholt, op. cit., p. 105.

official home of the colonists when, on August 18, 1845, they moved their belongings by cart from Saginaw to their purchased land, and established residence in the company hut. Farms were surveyed that autumn, and during the spring of 1846 land was cleared and cabins were built on the individual properties. These farmsteads were laid out in the vicinity of the present site of St. Lorenz Church (Figure 2). Thus the settlement pattern first developed, one of population dispersion to scattered farmsteads, reflected the strong agricultural background and intentions of the first citizens of Frankenmuth.

This initial settlement pattern was soon to be altered by the arrival of eighty additional colonists in May of 1846. These colonists began clearing land and establishing farmsteads, thus extending the settlement pattern eastward from the original site toward the present location of South Main Street. This marked the beginning of a shift in settlement which was greatly accelerated in the late 1840's by the establishment of several commercial enterprises near the present South Main Street bridge. By the close of its first decade of existence, Frankenmuth's population was focused along the Cass River in a pattern which reflected a growing interest in commercial activity.

Population

Frankenmuth enjoyed a rapid growth in population during its first decade (Table 2). The 14 colonists who first arrived in 1845 were joined one year later by approximately 80 recruits, bringing the total population close to 100 persons. Frankenmuth's population doubled in the next three years for Craemer reports 208 persons in 1849, and 345

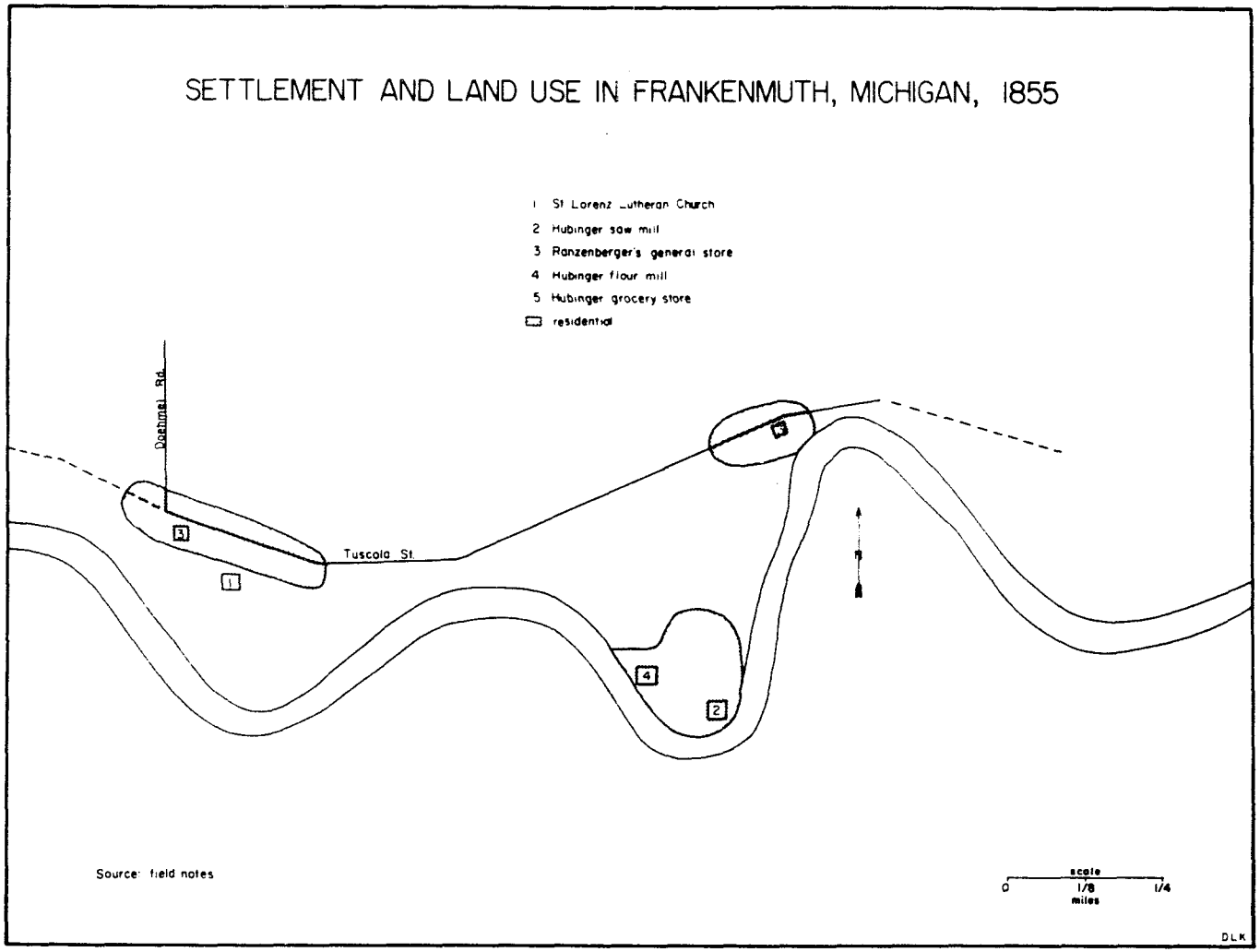
SETTLEMENT AND LAND USE IN FRANKENMUTH, MICHIGAN, 1855
1 St Lorenz Lutheran Church
2 Hubinger saw mill
3 Ranzenberger's general store
4 Hubinger flour mill
5 Hubinger grocery store
residential
Dostmel Rd.
Tuscola St.
Source: field notes
scale
0
1/8
1/4
miles
DLK

Figure 2

in 1853.[6] These population figures indicate the size of both the community and the congregation. As the numbers of Germans grew and their land holdings extended farther from the original settlement site, the Franconians desired political autonomy within Saginaw County, and on January 31, 1854, the County Board of Supervisors created Frankenmuth Township from land formerly included in Bridgeport Township.[7]

Table 2

Number of Souls[1] in the Franconian Congregations, 1845-55

	St. Lorenz	Immanuel	St. Paul's	St. Michael's
1845	14	. .	. .	. .
1846	94	. .	. .	. .
1847	153	81	. .	. .
1848	203	113	15	. .
1849	208	130	22	. .
1850	. .	143	60	7
1851	. .	154	. .	19
1852	345	158	. .	27
1853	. .	. .	150	20
1854	. .	. .	. .	. .
1855	. .	. .	. .	30

[1]Souls is defined as every person belonging to a congregation regardless of age, baptismal, or communicant status.

Source: Church records of the four congregations.

House types

The emerging Franconian cultural landscape included the various buildings constructed by the colonists. The first structure completed in

[6]Ibid., p. 222.

[7]Leeson, op. cit., p. 835.

1845 was the company hut--a log cabin 30 x 30 feet designed to accommodate five married couples, two single men, and the pastor and his family. "Pieces of carpet were substituted for windows and doors. During the heavy rains . . . the roof was to offer a very inadequate protection."[8] A combination parsonage-church-school was also built of logs during the fall and early winter of 1845. It was finished so that the first worship service could be held in it on Christmas Day.

The first log cabins built by the colonists on their farms provided "unsatisfactory" living quarters, and were replaced as soon as practicable by brick or frame houses. The architectural style of the log cabins is preserved in the replica of the first pioneer residence which stands near the former site of the company hut. The cabins averaged 12 x 20 feet and one and one-half stories high. The logs were squared, the ends of the logs notched in an over-under fashion for a flush fit at the cabin corners. Clay was fitted between the logs and around the windows on each side of the cabin. The sideward-facing gabled roof extended beyond the front of the cabin some four or five feet thereby sheltering the entranceway from the elements. The interior of the cabin, with its dirt floor, centered around the fireplace, the loft made comfortable for sleeping by heat radiating from the chimney.

The first building intended exclusively for use as a church was erected in 1846 and dedicated on Christmas Day of that year. The log church was converted into a schoolhouse in 1852 when the colonists constructed a new and larger house of worship. This frame structure had

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[8]Greenholt, op. cit., pp. 107-08.

"three windows on each side but no tower. It looked like a large Quaker meeting house. It even lacked a chancel and an organ . . . . In 1853 a chimney was built and a heating stove installed; at last, after nine years, there would be some heat in church for their daily services."[9] Two bells, hung beside the building under a canopy, were used to summon the colonists to worship services and could be heard ringing as far away as Tuscola.

Estimates by Loehe list thirty-eight houses and an equal number of barns in Frankenmuth by 1848.[10] Although no indication is given as to their exact type of constuction, it might be assumed that by 1855 most of the log buildings in Frankenmuth had been replaced by frame dwellings as was the case with the church. Interviews and early photographs indicate that there was apparently no attempt to construct frame buildings using Bavarian architectural styles. In fact, the "English" style house was most popular with the Franconians: a two-story house with a sideward-facing gabled roof, usually two rooms wide and deep, with one or more one and one-half or one story additions to the rear of the structure.[11]

Agriculture

Agricultural activity was begun in Frankenmuth during the spring of 1846 and accelerated rapidly as the forests were cleared. Some attempts were made during the first winter to cut down and burn the hardwoods, but the most vigorous efforts at clearing land were reserved for

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[9]Ibid., pp. 119-20.

[10]Greenholt, op. cit., p. 221.

[11]William Zehnder, Jr., private interview, January 22, 1970.

the spring. The first clearings were on higher ground near the company hut, where natural drainage was favorable. As the desire increased to put more acreage under cultivation, the cleared fields were extended downslope into the lowland areas, thus forcing the Franconian farmers to familiarize themselves with field drainage techniques. Initial drainage techniques used in the colony included deep-furrow plowing and small ditching along the lower contours of the fields. Subsurface drainage developed slowly, because of its expense and the unfamiliarity of the pioneer farmers with its use. Subsurface drainage techniques used during Frankenmuth's first decade of agricultural activity were less costly than tiling and utilized materials locally available. Ditches were dug several feet deep along the lower contours of the fields and were partially filled with tree branches, cobbles, or boards nailed together in an inverted "V"-shape. The ditches were then filled with topsoil to field level, thus creating an unbroken field surface. The subsurface drainage network carried water from the field into a deep open ditch dug along the perimeter of the field.[12]

The Franconians utilized two soil fertilization techniques, the first of which was commonly used throughout the valley. It was known that an enriching of the soil took place by burning hardwood logs on the land, because the process released chemical salts which acted as fertilizers. The second technique, that of using natural manure to restore soil fertility, was an odoriferous cultural trademark peculiar in the valley to the Franconians.[13] Use of manure

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[12] Ibid. [13] Ibid.

increased in proportion to the amount of livestock purchased by the Franconians as they sought to recreate the mixed farming economy of their Bavarian homeland.

Prior to the harvest of their first crops, the colonists were sustained by a basic diet of fish and wild game. Maple trees yielded their sap which was converted into sugar, syrup, and vinegar. Fruit and nuts were gathered from the forests. Cows, chickens, and flour were purchased from the "Yankees" at Bridgeport and Tuscola. Pork could be purchased at five to ten cents per pound; beef from two to three cents per pound. "If any native farmer had a few bushels of grain to spare, or a cow, or a calf or a pig to sell he was sure to find a purchaser among the Germans."[14] Most of the farmers purchased oxen for use on their farms and as more of the land was cleared, the oxen were replaced by horses.

The first crops grown by the colonists included potatoes, corn, wheat, beets, cabbage, oats, barley, and rye.

> For many years grain was cut by hand and threshed with a flailing pole. . . . This flailing was done with a long pole that had a cylindrical piece of wood about 18 inches long and 1½ inches thick tied to the end. When more than one person worked at flailing, it was essential that each person stayed "in step." To assure this, there was little verse they would chant, the verse to be used depending on the number of people who were engaged in flailing at the flailing floor. They had brought the following "Dreschverse" (threshing verses) with them from Bavaria:
>
> 3 flailers: Schind Katz O, Henk d'Haut auf!
> 4 flailers: Zieg auf, hau drauf!
> 5 flailers: Der Hirt und sei Frau!
> 6 flailers: Die Mad hat kan Schertzer![15]

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[14]Greenholt, op. cit., p. 95.

[15]Zehnder, op. cit., pp. 120-21.

By 1855 Frankenmuth had achieved the agricultural stability and self-sufficiency which was to generate economic prosperity in the ensuing years.

Commerce

Although Frankenmuth began as an agricultural settlement, commercial activity appeared and was firmly established by 1855. The first commercial enterprise in Frankenmuth--a general store located about one block west of the church--was opened by George Ranzenberger in 1847. That same year marked the opening of Conrad Schreiner's general store and the beginning of construction of the settlement's first saw mill. John G. and John M. Hubinger built a dam of logs and stones across the Cass River at the same spot as the present dam, thus creating a waterfall which could generate enough power to operate a saw mill. Machinery for the mill was imported from Germany and the mill opened for business in 1848.

> The sawmill . . . proved of great advantage to the settlers, as they now could improve their huts, erect houses and barns, and the community now improved very fast. In 1848, wheat, oats and corn were raised, but as yet it had to be taken to Flint for milling. The dauntless Hubingers set to work and built a flour mill, the motive power first taken from the single water wheel. Now the settlement became independent of the outside world for building material and bread flour, in fact some neighboring settlements now came to Frankenmuth for these things.[16]

John M. Hubinger also began a grocery store in 1851 at the corner of main and Tuscola streets which remained in operation until 1971 when his daughter, Hedwid "Aunt Hattie" Hubinger, passed away.

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[16]T. J. Pollen, History of Frankenmuth (Frankenmuth, Michigan: Frankenmuth News, 1913), pp. 29-32.

Frankenmuth gained postal service in 1851 when George Ranzenberger was officially appointed postmaster and the post office was established in his store. No longer did the colonists have to travel to Bridgeport for their mail. Almost from its inception Frankenmuth enjoyed the services of a physician in the person of Dr. August Koch, who had come to the colony in 1847.

Transportation and communication

Though physical conditions seemed to favor isolation, the people of Frankenmuth often associated with non-German settlers in neighboring communities. Transportation routes from Frankenmuth to other settlements were either lacking or of a very poor quality. The first trail to be marked linked Frankenmuth to Bridgeport and thus to a trail leading to Saginaw. In 1848 a road, known today as Doehml Road, was extended northward to Frankentrost. Tuscola was reached by following a trail eastward along the Cass River. These trails were not always well-defined and many accounts were recorded of colonists who lost their way in the forests. In spite of these difficulties the Franconians were frequent traders in Bridgeport, Tuscola, and Saginaw, and welcomed many visitors to the stores and mills of Frankenmuth. As mentioned above, Frankenmuth had been served by the Bridgeport post office until 1851, thus contact with the Yankees was commonplace.

Though contact with others was frequent, communication was strained because the Franconians spoke Bayerisch, a German dialect, and thus had difficulties in conversing with non-Germans. Bayerisch was the language of Frankenmuth to the extent that it was even used by Craemer

in teaching spelling, reading, and writing to the Indian children in the mission school.[17]

Dress

The Franconians' culture was also evidenced in their clothing. That their costuming differed markedly from what was common in America is seen in an episode which occurred in Detroit as the colonists were walking down a street toward the docks. Several boys, noting the unusual clothing, began to harass the colonists and pelted them with small stones.[18] Clothing became a point of controversy between the colonists and Loehe when he received word that the Franconians had forsaken their Bavarian togs and donned English styles instead. The rumor apparently began when several of the Franconian women, during their sojourn in Monroe, Michigan, purchased wide-brimmed straw hats to gain protection from the hot sun which their woolen bonnets could not provide. Later, when Loehe reprimanded the colonists, they were indignant as seen in this letter written to Bavaria to clarify the matter:

> We have heard that some miserable gossip about us has reached your neighborhood, to the effect that we have begun to dress in the English manner with long dresses and hats. Do not be misled to believe such; we have other things to occupy us besides this. We know nothing other than to be German, German in doctrine and faith, German in our calling and dress, in our work and household as far as possible.
> . . . These children [Indians at the mission] are our diversion and joy, likewise the Word of God and not long dresses and hats. Although the majority of Germans are like the English, that is

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[17] Ibid., p. 74.

[18] Greenholt, op. cit., p. 213.

> not our concern. We are a German Lutheran mission congregation which is concerned with the honor of God and the salvation of souls.[19]

Photographs of the colonists in the late 1800's indicate that eventually the Bavarian styles were replaced with clothing more readily available, and that authentic apparel was reserved for wear on special occasions only.

Customs

The colonists continued to observe several Old World customs in Frankenmuth. Baptisms were performed on the first Sunday following the birth of the child, at which time the child received the names of all his sponsors (e.g., Johann Heinrich Phillip Graebner, Herbert Frederick George Herman Zehnder). Funeral customs were also distinctive among the Franconians.

> When a member of the congregation died, the large bell was tolled, and then on the "hammer-toll" the age of the individual was tolled. . . . This was done regardless of the hour of the day or night. it was the medium through which it was announced that a member of the congregation had died.
>
> Shortly after the death of an individual, some members of the family would measure him, at times only with a piece of string, and hurry off to Jacob J. Nuechterlein and inform him that "Pa" or "Ma" was so long, showing him the length of string. Thereupon Mr. Nuechterlein would immediately build the simple casket, lined with cloth, according to the given measurements. Every casket was custom made. There was no enbalming in the early days; the corpse was prepared at the home.
>
> Someone, usually two members of the family or friends, was asked to serve as the "funeral wake." They stayed up all night to watch that no misfortune would befall the corpse. There was a superstition that cats and rodents would attack the face of the deceased person if it were not carefully guarded. Until 1938, bodies lay in state in the "parlor" of the home, which

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[19]Zehnder, op. cit., pp. 58-59, quoting Waltherin (Mrs. Lorenz Loesel), letter to her mother, June 26, 1846, University of Chicago Library "Letters."

> was more or less reserved for a visit by special guests, . . . or for the "laying out" of a deceased member of the family.
>
> Another funeral custom practiced until the early 1900's was the carrying of the funeral processional cross at the head of the funeral procession from the entrance of the cemetary to the grave site. This was carried by a relative of the deceased, always a boy, for which he received a tip of 25 cents. . . . It was also custom for some time that, as the pastor intoned the words "earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust," a relative would throw three shovels of dirt on the casket in the grave, which made a thunderous noise. After the brief ceremony at the grave, amid the ringing of the church bells, the funeral procession would walk to the church, where friends and neighbors had already assembled, for a memorial service.
>
> For the most part . . . the funeral sermons were very general and objective. Reference to the deceased, if made at all, was briefly made in the introduction of the sermon. Then followed a rather general dissertation on life and death and hope of eternal life. So impersonal were most of these sermons that after one funeral service one man said to another, "Heint haet ma widda net gwiszt das a Leich woar, wenn die Draualeit net doa gwesn saern." (Today again no one would have known this was a funeral service if the mourners had not been present.)
>
> After the funeral, friends and relatives gathered at the home of the deceased for a "Leichentrunk," funeral refreshment. Every funeral was in a sense a family reunion, food was served to friends and relatives, and the conversation always reverted to "the old times."
>
> The period of mourning was usually a year. The widow wore black dresses and a veil, and husbands, brothers, and sons wore a 4-inch black band on the upper left sleeve of the coat. Some of the early settlers who were left with little children, often with as many as six or eight, remarried within months. . . .[20]

A third custom, readily observable by those in contact with the people of Frankenmuth, was their annual church dedication festival, or Kaerwa. Originating in 16th century Germany, this three-day celebration commemorated the dedication of the village church. Since everyone in a given community was a member of the church, it was a civic as well as a religious holiday, and through repeated observances became more a folk festival than a religious event. As Frankenmuth became a viable

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[20] Ibid., pp. 163-64.

settlement, the celebration of Kaerwa was begun anew, though religious significance was minimal. The festival did include the pastor's annual church dedication sermon, but more important to the colonists, it afforded another opportunity for family reunions and the visiting, eating and drinking associated with them.

Another custom of the Franconians was their insistence on making cash payments for purchases, while harboring a general distrust of banks. For example, when Auch was sent to transact the first land purchase, he went first to Detroit to Pastor Winkler who was left in charge of the Franconians' cash resources. Auch then carried this cash from Detroit to the Land Office in Flint, hidden in the bottom of a wooden bucket. Frankenmuth also took pride in making its annual county tax payments in cash. Banking was not begun in the community until the 1900's.

Social organization

The social structure of Frankenmuth was focused on the church. During the winter of 1844-45, Loehe prepared a document entitled Kirchenordnung, the church constitution, and discussed it with the colonists. This document, signed by Pastor Craemer and the colonists before leaving Bavaria, remained in effect until July 19, 1858. In it were set forth policy statements concerning doctrine and the church, the calling of teachers, dismissal of a teacher, the pastor's salary and the salaries of servants of the church in general, congregational property, parish property, visitation, excommunication and absolution matters, marriage matters, the order of service, the school, and departure from the confession. The Kirchenordnung not only established church policy but also

dictated policy related to civic organization and social behavior. The following are excerpts from Zehnder's translation of the Kirchenordnung.

FRANKENMUTH CHURCH CONSTITUTION

I. Concerning Doctrine and the Church

1) We commit ourselves to all the confessional writings of the Lutheran Church: the Augsburg Confession, its Apology, The two Catechisms of Luther, the Smalcald Articles, and the Formula of Concord--or in short, to the Book of Concord of 1580, as it first appeared in Dresden. We thereby confess our loyalty to the Lutheran Church itself. We, our children, our church and school, our pastors and schoolteachers belong to it without reservation.

. . . . . .

3) Our preachers and teachers preach and teach German exclusively. We are determined to be German and remain German. We are founding a perpetually German congregation.--Our preachers and teachers shall be pledged also to this.

. . . . . .

V. Concerning Congregational Property

43) Every colonist shall designate as congregational property a piece of the land he has bought.

44) Wherever possible, care ought to be exercised that all congregational property be in one spot and laid out in one district.

