

The Germans in Dobrudscha (Part 9)

The book listed below, containing 248 pages of information, is being translated chapter by chapter and posted as each chapter is completed. Part 1 gives you a summary of each of the 15 chapters in the “Contents” section. The words in the [square brackets] are those of the translator and are not found in the original text.

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The Germans in Dobrudscha

**along with a contribution
to the history of the German
migration in Eastern Europe**

**by
Paul Traeger**

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9.

Number of Germans, Reproduction, Kinship Marriages, Health, Emigrating Again

According to the findings of the individual localities, the total number of Germans in Dobrudscha amounted to 8,534 people, distributed among 1,594 families. If you add the rough estimate found in the Bulgarian section, there are about 1,750 families with 9,400 souls.

It is only a small fraction of the huge mass of German people who live in the dispersion. But it is one of a separate part of foreign Germans that we can survey on the basis of precise systematic research according to number, development, structure, possession conditions, family surnames and more, which little is able to be said about others in this manner. It allows us, therefore, to take a closer look at some questions which otherwise are not investigated for lack of exact groundwork or only to be judged according to general impressions. To this belong some questions that go into the area of population patterns and mental hygiene. In this context, it is also important to ensure that there is an almost uniform data in terms of professional activity and cultural status. The Germans of Dobrudscha, with few exceptions, belong in importance to the farmer population. Hardly 100 families, more or less, support an urban character, because some of the Germans in Tulcea, Constantza and Cernavoda are also involved in agriculture. So we also have to deal with German farmers, and indeed with small farmers of quite the same level of education. An intelligent layer of intellectual professions has not developed from out of them so far.

The current population of around 1,600 families with 8,550 heads has emerged from an immigration, which continued for fairly close to half a century and brought into the country approximately—in part according to certain investigations, in part according to taxation assessments—800 families. In barely a generation, the influx from the outside has generally ceased and the increase has only taken place from within itself. The tribe of the original immigrants would have thus just doubled. However, it must be kept in mind that for more than three decades a considerable migration has taken place. I have tried to determine in all villages how many families have emigrated from each. By what was obtained, of course based on information only from the memory of people, it is possible that often this and the other family has been forgotten, so that with that in mind the calculated number of approximately 400-425 may be rather too low as too high. We saw that of the settlements of the last immigration period, after a short time, some disbanded again and a good part of the new arrivals, unsatisfied and disappointed with Dobrudscha, again left. We can estimate these to be about 175 families. They are, if we want to get a picture of the natural increase, to be subtracted from the total number of immigrants as insignificant, so that the present stock would be traced back to only about 625 families. However, for this consideration, we must add the other part of the emigrants of 250 families who were born in Dobrudscha and whose descendants belong to the immigrants. Therefore, by 1850, there was an expansion of approximately 625 families.

This increase, which goes considerably beyond the average multiplication of European peoples, supports another aspect if we can assume that today's total number of Dobrudscha Germans has already been reached or even exceeded in the early days. In fact, this seems to be the case. Accurate and reliable statistics from an older epoch are missing, but a few more early figures on the number of Germans deserves attention. Due to information from Dobrudscha itself, Richard Lesser, the editor of the "*Weltpost*," figures 600 families with about 3,000 persons (*Köpfe*) in 1883.¹ At approximately the same amount, A.E. Lux takes the number of Germans to be 3,024 in 1886.² This is still information from the time before the last larger influx from Russia. More important and, it seems, based on more precise and to some extent reliable findings, is an ethnographic statistic about the Dobrudscha people which was obtained by the Geneva anthropologist Eugene Pittard in 1901 from the Romanian school auditor in Constantza, M. Banesco. He calculates the Germans to be 8,779.³ So that would be the current number over by a few hundred, so that the Germans in Dobrudscha, in the last two decades, did not only not increase, but even experienced a reduction. The emigration must have accordingly fully compensated the natural increase in this time.

