1969

A Historical and Linguistic Study of the German Settlement at Roberts Cove, Louisiana.

Stanley Joe Mccord
Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_disstheses

Recommended Citation
https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_disstheses/1606

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at LSU Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in LSU Historical Dissertations and Theses by an authorized administrator of LSU Digital Commons. For more information, please contact gradetd@lsu.edu.
McCord, Stanley Joe, 1936-
A HISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC STUDY
OF THE GERMAN SETTLEMENT AT
ROBERTS COVE, LOUISIANA. [Portions
of Text in German].

The Louisiana State University and Agricultural
and Mechanical College, Ph.D., 1969
Language and Literature, modern
University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan
A HISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC STUDY OF THE GERMAN
SETTLEMENT AT ROBERTS COVE, LOUISIANA

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
The Department of Foreign Languages

by

Stanley Joe McCord
B.A., Louisiana State University, 1960
M.A., Louisiana State University, 1963
May, 1969
ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author wishes to express his appreciation to Dr. A. E. Schroeder for his assistance in the preparation of this dissertation. The author is deeply indebted to the many people in Acadia Parish, Louisiana, who so kindly assisted him, and most especially to the Reverend Father Charles Zaunbrecher, whose generous help was invaluable.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENT</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. GERMAN IMMIGRATION INTO LOUISIANA</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The First Period, 1718-1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Second Period, 1800-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Third Period, 1865-1914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. ROBERTS COVE: THE 19th CENTURY</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. ROBERTS COVE: THE 20th CENTURY</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Pre-War Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The War and Post War Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. THE LANGUAGE</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sample Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Description of Phones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Observations and Conclusions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. CONCLUSION</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A: German Immigration, 1820-1895</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX B: Land Acquisitions</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX C: Maps</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX D: Questionnaire and Evaluation</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITA</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This study was undertaken to trace the history of the German settlement established at Roberts Cove in Acadia Parish, Louisiana, in 1881 and to investigate the Low German dialect in use there.

A variety of sources was used in compiling the history of Roberts Cove. A search of published material provided information about the beginnings of the settlement, descriptions of individuals and of the community at various times, and information concerning the history of the community church. The broad outline of the history was, however, obtained in a series of interviews with members of the community. In each subsequent interview an attempt was made to verify and complete the data previously gathered; a search of the files of local newspapers also proved productive in this respect. Public land records, church records, court records and immigration passenger lists not only provided specific dates and
facts, but also served to verify or correct data gathered from the interviews and published works. Information regarding the preservation of German customs in the Cove, and among descendants living elsewhere, was obtained from the forty-three responses to 125 questionnaires mailed. Finally, samples of the dialect obtained from three informants were analyzed to determine the phonological characteristics of the language. The samples were then compared with one another and with the original dialect as represented in the Deutscher Sprachatlas to determine whether and to what extent the dialect has undergone phonological change since the settling of the Cove.

It has been shown in this study that the continued observance of German customs and the continued use of the German language give the Roberts Cove community a unique place in the history of German immigration into Louisiana, since no other German community maintained these elements of German culture for so long without the support of continuing immigration. The establishment of the Roberts Cove community and the retention of elements of its German heritage in the absence of continuing immigration are to a large degree the results of the efforts of Father Peter
Leonhard Thevis, a priest who had immigrated to New Orleans in 1867. The persuasive efforts made by Thevis during two trips to Germany, in perhaps 1878 and in 1881, either caused or greatly influenced the emigration of the fifteen families and seven unmarried men, a total of seventy-nine persons, who settled in the Cove in 1881 and 1882. The economic survival of the community was derived from the development of the modern rice industry in 1885, but its survival as a cultural entity was principally due to the presence of a German Catholic Church, and the customs still observed are either church practices or are otherwise related to the religion. Father Thevis was instrumental in obtaining the services of the Swiss-American Benedictines who founded the church and administered it until 1930. Even after the monks left the church, German continued in use in the services to some extent until 1950, and is still used in certain hymns. The principal factor in the retention of the dialect, however, seems to have been the church school, since, even though it was conducted in High German, few persons are now conversant with the dialect who did not attend the school before instruction in German ceased in 1922.
As it is presently spoken, the dialect shows some effects of the leveling of regional differences and has adopted the English phone [w], but has otherwise remained essentially unchanged. Since it is now used as a means of communication almost exclusively by persons over the age of fifty, the dialect seems destined to disappear within a few years.
CHAPTER I

GERMAN IMMIGRATION INTO LOUISIANA

The purpose of this chapter is to give a brief survey of the history of German emigration to Louisiana, with the intention of showing the uniqueness of the German settlement of Roberts Cove, Louisiana. For the purposes of this study, the review will be limited to the period of time from the colonial era to the beginning of World War One. This period may be divided into three distinct sections: (1) 1718-1800; (2) 1800-1860; (3) 1865-1914. Each of the sections will be considered from the following points of view: (1) the causes of the emigration; (2) the journey and arrival; (3) settlement in Louisiana; (4) survival of the immigrants as a cultural entity.

---

1 Robert T. Clark, Jr., "The German Liberals in New Orleans 1840-1860," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XX (1937), 137. Clark gives a separate period of immigration for the liberals, but this distinction need not be made here.
A. THE FIRST PERIOD, 1718-1800

The causes of German emigration to French Louisiana are twofold, i.e., they lie not only in the conditions in Germany at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but also in those of France. The conditions in France are perhaps the more important of the two. After the death of King Louis XIV in 1715, France found herself all but bankrupt. The wars and extravagances of Le Roi Soleil had left the treasury empty and debts higher than the highest possible taxes could pay. The Duke of Orleans, acting as regent for the minor king, accepted the proposals of the Scotsman John Law to revive the moribund economy of the nation. Accordingly, Law received a charter for the Western Company on September 6, 1717.  

The Western Company was given control of the development and trade of the colony of Louisiana, since Antoine Crozat, the first holder of this monopoly, had found it extremely unprofitable and had just been given permission to return his charter. Law's scheme was to

---

sell stock in the company and issue paper money in France based upon the value of the company's holdings. Ultimately the value of the money rested upon the value of Louisiana, especially that of the mines which were assumed to exist there. In 1719, the Western Company was granted complete monopoly over the foreign trade of France. It absorbed the Company of the Indies and assumed that name. At this time, the company loaned the government the entire amount of the national debt at a lower interest than it had been paying, and was granted the right to collect all revenues in the country. The speculation in the company's stocks, aided by the availability of the paper money, raised the value of the stocks by a factor of sixty. Law was forced eventually to de­valuate his currency, whereupon a panic caused the collapse of the entire structure, and Law himself had to flee the country early in 1721.  

In the few years of its existence, however, the Company of the Indies fulfilled a large part of its agreement with the crown to transport 6000 whites and 3000

3Ibid., pp. 202-233.
Negroes to Louisiana. The land was given in large tracts, or concessions, to individuals who obligated themselves to settle a certain number of *engagés*, or hired hands, on the concessions. Law personally held three concessions and agreed to settle 1200 people on them. He indicated that he would transport only Germans.

Als tüchtiger und weltkundiger Geschäftsmann wusste Law, dass zum Erfolg seines Unternehmens, neben genügendem Kapital, auch Ansiedler gehörten, die arbeiten konnten und auch wollten. Und da ihm die Erfahrungen nicht unbekannt sein konnten, die man in Louisiana in der Vergangenheit mit französischen Colonisten gemacht hatte, beschloss er, für seine eigene Conzession ausschliesslich deutsche Bauernfamilien, Elsässer, Pfälzer und Lothringer, anzuweiden.

In order to secure settlers for the colony, a great publicity campaign was instituted shortly after the charter was granted. Pamphlets were printed in several languages and widely circulated. One such pamphlet

---


circulated in Germany reads, in part:

Die Gränten von Louisiana sind gegen Morgen Florida und Carolina, gegen Norden aber Virginia und Canada. Die nordischen Gränten sind gantz unbekannt. An 1700 pasierte ein Canadier M le Seuer den Fluss St. Ludewig (Mississippi) und zwar auf die 700 Meilen hinauf. Es ist aber von dieser Gegent noch ein District, der über 100 Meilen austrägt, bekannt. Dannenhero fast zu vermuten, dass sich dieses Land bis an den polum articum erstrecken möchte. . . . Man kann sich den Ueberfluss dieses Landes nicht gross genug einbilden.8

There were, of course, enticements for those not interested in farming:


Conditions in Germany at the time, and especially in the Rhineland, were such as to have caused the population to desire to emigrate even without such extravagant

8Deiler, Die ersten Deutschen, p. 9.
9Ibid., p. 10.
promises. The Thirty Years' War had, of course, left the Rhine provinces desolate. But this area of Germany had no respite for the remainder of the seventeenth century. The various wars of aggrandizement conducted by Louis XIV were largely directed toward achieving control of the Rhine. For over half a century, the armies of France, Austria, Spain, Holland and several German states maneuvered and fought along almost the whole length of the valley. Aside from the destruction normally left by marching armies, sieges and battles, there was further destruction due to a scorched earth policy adopted by France on occasion. In 1689, some 100 towns, including Mainz, Speyer, Mannheim and Heidelberg, and 2000 villages were burned. The crops and orchards in an area of 7500 square miles were destroyed, leaving the Palatinate and other Rhineland areas a virtual desert. To be sure, this had occurred thirty years before the emigration from this area, but the conflicts did not entirely cease until the conclusion of the War of Spanish Succession in 1713.\footnote{Hermann Stegemann, The Struggle for the Rhine (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1927), p. 155 et passim.}
Because of the conditions in Germany, the Company of the Indies found itself with more German emigrants than it could care for, while French emigrants had to be obtained from jails and poor houses.\textsuperscript{11}

The journey and arrival of this wave of immigration took place, without a doubt, under the worst of conditions. Perhaps 10,000 Germans left their homeland for Louisiana; perhaps 2000 landed on the shore of the Gulf of Mexico. In the French ports of L'Orient, La Rochelle and Brest, from which the Germans were to sail, no preparations had been made to receive them. Exposed to crowding, malnutrition and infectious diseases, many of them died before even leaving the Continent. The long voyage on crowded ships accounted for hundreds, if not thousands, more deaths. On at least one occasion, a fleet carried the plague when it left France. Of some 1200 passengers, only 200 reached their destination.\textsuperscript{12}


The first ship carrying settlers transported by Law's company reached Louisiana in 1718. This group numbered about 800, or more than the entire population of the colony before then. There is no indication that any of the new arrivals were German. In the fall of the following year "a great number of Germans" arrived. These were probably independent settlers rather than *engagés*, since they brought a large quantity of personal goods. A fleet of seven ships brought some 4000 persons to the colony early in 1720. An undetermined number of the group were Germans, and later in the year 240 Germans arrived in a single ship. Four groups of German immigrants arrived in 1721. The first contained the 200 survivors of the pest ships. The next two groups numbered 161 and 109 respectively. The fourth shipment was the last sent by the Company of the Indies.\textsuperscript{13}

Although Law had already fled France, and his business lay in ruins, the directors of the company had apparently gathered up the Germans still awaiting transport and sent them on. This group of 330 was placed under

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., pp. 18-31.
the command of one Karl Friedrich D'Arensbourg, a former
Swedish officer. It was the only shipment that was organ­
ized with the apparent intention of having it settle as a
14

The arrival of D'Arensbourg's group brought to a
close the sudden influx of German immigrants into Louisi­
ana. The figure of about 2,000 given above for the number
of Germans reaching the colony is obviously an estimate,
since the available figures account for only half that
number. Although no precise figure for the number of
Germans can be determined, a more exact figure is avail­
able for the overall number of people transported, and the
number surviving transportation:

From October 25, 1717, to May 1, 1721, some
600 Negroes and 7,020 white colonists arrived
in Louisiana. The Company estimated that
about 2,000 of these died enroute or returned
to France, leaving an addition of over 5,000
new settlers. Unfortunately no account was
made of the thousands who died of sickness
and hunger on the shores of the Gulf at
Dauphine Island or Biloxi. In actual fact,
despite the hundreds who arrived in 1722 and
the natural increase from births, the census

14 Ibid., p. 53.
of January 1, 1727, showed only 2,228 white persons in the entire colony.\textsuperscript{15}

This certainly supports Deiler's statement that "it may be taken for granted that at these two places more than one thousand Germans died."\textsuperscript{16}

The existence of such appalling conditions on the coast was due to the policies of the colonial government. Although the French had been there for twenty years, the time had been spent in searching for wealth. The colony depended entirely upon France and the local Indians for food. Large ships had not yet attempted to sail up the Mississippi; thus passengers and supplies had to be unloaded on the Gulf beaches and taken to the other settlements by small boat. The lack of sufficient boats forced the new settlers to remain for months on the beaches instead of proceeding to the concessions.\textsuperscript{17}

The Germans who arrived in 1719, and who appear to

\textsuperscript{15}Duffy, \textit{History of Medicine}, I, 22. Duffy apparently intends to say that 7,620 persons left France for Louisiana, since those dying on the way obviously had not "arrived in Louisiana." In any event, over 5,000 remained in Louisiana, either dead or alive.

\textsuperscript{16}Deiler, \textit{The Settlement}, p. 23.

\textsuperscript{17}Duffy, \textit{History of Medicine}, I, 23-24.
have been independent settlers, established a village on the right bank of the Mississippi about thirty miles above New Orleans. This village lay about a mile and a half from the river. When D'Arensbourg arrived with his people, he established a second village between the river and the older settlement. There is no way of knowing how many people were originally in either village. At the time of the first census, in 1724, both had been almost entirely abandoned because of flooding. A third settlement on the higher ground of the immediate river bank had already been established. By this time, also, a third group of Germans had moved to the vicinity. ¹⁸

The last group of Germans to settle the banks of the Mississippi above New Orleans were the remnants of the engagés transported for John Law's personal concession on the Arkansas River. They had arrived in 1720 and moved to an area on the Arkansas not far from the Mississippi. During the following year, the people had cleared land but had not been able to make a crop. When news of Law's downfall arrived early in 1721, his agent refused to take

¹⁸Deiler, The Settlement, pp. 50-56.
the responsibility of supplying the settlement with food. After depending on the Indians for a time, the group left the concession (in January or February, 1722) and proceeded en masse down the Mississippi to New Orleans. They demanded that Governor Bienville give them transportation back to Europe. Instead, the governor persuaded them to remain by promising them their own land, thus elevating their status from that of engagé to that of habitant, or freeholder. He also agreed to dismiss the agent who had neglected them and to supply them with provisions until such time as they could provide for themselves. These people were given land above and below the German settlement already there, and D'Arensbourg was appointed judge for the area, which was thereafter known as the Côte des Allemands. It is possible that the presence of a settlement of their countrymen already in the area influenced their decision to remain.¹⁹

Again it is impossible to determine the size of this group, either when it arrived on the Arkansas or when it left there. Deiler estimates the former at 300, and

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 36-38.
assumes the latter to be greater than the population of New Orleans, which he gives as about 200. If this is so, then D'Arensbourg's original group must have fared very badly indeed. His people numbered 330 and he had apparently allowed some Germans still on the beaches to join him. In addition, there was already an undetermined number of Germans in a village only half a mile from that established by D'Arensbourg. Yet a census of the entire German Coast taken later in 1722 gives the number of inhabitants as 257: 69 men, 79 women and 109 children. The census of 1722 is the first to enumerate the people of the German Coast. Its figures reflect the terrible toll taken of the colonists. Of some seven or eight hundred people, only 257 remained within three years after the first of them had reached Louisiana.

The next census figures extant are no less grim. Although the percentage of population decline is not as large, it must be remembered that during the intervening

\[20\text{Ibid., p. 38.}\]
\[21\text{Ibid., p. 74. It would seem more reasonable to assume that the Arkansas group as well as D'Arensbourg's people had already suffered considerable loss.}\]
two years the Germans had been living in a relatively healthy area and had begun to grow crops, thus eliminating the dependence upon imported stores and the diet deficiencies of such fare. The 1724 census lists 169 souls in the German Coast, living in 60 households: 53 men, 57 women, 59 children. An appendage on this census gives an excellent description of the settlement:

All these German families enumerated in the present census raise large quantities of beans and mallows, and do much gardening, which adds to their provisions and enables them to fatten their animals, of which they raise many. They also work to build levees in front of their places.

If these German families, the survivors of a great number who have been here, are not assisted by negroes, they will gradually perish.

The land is covered with dead trees and stumps, and these people have no draught animals, they cannot use the plow, but they must work with the pickaxe and the hoe.

This together with the hard work on the pilon, causes these poor people to perish, who are good workers and willing, and who do not desire anything more than to remain in a country where they are free from burdensome taxation and from the rule of the master of their

\[22\text{Ibid., pp. 80-96.}\]
land—a lot quite different from that of the peasants in Germany.

They would consider themselves very happy to get one or two negroes, according to the land they have, and we would soon find them to be good overseers. The only thing to be done would be to visit them once or twice a year, to see what use they are making of them, and to take the negroes away from the lazy and give them to the industrious. But this would hardly be necessary, as these people are by nature industrious and more contented than the French.\textsuperscript{23}

It is indicative of the conditions in the Germany which these people left that even after the terrors of hunger, disease and the deaths of most of their companions, they preferred to remain. In the census, only one man on the German Coast requested passage home.\textsuperscript{24}

Another census in 1731, or seven years after the previous one, shows a significant change in the direction of the population trend. The total population was 174, composed of 42 men, 44 women, and 88 children.\textsuperscript{25} The adults continued to decrease, though at a slower rate.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[Ibid., pp. 90-91.]
\item[Ibid., p. 84.]
\item[Ibid., p. 74.]
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
however, was the increase of the children from 59 in 1724 to 88 in 1731. As a matter of fact, the Germans did begin to increase and were noted for their large families within a few more years. A census of 1745 gives only white males and Negroes of both sexes. These number 100 and 200 respectively. It is obvious that many of the children were surviving into adulthood, and apparently the advice of the 1724 census taker had been heeded. The large families, while ensuring the continuance of the settlement, contributed to the assimilation of the Germans into the French culture; the German Coast soon became an important source of food for the city of New Orleans and provided supplies for the Acadians in 1768.

Before discussing the ethnic survival of the people of the German Coast, some mention should be made of other Germans in Louisiana. A number of Germans and German families were scattered among the various concessions that had been started during the period of great immigration. It is not possible to determine how many


there were, or, for the most part, where they were placed. The census of 1721, which included only the immediate New Orleans area, lists 5 men, 11 women, 14 children and 40 engagés on another of Law's concessions opposite and a little below New Orleans. Although it is not stated, it may be assumed that these were Germans, since this would be in keeping with Law's original intentions. The census of 1724 lists 17 Germans not on the Coast, most of whom had families. Deiler gives some 40 German names which he found in various early records but which do not appear on any census. Very little is known of any of these people. It can only be assumed that, due to their isolation from any large group of their countrymen, these scattered families and individuals were Gallicized even more rapidly than the settlers of the German Coast.

Although it is not possible to determine the rate of assimilation of the inhabitants of the German Coast, the existing evidence indicates that it must have been a fairly rapid process. That the Germans identified

\[28\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 73.}\]

\[29\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 91-103.}\]
strongly with the French population is indicated by their prominent role in the rebellion against the newly instituted Spanish authority in 1768. D'Arensbourg himself is said to have been spared execution only because of his old age. The latest concrete evidence of the use of the German language is a building contract between two German settlers in 1763. Deiler assumes that the language disappeared almost immediately in cases of mixed marriages. Since the French population was chronically short of women throughout most of the eighteenth century, many of the girls from the large German families married Frenchmen. Even in those families which remained pure German, the language seems to have been replaced by French by the third generation. The reasons for rapid assimilation are obvious. There was no continuing immigration to reinforce the German population; there were no German teachers and no German church. A more speculative, but perhaps just

\[30\] \textit{Ibid.}, p. 46.  
\[31\] \textit{Ibid.}, p. 118.  
\[32\] \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 105-106. Deiler notes that some Germans immigrated to Louisiana from Lorraine in 1754 and some from Maryland in 1774. The first group settled on the German Coast and the second further up the river, just below Baton Rouge. The number of Germans in these groups is not known, but was apparently not large.
as important, reason was the lack of any national feeling, due to the chaotic and fragmentary political and economic conditions in the area of Germany from which these people had emigrated.

Of course, some traces of the German ancestry lingered for decades, even though the people were for the most part indistinguishable from the French inhabitants. As late as 1803, during the brief reestablishment of French rule, the difference between the inhabitants of the German Coast and the rest of the population was noticeable. In that year, the French Colonial Prefect of Louisiana wrote to his superior in France:

I received the letter of the 4th of Floreal of this year by which your Excellency deigned to consult me on the project of embarking German laborers for Louisiana.

This is a project which should be made a regular system by the French government for several years if it wants to derive profit from this country and to preserve it.

Its present condition and its wretched population demand this imperatively. This class of peasants, and especially of that nationality, is just the class we need and the only one which always achieved perfect success in these parts.

What is called here the "German Coast" is the most industrious, the most populous,
the most upright, the most respected part of the inhabitants of this colony.

I regard it as essential that the French government should make it a rule to send every year from one thousand to twelve hundred families of the frontier departments of Switzerland, the Rhine and Holland; the emigrants of our southern provinces are not worth anything.33

Names, both family and place names, have survived to the present day. Some of these names are actually French, as Bayou des Allemands, or have been translated into English, as the German Coast. The majority, however, have been retained in forms corrupted by French pronunciation and spelling to such a degree that they are hardly recognizable as German. Indeed the "Cajuns" who bear these names often do not realize the German origin of them.34

33Ibid., p. 129.
34Ibid., pp. 119-126. Deiler lists a number of German names and the French, or "Cajun," variations of them. To mention only a few: Bouque, Boucvaltre from Buchwalter; Wichnaire, Vicnaire, Viquiner, Vixner from Wichner; Waquespack, Wagenspack, Vaglespaque from Wagensbach; Chance, Chans from Schanz; Serinque, Zerincque, Sering from Zehringer; Houbre, Ubre, Ouvre from Huber; Chauffe, Chauvre, Cheauf from Schaff; Sexnайдre, Seckshneyder, Cesnaitre, Scheixneydre from Scheckschneider. For the last of these names Deiler gives a total of twenty-three variants, and indicates that the list is incomplete. In a few instances, the German names were translated into French, as Quatrevingt for Achtziger and Labranche for Zweig.
It can be said, in summary, that while the German immigrants were important in this period of Louisiana's history, and the German segment of the population retained a degree of importance for many years, the people themselves did not long retain a separate language or culture that could be recognized as peculiarly German.

B. THE SECOND PERIOD, 1800-1860

From the standpoint of German immigration into the United States, and especially into the state of Louisiana, this period may be considered as a unit. With the exception of a large wave in 1816 and 1817, the immigration began slowly, gained an increasing momentum and reached its peak in 1854.\textsuperscript{35} In reviewing the causes for emigration, however, these sixty years must be considered in smaller segments.

For the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century there was relatively little emigration from Germany. Although the Napoleonic Wars certainly created conditions to encourage emigration, the involvement of the

\textsuperscript{35} Appendix A.
entire continent in the wars and the British blockade hindered the movement of trade and people. Immediately after the final defeat of Napoleon, nature aided thousands in the Rhineland and southern Germany in deciding to emigrate. There had already been several years of poor harvest, and high taxes took much of what was produced. The year 1816, however, brought almost a total failure of crops because of extremely adverse weather. Widespread famine caused a mass movement of people from these areas through Holland to America and, in the opposite direction, to Russia. The emigrants were not all farmers, but they were all from the closely related rural areas and trades. Almost all were poor, if not destitute. About 20,000 people emigrated to America in 1816 and 1817. The success of the crops in Germany and the breaking of the famine in the fall of the latter year, combined with the tales and examples of human misery caused by the unpreparedness of the emigrants, ended the exodus after two years.36

The press in Amsterdam was similar to that in the

French ports a century before. Those who could do so paid their passage, if passage were available before their means were consumed in the waiting; those who could not pay the fare became indentured servants when possible. The supply, however, was greater than the demand. Many starved or died of disease; others returned home even more destitute than before. The emigrant was no longer a citizen of his native state, once he received permission to leave, or if he left without permission. For this reason, no one felt responsible for the crowds in Amsterdam and few felt concern. In the second year of this fever of emigration, Holland began turning the emigrants back at the border. Towns in Germany along the route were concerned only with moving the travelers out of their city limits.

These two years constituted a veritable epidemic of emigration which not only eased with the famine, but left in Germany a reaction against emigration through the twenties. This reaction was caused by those who did not emigrate, rather than by the ones who did. For the 20,000

---

37 Ibid.
who sailed to America were a small part of the number who tried and either died or returned to their starting points to populate the poor houses and spread tales of woe.\textsuperscript{38} Typical, however, of the emigrant who succeeded in finding passage was the Badenese who sold two of his five children into indenture to pay the family's passage, lost another child on the voyage, became himself indentured, and received such bad treatment that a philanthropic society bought him free, and yet wrote home:

\begin{quote}
Libster Bruder was glaubst du willst du kommen ja ich rathe dir du sollst kommen wir haben schon 100 mal gewünschen wenn nur unser Bruder und Schwestern bei uns wären und ich rathe allen die Wllens sind zu kommen sie sollen nur kommen sie machen ihr leben besser als in Teuschland. [Amerika ist] ein Freyland, es steht unter keinen Bodenda es wird alle 4 Jahre in Kardinal erwählt über das ganze Land, da ist das Land Kandoneis getheilt und eine jede Kandone hat ein President da darf man kein Zins zahlen und nichts geben. ... Wen du in diesem Land wärst und fort arbeiten wie in Teutschland so thatest deinen Kindern gute Zeiten machen.\textsuperscript{39}
\end{quote}

Thousands of letters such as this did not immediately prove incentive enough to overcome the second thoughts

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{38}Ibid., pp. 28-30. \\
\textsuperscript{39}Ibid., pp. 34-35.
\end{flushright}
of those at home, and when emigration rose again to large numbers in the thirties, it was not done in the same desperate manner as in the two years of famine. The German emigrant became a more cautious, prepared and wealthy individual. 40

After the harvest of 1817, food prices fell and generally fair conditions remained in Germany throughout the 1820's. When emigration to the United States began to increase significantly, about 1830, the causes were varied and not always clear. The revolutionary activities in Europe undoubtedly played a part. So did rising food prices and the steady increase of letters from 'America as the number of immigrants grew. The evolution of Germany toward a money economy determined not only the numbers but the types of people who left home. Most of the emigrants were from the lower middle class, i.e., those who existed on trades and home industries which were disappearing due to industrialization and the lowering of tariff barriers between the German states. Added to these were the small landowners whose farms, after

40 Ibid., p. 47.
generations of divided inheritance, were too small to support a family. Former feudal lords, in re-acquiring their estates, were paying higher prices for land than its productivity warranted, and thus aided these small farmers. The people who emigrated between 1830 and 1845 were not, then, the poor and the failures, nor were they the adventurers looking for a new life. Rather, they were the economically independent who saw this independence threatened. They went to America not to start a new way of life, but to continue in the old. 41

It is, of course, impossible to determine all the reasons for emigration in this century. Devastation by war, the relatively clear cause behind most of the previous German emigration, no longer existed, and even if it were possible to isolate all the external factors peculiar to times when and places where emigration occurred, even to the prevalence of the idea--and it is not possible to do this--the question of "cause" would not be exhausted. . . . 42

In 1845, a new impetus developed which caused a huge, rather than a gradual, increase in emigration for

41Ibid., pp. 51-52.
42Ibid., p. 57.
the next two years. The potato rot struck Germany, and famine followed. In addition to the classes of people who had been leaving and continued to leave Germany, the newly developed proletariat joined the emigration. The famine, rising food prices, and lowered transportation costs, all entered into this development. The completely destitute also reappeared in the emigration. A number of towns and localities, alarmed by the rising poor taxes and increasing poor, either encouraged the poor to emigrate or actually shipped their poor to America, usually providing little other than transportation.\textsuperscript{43}

The revolution of 1848 had less effect on emigration than is often assumed. For a time, the volume of traffic decreased slightly. This was probably due to the unrest which made it difficult to liquidate holdings, and perhaps also due to hopes that the revolution would reverse the social trends that caused the middle class to emigrate. The intellectuals and revolutionaries who are so prominent in the history of the era, actually were a minute fraction of the Germans who emigrated after the

\textsuperscript{43}Ibid., pp. 71-76.
revolution. Except for the small decrease, the emigration proceeded much as might have been expected had there not been a revolution. Even the temporary lessening of volume was perhaps due to the end of the potato famine with the harvest of 1847, rather than to the revolution.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 129-132.}

The continued growth of the emigration until 1854 and its decline thereafter can be attributed, like the entire phenomenon, to several causes. The way was ever easier. The cost of transportation decreased; land fragmentation continued, as did the decline of the handicrafts; harvests were again bad for the years 1850 to 1853; the huge number of Germans already in the United States gave more and more Germans at home a definite and safe place to go. Although the southern areas continued to supply the bulk of emigrants, the movement had by mid-century spread to the whole of the German states. The composition remained mostly middle class families, but many single persons, particularly of the poorer classes, emigrated. The decline after 1854 was largely due to a depression in the United States. As a result of this depression, many
of the wealthier emigrants returned home with tales of disappointment and the rising resentment of Americans toward immigrants. Also, the land prices in Germany had declined, due to the decline in population. This encouraged some to stay and prevented others from going. The political troubles in America which led to war were also a factor. Even though the tide of emigration receded after 1854, it was not until the Civil War actually broke out that the number of emigrants dropped below the figure for 1845.  

45

After 1830, conditions of travel continually improved. The mass suffering and death that attended the earlier emigrations largely disappeared, except in those cases of organized emigration which usually had the intention of setting up a colony with a particular political organization. Inadequate preparation often caused hunger and death in such colonization attempts. Most of these attempts were made in Latin America, the most notable in North America being the Mainzer Adelsverein settlement at New Braunfels, Texas. There were several reasons

45Ibid., pp. 159-179. See also Appendix A.
for the improvement of travel conditions. The relative
well-being of most of the emigrants meant that they could
afford and demand reasonable comfort. It also meant that
there was money to be made in the emigration traffic, and
that the port or shipping line had to compete for the
business. Bremen was the first German port to cater to
the emigration trade. While most of the traffic was still
going through foreign ports and Hamburg still had laws de­
signed to keep the poor emigrant out of the city, Bremen
instituted an active campaign to attract the new emi­
grants. In 1832 and 1834 laws were passed to protect the
travellers from misery and swindle, both in port and
aboard ship. Inns were regulated and ships were required
to provide minimum space and rations. Later laws passed
by the Congress of the United States raised the passenger
space requirement even higher. The technical advances of
the period also improved the conditions of the trip.
Reaching a port was quicker because of the railroads, and
the voyage was considerably shortened by the use of steam
and the screw propeller at sea. There were, of course,
other instances of suffering during this period. The re­
curring practice in some areas of Germany of sending
paupers and criminals to America resulted in the occasional arrival of a group of destitute, helpless or irresponsible people. The passenger laws of Congress were perhaps more to discourage this type of immigration than for humanitarian reasons. 46

Very little can be determined about the immigration of Germans into Louisiana during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. The Customs Bureau of the United States began keeping records of immigrants in 1820, but before this date there is no accurate accounting of foreigners landing in New Orleans. Undoubtedly there were Germans among the Americans who began moving into Louisiana immediately after 1803, and others undoubtedly began landing at the port of New Orleans now that Louisiana was no longer a Spanish colony. The first significant numbers of Germans who did so were "redemptionists," or indentured servants. The indentured servant became important in the South when Congress forbade the further importation of slaves after 1807. The price of slaves then rose so high that the servants became more

46 Ibid., pp. 87-102.
The practice of recruiting destitute peasants for this purpose arose in the Rhineland, which once again suffered the hardships of war resulting from the French Revolution. On January 28, 1807, the following advertisement appeared in New Orleans:

À ENGAGER

Une quantité d'Allemands des deux sexes et de tous métiers arrivée de Bremen en Allemands, sur le brick Mississippi, Capitaine Johanssen. Ils désirent s'engager pour payer les frais de leur passage. Ils jouissent d'une santé robuste et ont de bonnes qualités. Le plus grand nombre est en familles. S'adresser au capitaine à bord ou à A. F. Strauss

It should be noted that the agent for this transaction was also a German, or at least of German extraction.

After paying the captain or the agent, a buyer took his servant or servants to the Mayor, before whom a contract was signed. The servant agreed to work as well as possible for a certain period of time in exchange for his passage and adequate food and clothing, which the master was obliged to furnish during the period of

47 J. Hanno Deiler, Das Redemptionssystem im Staate Louisiana (New Orleans: Im Selbstverlage des Verfassers, 1901), pp. 4-6.
48 Ibid., p. 7.
service. For minors, this period of service extended to the eighteenth year for females and to the twenty-first year for males. Adults were required to serve up to seven years. As Deiler remarks, "Der Redemptionist war während seiner Dienstzeit Sklave." The law considered him the same as a runaway slave if he tried to leave before his service was complete, and he could be legally punished for making the attempt. During his period of service he could be loaned, rented or sold. Indeed his lot was often worse than that of the slaves. The Black Code prescribed the minimum food and clothing allowance which a slave must receive; the allowance required for the indentured servant were merely described as "adequate," which lent itself to varying interpretations. That some of the servants found their lot bad enough to attempt escape is shown by advertisements describing runaway Germans from the years 1807, 1818 and 1820.