45) The church collection in the collection bag (Klingelbeutel) is earmarked for the congregational property, especially to increase the capital through land purchase.

46) Expenses for church and cemetery, for the parsonage with its appurtenances, fences, and necessary installations, for improvement of the parish property, caretaker's home, school building, etc., will be paid for out of the proceeds of the congregational property to the extent that freewill gifts of the congregation do not provide for them.

47) From the profits of the congregational property support should be given to the poor in the congregation. The poor are the closest relatives of the church, so the congregational property is also property of the poor.

48) The congregational property shall be under the supervision of the pastor.

. . . . . .

VIII. Concerning Excommunication and Public Absolution

63) Public, impenitent sinners shall be excommunicated.

. . . . . .

68) An excommunicated person may not occupy any community or church office.

. . . . . .

IX. Concerning Marriage Matters

70) In our congregation no member may contract a mixed marriage.

71) All children of our congregation are to be reared in and for the Lutheran Church.

. . . . . .

74) For members of our congregation only one ground for divorce exists, namely adultery. Matthew 19.

75) Unlawfully divorced persons cannot remain in our community, unless there be proof of earnest repentance, which also willingly rights the wrong when this can be done.

. . . . . .

X. Concerning the Order of Service

. . . . . .

85) On Sundays we of our own free choice desist from every kind of secular work not absolutely required by necessity or loving concern.

XI. Concerning the School

86) It is our earnest determination to instruct our children ourselves.

. . . . . .

XII. Departure from the Confession

88) Departure from the confession carries with it the necessity of separation from the community. We are founding a political community which consists only of Lutherans.

This document clearly demonstrates the intent to equate the civil and religious status of the people of Frankenmuth.

Further insight into the social organization operative in Frankenmuth is gained by perusing The Community Regulations for the Community of Frankenmuth, a document adopted on January 29, 1850, at a regular meeting of the voters of St. Lorenz Lutheran Church. A longer and amended version of this document was believed to have been approved sometime in 1852. In essence the regulations provide means of dealing

With everyday matters which might otherwise be taken "to a strange court, whose officials in most instances may not even be nominal members of the church."[21] This document contains a concise and exhaustive description of the civic responsibilities in Frankenmuth, and is included in its entirety in Appendix C.

Mission work

As indicated in the opening pages of this chapter, Frankenmuth achieved limited success as an Indian mission. Many authors have gone so far as to label the effort a total failure, perhaps ignoring the fact that by 1855, 34 Indians had been baptized into the Lutheran faith,[22] and countless more had received schooling in a parochial environment. Several factors contributed to the dissolution of mission activity: (1) The market for the gospel was steadily decreasing. (2) The Indians were nomads, thus making it difficult for the missionaries to remain in contact with them. (3) By 1855 much of the Indian population had moved from the Saginaw Valley to lands elsewhere in Michigan. (4) During the late 1840's several epidemics of smallpox reached the valley, the disease proving fatal to many Indians thus further reducing the population. (5) Craemer's inability to communicate in the Chippewa language necessitated the use of translators who proved undependable employees. (6) Methodist revivalists worked among the Indians dissuading them from Lutheranism, and finally (7) there had developed a general distrust of the white man in the wake of a string of broken treaties and promises on the part of the government.

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[21] Ibid., p. 216.

[22] Ibid., p. 83.

Frankentrost

Frankentrost was conceived in 1846 as the second of Loehe's colonies in the Saginaw Valley. About the time when the second group of colonists departed for Frankenmuth, Loehe began interviewing families interested in his "new colony," Frankentrost, and selected Johann Heinrich Phillip Graebner to be their pastor.[23] During this organizational period Loehe was advised by Pastor Craemer of Frankenmuth that it would be advantageous to buy the tract of land for the second colony using State debentures which could be bought at 62½ cents and 65 cents on the dollar, and applied at face value toward the purchase of the land. Loehe, heeding this advice, collected from the colonists the money which they sought to invest in land, a sum of 5305 florins and 27½ kronin (about $2100)[24] and through banking houses sent the money to Craemer for the purchase of the debentures.

The eighty-one colonists traveled in three groups which met in Frankenmuth during the summer of 1847. These colonists had little time to rest in Frankenmuth for they had yet to select the site upon which Frankentrost was to be established. Pastor Graebner recorded the following events regarding this situation:

> The task of selecting a parcel of land for our colony of Frankentrost at once engaged our attention. Together with a surveyor, Mr. Beach, Pastor Craemer, myself and about a dozen

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[23]At the time of his leaving Germany with the colonists, he was a candidate for the ministry but had not received ordination (Greenholt, op. cit., p. 121). He was ordained by Pastor Craemer on September 5, 1847 (Henry C. Miller, Frankentrost: 1847-1947 n.p.: n.d., p. 7).

[24]Greenholt, op. cit., pp. 120-21. Graebner, (op. cit., p. 42) cites 6000 guilders ($4000). Miller (op. cit., p. 2) cites 6000 guilders, as $2400.

> of my men left on the very next morning in a northerly direction from Frankenmuth and entered the primeval forest. After tramping steadily for about two hours through the splendid wood, our guide made a halt and said, "Here we are six miles north of Frankenmuth."
>
> About noon we made a second halt at a creek with fine, clear water and there prepared our tea. As we consumed our repast, we decided to make our camp in the same place during the night. We had taken with us provisions for two days and a night. The afternoon was spent in exploring the country in every direction, and then we requested our guide to take us back to the place where we had spent the noon hour. . . .
>
> After we had spent another forenoon in exploring the land, we were all agreed--the best land that we had seen was the spot where we had rested on the preceding day.[25]

The place they finally agreed upon was about seven miles northwest of Frankenmuth in what are today sections 29, 30, 31, and 32 of Blumfield Township. This tract of land was purchased on July 22, 1847, in the Land Office in Marshall, Michigan, and shortly thereafter the colonists hired a surveyor to measure the parcels of land for each individual farm.

House types

While the women and children of the colony remained as guests in Frankenmuth, the men of Frankentrost went about the task of building log cabins on their own properties. During this work the men lived in a communal shelter, made of branches and leaves. The log cabins built by the men were ". . . miserable affairs. The floor was the naked clay. No rock was available for fireplaces; these also were made of clay. Most of the tables, chairs, and bedsteads were made by the settlers themselves.[26] It was not until October of 1847 that the cabins were completed and the men moved their wives and children from Frankenmuth to Frankentrost.

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[25]Graebner, op. cit., p. 44.

[26]Ibid., p. 46.

During the winter of 1847-48, a church-parsonage was erected on the north side of the village road (Figure 3). Prior to the construction of this facility, worship services were held twice daily in the log cabin of Conrad Munker, and Pastor Graebner lived there in the attic. The structure measured 20 x 30 feet and was described by Pastor Graebner in these words:

> It is only a log cabin, but the logs are nicely squared and trimmed, and the inner arrangement is quite German in style. The west room [10 x 20 feet] is my domicile, the east room [20 x 20 feet] our church, which has three windows. Behind the desk, which takes the place of a pulpit, there is a large chair, and about the altar there are grouped nine benches for the congregation.[27]

Henry Miller further describes the building as follows:

> The roof was made of home-made shingles; the openings between the logs were stuffed with moss and mud; the floor was covered with boards. . . The one room of the parsonage was at the same time study, kitchen, bedroom, and school. . . . The nine pews grouped around the altar are simply planks laid over two chunks of wood. There is no stove and, consequently, no heating in winter.[28]

By 1852 the congregation at Frankentrost had outgrown this log church, so a new log church was constructed on the south side of the village road (Figure 3).

Settlement pattern

The buildings mentioned above were laid out in two rows after the manner of a German village, much to Loehe's delight. That this was Loehe's intention is seen by examining the inset of the 1848 map circulated in Germany (Figure 4) which shows a map as it was planned by Loehe

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[27] Ibid., p. 47.

[28] Miller, op. cit., p. 8.

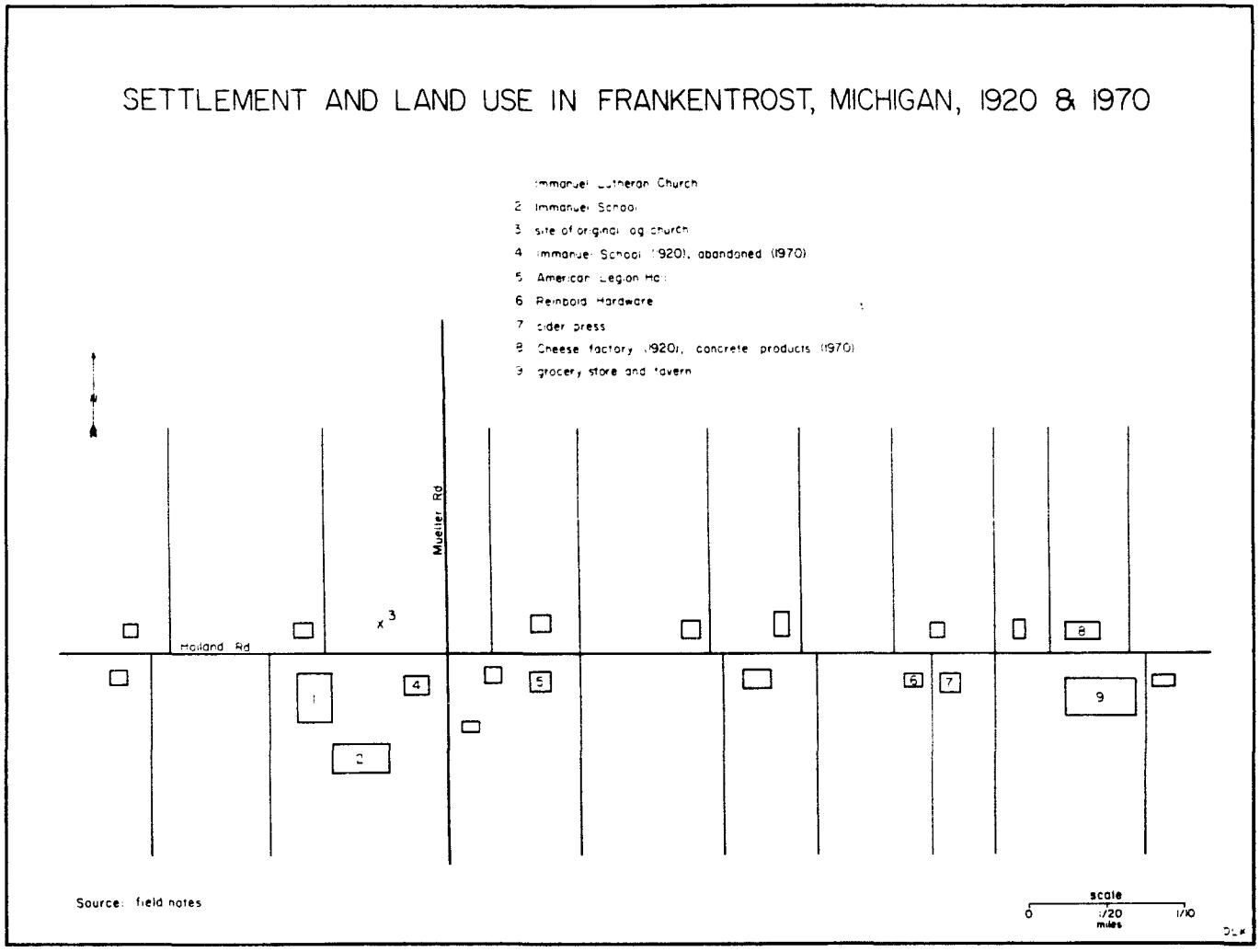
SETTLEMENT AND LAND USE IN FRANKENTROST, MICHIGAN, 1920 & 1970
1 Immanuel Lutheran Church
2 Immanuel School
3 site of original log church
4 Immanuel School (1920), abandoned (1970)
5 American Legion Hall
6 Reinbold Hardware
7 cider press
8 cheese factory (1920), concrete products (1970)
9 grocery, store and tavern
Mueller Rd
Holland Rd
x3
Source: field notes
scale
0
1/20 miles
1/10

Figure 3

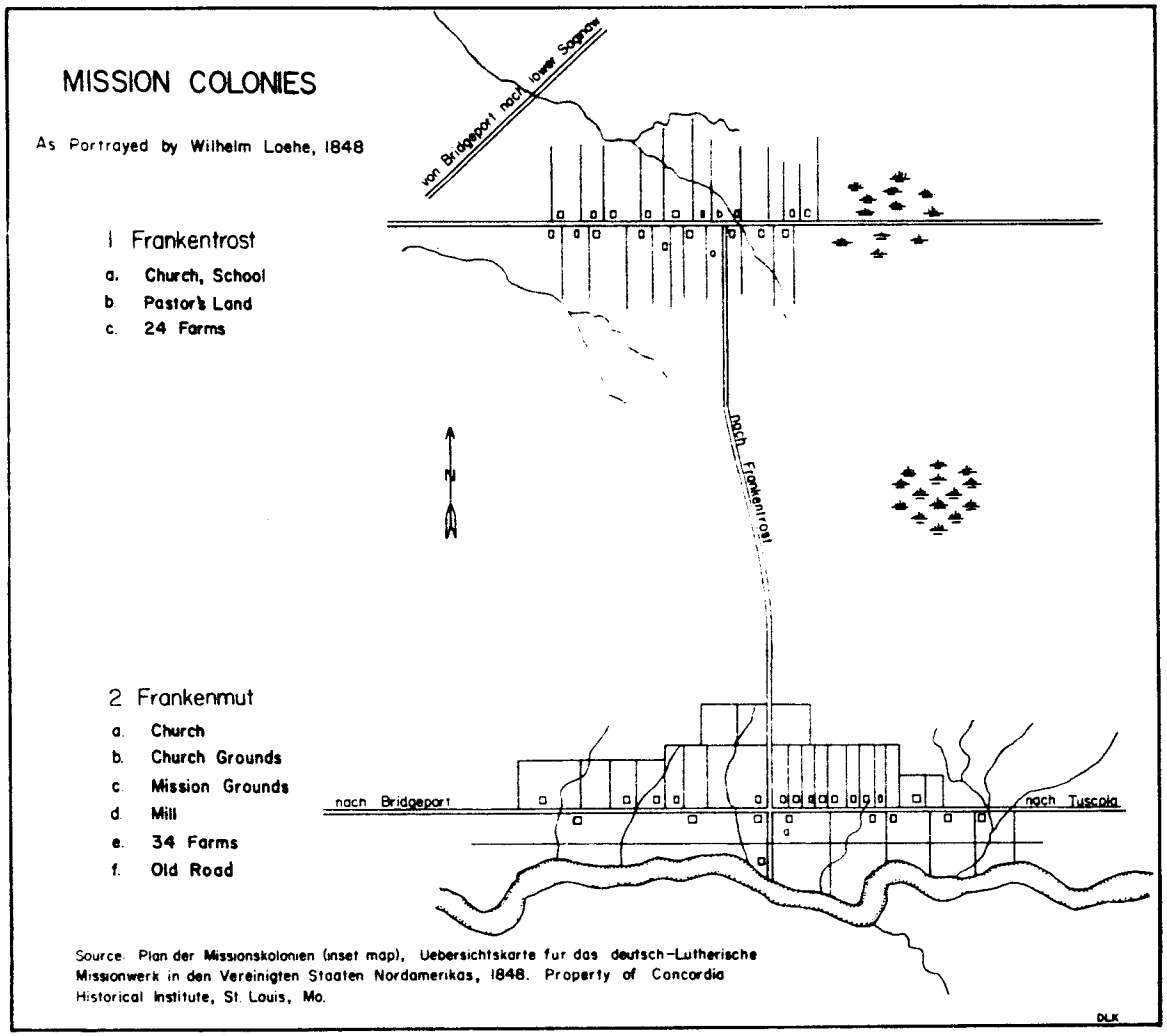
MISSION COLONIES
As Portrayed by Wilhelm Loehe, 1848
1 Frankentrost
a. Church, School
b. Pastor's Land
c. 24 Farms
2 Frankenmut
a. Church
b. Church Grounds
c. Mission Grounds
d. Mill
e. 34 Farms
f. Old Road
von Bridgeport nach Lower Saginaw
nach Frankentrost
nach Bridgeport
nach Tuscola
N
Source. Plan der Missionskolonien (inset map), Uebersichtskarte fur das deutsch-Lutherische Missionwerk in den Vereinigten Staaten Nordamerikas, 1848. Property of Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Mo.
DLK

Figure 4

for the colonies of Frankenmuth and Frankentrost. A main street was laid out in an east-west direction, with the log cabins erected on the north and south sides of the street about thirty feet away from it. The church and the parsonage were to stand in the center of the village on ninety-six acres of land set aside for the pastor, and purchased with a contribution from each colonist equivalent to the price of every twentieth acre of land.[29] Individual farms extended in narrow strips away from the village road.

> Those who took more than forty acres had to be satisfied with a stretch which extended the whole length of a section one mile while those who took less a piece which ran the length of a half section one-half mile.[30]

This pattern remained constant as the colony grew in size.

Population

Frankentrost enjoyed a steady growth in population from the 81 original colonists in 1847, to 158 by 1852 (Table 2). Much of this growth is attributed to continued migration from Bavaria, for church records indicate that the colonists' own procreative efforts were checked by a high rate of infant mortality.[31] As was true of Frankenmuth, these population figures indicate both the civic and congregational totals.

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[29]Greenholt, op. cit., p. 125.

[30]Ibid., p. 125.

[31]Ibid., p. 130.

Agriculture

Agricultural activity was begun in Frankentrost during the spring of 1848 with the clearing of approximately one hundred acres of forest.[32] The land consisted of a surface layer of black soil from which water either ran or was easily drained away. Two brooks ran through the land, one of which was dry throughout the summer. Availability of water was at first not believed to be a problem in Frankentrost, for numerous wells had been dug and spring rains were plentiful; however, as their initial planting of corn, potatoes, wheat, and vegetables was ripening, a drought occurred bringing ruin to most of the harvest. The wheat crop resisted these drought conditions but was unable to withstand mildew which developed during a period of heavy rains just prior to harvest. Thus the colonists had to be satisfied with the barest necessities and many "were compelled to go to neighboring mills or farms or towns to earn money or provisions.[33] Basic food supplies had to be obtained from the stores in Saginaw, Frankenmuth, and at times, even as far away as Flint. That the colony was able to overcome these inauspicious beginnings and develop agricultural stability is indicated by Leeson's observation concerning Frankentrost: "This section of the county is inhabited by an industrious class of agriculturalists, who may be said to have raised the wilderness to the condition of a beautiful garden within a few years.[34]

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[32]Miller, op. cit., p. 9.

[33]Greenholt, op. cit., p. 127.

[34]Leeson, op. cit., p. 734.

Commerce

Commercial activity in Frankentrost is not mentioned prior to 1855 though many of the colonists were artisans in Bavaria,[35] thus it might be assumed that "home industry" existed though no structures were erected solely for commercial purposes.

Transportation and communication

Frankentrost existed in a virtually isolated state although it was but a short linear distance from Frankenmuth and Saginaw. This isolation persisted because of the difficulty of clearing and maintaining trails through the dense forest which surrounded the settlement. In 1848 a trail was marked leading to Frankenmuth; however, this trail was readily overgrown with underbrush, thus the danger of becoming lost in the forest was ever present.

> When one was lost the whole colony went in search of the person. Shots were sounded and horns blown as signals. Once Dr. Koch . . . was called to a sick bed in Frankentrost. It was nearly night before he started back to Frankenmuth where he had two very sick patients. Somehow he lost the road and as a result wandered about in the forest for three nights and two days before he, finally, came out on the Bridgeport road and some farmer picked him up and took him back to Frankenmuth. During these days he dined upon linden leaves. Since it was still winter he froze the toes on one foot and was confined to his house for three months.[36]

Ofttimes Pastor Graebner would make the trip to Saginaw, taking with him a written list of orders from the colonists, and would return to Frankentrost heavily burdened with sacks of flour and other goods. The lack of

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[35]Original colonists and their trades: S. Abraham and Michael Huber, tailors; A. Moll, hatter; G. Wissmueller, comb-maker. (Greenholt, op. cit., p. 120.)

[36]Greenholt, op. cit., pp. 127-28.

adequate transportation routes precluded postal service in Frankentrost, thus mail was sent and received in either Frankenmuth or Saginaw.

Social organization

The people of Frankentrost were organized socially in the pattern of Frankenmuth, having accepted the Kirchenordnung before leaving Bavaria. While the colonists waited in Frankenmuth for their log cabins to be completed, they organized Immanuel Lutheran Church of Frankentrost, and decided to apply for membership in the Missouri Synod, which was organized in Chicago in 1847.

The daily lives of the colonists were closely tied to the church. Daily worship services were held at 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. during the summer months, and at 7 a.m. and 5 p.m. during the winter. Graebner relates,

> We had no church bells in Frankentrost in those days by means of which the people might be called to services at the appointed hours, and so we had to use some other means. Announcing the hour of divine services by some public signal was all the more necessary as there were at that time few clocks in the various households which could be depended upon as timepieces. These signals were given by means of a tin horn, the kind used by housewives to call their husbands from the field at mealtimes. Half an hour before the beginning of services I would blow my tin horn, and immediately the signal was passed on from household to household by means of similar instruments. Whoever had a watch or clock that still was in running order, at such times would set it, since the "Herr Pastor's watch surely must have correct time."[37]

Sunday services and catechism instruction were held regularly and were attended by all members of the colony; school sessions for the children were held at the parsonage during the week.

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[37]Graebner, op. cit., p. 83.