But even if one disregards this that the current number was already reached 18 years ago, there remains an extraordinarily large natural multiplication.

It is obvious to first think of an exceptional wealth of children of these German colonist families. In this respect, exaggerated notions are generally the usual thing, and travelers, who have visited German agricultural colonies somewhere in Brazil or Russia or also in Dobrudscha, almost never fail to mention in their reports and descriptions, be they ever so scanty, the families with 10 and 12 and 15 children, so that one gets the impression that this is the rule. I have also been able to observe this tendency sufficiently towards generalization in the eye-popping cases in Dobrudscha. Upon closer examination, the situation here, and certainly in other colony areas, is considerably different.

The preconditions for a large number of children, however, are rarely met in the German Dobrudscha villages. Celibacy is practically non-existent. Both sexes marry very early, so the average duration of marriages is a very long one. One comes across young 16 year old mothers quite often. The number of childless marriages is small. I have not been able to find a childless couple in various villages. In 3 larger ones, I found among 369 families only 15 without children, however, among whom also the young married couples were included who did not yet have any children. That would then come to 4 childless per 100 married couples. In Copenhagen, in 1880, out of 34,075 married couples, there were no less than 6,804 that were childless, which is 19.96%,⁴ and in Berlin, in the years 1886-1900, it averaged 27%.⁵ And if, according to Ruemelin, 9.09% of women are sterile,⁶ this certainly does not apply to the Germans in Dobrudscha. An intentional limitation of the number of children, as it has long been considered immoral by some of the Siebenbürg [Transylvanian] people of Saxony and also

¹ "*Weltpost*," Blätter für deutsche Auswanderung, Leipzig 1883, 11. Heft, S. 188.

² Die Balkanhalbinsel. Physikal. U. ethnogr. Schilderungen, Freiburg i. Br. 1887. S. 52.

³ Dans la Dobrodja. Notes de voyage. Geneve 1902. S. 47.

⁴ Rubin, Markus und Westergaard, Harald, Statistik der Ehen. Auf Grund der sozialen Gliederung der Bevölkerung. Jena 1900, Tabelle I.

⁵ Mombert, Paul, Studien zur Bevölkerungsbewegung in Deutschland. Karlsruhe 1907. S. 236.

⁶ Rümelin, Gustav, Reden und Aufsätze, Tübingen 1875. S. 314.

observed in some German colonies of the Banat, seems to be still completely unknown in Dobrudscha. The conditions for the raising of the children here are overall favorable. The state of health in the German colonies is generally very good, and, in particular, the children's diseases do not seem to be very widespread. In Atmagea, I was assured that scarlet fever had been a completely unknown disease and had only occurred for the first time in 1916. Measles ("*Griseln*") also seldom happens. I never saw children anywhere with anemia, rickets or being malnourished. But despite all these favorable conditions, the families with an exceptionally high number of children are not the norm even among the Dobrudscha farmers.

We determined 8,534 people and 1,594 families. That averages to 5.35 persons per family. This is somewhat more than the commonly accepted estimation calculations, compared to the actual circumstances in the European folk culture of a too high prevailing number of 5, but this does not lead to a conclusion of a particularly large wealth of children. However, it should be remembered that the number gained in this simple way for the average family large numbers is just due to the normal early marriages. In the families there are usually only the younger children or just the parents only, while the children of marriageable age have already established their own families.

In order to get a more accurate picture of the marital fertility, I have made special observations in 1,295 families about the number of children. I have excluded the non-farmer families in Constantza, Cernavoda and Tulcea in advance of this study, as well as those in scattered residences with whom I was unable to obtain reliable information about the number of children. Furthermore, these 1,295 families are only those who actually had children with them, and I unfortunately had to limit myself in most villages to determine only these children without accounting for those who had already left the parental home. Married couples without children are also not counted, neither the old ones whose children had already left, nor all of the young couples who, for natural reasons, had not had any yet. To count the children outside the houses of parents, often outside the village, it would have been a very involved survey of house to house, which I could not take the time in every place. These were, of course, also not taken into consideration in the lists of the mayors and local commandants. However, in the case of 354 families in 3 bigger villages, I determined the children who are alive, so that a base is furnished as to how far the total amount of the counted families would shift the results without the error of the incomplete count.

