

# WALHALLA: LANGUAGE SHIFT IN THE GARDEN OF THE GODS

by

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(Under the Direction of Joshua Bousquette)

## ABSTRACT

Walhalla, South Carolina, was founded in 1850 by a group of prominent German immigrants in Charleston calling themselves the German Colonization Society. The members of this group aspired to establish a prosperous community with a strong German character and identity. Although German heritage is celebrated to this day in Walhalla, the language is no longer spoken. This paper examines the language shift from German to English in the community through a Warren-based approach (Salmons 2005a, Salmons 2005b, Warren 1963). Focus is placed on local and extracommunal control of institutions such as churches and schools, and examining the various domains of language use. The analysis finds that Walhalla's language shift occurred rather early rapidly, especially considering the intentions of its founders. The ability of the Warren-based approach to account for the rate and timing of the community's language shift extends the application of the framework.

INDEX WORDS: Language Shift, Language Death, Sociolinguistics, German

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by

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DEDICATION

To the memory of Herbert Ferst

*Es war einmal...*

and Justin Ellington

*Light at heart, we bide our bane*

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Few people in the United States speak the language of their German, Italian, or Polish ancestors. Most Americans only speak one language, namely English, unlike the bi- and multilingual majority of the world's population. Still, the occasional call can be heard for English to be made the country's official language. Why? The question is difficult to answer when languages have been, and are being, regularly lost in America, rather than posing any "threat" to English. Perhaps a more appropriate question is *how* did the largely English dominated linguistic landscape of contemporary America come to be.

The myth that previous generations of immigrants immediately took up English has previously been challenged (e.g. Wilkerson & Salmons 2008). However, most immigrant communities in America would still end up eventually losing their native languages. Again comes up the question of *how*. If previous generations did not consistently take up English, they must have still managed to successfully go about their lives without the language, before the language loss and shift to English monolingualism occurred.

The notion of *prestige* is often used to explain this phenomenon. It makes sense; English was (and is) largely regarded as the language of opportunity, particularly economic, in America. But how did this consistently translate to subtractive, rather than additive bilingualism? And if previous generations went about their lives as non-English speaking monolinguals, in what manner did the prestige of English change? Some immigrant communities lost their languages sooner than others. Does this mean that English was less prestigious in some communities than

others, or did English become more prestigious over the years? In this sense, how is prestige quantified, i.e. measured?

This is not meant as a criticism of prestige as a relevant sociological construct, rather to raise questions; in particular, the recurring question across disciplines of how to consistently and effectively measure an abstract notion. If immigrant communities—which can range from a rural farming town to a group of speakers in a large urban area—once thrived without speaking English, or at least operated under additive versus subtractive bilingualism, a change of some sort must have occurred.

In *The Community in America* (1963), sociologist Roland Warren described a process he called the “Great Change.” In essence, Warren claimed the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century saw significant changes in terms of community structures—here, structures meaning from religious and educational institutions, to businesses and the workforce. While these structures primarily operated on a local level at first, connected to one another *within* the community, the Great Change resulted in shift to larger entities *outside* the community, coinciding with a loss of connections at the local level. Communities became inherently tied to external sources, susceptible to significant outside influence in terms of policy and operations.

Salmon’s (2005a, 2005b) application of Warren’s model to language opened the door to a new method of analyzing the changing linguistic landscape of immigrant communities in America. The work that followed in the framework (including Lucht 2007, Bousquette & Ehresmann 2010, Frey 2013), through quantitative and qualitative data, successfully traced and accounted for language shift among Frisian and German immigrants in Wisconsin. Of these studies, some (e.g. Lucht 2007, Frey 2013) involved interviews with elderly speakers of

Wisconsin German, documenting characteristics of the language variety but also first-hand accounts of the language's role and prevalence in the speakers' youth.

Such interviews are not possible in the mountain town of Walhalla, South Carolina, as no speakers of German, elderly or otherwise, remain. In light of the mass scale language loss in American immigrant communities, this may not appear particularly surprising. However, when taking the town's history into consideration, it becomes a far more interesting discovery.

Walhalla's story began in Charleston, South Carolina. A few dozen German immigrants formed what they called the German Colonization Society. Their intention was to establish a prosperous German settlement in South Carolina, which would result in the 1850 founding of Walhalla. They were successful, Walhalla (only 18 years after its founding) largely becoming the economic center and county seat of South Carolina's Oconee County. Today, the mountain town of Walhalla, with a population just shy of 4,000, is known in the region for its annual Oktoberfest celebration. Although German is no longer spoken in Walhalla, once a year the town celebrates its German history and heritage.

But the fact that German no longer has any speakers in Walhalla is certainly notable, considering the town was founded with the very intention of preserving German identity. Even with this purpose in mind, Walhalla was not immune to the language loss that has occurred in countless immigrant communities in America. Not only that, but the German language disappeared from the public domain less than 60 years after the town's founding; the language was lost earlier in Walhalla than in communities where preservation of German identity was never an explicit focus.

In the first full length documentation of the town's history, *Walhalla: The Garden of the Gods*, Shealy (1990) writes in the conclusion that "Many have asked and will continue to ask in

years to come the reasons for the general demise of German traditions and culture in Walhalla” (p. 179). The primary purpose of this study is twofold: to find the reason of the “general demise” of the German language in Walhalla, and extending the application of the Warren-based community approach. Besides German being the language of focus, there is little parallel between Walhalla and other communities studied under the framework. This study intends to demonstrate that the Warren model not only “holds” in Walhalla’s unique scenario, but successfully explains and even predicts the language shift in the garden of the gods.

The following chapter provides a more in-depth history of Walhalla, from its origins in Charleston to its Oktoberfest celebration today. Chapter 3 describes previous histories and accounts about the town. A description of the theoretical framework, including Warren, Salmons, and previous studies applying the approach, is detailed in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 covers methodology—application of the theory and materials used. Chapter 6 presents the study’s relevant data and findings, subdivided according to topic and domain. The final chapter intertwines and summarizes the previous chapter’s findings to explain the language shift within the framework, and concludes with the study’s limitations and potential for future research.

## CHAPTER 2

### HISTORY

Walhalla's story begins some 250 miles away in Charleston, South Carolina. The coastal city had a fairly small but significant community of German immigrants. This community consisted of between one and two thousand members in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Mehrländer 2011). Despite these relatively small numbers, German churches could be found in Charleston, and at one point, an impressive total of four German language newspapers were in circulation.

The German community was not restricted to any one area within the city. German immigrants were dispersed across Charleston, making up anywhere from the low single digits to 20% of the population in different wards. Almost all of Charleston's German immigrants came from northern and northcentral Germany, the majority from Hanover. Mehrländer (2011) even describes the German community of Charleston as a "homogeneous society" (in terms of origin).

Despite their dispersion throughout the city, the German immigrants in Charleston formed a close community. The role John Wagener played in forming this tightknit community cannot be overstated. Wagener was a German who emigrated from Hanover in 1832, at first working as a clerk in Charleston. He would pursue numerous business ventures in the city, often with the German community in mind—he founded a fire insurance company, a German rifle association, as well as Charleston's first German language newspaper, *Der Teutone*.

Although never becoming a very wealthy man, Wagener used his small fortune to improve the lives of the German community. He founded the second German language Mason lodge (which was also the first in the Southeast) in the United States. Wagener also played a role

in the establishment of a *Turnverein* in Charleston. Perhaps most notably, Wagener led the effort to found a German language church in the city. His focus was on unity within the German community was evident: he was outspoken about the church being nondenominational, and inviting Germans across faiths— to the point where he wanted to welcome German Jews to be able to worship there as well. The church, St. Matthew's, ended up being Lutheran, but did become a significant point in the community and still holds services to this day (albeit in English).

The focus of these institutions was to unify and strengthen Charleston's German community, not to seek isolation or fight oppression. Germans in Charleston were largely immune to the anti-immigrant sentiments and resulting tumultuousness in the mid-1800s. The "Know Nothing" party, established in the 1840s in opposition to immigration, particularly from Germany and Ireland, never gained traction in Charleston, unlike other large cities on the East Coast. The German community also did not struggle with employment opportunities; many worked as craftsmen, tradesmen, and merchants. In fact, about 80% of Charleston's groceries in 1860 were run by Germans (Mehrländer 2011).

Although the situation was favorable for Germans in Charleston, life in the city was not quite what some of the immigrants envisioned. Interestingly enough, one of the main complaints about the city was its geography. The immigrants from northern Germany were simply not accustomed to Charleston's hot and humid climate, and found its terrain to be unfamiliar. And although the community had established institutions in Charleston, its members were still dispersed throughout the city (Mehrländer 2011, Schaeffer 1960).

In 1848, Wagener and a group of roughly forty prosperous German immigrants in Charleston formed what they called *Deutsche Ansiedlungsgesellschaft*, or the German

Colonization Society. The Society's intention was to form a thriving German community in the Carolinas. Their hopes were to attract both immigrants in the United States, particularly Charleston, and entice Germans to emigrate from Europe.

The Society did not have to search long for a suitable opportunity. Western South Carolina still had relatively unsettled areas. A Colonel Grisham owned a large plot of land in Pickens district, in the far northwest corner of the state (Figure 1), which had a total population of roughly 16,000. Grisham began his own small community in the area called West Union, consisting of a few dozen settlers. The members of the German Colonization Society found the area reminded them of their homeland, and the soil acceptable for agricultural purposes (Schaeffer 1960).

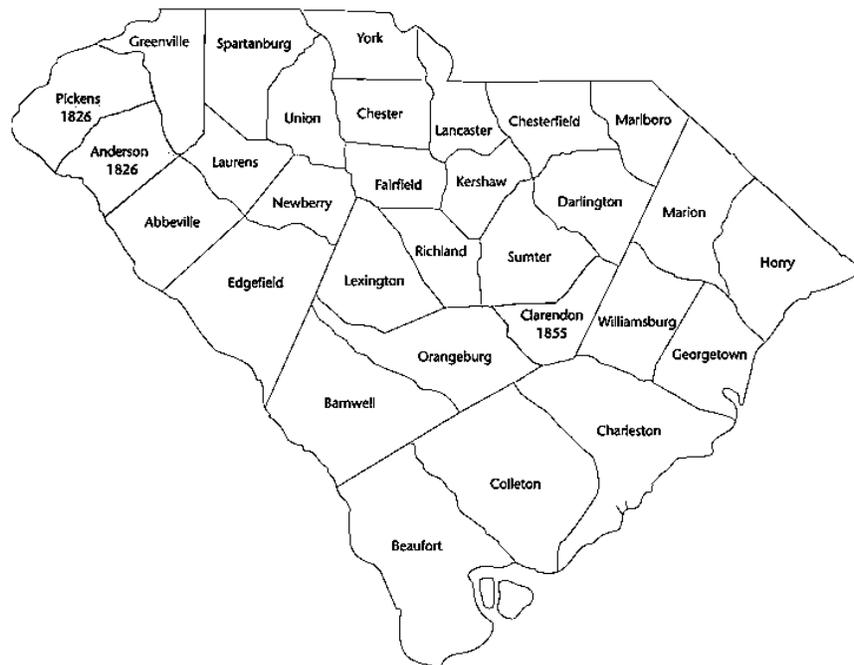


Figure 1 South Carolina Counties from 1815 - 1868 (From South Carolina Department of Archives & History)

Another important factor that intrigued the Society's members was the planned construction of the Blue Ridge Railroad. The railroad was to extend from Charleston to Knoxville, Tennessee, crossing through Grisham's land in the process. This meant the new settlement would be the last stop in South Carolina before crossing state lines, potentially becoming an important trading post. There were some disputes between the parties concerning price, but Grisham was as eager to retire as the Germans were to establish their settlement. In 1849, the Society purchased a plot of roughly 17,000 acres from Grisham, of which they dedicated 6,000 for the formation of their German settlement. In the Society's own (translated) words:

The in Pickens laid out [sic] German town shall have the name Walhalla.

Walhalla, the pleasant hall, is the real heaven of our German forebearers [sic], where the noble warriors after death reassemble themselves. Immediately after a German warrior had fallen in a glorious battle, his soul, accompanied by heavenly maidens, was led to Walhalla and there received with, "Greetings from all hero souls, drink beer with the gods." (Schaeffer 1960, p. 35)

The German Colonization Society structured Walhalla in terms of a grid, centered around an aptly named Main Street (Figure 2). On both sides of Main Street were divisions of half and whole acre lots. Behind these lots were larger, 50 acre properties. These would be the town Walhalla proper. Outside of the 50 acre farms were larger plots of land, ranging anywhere from a few dozen to hundreds of acres. All of these plots were distributed randomly among due paying members through a drawing during a Society meeting in March of 1850. The contingency: a building worth at least a few hundred dollars was to be erected on the lot within three years (Schaeffer 1960).



Figure 2 Layout of Walhalla (From Shealy 1990)

The first settlers made their way to Walhalla from Charleston a couple months later. These numbers were rather small, consisting of about half a dozen members of the German Colonization Society and their families. Jacob Schroder, one of the members of the Society, and his family were among the first to arrive, living in Grisham's old house. Some of the simple tenant houses already present in West Union served as temporary shelter while the first families began construction on their homes (Schaeffer 1960, Shealy 1990). The number of settlers increased in the later months of 1850.

It did not take long for the small settlement to grow. The Society decided to start selling leftover plots in the beginning of 1851. While some of the Society's members were still in Charleston, more were making their way to the settlement. Wagener was urging the members to

start making their way to Walhalla, even if it was at the cost of the Society. In this plea, he also addressed the promising beginnings of the town, noting that nearby settlements were already “envious” of Walhalla’s progress.

In Walhalla there is already good business. The gentlemen of West Union and Pickens are beginning to look with envious eyes. Are there not more Biemanns [member of Society] in Charleston who could come up here and start stores? You would be surprised when you come to Walhalla and see twenty to thirty horses tethered in front of the store. (Schaeffer 1960, p. 54)

The settlers wasted no time in establishing institutions, knowing this was a necessity for their growing community. Initially, Sunday services were held at the Schroder residence, before a building was erected in 1851 to serve as the schoolhouse and church. Cramer, a member of the German Colonization Society, served as the first school teacher and traveling German ministers, including the preacher at St. Matthew’s in Charleston, delivered Sunday sermons.

By 1852, Wagener already counted 170 Germans living in the settlement, the number of residents being double if one counted the nearby American residents. 1853 saw the beginning of significant growth in the community, as immigration from Charleston and directly from the European mainland increased and the settlement saw rapid development. The German Colonization Society became incorporated this year, making the task of managing the settlement much easier. An official congregation was established, with the Prussian Bansemer becoming the first permanent minister in Walhalla. As his successors would as well, Bansemer held the dual role of preacher and schoolteacher. This year, the railroad had also reached the adjacent Anderson district in the town of Belton (Figure 3). Railroad construction began in Walhalla, with

the primary obstacle being the nearby mountains, requiring the creation of a tunnel in Stumphouse Mountain.

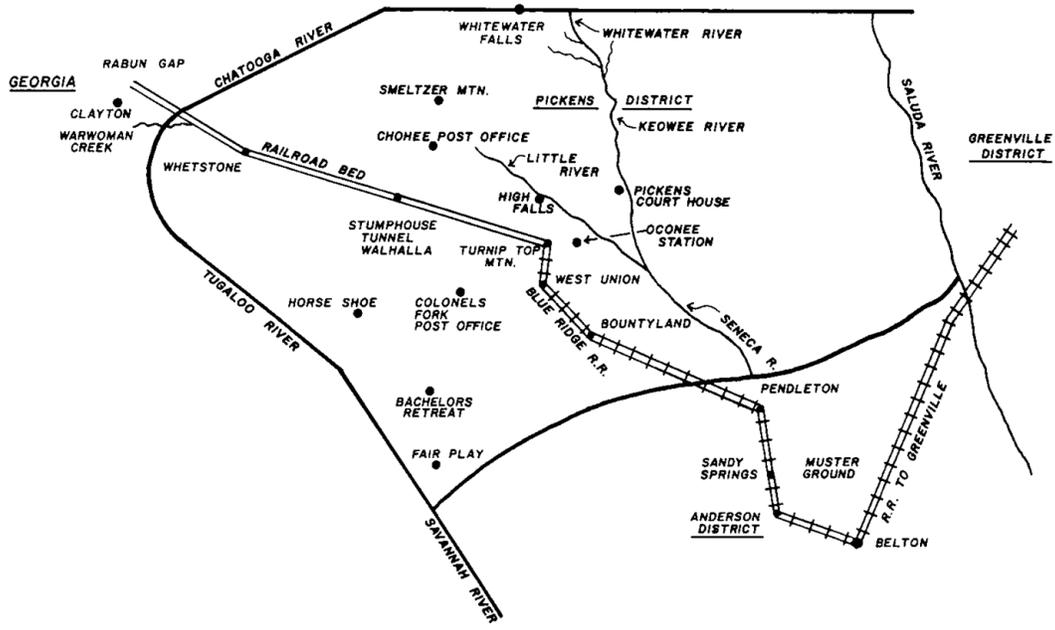
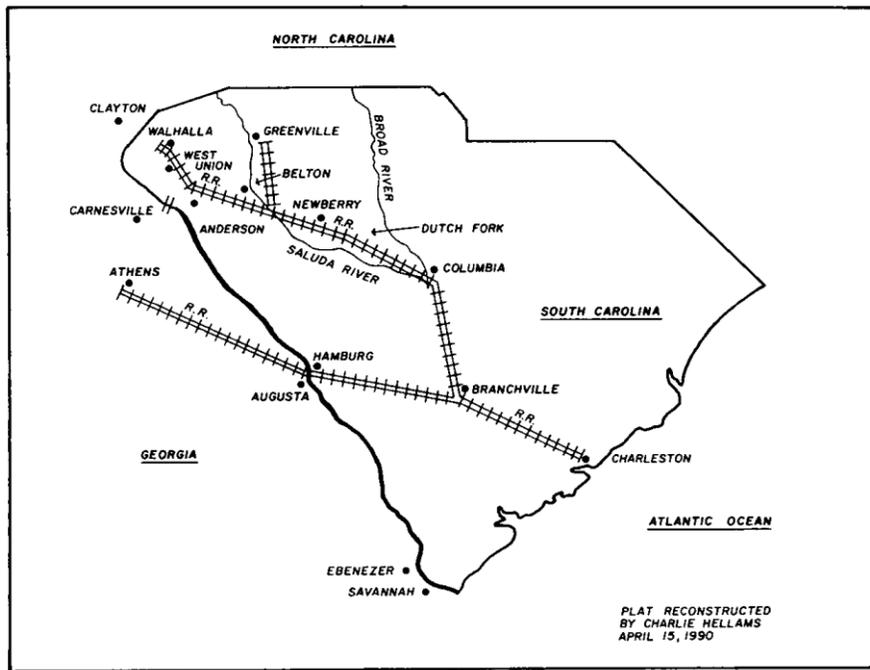


Figure 3 Railroad in Northwestern South Carolina (From Shealy 1990)

Wagener documented 300 people (presumably Germans) and 65 “presentable buildings” in Walhalla in 1854 (Schaeffer 1960, p. 129). It would only be a year later that Walhalla went from being a settlement to an official town in the state of South Carolina. This led to the first elections being held in the community. Of the dozen or so individuals elected to local office, only one was not a native German.

The town continued to grow over the next few years but suffered its first significant blow when construction on the railroad ceased in 1859. Stumphouse Mountain proved to be a more difficult obstacle than anyone had anticipated. After investing over half a decade and roughly one million dollars, the government in South Carolina decided to abandon the project. Considering the importance of this railroad in Walhalla’s economic development, and being a

significant factor in the Society's decision regarding the town's location, this was a critical setback—unless one's specific destination was the small German town, little reason existed to travel along the route (Figure 4). The people of Walhalla were vocal about their opposition to the decision, but their efforts to fight it were thwarted, with certainly no help from the catastrophic war erupting shortly after.



South Carolina

Figure 4 Railroad System in South Carolina (From Shealy 1990)

Walhalla did not escape the tumultuousness of the Civil War. Not surprisingly, immigration slowed to a near halt. In fact, most of the new arrivals during this period were men, either by themselves or with their families, trying to avoid being drafted to war. Ironically, while some Americans were heading to Walhalla to avoid the draft, many of Walhalla's German men, young and old, went off to war. Indeed, as Shealy (1990) notes, the arrival of the first train in West Union in 1861 was supposed to be a joyous occasion. Instead, it took the first group of

soldiers off to battle. Walhalla's only positive highlight in 1861 was the completion of the St. John's Lutheran Church building, near the town center. The German town would lose numerous of its young men over the next few years. Some of the older soldiers, including founding members of the Society, were victims of the war as well.

As was the case with many communities in the South, the hardships of the Civil War did not end when the conflict did. Walhalla was occupied by thirtysomething Union soldiers, with whom the town did not have a particularly warm relationship. The town's economy suffered, as it did in much of the South. Although the challenges of Reconstruction were certainly a factor, the death of many of the town's men also meant a significant part of the labor force was lost. In addition to this, German immigration continued to be slow or non-existent, due to the lack of economic opportunities in the town.

But the early post-Civil War years did see some development. In 1866, the first non-German run school opened. Two years later, another English language school opened, by the name of Newberry College. As the name suggests, the college was originally located in Newberry, South Carolina. The aftermath of the Civil War left lasting damage to the college and the town of Newberry, and it was decided that it would be relocated to Walhalla. Despite its name, the school, and others that would follow, was not exclusively a college, but a preparatory school as well. Students coming from outside Walhalla, who did not speak German, founded an English language congregation. This new Lutheran congregation was permitted to meet in St. John's (Shealy 2009).

Another significant development took place in 1868. The large Pickens district was finally formed into counties. The district was divided in half, the western side becoming Oconee County, and the eastern side becoming Pickens County. The most significant result of this

division was Walhalla being named the county seat of Oconee County. Walhalla found itself constructing and improving buildings, bearing the responsibility of having the courthouse and jail, among other institutions (Shealy 1990).

The 1870s did not see significant growth in Walhalla. Some new schools came and went, among them Adger College and Walhalla Female College. The Society had not abandoned its attempts to entice Germans from other parts of South Carolina and Germany to settle in Walhalla, but rather were unsuccessful in their efforts. With the railroad development abandoned and the continued effects of the Civil War and Reconstruction, it was more difficult to make a case to Germans about Walhalla's appeal. A few German families arrived in the 1880s, which some hoped was the sign of a larger wave of German immigration to come—but it never did.

Instead, in 1890, second and third generation Germans in Walhalla decided to split from the St. John's Lutheran congregation and start another English language congregation. This proved to be a sign of things to come for the German language in Walhalla. St. John's constitution had allowed English to be used in the church since 1858, and the ratio of German-to-English services shifted ever more towards English over the years. But with Epting taking over the role of pastor in 1908, the services switched to English only (Shealy 1990, 2009). As this study intends to show, this was not just a significant change in St. John's language policy, but a symbolic event of the death of the German language in Walhalla.

Along with the language, other aspects of German identity continued to fade over the years. The anti-German sentiments of the two world wars did not help in this respect. Some renewed interest in Walhalla's German history could be seen around 1950, in celebration of the town's centennial. This interest continued to develop, with more research on the town's history taking place in the early 1960s, among them the work of Schaeffer (1960) and Reid, Brennecke,

and Carter (1960), described below. The 1970s in Walhalla, like many communities in America, saw not only an increased interest, but also sense of pride, in heritage. This culminated in the establishment of Walhalla's Oktoberfest in 1979.

The Walhalla Oktoberfest has been going strong for over 35 years. Every year, for one weekend in October, the town sees its population of 4,000 increase to almost 20,000. While the festival may attract many visitors, it is primarily the people of Walhalla that adorn the Lederhosen and Dirndl, speaking of their German ancestors. While the language may no longer be spoken here today, residents' identification with German heritage and history continues to play a role in contemporary Walhalla.

## CHAPTER 3

### PREVIOUS STUDIES

Few secondary sources about Walhalla's history exist, let alone on language use within the town. Perhaps the most comprehensive is Shealy's *Walhalla: The Garden of the Gods* (1990). Shealy was reverend at St. John's Lutheran Church in Walhalla for many years, and sought to remedy the lack of thorough documentation of the town's history. Shealy himself acknowledges in the preface that he is not a historian or a professional writer, but expressed hope that his work would serve as a useful guideline for future research. It seems none have answered this call made two and a half decades ago. Indeed, it seems Shealy himself is the primary successor to his own work, following with a book on the history of St. John's Lutheran Church and a biography of John Wagener. (While the church history went through a recent republication, the Wagener biography remains out of print.)

Although Shealy's work is by his own admission not academic, it is well researched, provides significant information about the town's history, and offers promising leads through its references. Shealy does occasionally cross timelines and diverts to side notes, which makes it difficult to follow the chronology at times and establish exact dates. Another important point to note is that Shealy himself was not a speaker of German, also evident in German misspellings in an otherwise well-written work, meaning he solely relied on translations of any German documents. This leaves room for uncertainty regarding the (limited) claims he makes regarding the language of manuscripts. For example, Shealy (1990) claims in *Walhalla: The Garden of the Gods* that the German Colony Protocol, the minutes of the German Colonization Society, was

written in Low German. As discussed below, examination of the manuscript has found no evidence supporting this claim.

The German Colony Protocol was translated in 1960 by a B.E. Schaeffer. Considering the quality and impressive attention to detail in the translation, it appears highly likely that Schaeffer was an academic of some sort. Unfortunately, multiple searches have revealed little information about Schaeffer; all results seem to lead back to his Protocol translation. The only detail found about the translator was that he is a native of Hamburg, Germany, a claim Shealy (1990) makes in *Walhalla* without providing a source.

Another work about the town around this time is Reid, Brennecke, and Carter's (1960) *Persons, Places, and Happenings in Old Walhalla*. The work gives brief accounts and anecdotes about some of Walhalla's most prominent families and initial settlers, as well as tracing some of their descendants. Unlike Shealy, they provide little in the way of sources, but an interesting perspective as to what was known over fifty years ago about some of the town's original settlers. Without references, it is still difficult to verify the accuracy of the accounts in *Persons, Places, and Happenings in Old Walhalla*. In fact, documents from the Ansel Collection (described below) directly address some of the inaccuracies in Reid, Brennecke, and Carter's work. The spelling was left unchanged.

Several years ago I bought the Walhalla history book written by a Mr. Carter of Walhalla and looked at the Ansel records many, of which were incorrect—I wrote to him. I think I send Carolyn a copy of what I pasted in my book and asked him to correct any further issues—I do not know where he got his information from and he never acknowledged my letter.. It was a great disappointment for me that he did not get it straight – he did not have my mother's name correct and one of the

children of Fahter's correct—a girl instead of a boy—I do not believe her got this from George For I know George knew better? (Ansel F. Martin Papers 1963)

It seems that much of the limited academic work on Walhalla and its history is “indirect” – in the sense that the point of focus is on something other than the town itself. While few works consider the town directly, research on the life of Germans in Charleston and Wagener is broader and spans an impressive period of time. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to discuss the German community of Charleston without discussing John Wagener. And while there is plenty to discuss in Wagener's role in Charleston, including becoming the city's 43<sup>rd</sup> mayor in 1871, his pivotal role in the founding of a town that has been home to thousands of people for over a century is a critical point of discussion.

Perhaps the earliest thorough biography of Wagener is Rattermann's 1877 *General Johann Andreas Wagener: Eine biographische Skizze*, published only a year after Wagener's death. Rattermann was a prolific German-American historian and author, based in Cincinnati, Ohio. While the *Skizze* was not particularly objective, highly singing Wagener's praises (Figure 5), the German language work was well cited and contained numerous excerpts of the general's own words. A very thorough biography of the general followed in the form of a dissertation by William Wagener in 1937. The dissertation contained intricate details of Wagener's life and work. By following census data, it appears that the common last name is not a coincidence, and that William Wagener is the general's grandson. This helps to explain some of the intimate and highly specific details in the dissertation, many without any citation. Wagener was also the focus of a 1994 thesis (Lesemann) at the University of South Carolina, as well as Shealy's second book.

Seitdem hat sich Wagener, obschon an und für sich von zurückgezogenem Wesen, doch stets lebhaft für das Wohl seines Volkes und Staates interessirt.

Wagener war ein edler Charakter, auf den wir Deutschen, aller Theile des Landes, stolz sein dürfen, daß er zu den Unsrigen zählt. Und er zählte sich zu uns Deutschen mit Herz und Seele. Nie vergaß er neben dem Wohle seiner neuen Heimath das Andenken der alten. So innig, so treu hing er an das deutsche Volk und Gemüth, daß er während seines Lebens wiederholt den Wunsch aussprach, daß auf seinem Grabstein das folgende Motto angebracht werden soll:

**Er war ein echter Deutscher und liebte seine Landsleute.**

Figure 5 Excerpt from Rattermann 1877

“He was a true German and loved his compatriots”

In summary, not a wealth of academic material exists documenting the small mountain city’s history. The bulk of the materials about Walhalla either focus on its founder or highlights of the town’s past. The German history, character, and identity of the town are certainly acknowledged, but the language has received little attention and is mostly mentioned in passing. Unfortunately, the majority of those who have sought to document Walhalla history have passed, the most recent being Shealy. The reverend passed in 2009, only months after completing his final book documenting the history of St. John’s Lutheran Church.

It is also important to note that none of the literature on Walhalla was written by a speaker of German (with the exception of Rattermann 1877, which focused on Wagener). This meant that the authors evidently had to rely on translations of documents, whose quality may not have always reflected Schaeffer’s. In addition, this clearly meant that analysis of written Walhalla German was not possible. This is the first study focusing on the history of language use in the Walhalla community. The roles, prevalence, and use of the German language are examined from the town’s settling to its virtual disappearance, also traced in this work, through a Warren-based community theory approach (1963).

## CHAPTER 4

### THEORY

1963 saw the first edition of Roland L. Warren's *The Community in America*. As its title suggests, Warren examines communities in the United States and the changes they have undergone—largely, weakening local cohesion and the increased connection and interrelation with society at large. Warren sought to form categories to explain how and why these changes occurred.

To do so, he proposes four dimensions on which American communities differ: local autonomy, coincidence of service areas, psychological identification with locality, and horizontal pattern (Figure 6). These dimensions are highly related and to some extent overlapping, (yet) essentially considering the role and place of the local community to larger society.