Language, dress, and customs

Bayerisch was the language of Frankentrost, and was used by the people in their worship, their social contacts, and in their correspondence. Because two tailors and a hatter resided in Frankentrost it might be assumed that the wearing of Bavarian style clothing persisted here for a longer time than in Frankenmuth, though photographic evidence indicates the gradual acceptance of English styles. The literature holds little record of special customs or observances during the early years of Frankentrost history. It was, however, recorded that the colonists frequently celebrated the Kaerwa festival in Frankenmuth and were often received as guests at wedding, baptismal, and funeral observances in their sister colony.[38]

Frankenlust

In 1848 a third colonizing effort resulted in the establishment of Frankenlust. In the autumn of 1847, while the people of Frankentrost were preparing to move into their new log cabins, George Ernst Christian Ferdinand Sievers, then an assistant pastor, decided to leave Germany and work for the Inner Mission among the German immigrants in North America. Sievers discussed his decision with Loehe in Neuendettelsau, however some disagreement exists as to the sequence of events which followed. Greenholt implies that upon consultation with Loehe, Sievers journeyed directly to Frankenmuth, there to await the arrival of the group of colonists who would found Frankenlust. He documents the arrival

[38]Zehnder, op. cit., p. 161.

of these colonists in Saginaw as June 20, 1848.[39] Authors of Frankenlust's centennial booklet, 100 Years of Spiritual Leadership, relate the events in this manner: Sievers, together with candidates E. A. Bauer, J. H. Pinkepank and a small number of colonists, met in Bremerhaven in August of 1847 with the intent of emigrating to America. Sievers, Bauer, and Pinkepank departed for America on August 20 aboard the Florian, approximately four weeks in advance of the colonists' departure. Upon their arrival in America, Bauer and Pinkepank journeyed with Sievers to Buffalo, but remained there as Sievers moved on to Frankenmuth. The colonists left behind in Bremen arrived in New York shortly after Sievers, but did not maintain a unity of purpose, some moving to Wisconsin, others to Monroe, Michigan, and the remainder to Frankenmuth, thus Sievers was the lone citizen of Frankenlust.[40]

Word reached Sievers in April of 1848 that Loehe had assembled a second group to form the colony and that they had sailed from Bremerhaven on April 18, 1848, with the intention of meeting Sievers in Saginaw. By June 22, all had gathered in Saginaw where they remained until July 4, using Dierker's barn as church, meeting hall, and communal shelter. Why did the colonists remain in Saginaw instead of immediately journeying to the site of the new colony? Records indicate that they contracted with Mr. Dierker to clear a six-acre piece of land, a project which took eight days to complete. In return for their labor, the

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[39]Greenholt, op. cit., p. 133 and p. 135.

[40]100 Years of Spiritual Leadership of St. Paul Evangelical Lutheran Church, Frankenlust, Michigan (Sheboygan: Diamond Printing Company, 1948), pp. 4-6.

colonists were allowed to plant potatoes on the acreage and to keep the entire harvest,[41] thus the time seemed to be wisely spent.

The colonists divided into two groups for the final leg of their journey. "Some drove the cattle through the forest with Pastor Sievers as their guide; the others sailed down the Saginaw River on a scow with a supply of lumber and provisions, which Andreas Goetz had brought from Detroit. He had bought $350 worth of the most necessary tools, stoves, windows, flour, food and household goods."[42] The two groups met on July 5 and together reached the site of their new home by mid-afternoon.

The site for the colony was chosen by Sievers during his winter stay in Frankenmuth, though in this matter he went against the desires of Pastor Craemer. A site along the Tittabawassee River had been chosen by Craemer prior to Sievers' arrival in Frankenmuth. Craemer's zeal for mission work among the Indians is reflected in his choice for it afforded close contact with an Indian population. This site was visited by Craemer and Sievers one day during the winter of 1847-48, and Sievers was favorably impressed by it for he reported that the soil seemed fertile and cultivable and that the land lay along a beautiful stream.[43]

Upon the receipt of 5000 florins from Loehe in the spring of 1848, Pastor Sievers set out again to inspect the site, taking with him John Hubinger of Frankenmuth. The character of the land had changed for they found so many swampy spots that Hubinger declared the

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[41] 100 Years of Spiritual Leadership, p. 7.

[42] Ibid. [43] Greenholt, op. cit., pp. 133-34

land unfit for settlement. Pastor Craemer, however, would not accept this report, so Sievers went a third time to the site, accompanied on this occasion by Leonhard Berenthal of Frankenmuth. Hubinger's opinion persisted, and Sievers started for the region around Lower Saginaw to which he had been attracted earlier. After four days of wandering in forest and swamps, he finally selected the place which was to become the site of the colony.

The land for the colony was located at the forks of the Squaquaning River, several miles west of its confluence with the Saginaw River, above Lower Saginaw. This tract of land, slightly more than 725 acres, was purchased by Sievers for $1,813.92½, and constituted all but 120 acres of T13N, R4E and 205 acres in section 31 of T14N, R5E (Figure 5).[44]

Settlement pattern

The colonists initial activities concerned the surveying of individual parcels of land according to a plan of settlement which they had devised. Shortly after Sievers had purchased the land, he had made a crude survey but now, for more accurate delineation, the colonists employed a surveyor. His task was made infinitely more arduous with the onset of a fourteen-day-long rainfall, for all measurements of the land had to be extended to the middle of or through the river, now swollen with run-off.

The initial settlement plan agreed upon placed the church and the parsonage on the peninsula formed between the two branches of the

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[44] Ibid., p. 135.

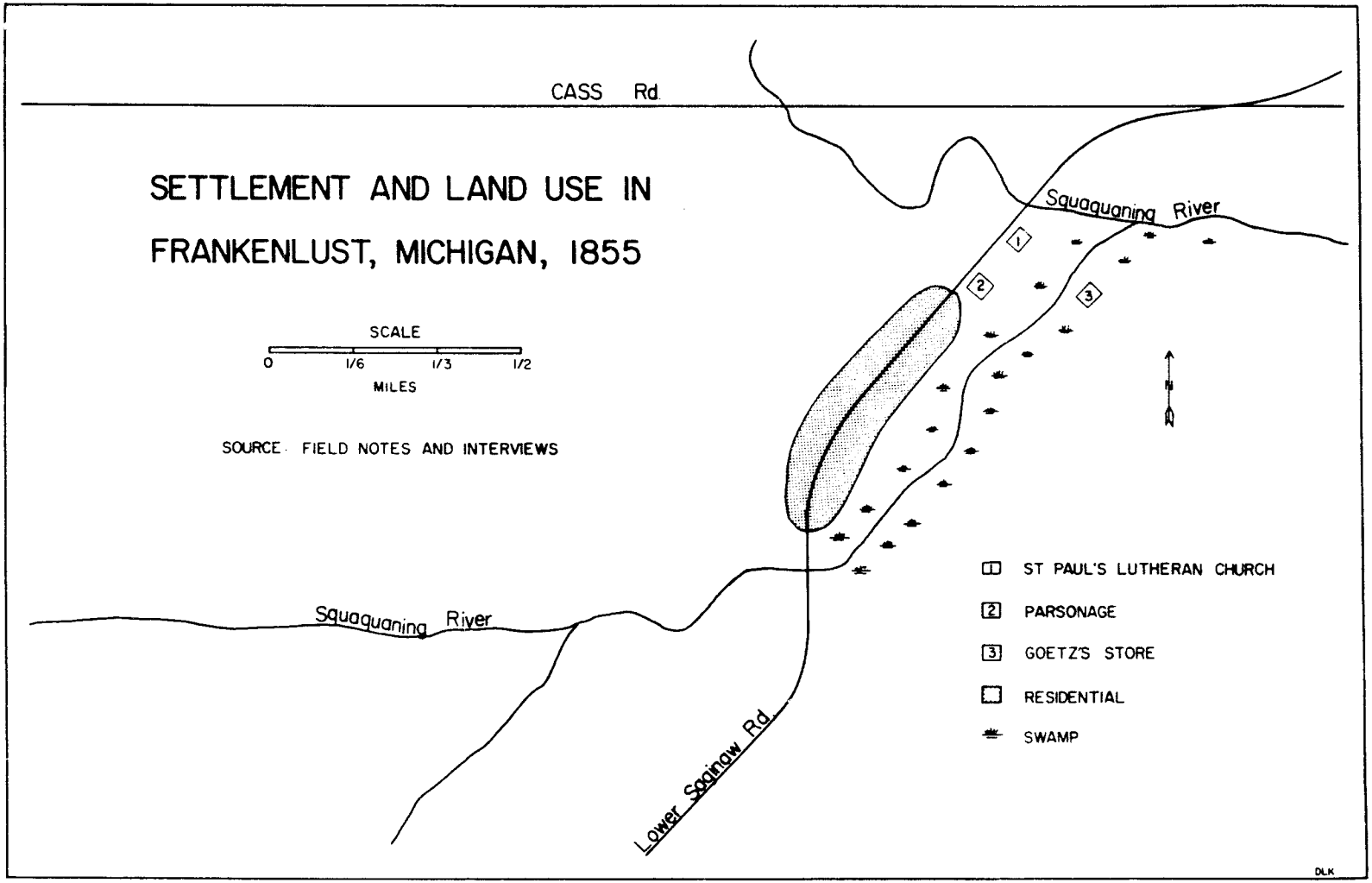
CASS Rd.
SETTLEMENT AND LAND USE IN
FRANKENLUST, MICHIGAN, 1855
SCALE
0 1/6 1/3 1/2
MILES
SOURCE: FIELD NOTES AND INTERVIEWS
Squaquaning River
Squaquaning River
Lower Saginaw Rd.
1 ST PAUL'S LUTHERAN CHURCH
2 PARSONAGE
3 GOETZ'S STORE
RESIDENTIAL
SWAMP
DLK

Figure 5

river (Figure 5). The remainder of the land on the peninsula was reserved for house and garden plots, two to three acres in size. Records indicate that a state road, known as the Lower Saginaw Road, did exist at this time and ran through the colony. The colonists were said to have entered their land "at the first bridge on the south branch of the river" and their settlement plan stated that houses and gardens were to occupy both sides of the state highway.[45] As population increased, homes were erected either along the highway or along the south branch of the river.

House types

As finances allowed, the houses built were either of log or frame construction, thus by 1855 both types could be found in Frankenlust. Authors disagree as to the type and source of the building material. In the centennial booklet, the first structure is described as a hastily assembled shack or shanty built with lumber brought from Saginaw. The shanty was poorly constructed and proved inadequate in sheltering the colonists during the rains which began within hours of its completion. Greenholt, however, states that on the way from Saginaw to Frankenlust a raft, which was towed by the scow, carrying 8500 feet of lumber "had caught in the rushes in the river and had been left sticking somewhere along the way.[46] Greenholt's findings are supported by the fact that when the rains ceased and the land was surveyed, the colonists constructed a number of log cabins, not frame houses, indicating that lumber for the latter may not have been available. No

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[45] Ibid., pp. 137-38.

[46] Ibid., p. 137.

photographs or descriptions of these log cabins are readily available. The first building described in detail was the log church, dedicated in November of 1849. Sievers pictures it in these words: "It is built of fair-hewn logs, is twenty-eight feet long and twenty-four feet wide, and the inside is plastered with clay . . . ."[47] Sievers had a parsonage built in the summer of 1849 using money sent to him for that purpose by his future father-in-law. At that time the house may have seemed a bit pretentious as it stood near the log church, for the parsonage was a solidly constructed frame house 34 x 22 x 28, complete with a basement and, extending the entire length of the house, a raised front porch supported by six square pillars.[48]

By 1850 the colony consisted of twenty-four houses and several barns and sheds. Of the houses, only a few were of frame construction, thus it appears that the process of replacing log cabins with frame houses was unhurried. Reference is found which indicates that the barns may have been three-sided affairs, with the south sides left open, since it was believed that cattle in America were hardier than those in Germany.[49]

Agriculture

Little is recorded in the agricultural activity in Frankenlust. Potatoes and vegetables were crops mentioned in several of Sievers' letters to Loehe, and no mention was made of food shortage during the first

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[47] 100 Years of Spiritual Leadership, p. 9.

[48] Ibid., pp. 10-11.

[49] Greenholt, op. cit., p. 142.

winter as in the previous two colonies. It was stated above that cattle were taken to the colony when it was first begun, and that in 1850 "the colonists owned about 150 head of cattle, oxen, calves, many hogs, chickens, and pigeons."[50] One hundred acres of forest land had been cleared by 1850, and although no indication is given as to actual land use, the low relief of the site suggests that the farmers may have had trouble with field drainage. Another indication of the swampy nature of the site is the high incidence of disease and the hordes of mosquitoes observed.[51]

Commerce

Prior to 1855 commercial activity in Frankenlust was limited to two types: enterprise within the colony and employment of colonists in neighboring towns. The only commercial establishment in Frankenlust was a general store, located on the south branch of the river opposite the church, and operated by Andreas Goetz. He opened his store in 1852 and stocked it with every conceivable type of household good. The colonists found it convenient to buy from Goetz, thus he was continually faced with the task of replenishing his inventory. Since roads were impassable much of the time, he made his trips, often three a week, in a small sailboat and was frequently delayed in his return by adverse winds.[52]

Others in Frankenlust engaged in commercial activity included blacksmiths, fishermen, cobblers, tailors, brewers, bakers, and masons

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[50] 100 Years of Spiritual Leadership, p. 11.

[51] Ibid. [52] Ibid., p. 14.

who were offered many job opportunities during these early years, especially in Lower Saginaw.

Population

As seen in Table 2, the population of Frankenlust rose steadily during its early existence. This population growth was due primarily to an influx of immigrants to the valley. From an initial total of 15 persons in 1848, the colony grew to approximately 150 by 1853. Goetz, in a letter to Loehe, indicated that "little increase from the outside" took place after 1853,[53] thus the population growth rate declined somewhat from its previous pace.

Transportation and communication

From its inception Frankenmuth was linked to neighboring communities by both road and water. Lower Saginaw Road extended through the colony providing access to Lower Saginaw and Saginaw. The Squaquaning River also provided a route to these communities, thus Frankenlust was the least isolated of the colonies and its citizens experienced extensive social contact with other settlers in the valley. The road may not have been of the highest quality, but the short distances to neighboring towns (three miles to Lower Saginaw and seven miles to Saginaw) made the lack of quality less detrimental to travel.

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[53]Greenholt, op. cit., p. 243

Social organization

In Frankenlust, as in the two colonies which preceded it, the civic population was also the church congregation. While staying in Dierker's barn in Saginaw, the colonists organized St. Paul Evangelical Lutheran Church and adopted a constitution written by Loehe, which Sievers had brought with him from Germany. The first worship service of the new congregation was held June 25, 1848, in Dierker's barn, thus the congregation became a reality before the colony was actually established. The church constitution written by Loehe was almost identical to the Kirchenordnung used at St. Lorenz and Immanuel. That the social affairs of the colony were not always as expected is seen in this statement written by Goetz to Loehe: "When in 1850 more immigrants came from northern Germany things did not go so smoothly and harmoniously anymore as in the first two years when only Bavarians were here."[54] This situation was apparently brought under control without harming the integrity of the colony for no further mention of it is recorded.

One social relationship particularly significant in shaping events in Frankenlust was that of Pastor Sievers and his father-in-law, Frederick Koch. Prior to his coming to America, Sievers had served as a private tutor employed by Mr. Koch, thus becoming acquainted with Koch's daughter, Caroline. Mr. and Mrs. Koch were aristocratic and highly educated and were somewhat chagrined that their daughter wanted to accept Sievers' proposal of marriage and go with him to the Michigan wilderness. Mr. Koch stipulated that a suitable parsonage should be

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[54] 100 Years of Spiritual Leadership, p. 14.

built before his daughter would come to America. Thus Koch financed the construction of the colony's most impressive living quarters, sometimes referred to by the settlers as "das wiesse Schloss," the white castle.[55] In 1849 Koch purchased from Sievers the entire southern half of the township of land in the original purchase. This parcel, which he intended to sell later to colonists, is still called Kochville. The large purchase replenished the mission society's circulating fund to the extent that Sievers was now able to purchase land for a fourth colony. Koch was therefore indirectly responsible for the creation of Frankenhilf.

Frankenhilf

A fourth colony, Frankenhilf, was founded during this first decade of Bavarian occupance in the valley. As related earlier in the chapter, conditions of poverty and moral decay in Bavaria gave Loehe ample motivation to begin this venture, but for a time he lacked sufficient funds. Sievers' rapid renewal of the circulating colonization fund alleviated this problem and by the spring of 1849 a tract of land had been purchased by Sievers for the new colony. The land chosen by Sievers totaled 1592 acres and was located at the source of the Cheboyganing River in the southwest corner of Denmark township "four British miles from three different places: Frankenmuth, Frankentrost, and the English settlement Tuscola on the Cass River"[56] (Figure 1). When news of Sievers' purchase reached Loehe, he began screening

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[55] Ibid., p. 13.

[56] Graebner, op. cit., p. 56.

applications and appealed to other pastors to select suitable persons, even couples living together out of wedlock if they showed promise of reform, to populate the new colony. This process continued through the winter and by early spring of 1850, a number of families had been organized under the leadership of candidate Herman Kuehn to leave for America. This group arrived in Detroit and proceeded from there to Lower Saginaw by sailboat. Upon reaching Lower Saginaw their boat was becalmed for almost five days, during which time two single men deserted the group and many families chose to settle in Frankenlust, having had an opportunity to meet Pastor Sievers and several of his colonists. Two families continued as far as Saginaw with Kuehn and then quit the colony to find employment so that they could pay debts incurred on their journey. Thus on June 6, 1850, the colonists of Frankenhilf who finally arrived in Frankenmuth were Pastor Kuehn and the Ammon family.[57] On June 10 the Ammon family, along with several Frankenmuthers, left for the site of the new colony.

> Immediately a spot was chosen in the middle of the land, a clearing made and a cabin started. From this point Ammon and a Frankenmuther later inspected the whole estate at which time the former selected a plot in the southeast part of section thirty for a permanent home. It was, he reported, a beautiful place stretching along a brook whose water was good to drink, covered with beech, maple, and oak trees and easy to be cultivated.[58]

Because Frankenhilf's population was that of one family, worship services would have to be held in the colony's only building, Ammon's log cabin; thus Kuehn dedicated the cabin to the service of God on August 17,

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[57]Greenholt, op. cit., p. 150.

[58]Ibid., p. 151.

1850 and by September 11 of that year it was ready for occupance.[59] Shortly thereafter, Kuehn abandoned the colony, citing poor health and a lack of parishoners as his main reasons. The Ammon cabin stood on the site of the present cemetery and constituted the first settlement pattern of Frankenhilf. By 1855 the population had grown and several more log cabins and sheds had been constructed in a loosely clustered pattern (Figure 6).

Population

The exact population of the Ammon family is not listed though mention is made of Ammon's cousin, thus indicating an extended kinship group was present. By autumn of 1851 the colony had increased in size to eighteen people, the arrival of three families having been preceded by the June arrival of Michael Gruber and his wife.[60] These five families requested Loehe to send a pastor and on December 3, 1851, the population grew with the arrival of Pastor Johannes Deindoerfer. The following year saw the addition of eight more persons so that by 1855, though Frankenhilf was still the smallest of the Franconian settlements, it had sufficient populace to insure its survival (Table 2).

House types

Log cabins were the only types of dwellings mentioned and apparently provided scant protection against rain and snow. By 1852, the congregation had outgrown the worship area provided in Ammon's cabin and the colonists began construction of a log church patterned after the

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[59] Ibid., p. 152.

[60] Ibid.

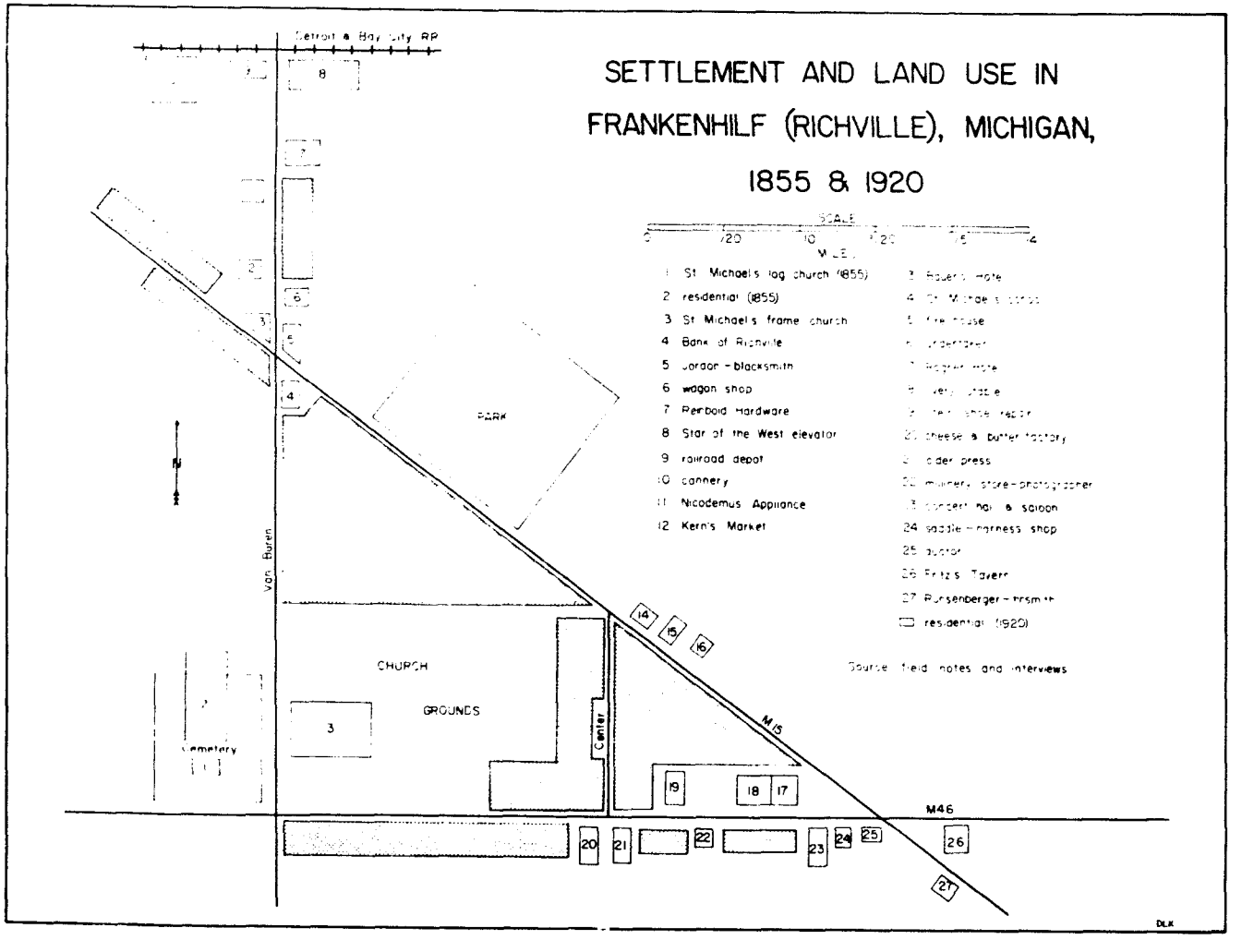
SETTLEMENT AND LAND USE IN
FRANKENHILF (RICHVILLE), MICHIGAN,
1855 & 1920
SCALE
MILES
1 St Michael's log church (1855)
2 residential (1855)
3 St Michael's frame church
4 Bank of Richville
5 cordor - blacksmith
6 wagon shop
7 Penfold Hardware
8 Star of the West elevator
9 railroad depot
10 cannery
11 Nicodemus Appliance
12 Kern's Market
Source: field notes and interviews
Detroit & Bay City RR
Van Buren
Center
PARK
CHURCH
GROUNDS
Cemetery
M-15
M46
DLK

Figure 6

log church under construction in Frankentrost. This first church was completed in 1853.