There were 5,261 children in the 1,295 families. So that is an average of 406 children per 100 married couples. The 354 families, whose number of children I was able to determine, had 1,611 children, coming to 455 per 100 marriages. This is a high average, but not exceptionally over the top in comparison to other folk groups, at least when we are using the same occupational classes for comparison. So, for example, in the census of 1881 for 100 married couples in Copenhagen there were only 307 children (1901 = 325); however, 413 in the Danish districts.

In itself, the average number of 4.55 children in exceptionally children prolific families would not be out of the question if there was in contrast a correspondingly large number of families with very few children, i.e. when due to social reasons two different classes to some extent developed in the villages. However, a look at the nature of the distribution of the children clearly shows that this is not to be considered. Of the 354 families, 91 had — 1 or 2 children,

231 had — 3 to 7, 83 had — 7 and more, 50 had — 8 and more, and only 16 enjoyed an abundance of 10 and more. A similar ratio also results in the investigation of the extensive data of 1,295 families. It is only to be remembered in these figures that the not included in the count children, who are no longer in the house of their parents, with few exceptions, would fall to the prolific families, since these are predominantly to the older children who have been married for many years. The numbers of the families with 3 to 7 and 7 and more children therefore lag behind the actual circumstances a bit. Out of the 1,295 married couples, 411 had — 1 or 2 children, 757 had — 3 to 7, 224 had — 7 and more, 127 had — 8 and more, but only 33 had — 10 and more.

If we calculate both results for each thousand families and compare the proportions in France, we get the following picture:

Out of 1,000 families they have:

	Less than 3 Children	3 to 7 Children	7 and more	8 and more
In all the families counted	257	602	232	141
In the incompletely counted	317	585	173	98
In France ⁷	655	314	31	?

Accordingly, almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of all the families of the German Dobrudscha farmers have at least 3 children. Since the rest of the quarter mainly includes young marriages whose fertility has not yet been completed, it can be said that only a very small portion remains barren of children. In 60% of families there are 3-7 children. A medium child fertility is thus the prevailing state. We see the opposite picture in France. Here, families with few children are by far in the majority. A good part of German marriages, about 14%, still comes to 8 and more children. However, the widely used ideas of the frequency of an exceptional wealth of children are not well founded. The families with 10 and more children also form a small minority among the Dobrudscha colonists. It is not an exceptionally high number of children in many families that is the outstanding factor for the rapid proliferation of the German farmers, but it is by far the constant regularity of a considerable offspring in most marriages, coupled with the almost highest possible frequency of marriages, so that a failure in the natural increase due to celibacy or infertility is almost entirely avoided.

The family of father Adam Kühn, which was considered earlier, might be an example of this constant regularity of the entering into marriage of all those of marriageable age and a constant good fertility from an ancestral couple even without a predominantly high number of children of the individual descendants already in a wide branching out within a few generations. Adam Kühn, born in 1807 in Georgia [Caucasus], along with his wife Karoline, 5 years younger than he was and herself born in Germany, produced 11 children within 27 years, the first one coming into the world in 1820 and the last one in 1856. If the average duration of female fertility is 22 years,⁸ wife Karolina did not surpass that by much. 3 of the children, Eva, Augustina and

⁷ Gruber, M. v. und Rüdlin, Fortpflanzung, Vererbung, Rassenhygiene, 2. Aufl. München 1911. Tab 176 nach E. Jayle, Revue medicale 1911. No. 14.