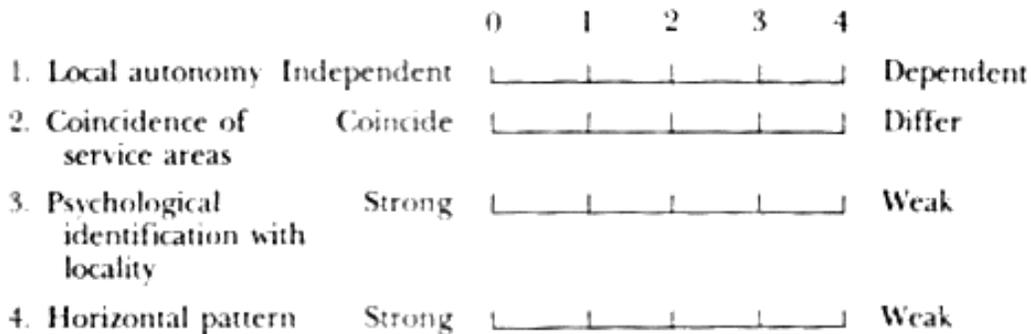


Figure 6 Four Dimensions on which Communities Differ (From Warren 1963)

While the first three dimensions are more or less self-explanatory, the fourth is critical in understanding Warren's model. *Horizontal* patterns are “systemic ties” which exist within the community, the connection local institutions and organizations have with one another. As such, strong horizontal patterns mean strong ties—collaboration, cohesion, decision-making processes—

in a community. In contrast, weak horizontal patterns suggest strong *vertical* patterns. Vertical patterns constitute the systemic ties which extend outside the community, often to a district, regional, and/or national level. Warren acknowledges that local institutions do not necessarily follow strict horizontal or vertical patterns, describing many as “amphibious” in nature.

Through these dimensions, Warren describes the process he calls the “Great Change.” This change, largely occurring during the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, is largely through the process of *verticalization*. Verticalization is the weakening of horizontal patterns and establishment of new and increasingly strong vertical patterns. In other words, the systemic ties within a local community weaken, as relationships to outside the community become stronger. This sees the *transfer* of decision-making from a local to extracommunal level, collaboration decreasing among local units (institutions, organizations, businesses), and dependence extending outside of the community. In an attempt to categorize the many factors that contribute to the process of the Great Change, Warren proposes the following seven aspects (emphasis added):

- 1. Division of labor**
2. Differentiation of interests and association
- 3. Increasing systemic relationships to the larger society**
- 4. Bureaucratization and impersonalization**
5. Transfer of functions to profit enterprise and government
6. Urbanization and suburbanization
7. Changing values

While all of these aspects play a role, those emphasized constitute critical factors in the current discussion. The first is the division of labor. As members in a community move from largely agrarian occupations and self-sufficiency to a more diversified labor force,

interdependency and connections within a community increase. A primarily self-sufficient and relatively isolated farming family may have little need for extensive external connections. But with the advancement of technology, the demand for a greater variety of products, and the increasingly specialized labor that this demands, interdependence in terms of goods and services increases among members of the community. Warren (1963) writes:

A complex social system has to accompany the specialization, in order to provide for the coordination of the specialized functions in production and for the distributive allocation of the products. People become united through this complex interdependent network of specialized effort on which they are jointly dependent, united as functionally interrelated parts of a complex system, rather than by virtue of sharing the same type of occupational skills, problems, and points of view. (p. 56)

Communities become more connected and interdependent not as a whole, but rather through individual units becoming interrelated at a higher level. Whether these units are institutions (e.g. religious and educational), organizations, or businesses, they become more integrally tied with their extracommunal system, rather than the localities in which they are located. As such, decisions are not made on a local level, but rather by the larger systems these units have become a part of. Warren (1963) describes this bureaucratization as “highly impersonal,” yet “virtually essential for the efficient administration of these complex system” (p. 66). This ‘impersonalization’ fosters a greater disconnect with the individual needs or desires of a community, as well as associations and decision-making between local units—the “increasing systemic relationships to the larger society.”

Warren himself was a sociologist, not a linguist, and did not directly address language and language use in his work. Salmons (2005a, 2005b) argues that region is an overlooked factor when studying language shift, and applies Warren's (1963) concepts of community and the Great Change. He discusses language shift through the process of the Great Change, arguing that horizontal ties help language maintenance, while verticalization leads to language shift. He particularly focuses on German-speaking immigrant communities of Wisconsin, many established in the early and mid 19<sup>th</sup> century. Salmons challenges the idea of World War I being the primary (or sole) cause of German-to-English language shift in America, but rather a catalyst in an ongoing process: that of the Great Change.

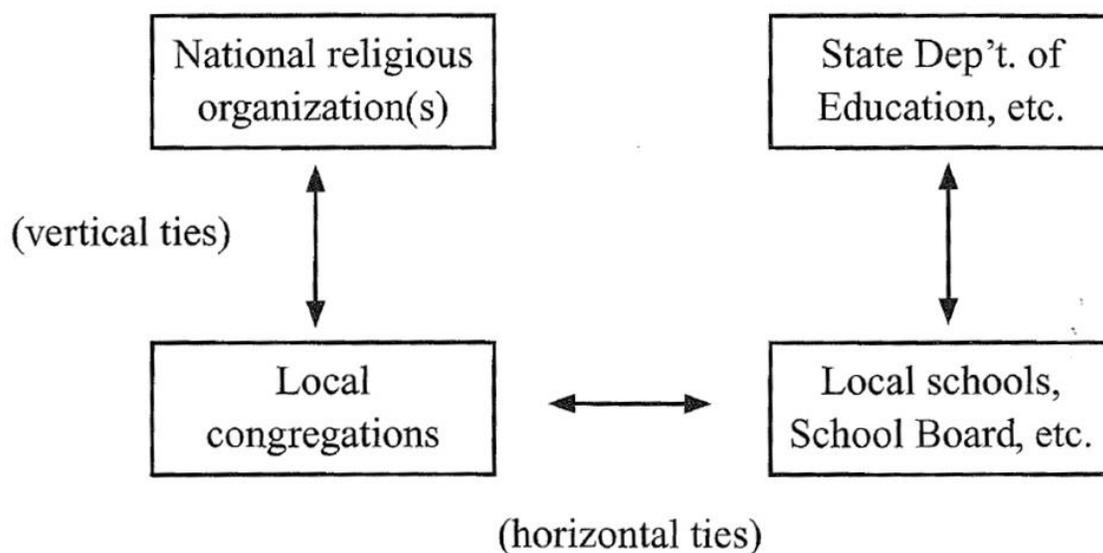


Figure 7 Vertical vs. Horizontal Patterns (From Salmons 2005a)

He specifically looks at religious and educational institutions in the region (Figure 7). Horizontal ties foster language maintenance in that control is local, within the community. In terms of religious institutions, this includes the language of worship and religious materials, and in an education realm, what is taught and the language(s) of instruction. These decisions move outside of the community when verticalization occurs (e.g. Lucht 2007, Lucht, Frey & Salmons

2011, discussed below). The often intimate ties between local schools and churches become weaker. Salmons finds that Lutheran synods began to have a larger role over smaller, local churches, and maintaining the German language, including printing religious materials therein, became less of a priority. The influence of these decisions could be seen at the local level in German immigrant communities. Government, in the forms of district, regional, and state school boards, passing laws, and enforcing those laws, also greatly affected what happened in local classrooms. Salmons (2005b) concludes:

That a phenomenon like verticalization drives shift directly in key institutions is not particularly big news for the study of German-to-English shift. What is worth emphasizing is that these processes are widespread and indeed became increasingly global during the twentieth century. It is simply not tenable to view the German-to-English shift as a closed system, something specific to one immigrant language community or even linguistic minority communities in general. In fact, shift is driven by one of the broadest changes in North American social structure...Language, a critical piece of how social identity is constructed and transmitted, provides here a clear picture of one aspect of homogenization in modern society. Warren's model gives us a springboard to a possible explanation for this process... (p. 144)

Salmons (2005a) proposes the Great Change as an “intermediate piece of the puzzle, namely the role of changing regional social structures” (p. 130). This “intermediate piece” fits in Milroy & Milroy's (1992) integrated sociolinguistic model of social class (larger society) and the individual (social network). Although an individual, a ‘center’, is usually chosen for the practical purposes of a study, a social networks is indeed “a boundless web of ties that reaches out through

a whole society, linking people to one another, however remotely” (p. 5). Two types of network characteristics are identified: structural, pertaining to the “shape and pattern” of the network, and interactional, which pertains to the “content of the ties,” such as “multiplexity, history, durability, frequency, and intensity” (p. 5). Milroy & Milroy (1992) argue that close-knit networks are conservative forces, resisting language change and reinforcing linguistic norms. In describing a close-knit network, they stress the factors of density, how many individuals know one another in a network, and multiplexity, in how many capacities the individuals know one another. Weakening ties within a close-knit network structure and expanding external ties lead to external (linguistic) influence. Milroy & Milroy (1992) claim that a “network analysis thus offers a basis for understanding the community level mechanisms that underlie processes of language maintenance” (p. 6).

In proposing an integrated model, Milroy & Milroy (1992) note that “to supplement network analysis we need a social theory...which can explicitly link a network analysis of subgroups within society to an analysis of social structure at the political, institutional, and economic levels” (19). They discuss Højrup’s (1983) life-modes, divided into life-mode 1, life-mode 2, and life-mode 3. Life modes are subgroups that look at its members’ perspective towards work, leisure, and family. Life-mode 1 is that of the self-employed, “a close-knit family-centered network with little distinction between work and leisure activities” (Milroy & Milroy 1992). Because independence and self-sufficiency are important factors, reflected in the kind of work and perspective thereof, this is the most close-knit of the network types.

In contrast, life-modes 2 and 3 are those who are not self-employed, but “wage earners.” The most significant difference is that wage earners “are incorporated in a long and complex process of production that they do not control” (Milroy & Milroy 1992, p. 20). Familial ties are

not as multiplex as in life-mode 1, as work and leisure are distinct. The strength of network ties in life-mode 2 workers is argued to depend on occupational opportunities and conditions. Challenging economic conditions can lead to solidarity among earners, e.g. trade unions. However, promising economic conditions would not necessarily result in such solidarity, and mean weaker network ties.

Life-mode 3 wage earners work in more “skilled” occupations, such as professional and managerial employees. Here, “skill is itself a saleable commodity” and the wage earner is both “socially and geographically mobile” (Milroy & Milroy, p. 21). These individuals are likely to form an expansive network, inevitably leading to outside (linguistic) influence and innovation. Milroy & Milroy (1992) join this concept of life-modes (macrolevel) with social networks (microlevel) in their integrated model of sociolinguistic structures (Figure 8). The model includes local and greater factors, considering kinds of network structures, and ultimately to specify “conditions in which the linguistic norms of the groups are likely to be focused or diffuse, and the conditions in which they are open to, or resistant to, change” (p. 24).

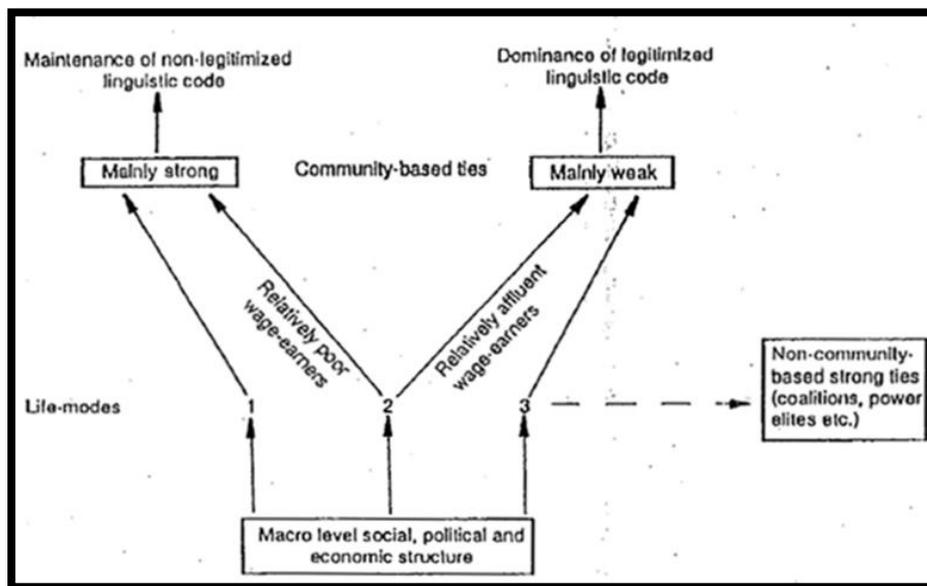


Figure 8 Macro- and Microlevels of Sociolinguistic Structure (Milroy & Milroy 2009)

Lucht (2007) is the first in-depth case study considering the “intermediate piece of the puzzle,” employing a Warren-based, community approach. The dissertation focuses on the German immigrant community of Lebanon, Wisconsin. She examines three vital institutions in the community: church, education, and press. Verticalization is shown to reflect the changing linguistic landscape in the community. While local demand for German services and materials continued, the synods no longer required German proficiency of their pastors and ceased German language publications. Schools, originally run by local officials and church leaders, became more susceptible to regional and state control, including language policies. Of course, not only institutions and organizations are susceptible to verticalization, but businesses as well. The local German newspapers began to be bought out by larger publishers, seeing a shift to English language content. Lucht found businesses other than the press susceptible to similar processes. The local family farms were “slowly replaced by larger dairy farms...reflect[ing] the increasing diversity and specialization of jobs” (109). Lucht concludes that “as the local economy became more interdependent and less autonomous, English became the dominant language of commerce, as business involved not only local members of the community, but also individuals and businesses from outside the immediate area” (110). Her findings were consistent with the elements of the Great Change and Milroy & Milroy’s (1992) social network model. Additional critical work and expansion in the Warren-based, community approach soon followed. These include, but are certainly not limited to, Bousquette & Ehresmann (2010), Bousquette (2010), and Lucht, Frey & Salmons (2011).

Bousquette & Ehresmann (2010) look at the West Frisian community of Randolph Township, Wisconsin. This diverse community consisted of Dutch, German, and Frisian speakers. Bousquette & Ehresmann utilize census data and plats to map the locations of Frisian

speaking individuals and families in the community. By using plats, outlines of the household within the township, they were able to determine the “speaker density”— higher among Frisians than the Dutch and German communities. Although no Frisian language institutions existed in Randolph Township, they argue that the density of speaker populations, aided by continuing immigration, served as a horizontal structure supporting language maintenance. This speaker density resulted in networks that were multiplex (within the Frisian community), rather than dense (outside of Frisian community). In addition, clear and distinct domains of language use developed: “the restricted domains of language use facilitated continued use of Frisian: the Dutch-Frisian bilingualism inherited from Europe transitioned to an English-Frisian bilingualism” (p. 273).

Bousquette (2010) revisits Randolph Township, specifically focusing on the first factor of the Great Change, the division of labor. The study does this through a comparison of three language communities: Frisian, Welsh, and German. The German and Welsh speaking communities saw an earlier decline of their respective language use compared to the Frisian community. Bousquette (2010) finds that “Welsh and German populations in Randolph, and Friesland, WI integrated to a modern division of labor earlier than the Frisian population, while the Frisian population maintained comparatively higher degrees of an undifferentiated, agrarian labor force,” concluding that “the high localized concentration of proficient Frisian speakers, and the undifferentiated agrarian division of labor among the Frisian population both served as horizontal structures” (p. 2, 31).

Lucht, Frey & Salmons (2011) examine asymmetries in language shift, looking at three communities of varying sizes in Wisconsin. They compare rates of language shift in the German communities of the relatively small Lebanon, medium sized city of Watertown, and urban

Milwaukee. As in Lucht (2007), the domains of religion, education, and press are discussed. The results differed with the domain, German church services continuing longer in Lebanon and Watertown, but the German press surviving longer in Milwaukee. Overall, they saw a slightly more rapid rate of language shift in urban Milwaukee, yet find that “institutionally...the same processes at work, if at slightly different rates” (p. 370). They conclude that “while this runs counter to the traditional view of more rapid urban language shift, it is fundamentally consistent with Warren’s view of the Great Change” (p. 370).

As can be seen, much of the previous research has focused on largely agrarian immigrant communities in the Midwest. This study examines Walhalla’s German-to-English language shift through a Warren-based, community approach. Here, this framework is extended to the relatively more populated and diversified East Coast. Although Walhalla’s language shift was largely underway before the timeframe of the Great Change, the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, it is argued the same factors applied and the same processes occurred. In light of the town’s diversified labor force and extracommunal ties since inception, such findings are reinforced. Indeed, it is not only proposed that the Warren-based, community approach is still applicable, but that the relatively rapid rate and early timing of Walhalla’s language shift are consistent with previous findings in the framework.

## CHAPTER 5

### METHODOLOGY

As in previous research (Lucht 2007, Lucht, Frey, and Salmons 2011, Frey 2013), the domains of church and education are considered. Unlike these studies, the domain of press is not examined; Walhalla never had a German language newspaper. Instead, a domain of business, not present in previous research in the framework, is considered—looking at official affairs, store purchases, private transactions, and finances. A roughly defined personal domain takes a look at the language of personal correspondences, i.e. private letters. In addition to these domains, Walhalla’s demographics—in terms of population, occupation, and when possible, language—are outlined. A linguistic data section (6.6) takes a direct look at the language used across the different domains.

The aforementioned domains are analyzed in terms of what language(s) is/are associated with which and, whenever applicable, how this changes over the years. Working in the Warren-based community approach, this also means looking at the *sources* and *influence* of language policy, and whether these stem from inside or outside the community. As discussed in the previous chapter (4), horizontal patterns are argued to promote language maintenance, while verticalization leads to language shift. As such, primary, and occasionally secondary, sources are examined in terms of language use, policy, and origins.

Two primary sources of particular note are the German Colony Protocol and a collection known as the Thode papers. The Protocol contains the minutes of the German Colonization Society. This book, over 200 pages in length, is primarily in German with the occasional use of

English. Schaeffer's (1960) aforementioned translation is widely available, but the original is still understudied. The Protocol provides detailed firsthand accounts of Walhalla's history, its first settlers, and their language.

The Thode papers is a collection belonging to Walhalla's Thode family. Head of the household, H. P. Thode, was a member of the German Colonization Society and his family was one of the first to move to Walhalla. Fortunately, the family held on to a wealth of documents, the collection totaling 377 records. The collection is incredibly diverse, ranging from title deeds and receipts to personal letters and report cards. These materials provide significant insight into a variety of domains. Reportedly, the collection still remains understudied, as the bulk of the German contents are inaccessible to some South Carolina historians.

The following chapter is divided into topics and domains. It begins with an outline of Walhalla's demographics. This is followed by discussion of the church, education, business, and personal domains. Last is the section on linguistic data (6.6), looking at the language itself as it occurs in some of these domains— rather than just in terms of which language is used (i.e. German or English). The final chapter, the conclusion, begins with a summary of the changes observed herein.

The demographics section (6.1) outlines changes in Walhalla's population, in terms of size and origin. It also looks at the town's workforce, as in occupations held, and language spoken. This is done through the United States census, specifically the years of 1850, 1860, 1880, and 1910. It is not until 1910 that any remarks are made as far as language is concerned. Due to the wording of the census, noted in the section, only monolingual speakers are documented. Because of the timeline of language shift in Walhalla, relatively little data can be obtained in terms of language use— but it does corroborate the early and rapid language shift.

There are other issues encountered in the census, namely drawing the exact borders of what constitutes the town. These shortcomings are discussed in this section, as appropriate. Still, the census provides valuable information regarding Walhalla's shifting demographics and looking at its workforce, considering Warren's first factor, division of labor.

Church and education are analyzed in terms of the languages associated with the domains, the level of decision making at the local and extracommunal level, and how these shift over the years. As such, these sections (6.2 & 6.3) are arranged in chronological order. For church, Shealy's (2009) history of St. John's provides a general guideline for tracing the changes taking place. As St. John's joined the Lutheran Synod of South Carolina early on, the synod minutes across the years provide insight into the increasing vertical ties of the Walhalla church. For education, catalogues and report cards from Walhalla schools are examined for course offerings and language of instruction. In addition, the Keowee Courier, a newspaper in Oconee County which eventually found its home in Walhalla, proves an invaluable resource. The newspaper carried school advertisements and even revealed policies, as it was used as a medium to communicate between teachers and the board of education.

As will be shown in the section (6.4), business in Walhalla did not undergo the language shift of church and education. Therefore, the section is not organized chronologically, but rather in different aspects of business. Official affairs are considered through minutes, e.g. the city council minutes. The business landscape of Walhalla is examined by looking at the language of stores and private transactions. This is done through store receipts and their advertising in the Keowee Courier, and documentation of exchanges between private citizens. Also, private account books are considered in looking at the overwhelming one-sided language use present in this domain.

The personal domain is analyzed through letters written among and between members of the first and second generation. This includes the Thode papers, containing correspondences between Mr. Thode and his friends and wife, and Mrs. Thode and her children. The Cappelmann papers and Ansel papers are consulted here as well, consisting of papers from second generation John Cappelmann and Martin Ansel, respectively. Since both moved out of Walhalla as young adults, the materials within these collections provide little insight into Walhalla life. However, they do provide information about language use and choice of members from the second generation. As this roughly defined domain is not susceptible to policy or formality in the traditional sense, it provides a clearer look into individual language choice.

Linguistic data looks at the language contained within these domains. Language is examined in terms of proficiency and cross-linguistic influence. As discussed in the section (6.6), handwriting provides an interesting look at language perception, due to the significant difference between the German (Kurrent) script and English cursive at the time. Texts are searched for borrowings, phonetic spellings, and other potential first language influences. In this section, the question of variety (dialect) is also addressed. Considering the region of Germany many of Walhalla's settlers came from, it is possible that some knew Low German. Previous sections (6.1 – 6.5) focus solely on a German-English distinction.

Through the analysis of this variety of domains in terms of language use and, when applicable, policies and their source, the changes in Walhalla's linguistic landscape and community structures can be understood. Instead of trying to measure the notion of English as a more prestigious variety, the language shift in Walhalla can be analyzed and explained through changes, not only in terms of language but in structure, within these domains and the community as a whole.

In addition to transcriptions and, when appropriate, translations, the appendices contain charts of the German Kurrent script.

# CHAPTER 6

## DATA & RESULTS

### 6.1 Demographics

As described in the History chapter (2), Walhalla began with the purchase of roughly 5000 acres from Colonel Gresham in the northwestern region of South Carolina. The land contained the settlement of West Union started by Gresham, consisting of a few dozen settlers, some cabins, and a couple of mills (Schaeffer 1960). Besides the small settlement, nothing awaited the first German but heavily forested land. The first settlers, arriving in 1850, began to clear the land for the construction of their planned settlement (Figure 9). Outside of the town proper were the larger farms, as seen in Figure 10. The location of the town, Figure 9, is marked in Figure 10 by a rectangle just bottom left of center.

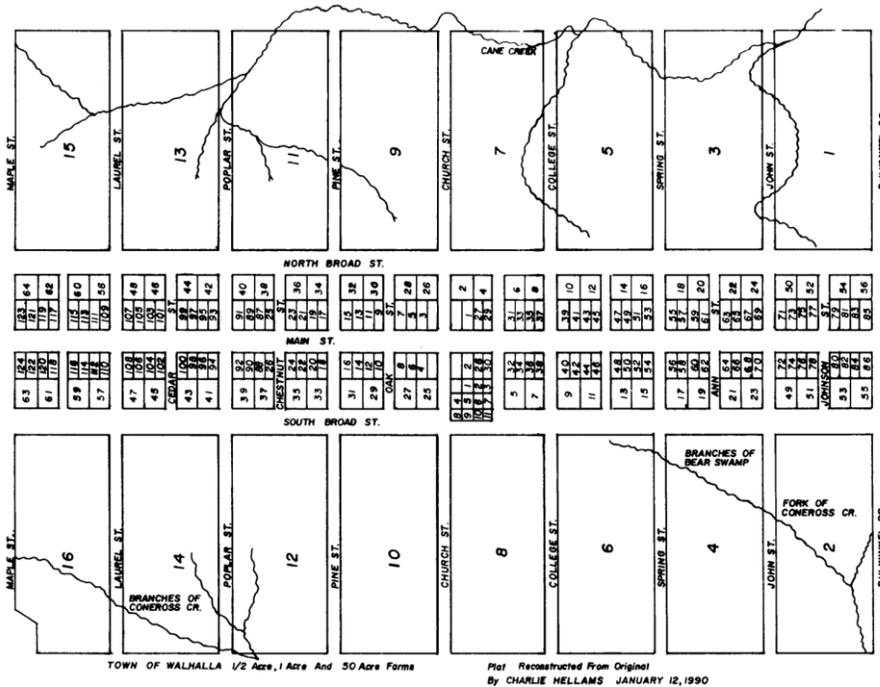


Figure 9 Layout of Walhalla (From Shealy 1990)



Due to the timing of the 1850 census, only a couple of the German Colonization Society members are listed. G. H. D. Cramer was one of the first to arrive (Figure 11). Considering the first decade of Walhalla's founding was a time of rapid development and increase in population, a significant gap is left in the census data between 1850 and 1860. Fortunately, the accounts and reports from the initial settlers documented in the German Colony Protocol shed significant light on the development during these years.

George Cramer	44 M	Kanmer	1100	Germany
Mathias "	36 F			"
Fredrick "	41 M			"
John "	3 M			"

Figure 11 Cramer in 1850 Census

In a July 1851 entry in the Protocol, Wagener reports:

The gentlemen of West Union and Pickens are beginning to look with envious eyes. Are there not more Biemanns in Charleston who could come up here and start stores? You would be surprised when you come to Walhalla and see twenty to thirty horses tethered in front of the store. It is good that the Main Street is wide enough. (Schaeffer 1960, p. 54)

While Wagener's claim of "envious eyes" may not be without its bias, it does note an important point: in just over a year of the town's founding, Walhalla already had its own store (and it was attracting sufficient business). Less than a year later, Henken, a member of the Society, reported that "there are already one hundred and twelve German souls in Pickens" (Schaeffer 1960, p. 59). Considering the presence of only three German families from the Society listed on the 1850

census, the population increase in two years is notable. Half a year later, in January 1853, Wagener noted 179 Germans, but that only 10 German families, consisting of 46 individuals, lived in the “town proper” (p. 77). An October 1<sup>st</sup> entry in 1854 is the first to give a detailed account of Walhalla’s work force:

Among the inhabitants of Walhalla are found a number of smiths, a few tailors, two shoemakers, about 20 carpenters, 2 painters, one cabinet maker, one tinsmith, one copper smith and mechanic, one druggist, one doctor, 4 storekeepers, two good hotels, 4 masons 2 brick makers, two miners, one baker, one butcher, one gardener, 4 beer brewers, one teacher and one preacher; the other inhabitants are busy with farming and milling. (Schaeffer 1960, p. 129)

While the primary occupations may have been farming and milling, the diversity in occupation for the four year old settlement is significant. Indeed, Wagener writes in 1856 that “the business of nearly the entire district has concentrated itself in Walhalla” (p. 153). Walhalla at this time would have been the largest and most developed settlement in this district. However, his claim that the “settlement has now increased to over 1000 souls of which 700 live in Walhalla” seems exaggerated when looking at the census data for later decades (p. 147). But it does bring up the recurring challenge of trying to determine boundaries when analyzing Walhalla census data.

The 1860 census corroborates Wagener’s claim of the town’s growth and business significance. Since it was eight years before the formation of Oconee County, the 1860 census still covered the 1,186 square mile Pickens District. For the purpose of the census, it was only divided into three enumeration areas: Walhalla, Regiment 2, and Regiment 5. Unfortunately, Walhalla was only considered the town proper– the lots around Main Street. This left a fair

amount of residents excluded, being listed in one of the regiments. With the regiments listing thousands of people each, it is difficult to find a boundary of what exactly constitutes Walhalla or its surrounding area. Therefore, the 1860 census of Walhalla may underrepresent the number of Germans and not document the full extent of occupations- while many living on the outskirts were involved in farming and milling, this was not exclusively so. Some families lived just outside of the “town proper,” yet still worked on Main Street and sent their children to school there.

For example, the Thode family can be found in one of the regiments. Due to a plat in the Thode papers mapping the location of their property, combined with the map of lot distributions around the town, the location of their house can be determined (Figure 12). However, this information is only available due to the extensiveness of the Thode papers. Without further knowledge of residencies, some Walhalla residents remain lost in the extensiveness of the two regiments in the census.

Still, the census sheds some light on the origins of the inhabitants in the town proper and its labor force. The 1860 census lists 358 residents in 75 households. About 52%, 187 residents, were born in Germany or had German born parents. A small percentage, 6.5% or 23 inhabitants, were from Ireland or born to Irish parents, largely involved with railroad construction. The rest were born in America, mostly in South Carolina and neighboring Southern states. While 52% may not be a particularly large number since the settlement’s founding ten years prior, it still constitutes over half and, again, does not consider Germans living in the outskirts. At the same time, it does not count English speaking individuals living near the town proper either, and speaks to Walhalla’s business appeal in the area.