Agriculture

Farming activity was limited by the time-consuming necessity of having to clear away the heavy forest. Pastor Deindoerfer reports that the fields were never completely cleared for the stumps were not removed, thus production was limited. For their food the colonists were dependent on the cows and pigs they kept, thus the numerous wolves and bears in the forest posed a constant threat. Their diet "consisted chiefly of corn bread, milk, edible mushrooms and sometimes venison. They drank a beverage brewed from acorns and beech-nuts. Labor was lightened a bit by a yoke of oxen which Amman [sic] owned."[61] From Frankenmuth came the supplies which they were unable to provide for themselves.

Transportation

The dependency on Frankenmuth is seen in the transportation pattern extending from Frankenhilf. Even while building his cabin, Ammon was busy trying to cut a road through the forest to Frankenmuth. He borrowed eighty-two dollars from the colonization fund for that purpose and intended to equip his road with markers and milestones.[62] Pastor Deindoerfer organized the settlers about the task of completing the road, though even when it was finished, parts of the road had been overrun by the forest, and it proved impassable whenever it rained.

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[61] Ibid., p. 154.

[62] Ibid., p. 152.

Prior to 1855 Deindoerfer Road was Frankenhilf's only link to a neighboring community.

Social organization

The colony grew from an extended family into a congregation, St. Michael's, with a membership of over thirty souls by 1850. The pastor was the leader of the colony and as such handled any disputes which arose using the church constitution and his theological training as guides. The colony lost this leadership in 1853 when Deindoerfer sided with Loehe in a doctrinal dispute with the Missouri Synod and left the colony, taking the Ammon family with him to Iowa.

Summary

By various means and for varying motives, four Bavarian colonies had rooted themselves in the Saginaw Valley. Without exception, the colonies engaged in agricultural activity and by 1855 some showed stirrings of commercial awakening. In several ways these colonies were isolated from neighboring settlements, if not by natural barriers, then by the theologically oriented life-style they pursued, and by their Bayerish dialect.

Their presence in the valley was noted, but their meager beginnings showed less economic promise than the lumbering interests focused on Saginaw. Their presence did, however, make the valley increasingly attractive to other Germans seeking to immigrate to America. The colonies' attractiveness complemented a program designed by the State of Michigan to increase the number of immigrants seeking

land within its boundaries. Upon assuming governorship of the State in 1848, Epaphroditus Ransom introduced legislation which favored the purchase of state lands by immigrants and also appointed Edward Hughes Thompson of Flint, Michigan, Commissioner of Immigration.[63] The wisdom of the appointment was borne out in the success enjoyed by Mr. Thompson in luring immigrants, especially Germans, to Michigan. Much of Thompson's success was based on the pamphlet which he authored in 1849 which formally invited immigrants to the state. In this pamphlet Auswanderers Wegweiser nach dem Staate Michigan Thompson used the Franconian colonies as lures for future immigration. "The names of these pioneer German Lutheran missionaries (Craemer, Sievers, Graebner) were used to charm many a group of their race into the new country."[64] Another document published during this initial period of German settlement appeared in 1851 entitled Die Deutschen Colonien in der Naehe des Saginaw-Flusses.[65] Widely distributed in Germany, it dealt primarily with the Franconian colonies, and thus appealed to German Lutherans more specifically than Thompson's earlier publication.

These documents, together with letters sent from Michigan to Bavaria, plus Loehe's enthusiasm for colonization, convinced many Germans to emigrate to the Saginaw Valley. Thus the German population in the valley was to grow in numbers, and its cultural impact was to assume dimensions unrealized during the initial decade of settlement.

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[63]Russell, op. cit., pp. 56-57.

[64]Ibid., p. 58.

[65]George Westman, Die Deutschen Colonien in der Naehe des Saginaw-Flusses, (Braunschweig: G. and B. Westernmann Bros., 1851).

CHAPTER V

THE FRANCONIAN COLONIES 1856-1920

The period 1856-1920 marks the second stage in the history of the Franconian colonies. It was a time of change and economic prosperity, a time of increased mobility and communication, a time during which each colony shaped its character and treasured its heritage. Michigan, with its vast forests of pine and hardwood, was attacked by an army of lumbermen during the 1850's and became a center of lumbering activity which reached its economic peak during the twenty-year period ending in 1880. The Saginaw River provided a natural outlet for timber from the interior of the state and was soon lined with saw mills and wood products manufacturing operations. As the timber harvest waned, economic impetus was continued in the valley by the increased agricultural prices paid for grain crops in the wake of crop failures in Europe and India, and by the war economy generated during the Spanish-American War at the close of the century. Agricultural and commercial enterprises also benefited with the onset of World War I and the economic prosperity which it supported until 1920. The initial decades of the twentieth century also witnessed the rapid growth in popularity and in numbers of the automobile, which stimulated not only the automotive manufacturing and service interests in the country, but also the many retail and service-oriented establishments which now became more easily accessible to greater numbers of customers. The period ended in 1920

with the onset of post-War depression and the then-recent ratification of the Prohibition Amendment. During this sixty-four year segment of their history, each of the colonies was to emerge with its own peculiar character, yet all were to retain the integrity of their cultural heritage.

Frankenmuth

Agriculture

Patterns of agricultural and commerical activity begun in Frankenmuth prior to 1856 continued to influence growth and development during the second period of its history to 1920. Incorporated in 1854, Frankenmuth township became a leader in the agricultural development of the Saginaw Valley. Every effort was made to clear land and by 1866 there remained but a few patches of woodland in the entire township.[1] Thoughts of the actual profits to be made in selling the logs and the potential profits to be realized when the additional acres bore their harvest stimulated land clearance. During this period of agricultural expansion, new drainage techniques were adopted by the Bavarians. Cylindrical clay tile were made available in diameters ranging from one to six inches. The tile were installed as a network which consisted of rows of small-diameter tile laid four rods apart, each connected to a major carrier made of larger-diameter tile. Because clay tile were costly, a farmer's prosperity was estimated by determining the distance

[1]Zehnder, op. cit., p. 122.

between the tributary rows of tile--only the wealthy could afford to space these rows close together.[2]

The farmers in Frankenmuth township were reputed to be among the best in the entire Saginaw Valley, not only in terms of production, but also in the care given to maintaining the farmsteads. Noteworthy were the cleanliness of the grounds around the house and outbuildings, the care shown the orchards and gardens, and the manure pile in the barnyard. The houses were large frame structures, often designed and built by the Neuchterlein brothers. They were typically rectangular in shape, two and one-half stories high, with a frontward-facing gabled roof. The barns took on a new look with the invention and adoption of the trip, a three-slinged device used to lift materials up into the loft and then to the back of the barn. Use of the trip necessitated a double break roof with an extension out over the trip apparatus on the front of the barn.[3]

Emphasis in agricultural production was shifted from wheat to specialty crops such as sugar beets and beans during this period. Staple crops such as wheat, barley, oats, buckwheat and rye were grown to meet the needs of the community though these crops did not enjoy the profit margins of the specialty crops. Hay and meadows of clover, tame grasses, and timothy were prominent features of the agricultural landscape. Corn was grown for use as silage and fodder, and not as a grain crop.

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[2]William Zehnder, Jr., private interview, January 22, 1970.

[3]Ibid.

Commerce

The settlement pattern established by the first settlers was perpetuated during this period, with farmers living throughout the township on their own farms and village expansion attaining its most significant growth in the vicinity of the Hubinger saw mill. Most manufacturing and service outlets were established north of the river; however after a covered wooden bridge was constructed in 1858, commercial activity expanded to the south side of the river as well (Figure 7).

The increase of commercial activity and the growth of the community itself owed much of its success to the cooperative attitude of the agricultural and commercial segments of the population. The first industries to achieve prominence in Frankenmuth were closely related to the agricultural heritage and needs of the settlement (Table 3). The Frankenmuth Cheese Company was the first of many dairy-oriented food processors to take advantage of the local supply of raw materials and the local market attuned to consumption of its porducts. Barley grown by the farmers of Frankenmuth was an integral ingredient in the manufacture of beer, an activity welcomed in the community as early as 1857. Other businesses dependent upon the agricultural segment of the community were the slaughter houses and sausage shops, the flour mill, the cider mill and wine press, and the various shops occupied by blacksmiths, wagon repairmen, and farm implement dealers.

Many businesses in Frankenmuth were of a service type such as those of the cooper, cobbler, barber, tailor, painter, cabinet-maker, photographer, jeweler, tinsmith, and plumber. General stores and saloons

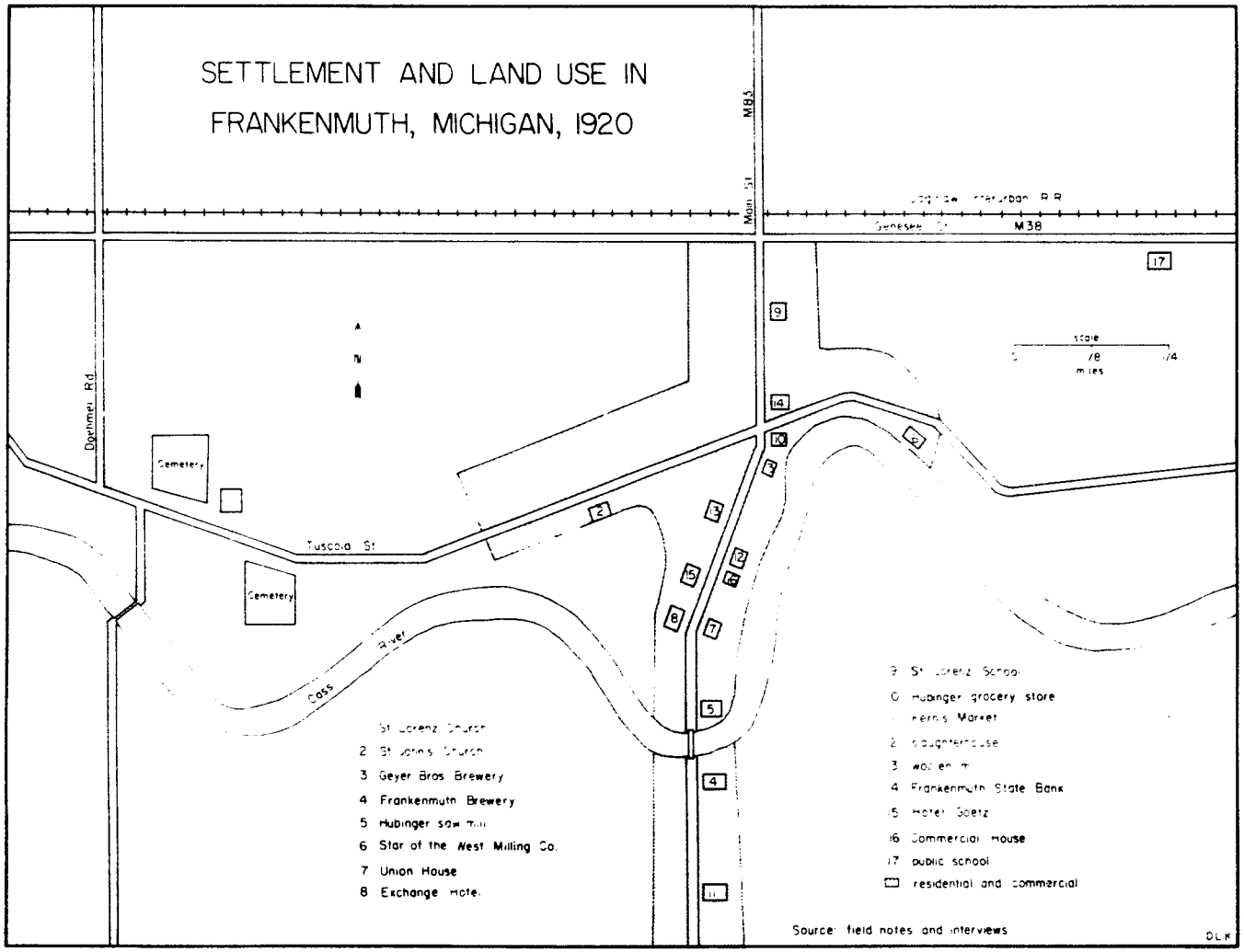
SETTLEMENT AND LAND USE IN
FRANKENMUTH, MICHIGAN, 1920
M83
Main St
M38
Genesee St
Doehmel Rd
Tuscola St
Cemetery
Cemetery
Cass River
N
scale
miles
1 St Lorenz Church
2 St Johns Church
3 Geyer Bros Brewery
4 Frankenmuth Brewery
5 Hubinger saw mill
6 Star of the West Milling Co.
7 Union House
8 Exchange Hotel
9 St Lorenz School
10 Hubinger grocery store
Herms Market
12 Slaughterhouse
13 Woolen mill
14 Frankenmuth State Bank
15 Hotel Goetz
16 Commercial House
17 public school
residential and commercial
Source: field notes and interviews
DLK

Figure 7

Table 3

Commercial Activity in Frankenmuth, 1856-1920

Hotels

Exchange Hotel, est. 1852
Union House, est. 1873
Eagle House, est. 1880
Commercial House, est. 1882
Union House, est. 1888
Fischer's Hall, est. 1894
Goetz Hotel, est. 1899
New Exchange Hotel, est. 1900

Breweries

Frankenmuth Brewery, 1857-64, 1870's
Cass River Brewery, 1862-74
Geyer Brothers Brewery, est. 1884
Frankenmuth Brewery, est. 1899

General Stores/Markets

Schreiner's G. S., est. 1847
Hubinger's G. S., est. 1851
Gugel Brothers' G. S., est. 1888
Kern's Market
Rau Brothers' G. S., est. 1900's
Ortner Brothers' G. S., est. 1900's

Food Processing/Manufacturing

Hubinger flour mill, est. 1874
Freudenstein sausage, est. 1851
Frankenmuth Cheese Co., est. 1884
Hubinger-Rau Creamery, est. 1886
Zehnder slaughterhouse
Goetzinger slaughterhouse
Doerner's sausage, est. 1915
Cass River Creamery and Cheese Manufacturing Company
Rauke's cider mill, wine press, and jelly factory, est. 1889

Medical Services

Drs. Schick; Speckhardt; Pillsbury, MD's.
Dr. Schmitt, DDS.
Drs. Stowe; Conzetmann; Engel, DVM's.

Retail/Service Industries

German Assistance Soc., est. 1869
Power and Light Co., est. 1894
Reichle, blacksmith/farm tools
Habke, blacksmith/wagon shop
Schaefer, blacksmith/farm tools
Hoerlein, wagon mfg./repair
Reichle, carriage painter
Rhode, painter/carpenter/upholsterer
List, builder/architect
Neuchterlein Brothers, funerals/cabinet makers
Roth, builder
Veitengruber Brothers, wood prod.
Link, tinsmith
Kurtz, cooper
Roller, cobbler
Pausch, photographer
Kern, tailor
Zucker, barber
Link; Nuechterlein; Fechter Brothers, plumbers
Hubinger Tavern
Bierschneider Bar and Bakery
Heine's store and saloon
Gugel haberdashery
Hubinger hat shop
Weber's Jewelry
Bernthal Jewelry
Rau Leather Goods
Ranke's Greenhouse
Tannery, est. 1865
Zucher, new/used furniture
Witzleben Furniture
Weiss farm machinery, est. 1916
Rau Implement, est. 1915
Baker Sales and Service, est. 1917
Galsterer Motor Co., est. 1918
Acme Oil Company, est. 1919
Frankenmuth Woolen Mill
Frankenmuth State Bank, est. 1910
American State Bank, est. 1917

Source: Compiled from numerous articles, pamphlets, and books.

were also popular enterprises, but the hotel industry was perhaps the most important to the future development of the community.

As the lumbering era began, increased numbers of lumbermen arrived in Frankenmuth on their downsteam journey to the Saginaw River. As the Hubinger saw mill expanded operations, a great number of the lumbermen found need of a place to stay over before heading upstream for another raft of logs. In 1856 the Exchange Hotel was opened in Frankenmuth, signaling the start of a series of hotel openings that would continue to 1900.

During the late 1800's a hotel tradition was established which was to gain statewide fame. It is believed that the first "Frankenmuth chicken dinners" were served by Mrs. Kern at the Commercial House in 1895.[4] These dinners, served on an all-you-can-eat basis, soon became so popular that the hotels were filled almost every evening with guests who had come the day's journey from Flint or Saginaw to partake of the fare. With the improvement of highways and the increased popularity of the automobile, diners could reach Frankenmuth and return home again in a single day, thus the hotels phased out their overnight accommodations and concentrated instead on expanding their dining room and kitchen facilities. In their expansion programs, the hotel owners were careful to retain the family style of dining and continued to serve their guests with the warmth and friendliness born of long acquaintance, known locally as "Gemuetlichkeit." Thus by 1920, the reputation of the Frankenmuth

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[4]Irene Zeilinger, ed., Frankenmuth (125th anniversity commemorative booklet, May, 1970), p. 9.

chicken dinner had spread throughout lower Michigan, and people were drawn from miles around to the hotel dining rooms.

The influx of large numbers of travelers also benefited other service industries in Frankenmuth, and brought about the gradual realization that, if properly handled, the tourist trade could become one of the economic mainstays of the community.

Despite continued growth in agriculture and business, Frankenmuthers retained their suspicion of banks, thus several attempts to establish banks met with failure. Savings were hidden instead in homes or were given to trusted storekeepers for safe-keeping. Among those most often entrusted with cash were the Hubinger brothers, who put the money into various hiding places in the saw mill, flour mill, or general store. An indication of the wealth of Frankenmuth's citizens is given in the remark by Lorenz Hubinger that if any great emergency arose for which immediate cash was a necessity, Frankenmuth could produce half a million dollars from its hoards in twenty-four hours.[5] When a bank was finally established in 1907, its entire capital stock of $50,000 was sold at the first meeting.[6]

Transportation and communication

The need for good roads to Frankenmuth had long been apparent to farmer, merchant, and manufacturer alike, and Frankenmuth township took pride in maintaining its transportation links with its neighbors. The Cass River was heavily traveled during the lumbering era, and as commerce grew in Frankenmuth the numbers of traveling salesmen vying for the

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[5]Russell, op. cit., p. 338. [6]Zehnder, op. cit., p. 190.

attention of the local merchants also rose steadily. By 1920 Frankenmuth boasted of good quality roads to Bridgeport, Tuscola, Flint, and Frankentrost. A railroad line (the East Saginaw & St. Clair) had also been built just four miles north of town and a station established at Gera, which handled the rail freight business and housed the telegraph office.

Population

Frankenmuth experienced a large population increase between 1856 and 1920, due in part to the continued influx of Germans from the Old World, and due also to the natural increase of the local population. The community remained relatively free of epidemic diseases such as smallpox and cholera, and enjoyed the services of a physician throughout this entire period. Congregational records indicate that by 1920 the population of the township had grown to more than 2500, for St. Lorenz indicates a membership of 2320 and the more recently formed congregation of St. John's was estimated to number 200 additional souls (Table 4). St. John's was begun in 1879 by combining two smaller congregations from the outlying area. The congregation also added to its rolls several families who were dissatisfied with various aspects of the St. Lorenz operation, which brought the total membership to 34 families or approximately 119 souls.[7]

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[7]St. John's Congregation Records Book of Official Acts lists membership at 34 families. Rev. Joel Ehlert, private interview, September 13, 1971.

Table 4

Number of Souls in the Franconian Congregations for Selected Years Between 1856 and 1920

	St. Lorenz	St. John's	Immanuel	St. Paul's	St. Michael's
1856	. .	. .	. .	. .	20
1859	860	. .	. .	. .	. .
1861	. .	. .	221	. .	. .
1874	. .	. .	. .	. .	35
1882	. .	119	. .	. .	. .
1892	2168	. .	525	678	908
1902	2375	. .	598	735	934
1910	2215	. .	576	540	940
1919	2320	. .	650	604	1096

Source: Church records of Franconian congregations. Data since 1892 is recorded by the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, Department of Research and Statistics, Statistical Yearbook (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1892-).