⁸ Brentono, Lujo, Die Malthussche Lehre und die Bevölkerungsbewegung der letzten Dezennien. (Abh. d. Bayer. Ak. D. Wiss. XXIV, 3. Abt., S. 577.

Wilhelm, died already in childhood.⁹ From the offspring, only 8 come into consideration. I am introducing these and their children by the first names in order to show at the same time their old fashioned character which the farmers in general have faithfully recorded. Frequent modern and foreign first names have infiltrated only in the most recent generation. The 8 children of Adam were: Susanna, Matthias, Karolina, Wilhelmina, Christina, Christian, Katharina, Gottlieb. 49 children were produced and reared:

Coming from Susanna are 5: Christine, Matthäus, Friederike, Susanna, Helene.

Coming from Matthias are 9: Karl, Justine, Christoph, Johann, Matthäus, Julie, Karoline, Maria, Luise.

Coming from Karoline are 10: Justine, Christian, Friedrich, Gottlieb, Wilhelm, Samuel, Susanne, Katharina, Wilhelmine, Christine.

Coming from Wilhelmina is 1: Johann.

Coming from Christine are 5: Karoline, Friedrich, Gottlieb, Susanne, Christoph.

Coming from Christian are 11: Friedrich, Johann, Christian, Andreas, Gottlieb, Wilhelm, Ferdinand, Karl, Karoline, Marie, Luise.

Coming from Katharina are 6: Karoline, Luise, Juliana, Christoph, Johann, Christina.

Coming from Gottlieb are 2: Susanna, Julie.

Unfortunately, the generation of the great grandchildren are only followed up with fewer members. The fate of the migration and scattering, that inevitably seems to determine the fate of these German colonists, has torn them apart. Of the next generation of grandchildren, some live in different villages of Dobrudscha, no less than 11 are farmers in North Dakota, one has gone to Bucharest, and 3 were lured back to the old homeland. They acquired land from the Posen Settlement Commission and are now in turn facing the anxious question of whether they should once again grab for the migrating staff, or stay and, as before in Dobrudscha, plow in foreign soil. Of the 39 grandchildren, I was only able to determine precisely that 11 produced 55 offspring, the number of children in each family being 7-2-7-5-5-5-6-3-4-4-7. But I was reliably assured that even the others were all married, have children, many 7 and 8 and more. So the number of great-grandchildren of Adam Kühn is estimated to be already about 250.

The number of children, however, is known not to be the only factor that determines the numerical up and down of a population. Even with a small number of births a multiplication can still take place, as well as with a large or a standstill or a declining number of births, depending on whether the mortality is higher or lower. In this respect, too, the conditions in the German colonies appear favorable. There is no unhealthy situation in them, due to bad water and, due to it, malaria-related diseases. Similarly, the nourishment conditions of the farmers are good, the living quarters clean, the way of life calm and regulated. I have already pointed out the low

⁹ So, for example, the most loved first name for a girl is "Lydia."

spread of childhood diseases and also the souls list which a mayor from Atmagea mentioned, in which, in addition to the registry entries, a rubric on “physical blemishes” was also set up. Except for the consequences of superficial injuries such as lameness and fractures and the symptoms of short-sightedness and hard of hearing, only a wasting disease (*Auszehrung*) and asthmatic condition (*Engbrüstigkeit*) are recorded. However, above all, the hereditary diseases, tuberculosis, mental illnesses and nerve diseases seem to be almost completely absent. I have never encountered an idiot in any of the villages. No doctor has yet settled in them, even where there are larger colonies in the surrounding neighborhood such as Cogelac, Tariverde, Caramurat and Cogeala, so that a German doctor would have to care for 3,000-4,000 people here. They assured me repeatedly, “Most people die of old age.”