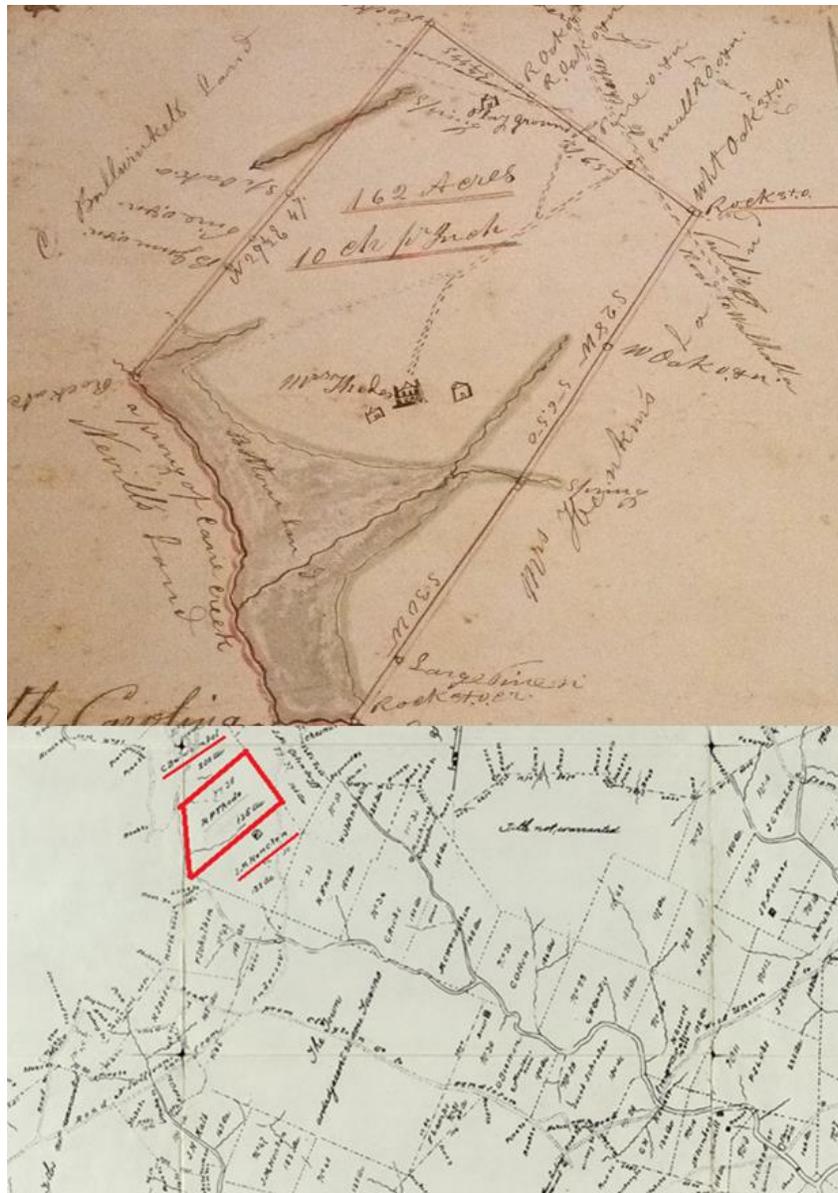


Figure 12 Location of Thode Household

As noted in the 1854 entry above, and corroborated by the 1860 census, Walhalla was home to a variety of occupations. Table 1 lists Walhalla occupations by their frequency, in number of workers. While farming was the most common occupation even for the inhabitants of the town proper, farmers were closely followed by carpenters, merchants, and clerks. Although many other occupations only had one or two practitioners, the town clearly had a diverse workforce that could have met most, if not all, of its inhabitants' needs.

Table 1 Occupations in 1860 Walhalla by Number

10+	3 – 7	2	1
<b>Farmer (16)</b>	Clerk (7)	Hotel Keeper	Trader
<b>Carpenter (11)</b>	Servant (6)	Painter	Editor
<b>Merchant (10)</b>	Day Laborer (5)	RR Contractor	Cabinet Maker
	Blacksmith (5)	Shoe Maker	Watch Maker
	Tailor/Seamstress (4)	Student	Silversmith
	Wagon Maker (3)	Baker	Druggist
	Brick Mason (3)	Minister	Tinner
	RR Laborer (3)	Gardener	Grocer
		Stone Mason	Teacher
		Farm Laborer	Powder Maker
		Tanner	Physician
			Overseer

When only looking at Walhalla’s German residents, the diversity in occupation holds (Table 2). Of the total 34 occupations listed for the town on the 1860 census, Germans are represented in 23 of them. When only considering the German population, the number of farmers is actually surpassed by carpenters and matched by the number of merchants. Notably, laborers of any kind are absent when only considering the German population. Table 3 lists the variety of occupations held by Germans in 1860 Walhalla, divided into categories as in Wilkerson & Salmons (2008).

Table 2 Occupations in 1860 Walhalla by Number (German Only)

7 – 10	2 -5	1
<p><b>Carpenter (10)</b></p> <p><b>Farmer (7)</b></p> <p><b>Merchant (7)</b></p>	<p>Clerk (5)</p> <p>Servant (3)</p> <p>Brick Mason (3)</p> <p>Baker (2)</p> <p>Gardener (2)</p> <p>Tailor/Seamstress (2)</p>	<p>Hotel Keeper</p> <p>Painter</p> <p>Shoe Maker</p> <p>Student</p> <p>Blacksmith</p> <p>Wagon Maker</p> <p>Cabinet Maker</p> <p>Watch Maker</p> <p>Silversmith</p> <p>Druggist</p> <p>Tinner</p> <p>Grocer</p> <p>Teacher</p> <p>Powder Maker</p>

Although Wilkerson and Salmons (2008) used these categories to show the occupations held by monolinguals in Wisconsin townships in 1910, the distinctions still prove useful in looking at Walhalla’s early days. As they note, in “some occupations...monolingualism would be less surprising because of relative isolation or social status, such as farm and/or other labor” (p. 271).

Table 3 Occupations in 1860 Walhalla by Category (German Only)

<b>Farm/Labor</b>	<b>Trades/Crafts</b>	<b>Commerce</b>	<b>Professional</b>
<b>Farmer (7)</b>	Carpenter (10)	Merchant (7)	Druggist (1)
<b>Servant (3)</b>	Brick Mason (3)	Clerk (5)	Teacher (1)
	Baker (2)	Hotel Keeper (1)	Student (1)
	Gardener (2)	Grocer (1)	
	Tailor/Seamstress (2)		
	Painter (1)		
	Shoe Maker (1)		
	Blacksmith (1)		
	Wagon Maker (1)		
	Cabinet Maker (1)		
	Watch Maker (1)		
	Silversmith (1)		
	Tinner (1)		
	Powder Maker (1)		

Language data is not available until the 1910 census and all evidence points to a strong German-English bilingual first generation in Walhalla. However, it shows the extent with which the community was already connected in 1860; Germans primarily worked in occupations where monolingualism would be less likely, due in part to increased interaction with the English speaking population. As noted above, the occupation of laborer was not held by any Germans, and carpenters and merchants outnumbered or matched those in farming (Table 2). With just

over half of the town's population being German, English and German speakers would have been continually interacting. This was a two-way street; for example, the only doctor in town was American, yet the only druggist was German. Indeed, it appears English was the language of business in the German settlement early on (detailed further in business, section 6.4).

Unfortunately, the challenge in analyzing census data and tracking the origins of Walhalla's population continues throughout the following decades. The 1870 census reflected the formation of Oconee County two years prior. However, there was no listing of Walhalla, but rather of Wagener Township. While there were no longer the massive regiments of the 1860 census, Wagener Township brings up new issues of boundaries. The township included Walhalla, those living on the outskirts, but potentially other small nearby communities and rural farms that may have had little or nothing to do with Walhalla. By counting the whole township, which may involve inhabitants that had little or no contact with Walhalla, the percentage of Germans could be skewed. The noticeably larger numbers would also make it harder to compare them to the prior census.

Fortunately, the picture becomes a little clearer again with the 1880 census. The issue of the large Wagener Township is still present, but Walhalla is listed separately. As in the 1860 census, this is only the town proper. While this once again leaves out families on the outskirts, it is comparable to the 1860 census. During these 20 years, Walhalla grew from 358 residents to 789— a 120% increase. However, of these 789 residents, the number of individuals from Germany or with German parents only made up 25% of the population. While it is still a considerable percentage of the population, it is certainly a noticeable decline from 20 years prior, especially considering Walhalla's founding as a German settlement only 30 years earlier.

The 1890 census infamously burnt and is largely unavailable. While it leaves the question of origins inaccessible, census bulletins can still give an idea of population numbers. These bulletins also reflect the issue of determining the boundaries of Walhalla and Wagener Township. The right column in Figure 13 shows the population in 1880, and the left lists the population in 1890. Walhalla only saw a very modest increase during that decade. The large numbers for Wagener Township show just how much of an area it could have potentially encompassed, compared to Walhalla’s population. An 1888 pamphlet about Walhalla claimed the town, combined with West Union, had a population of 1500 — certainly off the mark if one considers the census boundaries (Perry 1888).

<b>OCONEE COUNTY.....</b>	<b>18,687</b>	<b>16,256</b>
<b>Centre township.....</b>	<b>3,461</b>	<b>3,085</b>
<b>Chattooga township.....</b>	<b>711</b>	<b>718</b>
<b>Keowee township.....</b>	<b>2,179</b>	<b>1,848</b>
<b>Pulaski township.....</b>	<b>658</b>	<b>741</b>
<b>Seneca township, including Seneca City town....</b>	<b>4,493</b>	<b>3,618</b>
<b>Tugaloo township, including Westminster town</b>	<b>3,260</b>	<b>2,234</b>
Westminster town.....	532	162
<b>Wagener township, including Walhalla and</b>	<b>3,214</b>	<b>3,247</b>
West Union towns.		
Walhalla town.....	820	789
West Union town.....	235	192
<b>Whitewater township.....</b>	<b>708</b>	<b>770</b>

Figure 13 1890 Census Schedule

It is not until the 1910 census that the question of language is addressed. Unfortunately, the language data available from the census is limited to only monolingual speakers; bilingualism is not considered or documented. The census asks “whether able to speak English; or, if not, give language spoken.” As such, anyone with some English proficiency would not have been marked as a German speaker. Of course, while it would have been interesting to know the extent of German-English bilingualism at this time in Walhalla, the 1910 census still offers an important revelation.

Between 1890 and 1910, Walhalla’s population grew from 820 to 1600 residents—another considerable increase of 95%. More notably, however, is the presence of only *two* monolingual German speakers out of these 1600 residents (Figure 14). One of them, Mrs. Lansterrer, emigrated from Germany only two years prior and is married to a German who had lived in America for 40 years. Having lived in the country for only two years, her monolingualism is not particularly surprising or reflective of the language situation in Walhalla. The other monolingual speaker, Ms. Spoonagle, is an 80 year old widow, who can first be traced to Walhalla on the 1880 census. While her inability to speak English is certainly more notable, it is not particularly surprising, considering the circumstances. As previous studies (e.g. Bousquette & Ehresmann 2010) have noted, gender roles can have an impact on language proficiency. Since 1880, Ms. Spoonagle had been listed as “keeping house” for occupation, and lives with her 45 year old son (who apparently spoke German and English). Keeping house would have meant she did not necessarily need to interact with English speakers, at least for occupational purposes, and her English speaking son could have attended to other duties demanding it.

Name	Relation	Sex	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace	Immigra	Naturaliz	Speaks English
Grace	Daughter	F	South Carolina	North Carolina	North Carolina			
Morris	Son	M	South Carolina	North Carolina	North Carolina			
Jessie Nancy	Servant	F	Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee			English
William	Servant	M	South Carolina	South Carolina	South Carolina			English
William	Head	M	Ger German	Ger German	Ger German	1870	No	English
Christina	Wife	F	Ger German	Ger German	Ger German	1870	No	German
Spoonagle Gus	Head	M	South Carolina	Ger German	Ger German			- English
Wm	Mother	F	Ger German	Ger German	Ger German			German

Figure 14 1910 Census Excerpt Showing Walhalla Monolinguals

By all means, Walhalla began as a German settlement— from the lot drawings by members of the German Colonization Society to the first three families moving there in 1850. Although dozens of German families followed in the coming years, the demographics would soon shift towards a more English speaking population. But while the demographics changed in

terms of origin, they did not do so in terms of the workforce. Walhalla did not begin as a rural community of subsistence farming. While farming may have been the most common occupation, the workforce was incredibly diversified from the very beginning. And even those who did practice farming, living on the outskirts of town, often still attended the local church and sent their children to school on Main Street.

As mentioned in the History chapter (2) and detailed under Church (6.2) below, St. John's switched to all English services in 1908. However, there was still some demand for German services. Due to the census wording, the extent of bilingualism at this point cannot be determined. While the presence of only two monolingual German speakers in 1910 is not surprising in light of the changing demographics and changes detailed below, it reflects a critical point: less than 60 years after the town's founding, it was no longer possible to live as a German monolingual speaker in Walhalla.

## 6.2 Church

Establishing a religious institution was one of the first priorities of the German Colonization Society and Walhalla's initial settlers. Colonel Gresham had a building near West Union, which Jacob Schroder purchased. For the first year, it would serve as the settlers' meeting place for Sunday services. Erecting a building to serve as a church and school was one of the first undertakings of the Society, and was completed a year after the town's founding, in 1851. The building was located towards the center of the town on Main Street (Figure 15).

During the initial years, Walhalla was served by traveling ministers and missionaries fluent in the German language. One of the most frequent visitors was Reverend Muller, the pastor of the German church in Charleston, St. Matthew's. Many of the initial settlers were well known to him, being a part of his congregation back in Charleston, and Wagener having played

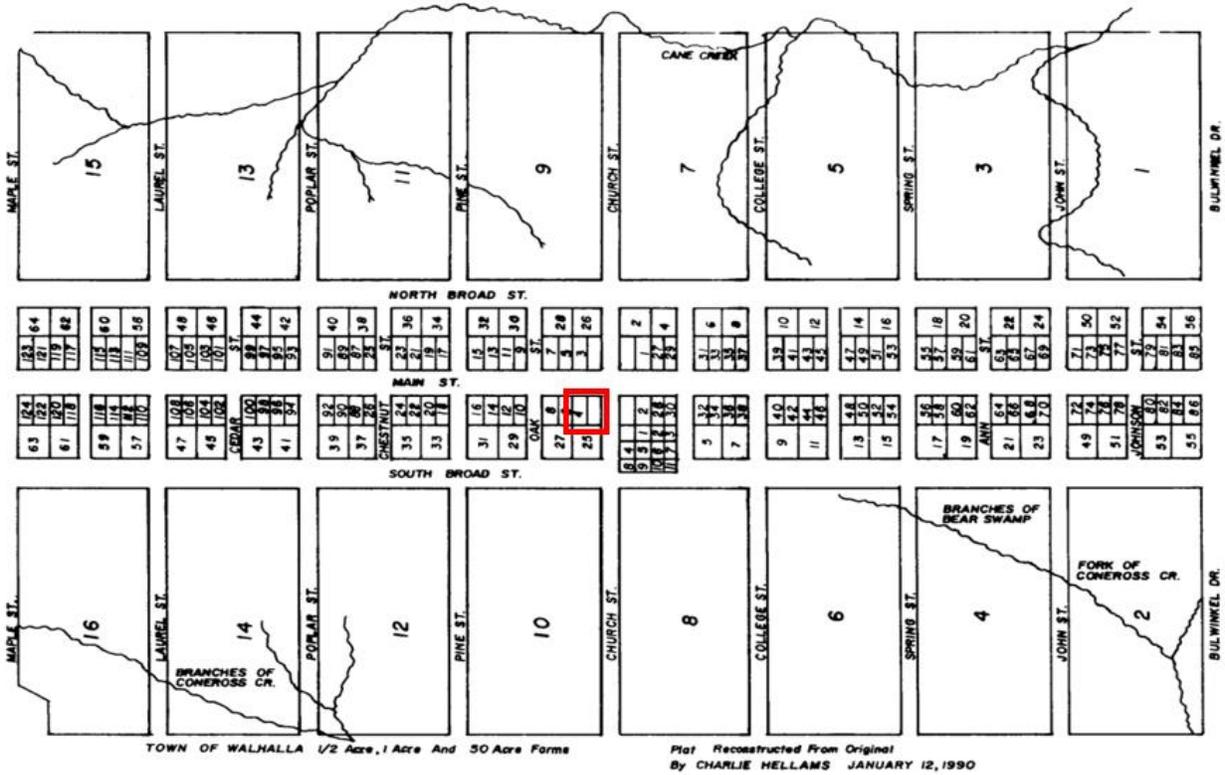


Figure 15 Location of Church in Walhalla

an instrumental role in establishing St. Matthew’s. Reverend Muller kept a book with records of the baptisms, weddings, and funerals he conducted during his Walhalla visits, which would go on to become the first minute book of the St. John’s church (Shealy 2009).

St. John’s was founded in 1853 with a constitution proclaiming it as “The German Evangelical Lutheran Church.” The residents of Walhalla realized the importance of having a permanent minister. Muller wrote to the Lutheran Synod of South Carolina and recommended they instate the German pastor C. F. Bansemer as St. John’s minister (Shealy 2009). That same year, in 1853, Bansemer would become the first permanent leader of the congregation. As was laid out in the German Colony Protocol in an April 1852 entry, the pastor was also to serve as schoolteacher. Bansemer would continue to serve in both roles until his resignation in 1860.

As an ordained Lutheran minister, Bansemer attended the annual meetings of the Lutheran Synod of South Carolina. At the 1855 synod meeting, the congregation at St. John's was accepted into the synod. Accompanying Bansemer to the annual gathering in 1855 was Diedrich Biemann, who was admitted in the role of commissioner and delegate to the Walhalla congregation. Biemann put up a bid on behalf of Walhalla for a Lutheran college to be opened in the German settlement, but the committee opted for the town of Newberry instead. While Walhalla may not have been chosen as the site for the new college, the congregation seemed very much sympathetic to the concerns and needs of German settlers in general:

In the city of Savannah, a lot has been procured for a German Lutheran congregation, and efforts are now being made to carry on the work to completion.

This enterprise should not fail, and will not, if we as a church do our duty. There are too many souls that will not be cared for, only through German instrumentality. (Synod 1855, p. 7)

This sympathy appears to have held strong, and eventually passed on to Walhalla. The St. John's congregation continued to meet in their building, which simultaneously served as schoolhouse and place of worship, while desiring to have a proper church. Bansemer's petition to the synod was accepted in 1859 (Figure 16).

Due to his resignation in 1860, Bansemer would not be the first to preach in the newly constructed church (Figure 17). The completion of the St. John's church was one of the few highlights of the disastrous year of 1861, which saw the beginning of the Civil War. The war also affected the Lutheran synod, which was unable to meet in 1864. Instead, a meeting was held in 1865 covering both of these years.

Rev. C. F. Bansemer offered the following resolutions, which were adopted :

*Resolved*, That we hereby express our heartfelt gratification and Christian sympathy, called forth by Bro. Bansemer's statements in regard to the state and prospects of the Evangelical Lutheran congregation at Walhalla.

*Resolved*, That brethren who cultivate, in their intercourse with each other, the spirit of forbearance and harmony, while they regulate their walk and conversation according to the teachings of the Gospel, and the principles of our evangelical body, deserve our liberal assistance in every effort of theirs to promote their own edification and the general interests of the church ; and that those who pursue a contrary course, must of necessity, forfeit our countenance and support.

*Resolved*, That, considering the arduousness of erecting houses of worship, as well as the many losses and consequent embarrassment of our brethren at Walhalla, we do hereby recommend their necessities to the favorable consideration of our respective congregations, and that Bro. Bansemer is invited by us, to bring to their notice the wants of his people.

Adopted.

Figure 16 Bansemer's Petition to Lutheran Synod



Figure 17 St. John's Church in Walhalla

Despite the horrible events of the war, the synod continued its commitment to German immigrants. During the dual meeting of 1864 & 1865, a committee for the purposes of tending to German immigrants was formed.

Whereas, We have been informed, that a considerable number of farmers and mechanics from several portions of Germany, have expressed a willingness to emigrate to our Southern country, and become citizens, and as the great majority of them adhere to the faith of our Church, it is our duty to make such provisions for their religious instruction as will preserve them the advantages and comforts of religion...*Resolved*, That a Committee of five be appointed from this body, to consider the propriety of devising some plan of introducing into our country a number of German emigrants... (Synod 1864-1865, p. 54)

The following year's meeting in 1866 echoed these sentiments. Although no longer at St. John's, Bansemer continued his religious work in the state and remained a delegate of the synod. The findings and concerns of his report, below, were accepted by the synod.

Furthermore, as many of our Churches, of necessity, use the German language in their public services; as nearly all of those societies at one time or another were imposed upon by wicked men; and as it is somewhat difficult to induce worthy and reliable ministers, that understand our *modus operadi* [sic], and are willing cordially to co-operate with us, after they have found a home in the North or West, to settle among us, we cannot but approve of the recommendation, contained in the fourth and fifth resolution, to apply to some of the Ecclesiastical authorities in Germany for suitable ministers; and to take the candidates, on their arrival, under our protection and direction, with the view to imbue them with the

genius of this land, and enable them, as far as we can, to become successful in their enterprises, useful to their charges, and an honor to the Church. (Synod 1866, p. 11-12)

It was two years later, in 1868, that the Lutheran synod agreed to move Newberry College from Newberry to Walhalla. The devastation of the Civil War proved to be too much for the college to recover from in its original location. The head of the college, the American Reverend Smeltzer, moved along with the school. Newberry College's arrival was part of a significant change in the town, appearing the same year that Walhalla became the county seat. While the college would also serve local Walhalla students, it also meant the arrival of more American, or rather non-German speaking, students.

St. John's felt the effect of Newberry College's arrival almost immediately. Being a Lutheran college, the English speaking students wanted to attend Lutheran services in the English language. This resulted in the formation of a Lutheran, solely English language congregation that met at St. John's, headed by Reverend Smeltzer. The new congregation was troublesome for some of the residents, in terms of posing a threat to the German language. Pastor Weber, the minister at St. John's at the time, had already increased the amount of English language services (to 4 a month) in the German congregation, just a year before. These concerns led Weber to amend the congregation's constitution, stating that German services would be held at St. John's as long as there were at least two German members in the church. In the words of Shealy (2009): "With the presence of Newberry College in their midst, Walhalla and St. John's were exposed Synod-wide and state-wide as never before" (p. 31).

The following year's Lutheran Synod of South Carolina meeting actually took place in St. John's, Walhalla (Figure 18, left). Quite likely, it served as an opportunity for members of the

synod to observe the newly relocated school. The necessity of a German speaking missionary was a point of discussion during the 1869 proceedings (Figure 18, right). Despite the seeming emphasis placed on this matter, it was not brought up again the following year. In fact, it is one of the last times that the German language is a direct point of discussion in a meeting of the Lutheran Synod of South Carolina.

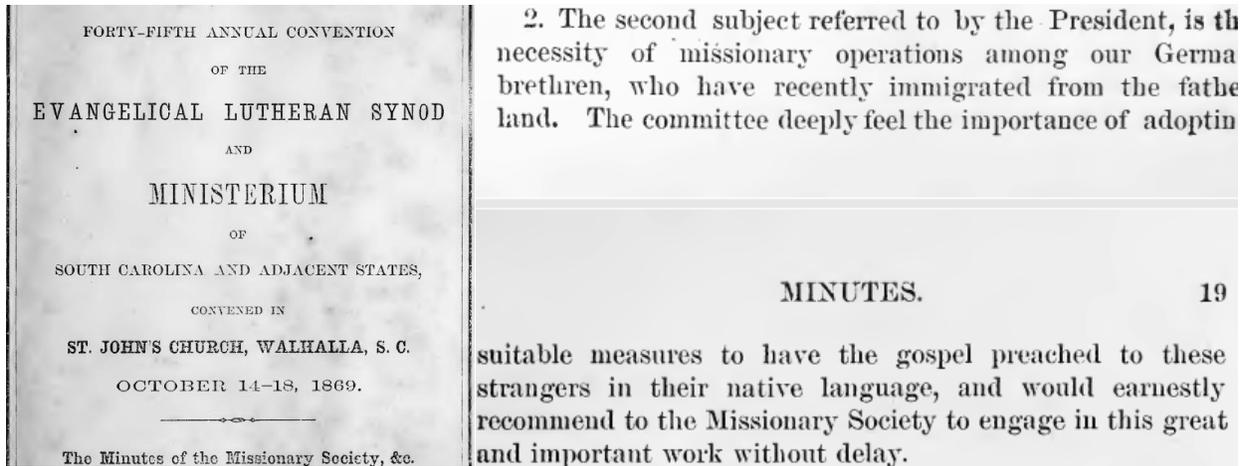


Figure 18 1854 Synod at St. John's, Walhalla

The English language Lutheran congregation in Walhalla, headed by Smeltzer, must have been of notable size. At the 1872 meeting of the synod, it was actually listed separately from St. John's (Figure 19). However, the two congregations united in 1875 (Shealy 2009). This would have meant German and English sermons taking place in the German congregation of St. John's. Still, the English congregation joined St. John's under the condition that it submitted to its constitution and the order of the congregation.

Rev. J. H. C. Shierenbeck's charge.	
German Lutheran Church, Walhalla.....	5 00
Rev. J. P. Smeltzer, D. D.	
Walhalla (English).....	7 00

Figure 19 English Congregation at Synod Meeting

The 1870s saw little mention of German in synod meetings, and were not particularly promising when they did occur. In 1877, Bansemer requested funds to start a German Lutheran

congregation in Savannah, but was denied (Figure 20, top). A petition for a German missionary in the Charleston area was denied as well (Figure 20, bottom). While funds may have been limited, the synod did vote to fund other endeavors during this time. The lack of mention of German throughout the decade, and the distribution of little funds, shows the synod's shifting priorities. While there were mentions of the resignation of Walhalla ministers during this time period, no discussion was held in terms of finding a replacement.

1. A letter was received from Rev. C. F. Bansemer asking pecuniary aid to start a German and English Lutheran Church in Savannah, Ga. Aid was not given for want of funds, and for want of sufficient and satisfactory information regarding the enterprise. His letter is submitted.

2d. A petition signed by twenty-seven persons residing in Charleston, requesting that "Synod appoint a German Missionary to labor in connection with our Lutheran Ministers of Charleston and vicinity."

The committee appreciate the Church love and religious zeal of these brethren, and commend them for their deep interest in the cause of Christ, but regretting the want of funds at our disposal, the committee move that this matter be referred to the Executive Committee.

#### Figure 20 Requests at Synod Meeting for German Congregations

While German was not a point of extensive discussion during the synod meetings of the 1870s, it was virtually absent during the 1880s. German was indirectly mentioned once during the 1886 meeting, which took place at St. John's. This was in reference to a German sermon held during the preparatory services for the convention. And in 1888, in Walhalla, it was noted:

Notwithstanding the fact that there are perhaps more Americans than Germans in Walhalla, the town has not lost its real characteristics...Now they [original settlers] have mostly retired, resting on their laurels, and have given the work to younger hands, so that it may be preserved for future generations. It may be that the young people are not well enough versed in German, and hence Pastor

Brodhuhrer [at St. John's] must alternately preach in English, so as to satisfy the needs of the congregation. (Shealy 2009, p. 74)

However, it appears that it did not completely “satisfy the needs of the congregation.” 1890 saw the greatest conflict up to this point in St. John's history. While the division in 1868 was largely led by the arrival of English speaking outsiders, this dissent was led by Walhalla natives. Taking the lead in demanding more English services were V. L. Norman and T. Schroder. V. L. Norman was the son of A. E. Norman, pharmacist and one of the initial settlers of Walhalla, and T. Schroder was the son of Jacob Schroder, the first member of the German Colonization Society to move to Walhalla. After their petition for dismissal from the congregation was granted, they formed the Holy Trinity Congregation of Walhalla with the help of a Reverend Bowers. Although the exact extent of his involvement is uncertain, Bowers must have played a significant role in establishing this new congregation. He was credited with its founding in the 1890 meeting of the synod (Figure 21, top). V. L. Norman took the role of secretary (Figure 21, bottom).

NEW CONGREGATIONS.						
Rev. A. J. Bowers reported that on the first Sunday in March, 1890, he completed the organization of Holy Trinity Congregation at Walhalla.						
Ebenezer.....	G. R. Stork, Columbia,	“	60 00	50 00	10 00	60 00
Orange Chapel..	P. H. Fulmer, Springfield,	“	8 00	8 00	.....	6 00
St. Mark's.....	Jno. D. F. Monts, Pleasant,	“	10 00	10 00	.....	10 00
Holy Trinity.....	V. L. Norman, Walhalla,	“	.....	.....	.....	8 00

Figure 21 Holy Trinity Congregation at Synod Meeting

Although all of the synod meetings had lists of present ordained ministers and their respective towns/cities, it was not until 1891 that a roll of churches was included. Out of the 60 churches that were part of the Lutheran Synod of South Carolina in 1891, only four were German (Figure 22). Considering that the synod meetings were also printed in German up until the 1850s, and the German language being an important point of discussion until a decade later,

it seems highly probable that this number used to be larger. But by the 1890s, funding for traveling German missionaries was often denied. The devotion to finding qualified new German ministers, or at least thoroughness in vetting them, decreased as well. It was during this time that the synod recommended Reverend Zettner for Walhalla, only to dismiss him a few years later, charging him with “profanity and drunkenness.”

ROLL OF CHURCHES BELONGING TO THE SOUTH CAROLINA SYNOD SHOWING THEIR LOCATION.	
CHARLESTON, S. C.	
St. Matthew's (German). St. John's. Wentworth Street.	St. Johannes, (German). St. Paul's, (German), Mt. Pleasant. St. Barnabas, (Mission Station).
BARNWELL COUNTY.	
Mt. Pleasant. St. Nicholas.	Bethlehem.
ORANGEBURG COUNTY.	
Orangeburg Church. St. Matthew's. Mt. Lebanon.	Pine Grove. Trinity. Orange Chapel.
RICHLAND COUNTY.	
Ebenezer, Columbia. St. Paul's.	St. Mark's.
LEXINGTON COUNTY.	
St. Stephen's, Lexington. Providence. St. John's. St. David's. Sandy Run. Pisgah. St. Peter's. Nazareth. Bethany. Bethlehem. St. Matthew's.	Salem. Union. Mt. Pleasant. Luther Chapel, Leesville. Bethel. St. Michael's. St. Andrew's. Mt. Olivet. St. John's. Mt. Hermon, Peak. Macedonia.
NEWBERRY COUNTY.	
Luther Chapel, Newberry. Grace, Prosperity. Colony. St. Luke's. Mt. Olivet. Mt. Pilgrim. Bachman Chapel.	Mt. Tabor. St. Paul's. Bethlehem. St. Phillip's. St. Matthew's. Beth Eden.
EDGEFIELD COUNTY.	
St. Mark's. Corinth.	Trinity. Good Hope.
OCONEE COUNTY.	
St. John's, (German,) Walhalla.	Holy Trinity.
AIKEN COUNTY.	
St. James', Graniteville.	Mt. Calvary.
AUGUSTA, GA.	
Holy Trinity.	