Customs

Customs mentioned in the previous chapter were continued through this period of Frankenmuth's history, and use of the German language both from the pulpit and lectern and in the social affairs of the town was the rule rather than the exception. The Frankenmuthers, however, realized that English was the language of trade and commerce, and so encouraged the teaching of English in their schools. It is also noteworthy that the first newspaper in Frankenmuth was published by an Irishman and printed in English, for Mr. Gallagher's editorials fostered good relations between Frankenmuth and its English-speaking neighbors during the anti-German hysteria of World War I.[8]

[8]Zeilinger, op. cit., p. 34.

Public and parochial education were conducted in a unique fashion up to 1900. Since virtually all residents of the township were members of the Lutheran Church, financial support given the congregation was used to run the parochial or German school. In 1858 these same people established the English school, supporting it with the taxes paid yearly to the township, thus the English school was, in effect, a public school and the children of the township attended both schools.

Teachers were hired by the congregation to teach in the German school. In the event that the teacher was bilingual, he also became the teacher for the English school, his work there paid for out of the township treasury. As the number of teachers grew to eight, and the number of school buildings multiplied, a system of classroom exchange was begun which typifies the socio-religious character of the township. Students would attend school on a half-day basis for 200 days per year. In the morning session, grades one through three would receive religious and secular instruction through the medium of the German language, while grades four through seven were instructed in English. After the noon recess, the teachers would exchange classrooms, thus reversing the language media for the students during the second half of each school day. In 1901 the state superintendent of education informed the residents of Frankenmuth township that their system of education did not meet the requirements of the law which held that all students must attend a given school for 100 school days each year. The plea was made that a student attending each school for 200 half-days was in effect obeying the law, but the state refused to allow this system to continue. The result was that the German schools received the bulk of the students

and held sessions in both German and English. The English schools became schools offering only the eighth grade. By 1912 St. Lorenz congregation had eight parochial schools scattered throughout the township and had begun a system of voluntary contributions by school districts to bear the added burden of educational expense.[9]

Frankentrost

In contrast to Frankenmuth, Frankentrost changed very gradually between 1856 and 1920. Agricultural development was curtailed by the poor drainage of the soil, commercial growth was limited by market and transportation conditions, and population increase was counterbalanced by a steady emigration from the colony.

Agriculture

As Frankentrost farmers cleared the forests during the initial period of settlement they had room enough to avoid poorly drained areas and yet had sufficient acreage to meet their needs. As more farmland was desired during this second period, the poor drainage of the remaining land became a major obstacle to expansion. Land could only be brought under cultivation using costly tiling systems, which most of the farmers could barely afford to install. Thus spring rains and snow melt left water standing in the fields, delaying planting annually.

Lack of suitable farmland also cost Frankentrost an opportunity to greatly expand its population for by 1870 the farmers in Frankenmuth were looking for good farmland in outlying districts and bypassed

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[9]Zehnder, op. cit., pp. 153-55.

Frankentrost in favor of the better land available near Frankenhilf.[10] Sons of many Frankentrost farmers also left the settlement in search of better farmland.

Commerce

Commercial activity did not develop beyond the home-industry stage until the 1890's. Prior to that time the population was not large enough to support local business in the face of already established commercial centers in Frankenmuth and Saginaw. Transportation links to other communities did not necessarily favor development in Frankentrost; for example, during the 1860's when the Frankentrost farmers desperately sought outlets for their agricultural products, the only road out of Frankentrost led to the already prosperous farming community of Frankenmuth. Completion of the plank road to Saginaw by 1870 opened new markets just as agricultural expansion slowed due to the poor drainage conditions mentioned above. Completion of the plank road also increased commercial competition from the Saginaw merchants.

Commercial activity was begun in Frankentrost during the 1890's (Table 5) with the opening of the Frankentrost Cheese Factory. The original structure, located on the north side of Holland Road, was destroyed by fire in 1908, and was replaced with a brick structure still in evidence today (Figure 3). In 1893 a saloon opened across the road from the cheese factory and a blacksmith shop was constructed several yards east of the saloon. In 1904 the blacksmith shop was moved and attached

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[10] 100 Years of Grace: 1851-1951 (Centennial booklet, St. Michael's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Richville, Michigan), p. 8.

to the saloon for use as a dancehall. It was also used to house the cream separator while the cheese factory was being rebuilt.[11] Philip Reinbold opened a hardware store and cider mill in 1914,[12] the last commercial venture undertaken in Frankentrost until 1970. This limited commercial growth indicates that few jobs were to be found in Frankentrost, providing further incentive for the young to move elsewhere.

Table 5

Commercial Activity in Frankentrost, 1856-1920

Blacksmith
Frankentrost Cheese Factory, est. 1890's, rebuilt 1908
Frankentrost Tavern, est. 1893, expanded 1904
Dancehall (formerly the blacksmith shop) 1904
Reinbold Hardware and cider mill, est. 1914

Source: Field notes.

Population and communication

Population growth of the community-congregation is shown in Immanuel congregation's records (Table 4) and in the building program carried on by the church during this period. In 1869, as the congregation grew to approximately 300 souls, a new frame church was constructed to replace the log structure then in use. The log church was then converted into a schoolhouse and saw service until 1886, when it was replaced by a new frame schoolhouse.

[11]Herman Kueffner, private interview, September 15, 1971.

[12]Philip Reinbold, private interview, September 15, 1971.

A parsonage and a teacher's house were built in 1866 and 1874 respectively, the parsonage replaced in 1903 and the teacher's residence in 1920. By the close of this period, Immanuel congregation had grown to include more than 600 souls.[13]

German was used in church and school throughout the period. The public school which opened in 1869 was run by a teacher from the congregation on a half-day basis, until 1884 when a full-time English teacher was hired.[14]

Settlement pattern

By 1920 the initial settlement pattern of Frankentrost had undergone only slight modifications. There were more farmsteads and church buildings though all were still located along either side of Holland Road. The complex of church, school, parsonage, teacherage formed the nucleus of the settlement, with a secondary commercial nucleus on the east edge of the village.

Pastor Deindoerfer traveled through the four colonies in 1866 and made the following comments upon visiting Frankentrost. With slight modifications his words would hold true in 1920.

> Of all the places which I visited Frankentrost has grown and changed the least; only along the road to Frankenmuth has the cleared land increased perceptively. . . . Here and there a frame house has taken the place of a log cabin . . . . During the last few years the well-being of the colonists is said to have increased somewhat. Soon the plank road to Saginaw will be completed and then things will progress more rapidly. The Frankentrosters are using their low fields as meadowland, and the hay will find a ready market in East Saginaw. Frankentrost

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[13]Miller, op. cit., p. 44.

[14]Kueffner, private interview, March 8, 1969.

will not grow much, however, even if it gets a good road because the neighboring land is wet.[15]

Frankenlust

Frankenlust showed limited development during the second period of its history and became increasingly dependent upon the church for its sense of cultural identity. Several factors contributed to curtail its development, among them (1) the poor quality of the farmland, (2) increasing attractiveness of employment outside of the colony, and (3) the rapid growth and expansion of Bay City.

Agriculture

The riverine site chosen by Sievers was a poor place to base a colony of farmers. The land was very swampy and did not lend itself to agriculture without extensive and costly drainage systems. As farmers in other sections of the valley prospered, those in Frankenlust struggled to bring more land into cultivation. The nearness of a large market apparently did not result in large enough profit margins to make additional drainage feasible. Many of the second and third generation settlers found no farmland available in the vicinity of the colony and sought employment of other kinds, often in other communities.

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[15]Miller, op. cit., p. 12

Commerce

The region around Frankenlust had many near-surface coal deposits and coal mining activity was actively pursued during the late 1800's. Many of the colonists found employment in the mines in nearby Beaver, Monitor, and Amelith. A coal mine across the river from St. Paul's Church was converted into a brickyard and carried on production until 1920. Commercial activity in Frankenlust was limited to several general stores, a blacksmith shop, a creamery, a post office, and a saloon (Figure 8). Numerous businesses in Bay City provided stiff competition to those in Frankenlust. Goetz' store, the first in Frankenlust, closed its doors in 1898 and by 1920 just the Michigan House saloon and general store remained on the commercial scene in the colony (Table 6).[16]

Table 6

Commercial Activity in Frankenlust, 1856-1920

Goetz General store, closed in 1898
Brickyard, closed in 1920
Michigan House saloon and general store
Blacksmith
Creamery
Cass Avenue Saloon
Beaver Coal Mine
Grocery store (three attempts made at the intersection of M84 and Three Mile Road)

Source: Field notes.

[16]Otto Schmidt, private interview, September 15, 1971.

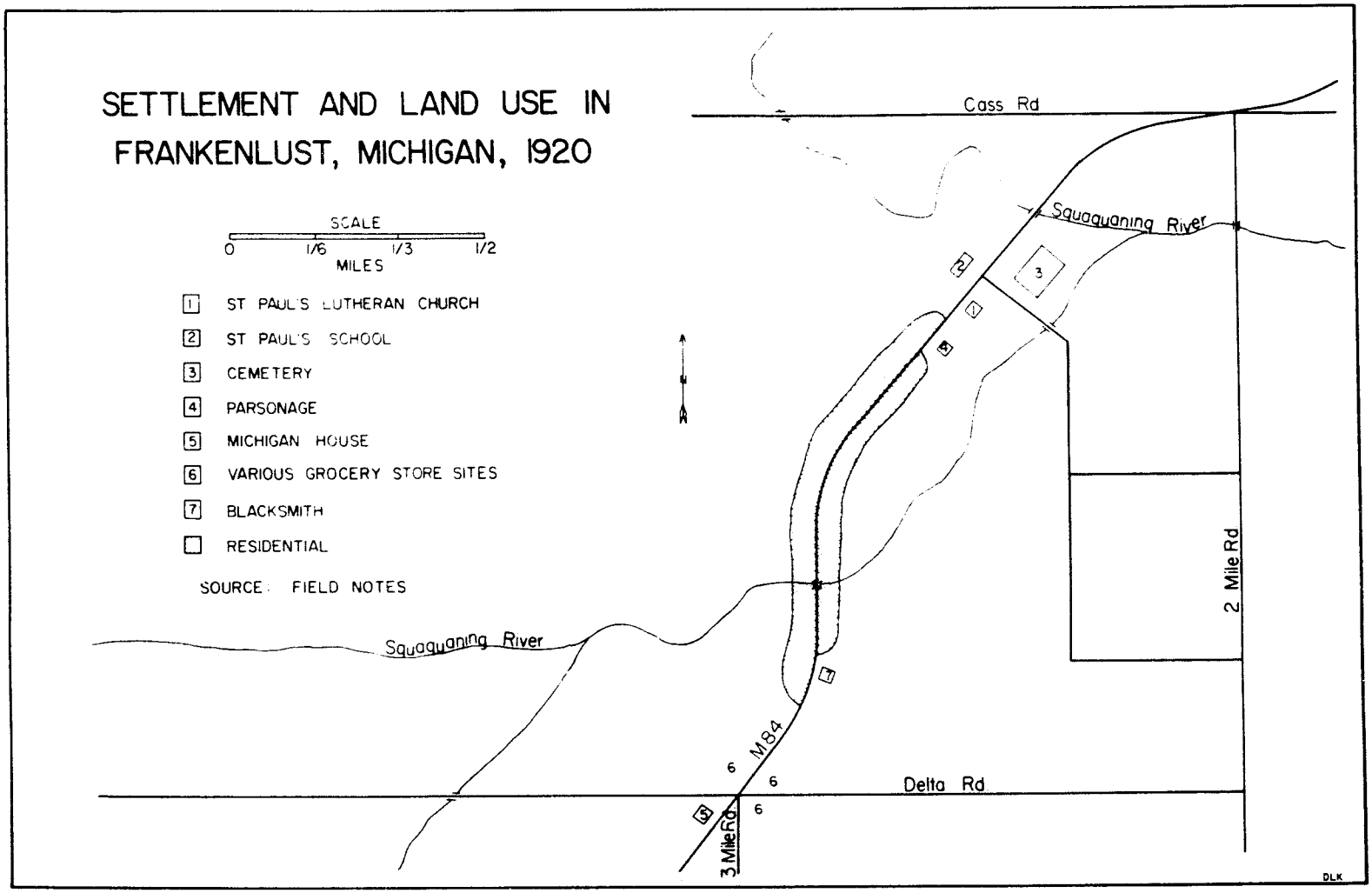
SETTLEMENT AND LAND USE IN
FRANKENLUST, MICHIGAN, 1920
SCALE
0 1/6 1/3 1/2
MILES
1 ST PAUL'S LUTHERAN CHURCH
2 ST PAUL'S SCHOOL
3 CEMETERY
4 PARSONAGE
5 MICHIGAN HOUSE
6 VARIOUS GROCERY STORE SITES
7 BLACKSMITH
RESIDENTIAL
SOURCE: FIELD NOTES
Cass Rd
Squaquaning River
Squaquaning River
2 Mile Rd
M 84
Delta Rd
3 Mile Rd
DLK

Figure 8

Population and communication

Throughout this period, the church continued to add to its membership, and by 1920 counted 603 on its rolls (Table 4). The church provided the means for reasserting one's cultural identity and was the strongest unifying element in the colony. The strength of the congregation and the growth of its population is seen in the need to expand both the church and school facilities: A frame church replaced the original log structure in 1857 and was later replaced itself by the present brick structure in 1905; a school building, constructed in 1865, was replaced in 1909 by a cement-block structure.[17]

There was no public school in Frankenlust, as such, for the teachers of the District Public School were appointed and controlled by the congregation and the facilities used were those belonging to the congregation. German services were conducted every Sunday and German language and religion were taught to the young in the parochial school.

Transportation

Cass Road, Three Mile Road, and Michigan 84 were built through various sections of Frankenlust, providing its citizens with immediate access to Bay City and Saginaw. These highways also encouraged the westward expansion of Bay City so that by 1920 Frankenlust appeared to be situated on the outskirts of that town.

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[17] 100 Years of Spiritual Leadership, pp. 26-27.

Frankenhilf

The emergence of Frankenhilf as the second most prosperous of the Franconian colonies can be attributed to several factors: (1) availability of good farm land, (2) little economic competition from larger cities, (3) the influx of many second- and third-generation Frankenmuthers and Frankentrosters, and (4) a favorable situation with regard to transportation routes. During the twenty-year period 1856-76, the colony of Frankenhilf grew very slowly. Church records indicate that in 1874 the population of the congregation-community was only 35, an increase of only 15 persons since 1856 (Table 4). Little economic activity was carried on in this colony and goods and services were obtainable only in neighboring Frankenmuth. The families settled in the colony were engaged in farming and made annual attempts to expand the number of acres under cultivation. Beginning with the late 1870's, however, an economic awakening began in this community, due in part to the lumbering boom sweeping Michigan, and also to the several locational advantages enjoyed by the colony.

Agriculture

Prosperous farmers in Frankenmuth had purchased all available land in that township by 1870's and were looking for land for their sons. Nearby Frankentrost had land available, but it was at best of marginal quality, with poor drainage a major obstacle to agriculture. The farmland near Frankenhilf was of a much better quality and virtually all of it was still available, thus there began an influx of Frankenmuth offspring seeking land on which to establish farmsteads. The magnitude of

this trend is seen in the congregational records for 1892, which lists a membership of 908. This rapid growth in population exceeded even the most optimistic expectations of the earlier settlers who had built a new church in 1874 with a seating capacity of 500 even though the congregation at that time numbered a mere 35.

Commerce

As the population of the colony grew, so did the demand for goods and services, thus the latter years of the nineteenth century were ones of commercial development in Frankenhilf (Table 7). By 1920 Frankenhilf

Table 7

Commercial Activity in Frankenhilf (Richville) 1856-1920

Raush's Hotel, est. 1907	Mallory's saddle shop
Rogner's Hotel, burned 1914	Jordan, blacksmith
Bauer's Hotel, est. 1890	Weber, photographer
Schluchbier's Beer Hall	Millinery shop
Harauf and Hoerlein general store	Kern, undertaker
Kern's Market, est. 1892	Schluchbier wood products shop
Cider press	Frank and Schluchbier saw mill
Cheese and butter factory, est. 1893	Stein, ornamental concrete
Star of the West grain elevator	Dr. Holz
Reinbold Hardware, est. 1912	Dr. Steinbach
Nicodemus Appliance (had been a saloon then an ice cream parlor)	Bank of Richville, est. 1910

Source: Field interviews.

boasted a wide array of manufacturing concerns and retail outlets, among them cheese and wood products factories, general stores, an appliance shop, a hardware store, saddle shop, wagon shop, ice cream parlor, and a cider press. Several saloons, hotels, and a concert hall served the

populace as did the blacksmith, undertaker, tinsmith, and photographer. A bank and a fire house stood as indicators of civic wealth and responsibility.

Transportation and communication

Transportation links to other locales were also constructed during the latter part of the 1800's which provided more outlets for the goods produced in Frankenhilf, and also made the colony more easily accessible to traders and other visitors. The plank road which connected Frankentrost with Saginaw was extended eastward through Frankenhilf to Kingston and Sandusky. A highway was extended from Bay City to Pontiac and it also passed through Frankenhilf, thus the colony found itself favorably situated at the crossroads of two of the major highways in the area.

Not only did the character of the community change during these years, but even its name was changed sometime between 1890 and 1895, from Frankenhilf to Richville. Many explanations have been offered for this change, among them that the farms were so prosperous that the community should be called Richville, or that the soils in the area were very rich, but the most plausible is that the name was changed to facilitate handling of the mail, for it is easy to imagine the consternation of the postal clerk faced with the task of sorting the hundreds of letters which must have arrived every week for the neighboring communities of Frankenmuth, Frankentrost, and Frankenhilf.

Church services and parochial schooling retained the usage of the German language throughout this period, although occasional festival services may have been conducted in English as early as 1875. Schooling was carried on in the Frankenmuth tradition with the upper grades attending German school while the lower grades attended English school in the mornings, then switching for the afternoon sessions.[18] This practice was continued until 1900 when state regulations required it be dropped.

Residential settlement was concentrated near the church, commercial activity located along the highways, and most of the farmsteads lay outside the village on the individual farms, a transfer of the Frankenmuth pattern (Figure 6).

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[18] 100 Years of Grace: 1851-1951, p. 8.

CHAPTER VI

THE FRANCONIAN COLONIES 1921-1970

The period 1921 to 1970 marks the third and most recent stage in the development of the Franconian settlements. Advances in communications and transportation made the Franconians increasingly aware of national and international events throughout the period. The colonies were, in fact, often directly affected by national trends and policies. Prohibition was considered unjust in the German communities and was tactfully ignored in the taverns and saloons until federal agents raided Frankenmuth to make arrests which had both economical and emotional consequences. The Franconian breweries circumvented Prohibition laws by manufacturing a malt extract suitable as a base for home-brewed beer until the amendment was repealed and regular production could be resumed. The Franconians weathered the stock market crash and the depression which followed into the 1930's, due in part to their tendency to avoid banks, and also to the conservative investment policies of the banks they did patronize. As the national economy geared for World War II both the agricultural and commercial segments of the settlements enjoyed prosperity, though the colonies were again attacked by waves of anti-German sentiment then sweeping the nation. The Franconians stifled much of this criticism by contributing their quotas of men to the armed forces and by leading the state in the purchase of war bonds. Though the war was followed by a period of recession, the Franconians' stable economic

base did not falter and experienced renewed growth during the war-inflated economies associated with the Korean and Southeast Asian conflicts. Throughout this period with its wars, depressions, and awesome displays of technological achievement, the four colonies retained both the unifying and also the individualistic elements each had developed prior to 1920.

Frankenmuth

Agriculture

Frankenmuth remained the dominant Franconian colony throughout the third period of settlement. The city today owes much of its success to the cooperation of both the agricultural and commercial facets of its population in achieving community goals. Both segments of the community have prospered since 1920. That agricultural activity in the township has been modernized through the years is evidenced by the adoption of mechanized farm equipment, the use of scientific horticultural and animal husbandry techniques, and the improvement of crop storage and transportation methods. As of 1970 there remain few woodlots in the township, most of the land having been cleared and in production since the 1870's. One gauge of Frankenmuth's agricultural success is seen in the success of the farm implement and machinery dealerships supported by the rural population, and in the ability of the local milling company to update its processes and equipment to the highest standards.[1] These indicators

[1]The Star of the West mill recently installed pneumatic equipment, bulk shipment facilities, and laboratory quality control of all processing. Richard Krafft, Jr., Manager, private interview, September 15, 1971.

of agricultural progress are subtle, having occurred gradually over a period of years, yet they demonstrate the economic stability of the Frankenmuth farmers who have been able to incorporate agricultural innovations consistently through the years. The agricultural segment maintains a sameness about it which belies this constant modernization, that sameness being the rural settlement pattern which has remained relatively unchanged for more than one hundred years with farmsteads scattered throughout the township on individual parcels of land.

Commerce

The several major industries of Frankenmuth established before 1920--brewing, food processing, and chicken dinners--were joined during this period by a fourth, metal-products manufacturing (Table 8). These four types of industry create approximately 1500 job opportunities in Frankenmuth today.

Of the two breweries in Frankenmuth, Geyer Brothers is both the oldest and smallest, with a brewing capacity of about 30,000 barrels annually. The Carling Brewing Company operates Frankenmuth's larger brewery with an annual production of 800,000 barrels and a payroll of 220 employees. Founded in 1899 as the Frankenmuth Brewery, the facility changed its ownership and its name several times before being purchased by Carling in 1956.

Frankenmuth's several cheese factories all discontinued operations by 1940. The food processing industry which continues to bring nationwide repute to the community is sausage-making. Both Kern's Sausage and Repprecht's Sausage Haus have developed a large volume of mail-order sales.