The largest group from the wave of 1816 and 1817 to reach Louisiana resulted from one of the many swindles

---

49 Ibid., p. 9.
50 Ibid., pp. 8-14.
perpetrated by unscrupulous merchants. Some 1100 persons were crowded aboard a converted warship in Holland, with the intention of sailing to Philadelphia. The ship lost its masts in a storm shortly after leaving port, and returned. Most of the passengers had paid for their passage with the last of their means and were left penniless in the harbor when the owners of the wreck absconded. The Dutch government finally commissioned three ships to take the Germans to New Orleans and indenture them to pay for the passage. The trip took five months, during which the passengers were kept on starvation rations and forced to turn over what few possessions they still had in exchange for extra food. Altogether 597 of the original 1100 reached Louisiana. The first ship arrived on March 6, 1818, when the following advertisement appeared:

Mr. Krahnstover, supercargo of the ship Juffer Johanna, lately arrived from Amsterdam, begs leave to inform the inhabitants of Louisiana, who may want servants of different ages and sexes, labourers, farmers, gardeners, mechanics, etc., that he has brought several Swiss and German passengers, who wished to emigrate to the country, which may prove to be very serviceable in their respective capacities.\(^{51}\)

\(^{51}\) Ibid., p. 17.
The stories of the passengers so aroused the ire of the citizens of New Orleans that the crew of the *Juffer Johanna* could not safely set foot on shore. This incident was responsible for a Louisiana law which regulated the treatment of indentured servants, including the conditions on the ships that carried them.  

About halfway through this period, the German colony in New Orleans attained a considerable size and prominence. Immigration statistics show that not only did the number of Germans landing in Louisiana increase, but also the percentage of the total German immigration into the country. By 1838 the percentage reached 10.8 per cent and remained near this level until 1862, with the exception of three years. Most of the Germans landing in New Orleans continued up the river to the Midwestern farming areas or went to Texas. For those Germans going to the frontier, the river transportation was more convenient and cheaper than traveling overland from the east coast. Enough of the immigrants stayed in

---

52 Ibid., pp. 14-19.

53 Appendix A.
New Orleans, however, to give the city an ever-increasing German element. The larger the colony grew, of course, the more incentive there was for the transients to stay.\(^54\)

A German language newspaper appeared in 1839. During the rest of the period, a number of German papers were published, most of which were short-lived. The *New Orleans Deutsche Zeitung* was founded in 1847, and endured into the present century.\(^55\)

The German churches also date from the 1830's. The first purely German church in the city was Protestant. It was founded by a pastor from the "Reformierte Synode von Ohio" and incorporated in 1830. It was followed by a Catholic church in 1836 and by Lutheran and Methodist churches in 1840. The Catholic church was not strictly German; services were also held in English and French. Eventually a separate congregation was formed and the "Mariahimmelsfahrt Kirche" was built in 1843. Only German


was used in this church.  

Although the majority of the emigrants arrived in fairly good physical and financial condition, enough of them still needed some assistance, if only in the form of advice, that the German people of New Orleans felt it necessary to form a society to fill this need. The "Deutsche Gesellschaft von New Orleans" was conceived in a temporary emergency. A group of survivors from a ship which foundered on the way to Galveston in 1843 was brought to New Orleans. The German citizens collected enough to replace some of the lost goods and to send the emigrants on to their destination. This incident, plus the general concern over the number of newly arrived Germans being swindled and the constant trickle of poor immigrants, caused the New Orleans Germans to form a permanent organization in 1847. The purpose of the Gesellschaft was to protect the immigrant, give him advice, and aid him on his way or find employment for him if he chose to remain in the city. Financial aid was to

---

be made available for those in need of it. After this date, even the immigrant who had no friend or relative in New Orleans could be assured of a welcome by sincere and honest people, rather than by the element which preyed upon the traveler, especially the non-English-speaking one, in every port during the time of the great immigrations. 

It is not possible to determine the number of Germans who remained in Louisiana during the first half of the nineteenth century. While the number and origins of immigrants landing in New Orleans after 1820 were recorded, their destinations were not, and the United States Census does not give national origins until the year 1850. The Census records 18,802 German-born persons in the state of Louisiana in 1850, 11,554 of them in New Orleans. The same figures for 1860 are 24,614 and 19,729 respectively.


Clark estimates for 1860, 30,000 to 35,000 in New Orleans alone.\textsuperscript{59} His figures seem to be based on the number of immigrants helped by the Gesellschaft on the way to other areas in comparison to the total number landing. He apparently assumes that all those not aided in continuing onward remained in New Orleans. The some 5,000 Germans in Louisiana outside of New Orleans were probably scattered, rather than in community groups. This is indicated by the fact that only one German church was founded in another part of the state before this time and it closed after one year.\textsuperscript{60} The Census does not begin to record foreign populations in specific areas of the state other than New Orleans until after the Civil War.\textsuperscript{61}

Although the statistics for this period are to a large degree inexact, it is clear that by 1860 there

\textsuperscript{59} Clark, "The New Orleans German Colony," p. 993.

\textsuperscript{60} Deiler, Kirchengemeinden, p. 124. This was a Methodist Church in Franklin, St. Mary Parish, but was attended by some 26 German families of various denominations. It was founded in 1859 by a Pastor Rengstorff, who returned to New Orleans the following year and was not replaced.

existed in New Orleans a large and viable German community which had developed and retained a German cultural center. There were about thirty German churches, each with a school, two German language newspapers and one German theater. The size of the community, the constant influx of new blood and the use of the language in the churches and school were all factors in the retention of a German culture in New Orleans. Little can be determined with certainty about the smaller settlements in the state, with the single exception of the settlement of Germantown near the present town of Minden.

While the Germans in New Orleans retained a national and cultural identity, it can also be demonstrated that they had become acclimated to the local culture. The


63 Karl J. Arndt, "The Genesis of Germantown, Louisiana," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXIV (1941), 426-433. This colony was founded by a communistic religious sect under the leadership of Bernhard Ludwig, who called himself Count Leon. The members of the sect reached Louisiana in 1834, after having spent three years in New York and Pennsylvania. The descendants dispersed after the communistic organization was abandoned in 1871. See also: J. Hanno Deiler, Eine Vergessene Deutsche Colonie (New Orleans: [n.n.], 1900).
German liberals, the Achtundvierziger, for the most part shunned the South, and those who came exerted little influence. Even before the Civil War, for instance, the readers of the Deutsche Zeitung forced the editor to flee the city after he had expressed Abolitionist views. However, acculturation is perhaps best shown by the fact that the New Orleans Germans supported the Confederacy. It is usually assumed that German-Americans as a whole were anti-slavery, and it has even been maintained that they saved the Union by giving the election of 1860 to Lincoln. The Germans in the North, who constituted the vast majority of Germans in the United States, did enthusiastically support the Union, but their countrymen in Louisiana supplied large numbers of men and two generals to the South. This was true in spite of the fact that most of them were not slave holders and many had

---


disapproved of secession. The obvious conclusion is that the German immigrant, like any other, adopted the American culture and attitudes of the locality where he lived.

C. THE THIRD PERIOD, 1865-1914

During the Civil War, German immigration into the United States did not cease, but did diminish considerably. After the war, it resumed on a large scale. It declined somewhat in the later seventies, but reached a peak of more than a quarter of a million in 1882. After that year it began a slow, steady decline until abruptly ended by World War One.

However, German immigration into Louisiana did not follow this pattern. The Civil War caused a complete halt to the traffic for the duration. After the war, immigration into the state no longer comprised an appreciable percentage of the total German immigration. Some of the

67 Clark, "German Liberals in New Orleans," p. 137. See also Appendix A.
reasons for this change will be discussed in this section, but first the basic causes of the emigration will be examined.

The social and economic development and trends underlying the emigration during the period from 1800 to 1860 remained the principal causes behind the emigration of 1865 to 1914. With the rapid industrialization following the unification of Germany in 1871, these motives were intensified. The emigration remained mostly rural in character, although the center shifted from the traditional southern areas to the agricultural regions of the north and east. In the newly industrialized society where good and bad times were determined by industry rather than agriculture, the peaks of emigration no longer coincided with the bad years, but with the good. The years of the most rapid industrial expansion were precisely the times of maximum pressure on the independent rural tradesmen and the farmers, who still constituted the majority of the emigrants. This period does, however, include a marked increase in the emigration of urban factory workers and a corresponding increase in unmarried emigrants. When the Great Emigration ceased in the last
years of the nineteenth century, the trickle of Germans still going to America was comprised mostly of these relatively rootless people. 68

There were in this period additional factors in the underlying causes for emigration. It is impossible to determine how much of the emigration these factors may account for, but they seem to be significant enough to warrant consideration. The first of these was conscription. In some areas, military conscription had always played a minor role, but after the expansion of Prussia in the sixties and the final unification of Germany in 1871, conscription was introduced to regions that had not known it before. In this way, the wars of the period indirectly caused a part of the emigration, although they were not directly responsible for the movement of large numbers of people. They were not destructive to the same extent that wars in earlier centuries had been, at least destruction did not occur on German soil. 69

Another factor for a few years was the Kulturkampf.

68 Walker, Germany and the Emigration, pp. 175-194.
69 Ibid., p. 180.
The struggle between Bismarck and the Catholic Church undoubtedly influenced the decisions of individuals to emigrate, but it is questionable whether most of these may not have emigrated had there been no Kulturkampf. The priests of the Society of Jesus were the only persons forced to leave the Empire, although the Order of St. Benedict almost had to follow. The available figures for the immigration of German Catholics into the United States are inconclusive. In the 1850's, some twenty-six per cent of the German immigrants were Catholic. During the 1870's, when the Kulturkampf with its restrictive legislation directed toward the Catholic Church was in full swing, the percentage of Catholic immigrants was only twenty-three per cent. In the next decade, during which the Empire and Church reached a conciliation, the figure rose to twenty-eight per cent. It is not certain, then, that the Kulturkampf greatly affected the numbers of emigrants. While the number of Catholic Germans did significantly increase during these years, the percentage

---

70 Deiler, Kirchengemeinden, p. 128.
of the total emigration remained about the same. 71 On the other hand, the bulk of the emigration had shifted from the predominantly Catholic south of Germany to the predominantly Protestant north. 72 It could be concluded that a significant number of Catholics emigrated who would not otherwise have done so. The matter must remain largely speculative, however. In all probability the religious question was, like all the other factors concerning the people who emigrated, only one of many considerations, none of which would have been decisive by itself.

Neither the voyage nor arrival in the United States any longer presented major difficulties or dangers. By the beginning of this period, technical advances had shortened the voyage and therefore lessened the dangers of diet and contagion, which were, however, still present. In the ante-bellum period, laws were passed in America controlling the conditions of passenger ships. Now the German governments began to concern themselves with the


72 Walker, Germany and the Emigration, p. 184.
emigration. The deaths of 108 emigrants on a German ship in 1868, which would have remained officially unnoticed a few years before, caused Bismarck to open negotiations with the United States for the protection of emigrants.\textsuperscript{73} The North German Bund established a commissioner to oversee emigration, and this office was retained in the Reich after 1871.\textsuperscript{74}

Contemporaries did not always appreciate the fact that conditions for emigrants had improved through the years. The poor accommodations of steerage passengers provided the motivation for the formation of one of the most active of the emigrant protective societies, "Der St. Raphaelsverein zum Schutze katholischer deutscher Auswanderer." This society was active in bringing violations of the laws to the attention of the authorities.\textsuperscript{75}

The arrival in the United States had become progressively easier because of the concentrations of Germans

\textsuperscript{73} Ibid., p. 178.
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid., pp. 196-197.
already there. Not only did many of the new arrivals have relatives or, at least, friends to receive them, but those who did not were aided by the Deutsche Gesellschaften which had been established in every port and city with a German community. The primary purpose of these societies when they were founded was to aid the immigrant. In the case of the "Deutsche Gesellschaft von New Orleans," this purpose was altered in the period now being considered. 76

The decrease in German immigration through New Orleans, when it resumed after the Civil War, brought disappointment to the German community in Louisiana, for the number entering the country through this port never again approached the level attained in the late forties and fifties. The Gesellschaft in New Orleans became little more than an employment bureau for the German community. Eventually it adopted a policy of encouraging immigration, but to no avail. In the peak years of 1881 and 1882, the percentage of German immigrants landing in New Orleans fell below one per cent. It never again rose

76 Deiler, Deutsche Gesellschaft, pp. 46-49.
over that figure. 77

The major credit for the landing of almost all immigrants on the east coast is usually given to the building of the railroads. It was now easier and quicker to reach the German-settled areas in the Midwest by rail than by river boat. Even most of the settlers bound for Texas sailed directly to Galveston rather than to New Orleans. In addition to the decline of New Orleans as a port of entry for other areas of the country, there were now far fewer Germans coming to settle in Louisiana. 78

The end of a significant influx of German natives meant the decline and virtual disappearance of a German culture in New Orleans. There were many reasons for the decrease of immigration into Louisiana. It seems reasonable to assume that the unrest and disorder associated with the Reconstruction Era discouraged prospective immigrants and caused them to settle elsewhere. Yet there were more Germans landing in New Orleans in the years

77 Appendix A.
78 Deiler, Deutsche Gesellschaft, pp. 46-49.
immediately after the war than later. The fact that Louisiana was on the route inland in the ante-bellum period undoubtedly meant that some of the immigrants who were headed inland stayed. At least this was true for children whose parents died on the voyage. The Deutsche Gesellschaft was early concerned with the care of orphans. A great many immigrants had been sold passage to New Orleans with the promise that they could there obtain passage to South American ports. When this proved impossible, as was often the case, most of these Germans remained in Louisiana. Both these sources of new citizens disappeared after the war—the former because of the diminished flow of immigrants over this route and the latter because of the decreased emigration to South America and the increased vigilance of protective societies in Germany.

The activities of the various emigrant protective

---

79 Appendix A.

80 Deiler, Deutsche Gesellschaft, p. 55.

81 Ibid., p. 64.

82 Walker, Germany and the Emigration, pp. 177-178; Barry, The Catholic Church, p. 28.
societies in Germany were themselves part of the reasons for Germans not coming to Louisiana. The state had gained a poor reputation for health, due to yellow fever epidemics. The peak years of German immigration through and into New Orleans in the early fifties had coincided with a very high incidence of the disease. Between 1853 and 1855, some 35,000 people died in New Orleans from yellow fever and cholera. The newly arrived immigrants were perhaps more susceptible than the citizens. In at least one instance, the Deutsche Gesellschaft arranged the direct transfer of a shipload of Germans to a steamer which carried them past New Orleans at full speed and on to St. Louis. Because of these epidemics, and perhaps the one in 1867, the emigration societies began to warn against settling in such an unhealthy climate. The "St. Raphaelsverein zum Schutze katholischer deutscher Auswanderer" is an example.


84 Deiler, Deutsche Gesellschaft, p. 94.
The St. Raphaelsverein never encouraged German Catholics to settle in the southern section of the United States, because too many Catholics had lost their faith in the South and the climate was too hot for Germanic peoples. Cahensly [the founder of the society] wrote that his travels in the southern states had convinced him that no German Catholic should consider going there before he had first consulted a St. Raphael agent and learned of conditions in the West and the Northwest. German Catholic newspapers in the United States generally agreed entirely with Cahensly on this point.85

Attitudes such as this naturally disturbed the German community. A Catholic paper in New Orleans disagreed. The editor quotes an "Empfehlungskarte für Auswanderer nach Nordamerika" originating from the Bishop of Augsburg, and then comments:

Man sieht, von New Orleans ist keine Rede; als ob es nicht in direkter Verbindung mit den deutsche [sic] Seestädten stände, aber von hier aus muss die Sache dem Central-Verein vorgetragen werden. Länger gilt nun kein Verschieben.86

This plea, however, went unheeded. The German Catholic Central Verein concerned itself with arriving Germans, and placed agents in New York and Baltimore, but was apparently unconcerned with advising the emigrants before

85 Barry, The Catholic Church, p. 96.
86 Das Echo von New Orleans, 1. Mai 1870.
they left home. 87 That task was left to the St. Raphaels Verein, the attitude of which is noted above. The Catholic societies were by no means alone in not recommending the South. As late as 1903, the Jahresbericht of the "Deutsche Gesellschaft von New Orleans" contained the following complaint:


Gerade aus diesem Grund sehen wir uns gezwungen, gegen das in genannten Leitfaden über den Staat Louisiana Gesagte Protest zu erheben. Es heisst dort (Seite 124): "Vom Süden interessiren den deutschen Ein wanderer in erster Linie die westlich vom Mississippi belegenen Staaten, nämlich Arkansas und Texas, da Louisiana kein dem Deutschen zusagendes Klima besitzt und auch ausserhalb der Grossstadt New Orleans kaum solche beherbergen dürfte." 88

The article refutes this statement by showing that the

87 Barry, The Catholic Church, p. 27.
death rate of Louisiana was comparable to other states and quoting the 1900 census figures of 3106 German-born people in the state outside of New Orleans.  

There were many attempts between 1865 and 1914 to encourage the immigration of Germans to Louisiana. A state Bureau of Immigration was established. The efforts of this bureau were largely directed toward the Northwestern states, but some effort was made to attract European immigrants. A pamphlet, Louisiana, Ein Heim für deutsche Einsiedler, appeared in 1895 and another, Louisiana Einladung an deutsche Landwirte, was published as late as 1907. Private efforts were also made. Der Südliche Pionier, An Organ for the Encouragement of German Immigration to Louisiana was published in 1893. This newspaper had the backing of an enterprising real estate dealer, W. W. Duson, of whom more will be said later. After Acadia Parish, where Duson did business, was sufficiently described and praised, his support was  

---

89 Ibid.  
90 Deiler, Deutsche Gesellschaft, pp. 92-95.
withdrawn, and the paper closed after only two issues.\textsuperscript{91} These issues were distributed by the German-America line or sent to relatives by the Germans in Acadia Parish, several of whom bought over a hundred copies.\textsuperscript{92}

The figures of the Customs Bureau and the Census indicate that these many efforts had at the best a very limited success. Germans never again came to Louisiana in large numbers. The German element in New Orleans attempted to keep alive a moribund German culture and language, but with little success. In 1907, the Tägliche Deutsche Zeitung closed after fifty-eight years of publication. German church services, which had for years been continued on a part-time basis for the benefit of a small number of older people, virtually ceased with the entry of the United States into World War One. When the German language disappeared, the culture also vanished.\textsuperscript{93}

The rest of this study is concerned with the

\textsuperscript{91} Deiler, Deutsche Presse, p. 38.

\textsuperscript{92} Der Südlliche Pionier, 15. Juli 1893.

\textsuperscript{93} William R. Konrad, "The diminishing Influences of German Culture in New Orleans Life since 1865," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXIV (1941), 160-162.
result of one private effort to encourage German immi-
grantion. This effort was, on its own limited scale, suc-
cessful. The German community established as a result
retained to a degree the language and culture of the
homeland, during and after the same period in which they
departed and disappeared in the city of New Orleans.
CHAPTER I

ROBERTS COVE: THE 19th CENTURY

This chapter will describe the circumstances leading to the settlement of Roberts Cove, establish the reasons for the emigration of the settlers, and describe the progress of the settlement in the 19th Century.

The causes of the emigration of any person or group of persons are, except in the time of war or famine, so complex and personal that they are not always clear even in the minds of the emigrants. Inevitably, however, the causes stem from economic and social conditions which have developed over a period of years or even centuries. For this reason it will not be irrelevant to consider the historical development of the area of Germany from which the settlers of Roberts Cove came.

This area is the westernmost part of Germany and lies in the present Selfkantkreis Geilenkirchen-
Heinsberg. It is about 75 kilometers west of Köln and is bordered on three sides by the Netherlands. The towns and villages from which the settlers originated are Geilenkirchen, Nierstrass, Waldenrath, Schierwaldenrath, Hastenrath, Gangelt, Kreuzrath, Langbroich and Millen. In common with the rest of the Rhineland, the Geilenkirchen region suffered the effects of many wars in the course of modern history. During the war between Spain and the Netherlands in the 16th Century the area was occupied by the Spanish. The devastation which then accompanied occupation even by friendly troops naturally occurred. Toward the end of the 16th Century and into the next, a war of succession was waged in the region. The contenders in this struggle were divided by religion, and the war thus served as a prelude to the Thirty Years' War, although the first years of the latter conflict brought a period

---

1 Josef Schmitz, "Der Selfkantkreis Geilenkirchen-Heinsberg," Unsere Heimat (2. Auflage; Geilenkirchen: Selfkantkreis Geilenkirchen-Heinsberg, 1963), pp. 11-12. The name of this region is derived from the fusion of the earlier Kreis Geilenkirchen and Kreis Heinsberg with the area called the Selfkant. The Selfkant is the westernmost part of the present Kreis and ultimately derives its name from the Saeffelbach, a stream flowing from Langbroich westward into Holland.
of respite. From 1635 until several years after the end of the Thirty Years' War, however, the Geilenkirchen area was occupied by the troops of several nations, one after the other. It mattered little to the inhabitants whether the armies belonged to friends or enemies. In either case the troops lived by forage and the resulting deprivation was equally severe. ²

After only a few years of peace, the wars waged by Louis XIV of France spread into the area. From 1676 to 1714 towns and villages were plundered and burned, indemnities were exacted, and troops were quartered and fed by the local population. French armies also entered or passed through the region in the War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748) and in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). Although these armies were not as destructive as earlier ones had been, the resulting unsettled conditions gave rise to bands of robbers which harassed the countryside until 1776. ³

Again only a few years of respite were granted to

² Werner Reinartz und Dr. Sev. Corsten, "Von der Frankenzeit bis zur Gegenwart," Unsere Heimat, pp. 84-86.
³ Ibid., pp. 87-90.
the Geilenkirchen area. As a result of the French Revolution, the region was occupied by the French from 1794 until the fall of Napoleon. The French occupation introduced military conscription in the modern sense. After the Napoleonic Wars, the Geilenkirchen area was ceded to Prussia as part of the former Duchy of Jülich, and the continuation of conscription was thus assured. Although the modern historian writes, "Die Bewohner gewöhnten sich an das preussische Wesen, obwohl mancher höchst ungern als Soldat 'bei den Preussen' diente," the fact that some of the inhabitants a generation later had not become accustomed to "das preussische Wesen" or military service was an important cause of the settlement of Roberts Cove.

While it is impossible to determine precisely the extent to which the centuries of war in the Geilenkirchen area influenced the decisions of these individuals to leave their homes, there is no doubt that a profound dislike for conscription was one of the causes of emigration. It is perhaps significant that an incident from the

\[4\text{Ibid., pp. 95-96.}\]
\[5\text{Ibid., pp. 90-96.}\]
Napoleonic era is still related in the Cove. The grandfather of one of the original settlers was drafted by the French to serve in the Russian campaign. The conscript arrived in eastern Europe only in time to see the remnants of the French army returning from the debacle, whereupon he returned home and managed to avoid further service during the remaining years of French occupation. It is possible that service in the Prussian wars of 1864, 1866 and 1871 heightened the Rhinelanders' dislike for military duty, but it has not been established that any of the families involved suffered any direct losses in these wars. In 1881, however, one of the emigrants did have to leave his country under cover of darkness because he was eligible for conscription.

A second major cause of the emigration of these particular individuals was the Kulturkampf. This religious and political struggle between the Imperial

6 Interview: N. J. Gossen, October 13, 1965. It is interesting to note that Mr. Gossen also mentioned the Thirty Years' War in connection with the emigration of his forebears.

7 Ibid.; Interview: Father Charles Zaunbrecher, August 3, 1965.
German Government and the Catholic Church was probably not a major factor in German emigration as a whole. Because, however, of the particular set of circumstances that led to the settlement of Roberts Cove, the Kulturkampf was one of the principal reasons, perhaps even the decisive one, for the emigration of the main body of settlers there. These particular circumstances center around the person of Father Peter Leonhard Thevis.

Father Thevis was born in the village of Langbroich on February 27, 1837. He was ordained in 1862 in the Diocese of Köln, where he met Archbishop Odin of New Orleans a few years later. In 1867 Archbishop Odin had made one of several trips to Europe for the purpose of securing priests for his diocese. Father Thevis was one of the priests who accepted the invitation and accompanied the archbishop on his return to New Orleans.  

When Father Thevis arrived, the city of New Orleans was experiencing a severe epidemic of yellow fever and cholera. He immediately plunged into his

---

duties as assistant pastor of the second oldest German Catholic Church in the city, Holy Trinity. Later in 1867 he became pastor of the church after the death of the former pastor.  

Father Thevis proved to be a man of many interests and unbounded energy. He founded a school at Holy Trinity and arranged for Benedictine Sisters from Covington, Kentucky, to teach the lower classes. For directing the school and the teaching of the higher classes, he obtained the services of a teacher from Germany. In 1870, the year of the founding of the school, Father Thevis published the first and only German Catholic newspaper in New Orleans, Das Echo von New Orleans.  The interest of the priest in the local German community and in German immigration was evidenced in his newspaper. His complaint about the neglect of New Orleans as a port of entry has been previously quoted. Although no other major article directly concerning immigration appeared in the paper, this may well be due to the fact that only twenty issues were

\[9\text{Baudier, loc. cit.}\]

\[10\text{Deiler, Kirchengemeinden, p. 169.}\]
published. His interest in the German communities in Louisiana, or at least in the Catholic ones, is shown by his beginning a "Chronik der deutschen Gemeinden im Süden" in the issue of July 31, 1870.\textsuperscript{11} Unfortunately only two installments appeared in the newspaper before it suspended publication, and no evidence has been found to indicate that the chronicle was continued independently.\textsuperscript{12}

Father Thevis was not lacking a strong interest in politics, according to the views expressed in the \textit{Echo}. Reconstruction was a "Parteischwindel,"\textsuperscript{13} and the justice meted out by "Judge Lynch" was too infrequent.\textsuperscript{14} A strong pro-German sentiment was expressed in the newspaper in relation to the Franco-Prussian War. This view was the principal cause of its short life. According to Deiler, certain elements of the French clergy were opposed to Father Thevis' plan to found a new German church in a neighborhood which consisted of Germans but was served

\footnotesize
\begin{enumerate}
  \item \textsuperscript{11} \textit{Das Echo von New Orleans}, 31. Juli 1870.
  \item \textsuperscript{12} \textit{Ibid.}, et segg.
  \item \textsuperscript{13} \textit{Ibid.}, 31. Juli 1870.
  \item \textsuperscript{14} \textit{Ibid.}, 1. Mai 1870.
\end{enumerate}

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
by nearby French churches. A French priest exaggerated the stand taken by Father Thevis on the war and even falsely translated an article. Notwithstanding attempts to correct the matter, the following notice appeared in the issue of September 11, 1870:

Einigen Gegnern dieses Blattes ist es gelungen, den Herausgeber bei seiner vor-gesetzten Behörde wegen der Haltung in Beurtheilung kirchlicher und politischer Vorgänge zu verdächtigen.

Leonh. Thevis
N.O. d. 10. Sept. 1870

This statement was accompanied by the announcement that the newspaper would immediately cease publication. Even though the archbishop later gave the priest permission to found his church, publication of the Echo was never resumed.

Although the editorial efforts of Father Thevis were no more successful in increasing immigration to

17 Deiler, Kirchengemeinden, p. 109. The church thus founded was named for St. Boniface. J. Hanno Deiler was brought to New Orleans from Munich in 1872 for the purpose of organizing a school at St. Boniface Catholic Church.
Louisiana than were those of other New Orleans German newspapers, he did become personally responsible for the settlement of the German families at Roberts Cove. The chain of events which led to this settlement began immediately after the priest's arrival in New Orleans in 1867. The beginning of the series of circumstances was his decision to construct a shrine.

Seeing with dismay the toll of death in the city, Father Thevis prayed to St. Roch to intercede for the congregation among whom he labored. He promised St. Roch that if the congregation were spared he would construct a shrine in honor of the saint with his own hands. Though many in Holy Trinity were stricken, there was not one death, according to Father Thevis.18

It was probably on the journey which Father Thevis undertook in order to study the designs of such shrines in Bavaria that he first spoke to his relatives and former neighbors about the opportunities in Louisiana. The exact date of his journey is not recorded, but the year in which St. Roch's shrine was dedicated, 1878,19 coincided with the arrival of the vanguard of the colony. This vanguard,

18 Baudier, The Catholic Church, p. 658.
19 Ibid.
consisting of Peter Joseph Thevis and John Gerhard Thevis, brother and nephew respectively of the priest, and Hermann Grein, reached the United States in 1876, 1877 or 1878, according to different sources. The most probable date is 1878. The three men did not sail directly to New Orleans, but landed on the East Coast because of a letter from Father Thevis warning them of the danger of yellow fever in the city. Since 1878 was the only one of the three years in which the fever was epidemic in New Orleans, the three emigrants probably left Germany in the late summer or early fall of that year.

Peter Joseph Thevis, Gerhard Thevis and Hermann

20 Interview: Father Zaunbrecher, August 3, 1965; Parish Notes, St. Leo's Catholic Church, Roberts Cove, Louisiana. Father Zaunbrecher gives this date as 1878, the Parish Notes as 1876 or 1877. The last dates are contained in the recollections of William Gossen and Gertrude Thevis which form part of the notes. These recollections of the last two survivors of the group which sailed on the S. S. Mississippi were collected at the instigation of the Rev. Gerald Wolbers in 1954. Rev. Wolbers is said to have intended to write a history of the colony, but since 1954 was the last year of his ministry, the history was never written. In addition to these recollections, the Parish Notes contain various data concerning the church and its previous pastors.

21 Interview: Father Zaunbrecher, August 3, 1965.

Grein first proceeded to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where they stayed with John B. Ohlenforst, who had emigrated from the same area a few years before. The immigrants apparently remained in Milwaukee for several months. Their activities during this period are unknown, but in January, 1880, they met Father Thevis in New Orleans.  

At this time a new railroad through the southwestern part of Louisiana was nearing completion. This Southern Pacific Line connected New Orleans directly with Texas for the first time and provided transportation for the prairie region of Louisiana. The railroad not only directed the attention of settlers to this hitherto neglected area, but provided a means to carry their products to market. A resident of that part of St. Landry Parish which later became Acadia Parish founded a real estate company to promote settlement of the area. W. W. Duson's Southwestern Company made its headquarters in the town of Rayne, a small community through which the railroad

\[\textit{23} \text{Interview: Father Zaunbrecher, August 3, 1965; St. Leo's Parish Notes.}\]

\[\textit{24} \text{Velma Lea Hair, "The History of Crowley, Louisiana," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXVII (1944), 1173-1175.}\]
Before the railroad brought new settlers, the sparse population of the countryside around Rayne consisted of descendants of the Acadians. This indigenous population grew some rice, but lived principally from the meat and hides of the many cattle which roamed the prairies wild and unattended. Dairying was unknown and there was no established agriculture.

Father Thevis was familiar with the prospects offered by the new railroad and had seen the advertisements of the Southwestern Company. On January 13, 1880, he accompanied his two kinsmen and Hermann Grein to Rayne where they met W. W. Duson. The party proceeded to Roberts Cove, about three miles north of Rayne. The Germans decided to settle there, but not until they were joined by their families and friends. They returned to New


26 Wm. H. Harris, Louisiana Products, Resources and Attractions (New Orleans: Times Democrat Print, 1881), p. 15.

27 St. Leo's Parish Notes; Interview: Father Zaunbrecher, August 3, 1965; Interview: N. J. Gossen; Deiler, Kirchengemeinden, p. 127. Deiler states, incorrectly, that the three men settled immediately on free government land.
Orleans where Hermann Grein, and perhaps the others, worked for a few months in a brewery. Grein shortly journeyed home to Germany. It is said he went to fetch a bride, but he returned and remained a bachelor. Grein did not return alone, however. He was accompanied by William Joseph and Maria Vondenstein, August Leonards, and Johanna Piepers. Peter Joseph Thevis married Johanna Piepers on March 22, 1881 in Holy Trinity church. The ceremony was performed by Father Thevis with Hermann Grein and August Leonards acting as witnesses. Since the usual bans were waived, it may be assumed that the wedding took place shortly after the bride and her party reached New Orleans. The Germans then proceeded to their new home at Roberts Cove. Thus the first small group of eight immigrants settled on the prairies of Louisiana more than a year after the site had been chosen.