Figure 22 Roll of Churches at 1891 Synod Meeting

Like the decade prior, the 1890s saw no discussion of the German language. The turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century did not see any discussion of German either. Rather, it marked the end of German at St. John's with the institution of Pastor T. P. Epting in 1908. Epting had already been a member of the synod, preaching at a church in Sumter, before being assigned to Walhalla. A minister fluent in German delivered a sermon in the language at Epting's institution, in attempts to ease the transition (Shealy 2009). Not all were pleased with the change, primarily the eldest in the community, and were appeased by the occasional arrival of a traveling minister fluent in German. But from 1908 on, St. John's was an English language church. It also marked the beginning of a new minute book, the first to be written in English. The church's change was

reflected in the 1909 synod meeting, where the German distinction was removed from St. John's (Figure 23). It was also changed for St. Johannes, one of the three German churches in Charleston.

ROLL OF CHURCHES.	
SHOWING THEIR LOCATION.	
AIKEN COUNTY.—St. James', Mt. Calvary, St. Paul's.	
BARNWELL COUNTY.—St. Nicholas.	
BAMBERG, S. C.—Mt. Pleasant, Ehrhardt.	
CHARLESTON, S. C.—St. Matthew's (German), St. John's, St. Andrew's, St. Johannes', St. Paul's (German, Mt. Pleasant), St. Barnabas' (Mission Station).	
EDGEFIELD COUNTY.—St. John's.	
LEXINGTON COUNTY.—St. Stephen's, Providence, Sandy Run, St. Peter's, Bethel, Mt. Hermon, St. John's, St. David's, Pisgah, Mt. Pleasant, St. Michael's, Macedonia, Mt. Vernon, Bethany, Bethlehem, St. Matthew's, St. Andrew's, Nazareth, Red Bank, Salem, Union, Enon, Mt. Olivet, Luther Chapel.	
NEWBERRY COUNTY.—Church of the Redeemer, Colony, St. Luke's, Mt. Olivet, Mt. Pilgrim, Bachman Chapel, Mt. Tabor, Grace, St. Paul's, St. Philip's, Bethlehem, St. Matthew's, St. James', Holy Trinity, Betheden, Silver Street.	
ORANGEBURG COUNTY.—Orangeburg Church, Trinity, Orange Chapel.	
CALHOUN COUNTY.—St. Matthew's, Mt. Lebanon, Pine Grove, St. Mark's.	
RICHLAND COUNTY.—Ebenezer, St. Paul's, St. Mark's, St. Luke's.	
SALUDA COUNTY.—St. Mark's, Good Hope, Corinth, Mt. Hebron, Trinity, Mt. Pleasant.	
WALHALLA, S. C.—St. John's.	
SUMTER, S. C.—St. James'.	
FLORENCE, S. C.—St. Luke's.	
SPARTANBURG, S. C.—Woman's Memorial.	
GREENWOOD, S. C.—Greenwood Mission.	
AUGUSTA, GA.—Holy Trinity.	
GREENVILLE, S. C.—First Lutheran Church.	

Figure 23 Roll of Churches at 1909 Synod Meeting

The two remaining German language churches, St. Matthew's and St. Paul's, both in Charleston, did not fare much better. Both lost their distinction as German by 1915. Although St. John's had ceased German services a decade prior, this change was firmly reinforced in a significant 1918 name change, documented in a Keowee Courier article (Figure 24).

—At the congregational meeting of St. John's Lutheran church last Sunday morning a movement was started to change the name of the church. The church was organized back in the 50's, and the charter received from the Secretary of State gives the name as "The German Evangelical Lutheran Church." On motion of Geo. D. Schumacher, it was decided to apply for a new charter under the name of "St. John's Lutheran Church of Walhalla." The motion carried unanimously and after the new charter is received the official name of the Lutheran church here will be minus the word "German." It has been a number of years since services have been held in the Lutheran church in Walhalla in the German language, all services now being conducted exclusively in English.

Figure 24 Name Change of Lutheran Church in Walhalla

While the focus has been on St. John's, it was not the only church in Walhalla. However, it was the town's first church and the only one to hold services in German. By 1888, there were a total of five churches in Walhalla, with two more in consideration (Figure 25). This was counting the very close West Union, which technically had the first church in the area. The Baptist Church in West Union was not attended by the early German settlers. Unlike subsequent generations, the initial settlers seemed much more intent on having Sunday service in their native language. They initially opted for traveling German ministers, rather than joining an already existing, permanent congregation. While it could have been an issue of religious doctrine, it seems less likely, since the original proposals for the German St. Matthew's in Charleston were to have it be non-denominational and inviting to all German speakers.

CHURCHES.	
Lutheran.....	Rev. J. C. Brodfuehrer, Pastor
Presbyterian.....	" J. E. Fogartie, "
Baptist.....	" J. K. Mendenhall, "
Baptist (West Union).....	Supplied
Methodist Episcopal South.....	" M. L. Carlisle, "
Episcopal.....	In contemplation
Catholic.....	"

Figure 25 Churches in Walhalla in 1888

Walhalla's Presbyterian Church was established in 1868 by the Presbytery of South Carolina (Seaborn 1868). As exemplified by one of the first roll calls of its members, it never attracted any of the German settlers (Figure 26). This would also become an important point to note, as the Presbytery was in charge of the Adger College that would replace Newberry College in 1877.

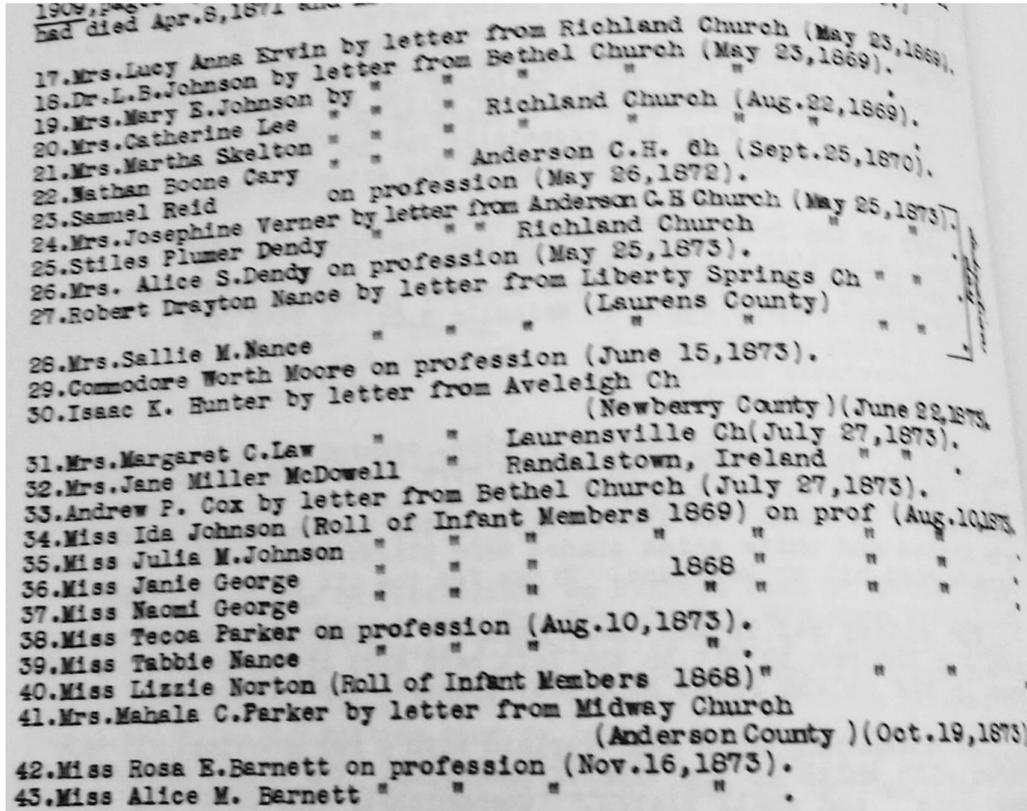


Figure 26 Roll Call of Walhalla's Presbyterian Church

With St. John's as the only German language church in Walhalla, and the only one to attract any German settlers, it shows how much of a focal point it was in the community, and how significant the effects of any changes in language policy (or discussions thereof) were. While changing demographics certainly played a role in the changes undergone at St. John's, the shifting priorities of the Lutheran Synod of South Carolina played a role as well. The synod never mentioned or discussed the 1875 and 1890 splits that occurred in Walhalla, rather

welcoming the newly formed English congregations right away. The shift in priorities could primarily be seen in the significant decrease in discussion of the German language's importance and accommodation for those desiring (or even needing) German services. It was reflected in the synod's approach to finding new pastors for St. John's during periods of vacancy. While the questionable appointment of Zettner could be an example of shifting priorities, clearly Pastor Epting being instituted at St. John's is the primary representation of this. The synod did not look for a bilingual minister, rather opting for one of their own, English speaking members. Weber's 1868 amendment to St. John's constitution, that German services would continue as long as there were only two German speaking members of the church, was not honored. Although Walhalla would continue to be visited by the occasional traveling German minister after Epting's institution, the synod played no role in this accommodation. While the synod's shifting priorities had an effect on St. John's congregation, perhaps its influence was even greater in the realm of education.

### 6.3 Education

Boos and Northdurft (2011) summarize early education in Oconee county by saying "most [schools] were started by churches and housed in one room log cabins." The situation was similar in Walhalla. The initial settlers erected a building in 1851 that served as both a schoolhouse and place of worship. G. H. D. Cramer, one of the members of the German Colonization Society, was the first schoolteacher. He was apparently well educated, having held the role of secretary for both the German Colonization Society and St. John's.

The German Colony Protocol laid out that the role of priest also meant holding the position of schoolteacher. When C. F. Bansemer became the German congregation's first permanent pastor in 1853, he also took over Cramer's role of schoolteacher. Wagener notes in an

1853 report in the Protocol that “there is a good English school on the square attended by twenty German children.” An interesting yet conflicting account exists of Bansemer’s teaching methods (emphasis added):

It is said that Pastor Bansemer taught his German pupils the **English alphabet** in a kind of ‘sing-song’ method, and that persons passing the school could hear the pupils chanting their A. B. C.’s with a distinct German accent: ‘Ah Bey Tsey Day, A Eff Gay; Hah, E Yat Kah, Ell Em En O Pay; Koo Ihr Ess Tay, OO Fou Vey, Ix Ipsylon, Zett, dis vay Ich Cann Goot Learnen die Ah Bay Tsey. (Shealy 1990, p. 160)

While Shealy suggests the English alphabet, Reid, Brennecke, and Carter (1960) emphasize the German alphabet. However, when looking at the phonetic spellings presented in both accounts, it certainly seems to refer to German.

Mr. Bansimer [sic] taught the **German alphabet** arranged in a sort of chant. It was said by older citizens that anyone passing the school house could hear the A. B. C. class chanting! Ah Bey Tsey Day, A Eff Gay; Hah, E Yat Kah, Ell Em En O Pay; Koo Ihr Ess Tay, OO Fou Vey, Ix Ipsylon, Zett, dis vay Ich Cann Goot Learnen die Ah Bay Tsey. (Reid, Brennecke & Carter 1960, p. 51)

Regardless of which account is more accurate, it is important to note that school in Walhalla was initially 1) tied to the church, led by the priest (and taking place in the same building as Sunday services), and 2) taught both in English and German. This intimate connection between church and school, specifically St. John’s, held strong during the German settlement’s initial years. It is not until 1866, over fifteen years after the town’s founding, that a school is mentioned which had no relation to the German church (Figure 27, top).

# ENGLISH SCHOOL IN WALHALLA.

HON. WM. S. GRISHAM, }  
COL. C. C. LANGSTON, } TRUSTEES.  
DR. A. E. NORMAN, }

I HAVE this day entered upon the first Session of my twentieth year in the School Room. The prospect for my School in this place the present year is good.

BOARDING may be had in or near Walhalla upon reasonable terms.

Those who may feel themselves interested "will take due notice and govern themselves accordingly"

C. H. SPEARS, Principal.

Jan 15, 1866

19

tf

# WALHALLA FEMALE ACADEMY.

THE EXERCISES of this School will commence on the 1st Monday in June next, under the charge of Mr. W. C. Hixie, late Principal of the Pendleton Female Seminary, a classical and experienced Teacher.

RATES OF TUITION PER SESSION OF  
20 WEEKS:

1st Class: Spelling and Elementary Reading, \$14.00.

2d Class: Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, \$16.00.

3d Class: English Grammar, Greene's Analysis, Geography, History, and Smalley's Compositions, \$18.00.

4th Class: Latin, Greek, Algebra, Geometry, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Trigonometry, Surveying, Moral and Intellectual Philosophy, and all other studies usually taught in our Colleges, \$22.00.

The morals and manners of Scholars and Pupils shall receive special vigilance, and every personal attention will be bestowed upon each in order to promote her rapid advancement.

A small contingent fund will be necessary to defray the incidental expenses of the School.

The location and health of the place offer rare inducements to all who may desire to patronize the School.

A competent French and Music Teacher will be provided.

Boarding can be procured in the Town on the most reasonable terms.

H. S. VAN DIVIERE, }  
H. W. PIEPER, } Trustees.  
L. B. JOHNSON, }

Walhalla, S. C., May 6, 1866

34-2\*

Figure 27 Schools Formed in Walhalla in 1866

The principal, C. H. Spears, was a minister at the (English language) Walhalla Baptist Church. Only one of the trustees, Dr. A. E. Norman, was a German. The founding of this English language school was likely in response to the growing English-speaking American population during and following the Civil War. The appearance of the Walhalla Female Academy (Figure 27, bottom) was likely founded for similar reasons. Once again, only one of the individuals involved was a German (H. W. Pieper). Despite the comprehensive list of classes, including English Grammar, Latin, Greek, and even French, German was not offered.

Although 1866 saw the appearance of two schools which had no affiliation with the German church, the most critical turning point in education in Walhalla occurred in 1868. This year saw the arrival of the Newberry College and Walhalla becoming the county seat of the newly formed Oconee County, from what was the Pickens District. Newberry College was under the direct control of the Lutheran Synod of South Carolina and the formation of Oconee County saw a significant increase in regional and state control in Walhalla's education system.

As the name suggests, Newberry College was originally located in Newberry, South Carolina. The 1855 meeting of the Lutheran Synod of South Carolina saw competing bids from Walhalla and Newberry for the location of the school. Newberry was likely chosen as Walhalla was still a young and developing town. Reverend Smeltzer, an American Lutheran minister, was the head of the college. The synod determined all of the details pertaining to the school, voting in its board of trustees, selecting faculty, and developing course offerings and the curriculum.

Reverend Smeltzer moved along with the college from Newberry to Walhalla in 1868. The Civil War and its aftermath proved to be too much for Newberry College to recover in its original location. Newberry College's arrival in Walhalla meant an influx of English-speaking students from across the state. As outlined in the previous section (6.2), this would also have an

effect on St. John's church. As the school was under the control of the synod, which wanted to appeal to a diverse group of students, the language of instruction was English. Despite its name, Newberry College also had preparatory and primary departments, serving as something along the lines of a high school. Numerous Walhalla children were in attendance (Figure 28).

NEWBERRY COLLEGE, WALHALLA, S. C.	
Preparatory and Primary Department.	
Bieman, Henry D. A.	Walhalla, S. C.
Bieman, Diedrich	"
Bird, William H.	Oconee, S. C.
Bishop, John B.	Walhalla, S. C.
Bornemann, Rudolph J.	Charleston, S. C.
Breckenridge, William	Oconee, S. C.
Brencke, Louis D.	Walhalla, S. C.
Bryce, William K.	"
Chambers, Andrew J.	"
Chambers, John	"
Clauson, Jacob	Charleston, S. C.
Cook, Charles M.	"
Capplemann, John D.	Walhalla, S. C.
Gilliland, James R.	"
Gilliard, John	Oconee, S. C.
Hendris, John M.	Walhalla, S. C.
Hosfer, Frederick A. C.	"
Holden, William	Oconee, S. C.
Holder, Jeff. Davis	Walhalla, S. C.
Holways, Augustus A.	Oconee, S. C.
Holways, William T.	"
Ingham, James	Charleston, S. C.
Irvin, Robert	Walhalla, S. C.
Irvin, Washington	"
Ivester, William A.	Oconee, S. C.
Ivester, Joseph	"
James, William	West Union, S. C.
Jamison, Young	Walhalla, S. C.
Jones, Lee	"
Johnson, Samuel McFall	"
Kellers, William	West Union, S. C.
Kelley, James H.	Oconee, S. C.
Kaufman, Otto D.	Walhalla, S. C.

NEWBERRY COLLEGE, WALHALLA, S. C.	
Kaufman, F. Rudolph	Walhalla, S. C.
Martin, Campbell	Abbeville, S. C.
Nance, Frederik	West Union, S. C.
Nance, Robert	"
Norman, Victor L. C.	Walhalla, S. C.
Norman, Gustavus A.	"
Paine, H. M.	Oconee, S. C.
Partlew, William S.	"
Pisiper, Herman	Walhalla, S. C.
Pitchford, Henry	"
Ritter, Henry D.	"
Ritter, John F.	"
Rechau, Carl H. W.	"
Schreder, Herman E.	"
Seba, Calumbus C.	"
Sharp, Joseph Augustus	Oconee, S. C.
Smeltzer, Charles M.	Walhalla, S. C.
Smeltzer, J. Backman	"
Smith, Francis	Oconee, S. C.
Stucke, Carl L.	Walhalla, S. C.
Thodie, John J.	Oconee, S. C.
Thompson, Edward D.	Walhalla, S. C.
Tiedeman, Frederick W.	"
Tipton, Benjamin	"
Turner, McNeille	"
Von Lehe, Henry J.	Oconee, S. C.
Von Lehe, Augustus C.	"
White, L. M.	"
Williams, James J.	Walhalla, S. C.
Senior Class	4
Junior Class	1
Sophomore Class	4
Freshman Class	10
Preparatory and Primary Department	62
Total	81

Figure 28 Newberry College Catalog of Students

Although instruction was in English, German was offered as a course. However, it was only available as an optional study (Figure 29). While this did give at least an opportunity for some of Walhalla's children to take a German class, optional studies meant the course met less frequently and meant additional school fees. Higher tuition fees for optional studies could have limited some students' abilities to take German due to financial reasons.

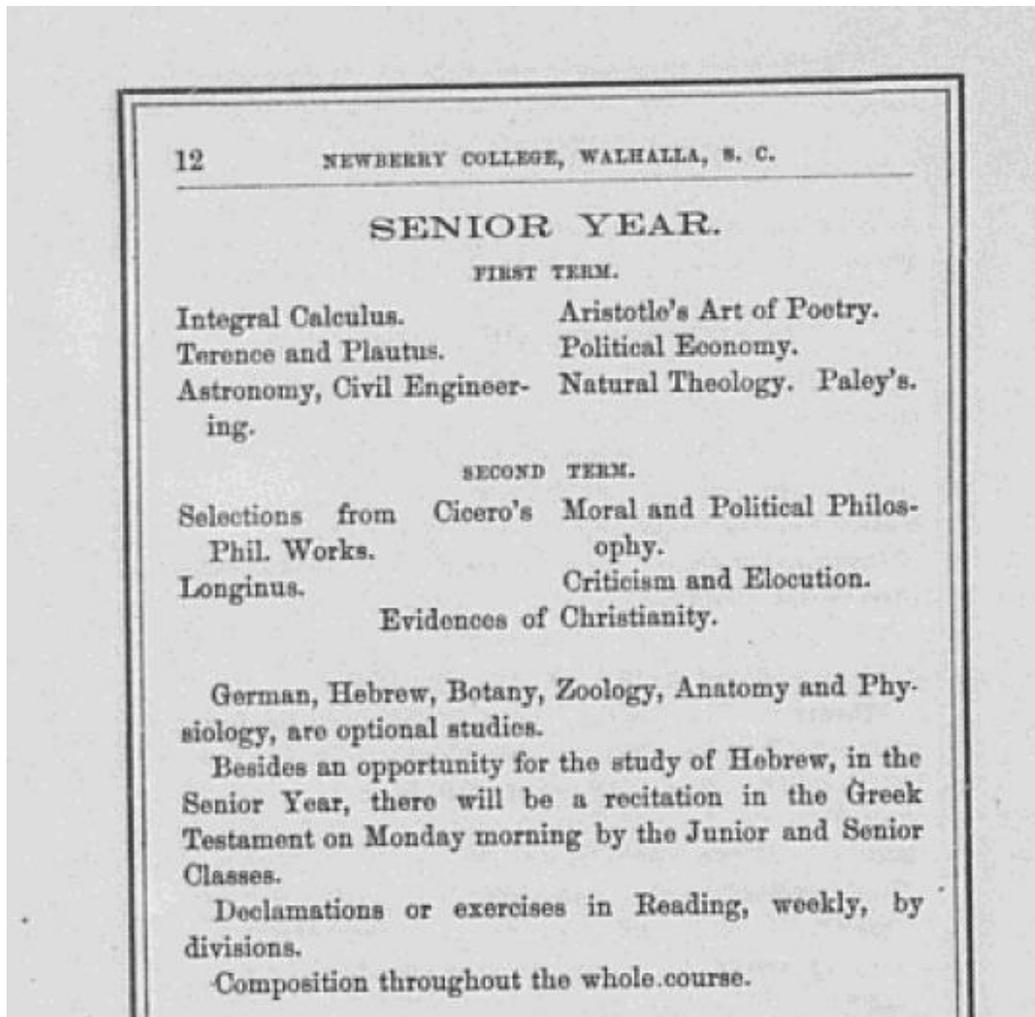


Figure 29 Newberry College Course Offerings

The relative infrequency with which optional study courses met clearly meant less exposure to the German language and far greater English emphasis. Multiple courses, such as Spelling, Writing, and Reading were all dedicated to English. Coursework in other fields being taught in English also meant indirect emphasis on the language. As can be seen in John Thode's report cards, Arithmetic, Geography, and English Grammar met at least 20 times per month (Figure 30). Spelling, Reading, and Writing, all English, met at least 40 times a month. The frequency with which these courses met puts the limited 8 recitations per month for German into perspective.

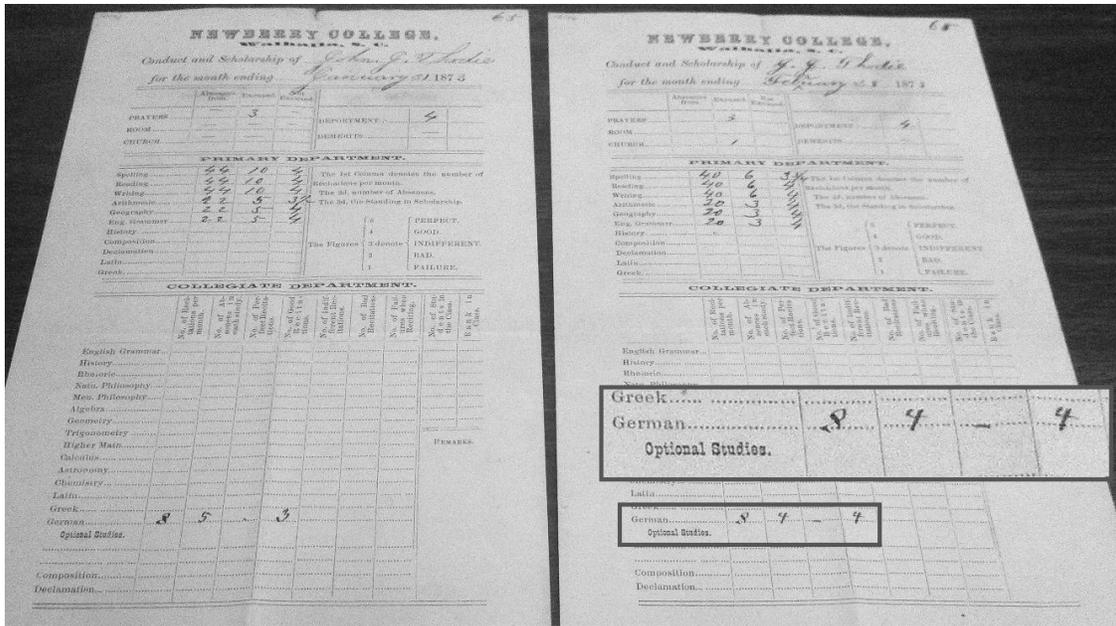


Figure 30 Thode Report Card from Newberry College

In addition, we find German completely absent from certain years in John Thode's report cards (Figure 31).

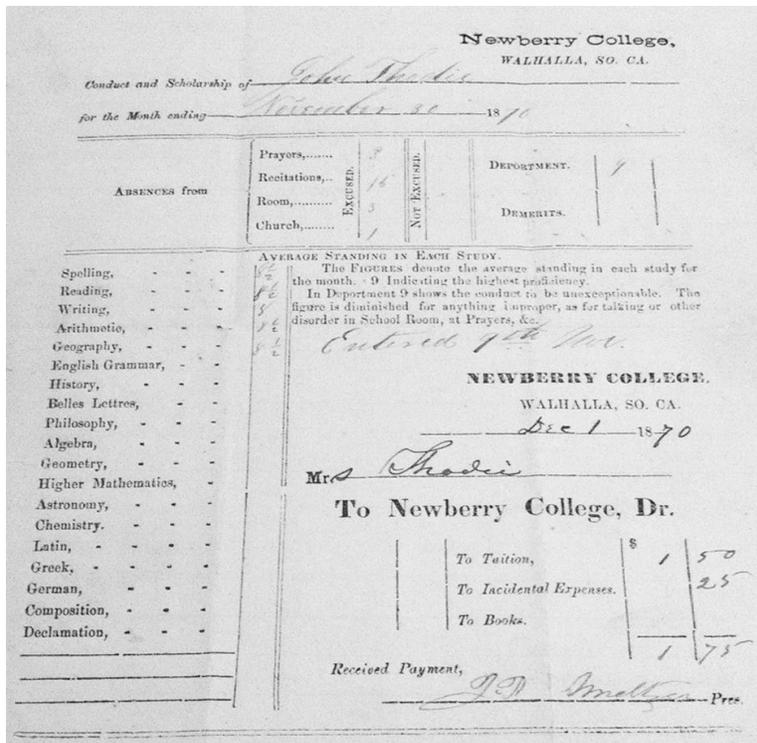


Figure 31 Thode Report Card Showing No German Courses

This absence appeared to be a recurring event (Figure 32). The synod, in charge of faculty, did not prioritize finding replacements for German instruction. The position was initially filled by Carl Weber, minister at St. John's during this time period. After he left St. John's, the position of German instructor was intermittently vacant.

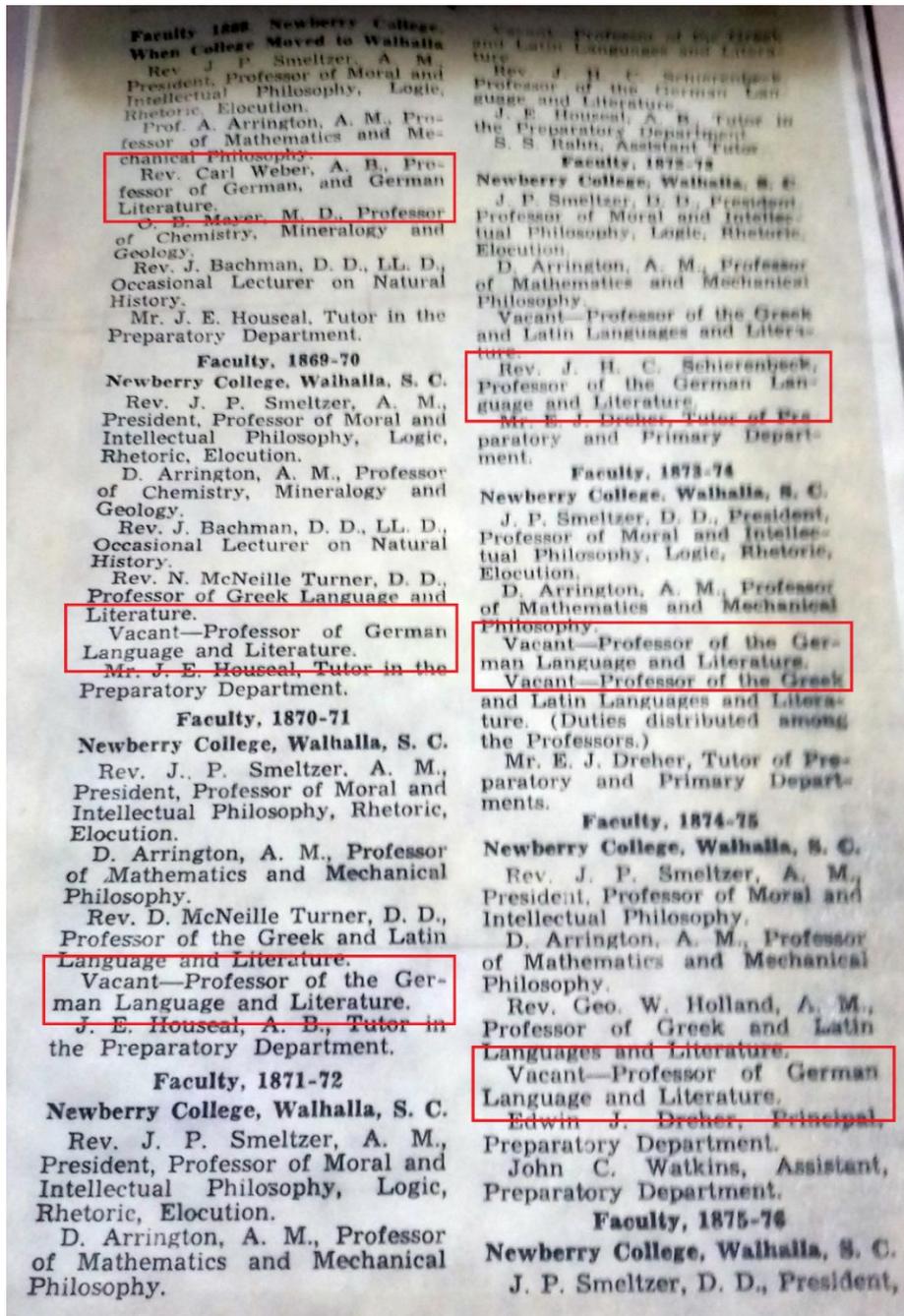


Figure 32 Newberry College Faculty

Not only did Newberry College's arrival in 1868 have a significant effect on education, the formation of Oconee County, and Walhalla becoming its county seat, did as well. Along with the county formation came increased regional and state control in education. While the formation of Oconee County did not signify the end of private schools, its effect can clearly be seen and traced through the pages of the Keowee Courier.