Table 8

Commercial Activity in Frankenmuth, 1921-1970

Service

- Accountants (3)
- Architects (2)
- Attorneys (2)
- Barbershops (2)
- Beauty salons (3)
- Builders (6)
- Car wash (1)
- Service stations (6)
- Insurance agents (8)
- Masons (2)
- Mortician (1)
- Newspaper (1)
- Photographer (1)
- Realtors (3)
- Road service (3)
- Upholsterer (1)
- Wood carver (1)
- Taverns (3)
- Financing (2)
- Motel (1)
- Nursing homes (2)
- Trucking (2)

Medical Services

- Physicians (4)
- Dentists (4)
- Veterinarians (2)
- Optometrists (1)
- Chiropractor (1)

Community Service

- Frankenmuth Rotary Club
- Frankenmuth Lions Club
- Frankenmuth American Legion
- Frankenmuth Jaycees
- Frankenmuth Civic Events Council
- Frankenmuth Historical Association
- City Beautification Committee
- Frankenmuth Professional Nurses Assn.
- Frankenmuth Chamber of Commerce
- Frankenmuth Development Corporation

Retail

- Appliances (3)
- Auto parts (1)
- Bakery (1)
- Building supplies (1)
- Car dealers (6)
- Carpeting (2)
- Cement (1)
- Clothing (3)
- Dairy (1)
- Drug store (1)
- Dry cleaning (1)
- Farm machinery (2)
- Food store (3)
- Florist (1)
- Furniture (1)
- Gasoline distributor (3)
- Gift shops (9)
- Hardware (3)
- Laundry (1)
- Bowling lanes (1)
- Golf course (1)
- Signs/displays (1)
- Jewelry (2)

Foods

- Restaurants (8)
- Wholesale meats (1)

Industry

- Brewery (2)
- Milling (1)
- Metals (3)

Community Service (continued)

- Frankenmuth Chapter of People to People
- Junior Achievement Company
- Boy Scouts of America
- Frankenmuth Athletic Assn.

Source: Field notes and interviews.

The food for which Frankenmuth has become most famous is the chicken dinner. This industry is currently centered in two former hotel buildings, known today as the Bavarian Inn and Zehnder's. The Union House built in 1888 is the nucleus of the Bavarian Inn, while the New Exchange Hotel of 1900 forms the main dining room at Zehnder's. The two restaurants combined employ about 500 people to prepare and serve 500,000 dinners per year, 80 per cent of which are chicken dinners. In 1969 alone, 968,760 pounds of chicken, 188 tons of potatoes, 79,764 pounds of cabbage, and 114,264 loaves of bread were needed to produce Frankenmuth chicken dinners.

The most recent type of major industry begun in Frankenmuth was introduced in 1925 with the establishment of the Universal Engineering Company. Government contractors recognized the high quality and dependability of Universal's precision metal parts. Universal expanded its plant several times and currently employs over 500 persons. Wic Top Machine and KLC Enterprises, Inc. are two more recent additions to Frankenmuth's metal industry.[2]

Of the four major types of industry mentioned before, the chicken dinner industry has had the greatest impact on commercial growth in Frankenmuth. Tourist-oriented commerce agglomerated near the river in the vicinity of the Bavarian Inn and Zehnder's, while commerce dependent to a greater degree on local trade clustered on North Main Street in the vicinity of the bank and flour mill (Figure 9). With the increased volume of visitors to Frankenmuth came the realization that the town had a marketable heritage; thus shortly after World War II had ended

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[2]Zeilinger, op. cit., pp. 8, 15, 18-20, 40-41.

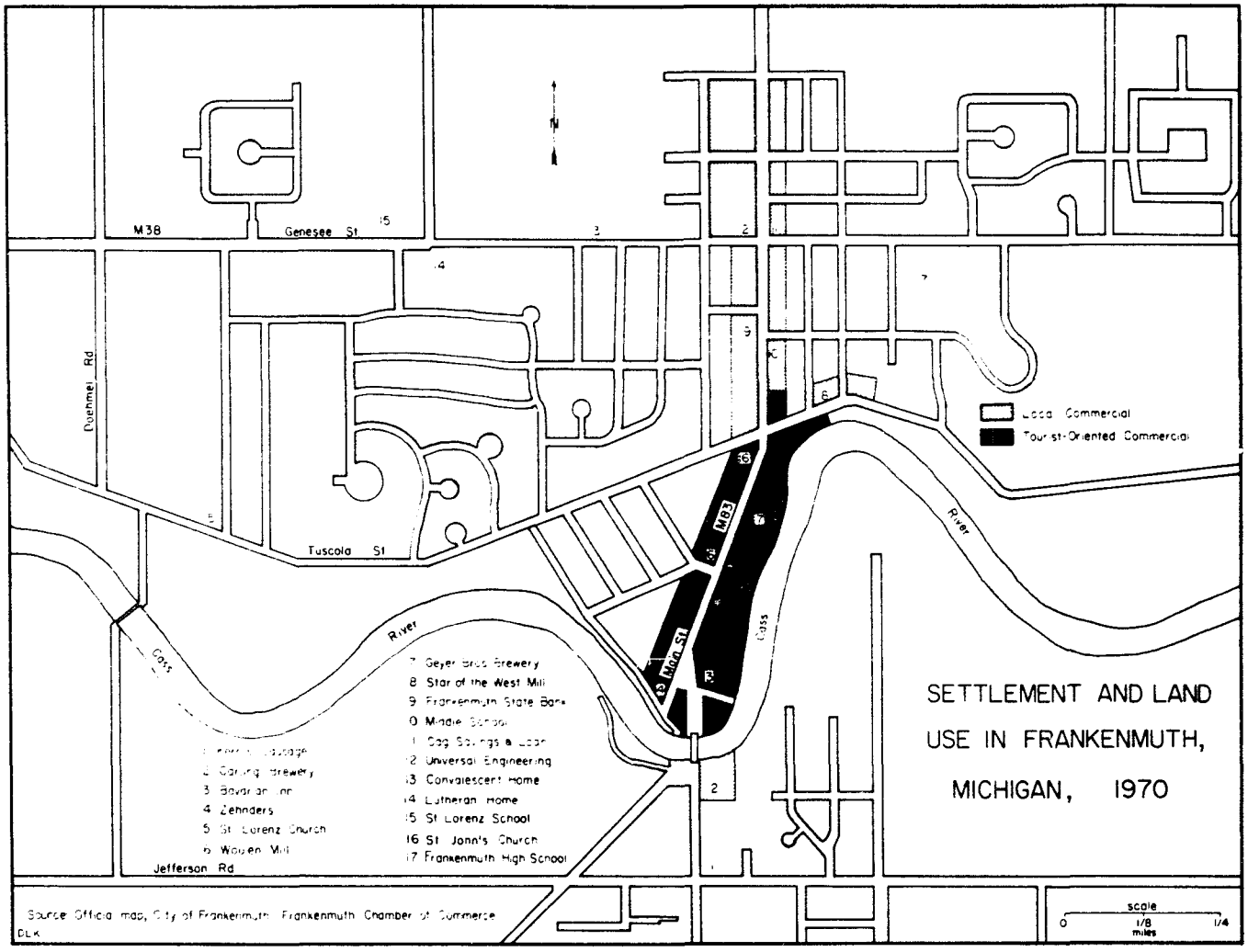
M38
Genesee St
Doehmel Rd
Tuscola St
M83
Main St
Cass River
Jefferson Rd
Local Commercial
Tourist-Oriented Commercial
SETTLEMENT AND LAND USE IN FRANKENMUTH, MICHIGAN, 1970
7 Geyer Bros Brewery
8 Star of the West Mill
9 Frankenmuth State Bank
10 Middle School
11 Cag Savings & Loan
12 Universal Engineering
13 Convalescent Home
14 Lutheran Home
15 St Lorenz School
16 St John's Church
17 Frankenmuth High School
4 Zehnders
5 St Lorenz Church
Source: Official map, City of Frankenmuth, Frankenmuth Chamber of Commerce
DLK
scale
0
1/8 miles
1/4

Figure 9

there began a remodeling program in Frankenmuth's downtown area, designed to emphasize the community's Bavarian heritage. Bavarian-style architecture was thus introduced to the colony after a century had elapsed. The remodeling project was curtailed by the annual flooding of the Cass River. The Zehnder family, owners of both the Bavarian Inn and Zehnder's, as well as other merchants located near the river who faced annual restoration expense due to floodwater damage, convinced the city government to allocate funds for the construction of a dike. The dike was completed in 1952 and the remodeling program continued from that time at an increasing pace so that, at present, almost all buildings along the main street of Frankenmuth are done in a Bavarian motif.

The Zehnders may also be credited with initiating a major social event in Frankenmuth. Originally planned to celebrate the opening of the Bavarian Inn in 1961, the Bavarian Festival has been celebrated annually during the second full week in June and draws crowds of up to 100,000 to the community. The festival not only stimulates the local economy, it also gives the community an opportunity to remind itself of its heritage and to re-evaluate its goals and achievements.

In spite of efforts to cater to the tourist trade, the city has but one motel consisting of 31 units, a far cry from the number of rooms available during the peak of Frankenmuth's hotel industry. Local opinion disregards this lack of motel facilities as a potential barrier to tourism, and favors the present combination of serving tourists by day and the local residents during the evening.

Two incidents involving commercial enterprises serve to reveal some characteristics of the community. Because the Germans loved their glass of beer and felt beer-drinking to be a part of their culture, they

carefully ignored Prohibition laws. Tavern and saloon keepers served local customers across the bar and the hotel dinings rooms featured beer with their meals. In 1930 federal agents raided two hotels and arrested the owners for violation of the prohibition law. Trial was held in federal court in Bay City and to the astonishment of northern Michigan, the judge handed down maximum fines of $10,000 and $5,000 and stipulated that the hand-carved solid oak bars in the two hotels would have to be destroyed before they would be allowed to resume business. A Frankenmuth hotel owner thus achieved the notoriety of having paid the highest fine in the history of Prohibition in the United States. According to the cultural role the church played in community affairs, after facing the court trial the hotel owners were brought before a congregational meeting where it was decided whether or not the offense demanded an apology to the congregation. The congregation was unanimous in its exoneration of the hotel owners.[3]

The German's frugality paid dividends even in the face of national panic in 1933 when the banks were forced to close. By federal law the banks were allowed to return to each depositor no more than 60 per cent of his balance when they reopened. After determining its remaining assets, the Frankenmuth State Bank was further able to pay every depositor his remaining 40 per cent plus 10.7 per cent interest. As of 1969 the bank's assets had grown to over fifty-five million dollars, even though it must now compete with a branch of the Saginaw Savings and Loan Association, opened in Frankenmuth in 1965.[4]

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[3]Zehnder, op. cit., pp. 178-79.

[4]Zeilinger, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

Commercial and Industrial development is carefully encouraged and regulated in Frankenmuth by the Frankenmuth Development Corporation and the Chamber of Commerce. The number of community service organizations is indicative of the unity of purpose that exists in Frankenmuth (Table 8). Citizens of Frankenmuth have realized the importance of preserving information concerning their community and have established the Frankenmuth Historical Society to that end. The Frankenmuth News has run frequent articles dealing with the history of the community, and St. Lorenz has commemorated each quarter-century of its existence with a brief historical pamphlet. Since the Bavarian Festival was begun, the City has also published two booklets outlining its history and accomplishments, thus Frankenmuth has made concerted efforts to preserve and document its heritage. Perhaps the most striking display of the community's awareness of its past and present ties is the official shield adopted by the City (Figure 10):

> Proud of their Bavarian heritage, but remembering they are Americans first, Frankenmuth citizens refer to the present in the upper part of their shield and to the past in the lower part.
>
> The brown and white American Eagle stands proudly with wings outspread over the red and white vertical stripes denoting the 13 original states.
>
> Appearing in white on a brown field, the word "Franken" represents the Province of Franken in the Kingdom of Bavaria from where the original Frankenmuth settlers came. The "Muth" of the blue field means "courage", thus the FRANKENMUTH means "courage of the Franks."
>
> The seal of the great reformer, Dr. Martin Luther, is the white open rose with red heart and white cross. That and the brown and white sheaf of grain stand for the 12 farmer leaders plus the pastor, his wife and her cild who, by word and example, were to teach and live Christianity in the New World.
>
> The pleasant blue and white colors of Bavaria complete the lower left portion of the shield.

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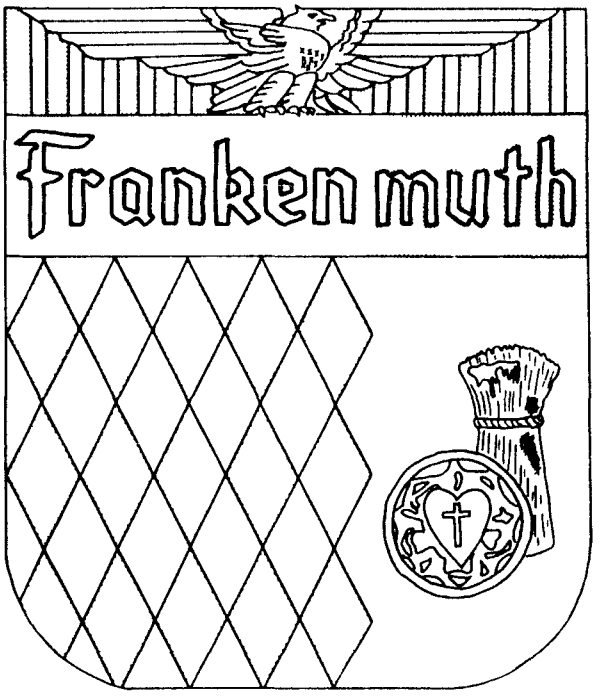
[4]Zeilinger, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

[5]Ibid., p. 1.

CITY SHIELD

FRANKENMUTH, MICHIGAN



HGJ

Figure 10

Transportation

In 1958 the Interstate system was completed from Bay City to Flint, with access to Frankenmuth via the Bridgeport Exit (M38) or the Birch Run Exit (M83). Service to Frankenmuth by the interurban railway was discontinued during the late 1920's, leaving the city four miles from the nearest railhead at Gera. The Cass River gradually lost its importance as a transportation route, and has become instead a focal point of community recreational activity. Frankenmuth has developed a city street network which reaches all areas with the city limits. Street surfaces are maintained in excellent condition, perhaps a carry-over from earlier times when the Kirchenordnung were in effect.

Population

Since the end of World War I there has been a gradual migration of non-German and non-Lutheran people into Frankenmuth. Exact figures are not available, but an approximate figure might be derived by combining the membership data for the two non-Lutheran congregations in the city (Table 9). The United Methodist Church, organized in Frankenmuth in 1962 with a membership of 79, has grown in size to 213 by 1970.[6] Blessed Trinity Catholic Church was organized in 1967 with 172 members and by 1970 had grown to 540.[7] Thus by 1970 approximately 750 persons were living in Frankenmuth who were not Lutheran and perhaps not German.

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[6]Rev. G. E. Ackermann, private interview, September 14, 1971.

[7]Rev. Kenneth Cerczak, letter to the author, October 6, 1971.

Table 9

Number of Souls in the Franconian Communities
for Selected Years Between 1920 and 1970

	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970
St. Lorenz[a]	2275	2068	2275	2622	3052	3758
St. John's[a]	. .	255	385	462	513	735
Immanuel[a]	640	650	650	717	792	801
St. Paul's[a]	603	660	598	670	861	935
St. Michael's[a]	1103	1092	1066	1103	1307	1401
United Methodist Church of Frankenmuth[b]	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	213
Blessed Trinity Catholic Church of Frankenmuth[c]	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	540

Source: [a]Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, Department of Research and Statistics, Statistical Yearbook (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1892-).
[b]Rev. G. E. Ackermann, interview, September 14, 1971.
[c]Rev. Kenneth Cerczak, letter to author, October 6, 1971.

The influx of "outsiders" appears to be part of a nationwide trend to move from urban to suburban settings. Frankenmuth, with its small-town atmosphere, is just minutes away from Saginaw, Bay City and Flint, and has become a favored suburban location. Local contractors and realtors have benefited from this trend as shown by the increase in the number of residential units in Frankenmuth since 1954. The number of single-family residential units increased from 366 to 722; multiple-family units from 39 to 52; and apartment units from 16 to 116 (Table 10). Another type of residence was created with the opening of the Frankenmuth Convalescent Center in 1967 and the Lutheran Home for the Aged in 1970. These two facilities house a combined population of 213.[8]

[8]City of Frankenmuth, Michigan, "Census Study, 1954-71," Frankenmuth (1971), p. 1. (Mimeographed)

Table 10

Number of Residential Units by Type in Frankenmuth, 1954-71

	Single family	Multiple family	Apartments
1954	366	39	16
1955	381	41	19
1956	402	41	19
1957	409	37	24
1958	424	37	21
1959	436	41	21
1960	450	41	21
1961	470	34	21
1962	496	40	21
1963	514	34	33
1964	539	36	46
1965	555	34	46
1966	585	34	45
1967	608	34	59
1968	634	33	75
1969	668	30	74
1970	699	50	74
1971	722	52	116

Source: "Residential Units in Frankenmuth, 1954-71," Frankenmuth (1971). (Single mimeographed sheet)

Despite the movement of non-Lutherans into the township, the Lutheran church remained dominant throughout this period of time (Table 11). It was not uncommon for the combined membership of the two Lutheran congregations in Frankenmuth to exceed the total population of the township. The continuing strength of Lutheranism is demonstrated in several ways. St. Lorenz and St. John's draw a combined average Sunday attendance of over 2200.[9] St. Lorenz Elementary School (1-8) had a 1970

[9]St. Lorenz Lutheran Church, Report for 1970 (Frankenmuth, Michigan: n.p., 1970), p. 22.

Table 11

Membership of Franconian Congregations as a Percentage of Township Population for Frankenmuth, Blumfield, Frankenlust, and Denmark Townships, 1860-1970[a]

	Frankenmuth[b]	Blumfield[b]	Frankenlust[b]	Denmark
1860	79	36	. .	9.7
1870	. .	. .	. .	4.3
1880	. .	30	. .	. . .
1890	110[c]	33	. .	49
1900	114[c]	39	63	45
1910	110[c]	40	43	45
1920	119[c]	46	59	58
1930	108	50	63	58
1940	82	48	55	53
1950	82	52	. .	54
1960	110	47	47	49
1970	92	43	45	60

[a]Calculated from U.S. Government Census publications and membership data in the Statistical Yearbook of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. Some percentages exceed 100 because in those instances church membership exceeds township population, indicating that some members do not live within the township under consideration.

[b]Frankenmuth: St. Lorenz and St. John's; Blumfield: Immanuel; Frankenlust: St. Paul's; Denmark: St. Michael's.

[c]St. John's membership is not included in this figure.

enrollment of 479.[10] Parochial training and indoctrination have produced an unusually large number of students who continued their educations in various Lutheran seminaries and universities to become pastors or parochial school teachers (Table 12).

[10]Records of the Frankenmuth, Michigan, Public School System.

Table 12

Natives and Descendants of Natives of Franconian Congregations in Church-Related Occupations, 1845-1969.

Congregation	Pastors		Teachers		Total
	Natives	Descendants	Natives	Descendants	
St. Lorenz	64	57	126	49	296
St. John's[a]	7	2	3	2	14
Immanuel	11	12	11	. .	34
St. Paul's	9	8	16	2	35
St. Michael's	6	1	22	1	30
Holy Cross	14	5	43	14	76
St. John's[b]	9	. .	17	. .	26
Total	120	85	238	68	511

[a]Located in Frankenmuth
[b]Located in Amelith
Source: Herman Zehnder, Teach My People the Truth! (Bay City, Michigan: By the Author, Box 404, 1970), pp. 223-29.

Communication

St. Lorenz continues to hold German services every Sunday and on a dozen festival occasions, but averages only 282 per service,[11] indicative of the declining use of and familiarity with the German language by the local populace. In the schools German has become a subject in the curriculum and not the medium used to implement it.

Frankentrost

Frankentrost has continued to develop gradually since 1920 and has made moderate strides in population growth and agricultural activity.

[11]St. Lorenz Lutheran Church, op. cit., p. 3.

These two facets of the community appear to have developed simultaneously during the 1930's. Government assistance in defraying drainage costs enabled farmers to move onto land previously unsuitable for cultivation. Growth of the farm population was due to an immigration of farmers from other areas and also to the fact that local young farmers found it possible to remain in the area.[12] This increase in population had a modifying effect on previously established settlement patterns in the area. New farms were developed away from Holland Road, thus the farmsteads were scattered throughout parts of the township and were not focused along the road in the previously determined shoestring pattern. There is little evidence that the village population expanded, for almost none of the homes existent in 1970 were built later than 1920 (Figure 3). The most obvious changes in the village involved Immanuel congregation (Table 9). A fire destroyed the frame church in 1951 so the congregation built a new brick structure the following year which is still in use today. Parochial school enrollment and needs outgrew the facilities of the frame school and in 1964 a new school building was erected behind the church. The old school building was demolished in 1970.[13]

Commercial activity in Frankentrost between 1921 and 1970 was minimal. The saloon changed ownership several times and a small grocery store and a gasoline pump were added to the services offered. As of 1970 the grocery store was selling out its stock and the saloon had almost no

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[12]Herman Kueffner, private interview, March 8, 1969.

[13]Idem, private interview, September 15, 1971.

business except on weekends.[14] The cheese factory also saw use as a butter factory and as a sweet corn processing facility.[15] No one in Frankentrost can remember exactly when the facility was closed, but most concur that it must have been during the 1950's. The building was purchased in 1970 and is currently being used by a manufacturer of ornamental concrete products. Mr. Reinbold, owner of the hardware store and cider mill, resides in a room at the rear of the store and seldom has call to wait on a customer.[16] Many of the present-day residents of Frankentrost have retired, many have given up farming to work in nearby Saginaw. Those who continue to work the land have prospered as is indicated by the large, well-kept farmsteads resplendent with several new silos and corn storage facilities.