Gerhard Thevis and his uncle Peter Joseph jointly purchased 387 acres of land in the Cove on the north bank

28 St. Leo's Parish Notes; Interview: Father Zaunbrecher, January 15, 1966; Interview: N. J. Gossen.

29 Holy Trinity Catholic Church, New Orleans, Louisiana, Records of 1881.
of Bayou Wikoff. For this land they paid $967.50.\textsuperscript{30}

Since none of the other immigrants immediately acquired property, the Thevises were apparently the wealthiest of the group. In July of the same year Hermann Grein homesteaded 155 acres to the east of the Thevis property.\textsuperscript{31}

Within a month the first family with children joined the colony. On April 27, 1881, Joseph Achten, 47, his wife Josepha, 48, and their children, Matthew, 16, Anna, 8, and Johanna Catherina, 6, arrived in New Orleans on the S. S. Frankfurt from Hanover and proceeded to Roberts Cove.\textsuperscript{32}

It should be noted that the Achten family was the first of the immigrants whose names appear on the immigration lists kept by the Customs Bureau for the Port of New Orleans, and not all of the later arrivals appear on the lists. The exact date of entry into the United States


\textsuperscript{32} United States Customs Bureau, "Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving in New Orleans" (Document Film 54, Louisiana State University Library, Baton Rouge), Roll 63, Frame 98.
cannot be determined for those individuals whose names are not recorded by Customs at New Orleans. There are two possible explanations for the fact the lists seem to be incomplete. First, Deiler maintains that many German immigrants were not recorded by United States Customs at all because they landed upriver from New Orleans in order to avoid a head tax imposed by the city.\textsuperscript{33} The second and perhaps more likely explanation is that immigrants were recorded at the first port of call in the United States, regardless of the final destination. Thus if any of the Roberts Cove settlers were on board ships that did not proceed directly to New Orleans, their names would have been recorded elsewhere.

Encouraged by the beginning of the settlement, Father Thevis traveled to Germany again in the summer of 1881 on vacation. He visited his brother Jacob, the father of Gerhard Thevis, in Langbroich. There Father Thevis met with the heads of several families from the area, read to them tracts and pamphlets describing southwest Louisiana, and told them of the opportunities

\textsuperscript{33}Deiler, \textit{Deutsche Gesellschaft}, p. 43.
The priest "sold them on the idea of coming to the States." While he encouraged them to emigrate, Father Thevis warned them that there was "no religion" where they would settle. He meant, of course, that there would be no German Catholic Church. However, in America the settlers would be perfectly free to establish a church where none existed, while the Kulturkampf in Germany seemed to threaten the existing Catholic Church. To these devout Catholics, then, the Kulturkampf did indeed play a major role in the decision to emigrate, as small as its influence may have been on German emigration as a whole. The relative importance of the religious motive can, of course, be attributed to the fact that it was a priest who provided the immediate impetus for the move. He would naturally have emphasized the freedom of religion in the United States. Since the absence of such freedom had plagued the Geilenkirchen area for generations, this

---

35 Ibid.
argument may have been the decisive one.

Economic reasons for emigration were neither absent nor unimportant. As has been previously noted, the era of industrialization was causing grave difficulties for the small farmer or peasant class. Traditionally some of the children of the farmers were apprenticed to the local independent craftsmen. This was particularly necessary for large families, since otherwise the land would have been so divided by inheritance that a given portion would not support a family. The independent craftsman was at this time rapidly disappearing before the introduction of cheap mass-produced goods, thus eliminating a major relief valve for population pressure. Extra land was not to be had, so the farmer could only hope to try to support an ever-increasing number on the same income. The church had always provided a vocation for a few children, but the number was small at best, and in 1881 even this possibility seemed threatened. There was the possibility of migrating to the cities to work in the factories, but such a course was hindered by the strong attachment to land and family felt by the small landholder. This same attachment created a certain inertia which acted against emigration,
and established the tendency toward the emigration of entire families once the inertia was overcome. In the case of the families who settled Roberts Cove, the dislike of conscription, economic pressure, the Kulturkampf, and, most of all, Father Thevis were the factors which overcame the tendency to remain at home.

The group of people persuaded to emigrate by Father Thevis on his second visit was to comprise the bulk of the new colony. It consisted of the following individuals:

Hubert Wirtz, 35, his wife Lardenella, 40, and their children Alphonso, 4, Bernhard, 3, and Gertrude, Infant.

Lambert Schlicher, 26, his wife Marie, 28, and their child Agnes, Infant.

Christian Hensgens, 41, his wife Regina, 33, and their children: Catherine, 9; Gertrude, 7; Barbara, 5; Regina, 5; and Conrad, Infant.

Peter Gossen, 59, his wife Agnes, 55, and their children: Henry, 23; Joseph, 19; Josepha, 15; and William, 10.

Franz Reiners, 33, his wife Marie, 32, and their children: Peter, 7; and William, 5.

Jacob Thevis, 50, his wife Gertrude, 48,

---

and their children: Gertrude, 18; Alois, 16; Daniel, 10; and Anna, 2.

Nicholas Zaunbrecher, 34, his wife Marie, 36, and their children: William, 13; Theresa, 11; Lorentz, 10; Henry, 8; Karl, 6; and Anna, 3.

John Gielen, 53, his wife Magdelena, 42, and their children: Catherine, 16; Johanna, 14; Juliane, 11; Arnold, 9; Daniel, 6; and Caroline, 3.

Joseph Zaunbrecher, 22. 37

One other family traveled with the group as far as New Orleans, Hermann Tellers, his wife and five children. 38 Tellers remained in the city since his trade was organ building, even though the Customs list identified him as a farmer. There were a number of other errors included in the listing, perhaps reflecting language difficulties. Three of the female children were listed as male, and Bernhard Wirtz is included though he is said to have died at sea. The individual recorded as Joseph Zaunbrecher was actually Joseph Leonards. This error, however, was

37 United States Customs, "Passenger Lists," Roll 64, Frame 124.

38 Ibid.
deliberate on the part of the immigrant. 39

Joseph Leonards was eligible for military service and could not legally leave Germany. On the day the group left the country, Leonards worked in the fields near the border of the Netherlands until dusk, when he abandoned his wagon and slipped across the frontier to join the others. As a precautionary measure he used the surname of his brother-in-law, Nicholas Zaunbrecher, until after his arrival in the United States. 40

After having decided to emigrate in the summer of 1881, the members of the group proceeded to prepare for the move. They liquidated their holdings, arranged for passage, and made a pilgrimage to ask for a safe journey across the sea. In October the various families packed their belongings on wagons and traveled individually to Semplevelt, the Netherlands. Here the families and Joseph Leonards met and proceeded the next day by train to Antwerp, Belgium. After crossing the English Channel, the emigrants again boarded a train for Liverpool, where they


boarded the S. S. Mississippi. The sea voyage lasted about five weeks, since the ship was principally a cargo vessel and sailed first to Spain and then to Cuba. While there was no actual hunger or disease on the trip, the Germans nonetheless suffered from the unaccustomed diet, particularly after the supply of bread which they had brought along gave out and they had to subsist on ship stores. Since the cooking and cleaning was done by the passengers, these tasks were divided so that some of the women prepared meals for the entire group while others did the washing and cleaning. One of the men read a mass daily. The spirit of cooperation engendered by the voyage was continued later, and was needed, in the first difficult years of the settlement. After stopping at Cuba, where the opportunity to buy fresh food afforded a welcome change in diet, the S. S. Mississippi docked at New Orleans on November 17, 1881.  

The immigrants were greeted in New Orleans by Father Thevis and Anthony Frey, a member of the New Orleans German community who owned land in the vicinity

---

41 St. Leo's Parish Notes; Interview: Father Zaunbrecher, August 3, 1965.
of Roberts Cove. Frey informed the Germans that there was plenty of land available there for as little as $3.00 an acre. Two ten-year-old boys, Lorenz Zaunbrecher and Daniel Thevis, remained in the city to receive instruction for communion from Father Thevis. This would, of course, not have been available in Roberts Cove in the German language. The remainder of the group, 44 persons, immediately entrained for Rayne where Joseph Achten waited to take them to the Cove. 42

The immigrants immediately learned how undeveloped was their new home. Since no bridges had yet been built in the area, rain during the day had made the bayou and gullies between Rayne and Roberts Cove impassable. The settlers were forced to spend their first night in a hotel in Rayne. On November 18, 1881, they were able to proceed to Roberts Cove. With their arrival the German colony grew from 13 to almost 60 persons. 43

Although few details of the early months of the colony have been recorded or have survived orally, this

42 Ibid.
43 Ibid.
time is generally said to have been quite difficult. It was only by perseverance, hard work and not a little good fortune that the promises of the tracts promoting immigration were realized. Some of the immigrants were too poor to acquire land immediately, and only a few of those who did were able to buy it outright. On November 28, 1881, Nicholas J. Zaunbrecher purchased 213 acres from Joseph Frey for $640 cash.⁴⁴ A few weeks later, on January 9, 1882, Peter Gossen, Christian Hensgens and Hubert Wirtz each purchased 100 acres, while Franz Reiners bought 50 acres, all from Joseph Frey. Peter Gossen paid cash for his land at the rate of $4.50 per acre, while the other three men bought their land at the rate of $3.25 per acre with down payments of from $40 to $100 and signed notes for the balance.⁴⁵ Thus in the first months of the settlement only six of the eleven families and one of the three single men were able to buy land, even on notes. In addition Hermann Grein had taken out a homestead claim.

⁴⁴ St. Landry Parish, Conveyance Records, Book L-2, p. 211.
⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 443-446.
During the second year of its existence the German settlement received an additional 20 immigrants. In the spring two families arrived: Hubert Thönissen (now Theunissen), his wife Maria Katherina, and their children: Elizabeth, Magdelena, Maria, and John; John Theodore Scheuffens, his wife Marie Catherina, and their children: Agnes and Elizabeth. The two families were accompanied by two single men, Henry Joseph Spätgens (now Spaetgens) and Arnold Jacob. Gerhard Joseph Heinen also arrived early in 1882. Mr. Heinen, evidently a cautious man, came to see for himself what conditions were like in Louisiana. He stayed for about six months and, even though this was before the colony had begun to prosper, he then returned to Germany to fetch his family. Later in the year he was again in the Cove with his wife Maria Josepha and their children: William, Theodore, Joseph, Elizabeth, and Lambertina. Joseph Heinen also brought with him his unmarried brother Peter William Heinen.46

The population of the German settlement was established in these two years. Although a few people came

46 Interview: Father Zaunbrecher, January 15, 1966; St. Leo's Parish Notes.
into the colony in later years, there was never again a significant increase in the population through immigration. Through natural increase, however, there are today several hundred descendants of the original eighty immigrants living throughout southwestern Louisiana.

The first birth in the settlement was that of Peter Joseph Vondenstein on July 26, 1881. Two more children were born in 1882: a son to Lambert Schlicher in May and a daughter to Christian Hensgens in December. In these first two years, however, there were more deaths in the colony than births. The family of Hubert Theunissen had suffered the loss of one child on the voyage from Germany and a second, John Theunissen, died on June 25, 1882, at the age of ten years. On September 25, 1882, Magdelena Gielen experienced a difficult childbirth and died a few days later. Three weeks after birth the child also died. Peter Gossen died in October at the age of 67, and the following month the wife of Jacob Thevis, Magdelena Gertrude, became the fifth fatality in the course of the first few months of the settlement.  

47 St. Joseph's Catholic Church, Rayne, Louisiana, Records of 1881 and 1882; Interview: Father Zaunbrecher,
These deaths perhaps reflect the difficulties of these early years. Since there was no established agriculture in the area, the farmers had no example to follow. The type of farming which they had done in Germany was impossible on the prairies of Louisiana. Corn and cotton were both tried without success. Many of the men had to work in the salt mines at Avery Island during the winter months because of the failure of these crops. It was eventually rice cultivation that became the mainstay of the German settlement, and indeed the whole of the prairie section of Louisiana. In this respect the immigrants were fortunate in being in the right place at the right time. 48

Rice had been grown in Louisiana since the early days of the French colonization. Until after the Civil War, however, it was grown only for local consumption by the small farmer and plantation owner alike. There were

January 15, 1966; Deiler, Kirchengemeinden, p. 124. The passenger lists of the U. S. Customs Bureau give the age of Peter Gossen as 59 in 1881. Deiler gives his age at death in 1882 as 67, and the record of death agrees by giving his year of birth as 1815.

two methods of cultivation. The first, which developed into a major industry soon after the Civil War, was employed along the banks of the Mississippi River. In this method of cultivation, water for irrigation ran in ditches through the slightly higher land along the river towards the low swampland some distance from the river. This method of irrigation and cultivation did not differ from that of the ante-bellum era save in extent. The other method was practiced on higher land such as the southwestern prairies. Since the land lay several feet above the water level in the bayous and rivers, irrigation was not practically possible. Therefore, rice was grown only in the lower sections of land where rain water accumulated enough to make it possible. Because the crop depended entirely on Providence sending enough rainfall at the proper times, it was known as "providence rice." The amount of rice that could be grown in this fashion was naturally limited and unpredictable. By 1880 it was assumed that rice could not be grown profitably away from the Mississippi River and the rice farmers in the alluvial area were
satisfied that they enjoyed a monopoly in the state of Louisiana.\textsuperscript{49}

The structure of the soil on the Louisiana prairies is such that the fields can be flooded with little loss of water, if the water can be gotten to them, since the topsoil covers a hard pan which is almost impervious to seepage. Since the soil is otherwise well suited for the growing of rice, obtaining sufficient water at the proper times was the only obstacle to be surmounted. In the early 1880's various methods came into use to solve the problem of irrigation. Levees were built to hold precipitation on the lower sections of land or to form artificial lakes from which water could be directed into the surrounding fields. In 1885 W. W. Duson introduced the steam pump for the purpose of raising water from the streams and gullies up to the fields. Dams were then built to hold the rain water in the gullies, which were normally dry most of the year. This type of irrigation raised the production of rice in Louisiana from about 40

\textsuperscript{49} Mildred K. Ginn, "A History of Rice Production in Louisiana to 1896," \textit{Louisiana Historical Quarterly}, XXIII (1940), 550-557.
million pounds in 1880 to over 100 million pounds in 1886 and made the state the leading producer of rice by 1890. However, a drought in 1893 and 1894 showed that rice grown by this method was still providence rice in that it depended upon a normal rainfall to fill the dammed gullies. The drought hastened the development of irrigation by means of canals carrying water from the permanently filled bayous and rivers to the fields. These canals were formed by building two parallel levees rather than by digging. Thus the water had to be pumped up only at the source into the canals and could flow from there down into the rice fields. The first of the irrigation canals went into operation in 1894. There were areas which could not be practically reached by canals, including the area around Roberts Cove. In such places the system of dams and pumps continued in use until superceded by deep wells around the turn of the century. 50

While the solution of the irrigation problem made the growing of rice possible, it was the simultaneous development of mechanized farming which enabled the growers

50 Ibid., pp. 569-570.
in the prairie region to cultivate rice more efficiently than those along the Mississippi River. The same land promotion that attracted the attention of Father Thevis in New Orleans began to bring farmers from the wheat fields of the midwestern states to Louisiana shortly after the founding of the German colony. These farmers brought with them the mechanized methods already being used in the cultivation of wheat. The structure of the soil on the Louisiana prairies allowed the use of heavy machinery soon after the fields were drained, whereas the alluvial soil along the Mississippi River precluded the use of machinery. The relatively high cost of field labor in the latter area soon reduced it to a minor source of rice. The mechanization of the rice industry began with the use of the first binder in 1884, and the rapidity of the expansion of rice cultivation in Acadia Parish is indicated by the fact that there were a thousand of these machines in use in the parish within six years.  

While credit is given to W. W. Duson for introducing the steam pump and to the farmers from the Midwest for

---

51 Ibid., pp. 560-563.
the adaptation of machinery to rice farming, members of the Roberts Cove community were among the first to take advantage of the new developments. Nicholas J. Zaunbrecher in particular was an innovator and quick to develop new ideas. Even before the advent of the steam pump, he provided water for his land by creating an artificial lake which was filled by rain water. While it cannot be established that his was the first such lake, the year in which it was built, 1884, places it at least among the earliest, as does the fact that it became a well known feature of the countryside. The crop grown with the aid of Zaunbrecher's Lake was the first rice to be shipped from Crowley Switch to the mills in New Orleans. Nicholas Zaunbrecher has also been given credit for being the first in the area to use a binder and a steam powered thresher, but this does not seem to have been the case. Although his thresher was apparently

52 William Gossen in the Crowley Signal, loc. cit.; Interview: William F. Zaunbrecher.


54 Ginn, "History of Rice Production," p. 560. Ginn accords this honor to one Maurice Bryne.
not the first to be used, it was novel enough to warrant attention.

Mr. N. J. Zaumbreher [sic], one of our enterprising farmers, and who lives about a mile and a half from town, has recently bought a rice thresher, 10-horse power engine and 30-inch thresher. He is said to be one of the largest rice growers in this section of the country, and he has a fine crop of it this year.55

Since his engine and thresher went into operation last week Mr. Zaunbrecher has been kept quite busy threshing rice on the different farms around Rayne. . . .56

We had Mr. Zaunbrecher's Aultman and Taylor Thresher at work on our farm on Monday last, and consider it the best thresher that there is in this section of the country. It will easily clean 25 barrels of rice per hour, is very simple in its construction and does the work thoroughly.57

In addition to these news items, Zaunbrecher advertised that he would thresh for the public at reasonable rates and would "guarantee to thresh more and break less rice

55Rayne [Louisiana] Signal, August 7, 1886. This newspaper later moved to Crowley and from 1891 became the Crowley Signal. In 1898 it ceased being a weekly and became the Crowley Daily Signal.

56Ibid., September 25, 1886.

57Ibid., October 9, 1886.
Thus while his thresher was not the first in the area, it seems to have been the most efficient in 1886, and, since other farmers paid for the use of the machine, it must have been one of a small number at the time. The fact that Zaunbrecher did not advertise the following year would seem to indicate that most of his neighbors followed his example and purchased their own threshers.

The rice that Nicholas Zaunbrecher shipped from Crowley Switch in 1885 had to be carried to Bayou Plaquemine by wagon, transferred to a boat, and reloaded on a wagon for the remainder of the trip to the railroad. With typical energy Zaunbrecher soon eliminated the necessity for this complicated procedure. In 1886 it was noted that "Mr. Zaunbrecher and others have started building a bridge across Bayou Plaquemine . . . [The bridge] will open up travel from Prairie Hayes via Roberts Cove to Rayne." Thus he not only simplified the shipping of

58 Ibid.
59 William Gossen in Crowley Signal, loc. cit.
60 Rayne Signal, August 28, 1886.
his crop, but did a service for the entire area. The concern for roads and transportation was typical of the German community. During the 1890's Hubert Wirtz, Lawrence (Lorenz) Zaunbrecher, William Zaunbrecher, Henry Zaunbrecher, Joseph Leonards, and Dorous (Theodore) Heinen served at various times as road overseers and on committees to lay out new roads. 61 Although they were serving their own interests as farmers in supporting good roads, public spirit was not lacking and was given occasional recognition: "Jeff Murphey was hindered quite a while at the crossing at Cole's Gulley on the public road last week . . . Mr. Reiners and other Germans have to lend assistance almost every day to unwary travelers." 62 "Mr. Reiners was out spading the bad road near his house on Cole's Gulley last week. Old men sometimes have more public spirit than young ones." 63

At the beginning of the expansion of rice cultivation in Acadia Parish, all of the growers had to ship

---

61 Crowley Signal, 1891-1900, passim.
62 Ibid., February 3, 1900.
63 Ibid., February 10, 1900.
their crop to New Orleans for milling as Nicholas Zaunbrecher had done. The cost of transporting the crop often left little profit for the farmer. This situation was changed when the first rice mill opened in Rayne in 1887, shortly to be followed by others.\textsuperscript{64} The German settlers did not take part in the establishment of the first mills, probably because of a lack of capital rather than interest, for within a few years members of the German community began to appear among the stockholders and officers of rice processing companies.\textsuperscript{65} The Germans were primarily farmers and as such their prosperity coincided with the growth of the rice industry. As may be expected, the increasing prosperity of the community was first reflected in the acquisition of land by its members.

It has been noted that only six of the immigrants were able to purchase land immediately and that one had homesteaded. Late in 1882 Lambert Schlicher became the eighth member of the group to obtain his own land when he

\textsuperscript{64}Ginn, "History of Rice Production," p. 562; William Gossen in the Crowley Signal, loc. cit.; Interview: William F. Zaunbrecher.

\textsuperscript{65}Crowley Signal, May 5, 1900, et seqq.
filed a homestead claim on 162 acres to the west of Roberts Cove. The following year Johann P. Schlicher also homesteaded 162 acres in the same area, and August Leonards filed a claim on 114 acres in Roberts Cove.

In 1884 homestead claims were filed by Hubert Wirtz, Peter J. Thevis, Jacob Thevis, Joseph Gossen, Nicholas J. Zaunbrecher, and Joseph Leonards. Only the claim of Jacob Thevis was actually in the Cove, since there was little public land there. The other five

---


67 Ibid., p. 98. On September 17, 1883.

68 Ibid., p. 181. On December 26, 1883. This claim was filed under the misspelled name August Lenards.

69 Ibid., p. 95. On March 18, 1884.

70 Ibid., p. 100. On February 25, 1884.


72 Ibid., Book 3, p. 16. On October 24, 1884.

73 Ibid., p. 16. On November 24, 1884.

74 Ibid., p. 17. On October 6, 1884. Zaunbrecher filed claims on two quarter sections of land. The second claim was allowed as a Timber Contract, under which Zaunbrecher agreed to plant a specified number of trees on the prairie land.
homesteads were located to the north and west of Roberts Cove. In 1886 Nicholas J. Zaunbrecher and Joseph Leonards each purchased an additional 80 acres north of Crowley and Hubert Theunissen acquired his first land when he bought 50 acres in the Cove. In the same year Peter Joseph Thevis and his nephew Gerhard divided the large tract of land which they had jointly purchased in 1881. Gerhard Thevis retained only 56 acres and sold his interest in the remaining 330 acres to his uncle. Joseph Heinen bought 140 acres in Roberts Cove in 1887 and the following year was able to add another 100 acres to it. The only other transaction recorded in 1887 was the purchase of two lots in Crowley by Lambert Schlicher.

---

76 Ibid., p. 32. On May 8, 1886.
The following year Peter Joseph Thevis added to his holdings by purchasing an entire section of 653 acres five miles northwest of the Cove. In the same year William Zaunbrecher became the first member of the second generation to acquire his own land. Zaunbrecher, who had been only 13 when he arrived in the United States, bought 42 acres west of Roberts Cove. The arrival of a new family in the German settlement is noted with the purchase of 161 acres by John Ohlenforst, who migrated from Milwaukee to join his now prosperous friends from the Rhineland.

In 1889 Joseph Spaetgens bought land for the first time, and Lambert Schlicher added to his holdings. Each of them purchased 40 acres, for which they paid cash. The effects of the rice boom can be seen in the prices of $400 and $365 respectively paid by Spaetgens and Schlicher. Land that had sold for $3 to $5 per acre

82 Ibid., Book B, p. 244. On March 1, 1888.
86 Ibid., p. 159. On July 20, 1889.
only a year or two earlier now brought a price of $9 to $10 per acre. In 1890, as in the previous year, only two of the Germans bought property, August Leonards and Joseph Heinen. Leonards bought three lots in Rayne and Crowley.\textsuperscript{87} Heinen's purchase of 264 acres in the Cove for $2200 in cash was an indication of the degree of prosperity achieved by the immigrants within less than a decade.\textsuperscript{88}

The first years of the rice boom reached a peak in 1891.\textsuperscript{89} There were ten land transactions recorded for that year.\textsuperscript{90} In the two years of reduced rice production caused by the lack of precipitation before the problem of irrigation had been fully solved, namely 1893 and 1894,\textsuperscript{91} land acquisitions correspondingly decreased in number, but began to increase the following year. This increase continued through the 19th Century, so that by the time

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{87}Ibid., Book E, pp. 328-329. On July 26, 1890.
\item \textsuperscript{88}Ibid., p. 470. On December 2, 1890.
\item \textsuperscript{89}Ginn, "History of Rice Production," p. 567.
\item \textsuperscript{90}Acadia Parish, Land Conveyance Records, Books E-G, passim. See also Appendix B.
\item \textsuperscript{91}Ginn, "History of Rice Production," p. 567.
\end{itemize}
the German settlement was twenty years old, every family in the original group, as well as some later arrivals, had acquired property.\textsuperscript{92}

Thus it is possible to trace the material progress of the Roberts Cove community and of some of the individual settlers. Nicholas J. Zaunbrecher, for instance, had arrived with the relatively large capital of about $4,000 and was able to begin farming immediately. For the first three years, however, he made no progress nor profit in his attempts to grow corn and cotton. While much of his original capital must have been expended in the first years, Nicholas Zaunbrecher was nevertheless able to establish homesteads on two quarter sections in 1884 on which he built his lake and grew his first rice. From then on he prospered and by the end of the century he owned almost 1500 acres and had become one of the largest producers of rice in Acadia Parish. His eldest son William had also become a successful rice farmer before 1900

\textsuperscript{92}Acadia Parish, Land Conveyance Records, Books I-U, passim. See also Appendix B.
and had a total of over 800 acres of land. Although Joseph Heinen also began with a relatively large capital of some $2,000. Although he began later than did Nicholas Zaunbrecher, Heinen accumulated even more real estate. Before the turn of the century he owned more than 1700 acres, and in addition had helped his son William acquire 260 acres of farm land. The brothers Peter Joseph and Jacob Thevis were also apparently men of some means, since Peter Joseph and Jacob's son Gerhard had been the first of the immigrants to buy land and had paid almost $1,000 for it. Within fifteen years Peter Joseph Thevis had increased his land to more than 1,000 acres; his brother and nephew each owned about 500 acres. Peter Gossen, who died in 1882, had arrived

____________________

94 Ibid., (2nd page).
95 St. Landry Parish, Land Conveyance Records, Book U-2, p. 438; Acadia Parish, Land Conveyance Records, Books E-U, passim; see also Appendix B.
96 Duson, Deutsche Landwirte, (2nd and 3rd pages).
97 St. Landry Parish, Land Conveyance Records, Book S-2; Acadia Parish, Land Conveyance Records, Books B-U, passim. See also Appendix B.
with about $1,500 and had spent a third of it for a 100-acre farm. His three sons worked the farm after his death and by the beginning of the 20th Century, two of them had each acquired an additional quarter section.

Even more striking than the success of the individuals who had started with a sizable capital was that of the remaining immigrants who began with little or nothing. Christian Hensgens, for example, emigrated with six dependents and $300. He used one third of his money for a deposit on a farm soon after his arrival. Although it must have been difficult to meet his mortgage payments for the first three years, by 1896 he was able to buy 322 acres in partnership with one Xavier Dischler. Dischler, an Alsatian, had immigrated with no means in 1886 and had first sharecropped.

98 Duson, Deutsche Landwirte, (6th and 7th pages).
100 Duson, Deutsche Landwirte, (5th page).
102 Duson, Deutsche Landwirte, (5th and 6th pages).
Joseph Leonards had also arrived with nothing at all and had worked as a hired hand for five years. He established a homestead in 1884, and purchased 80 acres in 1886. In 1899 Leonards purchased an additional 210 acres. H. Leo Habetz, who arrived in Roberts Cove in 1893 with 75 cents, began buying an 80 acre farm in 1895 and had doubled that acreage before 1900. These individuals were representative of the whole community of Roberts Cove, all of whom were successful and independent farmers within twenty years after leaving Germany.

Most of the immigrants became American citizens rather early. Preliminary citizenship papers were filed in 1881 by Hermann Grein and August Leonards; in 1882 by

---

103 Ibid., (7th page).
107 Duson, Deutsche Landwirte, (10th page).
108 Acadia Parish, Land Conveyance Records, Book L, p. 673, et seq. See also Appendix B.
Hubert Wirtz and Lambert Schlicher; in 1883 by Nicholas J. Zaunbrecher, Joseph Achten, Christian Hensgens, Peter J. Leonards, and John P. Schlicher; in 1884 by Arnold Jacobs, Joseph Gossen, Johann (John) Gielen, Joseph Heinen, William Heinen, Franz Reiners, Joseph Spaetgens, and Hubert Theunissen; in 1885 by William J. Zaunbrecher; and in 1886 by Matthew Achten and Theodore Scheuffens. Thus within five years, twenty members of the community began naturalization proceedings. The German immigrants began exercising the voting franchise soon after becoming citizens, if not before. According to William Gossen, who had been 10 years old when he arrived, all of the older settlers, including minors, were "naturalized" by virtue of a public declaration of loyalty soon after settling in the Cove, and just before an election. William Gossen later farmed in Texas from 1893 to 1897 and voted for Grover Cleveland while residing there. Only after returning to Louisiana did he learn that he was not a citizen. He and several others who were not yet naturalized were taken to the courthouse by a judge and filed the necessary papers.

St. Landry Parish, Louisiana, "Declaration of Intention to Become United States Citizen," [n.p.].
It was again just before elections, and the judge was running for office.  

By the 1890's the Roberts Cove community had become well enough established to attract the attention of those interested in promoting further German immigration to Louisiana. Der Südliche Pionier stated:


The purpose of the article is obvious. The statement that almost all of the colonists had settled on government land is an exaggeration intended to give the impression that

110 William Gossen in the Crowley Signal, loc. cit.

farm land was still to be had for nothing. That all of
the settlers were "wohlhabend" by 1893 may have also been
an exaggeration, but certainly a slight one. In keeping
with the tradition of promoters of immigration, the
Pionier stressed the healthy climate. Among the several
paragons of good health in Acadia Parish described in the
paper was one of the Germans in Roberts Cove:

Herr Scheufens [sic] war drüben brustkrank,
und er ist überzeugt, dass, wäre er in Deutsch-
land geblieben, er nicht mehr da drüben, sondern
da droben sein würde. Jetzt ist er so gesund,
dass er 25 Acker mit Reis und 10 mit Mais allein
bestellt und nach Noten singt, schreit und
schwadroniert.  

Two years after the publication of Der Südliche Pionier a
brief description of the colony appeared in an immigration
promotion pamphlet written by J. Hanno Deiler.

Im Januar 1880 [sic] veranlasste der
Pfarrer Leonhard Thevis von der deutschen
katholischen H. Dreifaltigkeitskirche in New
Orleans seinen eben von Deutschland einge-
wenderten Bruder und seinen Neffen Gerhard,
in Robert's Cove, zwei Meilen von Rayne,
Regierungsland zu belegen und sich darauf
anzusiedeln. Bald folgten noch andere Fami-
lien aus der alten Heimat (bei Trier), [sic]
und heute besteht die "St. Leo" getaufte,
blühende und ausschliesslich deutsche Colonie
aus circa 160 Seelen. Die Gemeinde besitzt

112 Ibid.
Eine schöne Kirche und eine deutsche Schule, welche beide unter der Leitung der Benediktinerpaters von St. Meinrad, Ind., stehen. Da doch ziemlich viel Land in der Nähe zu haben ist, hofft die Colonie auf baldigen Zuzug deutscher Katholiken.\textsuperscript{113}

Here as in the earlier article, the impression is given that all of the settlers had homesteaded free land and that such land was still available. The location of the former home given here is inaccurate. Trier is about 100 miles removed from Geilenkirchen.

While the German settlement thus drew the attention of German-Americans elsewhere in the state, it was little noticed by its immediate neighbors. Any mention of immigrants in the local newspapers referred to those farmers migrating from the midwestern states.

Foreign immigration was ignored or, in one instance, denied:

\textldots so have the prairie lands of Acadia and Calcasieu, through the labors of thrifty and industrious new comers become the first in the commonwealth; enterprise and energy has [sic] converted a cattle range into smiling and remunerative farms; the same energy has dotted the broad and far-reaching prairies with towns and homes where but a few years ago long horned

\textsuperscript{113} J. Hanno Deiler, \textit{Louisiana. Ein Heim für deutsche Einsiedler} (New Orleans: n.n., 1895), p. 44.
cattle held undisputed sway. Nor was all this brought about by foreign immigration, but by the very best class of American citizens, men who, dwelling in Northern homes, had their attention called to Louisiana through the medium of printer's ink.\textsuperscript{114}

That the German community remained inconspicuous while at the same time it prospered and increased in number, was due to the fact that it was a socially self-contained unit. The immigrants maintained their own language and customs, married other members of the group, and, most importantly, established their own German Catholic Church and School.

When the settlers of Roberts Cove first arrived in their new home, they had to travel to Poupeville, several miles south of Rayne, for church services.\textsuperscript{115} A few months after their arrival, the Germans helped to move the church building to Rayne. While this location was somewhat more convenient and a mass was occasionally held in the Cove by an itinerant Jesuit from Grand Coteau, it

\textsuperscript{114}Crowley Signal, September 3, 1894.

\textsuperscript{115}Interview: N. J. Gossen; Interview: Father Zaunbrecher, August 3, 1965.
was nevertheless unsatisfactory for the colonists. It was to be expected that a group of people who were such devout Catholics that their faith played a major role in their deciding to emigrate would hope to establish a church in which they could worship in their native tongue. That this hope was soon realized was due partly to Father Thevis and partly to a chain of events that began in the first years of the Kulturkampf.