One private school that arrived in 1869 was the Walhalla Select School (Figure 33). It was founded by an Annetta Goodman from Edgefield, South Carolina, some 115 miles away from Walhalla. The school was attended by John Thode's sister, Etta Thode. Edgefield can be seen scratched out on her report card and replaced with Walhalla. More importantly, German is not listed as a course offering. It appears that during this time period, female students in Walhalla had no access to German classes.

### Walhalla Select School

MRS. GOODMAN will open a School in the town of Walhalla, for young ladies and children. The session will commence on the 23rd of August and close on the 23rd of December.

TERMS PER SESSION OF FOUR MONTHS:

Advanced pupils,	;	;	;	\$10 00
Second Class,	;	;	;	8 00
Primary Classes,	;	;	;	6 00
Music on Piano,	;	;	;	10 00
Use of Instrument,	;	;	;	2 00

Every effort will be made by the Principal to improve her Pupils in their several branches of study, and practical attention paid to their manners and morals.

Tuition to be paid at the expiration of first month.

Mrs. A. S. GOODMAN, Principal.  
Miss KATE GOODMAN, Governess  
Miss ELBERTA GOODMAN, Teacher of Music.

There will be a lesson given in DANCING every Friday afternoon at 4 o'clock.

TERMS

Per session of Four Months, payable in advance, ; ; ; ; \$3  
Children not attending the School may nevertheless join the Dancing class.

August 10, 1869      44      1f

### SHADY HILL SELECT SCHOOL,

EDGEFIELD C. H., S. C.  
*Walhalla*

Character and Standing of *Etta Thode*

for *6 months* Session, 18*69* - *70*

Spelling.....	4	History.....	
Reading.....	3½	Composition.....	
Definitions.....	4	Rhetoric.....	
Geography.....	4½	French.....	
Grammar.....	3½	Latin.....	
Arithmetic.....	4	Music.....	

Department *Very Orderly and Ladys*

*No demerits*

5 is the highest mark given and indicates Perfect Lessons; 4 Good; 3 Average; 2 Tolerable; 1 barely Passable; 0 is the lowest mark given, and indicates Deficiency. Department is divided into three classes, Bad, Orderly, Very Orderly.

ANNETTA S. GOODMAN, Principal.

Figure 33 Shady Hill Select School in Walhalla

Another indication of the limited German course offerings in Walhalla can be seen in an 1868 advertisement for Bell's book store (Figure 34). The advertisement is directed at teachers, specifically promoting textbooks. Although the offerings "comprise French, Latin and Greek publications, besides English Text Books," no German texts are advertised.

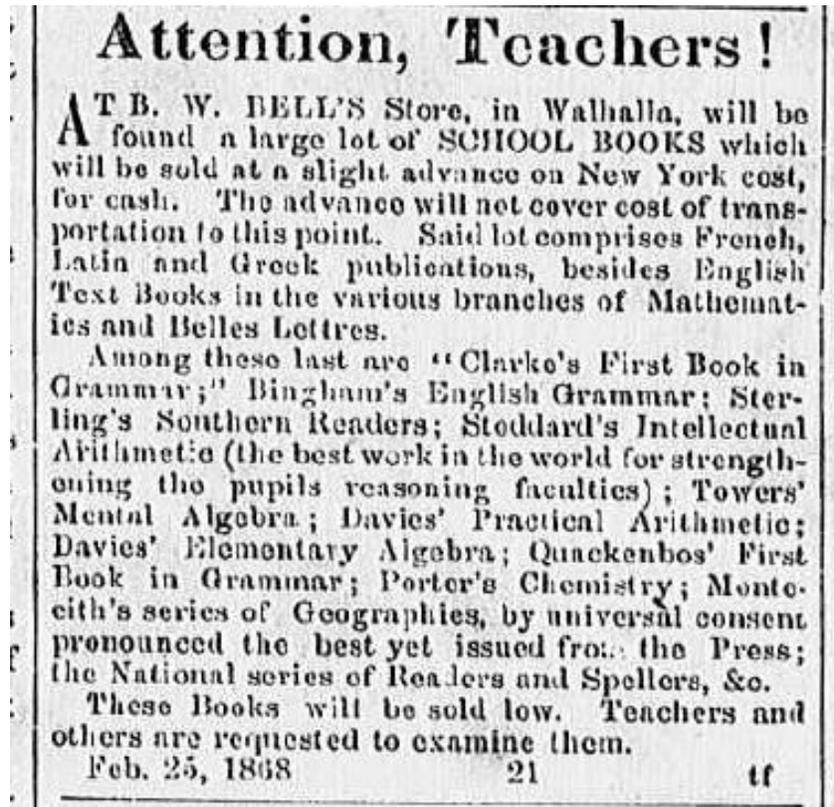


Figure 34 Advertisement for School Books

The changes in education developing with Oconee County's formation started becoming apparent with a notice posted in an 1870 issue of the Keowee Courier (Figure 35). Once Pickens District became Oconee County, this saw an increase in government oversight of schools, such as the creation of the position of school commissioner. In the April 1870 notice, the first school commissioner of the county required all teachers to subscribe to the Keowee Courier, as "the said paper will be made the medium of communication between the County School Commissioner and themselves."

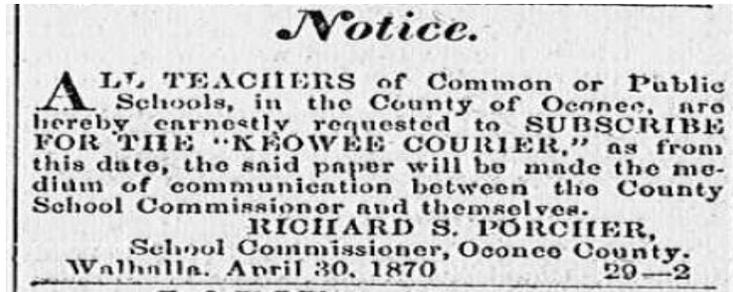


Figure 35 Requirement for Newspaper Subscription from School Commissioner

This notice marked the beginning of ever increasing oversight of schools. Policies and procedures would begin to continuously be posted in the Keowee Courier. It was only a couple of months later, in June 1870, that all teachers had to start completing “Monthly School Reports” (Figure 36, left). This message did not come from the school commissioner of Oconee County, but directly from the state superintendent of education. Education became not only tied to the regional county level, but state control in school was seen for the first time. The school commissioner of Oconee reiterated the importance of these reports a week later (Figure 36, right).

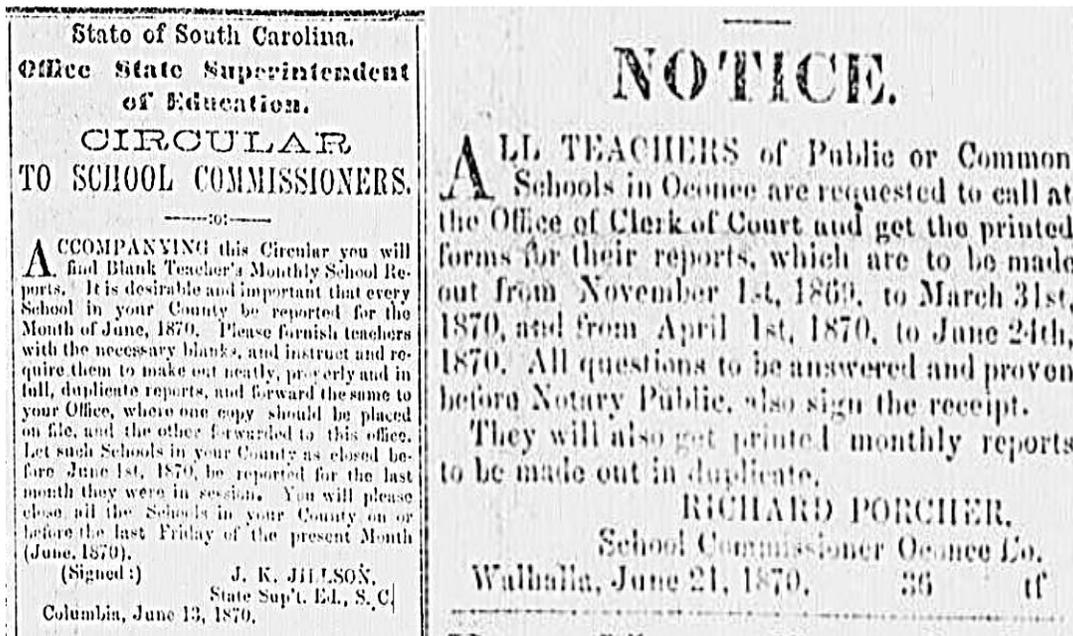


Figure 36 1870 Notices from School Commissioner

Reminders to file reports continued to graze the pages of the Keowee Courier for years to come. However, they were not the only notices involving schools; the following year, in 1871, saw teacher examinations and school trustee elections (Figure 37, right). The board of examiners emphasized that “teachers will avail themselves of certificates, as none are entitled to aid from the free school fund, but those who have them” (Figure 37, left). In other words, teachers now required certification from the state to receive funding. The notice of school trustee elections raised an important point that is characteristic of bureaucracy: “it is very desirable that uniformity be observed throughout the entire County.”

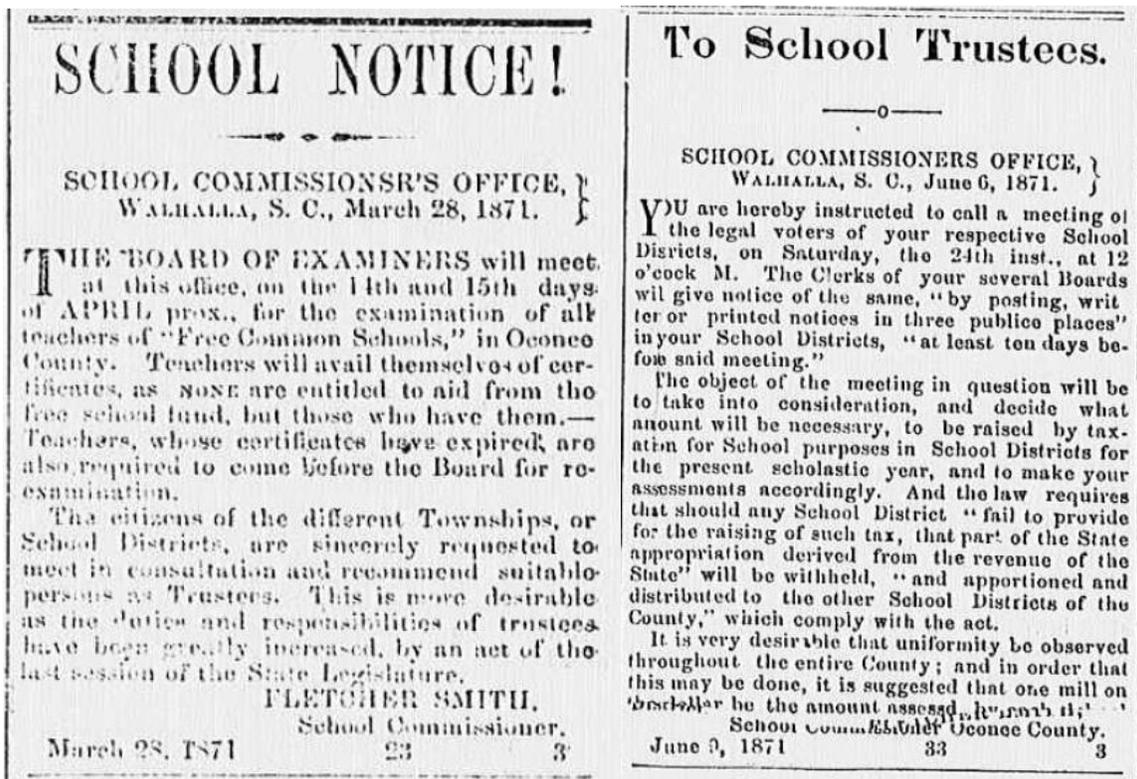


Figure 37 School Notices in 1871

1877 saw Newberry College being relocated from Walhalla to its original location. This must have caused some concern in the community, as seen in a Keowee Courier article documenting the closure (Figure 38). The school relocating to Newberry meant Walhalla was left

“without a college or high school.” Although Newberry College’s offering of German was limited, due to the frequency of class meetings and vacancies in German professors, it appeared to have been the only option for instruction other than English. There is no clear mention of another school offering German instruction at this time.

The commencement exercises of Newberry Colloge next week closes forever the work of that institution in Walhalla. Located among us a few years it has gained strength sufficient to try again the place of its former defeat, and we who have enjoyed the benefits of a thorough education for our children at our doors, are left without either a college or high school. With a school population such as Walhalla and West Union afford, a good school or a colloge is a matter of vital importance, if not of absolute necessity. With cheap board, healthy location and church facilities, such as exist here, there is no reason why a colloge should not be chartered and put into successful operation in Walhalla.

Figure 38 Report of Newberry College Closure

Apparently, the setback of Newberry College’s relocation was very much temporary. After some issues with tax laws the previous year, it appeared the public school system was back on track in Walhalla and Oconee County (Figure 39). This appears to be the first time that taxes were steadily collected and enforced for public schooling.

<h2 style="text-align: center;">TAX NOTICE</h2> <p>THE BOOKS FOR THE COLLECTION OF TAXES for the fiscal year 1877 will be opened in my office, at Walhalla, on WEDNESDAY, May 1st, 1878.</p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 80%;">State Tax,</td> <td style="text-align: right;">43 mills</td> </tr> <tr> <td>School Tax,</td> <td style="text-align: right;">2 do</td> </tr> <tr> <td>County Tax,</td> <td style="text-align: right;">8 do</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Special County Tax,</td> <td style="text-align: right;">1/2 do</td> </tr> <tr> <td><b>Total Tax.</b></td> <td style="text-align: right;"><b>53 1/2 mills</b></td> </tr> </table> <p>By Act of the Legislature the Tax can be paid in two installments. The first in May and the second in October, or the whole Tax can be paid in October, with five per cent. interest on first installment.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">RICHARD S. PORCHER, Treasurer Oconee County.</p> <p>April 25, 1878 <span style="float: right;">23-24</span></p>	State Tax,	43 mills	School Tax,	2 do	County Tax,	8 do	Special County Tax,	1/2 do	<b>Total Tax.</b>	<b>53 1/2 mills</b>	<h2 style="text-align: center;">THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS</h2> <p>Of Oconee County will be opened on the first day of November next, and continue open until further notice.</p> <p>All teachers who design teaching public schools the coming year, whose certificates expire prior to the 30th of June, 1878, are notified to appear at the School Commissioner's office for examination on the 4th Saturday in October at 10 A. M. M. B. DENDY, County School Commissioner.</p> <p>Oct. 11, 1877 <span style="float: right;">47-2</span></p>
State Tax,	43 mills										
School Tax,	2 do										
County Tax,	8 do										
Special County Tax,	1/2 do										
<b>Total Tax.</b>	<b>53 1/2 mills</b>										

Figure 39 Public School and Tax Notices

The departure of Newberry College coincided with the arrival of Adger College. The school was created by the South Carolina Presbytery, and named after one of its members. As with Newberry College, the trustees and faculty were chosen through the presbytery (Figure 40). Although some individuals were from Walhalla, the trustees were from all across the state. Of the 27 trustees, only three were Germans. While Latin, Greek, and French were offered consistently, German was only offered on a limited basis.

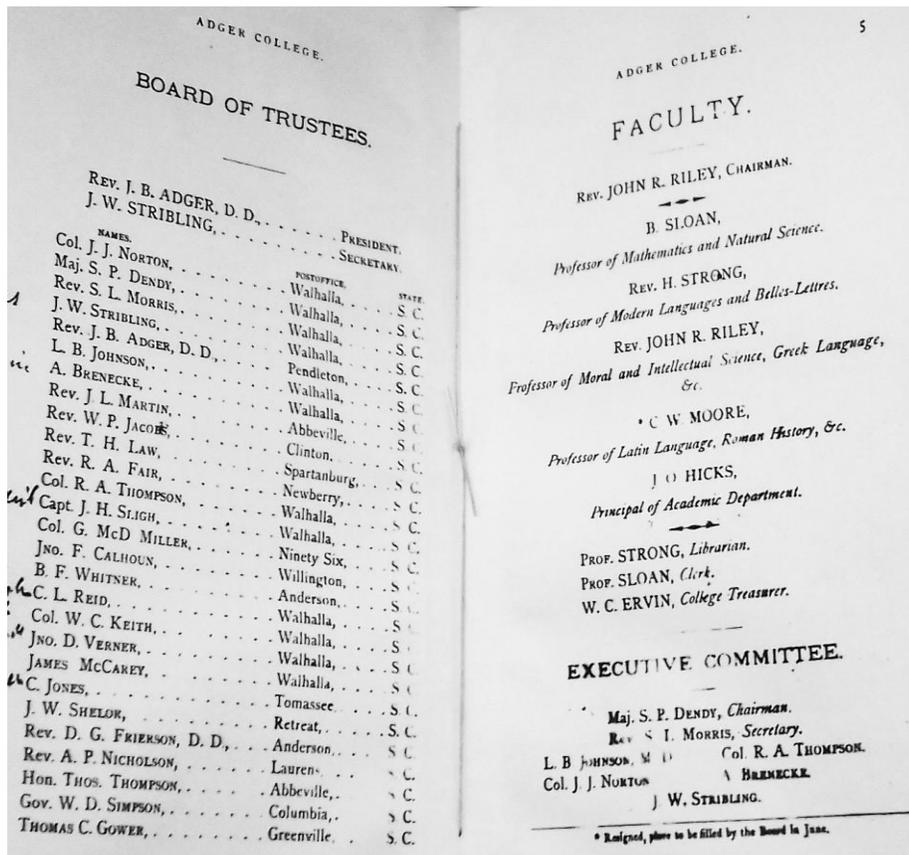


Figure 40 Adger College Catalog

In 1881, four years after Adger College's arrival, the decision was made to transfer students from Adger's preparatory department to a school headed by an Amanda Morgan (Figure 41). This move was significant in assisting the full shift of education into the public domain. All

primary and preparatory schooling in Walhalla was now in public schooling, at least for male students.

Miss Amanda Morgan has been elected principal of the Walhalla school for little boys. She is a good teacher. The little boys taught heretofore in the Preparatory department of Adger College will be transferred to Miss Morgan's school. It will be a public school for males, and will receive the benefits of the public fund set apart for that purpose.

Figure 41 Notice of Student Transfer

The shift to public education was completed by 1890. Adger College closed in the late 1880s, and 1890 saw the redistricting of school zones (Figure 42, left). This significant redistricting assisted in managing the ever growing school system of Oconee County. With the establishment of the Walhalla school district also came Walhalla High School, announced in 1889 and opening its doors the following year (Figure 42, right). By 1890, German was no longer a subject taught in Walhalla's schools, the same year that the solely English language congregation was founded at St. John's.

WALHALLA SCHOOL DISTRICT, NO. 26.  
Beginning on the Burnt Tanyard road, near Munson's residence, thence a straight line to and including the Law house, in Midway, thence a straight line to the two mile post on the Walhalla and Westminster road, thence to a point where Conneross School District crosses Negro fork, thence said fork to Morgan's bridge, on said fork, thence a straight line to and including J. S. Floyd's residence, thence a straight line to a point on the old Blue Ridge Railroad route, opposite Moses Cantrell's residence, thence said old route to and including Joel Beard's residence, thence a straight line to the beginning point.

**Walhalla Male High School.**  
**T**HE WALHALLA MALE HIGH SCHOOL opens on MONDAY, September 9th, 1889, at Kaufmann's Opera House.  
We intend to make this a first class school in every respect.  
Boys will be thoroughly trained for college and for business.  
Terms the same as those of the Female College.  
Deduction made for public funds.  
Send us your boys and we will guarantee satisfaction.  
H. G. REED,  
JOHN O. HICKS, } Teachers.  
B. M. PACK,  
August 22, 1889. 34-44

Figure 42 School District and High School Formation

It took at most 40 years for the German language to completely disappear from Walhalla's classrooms. Walhalla's initial settlers valued proficiency in both the German and English language, reflected in the town's first schools. Ministers held the dual roles of schoolteacher and instructed both languages. The strong connection between St. John's and education held for nearly two decades. 1868 did not see the complete separation of church and school— but it did mark the separation of education and the *local* church.

Newberry College was under the direct control of the Lutheran Synod of South Carolina. It controlled the trustees, faculty, and curriculum. While the school was welcomed in Walhalla, the local say was limited to delegates at synod meetings— relatively little influence compared to the complete local control when St. John's was still directly involved with schooling. Although German was offered at the college, its status was reflected by the synod's shifting priorities in terms of the German language in general. Around the time of Newberry College's relocation to Walhalla, the synod began to prioritize German less. This was seen in German becoming a rarer point of discussion, and in the decrease in funding and support for German missionaries and establishment of new congregations in the language decreasing.

Walhalla taking the role of county seat when Oconee County was established in 1868 also meant that it took on a host of new duties. The interests of the county at large had to be taken into consideration and state laws put into effect. Providing German education would have been a very difficult argument to make in a German town surrounded solely by English speaking communities. The increasing role of the school board and school commissioners throughout the 1870s also meant a larger push towards uniformity across the state's, and therefore county's, schools.

The increasing standardization of schools, along with the closure of Newberry College in 1877, meant very little German offerings from 1877 on. Although it is difficult to track the exact point German ceased to be available as a subject, it is safe to say that it was not offered at all by 1890, when Adger College was no longer around and the Walhalla High School opened. Discussed in the personal section (6.5) below are individual case studies looking at members of Walhalla's second generation. The discrepancy in German language proficiencies seem to coincide with the changes in Walhalla's education system.

#### 6.4 Business

As described in the demographics section (6.1), agriculture was the most prevalent occupation in Walhalla's early days. However, many of the town's earliest settlers practiced a variety of trades and established diverse businesses and stores. Only a few years after the arrival of initial settlers, Walhalla was already home to a hotel, doctor's office, pharmacy, groceries, furniture maker, and multiple general stores.

Despite all of these businesses being German owned, English was the language of choice. Unlike religion and education, business was a strictly English domain in Walhalla since the settlement's beginning. English was not only used in public commerce, but even in private exchanges and personal accounts. It appears that having business conducted in English in Charleston followed the German settlers to their new home.

John Ansel would eventually join the German Colonization Society, but was not one of its original members. However, he was one of Walhalla's initial settlers and first business owners. He brought his trade as a furniture maker with him to the new settlement. His past business experience in Charleston can clearly be seen from one of his store receipts in the Thode collection (Figure 43). Listed on the receipt is "John Ansel, Dealer in Furniture & Lumber,"

followed by the business’s original Charleston address. Notably, Charleston at the top of the receipt is crossed out and replaced with Walhalla.

In this exchange, Mrs. Thode purchased “one Walnut Coffin,” marked in English, followed by “rec[eived] Pay[ment].” As noted by the date in the top right corner, the exchange took place in September of 1853, only three years after the town’s founding. The language of the receipt stationary being English is unsurprising, since it is from John Ansel’s store in Charleston. As noted in the history chapter (2), Charleston had no “Germantown”—the members of the German community were spread across the city. Businesses operated across the port city and served English-speaking clientele. However, the handwritten portion of the receipt being in English is notable, as this was an exchange between two native speakers of German.



Figure 43 Ansel Store Receipt

The English stationary and handwriting on the Ansel receipt is not an isolated occurrence, but the standard for Walhalla businesses. Albeit from a later date in 1878, only English is found on the receipts for the D. Biemann & Son general store and Norman pharmacy. On the Biemann store receipt, the purchase, noted in handwriting, consists of “serving 2 horses in spring, 1 saddle + girth, 70 lbs buggy tire” (Figure 44). It concludes with the signature of Diedrich Biemann, native German and one of the original members of the German Colonization Society. However,



However, the purchase that same year from the Norman pharmacy was by his mother (Figure 45). Once more, the handwriting is solely in English, documenting a purchase as varied as “pocket knife...pills... 1/2 lb flaxseed, 2 prescriptions, brandy, extract of beef...[and] whiskey.” The consistent English handwriting on receipts, in addition to the stationary, certainly suggests a preference for English in Walhalla stores.

The preference for English can also be seen in advertisement. Like the store receipts, all advertising for business was solely in English (Figure 46). These advertisements from the pages of the Keowee Courier are all from the businesses of native Germans. From top left to bottom right, the advertisements are from an auction business of John Ansel, a general store by Norman, clothing business by Fajen, and a German newspaper by Wagener.

These are some of the earliest advertisements from Walhalla to be found, all dating from the first ten years of the town’s founding, with the exception of the newspaper (from 1867). Ansel, Norman, and Fajen were all members of the German Colonization Society. Issertel is Norman’s father-in-law and also a native German. Perhaps it is not too surprising the advertisements are in English, since this would reach a wider audience and the Keowee Courier is an English language paper. However, it is notable that there are not even bilingual advertisements to be found; both the Ansel and Issertel & Norman advertisements seek to “inform his/their friends,” overwhelmingly German speakers, in addition to the general public. Most telling of the advertisements is Wagener’s announcement of *Die Charlestoneer Zeitung*, which proposes “a German Weekly Paper, to be the organ of the German population.” Even advertising for a German language newspaper, inaccessible to non-German speakers, is in English.

**NOTICE.**

**JOHN ANSEL, Sen.**, would respectfully inform his friends and the public generally, that he has commenced an Auction and Commission business in the town of Walhalla, and is now ready to receive any article intended for sale—Lands, Stocks, Goods, or Manufactured Articles of any kind whatever.

He is determined to give prompt attention to his business in all its relations. His auctions will take place on Saturdays. Previous notice of sales will be given in the *Walhalla Banner*.

Walhalla, April 10-38-4t

**AUCTION! AUCTION!!**

**W**ILL be sold by **JOHN ANSEL, Sen.**, Auction and Commission Agent, on *Saturday, April 17th, 1858*, at Walhalla, (next door to D. Bieman's.)

Several lots of **DRY GOODS**,  
 " " Ready Made **CLOTHING**,  
 " " **BOOTS and SHOES**,  
 " " **FANCY ARTICLES**,  
 " " **JEWELRY**,  
 " " **FURNITURE**,  
 " " **HARDWARE & CUTLERY**,  
 Many other things too tedious to mention.

I also have on hand, for private sale, One Hundred and Fifty Acres of Land, partly improved; Two House Lots in the town of Walhalla, Two Buggies, One Cow and Calf.

Ladies and gentlemen in and around Walhalla would do well to attend this sale, as good bargains will be offered.

Walhalla, April 10, 1858-38-2t

**H. FAJEN,**  
 AT WALHALLA, S. C.,

**I**S now receiving a splendid assortment of

**DRY GOODS,**

For Ladies and Gentleman's Wear,  
 —ALSO—  
**Ready-made Clothing.**

He also has on hand the finest Cassimers and Linens, for the Spring and Summer; together with many other articles not necessary to mention.

Mr. FAJEN continues the Tailoring Business in all its branches, and respectfully solicits a share of public patronage.

M<sup>o</sup> 12, 1859      42      4t

**ISSERTEL & NORMAN,**  
 Walhalla, S. C.

**T**HE subscribers beg leave to inform their friends and the public generally, that they are now receiving a large and elegant assortment of reasonable

**Dry Goods,**

Consisting of the usual variety, which are of the latest styles and most beautiful patterns. Together with a fresh supply of

**GROCERIES,**

Purchased on the best terms in the New York, Baltimore and Charleston markets, and will be sold on the best terms for cash only. Try them.

**Jewelry, &c.**

They also have on hand a very valuable Stock of Jewelry, including splendid Gold and Silver Watches, and Fancy Articles.

**Drugs, Medicines, &c.**

Their Stock in this department is heavy, and the assortment general, and, as great care was had in purchasing, the purchaser may rest assured of getting a pure article.

Their Stock embraces quite a variety of other articles, which can only be appreciated by being seen. Call early and buy bargains.

ISSERTEL & NORMAN,  
 Walhalla, May 25, 1857      40      4t

**DIE CHARLESTONER ZEITUNG.**

JOHN A. WAGENER, EDITOR.

**U**NDER the above head the undersigned propose to publish a **German Weekly Paper**, to be the organ of the German population, and devoted to the interests of this State, in Encouraging Immigration and Industrial Pursuits.

Literature, Agriculture, Commerce, Arts and Trade, will be represented in its columns, and the news of the day will be given.

GEN. JOHN A. WAGENER has kindly consented to undertake the Editorial management for the present

Subscription—\$3.00 for twelve months; \$1.50 for six months; \$1.00 for three months.

ADVERTISEMENTS inserted on liberal terms.

**C. G. ERCKMANN & CO.**  
 Charleston, October, 1867      4t

Figure 46 Walhalla Store Advertisements

While it may not be particularly surprising for stores and their advertisements to conduct business solely in English, so as to reach a wider audience, the finding is more unusual in private exchanges. Figure 47 consists of six personal receipts from the dozens in the Thode collection, all documenting transactions between individuals. Virtually all of the personal receipts in the collection are between two (or more) native German speakers. However, all of these are solely in English.

These particular exchanges, from top left to bottom right, involve H. Thode and Biemann, Hencken, Hollwegs, Kleinbeck, Knee, and Ostendorff. All of these individuals are not only native German speakers, but also members of the German Colonization Society, with the exception of Hollwegs. (Hollwegs applied but was denied, yet still became an early Walhalla settler.) The receipts document a variety of exchanges, including payment for services rendered, collecting on loans, and sales of property from land to cattle. While it is possible that English was chosen in case the receipts had to be used in legal disputes, even the oldest receipts from Walhalla's initial days as a strictly German settlement were in English.

English even appears in the Thode family's accounting book (Figure 48). Even though it is in both languages, the presence of English is surprising as it is for private recordkeeping of finances. The terms "*tag*" and "*day*" are used interchangeably. Although it is not possible to tell the language from the month names, the dates follow the American month-day format. (April and November are the same in English and German. Today "*Dezember*," *December* was still an accepted spelling convention at the time.) In addition, both pages state in English "received payment in full."