A comprehensive statistical data for the numerical determination of the mortality rate is not available. However, the reports of some parish pastors about their official acts are enough to recognize how low the number of annual deaths is, how far they lag behind in particular behind births. From earlier time, I found a record in the church records of Atmagea. According to that, there were in the two colonies of Atmagea and Ciucurova:

1868:	27 Child Baptisms	03 Deaths	03 Marriages
1869:	30 “	10 “	07 “
1870:	25 “	12 “	03 “
1871:	36 “	08 “	08 “

During this period of 4 years, there were also 33 deaths over against no less than 118 births.

According to the report of the pastor in the Bucharest House Calendar of 1910, the following:

In Caramurat	829 Souls	40 Baptisms	19 Burials	9 Weddings
In Malcoci	730 Souls	41 Baptisms	10 Burials	5 Weddings

At the beginning of 1911, this Calendar reveals the following details:

Parish Dist. Atmagea:	2,043 Souls	112 Baptisms	33 Burials	15 Weddings
Parish Dist. Constanta:	1,273 Souls	97 Baptisms	16 Burials	12 Weddings
Caramurat:	742 Souls	44 Baptisms	22 Burials	04 Weddings
Culelia:	237 Souls	10 Baptisms	04 Burials	03 Weddings
Malcoci:	710 Souls	40 Baptisms	16 Burials	06 Weddings
Tariverde:	610 Souls	32 Baptisms	02 Burials	01 Weddings
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	5,622 Souls	335 Baptisms	93 Burials	41 Weddings

According to these statements, the number of births exceeds that of deaths by more than 3.5! Out of 1,000 inhabitants, there were 59.9 births in the year under review, but only 16.5 deaths. Compared to the circumstances in Germany and entire Romania, both numbers signify extremes. In Germany, the average birth rate for the years 1895-1912 was 33.5, in Romania 40.7; the

average rate of deaths for the same period in Germany 19.3, in Romania 26.4.¹⁰ Still more acutely impressive to the eye are these extremes and their effect in the excessive numbers of births over deaths. In the aforementioned German colonies, of 1.000 inhabitants there were more born than died: 43.4; in Germany only 14.2, in Romania 14.3.

After all, it follows that the extraordinarily rapid multiplication of the German colonists similar to the number of marriages and an evenly widespread number of children have effected a very low mortality.

The high level of physical and mental health, which undoubtedly characterizes the German farmers, is still remarkable from a different point of view. According to a widely held point of view, even from some of the medical authorities, one must rather expect the opposite because of the nature of their marriages, as it is customary in the colonies since leaving Germany. All over here we find marriages of kinship. What has already happened in Russia happens in the same way or probably to a greater degree and without exception to a smaller degree in Dobrudscha: with few exceptions, marriages always take place only from within the village. Only where a few colonies are of the same confession, lying in the close neighborhood, such as Atmagea and Ciucurova or Cogealac and Tariverde, they have also developed closer relationships in this respect. That a high degree of blood kinship must have developed within a few generations does not require any reference, especially considering how close the circle for the husband's choice was, since it is predominantly around villages with a small number of families. Only 4 of all Dobrudscha colonies come to more than 80. The farmers are well aware of this situation. Everywhere you get to hear: "We are all male and female cousins," or "The whole village is friendly (*Freundschaft*)," as one always says instead of using the word *relatives* (*Verwandschaft*). In some cases, even marriages between step-brothers and sisters are to have taken place. The strongest blood relationship (*Consanguinität*) will of course be in the colonies whose founders already lived together in Russia and were already familiar with each other, like those from Caramurat and Culelia coming from the Bessarabian Catholic settlement of Krassna.

Nevertheless, it is in vain to look for all the effects and degenerative characteristics in the German farmer families that should show up primarily for inbred and related marriages. There can be no mention of diminished fertility of marriages due to the lack of conception abilities (*Konzeptionsfähigkeit*) of women,¹¹ nor manifestations of mental and physical degeneracy. Like mentioned, nowhere have I observed cases of idiocy, nor deaf muteness and hereditary blindness, physical malformations and diseases of the nervous system, physical weakness or overly small (*Ueberfeinerung*). It certainly speaks to an extraordinary hereditary health of these farmers, when, despite the close blood mixture, there is no noticeable elevated occurrence of pathological tendencies.