The Jesuit order was expelled from Germany in 1872 and the Order of St. Benedict was soon threatened with the same fate. Because of this threat, the Benedictine monastery of St. Boniface in Munich sent Father Aegidius Henne mann, O.S.B., to the United States in 1876 for the purpose of locating a new home for the monastery. Father Henne mann went first to the Swiss-American Benedictine St. Meinrad Abbey in Indiana. After two unsuccessful attempts to found a new institution in Indiana, the monk traveled south to St. Benedict, a newly established branch of St. Meinrad Abbey in Arkansas. After serving as Vicar-General to the Bishop of the Arkansas Diocese and Rector of the

Cathedral in Little Rock from 1878 to 1883, Father Henne- 
mann once more set out to find a location for his home 
monastery. He proceeded to New Orleans where he met 
Father Thevis. Thevis told the Benedictine of the ex- 
istence of the German community at Roberts Cove and con- 
vinced him that it would be an ideal location for a German 
monastery, school and college. In the spring of 1883 
Father Hennemann went to the Cove and purchased 640 acres 
from the father-in-law of W. W. Duson for the sum of 
$2500. The land included a house which served as both 
rectory and chapel and another building which served as 
a school house. Father Hennemann had brought with him 
Brother Johann Kögl, who was to conduct the school. For 
reasons not now clear, since the records of Father Henne- 
mann's short ministry have been lost, the school was al- 
ready closed in April of the same year.117

117 Deiler, Kirchengemeinden, pp. 128-129; Baudier, 
The Catholic Church, p. 452; St. Landry Parish, Land Con- 
veyance Records, Book 0-2, p. 404; Albert Kleber, History 
of St. Meinrad Archabbey 1854-1954 (St. Meinrad, Indiana: 
Zaunbrecher, January 15, 1966. All of these sources are 
quoted because there are some discrepancies between them. 
Baudier gives 1880 as the year in which Hennemann pur- 
chased the land and Deiler gives 1883. The date in the 
Conveyance Record, April 22, 1883, shows Deiler to be
Thus the German colony, only two years after its beginning, had not only acquired a German priest, but also the prospect of seeing a German monastery, a German school, and perhaps even a college built in the new community. However, all of these prospects were not to materialize.

In the fall of 1883 Father Hennemann went to New Orleans to arrange for the transfer of the Monastery of St. Boniface to Louisiana, only to learn that the monastery had no intention of moving. The Bavarian Court had successfully interceded on behalf of the Order of St. Benedict. Broken in spirit and suffering from tuberculosis contracted in Arkansas, Hennemann returned to his congregation in Roberts Cove. By December he was again in New Orleans, where he died on Christmas Day, 1883.118

Before his death Father Hennemann had willed his

correct. Kleber gives the date of purchase as "about the beginning of 1883," but errs in saying that the land was purchased from the New Orleans and Texas Railway. The Conveyance Record lists the seller as Paul J. Manouvrier, whom Father Zaunbrecher identified as the father-in-law of Duson.

118Deiler, Kirchengemeinden, pp. 128-129; Kleber, loc. cit.
property to Father Thevis. Since the land was mortgaged to its full value, Father Thevis accepted the responsibility for the debt only because he still hoped to see the establishment there of a church and school, and perhaps even a monastic institution or college. The priest first wrote to St. Boniface informing the monastery of Hennemann's death and of the circumstances concerning the property. The German monastery, however, had no interest in establishing an American branch nor any intention of assuming the debt. Father Thevis then wrote Abbot Fintan of St. Meinrad, who had been the host and friend of Father Hennemann. In November, 1884, the abbot came to Louisiana to inspect the property in Roberts Cove. Although he did not intend to establish a branch institution in Louisiana immediately, Abbot Fintan decided to relieve Father Thevis of the responsibility for the

119 Deiler, Kirchengemeinden, p. 129; Kleber, St. Meinrad, p. 452; Baudier, The Catholic Church, p. 452; Parish of Orleans, Civil District Court Records, Case No. 10226, July 21, 1884. Deiler says that St. Boniface, which never actually owned the land, sold it to St. Meinrad. Baudier says that Hennemann sold it to Thevis. Kleber says that Hennemann bequeathed the land to Thevis, and the court record of the probated will proves him correct.
mortgage in consideration of their deceased mutual friend. He accordingly bought the property in December, 1884, for the sum of $3,042.  

The abbot was favorably impressed by the German colony and agreed to provide a priest for them. He accordingly returned to the Cove in March, 1885, and brought with him Father Sylvan Buschor and Brother Clement Seichert, both of whom remained to found a new parish.  

The church was legally incorporated on March 27. It was the task of the priest to choose a name for the parish, which had been unofficially named after Father Hennemann. Father Buschor chose to name the parish after St. Leo the Great (440-461), thereby also honoring the contemporary Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903). His choice posed a problem for his parishioners. Now that they had their own church and German priests, the farmers wanted to celebrate the name day of their patron saint with parish wide festivities, as had been the custom in Germany. The name day of St. Leo the Great, however, fell in April, a

\begin{footnotes}
\item[120] Kleber, St. Meinrad, pp. 360-361.
\item[121] Ibid., pp. 344-345.
\end{footnotes}
very busy time of year. So the parishioners asked the priest to reconsider his choice of a patron saint. Since Father Buschor still wanted to honor Leo XIII, he consulted his calendar of saints and found another St. Leo. Thus the parish came to be named for Pope Leo IV (847-855), whose name day is July 17, a conveniently unhurried season for the rice farmer.  

As was usual for German Catholic immigrants, the establishment of a church school was second only to the church itself. Since the short lived school of Father Hennemann had been held in a building some distance from the chapel-rectory, Buschor suggested the possibility of a more convenient location for the new school. A number of the men volunteered to move the same building to a site near the rectory. The idea was probably engendered by the moving of St. Joseph's Church from Poupeville to Rayne some three years before. The building was moved on July 20, 1885, and the workers were rewarded with a keg

__122__St. Leo's Parish Notes. The community is sometimes referred to by the name of the church, especially by Deiler. Local inhabitants of Rayne often call it "German Cove" or "German Settlement," even today.
of beer donated by Father Buschor.\textsuperscript{123} The school was soon open year round except for harvest time.\textsuperscript{124} Early the following year church services were moved to the school building because the chapel in the rectory had become too small for the growing congregation.\textsuperscript{125}

A number of small missions throughout the countryside which had previously been served by Jesuits from Grand Coteau or by the assistant pastor from Rayne were gradually turned over to Father Sylvan. Because of these extra duties the priest was joined by Father Felix Rumpf and Brother Francis Bessler in 1888. Father Buschor thereafter visited the outlying districts while Father Rumpf, with the aid of the brothers, took care of the parish of St. Leo.\textsuperscript{126} Meanwhile Abbot Fintan decided that the time had come to establish a branch in Louisiana.\textsuperscript{127}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{123}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{124}Deiler, \textit{Kirchengemeinden}, p. 129.
\textsuperscript{125}St. Leo's Parish Notes.
\textsuperscript{126}Kleber, \textit{St. Meinrad}, p. 345.
\textsuperscript{127}Ibid., p. 360.
\end{flushright}
The abbot again visited Roberts Cove in March, 1889. He was impressed with the progress and possibilities of the community, so he continued on to New Orleans to discuss with the archbishop the establishment of a seminary to serve the archdiocese. The archbishop was not enthusiastic about the location, since he considered it to be too distant from the city. Father John Bogaerts, later Vicar General of New Orleans, offered to sell the abbot for $9,000 a 2,000 acre tract near Gessen, Louisiana. The abbot was told that this was wooded land much nearer the city, so he purchased it without having inspected it for $8,000. Thus the Benedictine Seminary of St. Joseph came to be located at Gessen instead of Roberts Cove, even though the site proved to be swampy and so unhealthy that the seminary was moved in 1901 to its present location near Covington, Louisiana. 128

After St. Joseph's was established in 1889, the parish of St. Leo became essentially a mission administered from there instead of from St. Meinrad. In 1890 Father Rumpf left the Cove to teach at St. Joseph's. The

128 Ibid., pp. 361-364.
following year Father Buschor retired to St. Meinrad and was replaced by Father Ziegenfuss, who was sent to St. Joseph's in January, 1892, when Father Rumpf returned to take charge of St. Leo's parish. As late as 1892 the prior of St. Joseph's at Gessen still hoped to utilize the property in Roberts Cove for something like the original purpose. The prior, Father Luke Gruwe, was so impressed with the German community that he suggested to the abbot that, since a Diocese of New Iberia was being created, Roberts Cove would be the proper location for a Benedictine monastic foundation to serve the new diocese. He further suggested that, if an independent monastery could not be established there, perhaps a monastic farm or a rest home for retired professors could be. Although Father Luke did not persuade Abbot Fintan to adopt any of his suggestions, he did move the Germans in Roberts Cove to build their first church. The prior called a meeting of the men and found them concerned about whether the Benedictines would continue to minister to the community. Although the monks had already been there for seven years,

129 Baudier, The Catholic Church, p. 549.
the parishioners had had four different priests in that period. They had twice been given reason to believe that a monastery would be established there and had twice been disappointed. Father Luke preached to them on the subject of building a church and promised them Benedictine, and thus German speaking, priests for the church as long as their children and children's children formed a community. After this promise the response was enthusiastic, all doubts and fears were forgotten. Although half of the men had not attended the meeting because of high water, those present pledged 5 per cent of the year's rice crop to the building fund. The prior estimated that this would amount to fifteen cents per sack or about $1500. This would be enough for accouterments as well as the building, especially since labor and lumber were also offered.  

The contract for the church building was made under the direction of Father Rumpf after he had returned to the Cove in 1893. A building committee consisting of the priest, Joseph Heinen, Peter Joseph Thevis, Christian

---

J. Hensgens, and Nicholas Zaunbrecher signed a contract on November 8, 1893. It was specified that the wooden building should be 30 feet wide, 60 feet long, and 22 feet high, and should rest on a brick foundation. The tower was specified to be 10 feet square, to rise to a height of 54 feet 11 inches and to be topped with a 13 foot octagon roof and a six foot cross. The contractor undertook to complete the building within three months for the sum of $550. The church was completed sometime in 1894. The first wedding performed in the building was that of Lawrence Zaunbrecher and Gertrude Hensgens on January 23, 1895. By an odd coincidence this same couple were the last two people whose funerals were held in the church before it was replaced by a brick structure sixty years later.  

The establishment of St. Leo's Church provided a center or focal point for the German community. Roberts Cove is not a town, but rather a collection of farms and homes scattered over an area of several square miles. Without the presence of a German church, it is doubtful

\[131\] St. Leo's Parish Notes.
that the German community would have survived as a social unit for many years. The settlers who had homesteaded on public land outside of Roberts Cove had to live on the land for five years in order to validate the claims. Some maintained two homes for this period, but all of them returned to Roberts Cove on the weekends to attend mass at St. Leo's. Later when the second generation established their own farms, they followed the same pattern. Every weekend then became an occasion for family reunions, so the church served to keep strong the ties of kinship.  

Even more effective than the church in maintaining the German language in the second and third generations was the church school, where instruction was in Standard German, although most of the children spoke a Low German dialect at home. Before the administration of Father Placidus Zarn, from 1897 to 1907, the school had been taught by the attendant priest and his aids, when there were any. Father Zarn did much to improve this situation. Through family connections in Indiana, he was able to obtain the services of Benedictine sisters to staff the

school. He had a convent built for the teaching sisters as well as a new school building.\textsuperscript{133}

As the 19th Century drew to a close, the population of the community had increased considerably. There had been a few new immigrants. Joseph Schaffhausen and H. Leo Habetz joined their former neighbors in 1892 and Habetz's brother August followed four years later. John Berken brought his family of six to Roberts Cove in 1892 from Saxony on the advice of his brother-in-law John Cramer, who had lived in Lafayette for a number of years before he, too, moved to the Cove in 1894. A number of German-Americans from the surrounding area became associated with the community. The families now in the vicinity of Roberts Cove descended from this group bear the names Frey, Bollich, Ronkartz, Klein, Olinger, Schneider, Dischler, Neu and Schatzle. These people had come from the Midwest as a result of the early promotions of rice farming, from New Orleans through the Fabacher colony,\textsuperscript{134}

\textsuperscript{133}Baudier, \textit{The Catholic Church}, p. 452; Interview: Father Zaunbrecher, March 8, 1966.

\textsuperscript{134}Robert T. Clark, Jr., "Reconstruction and the New Orleans German Colony," \textit{Louisiana Historical Quarterly}, XXIII (1940), 513-514. This colony was established

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
or from Indiana through the monks from St. Meinrad Abbey. The increase in population represented by these names was not large, since most of them stem from single individuals who married members of the community. It was principally through natural increase that the population doubled in less than twenty years. Deiler gives the population as 151 in 1894, and there were over seventy births compared to about fifteen deaths in the community between 1881 and 1900.

By the beginning of the 20th Century, the German community had achieved both material and spiritual success. All of its members had participated to a greater or lesser degree in the prosperity of the booming rice shortly after the Civil War by Germans from New Orleans under the guidance of Joseph Fabacher, who himself stayed in the city. It was located in St. Landry Parish near the present site of the town of Eunice.


136 Deiler, Kirchengemeinden, p. 151.

137 St. Leo's Catholic Church, Records of 1883-1900; St. Joseph's Catholic Church, Records of 1881 and 1882. The exact figures cannot be determined, since Father Hennemann's records have been lost.
industry. They had built a church and had been fortunate enough to obtain German-speaking priests to minister to them. They also supported a school in which their children learned the language and religion of their fathers. They were thus able to maintain a separate cultural entity while at the same time participating in the political and economic life of their adopted country.
CHAPTER III

ROBERTS COVE: THE 20th CENTURY

This century has seen both the most prosperous period of German life in Roberts Cove and the gradual disappearance of many of the German aspects of the community. The settlement enjoyed its best years as a distinctly German colony in the period before World War One. The war did not, as in the case of the New Orleans German community, bring an end to an already moribund German-American society,¹ but it did accelerate the natural process of the disappearance of the German language and other aspects of German culture. However, the loss of the German language has not automatically brought about the disappearance of all traces of German culture, as it did in the New Orleans community.² This chapter will

²Ibid., p. 161.
describe the Roberts Cove community before, during and after World War One, examine the process of the decline of its German character, and enumerate those elements of German culture that still remain.

A. THE PRE-WAR PERIOD

The church and school continued to serve as the center of the community and were the major factors in the preservation of the German language and customs. In 1907 Father Placidus Zarn was recalled to St. Joseph's, which had become an abbey in its own right and had moved to Covington, Louisiana. He was replaced by Father Leo Schwab, O.S.B. While the Swiss-American Benedictine Order thus continued to furnish a pastor for the church, the Benedictine Sisters gave up control of the school in the same year that Father Zarn was recalled. The sisters officially left because of a shortage of personnel. However, they may have felt that their obligation was more to Father Zarn than to the parish, and at least one member of the community attributed their departure to a lack of

---

*Baudier, The Catholic Church, p. 549.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
interest on the part of a new administration at the con-
vent. The community was not yet ready to give up its
German school, however. Private teachers were employed
to replace the Benedictine Sisters. At the same time,
children from the German community were beginning to at-
tend public schools, either to continue after the seven
or eight grades taught at St. Leo's school or because the
distance from their homes to the Cove was too great to
begin with. Even before the present century some of the
farms were closer to Crowley than to Roberts Cove, and the
increasing population continued to spread out from the
original settlement. A few children, especially those
intended for the priesthood, received a higher education
in academies or colleges away from home. There are no
indications that any of the children were sent to Germany
for an education.6

4 Letter from Joseph Heinen to Rt. Reverend Abbot
Athanasius Schmitt of St. Meinrad, May 7, 1907 (K-22 in
Archive of St. Joseph Abbey, Covington, Louisiana).

5 Interview: Father Zaunbrecher, January 15, 1966;
St. Leo's Parish Notes.

6 Interview: Father Zaunbrecher, January 15, 1966;
Sister Conception, now in retirement, taught at St.
Although St. Meinrad Abbey continued to control the church, any possibility of the establishment of a monastic institution in Roberts Cove definitely ended. St. Meinrad had already been leasing most of its land in the Cove to farmers for a decade\(^7\) when the decision was made in 1902 to sell the land under lease. Joseph Heinen agreed to buy some 600 acres for $20 per acre. He paid the abbey $4,000 the first year and promised to pay the remainder in two yearly notes.\(^8\) However, a dispute over boundaries between St. Meinrad and an adjacent property holder, Jacob Thevis, delayed consummation of the sale and denied use of the land to Heinen in 1903. The dispute was settled by a court-appointed surveyor in the same year.\(^9\)

 Michael's Catholic School in Crowley in the period between the World Wars. She taught many children from the Cove who finished their secondary education in Crowley. She also visited often in the Cove.

\(^7\) Deiler, *Kirchengemeinden*, p. 137. According to Deiler, the land was rented in the same year that the responsibility for St. Leo's was transferred from St. Meinrad to St. Joseph's, i.e., 1896.

\(^8\) Sales Contract, March 18, 1902 (In archive of St. Joseph's Abbey, Covington, Louisiana).

Joseph Heinen completed payment in 1906, although the transfer was not recorded until the following year.\(^\text{10}\)

Actually, the elder Heinen retained for himself only the 54.76 acres nearest the church. His sons, Theodore and Wilhelm, received 58.71 and 288.42 acres respectively.

It was perhaps indicative of the degree of linguistic isolation maintained by some of the older members of the community that Joseph Heinen requested that the act of sale be written in German so that he could read it and then translated for recording.\(^\text{11}\)

The relative isolation implied by such uncertainty with the English language was not shared by other members of the German colony, especially the younger ones. Some of the German-Americans from Roberts Cove entered into local and state politics. In 1904 Joseph Leonards was elected to the Parish School Board, and he and Lawrence Zaunbrecher successfully ran for election to the Parish


\(^{11}\) Letter from Joseph Heinen to Rt. Reverend Schmitt, March 5, 1906 (K-20 in Archive of St. Joseph Abbey, Covington, Louisiana).
Democratic Committee. In 1908 William Heinen, Leo Habetz, William Zaunbrecher, Lawrence Zaunbrecher, and Carl Zaunbrecher were among the reception committee which greeted the Democratic candidate for governor upon his arrival in Crowley. William Heinen and Lawrence Zaunbrecher were members of the Democratic Executive Committee the same year, and William Heinen and William Zaunbrecher were among the 18 delegates that the committee sent to the state Democratic Convention with instruction to support William Jennings Bryan. Lawrence Zaunbrecher was a delegate to the state convention in 1912. Various other members of the German community served in minor political posts such as deputy sheriff and poll commissioner, but the most successful politician from Roberts Cove was William Joseph Zaunbrecher.

William J. Zaunbrecher was, as mentioned above, a

12 *Crowley Daily Signal*, January 30, 1904.
delegate to the state Democratic Convention in 1908. In the same year, he won election to the parish governing body, the Police Jury. In 1916 he ran for election to the Louisiana House of Representatives. In a primary in which the two men receiving the highest number of votes were nominated as the Democratic candidates for the two seats being contested, Zaunbrecher ran second in a field of four. He received 1,713 of 6,282 votes cast. As the Democratic candidate, he was, of course, elected to the office. A rather curious biographical sketch of the new Representative was published the same year.

W. Y. [sic] Zaunbrecher came to America from Germany, when a boy of 14 years, with hardly any knowledge of the English language, and no one to push along his career in the new and strange country. Yet this plucky boy has surmounted the obstacles, overcome lack of capital by earning and saving for himself, and is known as one of the large land owners of his native parish, as well as one of its substantial farmers and business men. From obscurity, a stranger in a strange land, he has now come into the ownership of 1300 acres of the best land in Acadia Parish, and is a director in the State Bank at Rayne, Louisiana, from which place he was elected to a seat in the General Assembly. Surely this is

\[17\] Ibid., May 30, 1908.
\[18\] Ibid., February 5, 1916.
another instance of German pluck, if not preparedness. His preparedness was only such as a friendless boy could provide for himself, but the results accomplished shows pretty conclusively that it was substantial.\(^{19}\)

It is not known whether the inaccuracies in the sketch were the responsibility of Zaunbrecher or of the author's imagination. Probably the implication that Representative Zaunbrecher arrived in the United States alone and penniless is merely due to the political nature of the publication. The fact that his father was the wealthiest of the Roberts Cove settlers when they immigrated and one of the leading rice growers in Acadia Parish by the time William Zaunbrecher reached his majority may not have appealed to as many voters as did the description above.

As a representative, Zaunbrecher reflected the progressive attitude toward agriculture that has characterized his family by supporting the tick eradication program then being introduced in Southwest Louisiana. This support probably gained him as many enemies among his constituency as friends, since many of the farmers

feared the compulsory dipping of cattle in a solution of lead arsenate \( \text{PbAsO}_4 \). His attitude towards prohibition, a major issue at the time, was undoubtedly a product of his German background. While Zaunbrecher served on the Police Jury, Acadia Parish had tried local prohibition for one year. He had then succeeded in having repealed an ordinance which gave a reward for information leading to the conviction of anyone selling liquor. In the same year, 1910, prohibition in the parish was itself repealed by a majority of 70 votes in a total of 2,200 cast. Half of the majority was supplied by an overwhelming 39-4 vote in favor of repeal in the Roberts Cove ward. In 1916 Representative Zaunbrecher proposed a measure which gave a clear indication of his opinion of the sincerity of prohibitionists.

Representative Zaunbrecher [sic] announced last night that he will introduce a bill requiring all prohibitionists in the state to register with the clerks of the district courts and with the registrar of voters in the parish of Orleans. The bill will

---

20 Interview: N. J. Gossen.


22 Ibid., November 12, 1910.
prohibit a prohibitionist from buying, receiving or drinking intoxicating liquor, and liquor dealers or saloonkeepers will be prohibited from selling intoxicating drinks to a prohibitionist. Violation of the act will be made a misdemeanor, punishable by fine or imprisonment in the parish jail.  

The proposed legislation was never actually introduced into the General Assembly. It has not been possible to determine whether Zaunbrecher was dissuaded or whether he never really seriously considered doing so. He actually introduced only two bills in his first session. One dealt with the shooting of quail, the other with the issuance of prescriptions, and both were tabled. The role of Representative Zaunbrecher in the sessions of the legislature which occurred after the entry of the United States into World War One will be discussed later.

In the first decade of the Twentieth Century, the Louisiana Bureau of Agriculture and Immigration conducted

---

23 Ib. May 27, 1916.


25 Ib., p. 134.

26 Ib., p. 152.
the last campaign to entice German immigrants to Louisiana. Reverend Louis Voss, a member of the "Deutsche Gesellschaft von New Orleans," was commissioned in 1906 to interview editors in Germany and Switzerland with the intention of persuading them to print the articles which he was to write about opportunities in Louisiana. The German editors had little interest in encouraging emigration. The only newspaper to accept his articles was published for Germans already in other countries. Nevertheless, Voss traveled around the state the following year to gather material for the articles and for a pamphlet in which the Roberts Cove community was described as "die 'St. Leo' getaufte, blühende und ausschliesslich deutsche Kolonie aus zirka 160 Seelen." Probably as a result of the state's campaign, the W. W. Duson Company

27 Louis Voss, History of the German Society of New Orleans (New Orleans: Sendker Printing Service, Inc., 1927), p. 68. It is interesting that in this publication Voss noted that Nicholas J. Zaunbrecher had been pessimistic about the chances of new immigrants succeeding, since the price of land was so high. This pessimism was not mentioned in the pamphlet of 1907.

renewed its efforts to attract farmers to Acadia Parish. Duson advertised in midwestern German newspapers and had a promotion pamphlet printed in German. The promotion conducted by Voss resulted in some individuals immigrating to Louisiana from South Africa and South America, though none of them joined the Roberts Cove community. A few midwestern German-Americans visited the Cove as a result of Duson's advertisements, and some may have settled in Acadia Parish. However, the only family to join the Cove community was that of John Bischoff, who came as a result of meeting Lawrence Zaunbrecher and William Heinen in Germany.

Although Duson's efforts were unsuccessful, his pamphlet illustrates the material success of the Roberts

29 *Crowley Daily Signal*, February 23, 1907. One John Kretzer or Kreiter (both spellings occur) is quoted as saying that he had no desire to return to the "frozen north" and was surprised at the prosperity of Roberts Cove; *Ibid.*, March 2, 1907. The Suhren brothers and John Bickert said that they had visited the Cove as a result of Duson's advertisements and had decided to locate there. However, these names are unknown in Roberts Cove at present.

30 Interview: Father Zaunbrecher, March 8, 1966. Bischoff's family consisted of his wife and two young sons. He emigrated from Steinebrück, near Aachen.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
Cove settlement. The booklet describes thirty-one Germans living in Acadia Parish, of which twenty-one had originally settled in the Cove and another four were related by marriage to families in the community. It is, of course, to be expected that such a publication would be optimistic, if not exaggerated, and this is indicated by the statement that, "Deutsche, welche es zu nichts gebracht haben, solch eine Seltenheit sind, dass man sie beinahe mit der Laterne am hellen Tage suchen muss." However, the descriptions of individuals are claimed to be taken from statements of the persons concerned, so it is reasonable to assume that the information is accurate, especially since some of it has been verified through other sources.

Joseph Heinen was described as "einer der soliden und erfolgreichsten Landwirten [sic] unserer Gegend." He owned more than 2,200 acres of land under rice.

---

31 Duson, Deutsche Landwirte, passim.
32 Ibid., (12th page).
33 Ibid., (1st page).
34 Ibid., (2nd page).
cultivation, possessed 200 head of cattle, and was a director of the Rayne City Bank. He attributed his success entirely to the cultivation of rice. Joseph Heinen's sons, Wilhelm and Theodore, owned 1,000 and 170 acres of farmland respectively. If the value of the land quoted in the pamphlet is correct, the land that the Heinens had purchased from St. Meinrad Abbey had doubled in value in only five years.35

Nicholas J. Zaunbrecher was said to be "einer von unsern erfolgreichen deutschen Landwirten der sehr viel Geld in der Reiskultur machte."36 He had five pieces of property which totaled 1,232 acres and which were valued at $40,000 to $50,000. Each of Nicholas Zaunbrecher's four elder sons, William Joseph, Lawrence, Henry, and Carl, was successful to a degree corresponding to his age. Carl had just purchased his first property with the profit from one year's crop, while William Joseph, 


36Ibid., (3rd page). In contrast to the pessimism on the part of N. J. Zaunbrecher noted by Voss, Duson says, "Er . . . freut sich zu hören, dass die Gebrüder Duson im Antrag haben, deutsche Ansiedler hierher zu bringen, da sie Zufriedenheit und Glückseligkeit finden werden."
"trotzdem er ein rüstiger, im blühenden Lebensjahre stehender Mann ist, lebt von seinen Zinsen," and worked only in his garden. It was undoubtedly this leisure that prompted William J. Zaunbrecher to enter politics. The youngest son of Nicholas Zaunbrecher is not mentioned in the booklet. Since it was a common practice for a son to work for his father until he married, August had not yet established his own farm. His wedding took place the same year that the Duson Company published the pamphlet.

Joseph Gossen not only owned more than 500 acres of farmland, but had stock in the Commercial Bank of Rayne and in the Stamm Hardware Company. He and Joseph Leonards had founded and owned the Rayne Ice Factory. His brothers Wilhelm and Heinrich contented themselves with operating relatively small rice farms of 160 and 140 acres.

Joseph Leonards, who really had left Germany with almost nothing and under cover of darkness, had progressed

37 Ibid., (3rd page).
38 Ibid., (3rd-5th pages).
39 St. Leo's Catholic Church, Records of 1907.
40 Duson, Deutsche Landwirte, (6th page).
from a farm worker to the ownership of 800 acres, holder of half interest in the ice factory, member of the boards of directors of the Rayne rice mill and the Rayne City Bank, stockholder in the Commercial Bank of Rayne, and owner of several lots in Rayne and Crowley. 41

Johann Stamm, the president of the Stamm Hardware Company, had settled in Roberts Cove with his father in 1895, but later quit farming to open his business. 42

The other Germans from the Cove community were described in somewhat less detail, but they were, of course, without exception successful farmers. 43 A tendency toward diversification of financial interests can be noted in some of these descriptions. This tendency, which itself indicated a surplus of capital derived from the cultivation of rice, had begun with this period when Nicholas J. Zaunbrecher and Joseph Leonards had joined with six non-German businessmen to found a rice milling company. 44 Diversification continued throughout the

41 Ibid., (7th page). 42 Ibid., (10th page).
43 Ibid., (2nd-10th pages).
44 Crowley Daily Signal, May 5, 1900.
pre-war years, and in 1916 William Heinen became one of the founders of the modern cattle industry when he purchased one of the first group of registered bulls brought into the parish. With the exception of Johann Stamm, all of the enterprising individuals continued to engage in rice farming.

Although there was general prosperity, there were also signs that the rapid expansion of the rice industry had slowed. In 1905 Joseph Heinen complained that the abundant crop had so lowered the price of the grain that it was rumored that the "Americans" would no longer grow rice. An organization of the rice farmers of Louisiana and Texas, "The Southern Rice Growers' Association," attempted to maintain a minimum price for the crop. Members of the association pledged to hold their grain rather than sell below the set price, or allowed the association to market it for them. In May, 1910, a group of German

47 Crowley Daily Signal, March 3, 1907.
farmers met in Crowley and planned a marketing organization of their own which was to have the rice grown by its members milled and sold directly to the consumer in the German communities of Chicago, St. Louis and Milwaukee.  

By fall of the same year, the "Southwest Louisiana Rice Farmers' Union" was formed with William Zaunbrecher as president. Since the organization grew from the "Deutsche Gesellschaft, Acadia Parish," which will be discussed later, membership was probably not restricted to farmers from the Roberts Cove community. The union had a capital of $5,000 and its sixteen members grew about 100,000 sacks of rice per year. Ten members also agreed to buy supplies cooperatively. While the approach of the German farmers was different from that of the larger "Southern Rice Growers' Association," the goal was similar and the union promised not to sell rice below the minimum price set by the association.  

The attempt to market rice directly to the consumer apparently met with little success. Two years later the president of the "Southwest Louisiana

48 Ibid., May 21, 1910.

49 Ibid., November 5, 1910.
Farmers' Union," William Zaunbrecher, became a member of the board of directors of the "Southern Rice Growers' Association." Rumors that other German farmers would not join the association were quelled when a number of them signed contracts allowing the association to market their rice. The contracts were signed at a meeting presided over by William Heinen, the regional manager for the association. Lawrence Zaunbrecher, one of the signers, promised to try to persuade his neighbors to join the association, even though he had himself criticized it in the past.

In spite of the concern over the stability of the market reflected in the formation of these farmers' associations, there was no significant lag in the growing prosperity of the farmers. The prosperity of the Roberts Cove farmers, and the maintenance of their German identity, was illustrated by the fact that some of them had the time, means, and inclination to vacation in Europe and to visit relatives in Germany. As early as 1901, Mr. and

50 Ibid., July 13, 1912.
51 Ibid., March 16, 1912.
Mrs. Hensgens, Joseph Heinen and several members of his family spent the summer in Germany.\textsuperscript{52} Joseph Heinen again visited Germany in 1914 in the company of Joseph Gossen and the wife and daughter of the latter.\textsuperscript{53} While the Gossens returned after the beginning of World War One, Joseph Heinen was either too ill to travel or underestimated the seriousness of the war. He died in Germany in 1916. There were a number of visits to Germany by other members of the Cove community, the details of which have not been preserved.\textsuperscript{54}

It was perhaps to be expected that, although there were as yet few marriages outside the German-American community, the increasing participation in area politics and business would tend to weaken the exclusively German character of the Roberts Cove settlers and their children. There were indeed signs that the process of Americanization was making some progress. As early as 1899,

\textsuperscript{52}Ibid., August 24, 1901.

\textsuperscript{53}Ibid., May 30, 1914.

\textsuperscript{54}Interview: Father Zaunbrecher, January 15, 1966; Interview: William F. Zaunbrecher; Interview: N. J. Gossen.
one sermon per month was given in English, indicating that at least some of the congregation was more conversant with English than with German. In 1900 half of the entertainment at a school picnic was given in English, which may have been a concession to the non-German guests. Nevertheless, the members of the community regarded themselves as Germans as well as Americans, and were so regarded by their neighbors, although a distinction seems to have sometimes been made between the generations.

While the elder Heinens were vacationing in Germany, for instance, it was reported that their daughter, who was "an American and did not want to visit Germany," remained at home. Anna Heinen was in fact the only one of Joseph Heinen's children born in the United States. Until after the war, however, only one person had left the community and become completely Americanized. Johann P. Schlicher had married a Protestant American in 1887 and had moved

55 Crowley Daily Signal, April 8, 1899.
56 Ibid., June 23, 1900.
57 Ibid., June 1, 1900.
to Crowley. By 1916 neither he nor his children were considered German.

It was perhaps the beginnings of the loss of the German heritage that made the German-Americans even more aware of that heritage. A group of German-Americans met in Crowley in November, 1909, and proposed the formation of an organization for the purpose of "encouraging the immigration of Germans, protecting the interests of German immigrants and German citizens, keeping alive an interest in the German language and literature, and encouraging social contact among German-Americans." Shortly after this meeting, the following announcement appeared:

Crowley, December 28th, 1909. Deutsche Gesellschaft, Acadia Parish, Louisiana. Um allen Deutschen die Gelegenheit zu geben, an der naechsten Sitzung der Deutschen Gesellschaft teilzunehmen, haben wir beschlossen, am Sonntag, den zweiten Januar nachmittags


59 Crowley Daily Signal, June 24, 1916, et passim. The Americanization of this family by 1915 is especially indicated by the fact that John Schlicher's son William was the only person bearing a name associated with Roberts Cove who was a member of the National Guard and, as such, served in France during the war.