\$850 on or before the twenty fifth of December  
 Eighteen Hundred and fifty six we are witnesses  
 we do promise to pay 1856 Harsh. Our settlement  
 or boxes eight hundred and fifty dollars for  
 value received with interest from date. Given under  
 our hands and seals this 14<sup>th</sup> July 1857  
 H. P. Rhode  
 J. S. Thode

Twelve months after date we or either of us  
 promise to pay C. Sehlmann or Heaver  
 Fifteen \$85/100 Dollars  
 with interest from date for value received  
 witness our hands and seals  
 H. P. Rhode  
 John M. Hecker

David Walhalla Dec 21. 185  
 am H. P. Rhode the sum of Two  
 dollars an Encant  
 H. Hollweg

Sept 20	156 feet 2nd Aufsch.	\$ 1. 50
	201 " 4. Seeling	1. -
	50 " Lads	1. 20
	80 " Scantling	62
	Seeling	2. -
	for the stains, found	\$ 6. 21 1/2
		37 1/2
		\$ 6. 50

David Walhalla April 14 to 1862  
 on Mr. H. J. Jansen Dollars \$300  
 full to date  
 H. H. H.

Walhalla June 1858 of 44  
 62 1/2 cents at Comparison  
 means for the year 1857.  
 John H. H. of Walhalla

Figure 47 Collection of Personal Receipts

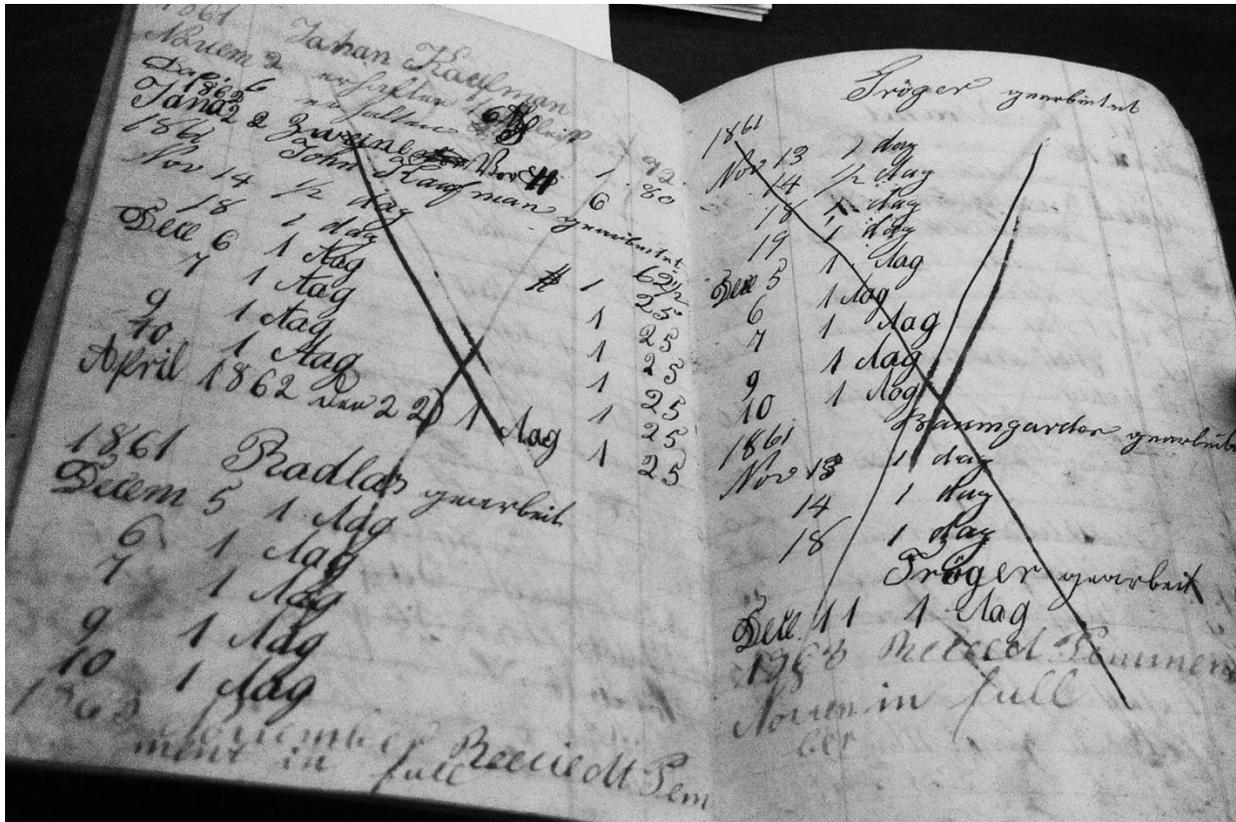


Figure 48 Thode Account Book

Just as English was the language used in stores, exchanges between private citizens, and even in personal record keeping, English was also used for official (i.e. government) business. After officially becoming a town in 1855, Walhalla held its first elections. The first elected officials took their positions on the city council the following year, noted in Walhalla's city council minute book (Figure 49). Among the first elected were Ostendorff, Hencken, Schroder, Knee, Fajen, Bahntje, Körber, and Brennecke. All were from Germany and, except Brennecke, members of the German Colonization Society. It would not take long for English speaking members to make their way onto the city council. However, even when the Walhalla government consisted solely of native German members, business was conducted in English. Even when the German Colonization Society was mentioned in the minutes, it was referred to as such (as opposed to *Deutsche Ansiedlungsgesellschaft*).

We swear that we are unalterably  
 Promise in honor or Law to share  
 the profits of the Office to which we  
 we have been Elected and will not  
 directly or indirectly, sell or dis-  
 pose of said office or the profits  
 thereof but with Resign or con-  
 nent the discharge the duties  
 thereof during the Period fixed  
 by Law if we so long live so  
 help us God.

John W. Kendall  
 John W. Hamilton  
 Jacob Schroder  
 H. T. Price  
 H. T. Price  
 H. T. Price  
 H. T. Price  
 Augustus Brunn

for the new Section  
 Warden signed to  
 for the new Section  
 1837

Figure 49 Walhalla City Council Minutes Excerpt

Indeed, the only instance of business being conducted in German in Walhalla is in the German Colony Protocol. It is important to note though, this did not have its origins in Walhalla, but rather in Charleston. The 200 page plus minute book is primarily in German. The few instances where English occur are largely to be expected; for instance, German newspaper clippings, or letters from English speaking individuals, such as Colonel Grisham, from whom the Society purchased the plot of land that would become Walhalla. Curiously, however, the Society decided to translate its constitution into English in 1852— four years after its founding and two years after the establishment of Walhalla (Figure 50). Shealy (1960) translates this text as

“[Decided] that our constitution be translated into English and printed in booklets in both languages, side by side, and that the secretary attend to it” (p. 65). This is a surprising decision; it raises the question as to whom this translation would benefit, considering the Society remained an entirely German organization.

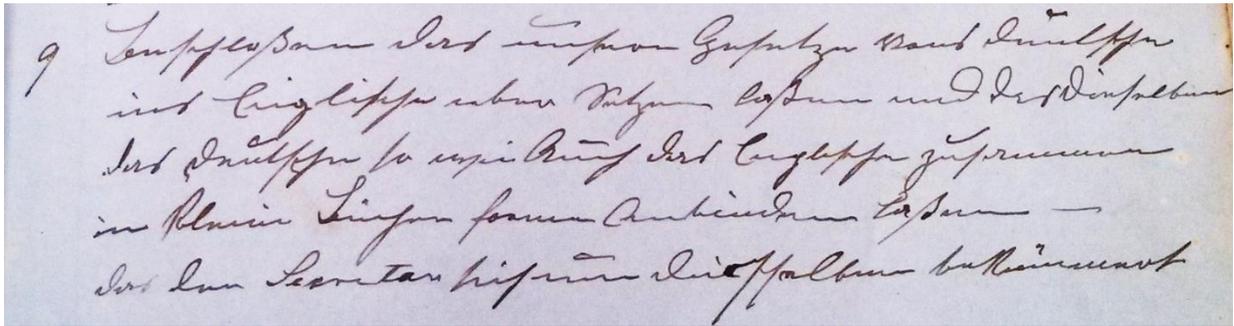


Figure 50 Decision to Translate GCS Constitution

Another occurrence of English in the Protocol is concerning accounts (Figure 51). While the president’s reports, like most of the minute book, are in German, the finances are documented in English. Again, this shows a clear choice in using English for monetary purposes. In addition to the Protocol, the Society kept organized records of official reports and deeds, all in English. So while it is possible that, like the personal receipts in Walhalla, these portions were in English for legal reasons, it seems unusual that it would be documented in the German minute book.

67  
 ~ A N S M S L ~  
 Report of the President of the German Colonization  
 Society of Charleston, 1<sup>st</sup> October 1852.

Names of the Members.	Capital due	Interest due	Interest paid	Amount paid
	\$	c.	\$	c.
Henning Wuhmann	+ 900	.. 21 50	6	.. 965
Jacob Schröder	+ ..	.. ..	6	.. 30 55
				.. 110

Figure 51 Annual Report in Protocol

One of the most interesting occurrences of English in the German Colony Protocol is its last two entries. While the other uses of English in the Protocol were either newspaper clippings, exchanges with non-German speakers, or finance reports, this is the only time “regular entries” are in English. Entries became far more infrequent over the years, the last two dating from 1880 and 1882. These last two were made by H. D. Biemann, son of original member D. Biemann. They are also the only entries made by a member of Walhalla’s second generation. The second to last entry, in Figure 52, details a lot dispute and land “appropriated to the German Lutheran Church by consent.” Although H. D. Biemann’s choice of English cannot be known for certain, it is certainly interesting to note that the German Colony Protocol comes to an end in English.

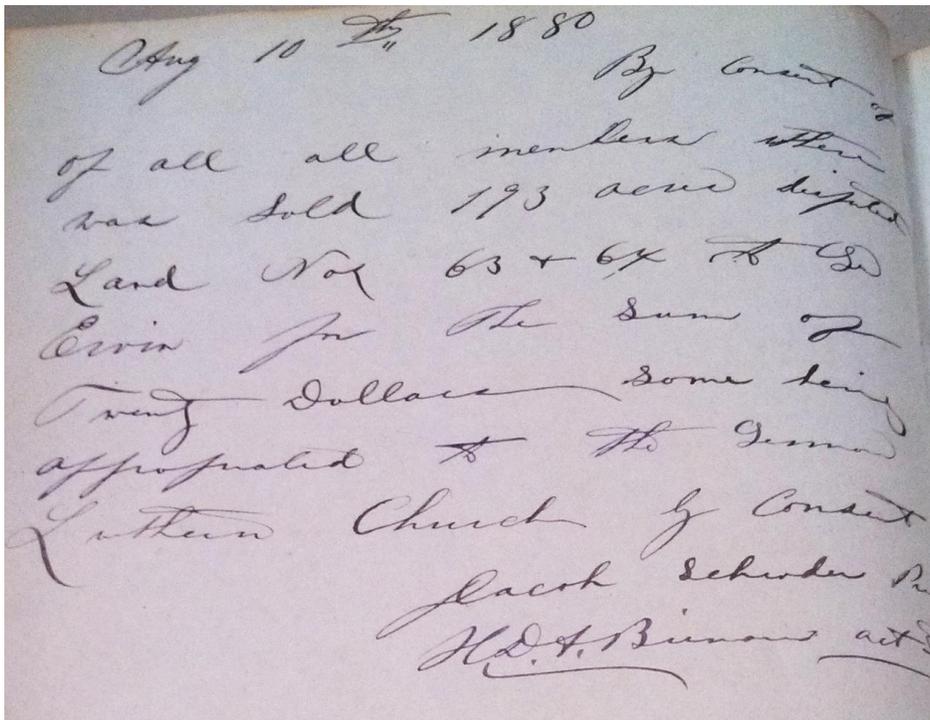


Figure 52 Second to Last Entry in Protocol

Whether it be a store purchase or advertisement, a transaction between citizens, or an entry in a private accounting book, the language used in Walhalla was English. While this may be the clear choice in an exchange between a bilingual German-English speaker and a

monolingual English speaker, this appeared to be the case for all business transactions. Virtually all business was documented in English– and, indeed, it is important to note that it was the language to *document* business. As addressed further in following sections (6.5, 6.6, 7.2), written documents do not necessarily reflect speech. It is possible that German conversations led to English documentation. However, as curious as it may seem that two native speakers of German would orally conduct a transaction in English, no evidence exists to the contrary. The use of English across a significant variety of private transactions, official business, and private record keeping truly suggest that business was an English domain in the German settlement.

The overwhelming use of English demonstrates an interesting remnant from Charleston, on the part of the first generation. They themselves had come to know English as the language of business in Charleston, which ended up translating to business as a domain immediately dominated by English in their new German settlement. Not only is this indicative of shift in the first generation, but it would have also meant one less domain in which German is used, affecting future generations. The younger people of Walhalla entering the workforce may not have known German as a language used to conduct business. Taken with the changes in church and education, English in business could have even further restricted the use of, and limited the exposure to, the German language in Walhalla.

### 6.5 Personal

Although thoroughly defining and examining a “personal” domain is not without its challenges, looking at personal letter exchanges in Walhalla provides at least some idea regarding language proficiency, but perhaps more importantly, language *choice*. As personal conversations, here via letters, are not restricted by policies or customs, it can provide an idea about preference in language– at least in written form. This informal domain would also be the most likely to reflect

actual speech. By taking a look at available letters from three families—Thode, Ansel, and Cappellmann—the clear preference for English in the second generation can be seen, as well as the strong bilingualism of the first.

The extensive Thode collection provides the most comprehensive look at personal interactions. Its letters contain conversations among members of the first generation, between the first and second generation, and among the second generation. Mr. H. P. Thode frequently wrote German friends, primarily in Charleston. By far the most frequent conversation partner was Henning Wuhmann, a fellow member of the German Colonization Society. Their relationship went beyond the business of the Society, maintaining a strong friendship until Thode’s passing in 1863. Wuhmann’s letters, all in German, would always commence with the friendly “Lieber Freund Thode” (Figure 53).

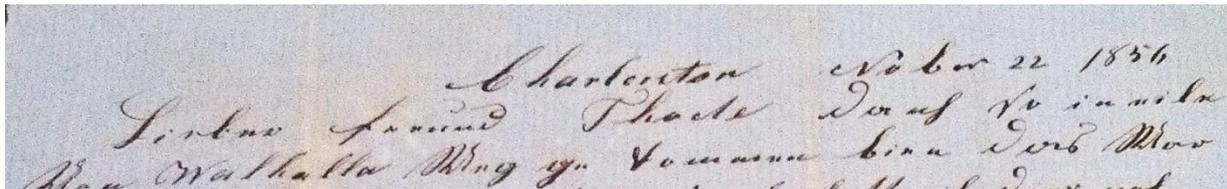


Figure 53 1856 Letter from Wuhmann to Thode

Usually, collections such as the Thode papers are limited by only showing one side of exchanges— letters received, not sent. However, the outbreak of the Civil War resulted in the separation of Mr. and Mrs. Thode, meaning the exchange between these spouses of Walhalla’s first generation can be seen. Mr. Thode wrote his wife frequently during the ordeal (Figure 54). The regiment must have consistently been on the move as the address of origin always varied. Hardships of the war could also be seen as the quality of the stationary became worse as time went on. What stayed the same was Mr. Thode’s greeting of “Liebe Frau,” and the exclusive use of German in his letters.

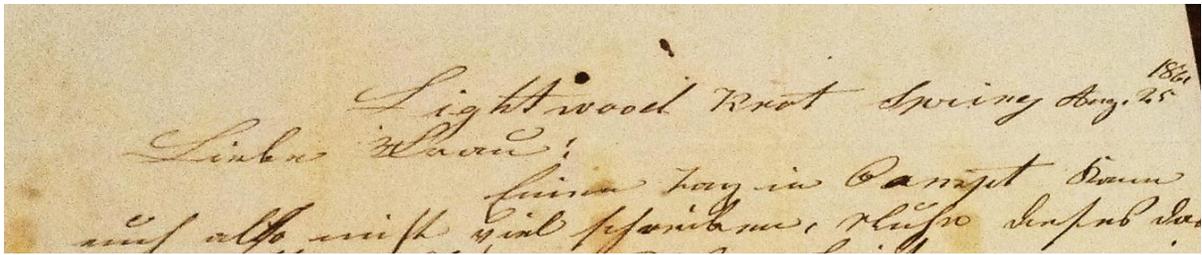


Figure 54 1861 Letter from Mr. Thode to Ms. Thode

The story goes that Mr. Thode passed away from illness upon returning home from war in 1863—right on his front doorstep. His final resting place is at St. John’s cemetery, marked by a large tombstone with German inscription. After Mr. Thode’s death, Wuhrmann remained in contact with Mrs. Thode (Figure 55). Although he addressed her as “Mrs. Thode,” possibly suggesting not being as close to her, he did use the familiar *du* form. Their exchanges were solely in German as well.

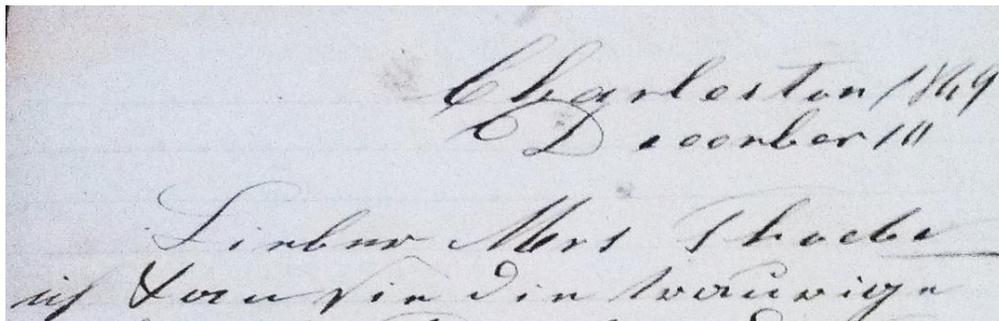


Figure 55 1869 Letter from Wuhrmann to Mrs. Thode

While Mr. and Mrs. Thode wrote one another and their friends in German, this did not hold for the second generation, namely their children. Their four children—Eide, born 1849; Adaline, 1851; John, 1857; Lisette, 1860—wrote their mother and one another in English. (Mr. Thode is excluded, as his death in 1863 meant the children were still too young to have left home and thus to have written their parents.) From top to bottom, the letters in Figure 56 are from Eide, Adaline, and Lisette.

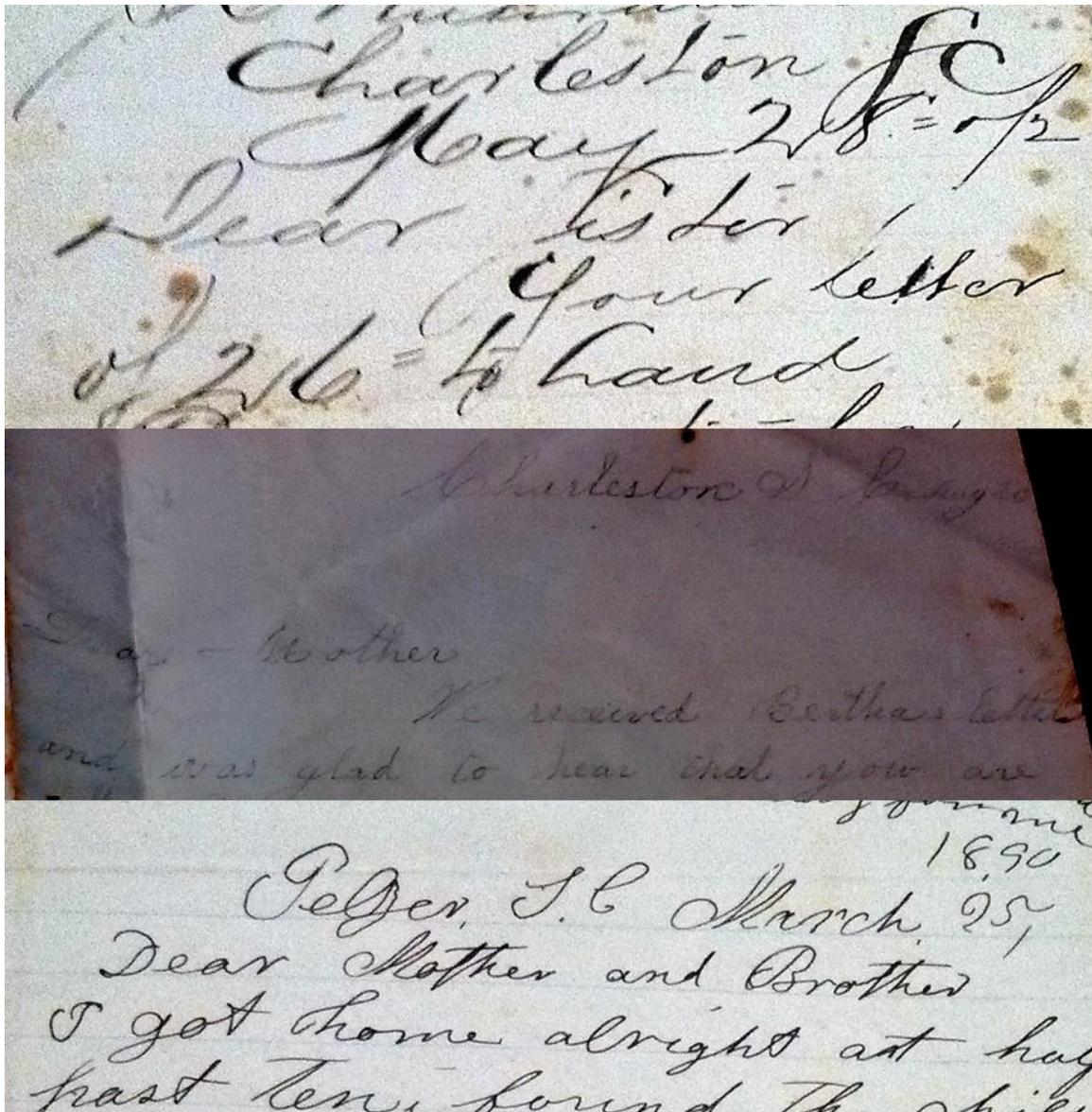


Figure 56 Letters from Thode Children

In this case, only one side of these exchanges is available. It seems unlikely that Mrs. Thode would have written her children in German, only to consistently receive a response in English. Of course, there is no way to say for certain. Regardless, it is at least reflective of Mrs. Thode's bilingualism, having received a wealth of letters in both German and English. The consistent choice of English in the letters by the Thode children also shows their increased preference for that language, compared to German (at least in written form). The claim for

increased English preference as the reason for the letters being in English, as opposed to having no German knowledge, is in part based on one of Eide's own letters (Figure 57).

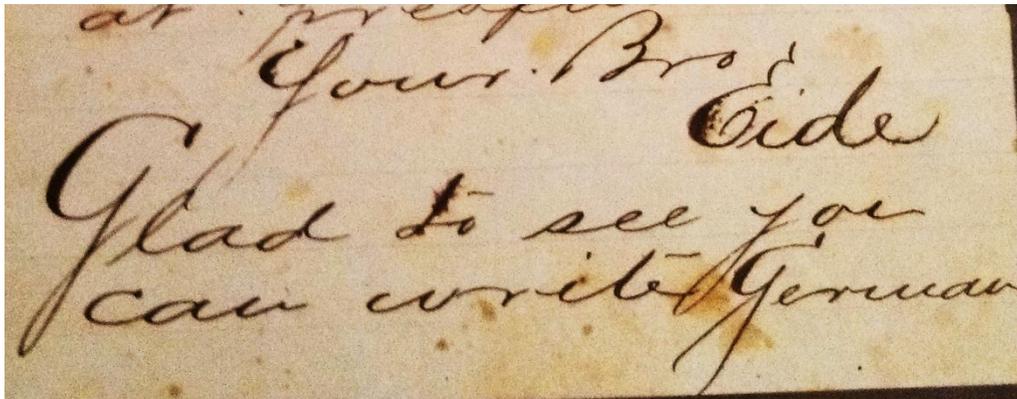


Figure 57 Eide Thode's Letter to Sister

In saying “Glad to see you can write German,” Eide suggests a lack of prior knowledge of this fact. As this 1872 letter is only addressed “Dear Sister,” it is uncertain which sister he was writing. However, it would seem more likely that he was referring to Lisette than Adaline. Having been born in 1849, Eide was two years older than Adaline and eleven years older than Lisette. He would probably have had more knowledge about the language proficiency of his sister two, rather than eleven, years apart. Either way, it suggests Eide’s own proficiency in German, however limited, since he would have to interpret anything written to him in German. Having been born in 1849 meant Eide would have gone to the bilingual school established by the church, and finished his schooling before Newberry College’s 1868 arrival (further detailed in education section 6.3). While his younger brother did attend Newberry and took German courses there, the exact extent of all the Thode children’s German proficiency is uncertain.

Compared to the Thode children, the question of proficiency is clearer in the case of the Cappelmann collection. Unlike the Thode papers, the Cappelmann collection consists of documents from a member of Walhalla’s second generation. John Cappelmann, born 1857, was

at least demonstrably proficient in German. At Walhalla's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary, he gave an address which involved reciting German poetry and reading from the German Colony Protocol (Shealy 2009, Jaynes 1950). Considering this was 60 years before Schaeffer's translation of the Protocol, Cappelmann would have had to have been able to read German. But more pressing evidence is one of the letters in his collection (Figure 58).

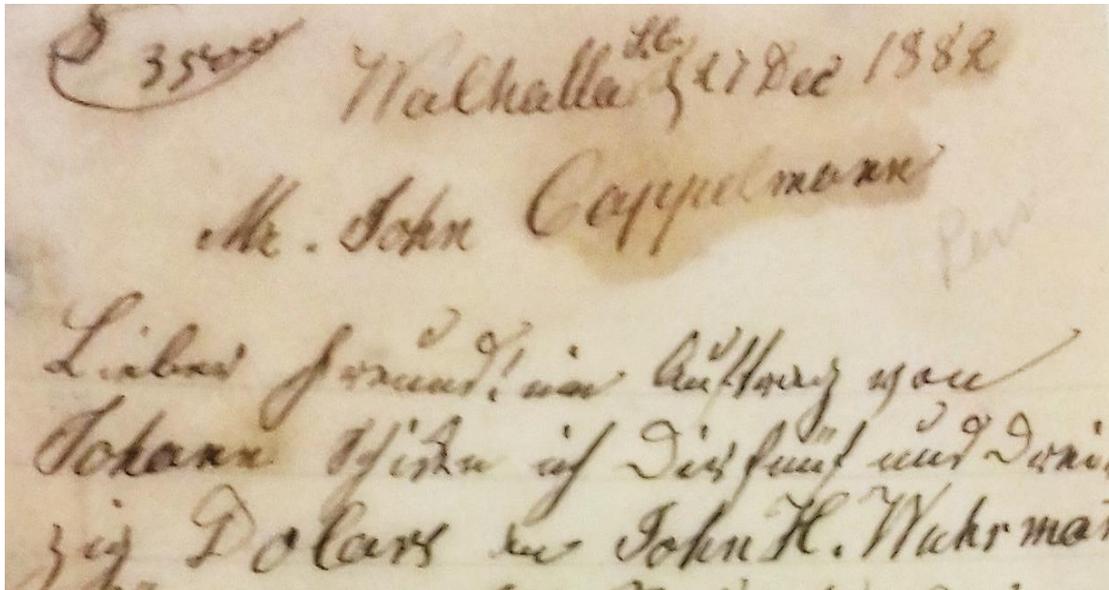


Figure 58 German Letter to John Cappelmann

The 1882 letter is from a friend of John Cappelmann's, von Hadeln, in Walhalla. Although it is one of only a few German letters, it helps speak to his knowledge of German. In addition, Cappelmann was a member of a couple of German organizations in Charleston, the German Friendly Society and *Die Deutsche Schützen Gesellschaft*. This makes the communications with his father, Eimert Cappelmann, all the more notable (Figure 59). The elder and younger Cappelmann wrote to one another in English. Since Eimert Cappelmann was a native German and member of the German Colonization Society, the choice of English would have likely been on John's part.

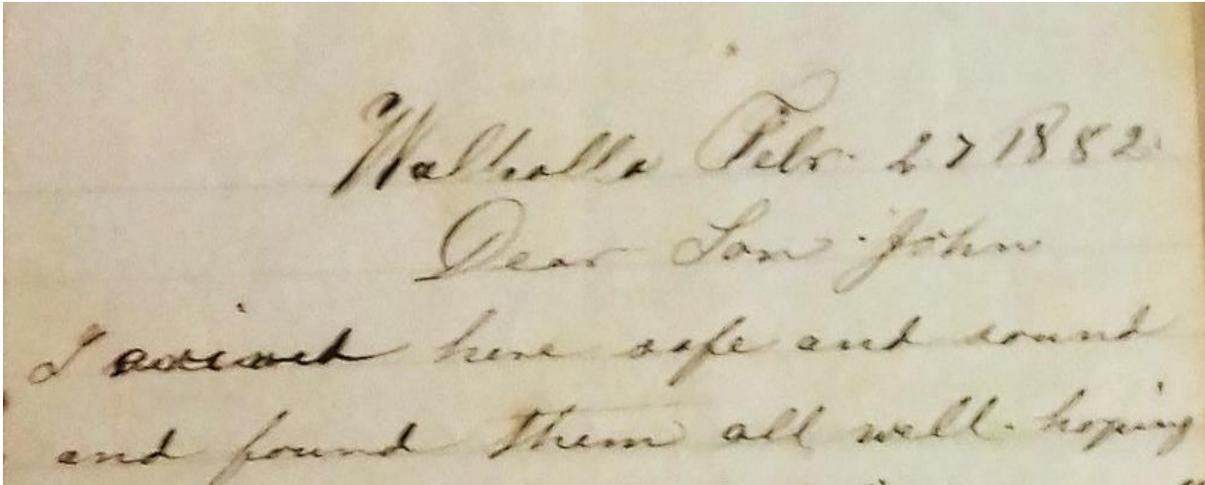


Figure 59 Letter from Eimert Cappelmann to Son John Cappelmann

John Cappelmann certainly did not seem to shy away from his German identity, including his use of German at Walhalla's anniversary and his organization memberships. However, his purpose in moving to Charleston and leaving Walhalla in the first place was to start a law career. As mentioned in previous sections (6.1, 6.4), the German population primarily, if not solely, conducted business in English in the port city. Perhaps the most reasonable explanation for these seemingly conflicting accounts is that, while Cappelmann did speak German, his proficiency in English, or preference thereof, was greater as a result of having lived for years in the primarily English-speaking Charleston.