¹⁰ E. Dietrich, Statistik der Geburtenziffern in den Kulturstaaten. In C. v. Noorden u. Kaminer, Kraukheiten und Ehe. Keipzig 1916, S. 1052 ff. — Of interest also is a comparison with a South Russia colony, for which Keller (Band I, S. 188) gives the underlying support. In the Klein-Liebenthal parish, in the 21 years from 1884 to 1905, the number of births amounted to 2.121, 837 for those that died. The proportion here was a little less advantageous, which has mainly contributed to the fact that in several years the occurrence of the epidemic of scarlet fever and diphtheria has multiplied the number of deaths far beyond the average.

¹¹ According to Mantegazza, Kohl and others, 10-18% of blood-related marriages should remain sterile. Vergl. Kraus, F. u. Döjrer, H., Blutsverwandschaft in der Ehe und deren Folgen für die Nachkommenschaft. In "Krankheiten und Ehe, S. 63.

On the other hand, the effect of kinship marriages is revealed in another circumstance. It is the striking large resemblance in the physical type which has formed in some villages between all its inhabitants and gives them a certain characteristic uniformity of the external appearance. In one village, we encounter almost exclusively short, broad-shouldered, and strong-boned men, and stout women with round, full faces. Just as in another, we find very large, slender figures and long, narrow face shapes, even the women are without a great tendency to being fat. A look at the typical and group condition of Caramurat and Palaz Mare on the one hand, and Atmagea on the other hand, bears out these resemblances of the type within a village. The acceptance of a common German tribal homeland of the villagers concerned would not be enough to explain this.

About the type of marriages, the choice of spouses within the village among more or less close relatives of blood, we get valuable information if we look closer at the family names that occur. First of all, here the number is comparatively low. Thus, in the three old Lutheran colonies of 215 families, there are only 73 different names, in the three old Catholic of 344, only 77. Or in particular: in Atmagea, there are 25 names for 72 families; in Kataloi, 30 for 67; in Ciucurova, 33 for 75. In the oldest Dobrudscha colony, the Catholic Malcoci, according to an incomplete list, even only 28 for 133 families; in Caramurat, 48 for 154; in Culelia, 21 for 57. This naturally requires a hefty accumulation of individual names. Among the 133 of Malcoci is a name represented by 17 families, another by 14, 3 in each of 8, 2 in each of 7; among the 72 in Atmagea, one by 13, another by 10; among the 154 of Caramurat, one by 14, others by 13 and 12, 2 in each of 10. Names that occur only once or twice form a small minority in these older villages.

Yet another interesting fact shows up. We see that even most family surnames have remained tied to their local village in a very unhindered way. The name Ehret showing up 17 time in Malcoci and in the other 6 Catholic colonies only one time; likewise, the names Klein and Baumstark showing up 14 and 8 times, the name Brendel showing up 8 time is represented in no other community. Similarly, in Caramurat: the names Ternes (14 families) and Ruscheinski (13) are otherwise found only in one other place; the names Müller (12), Fenrich and Sönn (each 10) have remained entirely limited to Caramurat. Of the two main names of Atmagea, Hinz (13 families) and Schielke (10), no one has even joined the neighboring village of Ciucurova, with which there existed other ever more close relationships, not a member of these families moved over there, nor vice versa representatives of the numerous Ponto and Blumhagen families from there. This generally proves that a traffic and exchange of its inhabitants has taken place only in very low numbers between the colonies, and in particular, that a young man has seldom married into another village, and that the sons also excluded as heirs of the father's farmyard still stayed in the home village. It was only when another further division of the family land was no longer possible that they turned to the new colonies in the south or in the daughter colonies, or they decided to leave Dobrudscha altogether and emigrate. The extinction of families has hardly occurred thanks to the regularity of the marriages and the generally widespread number of children. And so we find that the names of the founders and settlers of the earlier time can be identified by the same names, with few exceptions, even today. Little has changed on its old existence through the departure and influx.