60 Ibid., November 27, 1909.
um 1-1/2 Uhr in der Halle der Knights of Columbus zwecks Beamten & Direktorenwahl zu kommen, als auch um den Tag der künftigen Versammlungen festzustellen.

Es ist deshalb absolut notwendig, dass ein jeder einzelne erscheint, um seine Ansicht zu äußern und Stimme demgemäß [demgemäss] anzugeben.  

While only those conversant with the German language were eligible for membership, anyone in sympathy with the objectives of the Gesellschaft could become an honorary member. The forty-eight persons who attended the organizational meeting decided that an attempt should be made to have instruction in the German language introduced into the public schools. The Vice President, Joseph Leonards, and two of the directors, Leo Habetz and William Gossen, were from the Roberts Cove community.  

The Deutsche Gesellschaft did increase the social contact between the Roberts Cove Germans and other German-Americans in the area, most of whom had come to Louisiana from the Midwest in the early years of the rice boom. There were social events given by the Gesellschaft in Crowley which

---

61 Ibid., January 1, 1910.
62 Ibid.
the Roberts Cove families attended, and members of the Gesellschaft were invited to the St. Leo's Day celebrations in the Cove. Presumably interest in the German language and literature was stimulated, at least among the members, but the organization met with little success in accomplishing its other stated goals. The failure to increase immigration or to introduce German into the public schools was perhaps due mainly to the short life of the "Deutsche Gesellschaft, Acadia Parish." It disappeared with the entry of the United States into World War One.

Another indication of the awareness of their heritage on the part of the Roberts Cove farmers was the publication during this period of a number of obituaries which stressed the origins of the deceased. The first of these to be printed in German was that of Maria Heinen, the wife of Joseph Heinen. It is interesting to note that between the publication of the first announcement of the Deutsche Gesellschaft in January, 1910, and that of

---

63 Interview: William F. Zaunbrecher.

64 Crowley Daily Signal, February 25, 1910.
Maria Heinen's obituary in February, 1910, the Crowley Signal had obtained Fraktur type, evidently confident of enough business from the German community to make the expense worthwhile.

Almost invariably any mention of people from the Cove in the newspaper referred to them as Germans. Usually the Germans were praised as hard working and outstanding citizens. Such mention of national origin and compliments based upon it ceased in 1917. The German-Americans were naturally interested in the war long before their non-German neighbors took more than a casual notice of the "European War." The Deutsche Gesellschaft called at least two special meetings in 1914 because of the conflict.

AUFRUF! Alle Mitglieder der DEUTSCHEN GESELLSCHAFT von ACADIA PARISH und UMGEGEND sind hiermit eingeladen einer ausserordentlichen Versammlung beizuwenden, die am Sonntag den 4ten Oktober, Nachmittags 3 Uhr, in der FEUERWEHRHALLE in Crowley stattfindet. Das Vaterland ist in Noth und Bedrängniss. Auf allen Seiten tobt das blutige Ringen. Um diese Noth und das Elend der Hintergeblienen der auf dem Schlachtfeld Gefallenen zu lindern, wollen auch wir unser Bestes thun Hilfe zu leisten. Alle Deutsch und Oesterreich-Amerikaner die an dieser Arbeit mithelfen wollen sind innigst
Although the attendance at the first meeting was smaller than usual, it "showed results that proved a surprise to even the most optimistic of the old members" when $150 was collected for the German Red Cross. Those present agreed to canvass their respective neighborhoods for additional contributions. The second notice was also printed in English for the benefit of the "Sympathiesirende" and undoubtedly in hopes of having a larger meeting than the first. The results of the second meeting are not known, nor is it known whether there were any further special meetings of the Gesellschaft.

In the first two years of the war there seems to have been more sympathy than antipathy toward Germans and

---

65 Ibid., September 26, 1914; October 3, 1914.
66 Ibid., October 31, 1914.
67 Ibid., October 10, 1914.
68 Ibid.
Germany, judging from contemporary comment in the Crowley Signal. In a humorous article, a farmer from Roberts Cove was said to have been "praying for his enemies, der Kaiser, his friends and self" while his horse and buggy were being stolen. Conrad Hensgens, when asked if he were not needed in Germany, was quoted as saying that his eleven cousins in the German Army were sufficient. Even as late as 1916, Heinrich Habetz was described as belonging to "that sturdy race whose representatives turned so many U. S. prairies into rich fields and whose coming to Acadia Parish has enriched our country with so many exemplary farms." It was, of course, also in this year that William Zaunbrecher was elected to the state legislature.

It was, however, also in 1916 that the area began to be stirred into a patriotic fervor. The Fourth of July was renamed "Preparedness Day" and the local National Guard company was mobilized. All of the activity and

69 Ibid., December 18, 1915.
70 Ibid., January 16, 1915.
71 Ibid., July 22, 1916.
emotion was directed toward Mexico and Pancho Villa, but it presaged and prepared the way for the anti-German sentiments which followed. Although there does not seem to have been any overt ill feeling toward Germans at this time, it is interesting to note that the Roberts Cove ward, which normally voted Democratic, voted for President Wilson's Republican opponent by a margin of 26 to 9, while the parish as a whole cast 1,137 votes for Wilson and 208 for Hughes. Roberts Cove was the only ward in the parish carried by the Republican candidate.

B. THE WAR AND POST WAR PERIOD

In the spring of 1917, even before the entry of the United States into the war, the hostility exhibited the previous year toward Mexico was turned upon Germany, and towards Germans and German-Americans. The fear of spies and traitors and the accompanying suspicion of anything German was already developed before the Declaration of War on April 6, 1917. Local editorial comment voiced

72 Ibid., June 24, 1916, et passim.

73 Ibid., November 16, 1916.
suspicion of German-Americans, castigated the German language newspapers, and accepted war with Germany as inevitable. One editorial concluded ominously:

And let us prepare to deal with disloyalty and treason, from whatever source they emanate, so drastically that all of our energies may be devoted to the outside enemy. From this time on, until again peace reigns in the world, the citizen or alien in this country, whatever his propaganda for unpreparedness is an enemy, and if there is no law to punish him as such, congress should enact one.\textsuperscript{74}

If such attitudes on the part of responsible people threatened to bring trouble to the Cove community, those expressed after the Declaration of War, coupled with irresponsible rumors, virtually assured it. The sheriff of the parish reminded the citizenry that "ANY ACT, HOWEVER SLIGHT, tending to give aid or comfort to the enemy is TREASON,"\textsuperscript{75} and quoted the warning of the United States Justice Department to enemy aliens to "OBEY THE LAW: KEEP YOUR MOUTH SHUT."\textsuperscript{76} Although he urged all citizens to remain calm, the sheriff improved upon the warning of the

\textsuperscript{74}Ibid., March 17, 1917.
\textsuperscript{75}Ibid., April 14, 1917.
\textsuperscript{76}Ibid.
Justice Department by extending it to "citizens of foreign birth,"\(^{77}\) thus making no distinction between those immigrants who had become naturalized and those who legally remained German citizens. Instructions were published on "WHAT TO DO TO CATCH SPIES,"\(^{78}\) in which the public was reminded that the country was swarming with German spies and was instructed to report suspicious strangers. The instructions continued, "However, a person giving aid and information to the enemy may be a prominent person in the community."\(^{79}\) Reports of suspicious activity or persons would be kept strictly confidential. Rumors, undoubtedly spread by confidential report, were given immediate credence. A typical example appeared in the same issue of the *Crowley Signal* that carried the President's war message to congress.

Two Germans at Iota the other day who interfered with a recruiting officer and insulted the United States Flag were severely dealt with by an American who is reported to be Jesse Reed of that place. Mr. Reed beat up both Germans, made them salute the flag and had them on their knees begging for mercy. Mr. Reed said he would beat to death

\(^{77}\)Ibid. \(^{78}\)Ibid. \(^{79}\)Ibid.
the next German traitor whom he heard abusing
the president or insulting the flag. His ac­
tion was highly approved by the citizens of
the community.80

This incident proved to be a completely baseless fabrica-
tion.81 That it was reported as factual was indicative of
the attitudes of the time. Similar baseless rumors and
accusations were to lead to the arrest and harassment of
German-Americans in the area.

The state legislature was called into special ses­sion shortly after war was declared. In this session and
in the regular session of 1918 a number of laws concerning
Germans and German-Americans were enacted. The role of
Representative William J. Zaunbrecher in these sessions
must have been painful, considering the widespread hys­
terical anti-German feeling and the fact that he was the
only foreign-born member of the legislature.82 He did not
introduce any bills and remained without special notice,
but his voting record on certain bills is worthy of note.

80 Ibid., April 7, 1917.
81 Ibid., April 14, 1917.
82 State of Louisiana, Official Journal of the
House of Representatives, 2nd Regular Session, 1918 (Baton
House Bill 20. An act requiring registration of aliens. Passed 101-0; 15 members absent. Zaunbrecher voted yes.83

House Bill 14. An act making it illegal for enemy aliens to possess firearms or explosives. Passed 90-0; 26 members absent. Zaunbrecher voted yes.84

Senate Bill 42. An act making it a crime to use any language in the presence and hearing of another, of and concerning the United States of America in the war, the entry of the United States of America into the war, or any concerning flag, standard, color, etc. . . . which language is disloyal to the United States of America. [The bill also made it illegal to own or display any sort of emblem or flag of an enemy country, town or province. Arrests under the bill could be made without warrant and suspended sentences were not allowed.] Passed 67-0; 50 members absent. Zaunbrecher absent.85

Senate Bill 175. An act prohibiting the selling of anything of German manufacture, advertising in the German language, the distribution of anything printed in the German language, or any printed matter favoring Germany. Passed 85-12; 22 members absent. Zaunbrecher voted yes.86

---


84 Ibid., p. 37.

85 State of Louisiana, 2nd Regular Session, 1918, pp. 802-803.

86 Ibid., pp. 872-873.
House Bill 259. An act to prohibit the teaching of the German language in the public and private, elementary and high schools, colleges and universities and other educational institutions in the state of Louisiana, and to provide penalties for the violation of the act. Passed 85-3; 29 members absent. Zaunbrecher voted yes.87

Zaunbrecher and his constituents in Roberts Cove, who had taken so many measures to preserve the German language, could not have agreed with at least the last two of the above acts, yet he voted in favor of them. This is especially striking since only in the case of these two bills had other members of the legislature voted negatively. It would seem that what native-born Americans could do, he could not. It is, of course, possible that the representative from Roberts Cove voted his convictions; it does not, however, seem likely.

While these laws were in themselves a form of harassment, the principal source of trouble for the Roberts Cove Germans was the constant suspicion directed towards them. When a farmer from the Cove was arrested for public drunkenness, it was bruited about that he had been taken into custody for "Pro-German utterances,"

87Ibid., p. 336.
though no charges were brought to that effect. A farm owned by an "American" near the Cove suffered damage from vandalism on several occasions during the war. After each incident, the sheriff took a different German in for questioning, although there were no grounds for holding any of them and no charges were ever brought. The vandalism later proved to be part of a family dispute. Several members of the community were also interrogated on various occasions by agents of the Federal Government.

There were, however, only three people from Roberts Cove who were actually arrested and charged with the federal offense of making treasonous remarks. Joseph Schaffhausen allegedly complained about compulsory military service in a free country. This sentiment was undoubtedly felt, if not expressed, by many German-Americans who, like those in Roberts Cove, had left Germany partly in order to escape military conscription of themselves or their children. John Frey, the son-in-law of Joseph Gossen, was accused of saying that he would rather serve under the

\[\text{Crowley Daily Signal, March 2, 1918.}\]

\[\text{Interview: William F. Zaunbrecher.}\]
Kaiser than President Wilson, and that the former could probably do a better job of running the country. Ferdinand Olinger, who claimed neutral citizenship, was arrested for refusing to contribute to the Red Cross and expressing doubts about the propriety of the participation of the United States in the war. The three men were released on bail and soon afterward the end of the war brought an end to such prosecutions. In the meantime Olinger corrected one of his errors by purchasing $1,000 worth of War Savings Stamps as soon as he was released.  

The loyalty of the German-Americans was generally measured by the amount of money that they had invested in War Bonds and Stamps. The arrests made in connection with the incidents of vandalism, for instance, ceased when the sheriff became aware of the size of such investments made by the farmers he arrested. William Heinen even received praise for having sold $20,000 worth of bonds to his neighbors in Roberts Cove. While it may very well

---

90 *Crowley Daily Signal*, July 13, 1918.

91 Interview: William F. Zaubrecher.

92 *Crowley Daily Signal*, June 29, 1918.
have been principally to aid the war effort that the Germans of Roberts Cove bought the bonds, the fact that the bonds also assured some protection from harassment undoubtedly made Heinen's task easier.

Although the members of the German colony were subjected to various harassments during the war, there were no violent incidents until after the Armistice. On August 1, 1919, August Zaunbrecher was shot by a man named Leonard Stark. According to Stark, Zaunbrecher accosted him with a shotgun and accused him of stealing dirt. Then, while Zaunbrecher held him at gunpoint and cursed him, Stark dismounted from his horse, unwrapped a pistol from behind his saddle, and, after being fired upon twice, shot his assailant once. The bullet went in through the left kidney and out through the abdomen, indicating that the victim was turned away from Stark. Zaunbrecher, who had only a few moments of consciousness before he died two days later, said only that he had not fired first. Stark was charged with manslaughter.\(^93\) Although the family of the slain man believed it to be a

\(^{93}\)Ibid., August 9, 1919.
case of murder, they did not insist upon the more serious charges. It was felt that such action would be useless because of the lingering anti-German sentiment. While there were no public expressions of resentment from the German community, an incident which occurred two weeks before the trial may have resulted from dissatisfaction with the course of justice. Two principal witnesses for the defense left Crowley in a buggy and were followed by five men in an automobile. After dark the four white men and one Negro stopped the buggy. One of the witnesses ran, leaving his companion to be struck with an iron pipe and shot at five times, without, however, suffering serious injury. Since the assailants were never identified, any connection between the attack and the trial of Stark must remain speculative, but the coincidence of time strongly suggests some relationship between the two events. Stark was acquitted of the charge of manslaughter, so the motive for the shooting was legally

---


95 Crowley Daily Signal, November 15, 1919.
self-defense. The Zaunbrecher family, however, attributes the death of August Zaunbrecher directly to World War One, and maintains that he was unarmed when he left home on the day of the shooting.

There were other, less striking evidences of the ill feeling generated by the war. William Zaunbrecher did not run for reelection to the state legislature, nor was anyone from Roberts Cove a candidate for any office in 1918 or 1919. For the first time in several years there was no representative from the Cove on the Acadia Parish Democratic Committee. Obituaries published during the war and for some time afterwards did not praise or even mention the German origin of the deceased. Not until 1922 did an obituary again carry this information. Even then it was only mentioned in passing that the late William J. Zaunbrecher had been born in Germany, though

96 Ibid., November 30, 1919.
98 Ibid.; Crowley Daily Signal, 1918-1922, passim.
he was eulogized for having been one of the pioneers of Acadia Parish.\textsuperscript{99}

Although the hostility and suspicion disappeared rather rapidly, there were permanent changes in the attitudes of the Germans and non-Germans alike. Before the war, German-Americans were considered both German and American. After the war, this duality was no longer possible, and the same people became Americans of German descent. Because of this change in attitudes, and perhaps because of the restrictions placed upon aliens during the war, the few Germans who had not yet been naturalized became citizens in 1922.\textsuperscript{100} The process of Americanization was in general accelerated. Apparently a declining interest in the preservation of the German language was responsible for the termination of the German school at St. Leo's Church. It had, of course, been illegal to teach German during the war, but the private teachers were retained after the war and taught in German until 1922. In 1923 the school was turned over to the Sisters of the Most

\textsuperscript{99}Crowley \textit{Daily Signal}, March 18, 1922.

\textsuperscript{100}Ibid., May 13, 1922.
Blessed Sacrament in Lafayette. At this time the school contained twenty-five to thirty pupils and continued through the eighth grade. The school remained under the sisters until 1951, when it was permanently closed. The number of pupils had by then declined to fifteen and the grades taught to four. Instruction in German ceased with the arrival of the sisters, although the children continued to learn the German hymns and prayers which were still used in church services. Even while the school still existed, the children from Roberts Cove were sent either to Rayne or to Crowley to complete their education. Some children received private instruction in German after school hours in Crowley, but the number of pupils and the extent of the instruction are not known.

In 1930 Father Leo Schwab, O.S.B., retired. Application was made to both St. Meinrad and St. Joseph's Abbies for a replacement, but both refused the request. It is not clear why the Benedictines chose not to honor

101 St. Leo's Parish Notes.

the promise made a generation before to supply a pastor as long as the community remained in existence. It was perhaps another manifestation of the changes in attitudes that had caused the termination of the German school. St. Meinrad turned St. Leo's parish over to the Bishop of the Lafayette Diocese. For the most part, the Lafayette Diocese has continued the tradition of having German-American priests at St. Leo's. The pastors since 1930 have been the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Phillip L. Keller (1930-1941), Rev. Cosmas Schneider, S.V.D., (1942-1943), Rev. Mathias Braun, S.V.D., (1943-1952), Rev. Gerald Wolbers (1952-1955), and Rev. Alois Reznicek, the present pastor.103

The German-Americans did not return to public affairs until 1920, when Leo Habetz and Lawrence Zaunbrecher were among the delegates from Acadia Parish to the state Democratic Convention.104 After William Zaunbrecher's term expired in 1918, it was not until 1930 that a member of a family originating in the Cove was again elected to a major public office. In that year Joseph Gossen was

---


elected mayor of Rayne, an office which he held for a decade. Since then many of the descendants of the Roberts Cove settlers have been active in public life. Joseph Gossen's brother William is presently mayor of Rayne and William Gielen is the mayor of Crowley.\footnote{Interview: William Gossen, July 17, 1965.}

Economically the war had little effect upon the community, but shortly afterward the economic structure began to change. Cattle began to rival rice as the most important agricultural industry. It has been noted that William Heinen was one of the first farmers in Acadia Parish to purchase a registered bull for the improvement of his herd. By 1940 members of the Heinen, Gossen, Leonards, Thevis and Zaunbrecher families ranked among the most successful cattlemen in the parish.\footnote{Ellis Arthur Davis (ed.), The Historical Encyclopedia of Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Historical Bureau, 1940?), pp. 896-1275 passim.} The rice, cattle and, in more recent years, soy bean industries depend, of course, upon the availability of land. In the years after the war the increasing numbers of the descendants of the immigrants and the decreasing amount of
available land forced some of them into non-agricultural pursuits. The approximate coincidence of the depression years with the adulthood of the large numbers of great-grandchildren of the original settlers also sent people into other professions; some of the smaller farmers lost their land and, of course, it became more difficult to establish new farms. Further, the discovery of oil in Acadia Parish during the depression helped to provide jobs which eventually caused those thus employed to move from the area. The responses to a questionnaire sent to the scattered descendants indicate that the consequent geographical separation from the site of the original settlement often resulted in the loss of the German language and culture which were still preserved to a certain extent in the immediate vicinity of Roberts Cove.

Another factor in the weakening of the German heritage among the third and fourth generations was the increased number of "mixed" marriages. Until after World


108 This questionnaire was sent out in March of 1966. The responses are tabulated in Appendix D, q.v.
War One, the people of Roberts Cove almost without exception married other members of the community or other German-Americans. Some of the families were, however, related by marriage even before emigrating and, by the time the third generation reached maturity, many of them were too closely related to consider marriage. The increasing number of people living away from the Cove, the increasing amount of schooling away from St. Leo's, and even the increasingly rapid transportation were additional factors leading to marriages to non-Germans.\textsuperscript{109} The children of a mixed marriage speak only English, and the German speaking parent often loses the language through disuse. Customs originating from the German background also seldom survive, although the most important factor in this case seems to be the location of the family.\textsuperscript{110}

In spite of the loss of the German characteristics by many of the descendants, the Roberts Cove community has never ceased to be considered a German community, and communication with relatives in Germany has always been

\textsuperscript{109} Interview: N. J. Gossen; Interview: Father Zaunbrecher, January 15, 1966.

\textsuperscript{110} See Appendix D.
maintained. Shortly after World War One, visits to Germany were resumed, and the community sent a shipload of cattle to Germany to help replace war losses. The second war again interrupted correspondence and visiting. There was, of course, no question of divided loyalties in World War Two. Roberts Cove, like any other American community, provided soldiers who fought and died in the conflict.

Although the knowledge of the language and, to a lesser degree, the adherence to customs of German origin continued to decrease after World War Two, the consciousness of the German heritage and pride in it have not waned, and are now perhaps even stronger than ever. The maintenance of this heritage rests largely upon the traditionally close family ties, which have been manifested in the last decade by the annual reunion of the descendants of Nicholas J. Zaunbrecher and the compilation of a family genealogy by the Reverend Charles Zaunbrecher.

---

111 Interview: N. J. Gossen; Interview: Sister Conception.

The reunion, which is to be a biennial affair after 1968, affords an opportunity for the return of the scattered members of the family and keeps alive the memory of their origins. Although all of the original families are represented at the Zaunbrecher reunion because of intermarriages, reunions of the Heinen, Leonards, and Hensgens families have also recently been held or planned. The interest in the family has extended to Germany. Groups of as many as 20 persons have visited the Geilenkirchen area every other year for the past ten years. On at least one occasion, in 1962, representatives of the Zaunbrecher family from Germany have attended the reunion in Roberts Cove.

The church has also been a principal factor in the preservation of the German heritage. Although the church school was no longer conducted in German after 1922, prayers were still said in German until about 1950 and hymns, especially "Grosser Gott, Wir Loben Dich" on festive occasions.

---

113 Letter from Father Charles Zaunbrecher to author, November 18, 1967.
occasions, are still sung in German. The celebration of St. Leo's Day, like the reunions in more recent years, has always served to bring together many of those who no longer live in the Cove and to renew their acquaintance with the past. There are also some people who do not reside in Roberts Cove but have remained parishioners of St. Leo's Church, thus following the practice of some of the original settlers who returned to the Cove for services. The church has been, and remains, a unifying factor for the community itself and for hundreds of descendants, many of whom have never lived in the Cove.  

Most of the aspects of German culture that remain are intimately connected with the church and religion. In Roberts Cove, although prayers are no longer commonly said in German in the church, this practice is still followed privately, especially by the older citizens. The singing of German hymns has already been mentioned. Secular German songs are also sung by the older people at the reunions and other family occasions. Religious customs originating in Germany that are still observed are the

\[115\] 
Ibid.; see also Appendix D.
baptizing of infants on the day of birth or the following
day, the performance of a High Mass at weddings, and a
Requiem Mass for funerals, and the placing of blessed
palms around the farm to insure a bountiful harvest.

Fastnacht is still celebrated in some homes by the prepa-
ration of a traditional pastry. On the Eve of St.
Nicholas, children of the community travel from house
to house singing carols in both German and English. One
member of the choir rides on horseback in the costume of
a bishop. Before retiring, the children prepare a dish
of food for St. Nicholas' reindeer, as did their fore-
bears in Germany. In Roberts Cove, however, the reindeer
are fed rice rather than wheat or oats. The good saint
leaves sweets and small items for the children. Larger
presents come on Christmas, where the American Santa
Claus has replaced the German Christkind. St. Nicholas'
Day is observed in the church by a midnight mass.116

These customs are observed by families in Roberts
Cove regardless of whether both sides of the family are
directly descended from the original settlers. Outside

---

116 Ibid.
the Cove, however, there is a correlation between the observance of German customs and parental origin. The retention of at least some aspect of German culture is more common in those families of German descent on both sides, and among older people. These two factors are, of course, interrelated in that the younger generations contain a larger percentage of mixed marriages than do the older. Since almost all of the remaining traces of German culture are so closely connected with the church, it is not surprising that those people far removed from the Cove have lost most of these traces. A notable exception, however, is the celebration of St. Nicholas' Day, even by most of those persons residing some distance away from Roberts Cove. A few of these also add a German flavor to Mardi Gras or Fastnacht, but have otherwise retained no obvious trace of their German heritage. 117

Farming is still the occupation of most of the descendants living in Roberts Cove and of many of those living elsewhere in Acadia Parish or in the surrounding parishes. The people not engaged in agriculture may be

117 See Appendix D.
found in almost any occupation, including priest, laborer, lawyer, secretary, nurse and oil field worker. A great-grandson of Nicholas J. Zaunbrecher noted that in his generation it was still considered "against tradition" not to be a rice farmer.

The community of Roberts Cove is today not significantly larger than it was sixty years ago. The houses, both the newer, smaller homes and the huge farm houses built before World War One, are scattered throughout the area, but with a slight concentration near the church. A brick structure built in 1951 has replaced the original wooden church. Although there are fewer than two hundred people living in the immediate vicinity of Roberts Cove, the total number of descendants of the original settlers is many times that figure. Some indication of the total can be gathered from the fact that there were 843 living members of the Zaunbrecher family alone in 1965 and the number was increasing by about fifty per year. About 650 of the 843 were direct

\[\text{Ibid.}\]
\[\text{Felix Leo Zaunbrecher, on questionnaire, March 25, 1966.}\]
descendants of Nicholas J. Zaunbrecher, and many of these were, of course, also descended from one or more of the other immigrants. 120

In the following chapter it will be shown that geography, parental origin, and age are also the major factors in the retention or loss of the German language.

120 Interview: Father Zaunbrecher, January 15, 1966. See also Appendix C.
CHAPTER IV

THE LANGUAGE

This chapter will present a sample of the Low German dialect spoken in Roberts Cove and will describe the phonology of the dialect, using Standard High German\textsuperscript{1} as a standard of comparison. The phonology will then be compared with that of the Selfkantkreis Geilenkirchen-Heinsberg area as represented in the \textit{Deutscher Sprachatlas}. The description and comparison will then be examined to determine whether the dialect has undergone discernible phonetic changes since the settlement of Roberts Cove and whether local variations in the original dialect have survived. Finally, an evaluation of the extent of the use of the dialect among the descendants now living and

\textsuperscript{1}Helmut de Boor und Paul Diels (Hrsg.), \textit{Siebs Deutsche Hochsprache} (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1961), pp. 25-83.
of the possibilities of the survival of the dialect in the future will be made.

The sentences used in the sample text are taken from those used in compiling the Deutscher Sprachatlas. The three informants were read or shown the sentences and were requested to translate them into "Platt," the term used in the Cove for the dialect. Because it was anticipated that the informants might unconsciously imitate some of the sounds of the language in which the sentences were presented to them, some of the sentences were given in English and some in Standard High German, so that the phones thus imitated could be distinguished from phones which may have entered the dialect as a result of the influence of either English or High German. Thus an English phone which occurred only in the sentences presented to the informants in English could not be considered as being valid evidence of an English influence on the phonology of the dialect. Conversely, an English phone which occurred in sentences translated from Standard German as well as those translated from English was taken to be proof of an English influence on the dialect. The English and German
sentences were presented to each of the informants in a different and random order.

The three informants were: (A) Leona Zaunbrecher, (B) N. J. Gossen, (C) William F. Zaunbrecher. All three are grandchildren of the original immigrants. The two Zaunbrechers are siblings and were selected in order to ascertain whether a discernible difference exists between their Platt and that of Mr. Gossen. There were differences in the expressions used by members of the various immigrant families, and the atlas indicates a number of variations of pronunciation within the area from which the settlers emigrated, especially between the western part of the area, i.e., the Selfkant, and the eastern part. The Gossen family originated in Gangelt, which is in the Selfkant, and the Zaunbrecher family in Nierstrass, which is near Geilenkirchen in the eastern section. Therefore, regional dialectal variations, if such had persisted, could be expected to occur in the speech

---

2 Interview: N. J. Gossen.

3 Ibid.

4 Interview: William F. Zaunbrecher.
of the informants. The questions of dialectal variation and of phonetic changes in the dialect will be considered later in this chapter.

The sample text of the dialect is given below. Each sentence is first written in the language in which it was presented to the informants, followed by the phonetic transcriptions of their translations. The response of each informant is identified by the letter A, B, C as in the preceding paragraph.

A. SAMPLE TEXT

1. That was nice of them.
   A. [dæt woR zeR nat fən dən] \(^6\)
   B. [dæt woR næt vən dən]
   C. [dæt woR næt vən dən]

2. What kind of little birds are sitting up there on the wall?

\(^5\)Heinz F. Wendt, *Sprachen* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Bucherei, 1961), pp. 219-233. The IPA as presented in this work has been taken as the standard for the usage of the phonetic symbols.

\(^6\)The consonant [d̥] is obviously used in imitation of the English in the model sentence.
A. [wat es dat fyR ne vwIjæ ovæ doæt gæ
wæIndæ]
B. [wat zœæt ,klen’hoæIgæl zætæn ’up ðæ wæInt]
C. [wat zææt dat fæækæ de zæætæ up ðæ
wæInt]

3. I don’t want to do it any more.
A. [eg wel et net meæ duænæ]
B. [I’ wel et net meæ duæn]
C. [Ig wIl nox net meæ duænæ]

4. The fire was too hot; the cakes are burnt completely
on the bottom.
A. [ðæ fyR wœæ tu heIIt un de kuka es jants
fææbæænt]7
B. [dat fyR wœæ tu heIIt unt’ dat’ ko:xæn was
jants /wa:æt jæbæænt]
C. [dat fyR wœæ te het ææ kuka /wa:ææts
ɡIbæænt ʃen ʊæR]

7Ibid.; Friedrich Kluge, Etymologisches Wörterbuch
der deutschen Sprache (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co.,
1934), p. 185. The word gantz [jants], is a word of High
German origin borrowed by the other continental Germanic
languages.
5. The good old man and his horse have broken through the ice and fallen into the cold water.
   A. [deR joːə mIntʃ unt zı pεRT zInInt duR jɛt is jəbRoːɛka unt In ɛt wɑːsəR jəsəla]
   B. [de joːə man unt zIn pεRT zInInt duRx jɛt is jəvalan In kalt wɑːtəR]
   C. [deR joːə mIntʃ oːne pεRT zInInt duR jɛt is jəbRoːɛka un le' falənə wɑːtəR]

6. In the winter the dry leaves fly through the air everywhere.
   A. [In deR weInɛR fleen de dRYIʃ blaː duRx di loft ,YbəR'ala]
   B. [In wentəR 'flegIn di tRoɛʃə blaː duRɡ di loft unt 'YbəR,əl]
   C. [In wentəR 'flegIn di blaː 'ybəR,ələ]

7. You are not yet big enough to drink a bottle of wine; you must first grow a little and get bigger.
   A. [du ɓeʃ nax niʃ ɡRoIt Inɔx fYR æn bɔt- ꜱ win te dRɛIŋke; de mAst ɛəʃ ə bIske]
wa:sə bIs du kann- dRe:nkle] 8

B. [du best nst çjuot enAf so en flæf weIn
tə dRe:nkle ; du mÀst er/l ø venIg xRuotøR
wa:sø] 9

C. [du best nx te klèn te win dRÌjke ; de
mus nx çRøetø wà:tan bìs de win kann
dRÌjke]

8. You may go home earlier than the others.
   A. [du kannst frøeR heIm joən als wi di
      aŋəRə]
   B. [du kannst frøeR heIm 'jo:win wi di
      aŋəRə]
   C. [du kannst frøeR heIm joənə]

9. My feet are very sore.
   A. [mən fœIt pøtʃø meç]
   B. [mIn vøet^- zIŋt mIç wiø]
   C. [mə fœt zønt^- zIøø viø]

8 The word [bot] is a borrowing from English or is
used in imitation of the model sentence. The vowel [A]
occurs here and elsewhere in imitation of the English.

9 The word [enAf] is a borrowing from English or is
used in imitation of the model sentence.
10. He always eats eggs without salt and pepper.
   A. ['tɛR 'et IməR də 'eIR mət o:əne zəo̞t un pə:IpəR]
   B. [ɛR 'et zIn 'eəR IməR zo:əne zəo̞lt un pə:IpəR]
   C. [ɛR ət də 'eəR mət o:əne zəo̞t-ən pə:IpəR]

11. When we returned yesterday, the others were already in bed and fast asleep.
   A. [vi vəR jəs'tɾə heIm kəme waReŋ di àŋəRə
      In bɛt unt fəst əʃıpə]
   B. [væŋk vəR jəs'tɾə 'tRY,kəmə wɔReŋ di àŋəRə
      In bɛt unt fəloəpən]
   C. [vi vəR jəs'tɾə 'tRI,kəmə wɔReŋ dI ałe In
      bɛt un wɔReŋ fəst əʃIpə]

12. We are tired and thirsty.
   A. [vIR zInt mœΙç un- han duR/t]
   B. [vIR zInt- mœΙç un- duR/tIc]
   C. [wIR zInt mœIk un han duRʃ]

13. One must speak loudly, or he will not understand us.
   A. [vIR mutə həl /pRə:ske àŋəR fəʃtʊntə us neIt]
14. To whom has he told the new story?
   A. [na wem hate er di ni je/ikut faretelt]  
   B. [tswemeh se hef du di nyi je/ikut ʔeretel]  
   C. [weh hes de de nyē ge/ikut gezak-t]  

15. Our hills are not very high; yours are much higher.
   A. [o:s beRjas zInt net zo ho:ə ; de IRs  
    zInt vel ho:Ígas]  
   B. [o:s beRje zInt net zeR huox ; yRə zInt  
    zoR hujeGas]  
   C. [o:s hYogle zInt net huəx avə yRə zInt  
    seR hoIGəR vi de o:s]  

16. Behind our house stand three pretty little apple  
trees with little red apples.  
   A. [aktəR o:s hus es ṣtunt dRi naete klen  
    ʔæpəl,boem met klen Roə ʔæpəl]  
   B. [hIntəR os hus ʃtunt dRi netə klenə  
    ʔæpəl,boem met klene xuəte æpel]
17. The snow remained through the night, but this morning it is melted.