Though the village remains rather unobtrusive, and to motorists on Holland Road it is simply another reduced-speed zone, the congregation remains a powerful force in the township. Manning and Blumfield Corners are the other villages in Blumfield Township, each having a church of its own, yet Immanuel has consistently drawn between forty and fifty per cent of the township population into its congregation (Table 11). The character of the church is changing and reflects the continuing Americanization of the Bavarians. Beginning in 1935, German services were reduced to one per month, and in 1970 they were discontinued completely. The few older residents who feel strongly about worshipping in the native language journey to Frankenmuth every Sunday to hear the Word in German.

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[14]Mr. Heidenberger, owner, private interview, September 15, 1971.

[15]Kueffner, interview, September 15, 1971.

[16]Philip Reinbold, private interview, September 15, 1971.

Frankenlust

During the past fifty years Frankenlust has suffered the greatest loss to the physical integrity of its village. Little remains of the agricultural settlement founded by Pastor Sievers in 1848, and perhaps he is partially to blame for this situation. His missionary zeal led him to establish congregations in Amelith (St. John's Lutheran Church) and also in Saginaw (Holy Cross Lutheran Church). He so inspired his parishoners that several of them formed a sister congregation in Bay City (Zion Lutheran Church) and later another in Salzburg (Zion Lutheran Church). These Lutheran congregations drew many of the second- and third-generation people from Frankenlust. Amelith offered better farmland; Saginaw and Bay City greater employment opportunity; thus the population of Frankenlust increased slowly through the early part of this third period of its history. Only within the past ten years has the congregation shown stronger growth, this growth perhaps indicative of a force that may ultimately overwhelm the community (Table 9). Bay City has been sprawling westward towards Frankenlust and an increasingly larger number of that city's residents have joined the congregation.

Frankenlust has always enjoyed close ties with Bay City and Saginaw due to its location on a major artery of travel between them. During the past fifty years the industrial and residential fringes of Bay City have all but surrounded Frankenlust. Still more critical to the physical viability of the settlement has been the construction in 1958 of Interstate 75 through the settlement and the resultant construction of a cloverleaf interchange in the center of the settlement (Figure 11). St. Paul's steeple, long an impressive landmark on the

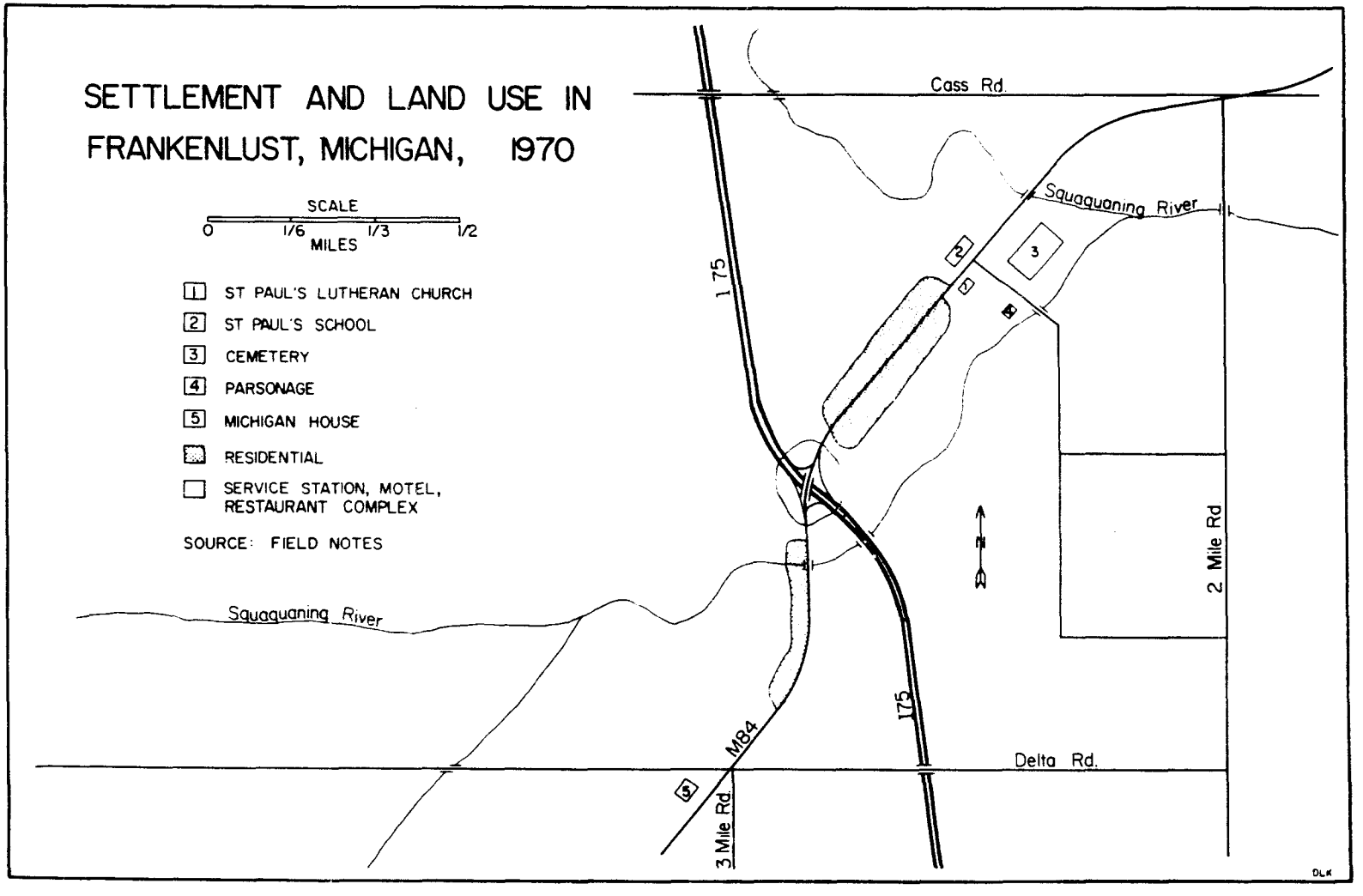
SETTLEMENT AND LAND USE IN
FRANKENLUST, MICHIGAN, 1970
SCALE
0 1/6 1/3 1/2
MILES
1 ST PAUL'S LUTHERAN CHURCH
2 ST PAUL'S SCHOOL
3 CEMETERY
4 PARSONAGE
5 MICHIGAN HOUSE
RESIDENTIAL
SERVICE STATION, MOTEL, RESTAURANT COMPLEX
SOURCE: FIELD NOTES
Cass Rd.
Squaquaning River
I 75
2 Mile Rd
Squaquaning River
M84
I75
Delta Rd.
3 Mile Rd.
DLK

Figure 11

horizon, now shares the horizon with myriad plastic banners proclaiming motor fuels, food, and lodging facilities. The church does remain with its school and cemetery as the nucleus of Frankenlust, and continues to exert a unifying awareness of the colony's heritage.[17] But even this may change as the congregation includes more non-Germans and non-residents. Proof of this is seen in the de-emphasis of German church services. Held every Sunday until 1963, German services were reduced to a semimonthly basis, and as of 1971 were held only once a month.[18] This author believes that as the congregation changes from predominantly German Lutheran to one of mixed ethnic backgrounds, the final thread of continuity will be severed and the colony will cease to identify with the German heritage.

Commercial activity has changed a great deal since 1920. The Michigan House is the sole remaining business of previous eras. The settlement is today dominated by the presence of four service stations and a motor lodge and restaurant at the I-75 interchange. Pastor Mueller indicated that a very small percentage of his congregation is actively engaged in farming, for most of the land has become more valuable for other uses.[19]

Frankenhilf (Richville)

The past fifty years have been used to further develop agricultural and commercial interests in Richville. Since 1920 most of the

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[17]Otto Schmidt, private interview, September 15, 1971.

[18]Rev. H. C. Mueller, pastor, private interview, September 15, 1971.

arable land in the vicinity of the village has come under cultivation. Mechanized scientific farming has become the rule and the farms show signs of prosperity. Farms begun since 1920 have continued to locate away from the village as was the case in Frankenmuth and Frankentrost. The village settlement pattern has undergone few modifications during this period (Figure 12). Residential buildings remained clustered in the triangle formed by Van Buren Road, M46, and M15; commercial activity remained oriented along the roadsides in a shoestring pattern. Few new homes are seen in the village today, though recently several homes have been constructed on the outskirts of the village along M15. George Moser, the postmaster, indicates that 100 post office boxes are currently rented in Richville.[20]

The commercial scene in Richville changed with the times. Many concerns such as the blacksmith, the wagon shop, and the Bank of Richville ceased operation prior to 1970. Others were converted to serve changing markets; for example Bauer's Hotel became the Richville recreation center, the saddle shop became Mallory's Restaurant, and Moser's general store is now the Party Shop. New business brought to Richville since 1920 includes a food cannery and two service stations.[21] As of 1970 the commercial nucleus of Richville could provide most basic goods and services required by the population (Table 13).

St. Michael's congregation has grown in size from 1103 in 1920 to 1401 in 1970 (Table 9) and has consistently included more than fifty per cent of the township population in its membership despite the

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[20]Mr. and Mrs. George Moser, private interview, September 14, 1971.

[21]Mr. and Mrs. Art Rupprecht, private interview, September 13, 1971.

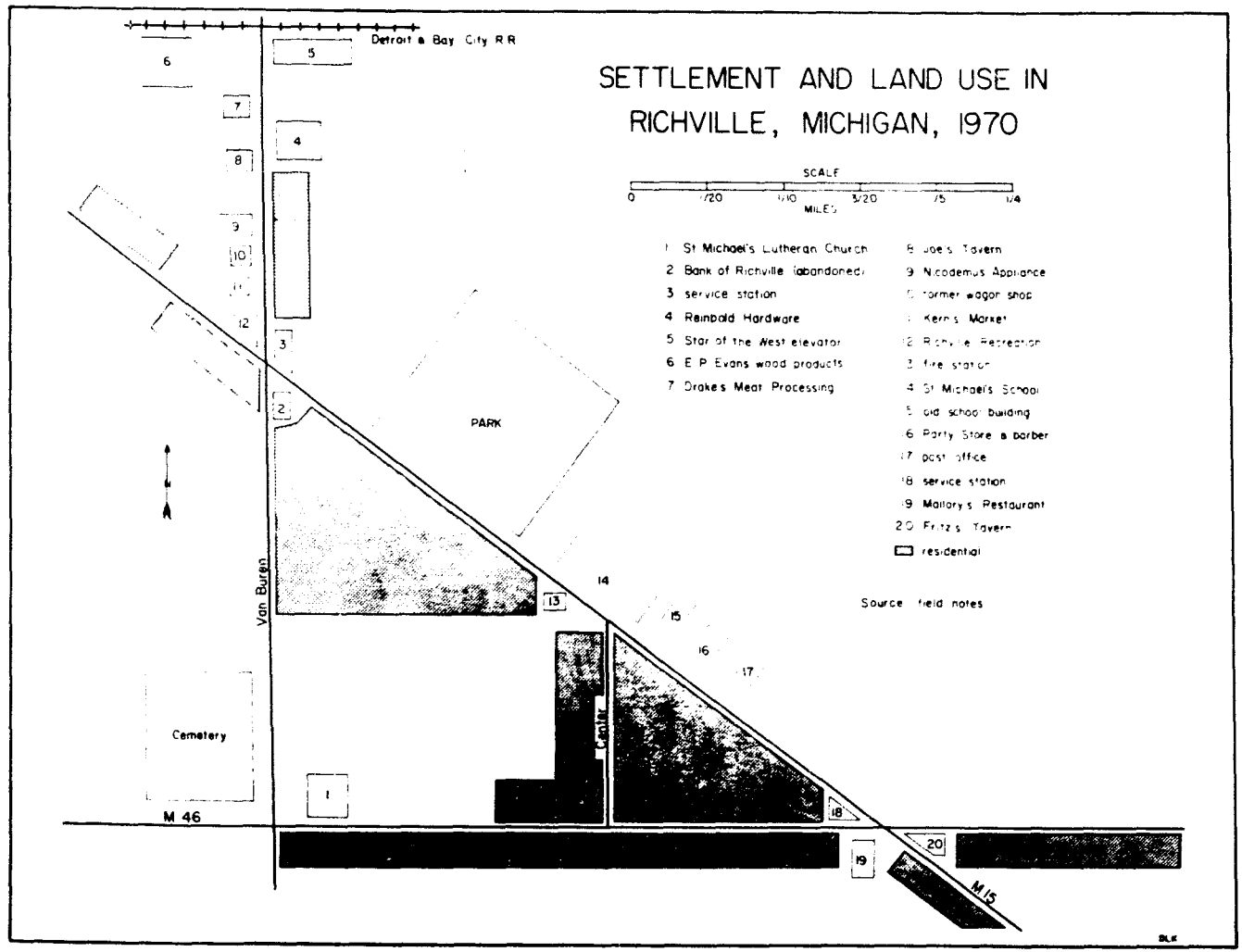
SETTLEMENT AND LAND USE IN
RICHVILLE, MICHIGAN, 1970
SCALE
0
1/20
1/10
3/20
1/5
1/4
MILES
1 St Michael's Lutheran Church
2 Bank of Richville (abandoned)
3 service station
4 Reinbold Hardware
5 Star of the West elevator
6 E P Evans wood products
7 Drakes Meat Processing
8 Joe's Tavern
9 Nicodemus Appliance
10 former wagon shop
11 Kern's Market
12 Richville Recreation
13 fire station
14 St Michael's School
15 old school building
16 Party Store & barber
17 post office
18 service station
19 Mallory's Restaurant
20 Fritz's Tavern
residential
Source field notes
Detroit & Bay City R.R.
PARK
Van Buren
Cemetery
Center
M 46
M 15
BLK

Figure 12

Table 13

Commercial Activity in Richville (Frankenhilf), 1921-70

Service	Retail
Bank of Richville[a]	Kern's Market
Standard Oil service station	Nicodemus Appliance
Richville Recreation[b]	Reinbold Hardware
Joe's Tavern	Star of the West elevator
Gratiot Service Station	Drake's Meat Processing
Fritz's Bar and Restaurant	E. P. Evans, plywood
Mallory's Restaurant	Party Store and barbershop[c]
Richville Fire Department	Schluchbier Wood Products[d]
Richville Post Office	Cider press[e]
Weber Lumber	Cheese and butter factory[f]

[a]Closed in 1927. Bank ledger in possession of E. Nicodemus

[b]Formerly Bauer's Hotel

[c]Formerly Moser's general store

[d]Closed in 1932

[e]Closed in 1942

[f]Closed in 1925

Source: Field notes and interviews

presence of Lutheran, Catholic and Methodist congregations in nearby Reese (Table 11). St. Michael's elementary school moved into a new building in 1960 and the congregation is currently awaiting the completion of their new church building. German services are conducted twice monthly at St. Michael's although attendance is reported to be declining.[22] Congregational meetings were conducted in German through the mid-1950's, at which time it was noted that the younger members of the congregation were not attending because they did not understand the language. Since that time the business portion of each meeting is

[22]Rev. Mr. Schoenow, pastor, private interview, September 14, 1971.

conducted in English and only the opening prayers are spoken in German. The last year in which the confirmation classes were held in German was 1938, and in 1964 the church constitution was finally translated from German into English. The senior members of the congregation regard the transition from German to English with some misgivings. An example of one person's concern is related in this anecdote from George Moser: Moser recalls that when he first introduced his fiance to his aunt (approximately thirty years ago), the older woman shook her head and said "It's too bad she doesn't speak German; that's the only language the Lord understands."[23]

The population of Richville continues to emphasize its cultural heritage and has maintained its close ties with Frankenmuth. At the same time, Richville is justly proud of its growth and achievements and views itself as somewhat of a rival to Frankenmuth. This friendly rivalry is in evidence whenever a competitive event includes citizens from the two communities.[24]

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[23]Mosers, interview, September 14, 1971.

[24]Rupprechts, interview, September 13, 1971.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The previous chapters contain material describing the historical geography of four German Lutheran settlements located in the Saginaw Valley of Michigan. Each of the colonies originated in Bavaria and was created to serve a specific religious purpose. Instrumental in gathering colonists into congregations and in training pastors to lead these groups to Michigan was Pastor Wilhelm Loehe of Neuendettelsau, Bavaria. He sent the first group of colonists as an experiment in Indian mission work. The two groups which followed were to form centers of Lutheran worship opportunity for all Lutherans in the Saginaw Valley, and the last group was sent to establish a colony to which the Bavarian poor might immigrate and thus alleviate moral problems facing the church in Bavaria. The land to which these groups were sent offered new environmental challenges, for it was quite unlike their homeland near Nuremberg. The lowland topography of the Saginaw Valley with its sluggish streams, beach ridges, and poorly drained areas was markedly different from the pronounced local relief of the escarpments and valleys near Nuremberg. The soils in Michigan contained greater amounts of clay than those of Bavaria and the climate of Michigan seemed more severe due to the longer winters and the greater range in seasonal temperatures.

As the four groups of colonists began arriving in the valley in 1845, they encountered a cultural landscape which reflected the occupance

of the valley to that date. The Indian landscape had by 1845 been superseded by French settlement which manifested itself in small trading communities such as Saginaw and Lower Saginaw. To this was added the British culture with its settlements, Tuscola and Bridgeport. There was little agricultural activity in the valley prior to the Franconians' arrival; however, lumbering and saw mill operations were assuming increased importance to the area's economic life.

The first Franconian colony established in Michigan--Frankenmuth--was begun in 1845 by a small group of Lutherans and their pastor. The group cleared land and planted crops shortly after they arrived. By 1880 they had cleared all of the arable land in the township, thus their sons had to be sent to a neighboring colony, Frankenhilf, to establish farms because no land remained to be purchased in Frankenmuth township. The farmers of Frankenmuth were not hesitant to adopt new drainage techniques and farming methods and were also able to change crop emphasis to meet changing market demands. During the early 1900's the farms were mechanized and the past twenty years have seen an emphasis placed on university training in agricultural techniques and management.

Commercial activity was begun early in Frankenmuth's history with the construction of a saw mill on the Cass River. Other businesses were soon established to serve the local population as well as the growing numbers of visitors to the village. This commercial development was highlighted by the emergence of several major types of industry in Frankenmuth: brewing, processing meat and dairy products, and the hotel industry. Two Frankenmuth breweries survived the Prohibition years and remained prominent in village commerce to 1970. The manufacture of dairy products was phased out of the local scene by 1940; however, meat

processing continued to expand its markets to 1970. The hotel industry in Frankenmuth has undergone a marked change since the lumbering era. As early as 1920 several of the hotels had closed their overnight facilities in order to concentrate more effort into serving the numerous guests who daily visited their dining rooms. The main attraction on the menu was the chicken dinner, served family style. The increased popularity of the automobile and the improvement of state highways brought more diners to Frankenmuth and statewide fame to its chicken dinners. By 1970 the chicken dinner industry served 500,000 meals annually and had become the major attraction in Frankenmuth. The growth of this industry was also instrumental in establishing tourism as a major thrust of local commercial enterprise.

Though agriculture and commerce grew and prospered, the church remained the dominant organization in Frankenmuth. St. Lorenz, the original congregation begun in Frankenmuth, and St. John's, a second Lutheran congregation begun in 1882, have always included in their membership a minimum of ninety per cent of the township population. Church control in community matters was absolute under the Kirchenordnung until 1858, when civil matters were first adjudicated in civil courts before being brought before the congregation. In more recent years congregational censure has been reserved for religious matters. The church has provided parochial education throughout its history and has gained national recognition for its elementary school program and facilities. As of 1970, parochial school enrollment in Frankenmuth had never been surpassed by the public school's. The Lutheran churches of Frankenmuth also led the nation in providing students who became pastors and parochial teachers. In 1962 a Methodist congregation was

begun in Frankenmuth and in 1967 a Catholic congregation was organized. The Methodist pastor confirmed the status of St. Lorenz Lutheran Church in Frankenmuth by indicating that several of his parishoners had transferred to St. Lorenz because membership there would provide better standing in the community.

Various aspects of Frankenmuth's settlement pattern have changed since 1845. Initially all buildings were clustered near the church, though each farmstead was situated according to the location of the farmland. As land was cleared, the farmsteads were spread throughout the township. A shift in settlement began with the development of commercial activity along the river, several blocks southeast of the church. The main street of Frankenmuth was run through the commercial section of the village and settlement focused on either side of the street north of the Cass River. As the tourist trade increased, commercial settlement developed two nodes: the tourist-oriented businesses located nearer the river, while those businesses catering to a greater extent to local trade clustered on the north end of the main street several blocks north of the river.

One of the Franconians' most obvious cultural traits was their language, a German dialect called Bayerisch. This German language was used in worship services, in the schools, and in everyday social contacts. The Franconians, realizing the importance of being able to converse in English, began teaching English in their schools. Gradually English made its appearance in the worship services and became the media for most formal presentations. During the war years of the 1900's, the use of the German language was curtailed even further until today few of the young people in Frankenmuth are able to speak German fluently.

German services are still held each Sunday at St. Lorenz, and in this manner the church perpetuates one aspect of the Franconian heritage.

Frankentrost was founded in 1847 as the second of Loehe's colonies. Located approximately six miles north-northwest of Frankenmuth, the colony was laid out along a road surveyed along an east-west axis. Immediate concerns of the colonists included clearing land, planting crops, and constructing living quarters. The population of Frankentrost grew slowly as did the amount of land under cultivation, for much of the surrounding land was poorly drained and was thus unfit for farming. Agricultural activity took a turn for the better during the first half of hte 1900's when mechanization made the laying of drain tiles faster, and government subsidies defrayed part of the expense. As more land was opened for farming, more farmers were drawn to the village, however Frankentrost never reached the population growth levels of Frankenmuth.