While John Cappelmann's case appeared to be a greater preference for writing in English, possibly as a result of his move, the picture is less clear with Martin Ansel. In the collection of South Carolina's 89<sup>th</sup> governor, only one letter is in German (Figure 60). The letter, dated 1871, is from an uncle in Charleston, addressed to Martin in Walhalla. All other documents, mostly after leaving Walhalla, are in English, whether they be personal notes or other letters. Unlike Cappelmann, there is no additional evidence in the collection of his continued use of German or association with German organizations.

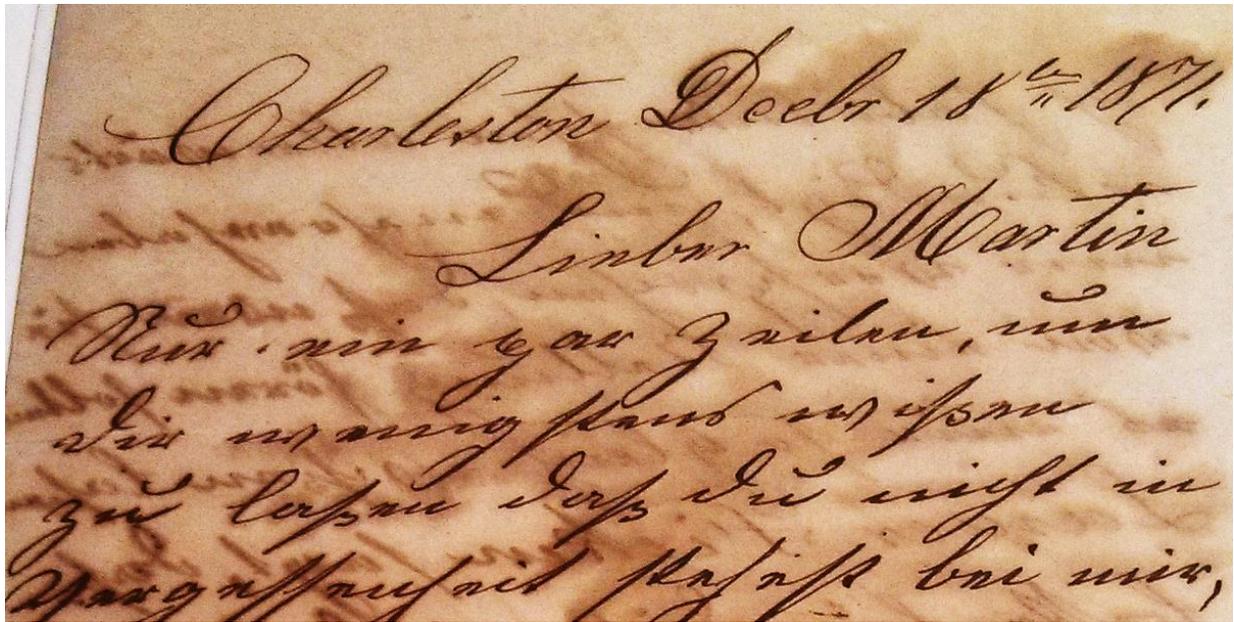


Figure 60 German Letter to Martin Ansel

Although the exact extent of proficiency is difficult to determine, the Thode, Cappelmann, and Ansel collections show that Eide, John, and Martin all had at least some knowledge of German. As these are the only collections belonging to Walhalla residents found to date, the scope is limited, but still an interesting contrast can be drawn in terms of timeline. Eide was born in 1849, John in 1857, and Martin in 1850. That means Eide was born just before the town's founding, Martin the year thereof, and John 7 years on.

While John's birth is a few years later, they were all born within the first decade of the town's founding— which would have meant all would have attended the local church school. This provides an interesting contrast with V. L. Norman, son of the pharmacist A. E. Norman. V. L. Norman was born in 1860, which means he was just born in time for the arrival of new schools in Walhalla. Even more notably, his father was one of the trustees for the first all English school in Walhalla (Figure 61). It would have been likely that V. L. Norman attended this school, due to his father's position, before he attended Newberry College (also in English).

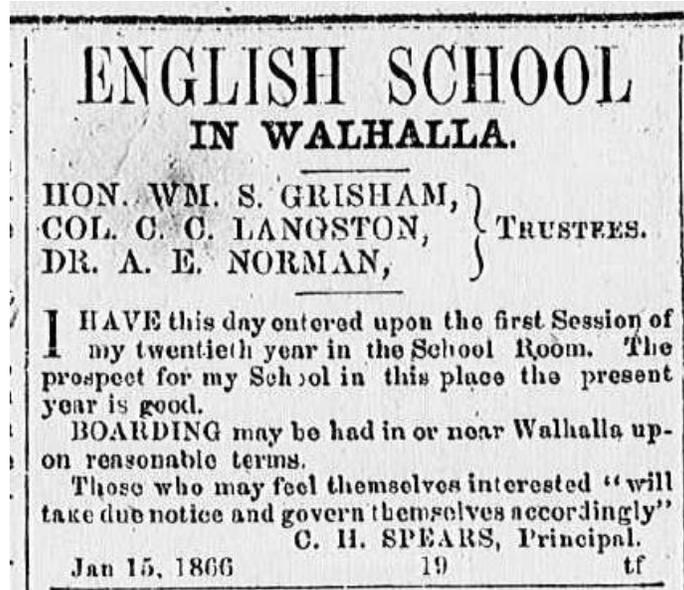


Figure 61 Norman as Trustee of English School in Walhalla

As outlined in the religion section (6.2), the first solely English language Lutheran congregation formed as a result of English speaking students arriving with Newberry College in 1868. After the two congregations united, it was V. L. Norman who led the dispute resulting in the formation of the English language Holy Trinity Congregation in 1890. While his lead in the division does not constitute thorough evidence for a lack of German proficiency, it at least reflects language attitude. His charge in establishing an all English congregation, leaving a German church that already offered English services, certainly stands in contrast to Eide Thode's gladness of his sister's ability to write German and John Cappelmann's membership in Charleston's German organizations.

Limitations of the three collections aside, their contents provide useful insight into communication among and between Walhalla's first and second generation. Personal letters provide the closest look at the private domain and individual language choice, at least as far as writing is concerned. A clear contrast exists between language choice of the first and second generation. While Mr. and Mrs. Thode wrote one another and friends in German, they only

received letters from their children in English. And just as the Thode children wrote their mother in English, so they did with respect to their siblings. Martin Ansel and John Cappelmann also wrote primarily in English, despite showing German knowledge. The overwhelming use of English by the second generation clearly shows increased preference, if not proficiency, in the language. At the same time, it speaks to the strong German-English bilingualism of the first generation, especially when taking the English domain of business into consideration.

Finally, a critical point to note is that the language chosen for *writing* does not necessarily reflect the language used for *speaking*. As Benmamoun et al. (2013a) note, “it is typical of heritage speakers to have better-developed listening and speaking abilities than reading and writing abilities” (p. 134). Although anecdotal, it certainly reflects the situation: Eide said in the letter to his sister (emphasis added) that he is “glad to see [she] can *write* German.” Still, even increased proficiency or preference for English in writing, among some of the earliest members of Walhalla’s second generation, is reflective of Walhalla’s rapidly changing linguistic landscape.

## 6.6 Linguistic Data

Walhalla was founded too early and the German language gone too soon for there to be any audio recordings. Our knowledge of the German once spoken in Walhalla, as well as the English of the first few generations, is limited to written documents. This is, of course, not without its limitations; as addressed in previous sections (6.4, 6.5), the written language does not necessarily reflect speech. However, the German Colony Protocol, letters, and the variety of documents in the Thode papers, provide some insight into the languages of Walhalla.

The previous sections (6.1 – 6.5) have laid out the changing linguistic landscape in Walhalla, but operated under the assumption that only two (main) varieties were spoken: German

and English, without respect to dialect. Indeed, most of the members of the German Colonization Society and first settlers were from northern Germany and would have spoken similar dialects (Figure 62). This would have provided one less barrier to language maintenance, with only two “competing” varieties. However, the settlers’ general region of origin in Germany was also home to *Plattdeutsch*, or Low German.

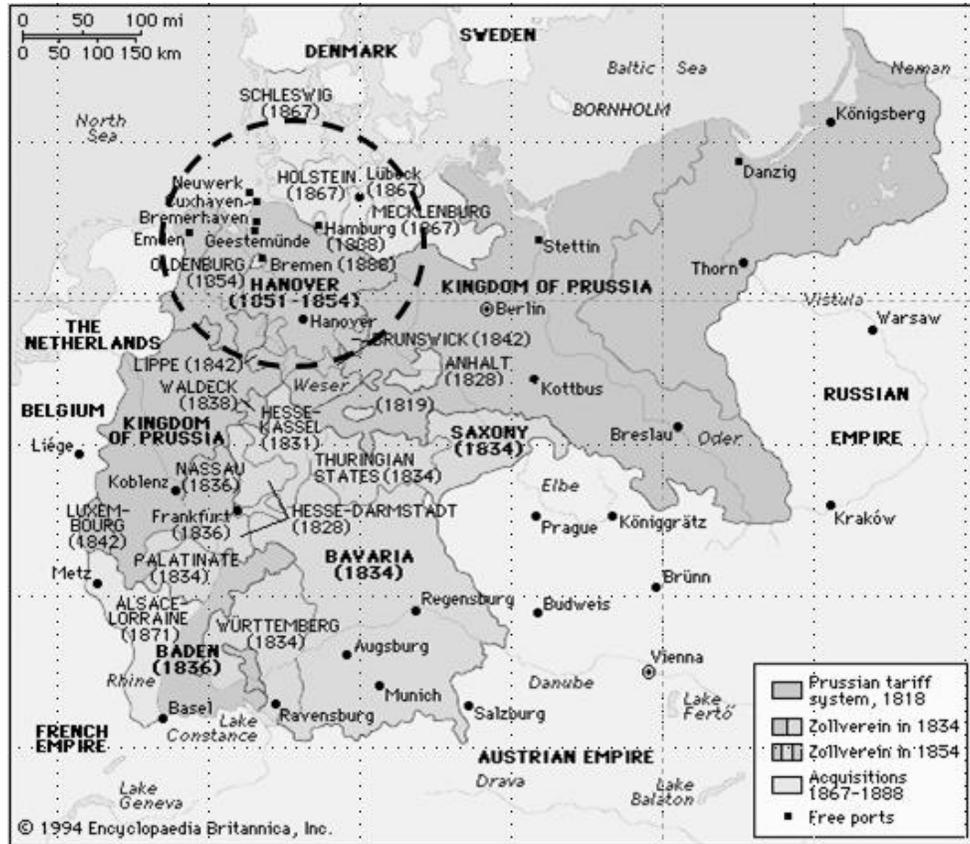


Figure 62 General Region of Origin of Walhalla's Settlers (From Encyclopaedia Britannica)

Low German has been a part of the great dialect-language debate. Depending on one’s own dialect and familiarity with Low German, it is not necessarily mutually intelligible with High German. This would have added another obstacle to language maintenance in Walhalla, another variety in the diglossia situation. One of the few references to Low German in the town is the aforementioned claim by Shealy (1990) that the Protocol was written in the variety, which

is not the case. But considering the Protocol was documenting business, it would have likely been written in *Hochdeutsch* to begin with. Low German was more frequently the language of the home, while High German was found in church and schools. The use of High German in the Protocol would have also ensured that all the Society's members understood the document, in case only some spoke Low German. One of the few other instances where Low German is mentioned is during John Cappelmann's address at Walhalla's semi-centennial celebration (Jaynes 1950, Shealy 2009). In his speech, he quoted Bernheim's 1872 *History of the German Settlements and of the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina* (emphasis added):

The largest number of these settlers [from North Germany] located themselves in Charleston, S.C., but many have found homes in Wilmington, N. C., Savannah, Georgia, and other Southern cities. They are mostly natives of Hanover, Oldenburg, Holstein, Mecklenburg, and the once free cities of Hamburg and Bremen, although a number of emigrants from other German states may be found among them. These North Germans are regarded as the direct descendants of those Saxon nations which conquered ancient Britain, a portion of whom, after the Saxon conquest, located themselves permanently in England. That this is a fact established beyond dispute may be readily learned from the pages of history, and easily perceived from the contiguity of those North-German countries to England, their maritime character and their language. It may not be generally known, *that the North Germans speak two languages, the high German, which is the written language, taught at school and preached from the pulpit, and the low German (Platdeutsch), which is the original language of the ancient North Saxons, still spoken and generally used in those countries, and bears a remarkable resemblance*

to the present pure English or Anglo-Saxon language. Hence, *North Germans generally find no difficulty in acquiring a knowledge of the English language soon after their arrival in this country, and learn to pronounce it correctly with remarkable facility.* (p. 530-531)

The reference to the Low German language in this excerpt is clear, but two important points have to be noted: first, these are not Cappelmann's own words, as he is quoting Bernheim. Secondly, the above is not the full extent of the quotation; Cappelmann goes on to lengthily quote Bernheim's work. The first point is notable since it is not actually Cappelmann himself making the claim about Low German. As for the second, the extensive and lengthy quote he chose focuses largely on North German character, and the people's history in America. As a result, it is uncertain whether Cappelmann himself was actually trying to make any claims about the language. However, his quote is still noteworthy as one of the few mentions of Low German.

As pointed out in the quote, High German was "taught at school and preached from the pulpit" (Bernheim 1872, p. 530). Even if Low German was a variety spoken in Walhalla, this would have still been the same situation. Besides the custom of High German in schools and church, the origin of Walhalla's pastors demonstrates this as well. Pastor Muller was the first minister at St. Matthew's church in Charleston, as well as one of the first visiting ministers to preach in Walhalla. He was from Hochspeyer, southwestern Germany, and would not have spoken Low German (Shealy 2009). St. John's first permanent pastor, C. F. Bansemer, was from Danzig, at that time still a part of Prussia (Shealy 2009). While it is possible that Bansemer spoke Low Prussian, there is no evidence thereof; in addition, its mutual intelligibility with Low German remains disputed. As the pastor and schoolteacher were dual roles in Walhalla, this would have meant church and school were certainly in High German. With business appearing as

an English domain, this would have restricted Low German as a variety in the home, used among family and friends.

Since there are no recordings or direct first-hand accounts of Low German being used, the most likely place that the variety may be found is in one of the most private written domains: personal letters. Revisiting the letters from the previous section (6.5), they can be analyzed in terms of variety of German, rather than a purely German-English distinction. As mentioned above, even if many, or even most, of the Society members spoke Low German, the Protocol in High German would not be particularly surprising. But if Low German is to be found in writing, purely personal and private exchanges would be the most likely domain.

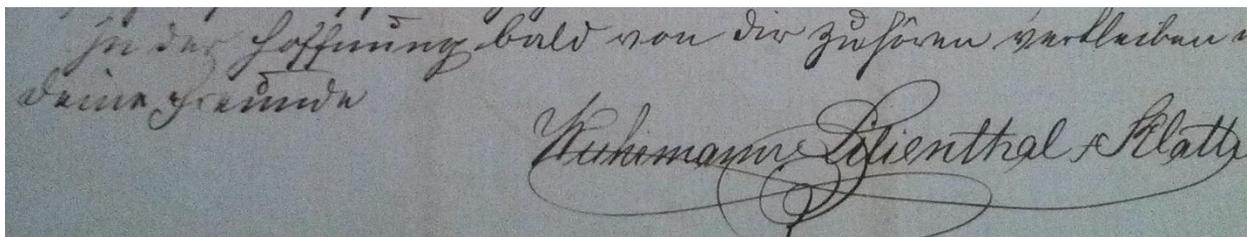


Figure 63 Letter from Friends to Mr. Thode

Noted in the previous section (6.5), Wuhrmann frequently wrote his friend Thode in Walhalla (Figure 63). His letters are solely in German and as this example shows, High German; Wuhrmann writes “*In der Hoffnung bald von dir zu hören,*” signing off with “*Deine Freunde.*” (“Hoping to hear from you soon, your friends.”) Low German did not undergo the High German consonant shift, where many voiceless plosives shifted to fricatives. In this particular example, instead of *Hoffnung*, something along the lines of *Hap(en)* or *Hoep(en)* would be expected (Evers 2014). Of course, all it would take for High German to be used in this exchange is for one of the two, Thode or Wuhrmann, to not speak Low German.

Mr. Thode’s service in the Civil War resulted in many letters being sent to his wife- which would arguably constitute one of the most informal writing situations between two

persons. Like his exchanges with Wuhrmann, however, these were in High German (Figure 64). Here, Thode writes “*Grüsse Johnnie und unsere kleine Lisette für mich.*” (“Greet [send my regards] Johnnie and our little Lisette for me” – referring to two of their children.) Again, plosives would be expected in a form such as *greuten* or *gröten* for *grüsse* (Evers 2014). Mr. Thode’s use of High German with his wife would suggest that if either he or his friend were a speaker of Low German, it would be Wuhrmann.

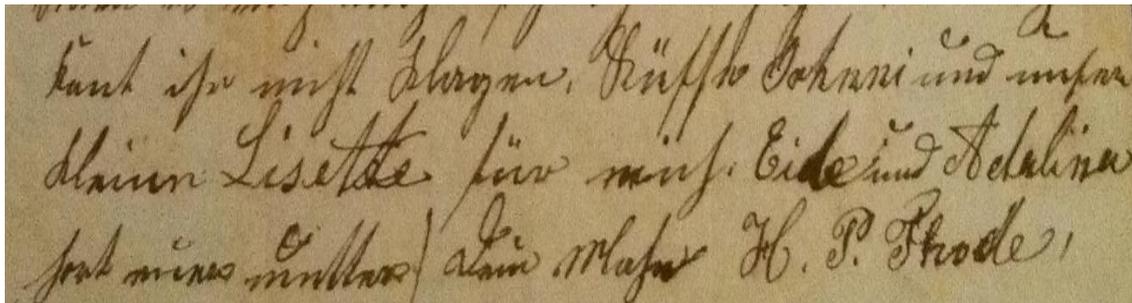


Figure 64 Letter from Mr. Thode to Mrs. Thode

Turning to the Ansel collection, the picture remains the same (Figure 65). Martin Ansel’s uncle Fred Ansel writes “*und mit der Hoffnung daß Ihr daselbige seit Grüßt Dich unsere? ganze Familie.*” (“and with the hope that you are doing the same [doing well]. Our entire family greets [sends their regards to] you.”) In this excerpt, High German is once again clear, in part due to the *Hoffnung* and *Grüßt* presence. As family members, this would have been another likely place to find Low German if it was indeed a variety shared by the Ansels.

Although there is no clear evidence of Low German, the written documents from Walhalla and its settlers still provide some insight into their language. Through their writing, the first generation demonstrates its strong bilingualism. The English and German languages are kept separate through their significantly different writing styles. Not only did the first generation regularly switch between the English and German scripts as appropriate, but even did so intrasententially. The stark contrast between the scripts can be seen in Figure 66 below, in a

Protocol entry by Wagener. It is one of the few occasions where a word is available in both scripts— in this case, the name of the town, at the top left (in English) and the bottom right (in German).

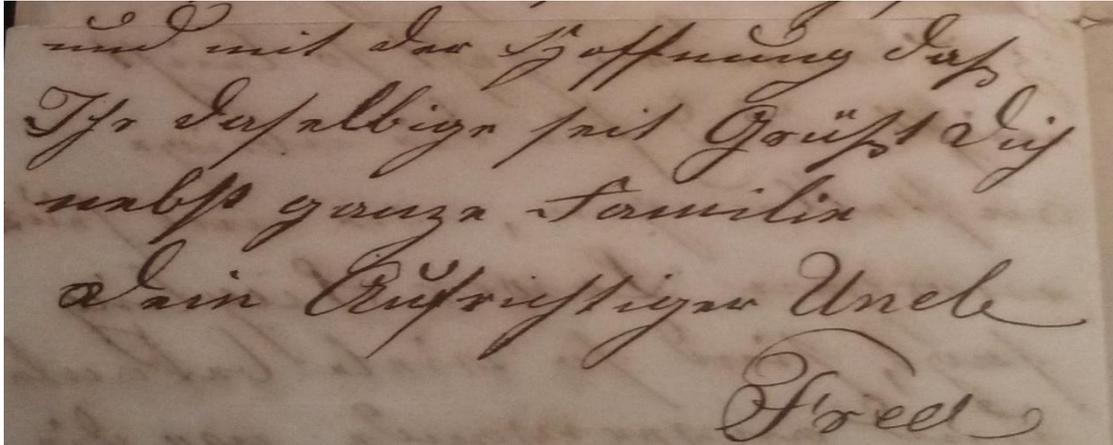


Figure 65 Closing of Letter from Fred Ansel

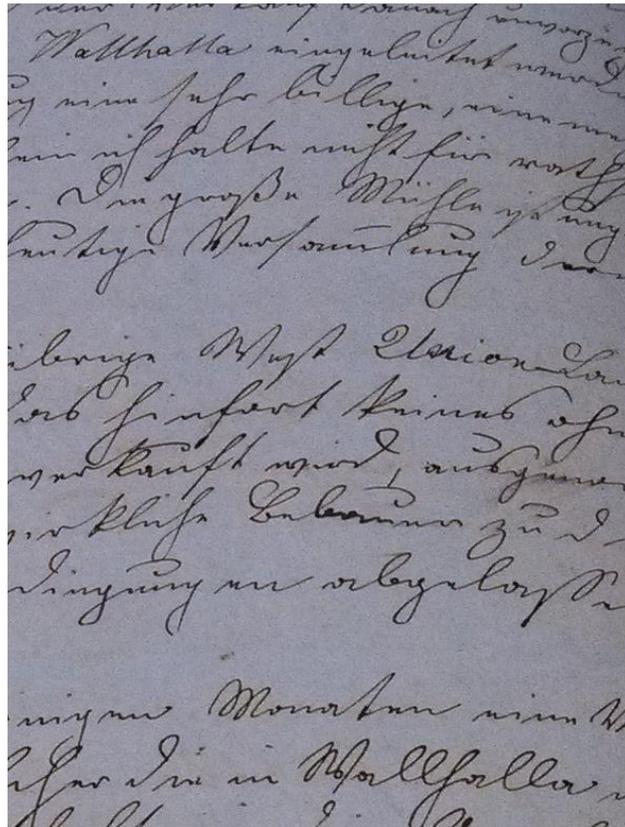


Figure 66 Contrast of "Walhalla" in Kurrent and English Cursive

The clear use of separate scripts for the two languages is not limited to Wagener, but consistent throughout the first generation. One of the clearest examples is by John M. Henken, member of the Society and the first clerk of Walhalla's city council in 1856. Figure 67 contrasts an English entry in the city council minutes with a German entry in the Protocol. The differences reflect the bilingualism of the first generation and the distinction of the languages. In the lower Protocol entry, English handwriting is clearly used midsentence to indicate "88 Acres."

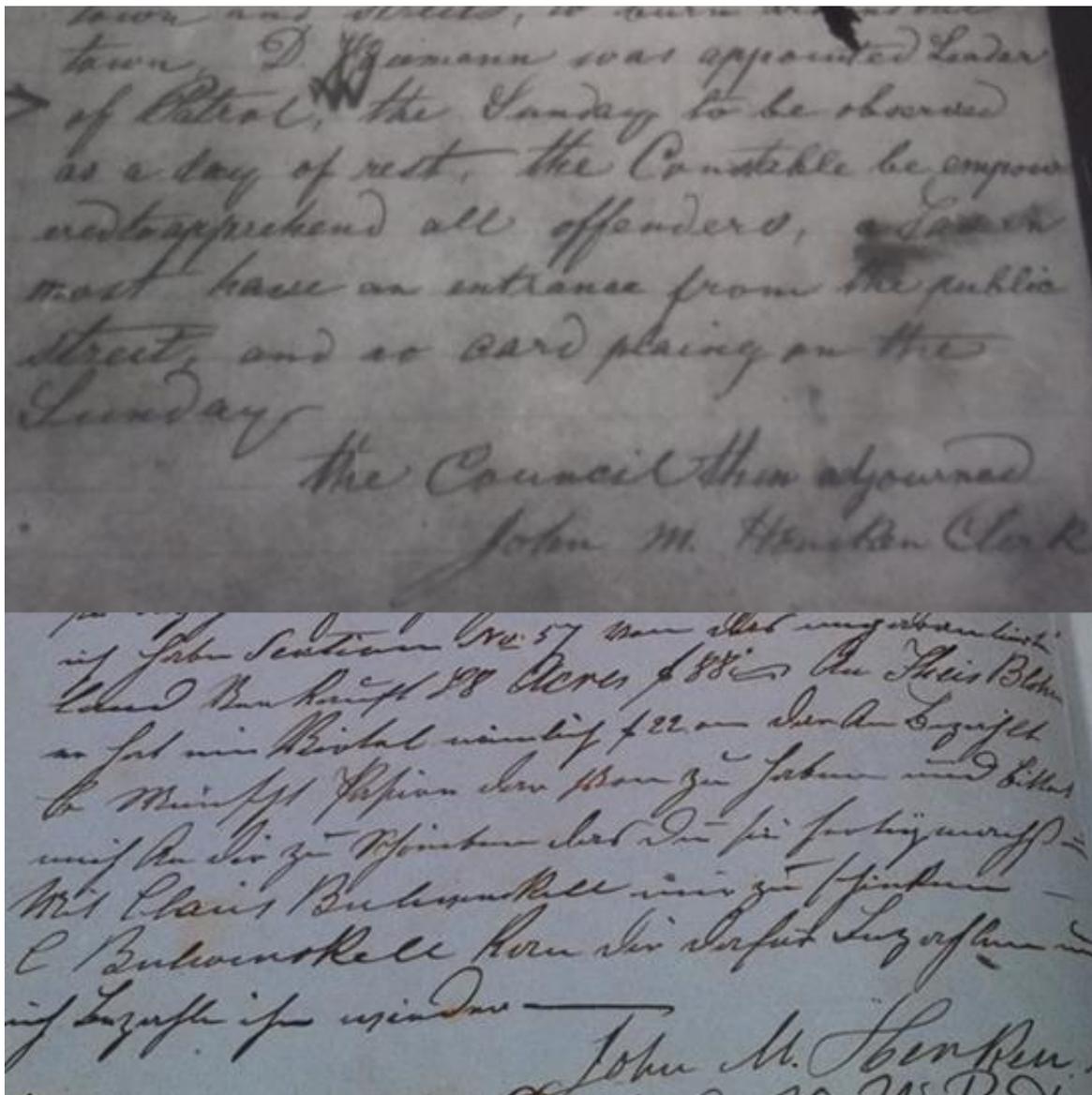


Figure 67 Henken Entries in Council Minutes (Top) and Protocol (Bottom)

As with the “88 acres,” the script used indicates how the German writers interpret the origin of words. Figure 68 shows President & Secretary written by two different authors in the Protocol. At the top, “President & Secretair” is clearly written in English cursive, while the bottom *Präsident & Secretär* is in Kurrent. It not only shows the use of scripts to distinguish the languages, but how the writers interpret the words’ origins. Another interesting note is that the same author will sometimes vary using the “more German” or “more English” terms– but always also alternating scripts when doing so.

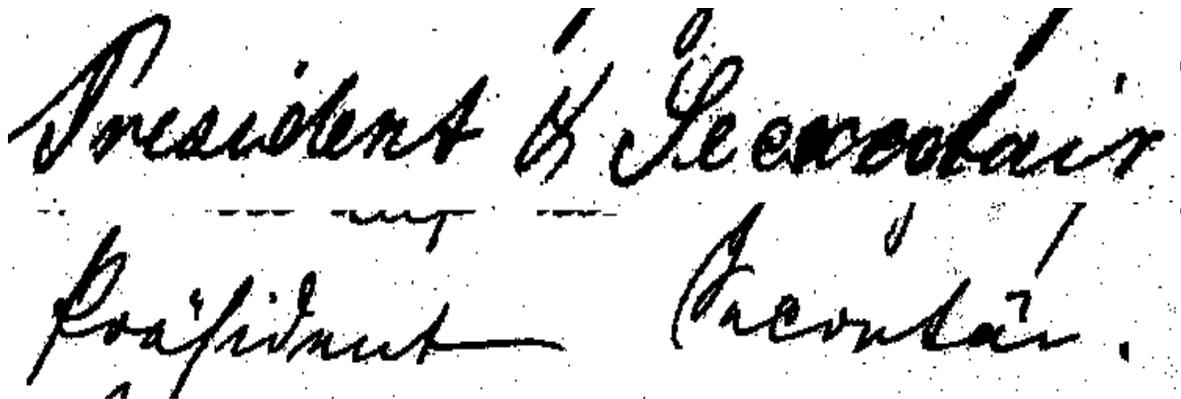


Figure 68 "President & Secretary" by Two Different Authors

These distinctions are not limited to the more professional writing of the Protocol. Looking back at the letter Martin Ansel received from his uncle, the same script alternations occur (Figure 69). The letter closes with “*Dein aufrichtiger Uncle Fred.*” The first part, as expected, is in Kurrent. “Uncle Fred,” on the other hand, is in English cursive– perhaps most obvious through the “e” (compared to the second letter in *Dein* and second-to-last letter in *aufrichtiger*). Even in this personal domain–communication between family members–the two languages are distinctly marked. It may be worth noting that Fred Ansel was a cabinet maker; this can be contrasted with, for example, Henken, who worked as a merchant and a clerk, possibly having had more formal education or at least more extensive writing requirements for his occupation.