A. [dI fneə es de jantse na:xt gebliəbe a:ve dIzə mərJə e:ə fər'/məltə]

B. [fneə wəR heR dəRç di na:xt bAt wəR dIzə mərJən fəR'/məltə]¹⁰

C. [fneə es dəR de na:xt bliəe a:ve dIzə mərJə e:ə gI'/mə:ltə]

18. Wer hat mir meinen Korb gestohlen?

A. [wəR hae t minə kəRp gI'/sto:əla]

B. [wəR hæt minən kəəRv jəsto:əla]

C. [wəR hæt mIR nə bæskət əəvIpst]¹¹

19. Er ist vor vier oder sechs Wochen gestorben.

A. [eR es fəR vəəR aR səs wə:kə gI'/stoRbə]

B. [eR es vəIR ədəR seks wə:Ikan gI'/stoRbə]

C. [eR wəR vəR feIR ədə sus 'vəki gI'/stoRbən]

¹⁰ The word [bAt] is a borrowing from English or is used in imitation of the model sentence.

¹¹ The word [bæskət] is apparently borrowed from English.
20. Es sind schlechte Zeiten!
   A. [ɛR ɛs /fleːztə tɪd]-
   B. [ɛR ɛs /fleːztn tɪt]-
   C. [es zInt heRd tɪtə]

21. Das Wort kam ihm vom Herzen.
   A. [dat wɔrt kəm həm fəm heRts]
   B. [dat wɔrt kəm fəm zIn heRts]
   C. [dət wɔrt kəm Im fəm dən hə:Rt]

22. Wo gehst du hin; sollen wir mit dir gehen?
   A. [wo jest də heRə; zol βIR met dɪç joːə]
   B. [wo jest də duə; zol vIR met dɪç joːən]
   C. [wo jest də heR; zoln vəR met dɪç joːən]

23. Wieviel Pfund Wurst und wieviel Brot wollt ihr haben?
   A. ['vivIł pɔInt wuRʃt wəlsdə unt-'vivIł bRuət wəls du]
   B. ['vi,vəl pɔInt wuRʃt unt-'vi,vəl bRuot wəls du]
   C. ['vi,vəl pɔInt wuRʃt vəls də həːnə]

25. Geh, sei so gut und sag deiner Schwester, sie sollte die Kleider für eure Mutter fertig machen und mit der Bürste rein machen.

A. [jaːŋkaː na den wesːter ziː zol di kleje βYR di mutə 'fεṛtIç make un met de bYRʃte Ren maːkə]

B. [welən zi zə juɛt ziIn un zax eɾe wesːtər zi zol di kleER νYR eɾ mutəɾ 'fεṛtIç maxən unt 'met 'dən bYRʃte ReIn maːxə]

C. [jaːŋk unt zek dən sustəɾ dat zi zol di kledəɾ met 'dən bYRʃte Ren maːxə]

26. Ich verstehe euch nicht, ihr müsst ein Bischen lauter sprechen.

A. [tɛfʃtoIn diʃ net', də mus ë bIsçə hεləɾ /pReːIka]
27. Sein Bruder will sich zwei schöne neue Häuser in eurem Garten bauen.

A. [deR bRo:wa wIRt zIg twIe naete ny huzER
   In IR ja:Rt buwa]
B. [zi bRo:wa wIRt zIg twIe neta huzER In
   IRa ja:Rt bo:wa]
C. [de bRo:adER wIwil twIe ny neta huzER In
   de 'hus,pla/ bua]

28. Ich war bei der Frau gewesen.

A. [eg woR bi di fRo:u gawes:ist]
B. [eg bIn bi de fRo:u jawes:ist]
C. [Ig bIn bi di fRo: gawest]

29. Ich habe es ihr gesagt.  

A. [eg ha:ne tan gaza:xt]
C. [Ig han tan gI'zaxt]

12 The interview with Mr. Gossen was interrupted before the sentences were completed.
30. Mein liebes Kind, bleib hier unten stehen; die bösen Gänse beissen dich tot.

A. [me 'levIs keInt bliv hiə ftoːne; di
vRɛxə jaIs bitən dIC duot]

B. DESCRIPTION OF PHONES

The phonological description which follows is based upon the above sentences. For the purpose of this description, the phones of the dialect are compared to the corresponding phones of the Standard High German. In the examples given below, the dialect word is given first, then the High German cognate, and finally the English meaning of the dialect word.

Consonants

[p]. This phone occurs as the equivalent of the High German [pf] or [f]. Examples: [up]--auf--on;
[pŋt]--Pfund--pound; [æpəl]--Apfel--apple; [peːIpəR]--Pfeffer--pepper; [peRt]--Pferd--horse; [ələep]--schlafen--asleep.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
It occurs as the equivalent of the same sound in High German when preceded by [ʃ]. Example: [ʃpReːIkə]--sprechen--to speak.

In the dialect, [p] is aspirated except when preceded by [ʃ] or when unreleased.

[t]. This phone usually occurs as the equivalent of the High German [s] or [ts]. Examples: [dɛt]--das--that; [wat]--was--what; [twiə]--zwei--two; [ɛt]--isst--eats; [ɛt]--es--it; [ʃɛR'/mɔltə]--geschmolzen--melted.

It also occurs as the equivalent of the same sound in High German. Examples: [hɛt]--hat--has; [woʃInt]--Wand--wall.

In the dialect, [t] is aspirated except where preceded by [ʃ] in the initial position or where unreleased.

Within the dialect, [t] sometimes alternates with [s] or [ts]. Examples: [watəR]--[waːsəR]; [zɛtən]--[zɛtsə].

[k]. This phone occurs as the equivalent of the same sound in High German. Examples: [keʃnt]--Kind--child; [kom]--kam--came; [klejə]--Kleider--clothes.

It occasionally occurs as the equivalent of High German [ʃ] or [ɬ]. Examples: [Ik]--ich--I; [weʃkə]--
Wochen—weeks; [ʃpRɛ:Ikə]—sprechen—to speak; [æpəlkoθə]—Aepfelchen—apples (diminutive).

In one instance in the text, it occurs as the equivalent of High German [g]: [vœIkə]—Vögel—birds.

In the dialect, [k] is aspirated except where it is not released.

Within the dialect, [k] alternates with [x], [g], [j] and [g]. Examples: [kukə]—[ko:xən]; [mœIk]—[mœIg]; [vœəkə]—[vœIjə]—[hœIgəl].

[b]. This phone occurs only as the equivalent of the same sound in High German. Examples: [bIn]—bin—am; [bRuot]—Brot—bread; [bus]—bauen—build.

Within the dialect this phone alternates with [β]. Example: [YbəR]—[YβəR].

[d]. This phone occurs as the equivalent of the High German [t]. Examples: [tid]—Zeit—time; [həRd]—hart—hard; [duənə]—tun—to do; [duot]—tot—dead; [dRɛInkə]—trinken—to drink.

This consonant also occurs as the equivalent of the same phone in High German. Examples: [dRi]—drei—three; [du, də]—du—thou; [duR/t]—Durst—thirst; [di]—die—the; [dət]—das—that.
[g]. This phone occurs as the equivalent of the same consonant in High German. Examples: [gI'wєst]--gewesen--been; [gants]--ganz--entirely; [gєblιcβє]--geblieben--remained; [gest]--gehst--go.

In one word, this phone occurs where the High German cognate has no consonant: [ho:IgєR, huєgєs]--höher--higher.

Within the dialect, [g] is often palatalized to [j], and in one word has become [ç] or [x]: [gIbRєnt]--[je'bRєnt]; [çRoIt]--[xRuotєR].

[f]. This phone occurs as the equivalent of the same consonant in High German. Examples: [fyR]--Feuer--fire; [fєR'tυnt ]--versteht--understand; [fleαn]--fliegen--fly; [flє]--Flasche--bottle; ['fєR'tιɡ]--fertig--finished; [fєR'/to:єn]--verstehen--to understand.

In one word, in the speech of one informant, [f] occurs as the equivalent of High German [p]: [blIf]--'bleib!'--stay!

Within the dialect, this phone alternates with [v] and [β]. Example: [fαλєnє]--[jєvalєn]--[jєbαlє].
[v]. This phone occurs only occasionally as the equivalent of the same consonant in High German. Examples: [ʃve:stər]--Schwester--sister; [vi]--wie--how; [viə]--weh--painful.

This consonant also occurs as the equivalent of the High German [f]. Examples: [vl]--viel--much; [vYR]--für--for; [veər]--vier--four.

In an intervocalic position, this consonant is sometimes equivalent to the High German [b]. Examples: [levIs]--liebes--dear; ['hevIs]--hast--have.

In the final position, [v] occurs as the equivalent of High German [p]. Examples: [koeRv]--Korp--basket; [bliv]--Bleib!--stay.

Within the dialect this phone alternates with [w], [f] and [β]. Examples: [viə]--[wiə]; [vi]--[wi]; [joVe:lən]--[fələnə]--[jəbələ].

[β]. This phone, a bilabial variant of [v], alternates with [v]. It also occurs as the equivalent of High German [f], [v] and intervocalic [b]. Examples: [βεRtIç]--[fεRtIç]--fertig--finished; [βyR]--[fyR]--für--for; [gəβəra]--gefahrend--driven; ['koRə,βeIlt]--Kornfeld--grainfield; [jəβələ]--gefallen--fallen; [βIR]--
wir—-we; [Yβø]--über--over; [gøbliaβø]--geblieben--remained.

[d]. This phone occurs occasionally as the equivalent of High German [d], and alternates with [d] in the dialect. Examples: [dæt]--das--that; [dø]--das--the.

[ts]. This phone occurs only infrequently in the sample text. Where it does occur, it is the equivalent of the same sound in High German. Examples: [tswemø]--(zu) wem--to whom; [zɛtsø]--sitzen--to sit; [jønts]--ganz--entire.

[j]. This phone usually occurs as the equivalent of the High German [g], and alternates with [g] within the dialect. Examples: [jaRt]--Garten--garden, yard; [jest]--gehst--go; [joːsnø]--gehen--to go; [mɔRjø]--morgen--tomorrow; [jøtɔRbən]--gestorben--died; [jæduənø]--getan--done; [jøIçtø]--Geschichte--story; [vɔIja]--Vögel--birds.

This phone occasionally occurs as the equivalent of High German [d], [R], or [k]: [klejø]--Kleider--clothes; [jøt]--das--the; [ɔjuOt]--gross--large; [tRøjø]--trockenen--dry.
In one instance, this consonant intrudes inter-vocalically where there is no consonant in the High German cognate: [fRœjœR]—früher—earlier.

[ŋ]. This phone usually occurs as the equivalent of the same sound in High German. Examples: [Iŋ]—ich—I; [dIŋ]—dich—you; [nIŋ]—nicht—not; [dœRŋ]—durch—through.

In one word, it occurs as the equivalent of the High German [ŋ]: [ŋRoIŋ]—gross—large.

Within the dialect, [ŋ] sometimes alternates with [k]. Example: [bIsŋœ]—[bIškœ].

[x]. This phone usually occurs as the equivalent of the same sound in High German. Examples: [ma:xœ]—machen—to make; [huox]—hoch—high; [nœxt]—Nacht—night; [nœx]—noch—yet.

In one instance, it occurs as the equivalent of High German [ŋ]: [dœRxœ]—durch—through.

In one instance, it occurs as the equivalent of High German [k]: [dœRIœXœ]—trockenen—dry.

Within the dialect, [x] sometimes alternates with [k]. Example: [ma:xœ]—[mœkœ].

This phone occasionally occurs as the equivalent
of High German [R] and alternates with [R] in these instances. Examples: [wɔx]—[wɔR]—war—was; [xuətə]—[Ruə]—rote—red.

[s]. This phone usually occurs as the equivalent of the same sound in High German. Examples: [wɛls]—willst—want; [ɛs]—es—it; [ɛs]—ist—is; [jɛstRə]—gestern—yesterday; [bəst]—bist—are; [mʊs]—muss—must; [hʊs]—Haus—house.

This consonant occasionally occurs as a plural ending where the High German shows no equivalent consonant. Examples: [beRjəs]—Berge—hills; [æpəlkəs]—Äpfelchen—apples (diminutive).

This consonant occasionally occurs as the equivalent of High German [z], [/]. Examples: [so]—so—such; [dɪsə]—diese—this; [sustə]—Schwester—sister.

Within the dialect, it sometimes alternates with [z]. Example: [dɪsə]—[dɪzə].

[z]. This phone invariably occurs as the equivalent of the same sound in High German. Examples: [ɡəzʊk-t]—gesagt—said; [zeR]—sehr—very; [zɔRt]—Sorte—sort; [hʊzəR]—Häuser—houses; [zən]—sind—are.
Within the dialect, it occasionally alternates with [s]. Example: [dIza]--[dIsa].

[/]. This phone usually occurs as the equivalent of the same consonant in High German. Examples: [/pRe:Ikə]--sprechen--to speak; [/jo:Icta]--Geschichte--story; [/neə]--Schnee--snow; [/sto:ane]--stehen--to stand; [flæʃ]--Flasche--bottle.

This consonant occasionally, before [t], occurs as the equivalent of Standard High German [s]. Examples: [dʊR/t]--Durst--thirst; [ɛR/t]--erst--first; [bYR/tæ]--Bürste--brush; [wuR/t]--Wurst--wurst.

[w]. This phone usually occurs as the equivalent of the High German [v]. Examples: [gəwɛst]--gewesen--been; [/wɛstʰæ]--Schwester--sister; [wɛt]--was--what; [wɔInt]--Wand--wall; [wɔRt]--Wort--word; [win]--Wein--wine; [wiæ]--weh--painful; [twiæ]--zwei--two.

Within the dialect, this phone occasionally alternates with [v]. Example: [wi]--[vi].

Following a back vowel or diphthong, this phone sometimes occurs in an intervocallic position as the equivalent of High German [d] or [t], or where the High German cognate has no equivalent consonant. Examples:
[bRoːwə]—Bruder—brother; [joːwə]—gute—good; [auwə]—alte—old; [buwə]—bauen—to build.

[h]. This phone usually occurs as the equivalent of the same consonant in High German. Examples: [heIm]—heim—home (ward); [hɛləR]—heller—louder; [hiə]—hier—here; [hən]—haben—have; [heIt]—heiss—hot.

In one instance a strongly aspirated [h] occurs as the equivalent of High German [v]: [ˌklenʰœIgəl]—Vögelchen—birds (diminutive).

[l]. This phone occurs only as the equivalent of the same sound in High German. Examples: [lautəR]—lauter—louder; [hɛləR]—heller—louder; [klen]—klein—small; [kolt]—kalt—cold; [fleen]—fliegen—fly.

Within the dialect, it alternates with [l]. Example: [/loaŋən]—[əʃiɔəpə].

[l]. This phone, the "dark-l," occurs as the equivalent of the High German [l]. Examples: [zɔt]—soll—should; [əʃiɔəp]—schlafen—asleep; [botʃ]—o—bottle.

Within the dialect, it alternates with [l]. Example: [əʃiɔəpə]—[/loaŋən].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
[m]. This phone occurs only as the equivalent of the same sound in High German. Examples: [mIntʃ]—Mensch—man; [kɒmə]—kamen—came; [mIn]—meine—my; [mutə]—müsten—must.

[n]. This phone occurs only as the equivalent of the same sound in High German. Examples: [nat]—nett—nice; [nɛt]—nicht—not; [zInt]—sind—are; [ʃnee]—Schnee—snow.

[ŋ]. This phone occurs as the equivalent of the same sound in High German. Examples: [dRɛ:ŋkə]—trinken—drink; [jɑ:ŋk]—Gang—go.

It occurs in the intervocalic position only as the equivalent of High German [d], [nd] and [nt]. Examples: [ɑŋəR]—oder—or; [ɑŋəRə]—andere—others; [ʊŋəR]—unter—under.

In one instance [ŋk] occurs as the equivalent of High German [n]: [vɛŋk]—wenn—when.

[R]. This phone occurs as the equivalent of the same sound in High German. Examples: [fYR]—für—for;

---

13 de Boor und Diels, Siebs, pp. 61-62. Siebs prefers the use of the tongue-trilled [r], but the uvular [R] is also standard.
In the dialect, this sound is often a uvular "scrape" rather than a trill, but it was not thought necessary to distinguish between the two here. Occasionally, however, the "scrape" was definitely pronounced as [x]: [ xuxtə]--rote--red; [wɔx]--war--was.

In the unstressed final syllable [-əR], the consonant is very weakly articulated. This gives the syllable almost the quality of a diphthong, i.e. [ə] with an off-glide.

Vowels

[a]. This phone often corresponds to the same vowel sound in High German. Examples: [ wɔt]--was--what; [dɔt]--das--that; [uŋəɾə]--andere--others; [ wɔtəɾ]--Wasser--water; [ələ]--alle--all.

This vowel occasionally occurs as the equivalent of High German [ə:]. Examples: [hɔn]--haben--to have; [wɔɾən]--warcn--were.

Within the dialect, this phone alternates with
[\(\alpha\):], [\(\ae\)] and [\(\o\)]. Examples: [\(\text{w\ae\R}\)]--[\(\text{wa\ae\R}\)]; [\(\text{nat}\)]--[\(\text{na\et}\)]; [\(\text{wa\R\en}\)]--[\(\text{w\R\en}\)].

[\(\alpha\):]. This vowel frequently occurs as the equivalent of High German [\(\alpha\)]. Examples: [\(\text{ma\ae\x}\)]--machen--to do; [\(\alpha\:xt\ae\R\)]--achter--behind; [\(\text{na\ae\xt}\)]--Nacht--night; [\(\text{wa\ae\s}\)]--wachsen--grow; [\(\text{\text{\s\w\ae}\ae\t}\)]--schwartz--black; [\(\text{bl\ae\:}\)]--Blatt--leaf; [\(\text{ja\ae\Rt}\)]--Garten--yard.

This phone also occurs as the equivalent of the same sound in High German. Examples: [\(\text{ha\ae\n}\)]--habe--have; [\(\text{ha\ae\n}\)]--haben--to have; [\(\text{ge\ae\za\ae\xt}\)]--gesagt--said.

Occasionally this vowel occurs as the equivalent of High German [\(\varepsilon\)] or [\(\epsilon\)]. Examples: [\(\text{ja\ae\nk}\)]--Gang--go!; [\(\text{na\ae\t}\)]--nett--nice; [\(\text{ha\ae\Rt}\)]--Herz--heart.

Within the dialect, this vowel alternates with [\(\alpha\)], [\(\ae\)]. Examples: [\(\text{wa\ae\s}\ae\R\)]--[\(\text{w\ae\R}\)]; [\(\text{na\ae\t}\)]--[\(\text{na\et}\)].

[\(\ae\)]. This vowel sometimes occurs as the equivalent of High German [\(\alpha\)]. Examples: [\(\text{da\ae\t}\)]--das--that; [\(\text{\'ae\p\e\l, bo\e\m}\)]--Apfelbaum--appletree; [\(\text{f\ae\R\R\ae\nt}\)]--verbrannt--burned.

This phone also occurs as the equivalent of High German [\(\varepsilon\)]. Examples: [\(\text{na\et}\)]--nett--nice; [\(\text{\ae\p\e\l}\)]--Äpfel--apples.
Within the dialect, this vowel alternates with [a] and [aː]. Example: [næt]--[nɔt]--[nɑːt].

[o]. This vowel sometimes occurs as the equivalent of High German [ɔ]. Examples: [zol]--soll--should; [woRt]--Wort--word.

This phone also occurs as the equivalent of High German [u]. Examples: [loft]--Luft--air; [os]--unser--our.

This vowel sometimes occurs as the equivalent of High German [oː]. Examples: [wo]--wo--where; [zo]--so--thus.

Within the dialect, it alternates with [ɔ], and [oː]. Examples: [loft]--[lɔft]; [os]--[oːs].

[ɔ]. This phone often occurs as the equivalent of the same vowel in High German. Examples: [vɔn]--von--of; [zɔl]--soll--should; [gI'/tɔRba]--gestorben--died; [dɔRt]--dort--there; [mɔRja]--morgen--tomorrow; [fɔR/moltə]--verschmolzen--melted; [kɔRə]--Korn--grain; [zɔRt]--Sorte--sort.

This vowel also occurs as the equivalent of High German [oː]. Examples: [woR]--war--was; [kɔm]--kam--came.
In one instance, this phone occurs as the equivalent of High German [u]: [lɔft]—Luft—air.

Within the dialect, it alternates with [o:], and [o]. Examples: [fəR/mɔltə]—[ɡI'/mo:ltə]; [lɔft]—[lɔft].

[o:]. This vowel occurs as the equivalent of High German [ao]. Examples: [fro:]—Frau—woman; [bo:wə]—bauen— to build; [o:nə]—auf—on.

This phone occurs as the equivalent of High German [u]. Examples: [bro:wə]—Bruder—brother; [kə:xən]—Kuchen—cakes; [jo:wə, jo:t]—gut—good.

In one word, this vowel occurs as the equivalent of High German [u]: [o:s]—unser—ours.

In one instance, this vowel occurs as the equivalent of High German [ɔ]: [ɡI'/mo:ltə]—geschmolzen—melted.

In one word, this vowel occurs as the equivalent of High German [e]: [jo:wIn]—gehen—to go.

Occasionally this phone occurs as the equivalent of the same vowel in High German. Examples: [o:nə]—ohne—without; [Ro:e]—rote—red.
Within the dialect, this vowel alternates with
[ou], [oː], [œ], [u]. (q.q.v.)

[u]. This phone often occurs as the equivalent of
the same sound in High German. Examples: [mutœR]—Mutter—mother; [unt]—und—and; [wuR/t]—Wurst—wurst;
[mus]—muss—must; [vœR]—unter—under.

This vowel occurs as the equivalent of High German
[e] or [ɛ]. Examples: [sus]—sechs—six; [ʃunt]—
steht—stands; [sustœR]—Schwester—sister.

Within the dialect, this vowel alternates with
[ɔ], [ɛ], [ɛː], [A]. (q.q.v.)

[u]. This phone sometimes occurs as the equiva-
lent of the same vowel in High German. Examples:
[kuxœ]—Kuchen—cakes; [du]—du—thou; [tu]—zu—too.

This vowel occurs as the equivalent of High German
[ao]. Examples: [buwa]—bauen—to build; [hus]—Haus—house.

Within the dialect, this vowel alternates with
[oː], [uə]. Examples: [buwa]—[boːwa].

[A]. This vowel occurs only occasionally, either
as the equivalent of High German [u] or in words taken
from English. Examples: [mAs, mA{}, mAst]—muss—must;
[ε,nAf]—genug—enough; [bAt]—aber—but.

[ε]. This vowel occurs as the equivalent of the same phone in High German. Examples: ['fεRtIg]--fertig--finish; [bεRjɔ]--Berge--hills; [ɛt]--es--it; [hɛl]--hell--loud; [fɛR'/tet]--versteht--understands; [sɛs]--sechs--six.

This phone occurs as the equivalent of High German [I]. Examples: [mɛt]--mit--with; [wɛl]--will--will; [nɛt]--nicht--not; [ɛg]--ich--I; [ɛs]--ist--is; [ɛt]--isst--eats; [zɛtən]--sitzen--sit.

This vowel occurs as the equivalent of High German [i]. Examples: [hɛm]--ihm--him; [ɛR]--ihr--her; [vɛl]--viel--much.

In one instance, [ɛ] occurs as the equivalent of High German [ɛː]: [fɛRtɛlt]--erzählt--told.

It occurs as the equivalent of High German [aI] in one word: [mɛn]--mein--my.

It also occurs as the equivalent of High German [e]. Examples: [wɛm]--wem--whom; [gɔwɛst]--gewesen--been.

It also occurs as the equivalent of High German [a]. Examples: [hɛt]--hat--has; [dɛt]--das--the.
In one instance, it occurs as the equivalent of High German [ɔ]: [ˈvekI]--Wochen--weeks.

Within the dialect, it alternates with [I], [i], [e], [ɛ:], [æ], [ɛ:ɪ], [ɛi], [ɛ:a], and [eə].

[ɛ:]. This vowel occurs only twice in the text, once as the equivalent of the same vowel in High German and once as the equivalent of [ɛ]: [tərtɛːlt]--erzählt--told; [/weːstɛɾ]--Schwester--sister.

In these words, it alternates with [ɛ] and [u].

[e]. This vowel occurs as the equivalent of the same vowel in High German. Examples: [zɛr]--sehr--very; [jɛst]--gehst--go; [dɛn]--den--the.

It also occurs as the equivalent of High German [al]. Examples: [klejə]--Kleider--clothes; [Ren]--rein--clean; [ɛnə]--einer--one.

In one instance, it occurs as the equivalent of High German [I]: [nɛt]--nicht--not.

In one instance, it occurs as the equivalent of High German [i]: [ˈflegIn]--fliegen--fly.

This vowel alternates within the dialect with [eI], [ɛ]. Examples: [hɛt]--heIt; [nɛt]--[nɛt].
This phone occurs as the equivalent of the same vowel in High German. Examples: [Iç]--ich--I; [dIç]--dich--you; [nIçt]--nicht--not; [zIç]--sich--himself; [bIn]--bin--am; [jø/Içtæ]--Geschichte--story.

It also occurs as the equivalent of High German [i]. Examples: [IRs]--ihre--yours; [zI]--sie--she; [vIl]--viel--much; [dIzæ]--diese--this.

It also occurs as the equivalent of High German [aI]. Examples: [mIn]--mein--my; [zIn]--sein--his; [blIf]--bleib!--stay!

In one word, it occurs as the equivalent of High German [ɛ]: [mIntʃ]--Mensch--man.

This phone frequently occurs as the equivalent of High German [œ]. Examples: [gI'bRønt]--gebrannt--burned; ['flegIn]--fliegen--fly; [gI'/mo:ltæ]--geschmolzen--melted; [gI'/to:ælæ]--gestohlen--stolen.

Within the dialect, this vowel alternates with [ɛ], [i], [e], [eI], [œ]. (q.q.v.)

This phone occurs as the equivalent of the same vowel in High German. Examples: [di]--die--the; [wi]--wie--how; [zi]--sie--she; [hi]--hier--here.
It frequently occurs as the equivalent of High German \([\text{aI}]\). Examples: \([\text{bi}]\)--bei--by; \([\text{dRI}]\)--drei--three; \([\text{win}]\)--Wein--wine; \([\text{is}]\)--Eis--ice; \([\text{minan}]\)--meinen--my; \([\text{\'i\'a}^{-}]\)--Zeit--time; \([\text{bliv}]\)--bleib!--stay!; \([\text{bit\'en}]\)--beissen--bite.

In one instance this vowel occurs as the equivalent of High German \([\text{e}]\): \([\text{ziRa}]\)--sehr--very.

This vowel occasionally occurs as the equivalent of High German \([\text{\'aY}]\). Examples: \([\text{ni}]\)--neu--new; \([\text{li}]\)--Leute--people.

Within the dialect, this vowel alternates with \([\text{e}]\), \([\text{YI}]\), \([\text{I}]\). Examples: \([\text{ziR\'e}]\)--[\text{zeR}]\); \([\text{li}]\)--[\text{1YI}]\); \([\text{di}]\)--[\text{dI}]\).

\([\text{\'a}}\). This phone occurs as the equivalent of the same vowel in High German. Examples: \([\text{j\'e/\'i\'ct\'e}]\)--Geschichte--story; \([\text{klej\'aR}]\)--Kleider--clothes; \([\text{g\'aw\'est}]\)--gewesen--been; \([\text{u\'eR\'a}]\)--andere--others; \([\text{buwa}]\)--bauern--to build.

This vowel often alternates with \([\text{I}]\), especially in the participle prefix.

The schwa occurs more frequently than in Standard High German. The vowels in words which are unstressed in
the sentence are often weakened to this phone. Examples: [da]--die--the; [də]--du--you; [dən]--den--the; [fan]--
von--of; [tən]--zu ihr--to her; [əR]--er--he; [tə]--zu--
too.

[y]. This vowel occurs in only one word as the equivalent of the same phone in the High German cognate: [bYR/te]--Bürste--brush.

It occurs as the equivalent of High German [y]. Examples: [fYR]--für--for; ['Ybəɾ,alə]--überall--everywhere; [YbəR]--über--over.

In one instance, this vowel occurs as the equivalent of High German [i]: [YRa]--Ihre--your.

In one word, it occurs as the equivalent of High German [ɔY]: [fYR]--Feuer--fire.

Within the dialect this phone alternates with [y]. Example: [YRə]--[yRə].

[y]. This phone occurs as the equivalent of the same vowel in High German cognates. Examples: [fyR]--
für--for; [ybəR]--über--over; ['ybəɾ'alə]--überall--everywhere.

In one instance, it occurs as the equivalent of High German [i]: [yRə]--Ihre--your.
In one instance, this vowel occurs as the equivalent of High German [oY]: [fyR]—Feuer—fire.

Within the dialect, it alternates with [Y]. Example: [fyR]—[fYR].

[o]. This phone occurs as the equivalent of High German [y]. Examples: [vøet]—Fusse—feet; [frøejøR]—früher—earlier.

This vowel occurs in one word as the equivalent of High German [ao]: [ˈæpəlˌboʊm]—Äpfelbaum—appletree.

Where it occurs as the equivalent of High German [y], it alternates within the dialect with [œø] and [œI]. (g.q.v.)

Diphthongs

[ai]. This diphthong occurs only once in the sample text as the equivalent to High German [e]: [jaIs]—Gänse—geese.

[ao]. This diphthong occurs in one instance as the equivalent of the same phone in the High German cognate: [lɑʊd]—laut—loud.

It also occurs as the equivalent of High German [-al-]: [ɔʊə]—alte—old; [zɔt]—Salz—salt.
[ɔI]. This diphthong occurs in one word as the equivalent of High German [a]: [ɔInt]—Wand—wall.

In one word, it occurs as the equivalent of High German [u]: [pɔInt]—Pfund—pound.

In one instance, this diphthong occurs as the equivalent of High German [ø]: [vɔIjø]—Vögel—birds.

In one instance, this diphthong occurs as the equivalent of High German [e]: [fəRʃtɔIn]—verstehe—understand.

In the last two words, this diphthong alternates with [ɔeI], [œə] and [œː].

[œə]. This diphthong occurs only seldom. Example: [œʃlœap], [œʃlœepə]—schlafen—to be asleep.

This word also occurs with the diphthong [oə]. (q.v.)

[œː]. This diphthong occurs in two words as the equivalent of High German [e]: [vəRʃtɔən]—verstehe—understand; [joənə]—gehen—to go.

In one instance, this diphthong occurs as the equivalent of High German [oː]: [jəʃtɔələ]—gestohlen—stolen.

In one instance, this diphthong occurs as the
equivalent of High German [aː]: [ʃloæpə]– schlafen– to be asleep.

Within the dialect, this diphthong alternates with [ɔI], [oː], [ɔe], and [oː]. (q,q,y.)

[oː]. This diphthong occurs as the equivalent of High German [e]. Examples: [ʃœRFtɔːn]– verstehe– understand; [joːn]– gehen– to go; [ʃtɔːnə]– stehen– stand.

This diphthong occurs as the equivalent of High German [oː]. Examples: [oːənə]– ohne– without; [ʃI′ʃtɔːlə]– gestohlen– stolen; [hoː]– hoch– high; [Roːə]– rote– red.

In one word, this diphthong occurs as the equivalent of High German [ɔ]: [ɡəbraʃəkə]– gebrochen– broken.

In one instance, this diphthong occurs as the equivalent of High German [u]: [bRaːdəR]– Bruder– brother.

Within the dialect, this diphthong alternates with [oə], [oː], [uo], [uə], [ɔ], [ɔI]. (q,q,y.)

[ɔI]. This diphthong occurs in one instance as the equivalent of High German [oː]: [ɡRoIt]– gross– large.
In one other instance it occurs as the equivalent of High German \( \phi \): [hoIg\varepsilon R]--höher--higher.

Within the dialect, this phone alternates with [\( \varrho \varepsilon \)] and [\( o:I \)]. Examples: [hoIg\varepsilon R]--[hv\varepsilon g\varepsilon s]--[ho: Ig\varepsilon s].