It was not until the 1890's that commerce appeared in Frankentrost. By 1920 a saloon, blacksmith shop, cider press, hardware store, and cheese factory comprised the nucleus of commercial activity. That small assemblage marked the peak of commerce in Frankentrost and by 1970 most of the businesses had closed or were on the verge of closing.

Immanuel Lutheran congregation is and has always been the dominant social organization of Frankentrost. The congregation has grown in numbers though most of the additions have been people living on farmsteads scattered throughout the township, for the village itself has not increased in size. Immanuel has consistently counted more than forty per cent of the township population in its membership, despite the presence of other congregations in Blumfield Corners and Manning. The

church, through its worship services and various committees and organizations has served to unify the people of Frankentrost and remind them of their heritage. Immanuel has supported a parochial school program since its inception and has made continued efforts to update its facilities and programs. For years the church perpetuated use of the German language by holding weekly German services. This practice was reduced to monthly German services and was discontinued altogether in 1970 for want of attendance.

The village of Frankentrost is rather unimpressive today with few houses, several farmsteads and decaying shops, and the assemblage of church, school, parsonage, and teacherage lining either side of Holland Road. Those farmers who moved to Frankentrost during its later period of expansion built their homes on their farms and thus departed from the shoestring pattern established in 1847.

The third Franconian colony was Frankenlust, established by Pastor Sievers and his congregation in 1848. Sievers' choice of site was unfortunate in that it afforded little room for agricultural expansion, lying as it did on a peninsula between the forks of the Sququaning River. Despite this handicap, agriculture was the main occupation of the colonists during the initial decades of the colony's existence. Lack of potential farmland, drainage problems, and the continual expansion of Bay City's residential hinterland severely curtailed the agricultural growth of Frankenlust so that by 1970 few residents of the settlement are actively engaged in farming.

Frankenlust lay astride the Lower Saginaw Road which gave it access to the larger communities of Lower Saginaw (Bay City) and Saginaw. The convenience of having two larger cities within a six-mile

radius hindered commercial development in Frankenlust. Prior to the 1950's several grocery stores and saloons had sprung up, only to bow to competitors. The only commercial enterprise begun during that period to remain operational to 1970 was the Michigan House restaurant. The greatest single expansion of commerce in Frankenlust came shortly after the Interstate 75 interchange was completed in 1958. Agglomerated at the interchange are several service stations, a restaurant, and a motor lodge. Pastor Sievers could not have envisioned the urban sprawl which by 1970 had reached the settlement, nor could he have foreseen that the settlement's position between Saginaw and Bay City might prove detrimental to its commercial development and ultimately to its physical integrity. Sievers' missionary zeal, which led him to establish several Lutheran congregations near Frankenlust, may have further hindered the growth of Frankenlust by providing targets for out-migration from the colony.

Population increase in Frankenlust has been very gradual, though recently St. Paul's congregation has added substantially to its membership. This trend seems to indicate a transfer of membership from Saginaw and Bay City congregations to St. Paul's, as the residential zones surrounding the two larger cities move nearer to Frankenlust. This trend may undermine the church's ability to sustain an awareness of the settlement's heritage as the congregation includes greater numbers of non-Germans into its membership.

The Lutheran church has always been the organization in which the residents of Frankenlust found common interests. Though several other congregations are located in or near Frankenlust Township, St. Paul's has consistently included at least forty-five per cent of the

township population. The church has supported parochial education for over 120 years and has contributed many students to seminaries and universities to train for church work. The church has also been instrumental in perpetuating use of the German language, though German services were held only once a month as of 1970. The physical presence of the church, school, and cemetery provide the most visible evidence that Frankenlust ever existed.

Frankenhilf began as a colony to which the Bavarian poor could migrate, but was never successful in that capacity. From its founding in 1850 until the late 1870's, the colony numbered less than fifty persons. Initial activity in the small settlement was limited to clearing land and farming. There was no commercial activity within the colony although trade was carried on with Frankenmuth, seven miles away. During the late 1870's many second-generation farmers from Frankenmuth moved to Frankenhilf causing the population to increase rapidly. Concurrent with this influx of people came the economic prosperity of the lumbering boom years and the beginnings of commerce in Frankenhilf.

Frankenhilf, its name changed to Richville by 1895, enjoyed site advantages not only in terms of the high quality of the surrounding farmland but also with respect to transportation routes. The road linking Frankentrost and Saginaw was extended eastward through Richville, and a major highway linking Bay City and Flint intersected the aforementioned road in the heart of the village. The businesses of Richville lined both highways, while the villagers' homes remained near the church, and the local farmsteads dotted the surrounding countryside. The nature of much of Richville's commerce has changed, yet the number of establishments has remained relatively constant.

The population growth rate of Richville has leveled since 1900, with gradual increases accruing less noticeably than during the preceding years. Much of this growth has taken place in the township surrounding Richville.

St. Michael's congregation has also increased in numbers over the past decades and as of 1970 included sixty per cent of the township population on its rolls, despite the presence of four congregations in the town of Reese, just three miles north of Richville. The strength of St. Michael's support is seen in the ambitious building programs the congregation has undertaken, culminated by the recent construction of a modern worship facility. The church has always supported parochial education in Richville, and as of 1970 the parochial school was the only educational facility in town. St. Michael's also continues the use of the German language in its monthly German services, though the language is no longer the common vehicle for social or commercial intercourse.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the data presented in this study:

(1) Each of the Franconian settlements developed an agricultural economic base to which commercial development was later added. Much of this initial commercial growth was oriented toward meeting the needs and consuming the products of the local farmers.

(2) The Lutheran Church appears to be the organization that has given direction and unity to each of the colonies. The colonies, created by the Church, organized as congregations, and led by pastors, were united by the common beliefs and responsibilities associated with church membership throughout their history. The Church has provided the thread of commonality that binds together the farmer, merchant, industrialist,

student, and housewife. The parochial schools established in each of the colonies have not only perpetuated this sense of unity, but have encouraged a feeling of duty and responsibility to the Church, which has resulted in the sending of hundreds of the congregations' young into the ministry or into parochial school teaching.

(3) The German language is no longer a prevailing unifying element in the colonies, its usage having steadily declined in popularity since 1900. German services continue in several of the Lutheran churches, however social and commerical contacts are made in English.

(4) The settlement and land use patterns of the colonies have remained relatively constant, with the exception of Frankenlust where the physical integrity of the colony has been greatly altered.

(5) There appears to have been no deliberate attempt by the colonists to isolate themselves from other cultures; in fact the volume of contact with others has played an important role in the differential development of the four settlements. "Outsiders" may have viewed the settlements as less than desirable due to the linguistic and religious preferences of the residents, and voluntarily stayed away.

(6) Frankenmuth and Richville (Frankenhilf) appear to have benefited due to their situational advantages relative to farmland, transportation routes, and distance from larger cities. Each was surrounded by areas of good farmland, each had access to major transportation arteries, and each was located at least ten miles from the larger cities of Saginaw and Bay City, providing local commerce an opportunity to develop.

(7) Frankentrost and Frankenlust appear to have been hindered in their growth due to situational disadvantages relative to farmland,

transportation routes, and distance from larger cities. Each was faced with drainage problems as it sought to expand its agricultural holdings, each was situated on a major transportation artery linking it to one or both of the larger cities in the area, and each lay within six miles of one or both of the larger cities' commercial centers, thus curtailing local commercial growth.

What might the future hold in store for each of the settlements? Frankenmuth gives every indication of continued growth and prosperity, with its dual-based economy and the recent influx of suburban families into the city. Frankentrost lies dormant and will most likely continue to do so. Commercial activity is dying and may cease to exist in five years. The community's proximity to Saginaw may ultimately help it to become a dormitory community of that city. Frankenlust will probably be absorbed by Bay City and is the colony that probably will lose sight of its cultural identity. Richville has the potential to become another Frankenmuth in terms of its commerce. Although the community exudes a small-town tranquillity, it contains sufficient base for expansion to tourist-oriented activity and may some day expand along those lines.

Further research on the Franconian colonies might include the reconstruction of several genealogies to determine the degree to which members of the four congregations are related and a survey of land use changes in Frankenmuth and Richville over the next ten years in order to determine growth patterns and commercial orientations.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

As the several groups of Franconians journeyed from Bavaria to their new homes in Michigan, their experiences were typical of those which befell countless other Europeans emigrating to America. Confusion, poor accommodations, exorbitant fares, and swindlers made the trips memorable and sometimes needlessly costly and time-consuming. Passage to the United States by ship took its toll in health due to the overcrowded quarters of the immigrants, the overtaxed sanitation facilities, and the inadequacies of the diet aboard ship.[1]

Upon arrival in New York City the immigrants were beset by various parties offering to exchange foreign currency for American, or selling foodstuffs, clothing, and other supplies.

> When Dr. August Koch and family, who settled in Frankenmuth, arrived in New York in August 1847, he was shocked when he discovered that a thief had made off with his medicines and his medical kit, full of instruments, while he was helping his wife from the ship.[2]

Many an immigrant was divested of his life savings or possessions in this manner soon after arriving in America. Travel from New York City to the Saginaw Valley took many forms, and was often quite costly. The immigrants could travel by steamer from New York City, north on the Hudson River to Albany, and then westward to Buffalo via the Erie Canal.

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[1]Herman F. Zehnder, Teach My People the Truth!, (Bay City, Michigan: By the Author, Box 404, 1970), pp. 24-26.

[2]Ibid., p. 28, citing Dr. August Koch, letter to Craemer, February 10, 1848, University of Chicago Library.

Passage by canalboat to Buffalo required from seven to ten days and cost $1.50. Time could be saved by making the trip from Albany to Buffalo by rail--the trip took only thirty-six hours--however, the fares were much higher. A seat in the immigrant car cost as much as $5.00, to ride in a passenger coach, $9.75. Lake steamers plied the waters of Lake Erie between Buffalo and Detroit in twenty-four hours' time with steerage fares ranging from $1.50 to $2.50, and cabin fares from $4.00 to $5.00. Two routes led from Detroit to Saginaw City. One carried the immigrant by ship through Lake St. Clair and Lake Huron into Saginaw Bay and ultimately to docking facilities on the Saginaw River. The second route from Detroit was by rail to Pontiac and then by wagon or on foot to Saginaw. The Franconians, upon reaching Saginaw City, would travel by wagon or on foot through the forests to the sites of their colonies (Appendix B).[3] These major routes of travel from New York City to the Saginaw Valley were mapped as early as 1848 for distribution in Germany. The following is excerpted from a letter dated July 28, 1847, from Michael Huber to his relatives in Rostall, Germany. His account of the journey from Bavaria to Frankenmuth serves to illustrate several of the points mentioned above.

> Dear Brother, if you or others plan to emigrate to North America take care so that you don't get cheated, because false dealing is so general that one cannot take care well enough. Look out especially for that Schroeder in Bremen to whom people are usually directed. He can talk so smoothly so that a person thinks the Holy Ghost Himself speaks through him. He cheats a person as much as he can, especially with the change of money.
>
> In New York a person has to take care so one's baggage isn't lost or loaded on wagons before one knows where a person wants it to be taken. They load up, one on this wagon, another on

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[3]Theodore Graebner, Church Bells in the Forest (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1944), p. 3.

that, without looking where it should go. One takes it here, another to a different place, and in this way much baggage has been lost. It's not much better in Albany, but in Buffalo and Detroit things are better.

If you are coming over don't fail to take enough dried bread and meat along, because biscuits (zweiback) don't make good soup, and the meat is so salty, being in salt water 4 to 5 days, that a person tires of it very soon. You don't have to buy anything in Detroit. You can buy everything in Frankenmuth.[4]

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[4]Owned and translated by Herman Kieffner, Frankentrost, Michigan.

APPENDIX B

The following quotation from Plessner's address is perhaps the best single description of the cultural features extant in the Saginaw Valley when the first group of Franconians arrived in 1845. Of particular interest are references to transportation modes and metworks, population size and distribution, and settlement patterns.

> The access was not easy. From the East to Detroit we could come very easily by railroad and steamer. From Detroit to Pontiac we rode on the railroad of that name. The engine looked like a large coffee mill; one car was attached, about as large as a streetcar of today [1877], which jumped from the strap-rails every half mile. All passengers then got out and assisted in replacing the car on the rails; so we made 26 miles in four hours. . . . From Pontiac to Saginaw it took two days more, over very rough roads. The City of East Saginaw did not exist. On the north of the present city was a single farm-house; in a small clearing on the south, where are now located the city Gas Works, was Buena Vista, containing the saw-mill, a small boarding house, three or four shanties, and the "Halls of the Montezumas." This was the residence of the owner, Curtis Emerson, remarkable for his eccentricities and great thirst. West Bay City did not exist, there being only one house near the river. Bay City, or as it was commonly termed, Lower Saginaw, had a hotel, the Campbell House, about half a dozen small frame houses and a dozen or more shanties. Zilwaukee had just been located and contained only one family, one house and three shanties. Carrollton consisted of a small log house. Saginaw City, the most pretentious place in the valley--the county seat then as now--had about 200 inhabitants; the big hotel was closed; the warehouse contained one stove, but was otherwise empty; several larger houses and also the buildings of the fort were in a state of great decay; one small saw-mill at work; about a dozen frame houses and as many old huts. The river fleet consisted of one dilapidated stern-wheeler; roads were very few; one, the old Government road, led to Flint; and the river road from Saginaw City to Midland. Between Saginaw and Lower Saginaw there existed no road on either side of the river. The county was covered with heavy forests; was quite swampy; only small clearings, and the greater portion of those along the Tittabawasse river.

Living was very cheap, as far as game and fish were concerned--a full barrell of white fish costing two dollars, and a grown deer about one dollar; but other things, which are commonly considered neccessaries [sic] of life were luxuries here. Flour came from Detroit . . . . fresh meat we had only when our butcher, Hayden, killed a cow and sold the meat. . . . Beer and wine were very uncommon, but whisky was plenty. The country had the name of being very unhealthy and deserved it in some respects. Malarious diseases, such as fever and ague, were very prevalent in the fall season, so that once in Bay City, out of a population of about 120, I could not find a single person able to stand on his feet.

Crime was at this time unknown; we had no jail and didn't want one. We had a poor-house, to be sure, and the keeper of it, Nelson Gerry, who held this position for several years, threw it up in disgust, when the first pauper entered. Churches, we found none. . . . In the "high times" of Saginaw City, they had started everything except a church.

Source: Michael A. Leeson, History of Saginaw County, Michigan (Chicago: Charles C. Chapman & Co., 1881), pp. 226-27.

APPENDIX C

The following document, adopted on January 29, 1850, at a regular meeting of the voters of St. Lorenz Lutheran Church, provides further insight into the social organization operative in Frankenmuth.

GOD IS A GOD OF ORDER

Community Regulations for the Community of Frankenmuth

I

Whereas it is the will of God that all things be done honorable and orderly, but the laws of our country impose few restrictions on the individual citizen for a strictly regulated community life, therefore we feel compelled to set up the following community regulations among us, through which, however, we in no wise desire to dispense with the civil government, but only desire to thwart this, that not everyone act arbitrarily, and that we are not compelled in every instance to turn to a strange court, whose officials in most instances may not even be nominal members of a church.

II

Whereas every member of the community shares in the benefits of the community life, therefore every voting member, be he farmer, tenant, craftsman, or bachelor, should help bear the burdens of the community according to the standard of fairness--for which we set down for the present the following regulations.

NOTE: No one, of course, can be a member of our community who does not accept the Lutheran Confessions or who has been excommunicated.

III

The required contributions are, to begin with, to be made according to the following formula--1/3 of the total expense is to be apportioned equally among all members, and the remaining 2/3 is to be contributed by the members on the basis of the amount of property owned.

IV

Community service is to be rendered in the following manner: Every member shall work two days per annum; if there is more to be done, this is to apportioned on the basis of the government work program (Staats-Arbeit). Hired hands and adult sons shall work one day. In addition, with reference to widows, the prior resolution of the community remains in effect, that they are excused from community service in case they have no adult sons. Adulthood is set at 18 years. With reference to chopping wood for the pastor, the following regulation shall be in force: they who haul the wood are excused from cutting it down in the forest, but all are to chop it into small pieces for burning.

V

With reference to church roads and connecting roads, we feel compelled by the law of love to be satisfied not alone with the legally required section roads, but in addition pledge ourselves alternately to offer our land for opening of connecting roads, yet in such a way that the roads do not cross the land at an angle. Roads which are traversed by vehicles are to be no less than 1½ rods wide. (If someone is unwilling to give the land gratis which he loses through the opening of roads, than he is to be remunerated at the original purchase price of 2½ dollars.) He who finds it necessary to build special fences because of the opening of such roads shall be remunerated for his trouble. If roads are obstructed by fallen trees, then the owners of the land at that place are to remove them forthwith. Greatest care ought to be exercised in the maintenance of the roads. After a road has been surveyed, an exact description shall be recorded in the records of the community.

VI

Regarding fences between neighbor and neighbor the following regulations shall be in force:

a) If, within the very near future, both will make use of it, then it shall be built on the property line, and both shall participate in its erection.

b) If later a neighbor desires to share the fence of the other, he shall have the privilege of doing so, but he shall be responsible for reimbursing the former for his work in a fair manner.

c) Taking for granted that it will not occur among us intentionally, yet if it should happen that a neighbor has trespassed with his fence on the property of the other, no squatter's rights shall be practiced, but both are to come to an amicable agreement.

d) All fences are to be well-constructed, be 5 feet high, and the lower 4 rails dare not be more than 3½ inches apart.

NOTE: We forbid each other the manufacture of sugar and vinegar in the open forest, if guards have not been set up so that cows, hogs, and steers may be prevented from drinking such water, under a penalty of 5 dollars, and everyone is made responsible for the reporting of violations; and in cases where cattle drink such water and die, the violator is held responsible for paying the damages.

VII

Regarding the damages suffered by neighbors, inflicted by cattle and poultry of others, and regarding fair remuneration, the following regulations shall be in force:

a) If someone has cattle or horses that jump over fences and do damage in the field of another, then, if they are not able to come to an agreement, above all, the fence is to be examined if it had been constructed according to the regulations, sturdy enough, and if perhaps the standing grain on the other side was closer than 6 feet to the fence and tempted the animal; on the other hand, whether or not the owner of the animals had used the necessary preventive measures to prevent his animals from jumping fences. If it should be discovered that he had been informed or knew that his animals had this bad tendency, but that he did not take the necessary precautionary measures, and that, moreover, the fence had been built according to regulations, then he is responsible not only for the damage done but also for the costs of the inspection. If the animals are so uncontrollable that they cannot be prevented from jumping fences by the preventive measures which are in use, then they must be disposed of or penned up.

b) If the damage is done by hogs, the neighbor is to be informed of this upon the first occurrence and told to pen them up or to institute other preventive measures. If he fails to do this, and they break through a regulation-built fence, then he is held responsible for paying the damages; but the other dare not seize them, much less kill them.

c) If neighbors are unable to agree on the behavior of their poultry, and the poultry of the one repeatedly inflicts damage on the crops of the other, without the owner offering to pay a fair remuneration, then he shall be compelled to get rid of his poultry or to make restitution and pay the costs on each occasion.

d) If anyone has cattle that are dangerous, he shall put to use every precautionary devise and measure, and if these are unavailing, such cattle must be disposed of, and restitution must be made for damages done.

VIII

If in the act of felling trees, or if in some other manner the cattle of another are injured or killed, the person responsible, if they are unable to come to fair agreement, is to

make restitution, and, in any case, it is his duty to notify his neighbor of the accident.

IX

In order to maintain these legal regulations to provide the required supervision, and to pass verdicts in cases of disputes that may arise, the community shall elect, by majority vote, one elder and two justices of the peace, whose number, however, may be increased with the growth of the community, for a term of 3 years, and who are accountable to the community for the administration of their offices, and have the following powers and duties:

X

The duties of the elder are:

a) As often as is necessary, to call and conduct a community meeting. He is to see to it that no voting member absents himself without a valid excuse, and he is to mete out an earnest admonition to anyone who misses twice without an excuse (the third time such a one must pay a fine of 25 cents, which flows into a treasury established by the community).

b) To determine conscientiously the required contributions according to the above-mentioned regulations and with the help of the 2 justices of the peace to collect and record the same as soon as possible.

c) To select and engage people to render the necessary community service, and with the help of the justices of the peace to conduct strict supervision--whoever absents himself without a valid excuse shall be earnestly admonished (and fined one-half dollar the second time). Also, the time for which one has been engaged must be adhered to punctually, failing which, he has to make up the time.

d) In cases of disputes involving the time of the justices of the peace in the administration of the duties according to the above-mentioned regulations, the guilty party shall be held responsible for their compensation for loss of time.

e) To give an account annually to the community for other loss of time and expenses, so that he may be reimbursed in a fair and equitable manner.

f) If some member should commit an injustice on these occasions and remain obstinate, or have given public offense, he is to report it to the pastor.

XI

The justices of the peace are, in the cases mentioned above and in other cases where it may be necessary, the assistants of the elder, and in his absence of his inability to serve, one of them shall be his representative alternately, and he shall have the same powers and duties.

XII

All these regulations shall have validity and force as long as they have not been repealed or later amended by 3/4 of the vote of the community. Amendments and new paragraphs are in effect as soon as they have been accepted by the community.

In the tallying of votes, the votes are tallied according to the number of those present--he therefore who is not present loses his vote unless it should happen that he send in his vote in written form.

Source: Herman F. Zehnder, Teach My People the Truth! (Bay City, Michigan: By the Author, Box 404, 1970), pp. 216-18.