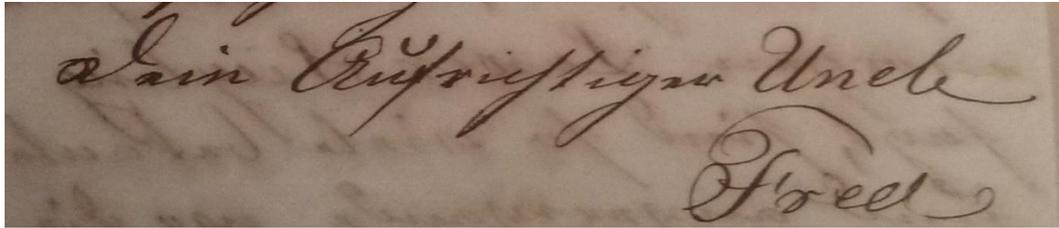


Figure 69 Handwriting Distinction in Fred Ansel Letter

There are occasional variations in how certain lexical items are approached, a notable example being currency. In Figure 70, three different authors in the Protocol demonstrate three variations of the term “Dollar(s).” The top reads “51 Dollar” and “2 Dollar,” the middle *neun Dollars*, and the bottom “17,000 Dollars.” The top and bottom entries are written in English cursive, while the middle is in Kurrent (most noticeable through the letter *D*). While the first entry uses “Dollar,” the middle and bottom carry an inflectional –s. In German, the –s affix would not be used to pluralize the currency; the German *Thaler* is the same in singular and plural form. The authors of the top and bottom entries distinguish “Dollar(s)” as a non-German term, yet differ in their approach of pluralization. It appears the author of the middle entry borrowed the plural marker along with the lexical item.

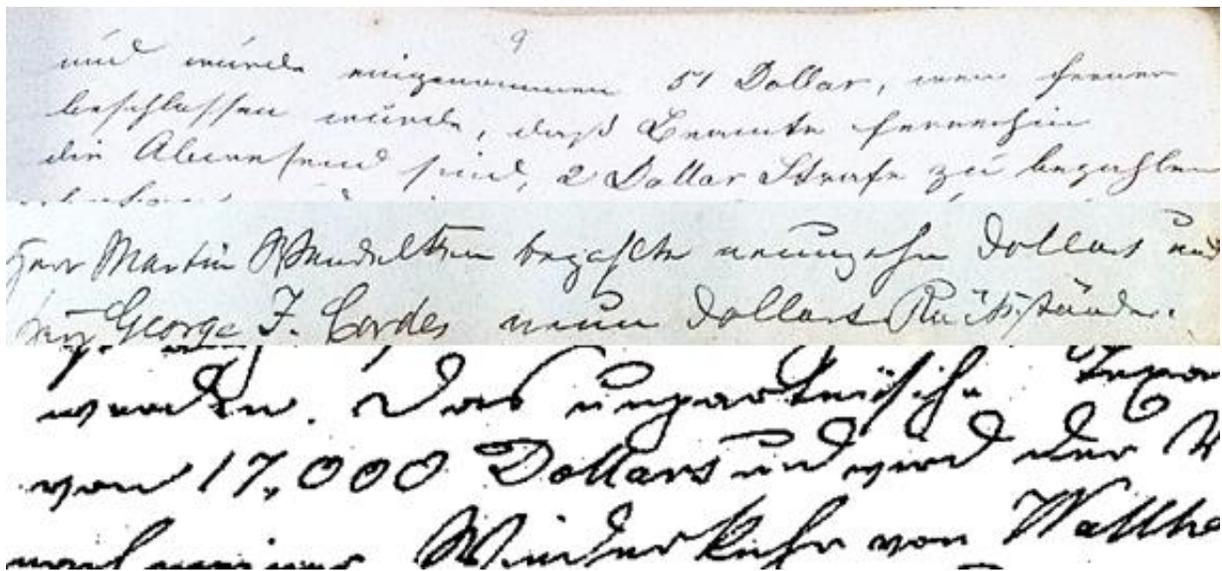


Figure 70 Three Authors Writing About Currency in Protocol

A more interesting case of the –s affix appears in a receipt between Mrs. Thode and John Kaufman (Figure 71). Although primarily in English, expected as discussed in the business section (6.4), a few German lexical items appear on the receipt. After listing the names of those in the exchange, the receipt reads: “*Dezember* To work 32 days at \$1.25 / \$40.00.” Towards the bottom, the receipt lists *Nagels*– from *Nagel* (“nail”). However, the German plural would involve adding an Umlaut, making *Nägel*. Subtle as the example may be, it is one of the few cases where an English affix is used with a German lexical item. It is possible that the writer did not know the word “nails” and assumed this as a cognate.

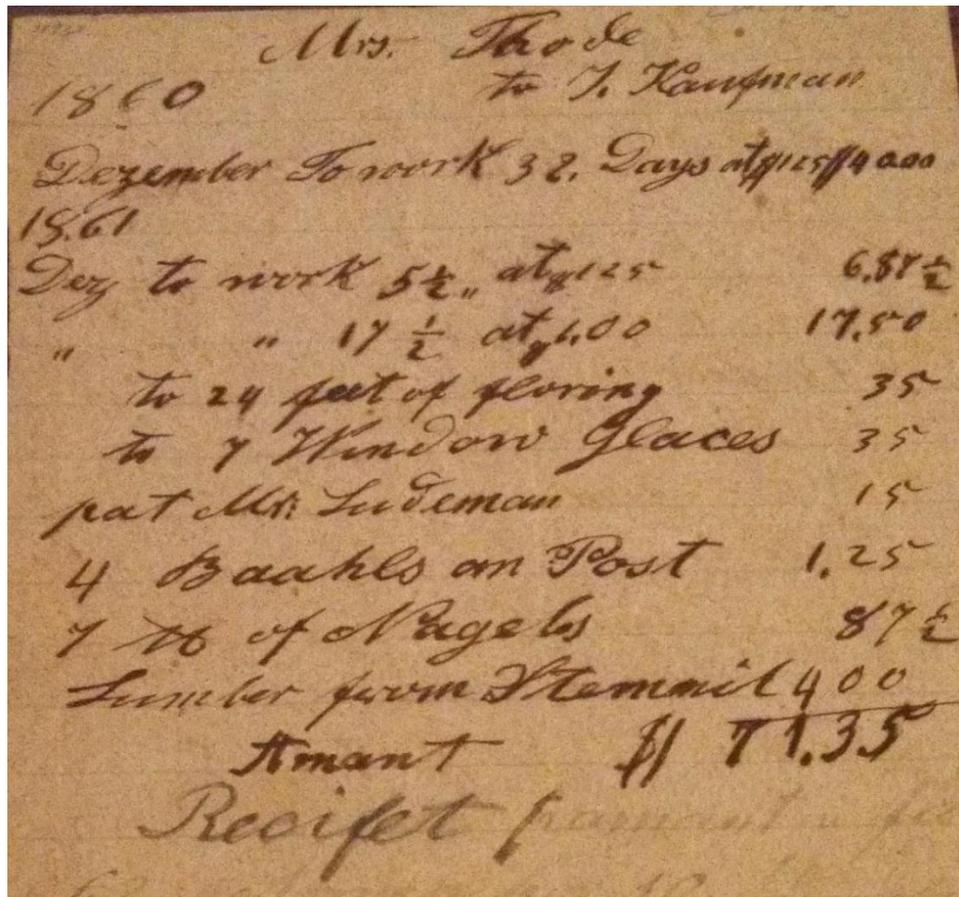


Figure 71 Receipt between Kaufman and Mrs. Thode

The spelling of “receipt” as “Recipet” at the bottom is relatively unsurprising. Slight spelling errors and phonetic spellings are the most common occurrences in the (fairly limited)

errors made by Walhalla's first generation. These occur relatively frequently in the Thode account book (Figure 72). While there is the occasional German, the book is primarily in English. Towards the top left, the date reads *Julei*, indicative of German phonetic spelling. The center and bottom of both the left and right pages read "Recieft Pement in full." The spelling "ie" orthographically represents the /i/ sound in German, and the diphthong in "payment" would sound like an /e/, also written as such, to a native German speaker. Word final devoicing in German would account for "d" written as "t" in "Recieft."

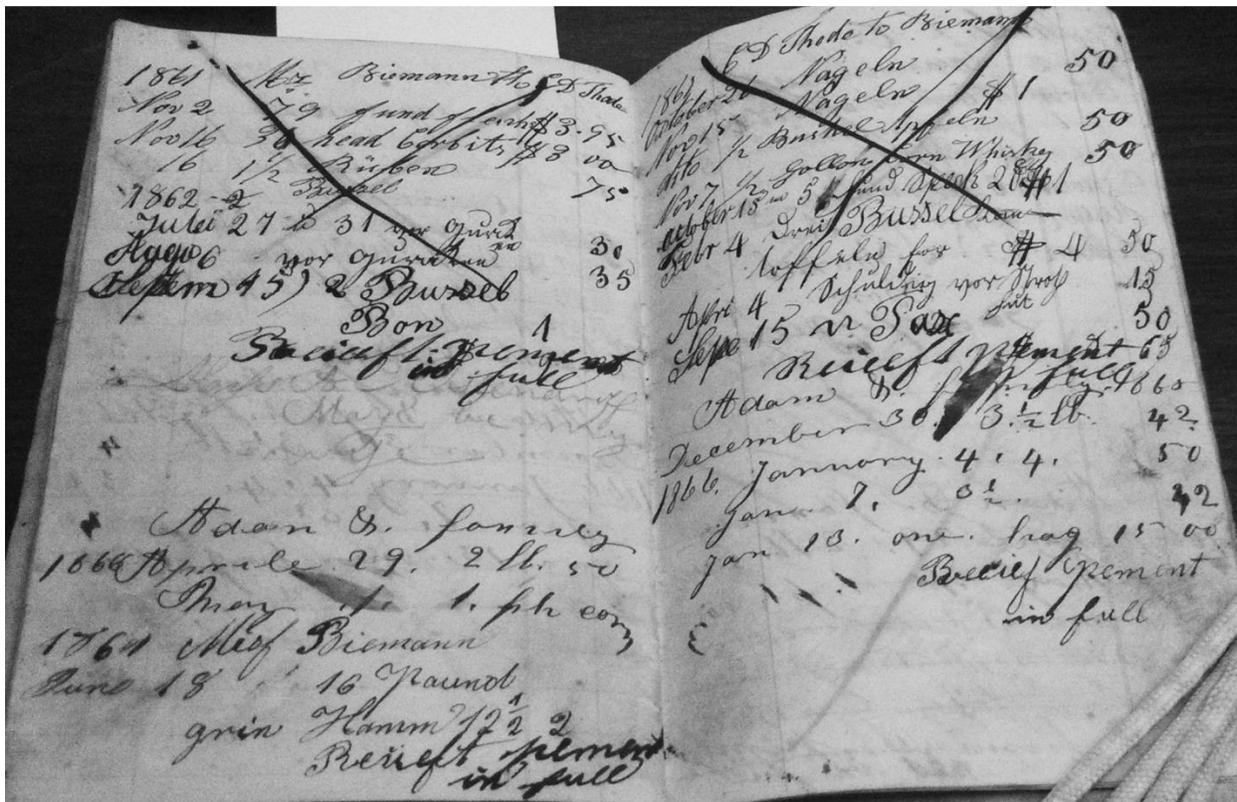


Figure 72 Phonetic Spellings in Thode Account Book

More significant examples of German influence are limited. Back in Figure 67, the entry in the Walhalla city council minutes, Henken wrote "D. Biemann was appointed Leader of [the] Patrol, the Sunday to be observed as a day of rest, the Constable be empowered to apprehend all offenders, stores must have an entrance from the public street, and no card plaining on the

Sunday.” German would indeed use an article in this case, likely in the form of *am Sonntag*, *am* being a contraction of *an + dem* (“on” + “the”).

These examples of phonetic spellings, unexpected affixes, and improper article use, are relatively minor examples of cross-linguistic influence. Indeed, these limited influences, in combination with the clear distinction between English cursive and the Kurrent script, speak to the strong German-English bilingualism of Walhalla’s first generation. On the other hand, the question of whether Low German was spoken in Walhalla, or by any of its founders, remains open. References to the variety, albeit limited, exist—yet there has been no evidence found in the available data.

A similar analysis of the second generation could reveal more cross-linguistic influence. Thus far, however, the English of second generation Walhallans shows little German influence. While cross-linguistic influence may be more apparent in subsequent generations’ German, this would merely be a point of speculation, as there is currently too little data available for such a comparison.

## CHAPTER 7

### CONCLUSION

#### 7.1 Summary of Language Shift

In an 1854 entry in the Protocol, Wagener wrote:

On October 6, 1848 was held the first meeting in behalf of the forming of a colonization society in my home; a constitution was formulated and signed by about 12 Germans. It was not long before this little group doubled, then trebled and ever increased until in 1849, after mature consideration and careful investigation, a purchase of land was made...In the spring of 1850 a beginning was made with the actual colonization of our lands; more and more Germans moved up there and, despite the difficulty in tilling new land, the first settling in a comparatively wild region where there was lack of everything, despite the misery and many unforeseen accidents, our community [Walhalla] developed rapidly and in a wonderful measure...where only three years ago the bear and deer roamed.

(Schaeffer 1960, p. 128)

Indeed, in twenty years, Walhalla went from being an idea shared by a group of German immigrants to a thriving town holding the position of county seat. The first settlers overcame the hardships of a wild and sparsely populated area, the cancellation of the much anticipated Blue Ridge Railroad, and the turmoil of the Civil War. While Walhalla's economy and settlers prospered, the same cannot be said for the fate of the German language.

In the words of Shealy (1990), “Walhalla was for many years an isolated semi-rural community with an ever increasing anglicized population” (p. 179). Of course, the growing English-speaking population played a factor in Walhalla’s language shift. The Civil War and economic aftermath made it difficult to attract additional settlers to the community. But the increasing English-speaking population alone does not account for the early and rapid loss of German in Walhalla.

The circumstances of Walhalla’s founding are certainly unique—arranged by a group of immigrants with the intention of establishing a German settlement, to maintain their idea of German character, identity, and, of course, language. With these priorities in mind, the virtual disappearance of German in the public domain—St. John’s switching to all English services in 1908 and the presence of only two monolingual German speakers in 1910—is quite noteworthy.

Through the 1910 census, Wilkerson & Salmons (2008) reported the percentage of monolingual German speakers in numerous Wisconsin townships, where most of the population arrived between 1839 and 1880. They report percentages of German monolinguals as high as 24% in Hustisford, 22% in Schleswig, and 21% in Hamburg, to a low of 7% in Brothertown and Belgium. In her detailed analysis of Lebanon, Wisconsin, Lucht (2007) cites the same article, and notes that Lebanon, established around 1846, had a relatively low number of German speakers at 10% in 1910.

The numbers from these Wisconsin communities truly put the two monolingual German speakers in 1910 Walhalla into perspective. (For comparison, two speakers would be 0.125% of the population.) While Walhalla was founded solely by Germans, (English speaking) Americans would move to the town shortly after its establishment. The situation was not much different in the aforementioned Wisconsin communities. For example, Lucht (2007) noted that in the first

recording of the Lebanon population, on the 1850 census, half the inhabitants were German and the other half American. However, unlike Walhalla, these Wisconsin townships were not founded with the explicit intent of establishing a German settlement. Yet the German language still survived longer in all of them.

In the quote above, Shealy described Walhalla as “isolated.” Walhalla was isolated in a sense. When the town was settled, Pickens District was primarily rural, dotted with farms and plantations. The settlement adjacent to Walhalla, West Union, consisted of only a few dozen residents in 1850, and grew at a far more modest pace in comparison. Other communities were miles away, and smaller than Walhalla; it was not until decades after its founding that any towns of comparable or greater size were established in the area.

But Shealy also uses the term “semi-rural.” The term “semi” here is important; even in its early days, Walhalla was never a truly rural community of subsistence farmers. Within just a few years of its founding, Walhalla was home to multiple stores and hundreds of residents, who engaged in commerce and practiced a variety of crafts, trades, and professional occupations. The first and one of the most critical factors of the Great Change is the division of labor. Depending on how one looks at it, Walhalla never went through this process, or did so almost immediately after its founding. Regardless, the elements of this factor of the Great Change and its effects were in place from Walhalla’s beginning.

The diversified workforce and variety of occupations meant expansive social networks for the individual, but also coming to affect the community as a whole. With the expansion of networks came outside influence, including linguistic— in this case, from English. But it is important to note that the “semi-rural” community of Walhalla quickly became the economic center of the area. This was not a simple case of an immigrant community shifting to the

dominant language for economic opportunity. It was more the reverse, English speakers coming into this German community. Still, the result is an expanded social network. Wilkerson & Salmons (2008) found cases of Irish and (English speaking) Americans learning German in some Wisconsin communities– which definitely does not appear to have been the situation in Walhalla. But the Germans did make it easier for the English speaking population through their retention of English as the language of business.

In a sense, the process of verticalization had already occurred in the domain of business for the German settlers. Bousquette (2010) and Bousquette & Ehresmann (2010) found undifferentiated labor (largely agricultural) serving as a horizontal structure. The Frisian populations studied underwent division of labor later than German and Welsh immigrant communities, and maintained their language longer. The undifferentiated labor, remaining largely agricultural-based, meant Frisian families remained in life-mode 1, characterized by multiplex, rather than dense networks– in other words, close-knit networks acting as conservative linguistic forces.

But in the case of Walhalla, many of its residents were already in life-mode 2 or life-mode 3 (Højrup 1983). Social networks would have been dense, as more individuals would have known one another, rather than multiplex, greater capacities in which individuals know one another. On a larger scale, this reflects the verticalization in the business domain. The apparent sole use of English in the business domain is in this sense a vertical structure, indicative of greater ties outside of the community. English as a language of business is reflective of the German settlers' days in the workforce of urban Charleston, as well as a part of larger American society itself.

With the early division of labor and its effects on the individual's social network and the community at large, the domains of church and education were the primary sources of horizontal patterns in Walhalla. These institutions were intimately connected from their creation. The members of the Society prioritized establishing a congregation and a school in Walhalla. The position of preacher and schoolteacher were one and the same, a dual role. German was to be taught in schools and preached from the pulpit. As a result, the two institutions did not just share a common official, but goals and desires, specifically the use of the German language.

Church began as an entirely German domain, while education was German and English. Despite English's presence in school from the beginning, it was reflective of the desire of the community. Walhalla's first generation showed strong bilingualism and valued knowledge of both German and English— an attitude echoed in their school. But in the process of verticalization, ties between the local church and school in Walhalla weakened and ties to outside the community expanded.

These new and strengthening vertical ties were largely to the Lutheran Synod of South Carolina, but also the Department of Education in the case of schools. When Newberry College arrived in 1868, it was around the same time that the synod quit prioritizing preaching the German language and tending to German worshippers. That same year, with Walhalla becoming the county seat, education also started the process of coming under the control of the State. School and church were still connected, but no longer at the *local* level. They were more closely connected to the synod than to one another. On the local level, the priorities of the synod, and eventually the Department of Education, took hold over the priorities of the community. Once more, Salmons simple graph captures the essence of one of the main changes in Walhalla (Figure 73).

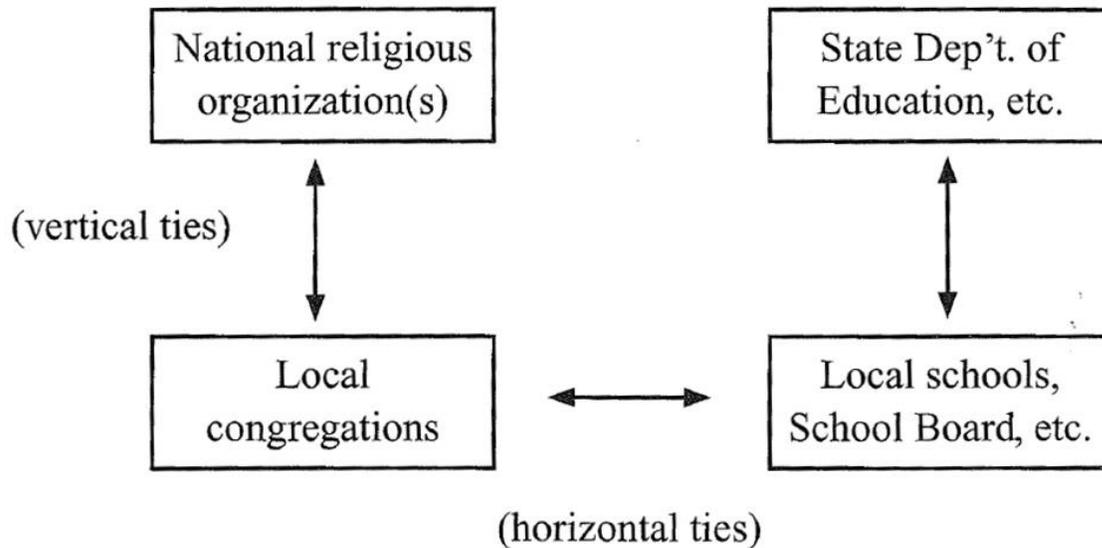


Figure 73 Vertical vs. Horizontal Patterns (From Salmons 2005a)

There appears to be a connection between the language of the second generation and the time they were born. Those who were born before about 1860, who still knew German as the sole language of the church, and attended the German-English bilingual school, showed more evidence of being German proficient. When taking the life of a second generation Walhallan born after this time into consideration, the decrease in German proficiency is less surprising. It was not just a matter of an increasing English speaking population, but the possibility of going about daily life without using German. School was taught mostly, if not solely, in English. On Sunday, the option of an English service was available. With English as the language of business, it would have been used in the workplace. For some Walhallans, German would have been restricted as a variety of the home less than twenty years after the German settlement's founding.

In one of the last lines of *Walhalla: The Garden of the Gods*, Shealy (1990) wrote: "Strive though they might, those wishing to maintain Walhalla as a German community were doomed to failure" (p. 179). While Shealy may not have had Warren in mind, the sentiment rings

true from a Warren-based community approach. Nevertheless, he concludes: “But in more than just name, Walhalla still bears traces of a German past worthy of preservation” (p. 180).

## 7.2 Limitations & Future Research

As with virtually any study, there is no such thing as too much data. Certain materials were limited, inaccessible, or not found. While any potential lack in certain documentation is not believed to have caused any gaps in the analysis, further data could provide additional insights into the language of the community. For example, primary sources from Walhalla’s early school would prove tremendously useful in knowing more about the extent of language education. Another collection anywhere close to the Thode papers in variety and comprehensiveness would be invaluable. This would be beneficial not just in terms of quantity of materials, but permit an in-depth comparison of two early families in Walhalla.

In particular, additional documents from second generation Walhallans would be useful. The Cappellmann papers do shed light on the language use of a member of the second generation, but relatively little insight into Walhalla, since he left as a young man for Charleston. Even though German proficiency is seen or known among certain second generation Walhallans, there are very little documents in German by them. This would arguably be where the more interesting cross-linguistic influence may be seen. When St. John’s switched to all English services in 1908, the church’s minute book switched to English as well. Shealy (2009) claims “that the secretary, John Joost, a second generation German, wrote with a heavy English style, and his English syntax was somewhat awkward to say the least. In places throughout the minutes, German words are interspersed here and there, and spelling was at times more phonetic than correct” (p. 112). This would certainly be interesting if true, especially from a second generation Walhallan. John

Joost was born in 1854, which would have meant he was born early enough to have still attended the German school.

Also, a thorough analysis of the German Colony Protocol remains to be made, in which an electronic corpus would be incredibly useful. Schaeffer's 1960 translation is readily available and provides a wealth of information about the German Colonization Society and Walhalla's history. However, it reveals little of the manuscript's language. The language of the over 160 year old book, still only accessible through the manuscript itself, has not been comprehensively studied. Not only could it provide more details about the settlers' language, but provide insight into the German once spoken in America over a century and a half ago.

Of course, any additional data or analysis of available materials is still subject to the same limitations: the language is written. The writing does not necessarily reflect the language once spoken by Walhallans. The first limitation regards proficiency. Since writing skills are often affected before listening and speaking, members of subsequent generations in Walhalla may have spoken the language fluently, but preferred English for writing. The second limitation is the issue of language variety. The question of whether Low German was spoken in Walhalla remains open. Considering the origins of Walhalla's first settlers, it is quite possible that some of them knew *Plattdeutsch*. But it was also a variety more spoken than written. If it were to be written, it would most likely be in personal correspondence, but as seen above, this was not the case. However, it may be that the conversations looked at here were between one or two more people who did not speak Low German. Again, this open question could also benefit from more data.

As was noted in the demographics section (6.1), Walhalla's borders are difficult to determine in the census. While some years are clearer than others, they still only provide a limited picture. The number of Germans could possibly be underrepresented for certain decades.

Attempts to try and pinpoint borders by using known locations of settlers was not always successful because of frequent property transfers, variations in the spelling of names by census takers, and movement of families between censuses. Establishing clearer borders could help in more precisely defining the community and its range.

A point not addressed in great detail in this study is the question of identity. The first generation were quite proud of their German identity, and valued (what they considered) German work ethic and character. At the same time, they considered themselves Americans and embraced their new homeland. Walhalla's settlers built, maintained, and shared a strong identity as German-Americans. This is not as clear with the second generation. Strongly identifying with their German heritage would have perhaps made maintaining the German language a greater priority for the second and third generation. For example, John Cappelmann was a member of multiple German organizations in Charleston and held speeches at Walhalla's anniversary celebrations. He was also proficient in German. This potentially raises further questions: did his identity as a *German-American* help maintain his language, or did maintaining the language lead to him more strongly identifying as such?

The city of Charleston also provides an opportunity for future research. Shealy (1990) himself notes that "little major research has been completed on the German community in Charleston during the post Civil War years" and "it might be conjectured that the death of Wagener signaled a beginning of the end in regard to much of the German ethnocentricity he had labored so long to cultivate" (p. 179-180). While Wagener's death may have played a role, analyzing the structure of the German community in Charleston could explain the language shift that occurred there, and provide an interesting contrast to the shift in Walhalla—à la Lucht, Frey, and Salmons' (2011) analysis of Lebanon and Milwaukee in Wisconsin.

Finally, this study showed the application of a Warren-based community approach to a rather different community. The majority of the research in this framework has looked at rural immigrant communities located in the Midwest. The model has been shown here to apply to a community founded under unique circumstances on the developed East Coast. Hopefully, the application of the model here demonstrates its versatility and reemphasizes its explanatory power, proving to be a useful method for future study of language shift among immigrant communities in America.

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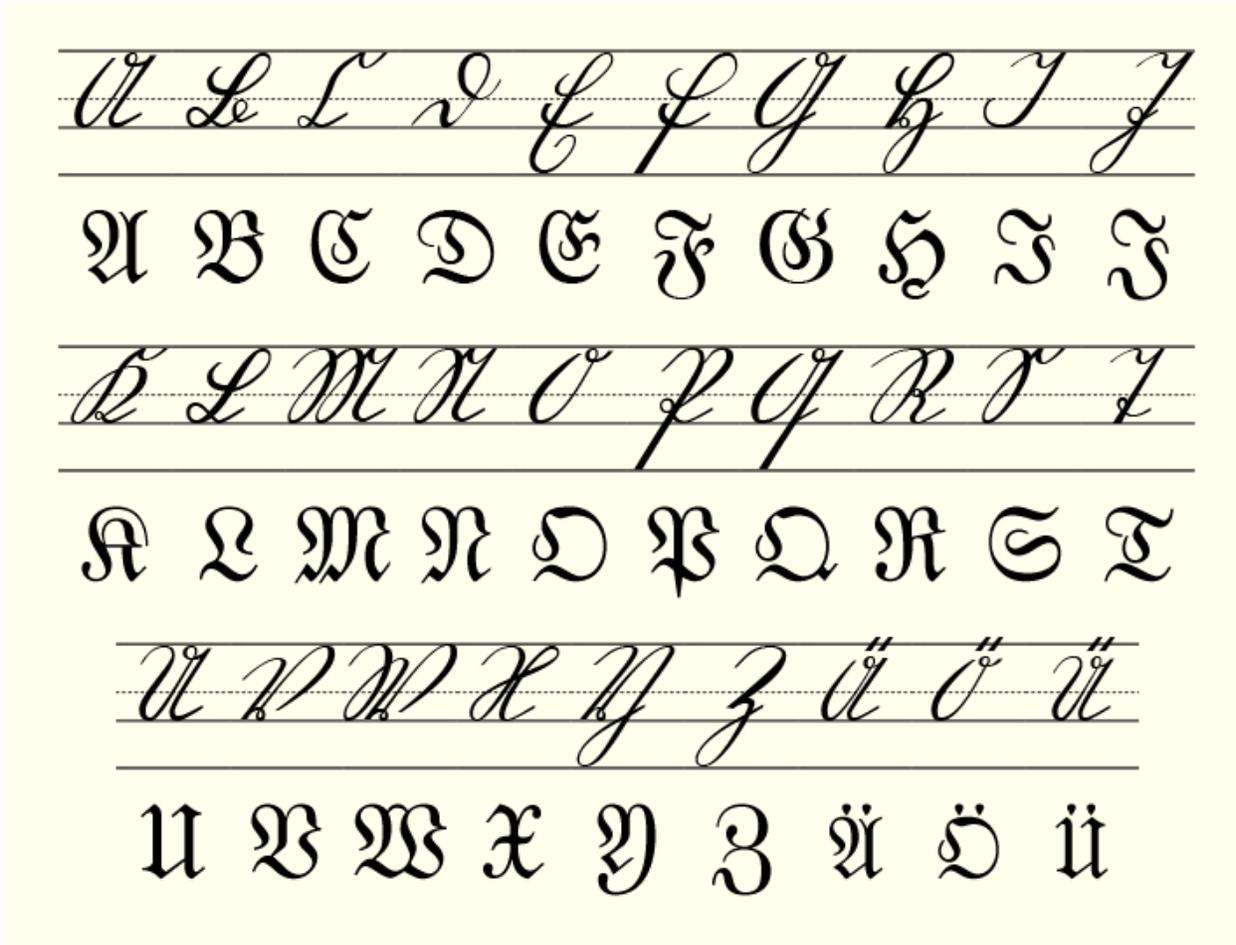
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: KURRENT UPERCASE LETTERS



From the Department of History and the Center for Family History & Genealogy at BYU.

APPENDIX B: KURRENT LOWERCASE LETTERS



From the Department of History and the Center for Family History & Genealogy at BYU.