[\( o:I \)]. This diphthong occurs only as the equivalent of High German [\( \varrho \)]: [ho: Ig\varepsilon R]--höher--higher. In this word, this phone alternates with [\( oI \)] and [\( \varrho \varepsilon \)].

[\( e:I \)]. This diphthong occurs only as the equivalent of High German [I]. Examples: [n\varepsilon It]--nicht--not; [dR\varepsilon I\eta k\varepsilon]--trinken--to drink.

Within the dialect, this phone alternates with [e] and [I]. Examples: [n\varepsilon It]--[net]; [dR\varepsilon I\eta k\varepsilon]--[dRI\eta k\varepsilon].

[\( e:I \)]. This diphthong occurs in two words as the equivalent of High German [\( e \)]: [\( \varepsilon pR\varepsilon : I k\varepsilon \)]--sprechen--to speak; [\( p\varepsilon : I p\varepsilon R \)]--Pfeffer--pepper.

In one word, it occurs as the equivalent of High German [e]: [g\varepsilon w\varepsilon :Ist]--gewesen--been.

In one instance, this diphthong occurs as the equivalent of High German [\( o \)]: [w\varepsilon :Ik\varepsilon n]--Wochen--weeks.

In these words, this phone alternates with [\( e \)], [\( e:o \)], and [\( e\varepsilon \)].
[ɛːə]. This diphthong occurs only as the equivalent of High German [ɛ], and in only one word:

/spreːkə/— sprechen— to speak.

In the dialect, this word also occurs with the diphthong [ɛːI].

[ɛI]. This diphthong usually occurs as the equivalent of High German [ai]. Examples: [ReIn]— rein— clean; [heIm]— Heim— home; [weIn]— Wein— wine; [eIR]— Eier— eggs; [heIt]— heiss— hot.

This diphthong also occurs as the equivalent of High German [I]. Examples: [keInt]— Kind— child; [weInteR]— Winter— winter.

It also occurs as the equivalent of High German [i]. Examples: [veIR]— vier— four; [weIs]— Wiese— meadow.

Within the dialect, this diphthong alternates with [ɛ], [e], [eə], and [i]. (g. g. v.)

[eə]. This diphthong occurs in one instance as the equivalent of High German [aI]: [eəR]— Eier— eggs.

In one instance, this phone occurs as the equivalent of High German [i]: [veəR]— vier— four.
In one instance, this diphthong occurs as the equivalent of High German [ɔ]: [weːskɔ]--Wochen--weeks.

In one instance, this phone occurs as the equivalent of High German [e]: [ʃneə]--Schnee--snow.

In these words, this diphthong alternates with [iə], [eI], [ɛːI], and [ɛ].

[iə]. This diphthong occurs as the equivalent of High German [i]. Examples: [gɐblιəbə]--geblieben--remained; [blιəβə]--geblieben--remained.

This diphthong occurs as the equivalent of High German [e]. Examples: [wiə]--weh--painful; [ʃniə]--Schnee--snow.

In one instance, this phone occurs as the equivalent of High German [i]: [hiə]--hier--here.

In one word, this diphthong occurs as the equivalent of High German [aI]: [twiə]--zwei--two.

Within the dialect, this diphthong alternates with [i]. Example: [hiə]--[hi].

[uo]. This diphthong usually occurs as the equivalent of High German [oː]. Examples: [bRuot]--Brot--bread; [huox]--hoch--high; [gjuot]--gross--large; [duot]--tot--dead.
In one instance, this diphthong occurs as the equivalent of High German [ø]: [xRuotəɾ]—grösser—larger.

Within the dialect, this diphthong alternates with [oːI], [oI], [uə], [oə], and [œə]. (g.q.v.)

[uə]. This diphthong usually occurs as the equivalent of High German [oː]. Examples: [bRuət]—Brot—bread; [huəx]—hoch—high; [xuətə]—rote—red.

In one instance this phone occurs as the equivalent of High German [ø]: [huəgəs]—höher—higher.

In one word, this diphthong occurs as the equivalent of High German [u]: [duənə]—tun—to do.

Within the dialect, these words occur with [uo], [oːI], and [oI].

[yI]. This diphthong occurs in one word as the equivalent of High German [ɔY]: [lYI]—Leute—people.

In one instance, it occurs as the equivalent of High German [ɔ]: [dRYIx]—trockene—dry.

Within the dialect, this diphthong alternates with [i] and [œ]. Examples: [lYI]—[li]; [dRYIx]—[tRoejə].
[œI]. This diphthong occurs as the equivalent of High German [y] in one word: [mœIç]--müde--tired.

It also occurs as the equivalent of High German [ø] in one instance: [ˌklɛnˈhœIɡel]--Vögelchen--birds (diminutive).

In these words it alternates with [œə] and [œI].

[œə]. This phone occurs only as the equivalent of High German [ø]. Examples: [ɡRœəʊtsə]--grösser--larger; [vœʊkə]--Vögel--birds.

Within the dialect, this diphthong alternates with [uo], [œI], and [œI]. Examples: [vœʊkə]--[hœIɡəl]--[vɔIjə]; [cRœətsə]--[xRuɔtsəR].

C. OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

It was previously stated that the informants referred to their dialect as "Platt." This name and the location of the Selfkantkreis Geilenkirchen-Heinsberg north of the Benrather Linie indicate that the dialect should be Low German.¹⁴ It becomes apparent in comparing

the sounds of the dialect with those of Standard High German that the dialect is, indeed, principally Low Ger­
man, but does contain certain features of High German. In order to determine the extent of the High German features present in the dialect, the historical development of the phones which served to separate High German from the other West Germanic languages should be considered. These phones are those which comprised the Second or High German Sound Shift, namely the West Germanic voiceless stops [p, t, k] and voiced spirants [β, ɹ, γ].\textsuperscript{15} The development of each of these phones is considered separately below.

**West Germanic [p]**

High German: In the initial position and when doubled or preceded by another consonant, the bilabial voiceless stop became the affricate [pf]. Intervocally and finally after a vowel, it became the voiceless spirant [f].\textsuperscript{16}


\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., pp. 81-82.
Low German: The voiceless stop remained unchanged in all positions.\textsuperscript{17}

Dialect: The Low German stop has been retained, but it is usually unreleased when final.

\textbf{West Germanic [t]}

High German: The dental voiceless stop in the intervocalic position and finally after a vowel became the voiceless spirant [s]. Initially and when doubled or preceded by another consonant, it became the affricate [ts].\textsuperscript{18}

Low German: The voiceless stop remained unchanged in all positions.\textsuperscript{19}

Dialect: Although the High German consonants occur, it may be stated that the Low German stop has been retained. With one exception, each word in which the spirant or affricate occurs also appears with the stop. The exception, [jants], is a word of High German origin

\textsuperscript{17} Hubert Grimme, Plattdeutsche Mundarten (Leipzig: G. J. Göschen'sche Verlagshandlung, 1910), p. 50.

\textsuperscript{18} Prokosch, Grammar, pp. 81-82.

\textsuperscript{19} Grimme, Mundarten, p. 51.
which has been borrowed by Low German and the dialect.

West Germanic [k]

High German: The velar voiceless stop became a spirant in the intervocalic position and finally after a vowel. In these positions, it became [x] when preceded by a back vowel and [ç] when preceded by a front or middle vowel. In the initial position and when doubled or preceded by a consonant, the stop remained unchanged.  

Low German: The stop remained unchanged in all positions.  

Dialect: In the final position, the High German Shift has usually affected this consonant. The unchanged stop only occasionally occurs in this position. In the intervocalic position the opposite is true, as the stop appears more frequently than does the spirant. After a front or middle vowel the spirant is the palatal [ç], and after a back vowel the velar [x]. The stop has remained unchanged in other positions.

\[20\] Prokosch, Grammar, pp. 82-84.

\[21\] Grimme, Mundarten, p. 54.
West Germanic [b]

High German: The bilabial voiced spirant became the bilabial voiced stop [b] except in the final position, where it became the unvoiced stop [p]. Whenever the [b] developed from the spirant becomes final, it, too, becomes the voiceless [p].

Low German: The spirant became [b] in the initial position, remained unchanged medially, and became the voiceless spirant [f] in the final position.

Dialect: As in both High and Low German, the initial spirant has become [b], but a very irregular development is shown in the medial and final positions. The bilabial spirant has sometimes been retained intervocalically and has sometimes become [b]. In addition, the bilabial spirant has sometimes become the labio-dental voiced spirant [v]. There is even more variation in the final position. Here both the High German [p] and the Low German [f] occur. The voicing is sometimes retained,

---

22 Prokosch, Grammar, pp. 79-80.
23 Grimme, Mundarten, pp. 50-51.
however, in the spirants [θ] and [v]. Only the voiced stop [b] does not occur finally.

**West Germanic [d] (d)**

(The Germanic [d] had already become a voiced stop in West Germanic.)

High German: The voiced stop became the corresponding voiceless dental [t] in all positions.

Low German: It should first be noted that West Germanic "thorn," [θ], merged or fell together with West Germanic [d] in Low German and thus both developed identically. The voiced dental stop was retained in the initial position. In the intervocalic position the consonant disappeared except where the following syllable bore a secondary stress. In the final position it became the voiceless dental [t].

Dialect: The initial consonant has developed as in Low German, although [t] does appear once in this

---

24. Prokosch, Grammar, p. 76.

25. Ibid., p. 89.

position in the text. The Low German [d] occurs in the initial position, and intervocalically the consonant has usually disappeared. Unlike both Low German and High German, [d] has sometimes been retained in the final position, though relatively seldom. In this position, [d] occurs only as an unreleased stop.

**West Germanic [γ]**

High German: In the initial and medial positions, the velar voiced spirant became the velar voiced stop [g]. In the final position it became the unvoiced stop [k], except after [I], where it has been palatalized to [q].

Low German: The voiced spirant became either the voiceless spirants [ç], [x], or the voiced stop [g] in the initial position. Medially it became [g] in some areas and remained unchanged elsewhere. In the final position, the spirant became unvoiced to either [ç] or [x], depending upon the preceding vowel.

Dialect: In the initial position before a

---

stressed vowel, the spirant has become the semivowel [j]. The initial phone of the unstressed participial prefix, however, may be either [j] or the stop [g]. Initially before a consonant, the voiceless spirant [g] has developed. Medially the West Germanic spirant has become [j], [g], or has disappeared. In the final position, it has usually become a voiceless spirant, but [k] sometimes occurs. There is no discernible pattern in the variation of consonants in the medial and final positions or in the initial position in an unstressed syllable.

Thus of the six consonants only one, West Germanic [k], has been extensively affected by the High German Sound Shift. High German forms of the remaining consonants appear only sporadically in the speech of the informants. In some instances, however, phones appear which do not correspond to the development of High German or of Low German. These phones may stem from the local dialect spoken by the grandparents of the informants, or they may have developed more recently in Roberts Cove. The question of the origin of these phones is best considered in conjunction with the comparison of the speech of each of the informants with the dialects of the Selfkantkreis
Geilenkirchen-Heinsberg, insofar as this is made possible by the material in the Deutscher Sprachatlas.

Before making this comparison, a description of the atlas is necessary in order to indicate certain limitations which it imposes on the comparison. The raw material for the atlas was obtained by means of questionnaires sent to the public schools throughout the German Empire, and eventually throughout the German-speaking areas of Europe. The school masters were requested to record the sentences of the questionnaire in the local dialect. More than 40,000 samples of local dialects were gathered in this manner. The pronunciations of individual words were then plotted on maps which were published over a period of several decades. The material was, however, gathered between 1876 and 1888. 29 Thus the pronunciations plotted on the maps represent those of the German dialects at approximately the same time that the settlers of Roberts Cove emigrated. However, only relatively few of the total number of words have been plotted. Of these words, six do not appear in the sample text

29 Wrede, Sprachatlas, Text, pp. 7-8.
obtained from the informants in Roberts Cove, leaving only forty-eight words to be compared. The scale of the maps is such that it is impossible to indicate the pronunciation, or perhaps more accurately spelling, of the words in each of the locations from which the material was gathered. Isoglosses on the maps indicate areas in which one pronunciation predominates, and variations which occur in significant number within the larger area are indicated by means of arbitrary symbols printed on the maps. It is thus possible to locate a specific pronunciation, or spelling, within a relatively small area, but not in a specific town or village. Indeed, in the area being considered here, only the towns of Geilenkirchen and Gangelt appear on the maps. The most severe limitation of the Sprachatlas, however, is the ambiguity introduced by the fact that the standard alphabet was, by necessity, used to represent the dialectal pronunciations. Various diacritic marks are sometimes used but do little to alleviate the possibilities of error in the system. Specific difficulties arising from this source will be mentioned where relevant.

The first column below lists the words in their
Standard High German forms. In the second column the spellings from the atlas are listed. Where one or more forms are predominant in the entire area, they are identified by P (Predominant). The forms indicated as occurring in the western section are identified by S (Selfkant), and those in the eastern part by G (Geilenkirchen). Where nothing is given for P, the two parts of the area do not share a predominant form. In the third column A and C represent the pronunciations of Leona and William F. Zaunbrecher, respectively, and B that of Mr. Gossen. It should be kept in mind that the Zaunbrecher family originated in the eastern section near Geilenkirchen and the Gossen family in Gangelt, which is in the Selfkant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High German</th>
<th>Deutscher Sprachatlas</th>
<th>Informants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ich</td>
<td>P ich&lt;sup&gt;30&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>A [ɛç]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B [I?, ɛç]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C [ɪɻ, ɛç, Iɻ, ɛk]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dir</td>
<td>P dech, dich&lt;sup&gt;31&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ABC [dɪɻ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beiBen</td>
<td>P bɨten&lt;sup&gt;32&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>AC [bɪtən]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., Karte 4; Text, p. 3.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., Karte 5; Text, p. 27.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., Karten 6-7; Text, pp. 29-33.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HIGH GERMAN</th>
<th>DEUTSCHER SPRACHATLAS</th>
<th>INFORMANTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>machen</td>
<td>P make&lt;sub&gt;33&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>A [make, maːkə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S mage</td>
<td>B [maːkə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C [maːkən, maːkə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bruder</td>
<td>P brower, brojer,</td>
<td>A [bRoːwɚ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>brouer, brouwer,</td>
<td>B [bRoːwɚ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>brauer</td>
<td>C [bRoːdəR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G broder</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S broer&lt;sup&gt;34&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laut</td>
<td>P hell</td>
<td>A [hel]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(synonyms)</td>
<td>G hart&lt;sup&gt;35&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>B [heləR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C [laud&lt;sup&gt;-&lt;/sup&gt;]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heiB</td>
<td>P hēt&lt;sup&gt;36&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>A [heɪt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B [heɪt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C [het]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kind</td>
<td>P kenk, kend, kānk,</td>
<td>A [keInt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kengd, kīnd, keind,</td>
<td>C [keInt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ki&lt;sup&gt;37&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iBt</td>
<td>P ett</td>
<td>A [?et]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G ett</td>
<td>B [?et]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S ess&lt;sup&gt;38&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>C [et]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

33 Ibid., Karten 10-11; Text, pp. 41-47.
34 Ibid., Karten 12-13; Text, pp. 48-53.
35 Ibid., Karte 14; Text, p. 57.
36 Ibid., Karte 16; Text, p. 67.
37 Ibid., Karte 17; Text, p. 73.
38 Ibid., Karte 18; Text, p. 77.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HIGH GERMAN</th>
<th>DEUTSCHER SPRACHATLAS</th>
<th>INFORMANTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ist</td>
<td>Ist P es</td>
<td>A [ɛs]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S is[^39]</td>
<td>B [ɛʃ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C [ɛs]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>euch</td>
<td>P öch</td>
<td>A [dɪç]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S och, üch[^40]</td>
<td>B [zɪ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C [dɪç]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fest</td>
<td>G fäs</td>
<td>A [fast]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S fast[^41]</td>
<td>C [fast]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haus</td>
<td>P hus</td>
<td>A [hus]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G hous[^42]</td>
<td>B [hus]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C [hus]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hinter</td>
<td>G hinter</td>
<td>A [axtər]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(synonyms)</td>
<td>S achter, hinter[^43]</td>
<td>B [hɪntər]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C [axtər]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gebrochen</td>
<td>P gebroke, gebroake,</td>
<td>A [jabRo:ækə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C [jabRo:ækə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S gebroken, gebroaken,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S gebreken, gebreen[^44]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weh</td>
<td>P wië</td>
<td>B [wiə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S wije, we[^45]</td>
<td>C [viə]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[^39] Ibid., Karte 19; Text, p. 81.
[^40] Ibid., Karte 21; Text, p. 91.
[^41] Ibid., Karte 23; Text, p. 102.
[^42] Ibid., Karte 24; Text, p. 107.
[^43] Ibid., Karte 26; Text, p. 115.
[^44] Ibid., Karten 28-30; Text, pp. 129-137.
[^45] Ibid., Karte 33; Text, p. 155.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HIGH GERMAN</th>
<th>DEUTSCHER &lt;br&gt;SPRACHATLAS</th>
<th>INFORMANTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sich</td>
<td>P sech</td>
<td>A [zIg]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G sich</td>
<td>B [zIg]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S sich&lt;sup&gt;46&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unserm</td>
<td>P os, oss</td>
<td>A [o:s]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G unserm</td>
<td>B [os]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S ös, ues, üs, oes&lt;sup&gt;47&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>C [o:s]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiese</td>
<td>P wiese&lt;sup&gt;48&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>A [ɛR'tRælt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G wies, wīs</td>
<td>B [weIs]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C [tæ stRø]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gänse</td>
<td>G gös&lt;sup&gt;49&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>A [juIs]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S gaus</td>
<td>C [jɛR/t]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er</td>
<td>P ä, hä</td>
<td>A [ɛR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G e</td>
<td>B [ɛR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S he&lt;sup&gt;50&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>C [ɛR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schöne</td>
<td>P schönn</td>
<td>A [nætə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G nett, schuen</td>
<td>B [nɛtə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S nett, schoen&lt;sup&gt;51&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>C [nætə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erzählt</td>
<td>P vertält, vertellt</td>
<td>A [fɛRtɛlt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vertält</td>
<td>B [ʔɛRtɛlt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S verteld, verzaut&lt;sup&gt;52&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>C [gɪzak-'t]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., Karte 36; Text, p. 168.
<sup>47</sup> Ibid., Karten 39-40; Text, pp. 181-185.
<sup>48</sup> Ibid., Karten 41-42; Text, pp. 188-191.
<sup>49</sup> Ibid., Karte 45; Text, p. 205.
<sup>50</sup> Ibid., Karte 48; Text, p. 215.
<sup>51</sup> Ibid., Karten 49-50; Text, p. 217.
<sup>52</sup> Ibid., Karten 51-52; Text, pp. 227-231.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HIGH GERMAN</th>
<th>DEUTSCHER SPRACHATLAS</th>
<th>INFORMANTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>trinken</td>
<td>P drenke, drinke,</td>
<td>A [dRɛiŋkə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>treinke, dränke&lt;sup&gt;53&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>B [dRɛiŋkə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C [dRIŋkə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sprechen</td>
<td>P sprechen</td>
<td>A [ʃpʁɛːIkə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G sprechen</td>
<td>B [ʃpʁɛːIkə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S sprechen, kallen</td>
<td>C [tuləR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vier</td>
<td>P veer</td>
<td>A [vəR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S veijr, veier,</td>
<td>B [veIR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vejer&lt;sup&gt;55&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>C [feIR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hinten</td>
<td>G hänge, hänge</td>
<td>A [də'heR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S echte&lt;sup&gt;56&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>B [əktə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pfund</td>
<td>G ponk</td>
<td>A [pɔnt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S pond, pund, pənd,</td>
<td>B [pɔnt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>punj, ponjd, pondj,</td>
<td>C [pɔnt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ponk, pongk&lt;sup&gt;57&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luft</td>
<td>P luft, loft, locht&lt;sup&gt;58&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>A [loft]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B [loft]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alt(e)</td>
<td>P au-</td>
<td>A [auwə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G auw-, auj-</td>
<td>B [auwə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S auw-, auj-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, Karten 53-54; Text, pp. 235-239.<br>
<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, Karte 55; Text, p. 243.<br>
<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, Karte 57; Text, p. 257.<br>
<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, Karten 60-61; Text, pp. 267-271.<br>
<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, Karte 62; Text, p. 273.<br>
<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, Karte 63; Text, p. 281.<br>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HIGH GERMAN</th>
<th>DEUTSCHER SPRACHATLAS</th>
<th>INFORMANTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>und</td>
<td>P on</td>
<td>A [un, unt, unt-]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S un, en, und</td>
<td>B [unt-, unt, un]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C [ən, un]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bau(en)</td>
<td>G bau-</td>
<td>A [buwa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S bu-, buw-</td>
<td>B [boːwa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C [buə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eis</td>
<td>P ës</td>
<td>A [is]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B [is]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C [is]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamen</td>
<td>P kom, koam</td>
<td>A [kɔmə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G koem</td>
<td>B [kɔmə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S kãm, kãm, kãm,</td>
<td>C [kɔmə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kãm, kõm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salz</td>
<td>G soot, sot</td>
<td>A [zaut]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S saut</td>
<td>B [zault]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C [zaut]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoch</td>
<td>P huch</td>
<td>A [hoːə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G huech</td>
<td>B [huox]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S huech, hoch</td>
<td>C [huəx]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HIGH GERMAN</th>
<th>DEUTSCHER SPRACHATLAS</th>
<th>INFORMANTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Schwest(er)</td>
<td>G schwest-, schwäst-,</td>
<td>A [ʃweːstɐR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S söst-, sööst-66</td>
<td>B [ʃwestɐR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C [ʃustɐR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>das</td>
<td>G dat</td>
<td>A [daɛt, dat]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(demonstrative)</td>
<td>S det, dat, dät 67</td>
<td>B [daɛt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C [daɛt, dat]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>müde</td>
<td>P mög</td>
<td>A [moe Iç]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G mö</td>
<td>B [moe Iç]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S möd, möch</td>
<td>C [moe Ik]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bin</td>
<td>G ben, benn</td>
<td>A [bIn]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S bön, ben, beihn,</td>
<td>B [bIn, ben]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ban, bö69</td>
<td>C [bIn]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zwei</td>
<td>G zwei</td>
<td>A [twia]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S twie, twië, twe,</td>
<td>B [twia]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>twiee70</td>
<td>C [twia]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geh</td>
<td>P gank</td>
<td>A [jaːŋk]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G jank</td>
<td>B [jaːŋk]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S chank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

66 Ibid., Karte 91; Text, p. 320.
67 Ibid., Karte 92; Text, p. 321.
68 Ibid., Karten 94 and 98; Text, pp. 325-326.
69 Ibid., Karte 99; Text, p. 327.
70 Ibid., Karte 103; Text, p. 328.
71 Ibid., Karte 104; Text, p. 329.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HIGH GERMAN</th>
<th>DEUTSCHER SPRACHATLAS</th>
<th>INFORMANTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sind</td>
<td>G send</td>
<td>A [zInt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S send, sin, si, sēn</td>
<td>B [zInt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C [zInt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3rd pl.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wort</td>
<td>G woet, wood</td>
<td>A [woRt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S wort, woart, woord</td>
<td>B [woRt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C [woRt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>als</td>
<td>P es, ās</td>
<td>A [als, wi, vi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G als, as</td>
<td>B [wi, voejk]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S als, as</td>
<td>C [vi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fliegen</td>
<td>P flege, flegen</td>
<td>A [flean]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S fleege, fleegen</td>
<td>B ['flegIn]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C ['flegIn]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>was</td>
<td>P wat</td>
<td>A [wat]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S wāt</td>
<td>B [wat]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C [wat]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auf</td>
<td>P ob, ob</td>
<td>B [up]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C [up]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be seen in this comparison that the partial shifting of [k] previously noted in the speech of the

---

72 Ibid., Karte 108; Text, p. 333.
73 Ibid., Karte 112; Text, p. 334.
74 Ibid., Karte 116; Text, p. 335.
75 Ibid., Karten 122 and 126; Text, p. 339.
76 Ibid., Karte 127; Text, p. 341.
77 Ibid., Karte 128; Text, p. 341.
informants was a feature of the dialect spoken by the first settlers of Roberts Cove, although the atlas and sample text do not agree in specific instances. The stop, for instance, occurs in the text in the dialectal equivalent of sprechen and sometimes in that of ich, but is not indicated in these words in the atlas. The atlas does not indicate that the High German Sound Shift had affected [t] at all, but the High German consonants do occasionally appear in the text. Assuming then, that the High German forms of this consonant did not appear in the dialect of their grandfathers, it remains to be determined whether the informants' use of these forms represents a recent influence of High German on the dialect or merely the imitation of the sound of the sentences being translated. By examining the sentences of the text, it can be seen that the High German affricate and spirant do occur in sentences translated from English, specifically in the words [tswemə], [jants] and [wa:səR]. It must be concluded, then, that these High German forms have entered the dialect of Roberts Cove as alternate phones for the stop, but only to very slight extent. The third voiceless stop, [p], was not affected by the sound shift in
the original dialect and has remained unchanged in the Cove.

It is more difficult to determine whether or not the consonants which developed from the West Germanic voiced spirants have undergone further change since the settling of Roberts Cove, because of the uncertainty concerning the sounds represented by the spelling of these consonants in the *Sprachatlas*. In addition, nothing further can be said of the irregular development of West Germanic [β] in medial and final positions which was previously noted, since the atlas does not treat the words in which the consonants occur in these positions. There can be little determined about the occurrence in the dialect of the voiced stop [d] in the final position. To be sure, d is written in this position in the atlas, but there is no indication that it is not intended to represent the voiceless stop [t] as it would in the orthography of Standard German. Since, however, the dialect usually follows the pattern of unvoicing final stops, and since [d] occurs finally in sentences translated from High German, the occasional use of the voiced dental stop in this position is possibly a result of an
English influence on the phonology. The origin of the phones which have developed from West Germanic [γ] also remains uncertain. The atlas does not treat any word in which the sound occurs finally and only one in which it occurs medially. In this word, fliegen, two of the informants use the voiced stop [g], which is apparently indicated by the spelling of the forms in the atlas, and the third has dropped the consonant altogether. While the atlas does not indicate a form in which the consonant has disappeared medially, it would hardly be possible to conclude that this single instance represents a change in the phonology of the dialect. Although the atlas treats three words in which this consonant occurs initially, it is equally impossible to draw a firm conclusion concerning the consonant in this position. It has been noted that the dialect has developed [j] regularly before a stressed vowel and that this phone alternates with [g] before an unstressed vowel. The Sprachatlas indicates one form beginning with j for one of the three words treated, and uses the letter g in all other instances. The phonetic value of this letter is, however, uncertain. Concerning the word Gänse, the atlas states:
The problem is even more clearly stated in reference to the participial prefix.

"Überall ist ge- die vorwiegende Schreibung, über deren phonetische Geltung damit nichts gesagt ist. Denn da die Gewährsmänner auch beim Schriftdeutsch sprechen die dialektische Artikulation des ge- in der Regel beibehalten, so bleibt dies unbewusst auch ihr Schriftzeichen, wenn sie Dialekt schreiben wollen. Mann muss sich also an die eingetragenen Ausnahmen und Einzelzeichen halten, . . . besonders an die wagrechten Strichzeichen für die j-Formen . . ."  

Although the nearest symbol indicating the occurrence of j-Formen of the prefix is some distance to the east of Geilenkirchen, it can probably be assumed that these forms existed in the dialect of the emigrants. It is also possible that the original dialect also regularly used [j] before stressed vowels, but this, too, must remain a matter of conjecture.

---

78 Ibid., Text, p. 205.  
79 Ibid., Text, p. 129.  
80 Ibid., Karte 28.
It has already been observed that High German has influenced the Roberts Cove dialect to the extent of the occasional use of the africate [ts] and the spirant [s], and that an English influence is possibly responsible for the occurrence of a final [d]. The question of external influences on the phones other than those involved in the High German Sound Shift now arises. There is nothing in the preceding material to suggest any further phonetic influence of High German, although the regular use of er should perhaps be mentioned as a possible adoption of a High German pronoun form, since the atlas does not indicate that this form occurred in the area. The only phone which has almost always replaced the original phone or phones in the dialect is the English semivowel [w]. There can be no doubt that the occurrence of this phone in the dialect represents an external influence, since English is the only West Germanic language in which it did not become a bilabial or labio-dental spirant. The English phones [A] and [d] occur in the text only in sentences translated from English, and thus do not represent an influence on

81 Prokosch, Grammar, p. 93.
the phonology of the dialect. It may be concluded, then, that, with the exception of the adoption of [w], the phonology of the dialect has changed but little after nearly a century of relative isolation.

Concerning the survival of regional variations in the dialect, it cannot be said that either the Zaunbrecher or Gossen families, as represented by the informants, has retained to a distinguishable degree dialectal features stemming from the immediate locality from which their forebears emigrated. Specific instances which illustrate this conclusion are:

1. **Pfund.** All three informants use a form which apparently stems from the Selfkant.

2. **Geh, Gänse.** The atlas indicates that [j] occurs only in the Geilenkirchen area and only in the first of these two words. While the uncertainty concerning the phonetic value of the letter g has already been pointed out, the regular use of [j] before a stressed vowel by the informants may nevertheless indicate a leveling of local differences.

3. **euch.** The accusative plural of the familiar second person has disappeared from the speech of all three
informants, although the atlas gives several forms of the pronoun. Examination of the text shows that the nominative pronoun has also disappeared. The informants substitute either the singular familiar or the polite forms of the second person pronoun.

4. er. It has already been mentioned that all of the informants use the High German pronoun rather than any of the dialectal forms given in the atlas.

5. hinter. Both of the Zaunbrechers use a secondary form which stems from the Selfkant. Mr. Gossen uses a form common to the entire area.

In addition to these specific instances, it is significant that, where differences of pronunciation occur in words not treated in the atlas, it seldom happens that both of the Zaunbrechers use one form and Mr. Gossen another. It appears that some local features have come into general use, either replacing other forms or existing as alternate forms, and others have disappeared. Because of the close relationships, both social and marital, which connect the members of the Roberts Cove community, this is probably as true of all the individuals who still speak the dialect as it is of the informants.
Before discussing the extent of the use of the dialect among the descendants, the factors pertinent to its survival should be mentioned. It has already been stated that all of the original settlers spoke the same Low German dialect, or perhaps mutually intelligible dialects, from the same relatively small area from which they emigrated. Some of them were also conversant with High German, although to what extent is not now known, and some of the people arriving in later years spoke only High German. Except in the school and church, however, the Low German dialect has always been the principal form of German spoken in the Cove. 82

Although the German immigrants were a rather small group in the midst of an English—and Acadian French—speaking population, there was no really significant loss of the native language for the first half century of the existence of the settlement. The community's remaining a closely knit group bound by the ties and circumstances enumerated in the previous chapters was largely responsible for the retention of the dialect in spite of the fact

82 Interview: N. J. Gossen; and Interview: William F. Zaunbrecher.
that even the original settlers learned English, at least to some degree. While the majority continued to use German until well past the First World War, some members of the community were apparently more conversant with English than with German rather early—as evidenced by the partial use of English in the church beginning in 1899. The use of only English at an early date may have arisen in some families in which one parent spoke only High German and the other only Platt, thus having only English as a common tongue and teaching only English to the children. This circumstance has arisen in more recent years and could very possibly have occurred earlier. Of course, the same situation would not necessarily have produced the same results at the turn of the century as it did several decades later, when additional factors influencing the retention and loss of the language had developed.

The rather rapid decline in the use of German as a

\[83\] Ibid.

\[84\] Crowley Daily Signal, April 8, 1899.

common means of communication seems to have begun with the termination of the German school in 1922. Almost all of the people who attended the school while instruction was still given in German still speak either Platt or High German or both, while the great majority of those who were instructed in English are at present monolingual. Apparently the schooling in German was necessary to reinforce the use of German in the home, even though the latter may have been Platt. Some of the people who learned High German in school, for example, have since forgotten it, but still retain the dialect. On the other hand, the changing attitudes after World War One which caused the termination of the school to begin with may have also caused a lack of interest in communicating with the children in German. In any case, there are now few descendants under the age of fifty who are still conversant with Platt, although some can understand it to a degree. Most of those over fifty are still conversant with Platt, some only with High German and some with both. Usually the older people, and some of the younger ones, who do not now know German did at one time and have since
forgotten it through disuse.\textsuperscript{86} Both the family and geography play a role in this case. In mixed marriages and in instances in which the person concerned left the area of the Cove while still young, the resulting disuse usually caused the loss of the language. The older persons living in the near vicinity of the Cove, especially if the spouse spoke the same language, has had the opportunity to use it and has maintained a knowledge of German, though not usually teaching it to the children during the past generation. Even when the language was taught to the children, it fell into disuse after they began to attend a school in which they were exposed only to English.\textsuperscript{87} There can be little doubt, though it cannot be demonstrated, that the development of mass communications and rapid transportation, beginning about the same time that the German school ended, have also helped to cause the decline in the use of German among the last two generations.

At present fewer than half of the people who still

\textsuperscript{86} Appendix D.

\textsuperscript{87} Ibid.
speak Platt or High German or both commonly use the languages in the home. The remainder seldom have occasion to speak the language other than perhaps at the family reunions or the St. Leo's Day celebration. The singing of hymns and carols in High German by the entire congregation does not, of course, require a thorough knowledge of the language.

It can be reasonably assumed that the use or knowledge of Platt will not survive to any extent for more than another decade or two. Although there are a few young people now conversant with the dialect, their opportunities for using it will decrease rapidly as the older generation disappears, and disuse over a long period invariably results in the loss of facility in the language, if not in complete forgetfulness of it. It does not seem likely that the recent renascence of interest in the German heritage will result in the revival of Platt. At least there has been no indication of an interest in doing so, though regret at its passing has been expressed. High German, though fewer people speak

\[88\text{Ibid.}\]
it at present than do Platt, may well linger on to some degree after the Low German dialect has disappeared. There is every indication that the High German songs will continue in use indefinitely. While this does not constitute a real knowledge of the language, it almost assuredly means that High German will at least be heard in Roberts Cove after the passing of the Low German dialect. As a means of communication, however, it hardly seems likely that High German will endure any longer than Platt.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This study has shown that the establishment of the German community of Roberts Cove and the maintenance there of a number of German customs and of the German language is a unique phenomenon in the history of German immigration into Louisiana.

The Germans who came to the French colony of Louisiana emigrated because their homeland had been impoverished by constant warfare and because John Law's Western Company promised them land and prosperity in the New World. In certain years of the 19th Century, thousands of people left Germany as a result of crop failures. However, most of the Germans who emigrated during this period left home for a combination of economic, social, political and religious reasons, including the dislocations caused by industrialization, abortive revolutions, military conscription, and the Kulturkampf. In general,
these emigrants hoped to preserve a way of life rather than to begin a new one. The people who settled in Roberts Cove had the same reasons for emigrating as did the hundreds of thousands of Germans emigrating at the same time. In their case, however, there was an additional factor in the person of Father Peter Leonhard Thevis. Had it not been for the efforts of Father Thevis, these people may not have emigrated at all. It is even less probable that they would have emigrated as a group or, since few Germans settled in the state after the Civil War, that they would have gone to Louisiana. Thus their destination as well as their motivation was different to some degree from that of the vast majority of contemporary German immigrants.

The first Germans in Louisiana were completely isolated from their native culture. There was no further immigration of Germans and the language of the church, government and most of the population was French. It is not surprising, then, that, even though they lived in their own separate communities, these Germans were rapidly assimilated into the prevailing culture. In the 19th Century, on the other hand, Germans in New Orleans, as
elsewhere in the United States, took an active interest in preserving their German heritage and, as a necessary adjunct, their native tongue. Churches provided worship in German, schools were available for a German education, German books and newspapers were printed. In short, a community was developed and maintained which was German in language, social life and religion, although it was American in politics and business. However, the process of assimilation constantly made inroads. Subsequent generations with no memories of Germany were not always interested in maintaining a language different from that of the majority. Native-born and immigrant alike frequently grew away from the German community as a result of marrying a non-German. To offset these losses and to maintain contact with the old country, new immigration was necessary. When immigration was stopped by the Civil War and never reached significant proportions thereafter, German culture in New Orleans practically disappeared in little more than a generation. German publications had ceased and German church services were rare long before the anti-German sentiments of World War One eliminated
the vestiges of the once thriving center of German culture in New Orleans.

The establishment of a permanent settlement at Roberts Cove remained doubtful for a time. Although some of the immigrants had arrived with capital, most were poor, and for three years their efforts to farm the land were unsuccessful. Had it not been for the development of the modern rice industry at that time, the group would have probably dispersed, or at least moved on to more fertile fields. Once the proper crop was found, however, the German farmers rapidly became not only self-sufficient but prosperous, and the continued existence of the community was assured. The preservation of a cultural entity in Roberts Cove was dependent upon the presence of a German Catholic Church. Indeed, the church constituted, to a large degree, the culture of the simple farmers who settled in the Cove. Had it not been for the church school, the language would have no doubt disappeared long ago, as evidenced by its relatively rapid decline since the termination of the German school. Had the owners of the farther removed farms attended the nearest churches rather than returning to St. Leo's on weekends, the
incidence of mixed marriages and the consequent loss of the language would have no doubt been much greater in the first three generations. And, of course, had not the church been established, those customs peculiar to the German Catholic Church which now essentially comprise the German heritage of the Cove community would have been left behind in Germany. That the community was able to establish its church was due partly to the efforts of Father Thevis and partly to good fortune, or the favor of Providence. It was Father Thevis who twice directed Benedictine monks to Roberts Cove, but it was good fortune that Father Hennemann eventually made his way to New Orleans in search of a refuge which his monastery did not need or want. After the Benedictines came to the Cove for the second time, however, it was the enthusiastic support of the community which kept them there. The parishioners gave freely of time and money to build the church and school, and later to obtain private teachers. With the help, then, of Father Thevis, the Benedictines, and Providence, Roberts Cove remained thoroughly and almost exclusively German until several years after the First World War.
After the war, and probably in a reaction to it, interest in maintaining the German school began to wane. The private teachers were replaced by non-German teaching nuns in 1922. The use of German in the church declined until, except for some hymns, it ceased altogether in 1950. As a consequence of many factors, the incidence of mixed marriages increased and the loss of the language thus accelerated. Because of the Great Depression and an increasing population, many descendants moved away from Roberts Cove and usually lost the German language and customs in doing so. Those who have remained in the Cove or the immediate vicinity, however, have remained conscious of their German heritage and have retained many church-related aspects of it. Indeed, in recent years interest in their heritage has grown stronger among the inhabitants of Roberts Cove and contact with distant relatives has been renewed. It seems probable then, that the Cove community will keep indefinitely those aspects of German culture that still remain, and will continue to be called "German Cove" locally. The language, on the other hand, seems destined to die out.

The Low German which is now spoken by many of the
older inhabitants of the Cove and immediate vicinity is essentially the same as that spoken by the first immigrants, although there has been a slight change in the phonology under the influence of English, and some variations in the original dialects seem to have leveled. For a variety of reasons, not the least of which was the termination of the German school, few members of the fourth and fifth generations now speak the language, though many did as children. The dialect will therefore no doubt disappear within perhaps two decades. High German, on the other hand, will quite possibly continue in use to a very limited extent as long as the church retains its German character. As a means of communication, however, High German will probably not outlive the Low German dialect in Roberts Cove.
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books


Davis, Ellis Arthur (ed.). *The Historical Encyclopedia of Louisiana*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana Historical Bureau, 1940?.


__________. *Die europäische Einwanderung nach den Vereinigten Staaten*. Im Selbstverlage des Verfassers, 1897.


Das Redemptionssystem im Staate Louisiana. New Orleans: Im Selbstverlage des Verfassers, 1901.


Harris, Wm. H. Louisiana Products, Resources and Attractions. New Orleans: Times Democrat Print, 1881.


Poole, T. W. Some Late Words About Louisiana. Louisiana Bureau of Immigration. New Orleans: Crescent Steam Print, 1891.


Periodicals


_______. "Reconstruction and the New Orleans German Colony," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXIII (1940), 501-524.


**Newspapers**

The *Acadia Sentinel* [Rayne, Louisiana], October 23, 1886—September 10, 1887.
Acadia Tribune [Rayne, Louisiana], 1894-____.

Crowley [Louisiana] Daily Signal, 1898-____.


Rayne [Louisiana] Signal, 1886-1887.


Unpublished Materials


Holy Trinity Catholic Church, New Orleans, Louisiana. Records of 1881.

Parish of Orleans, Louisiana. **Civil District Court Records.**

St. Joseph's Catholic Church, Rayne, Louisiana. **Records of 1881-1882.**

St. Landry Parish, Louisiana. **Declaration of Intention to Become United States Citizen.**

St. Landry Parish, Louisiana. **Land Conveyance Records. 1881-1887.**

St. Landry Parish, Louisiana. **United States Land Entries.**

St. Leo's Catholic Church, Roberts Cove, Louisiana. "Parish Notes."

St. Leo's Catholic Church, Roberts Cove, Louisiana. **Records of 1883-1965.**


APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

The figures for immigration into the United States and through the port of New Orleans are taken from: J. Hanno Deiler, Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von New Orleans (New Orleans: Im Selbstverlage, 1897). The percentages are calculated. Deiler gives two sets of figures, official and his own estimate. Only the official figures are used here. An asterisk indicates incomplete records for that figure.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Germans Entering the United States</th>
<th>Germans Through New Orleans</th>
<th>Per Cent Through New Orleans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>968</td>
<td>411*</td>
<td>42.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>12*</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1822</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>10*</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1823</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1824</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>32*</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1825</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>4*</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1826</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1827</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>30*</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1828</td>
<td>1,851</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1829</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>1,976</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1831</td>
<td>2,413</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>10,194</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>6,988</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834</td>
<td>17,686</td>
<td>941</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>8,311</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836</td>
<td>20,707</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1837</td>
<td>32,740</td>
<td>1,437*</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>11,683</td>
<td>1,273</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX A (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Germans Entering the United States</th>
<th>Germans Through New Orleans</th>
<th>Per Cent Through New Orleans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1839</td>
<td>21,028</td>
<td>2,817</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>29,704</td>
<td>1,156</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>15,291</td>
<td>3,145</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>20,370</td>
<td>3,114*</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>14,441</td>
<td>1,041*</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td>20,731</td>
<td>944*</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>34,355</td>
<td>6,214</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>57,561</td>
<td>9,556</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>74,281</td>
<td>8,807</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>58,464</td>
<td>5,314*</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>60,235</td>
<td>2,903</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>78,896</td>
<td>8,612</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>72,482</td>
<td>9,930</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>145,918</td>
<td>11,630*</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>141,946</td>
<td>18,718</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>215,009</td>
<td>29,092</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>71,913</td>
<td>11,081</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>71,028</td>
<td>8,842</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>91,781</td>
<td>7,649</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>45,310</td>
<td>5,931</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>41,784</td>
<td>5,352</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>54,491</td>
<td>6,875</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>31,661</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>27,529</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>33,162</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>57,276</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>83,424</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>115,892</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>133,426</td>
<td>-------*</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>55,831</td>
<td>1,753</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## APPENDIX A (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Germans Entering the United States</th>
<th>Germans Through New Orleans</th>
<th>Per Cent Through New Orleans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>131,042</td>
<td>-----*</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>118,225</td>
<td>-----*</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>82,554</td>
<td>1,952</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>141,109</td>
<td>2,681</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>149,671</td>
<td>2,359</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>87,291</td>
<td>1,570</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>47,769</td>
<td>699</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>31,937</td>
<td>643</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>29,298</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>29,313</td>
<td>665</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>34,602</td>
<td>745</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>84,638</td>
<td>1,159</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>210,485</td>
<td>1,212</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>250,630</td>
<td>862</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>194,786</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>179,676</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>124,443</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>84,403</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>106,865</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>109,717</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>99,538</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>92,427</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>113,554</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>130,758</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>78,756</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>53,989</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>32,173</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B

LAND ACQUISITIONS

1881: March 28, Thevis, Peter J. and Gerhard; borders: N-lands of John Clark Turner, E-estate of Benjamin F. McClelland and public land, S-Bayou Wikoff, W-lands of Thomas Robertson and Emma L. Clark. 387 acres, $967.50 cash. (Sec16 T9S R2E and Sec42 T9S R1E ?)

July 29, Grein, Herman, Homestead, Lot #1 Sec 7 T9SR2E, 154.7 acres.

November 28, Zaunbrecher, N. J.; borders: N-public lands, S-Bayou Wikoff, W-J. Manouvier, E-M. L. Lyons. 213 acres, $640 cash. (Sec 37 T9S R2E)

1882: January 9, Gossen, Peter. 100 acres in Sec 10 T9S R2E and Sec 39 T8S R2E, $450 cash.

January 9, Hensgens, C. J. 100 acres in same sections as P. Gossen. $325/$100 down.

January 9, Wirtz, H., 100 acres in same sections as Gossen. $325/$50 down.

January 9, Reiners, Frantz. 50 acres in same sections. $162.50/$40 down.

December 19, Schlicher, Lambert, Homestead, N1/2 of SE1/4 of Sec 19 and N1/2 of SW1/4 of Sec 20 T9S R1E, 162 acres.
1883:  September 17, Schlicher, Johann P., Homestead S1/2 of SW1/4 of Sec 18 and N1/2 of NW1/4 of Sec 19 T9S RlE, 162 acres.

December 26, Lenards [sic], August, Homestead, Lot #1 Sec 6 T9S R2E, 114.5 acres.

1884:  February 25, Thevis, Joseph, Homestead, HA SE1/4 of SE1/4 Sec 24 and NE1/4 of NE1/4 of Sec 25, T9S, R1E, 80 acres.

March 18, Wirtz, Hubert, Homestead, F.C. NE1/4 Sec 7 T9S R1E, 162.62 acres.

October 6, Zaunbrecher, Nicholas J., Homestead, T.C., Lots No. 1 & 2 and N1/2 of NW1/4 of Sec 25 T9S RlW, 148.28 acres.

October 6, Zaunbrecher, Nicholas J., Homestead, H., Lots No. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and SW1/4 of SW1/4 of Sec 25 T9S RlW, 161.30 acres.

October 24, Gossen, Joseph, Homestead, Home NW1/4 S24 T9S RlW, 162.98 acres.

November 24, Leonards, Joseph, Homestead, T.C. SW1/4 Sec 24 T9S RlW, 162.90 acres.

December 25, Thevis, Jacob, Homestead, Home Lot #2 Sec 6, T9S, R2E, 132 acres.

1886:  February 15, Thevis, Gerhard, on N side of B. Wikoff, beginning at NE corner of Sec 16 T9S R2E, from said corner N to NW corner of Sec 42 T9S RlE, a sufficient distance E and W to make 56 acres. $200 cash.

February 15, Thevis, Peter Jos., all rights to the undivided 1/2 of irregular Sec 42, T9S R1E and irregular Sec 16 T9S R2E, 338 acres, $200 cash.
1886: May 20, Theunissen, Hubert J., $162.50/$12.50 down.
(1) In Roberts Cove, first 40 acres of prairie land on W of part of same tract sold by present vendor (Antoni Frey) to C. Henschens [sic], commencing at SW corner of Henschens land, W on the line 600 ft., N on parallel lines sufficient distance to give 40 acres. (In Sec 10 T9S R2E and Sec 39 T8S R2E)
(2) Woodland just north of the first tract and W of C. Henschens [sic] lands: from prairie edge of timber on W line of Henschens land, following timber edge W 300 ft., N on parallel lines to Bayou Plaquemine Brulee. 10 acres.

November 18, Zaunbrecher, Joseph, El/2 of SE1/4 of Sec 26 T9S R1W, 80 acres. $120 cash.

November 22, Leonards, Joseph, W1/2 of SE1/4 of Sec 26 T9S R1W, 80 acres. $120 cash.

1887: February 12, Schlicher, Lambert, in Crowley, Lots 6 & 7, Block 130, each 50 x 150, on 9th St. $24/ $12 down.

April 22, Heinen, Joseph, a piece of land in St. Landry Parish, bounded on one side by land of Mr. Clark and on other by that of Mr. Gossen, 140 acres. $490/$300 down. (In Sec 10, T9S R2E and Sec 39, T8S R2E)

1888: January 31, Heinen, Joseph, Sec 7, T9S R2E (north of B. Wikoff), 100 acres. South part of Lots 3 & 4. $550 cash.

March 1, Thevis, Peter Joseph, all of Sec 8, T8S R1E, 652.84 acres. $2568/$1800 down.

November 13, Zaunbrecher, Wm. F. (Wm. T.?), NW1/4 of NE1/4 of Sec 16, T9S R1E (lot #8 of said Section) 41.08 acres. $123.30/$12.33 down.
November 16, **Ohlenforst**, John W., NW\(\frac{1}{4}\) of SE\(\frac{1}{4}\) Sec 3, T9S R1E, 40 acres; E\(\frac{1}{2}\) of E\(\frac{1}{2}\), Sec 10, T9S R1E, 161 acres; total, 201 acres. $1600/$1000 down.

1896: January 29, **Schlicher**, Sarah M., S\(\frac{1}{2}\) of SW\(\frac{1}{4}\) Sec 18, and N\(\frac{1}{2}\) of NW\(\frac{1}{4}\) Sec 19, T9S R1E, 161 acres, for previous debts. (Bought from husband, Jno. P. Schlicher)

May 2, **Thevis**, Gerhard, W\(\frac{1}{2}\) Sec 8 T8S R1E, 321 acres, $3210/$2610.

May 23, **Hensgens**, C. J. & **Dischler**, S\(\frac{1}{2}\) Sec 9 T8S R1E, 322 acres, $3000/$1000.

July 16, **Scheufens**, Theodore, 140 acres bounded by Clark & Gossen (purchased by Heinen in 1887) $1080 cash.

November 6, **Habetz**, Heinrich, W\(\frac{1}{2}\) of NE\(\frac{1}{4}\) Sec 15, T9S R1E, 80 acres, $800 cash.

November 20, **Spaetgens**, H. J., 40 acres: N, Spaetgens; S, T. McClelland; E, Murphy; W, J. Ohlenforst. $400 cash. NOTE: SAME LAND SOLD BACK TO E. J. MURPHY, $405/$5.

1897: February 15, **Heinen**, Joseph, all of Sec 15, T8S R1E except SW\(\frac{1}{4}\) of SW\(\frac{1}{4}\), $4800 cash.


July 3, **Zaunbrecher**, N. J.,
1. S\(\frac{1}{2}\) and NE\(\frac{1}{4}\) of SE\(\frac{1}{4}\) of Sec 4;
2. W\(\frac{1}{2}\) of NE\(\frac{1}{4}\) of Sec 9;
3. SE\(\frac{1}{4}\) of Sec 9;
4. N\(\frac{1}{2}\) and SW\(\frac{1}{4}\) of NW \(\frac{1}{4}\) of Sec 9;
5. NE\(\frac{1}{4}\) of NE\(\frac{1}{4}\) of Sec 9;
6. SE\(\frac{1}{4}\) of NW\(\frac{1}{4}\) of Sec 9: T9S R1E, 440 acres, $3448/$2448.
July 9, Zaunbrecher, N. J., S1/2 of SW1/4 Sec 18 and N1/2 of NW1/4 Sec 19, T9S R1E, 161 acres, $1000/$520.70 (Schlicher homestead).

October 26, Schlicher, Mrs. Sarah M., N1/2 of SE1/4; SW1/4 of NE1/4; and SE1/4 of NW1/4 of Sec 36, T8S R1W, 173 acres, $1800 cash.

November 8, Schlicher, Mrs. Sarah M., (nee Thrailkill), Lots 1, 2, & 7, Blk. 147, Crowley, $850/$250.

November 17, Gossen, William, NE1/4 of Sec 13, T9S R1W, 162.5 acres, $2000 cash.

November 24, Leonards, August, (1) 100 acres: N, I. Stutes(?); S, J. Hoffpauir(?); E, O. Bruner; W, Coopwood, R1E T8S. (2) plus 17 acres elsewhere: $1000 cash.

December 27, Habetz, Henri, Lot 6, Sec 27 T8S R1E, 31 acres, $240 cash.

December 31, Wirtz, Alphonse C., NW1/4 of Sec 34 T8S R1E, 100 acres, $1000/$534.

1898: January 25, Heinen, Joseph, et al., NE1/4 of Sec 31 T9S R2E, 79 acres; plus 8 acres South of Bayou Wikoff, $1500 cash.


November 17, Zaunbrecher, William J., all of Sec 18, T8S R1E, 640 acres, $5000/$2000.

December 5, Reiners, Frank, NE1/4 of Sec 22 T8S R1E, 160.61 acres, $1600/$600.

1899: January 11, Heinen, Joseph, all of W1/2 of Sec 14 T8S R1E, except for 100 acres of E portion of W1/2 sold to Wm. Heinen (below), 220 acres, $2400 cash.
January 11, Heinen, William, (1) NE1/4 Sec 14, T8S R1E, 160 acres; (2) 100 acres of E side of W1/2 of Sec 14, having a N frontage of sufficient width and N boundary of said section, and running S between parallel lines to make the 100 acres: $1200/$500.

March 6, Schlicher, Mrs. Sarah M., NW1/4 of NW1/4 of Sec 18, T10S R1E, 40 acres, $500/$100.

March 7, Schlicher, Mrs. Sarah M., lot or parcel of land adjoining town of Crowley on the W, front of 26 chains & 43 links on the continuation of the S side of 8th St., with depth of 4 chains & 44 links and between parallel lines, together with all buildings and improvements, 12 acres, $500 cash.

June 8, Heinen, Joseph, & Gerhard Thevis, 209 acres in Roberts Cove, prairie land with improvements, bounded by: N, Grace Lyons; S, Lignoon & Boudreaux; E, Miguez; W, public road on land of J. Heinen & Herman Grien [sic]. (Land that present vendor, Grein, acquired from U. S. Govt.), $655.21 cash.

June 27, Ohlenforst, John W., W1/2 of NE1/4 of Sec 15, T9S R1E, 80 acres, $420 cash.


November 10, Leonard [sic], Joseph, (1) NE1/4 of Sec 22, T8S R1E, 160.61 acres; (2) 40 acres in Roberts Cove: N, Henry Gossen; E, Hubert Theomison [sic]; S, public land; W, Dadol Schreiners; (3) 10 acres woodland in same area: N, Bayou Plaq. Brulee; E, Henry Gossen; W, Dadol Schrievers, $1074.35/$551.60.
December 2, Schlicher, Sarah M., 12 acres, W of town of Crowley: front of 26 chains & 43 links on the continuation of 8th St., by depth of 4 chains & 54 links between parallel lines. (Same property that vendor acquired this day from purchaser) $1000/monthly payments.

December 4, Habetz, Anna M., Lot No. 6 of Sec 27, T8S R1E, 31.84 acres, $300/$100.

December 29, Schaffhausen, Joseph, in town of Rayne: at corner of Texas Ave. & Polk St., in Block No. 1 of Cunningham Div., commencing at NE corner of Lot No. 6; running W 50 ft; then running back 120 ft. between parallel lines; thence E 50 ft; then back to place of beginning. With buildings and improvements. $1250/$350.

1900: February 5, Zaunbrecher, Maria H. (nee Leonards), NE1/4 of Sec 8, T8S R1E, 160 acres, $635 (cash?)

February 28, Gossen, Joseph, in Sec 27, T8S R1E, 126 acres, $1500 cash.

March 12, Zaunbrecher, Nico. J., NW1/4 of NE1/4 of Sec 16, T9S R1E (lot 8), 41 acres, $123.30 cash.

July 30, Scheufens, Theodore, 100 acres in Cove (estate of William Reiners(?)): N, B. Plaq.; S, Sec 16, T9S R1E, $650 (cash?)

September 24, Spaetgens, Henry J., 30 acres: N, Ed Murphy; S, W. Ohlenforst; E & W, Spaetgens. $200 cash.

November 17, Heinen, Joseph, EL/2 of SW1/4 Sec 22, T8S R1E, 80 acres, $800 cash.

December 13, Leonard [sic], Joseph, 20 acres N of B. Wikoff: N, J. B. Anding; S, W. W. Duson; E, Duson; W, Rt Clark. $200 (cash?)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
December 17, Reiners, Frank, (1) NE1/4 of Sec 22, T8S R1E, 160 acres; (2) 40 acres in Cove: N, H. Gossen; E, H. Theunissen; S, public road; W, Danol Schvieren(?); (3) 10 acres of woods: N, B. Plaq. Brulee; E, H. Gossen & Dodal Scheuver(?); S, H. Gossen; W, Dodal Schnieven. $1000 cash.

December 18, Habetz, Anna M., (1) SW1/4 of NW1/4 of Sec 11, T9S R1E, 40 acres; (2) adjoining Lot 6, 9 acres; (3) Lot 6, 7 acres. $625/$200.

December 21, Spaetgens, H. Jos., (1) N1/2 of SE1/4 of SE1/4 of Sec 3, T9S R1E, 20 acres; (2) E1/4 of SW1/4 of SE1/4 of Sec 3, T9S R1E, 10 acres. $218 cash.

December 21, Habetz, Anna M., W1/2 of SW1/4 of SE1/4 of Sec 3, T9S R1E, 20 acres, $145 cash.
APPENDIX C

The maps in this appendix are copied from the map of Acadia Parish published by the Louisiana Department of Highways (January 1, 1966). The scale of Maps I-IV is: 1/2 inch = 1 mile. The information used to plot the land acquisitions on these four maps is contained in Appendix B. Acquisitions of less than 40 acres and town lots were not plotted.

The scale of Map V was reduced because of the necessity of including a larger section of the parish. The scale is approximately: 3/8 inch = 1 mile. The information used to plot the land holdings on this map was obtained from a set of maps maintained by the Assessor's Office of the Police Jury of Acadia Parish and published by Edgar Tobin Aerial Surveys (January 1, 1961). On Map V the shaded area inside a given Section of land is intended to show the proportion of that Section owned by the descendant or descendants of the original settler rather than the exact location of the land within the
Section. Areas of less than 40 acres were not plotted.

It should be noted that this map shows only the land held by descendants bearing the names of the original settlers. The map should thus be considered as indicative of the trend apparent on the first four maps, rather than an exact representation of the holdings of all of the descendants.
APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRE AND SUMMARY OF REPLIES

The following questionnaire was sent to 125 persons bearing the names of families associated with the history of Roberts Cove. The names and addresses were obtained from the Telephone Directories of Rayne, Crowley, Opelousas, Lafayette, and Eunice, Louisiana.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR DESCENDANTS OF THE GERMAN SETTLERS OF ROBERTS COVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Name of original settler.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>What relation was he?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Did he come directly to the Cove from Germany? If not, where in the U. S. did he first reside? For how long? When did he arrive in the Cove? Do you know what caused him to move to Roberts Cove?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Did you grow up in the Cove? If you are not now in the Cove, when did you or your family leave?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Did you go to school at St. Leo's? How many years?
6. Did you have any instruction in German in school?
   How many years?
7. Were both of your parents of German descent?
8. Did your parents speak German in the home? If so,
   was it Platt or High German?
9. Do you often speak German at home? Platt or High?
10. Do you ever speak German? Platt or High?
11. Even if you do not speak German, can you understand
    it? Platt or High?
12. If you do not speak or understand German, did you at
    one time?
13. Do any of your children speak German? Platt or High?
14. Do any of them understand it, even though they cannot
    speak it?
15. Are there any habits or customs in your family that
    you may attribute to your German background? For
    instance, the celebration of St. Nicholas Day, sing-
    ing of German hymns or songs, etc. Please list
    these and give a brief description.
16. Please list any such customs which were observed
in your parents' home but have been discontinued in yours.

Forty-three replies were received. In the summation of these replies, the respondents have been divided into four age-groups, namely (A) 27-31, (B) 35-40, (C) 49-62, and (D) 66-78.

**SUMMARY**

1. For all respondents. Total—43. Number in each age group: (A) 8; (B) 17; (C) 10; (D) 8.

1. Persons who often use German in the home:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>3 (High-0; Platt-2; Both-1)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>4 (High-1; Platt-1; Both-2)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 (16% of total respondents)

2. Persons not included in 1 who speak German on occasion:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>3 (High-2; Platt-1; Both-0)</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>2 (High-1; Platt-1; Both-0)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>2 (High-0; Platt-2; Both-0)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>3 (High-1; Platt-0; Both-2)</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10 (23% of total respondents)
3. Persons not included in 2 who understand German:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group A</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-group B</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-group C</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-group D</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 (16% of total respondents)

4. Persons not included in 3 who once knew German:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group A</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-group B</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-group C</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-group D</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 (7% of total respondents)

5. Persons who indicate the observance of German customs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group A</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-group B</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-group C</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-group D</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25 (58% of total respondents)

II. For respondents not living in Roberts Cove: Total--33. Number in each age-group: (A) 7; (B) 14; (C) 8; (D) 4.

1. Persons who often use German in the home:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group A</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-group B</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-group C</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-group D</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6 (18% of total respondents in II)
2. Persons not included in 1 who speak German on occasion:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 (9% of total respondents in II)

3. Persons not included in 2 who understand German:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8 (24% of total respondents in II)

4. Persons not included in 3 who once knew German:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 (9% of total respondents in II)

5. Persons who indicate the observance of German customs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15 (45% of total respondents in II)
III. For respondents reared in Roberts Cove. Total--21.
Number in each age-group: (A) 3; (B) 7; (C) 3; (D) 8.

1. Persons who often use German in the home:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>1 (High-0; Platt-0; Both-1)</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>4 (High-1; Platt-1; Both-2)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 (24% of total respondents in III)

2. Persons not included in 1 who speak German on occasion:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1 (High-1; Platt-0; Both-0)</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>1 (High-1; Platt-0; Both-0)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>2 (High-0; Platt-2; Both-0)</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>3 (High-1; Platt-0; Both-2)</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 (33% of total respondents in III)

3. Persons not included in 2 who understand German:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 (24% of total respondents in III)

4. Persons not included in 3 who once knew German:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 (10% of total respondents in III)
5. Persons who indicate the observance of German customs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19 (91% of total respondents in III)

IV. For respondents living in Roberts Cove. Total—10.
Number in each age-group: (A) 1; (B) 3; (C) 2; (D) 4.

1. Persons who often use German in the home:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 (40% of total respondents in IV)

2. Persons not included in 1 who speak German on occasion:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td>___</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 (40% of total respondents in IV)

3. Persons not included in 2 who understand German:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
### 4. Persons not included in 3 who once knew German:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

0

### 5. Persons who indicate the observance of German customs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10 (100% of total respondents in IV)

### V. For respondents having both parents of German descent. Total—33. Number in each age-group:

(A) 6; (B) 10; (C) 9; (D) 8.

1. Persons who often use German in the home:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>3 (High-0; Platt-2; Both-1)</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>4 (High-1; Platt-1; Both-2)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 (21% of total respondents in V)
2. Persons not included in 1 who speak German on occasion:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age-group A</td>
<td>2 (High-1; Platt-1; Both-0)</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-group B</td>
<td>1 (High-1; Platt-0; Both-0)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-group C</td>
<td>2 (High-0; Platt-2; Both-0)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-group D</td>
<td>3 (High-1; Platt-0; Both-2)</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8 (24% of total respondents in V)

3. Persons not included in 2 who understand German:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age-group A</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-group B</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-group C</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-group D</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 (21% of total respondents in V)

4. Persons not included in 3 who once knew German:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age-group A</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-group B</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-group C</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-group D</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 (3% of total respondents in V)

5. Persons who indicate the observance of German customs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age-group A</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-group B</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-group C</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-group D</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26 (79% of total respondents in V)
VI. For respondents whose parents spoke German in the home. Total—29. Number in each age-group: (A) 4; (B) 8; (C) 9; (D) 8.

1. Persons who often use German in the home:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>3 (High-0; Platt-2; Both-1)</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>4 (High-1; Platt-1; Both-2)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 (24% of total respondents in VI)

2. Persons not included in 1 who speak German on occasion:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>2 (High-1; Platt-1; Both-0)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>1 (High-1; Platt-0; Both-0)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>2 (High-0; Platt-2; Both-0)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>3 (High-1; Platt-0; Both-2)</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8 (28% of total respondents in VI)

3. Persons not included in 2 who understand German:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 (24% of total respondents in VI)

4. Persons not included in 3 who once knew German:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 (3% of total respondents in VI)
5. Persons who indicate the observance of German customs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23 (79% of total respondents in VII)

VII. For respondents who received instruction in German at St. Leo's School. Total—12. Number in each age-group: (C) 4; (D) 8.

1. Persons who often use German in the home:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6 (50% of total respondents in VII)

2. Persons not included in 1 who speak German on occasion:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 (42% of total respondents in VII)

3. Persons not included in 2 who understand German:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 (8% of total respondents in VII)
5. Persons who indicate the observance of German customs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Age-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11 (92% of total respondents in VII)

One person in age-group C and four in age-group D indicated that their children were conversant with German. Only the person in age-group C gave the ages of his children. These were thirty-four and thirty-six.
VITA
VITA

Stanley Joe McCord was born in Lawton, Oklahoma, on April 27, 1936. He was educated in the public schools of New Orleans, Louisiana, and graduated from high school in 1954. After serving in the United States Army, he entered Louisiana State University in 1957 and received the Bachelor of Arts degree in June, 1960. He began graduate study in the Department of Foreign Languages at Louisiana State University in February, 1961, and thereafter was awarded a National Defense Fellowship for three years of graduate study in the fields of German Literature and Linguistics. He received the Master of Arts degree in January, 1963. He was awarded a Fulbright fellowship for study at the Freie Universität Berlin in 1963-1964. After two more years of graduate study at Louisiana State University, he joined the faculty of the University of Alabama as instructor in the Department of German and Russian. He is a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in June, 1969.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Stanley Joe McCord

Major Field: German

Title of Thesis: A Historical and Linguistic Study of the German Settlement at Roberts Cove, Louisiana

Approved:

[Signatures]

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signatures]

Date of Examination:

April 10, 1969