The strong natural multiplication would have to result in a huge growth of the individual colonies in unrestrained development. This, however, has actually not occurred at any point. As

already mentioned, for example, Atmagea still has exactly the same number of families as in the year 1879. The increase in villages of expansion and human beings have already arrived at their limits. Once the Romanian Land Survey indicating the extent of the land ownership of the colonies had been established, there was no longer any land to be had in most of the established borders. It is the first and one of the main causes of the significant re-emigration from Dobrudscha which came about at the same time with the surveying, only a few years after the Romanians took possession, and since then has not slowed down. Other reasons to be added. For many Baptists, the religious separation from the other village associates gave the impetus.

Above all, however, it was the deterioration of the situation of the German colonists which had been brought about by the conduct of the new lords. The first emigration seems to have taken place in 1882. A letter from Katoloi of 25 June, 1883, narrates that from there, in the previous year, 7 families had gone to Dakota, and still many had the desire to follow if they would not have been prevented by the Romanian law which does not allow the emigrants to sell the immovable property, house and farm and their land, but only the movable things.¹² 1884 seems to have been when there was the general desire to leave. Also contributing is the fact that in 1883, military obligation was introduced for Dobrudscha; and in 1884, an extraordinary drought had greatly worsened the situation of the farmers.¹³ At that time, according to a report in the German colonial newspaper,¹⁴ about 600 families had inevitably decided to leave the house and the farm, in order to take in hand the walking staff: "Absolute legal uncertainty, war contribution through the Romanian lease-tax (*Steuerpächter*) and eviction of the poor Germans from land and soil in favor of the Wallachian or Moldovan old nobility (*Bojaren*); who, finding no help in Bucharest, sent a delegate to Greece to negotiate for a settlement in Thessaly." Nothing ever came of this plan, but, nevertheless, the emigration movement started to flow. According to reports in the church records of Atmagea, in the autumn of 1887, "due to the great injustice of the officials" 14 families from Anadolchioi emigrated to Brussa in Asia Minor. In January of 1888, Pastor Pritsche points to the "many injustices of some officials through which the colonists are moved to emigration." That is why "10 have already left from one area, 14 families from another." The best families from Cogea had gone to America in 1889.

It has already been pointed out in conversations with the individual colonies of their losses by emigration. We have seen in particular that several of the establishments of 1890 and 1891, such as Osmanfaca and Mangeapunar, as well as the somewhat older Ortachioi, came to an agreement to abandon their settlement and all of them determined to cross the ocean. North Dakota and South Dakota were the first destinations for emigration. Some of the Lutheran colonists also went to Canada, and a considerable part of the Catholics to Argentina. Others moved on south into the Bulgarian Dobrudscha, or returned to Russia.

When the work of the Settlement Commission in Posen also became known to the Dobrudscha villagers, a number of them found their way back to the old homeland. At first, it was only exceptionally few. Their letters from Posen and West Prussia told about how they were feeling good and that they also were moving ahead economically on the less thankful, difficult to work soil, however, better than in Dobrudscha. They called on folks to join them, and from year to

¹² Weltpost, 1883, S. 273/4.

¹³ The government granted them a delay in the payment of the lease fees and the pasture taxes. Nach einem Artikel im rumänischen Amtsblatt "Tulcea" vom 1. September 1884.

¹⁴ "Ein Stück moderner deutscher Völkerwanderung," 1. Bd. 1884, S. 433 ff.

year there were more who carried out or considered the decision to emigrate. Thus the strengthening of the germanness in the eastern provinces of the Reich was helped by the farmers from Anadolchioi, Eogeala, Horoslar, Alakap, Fachria, Cobadin, Sarighiol, Mangalia and Mamuzlu, from some colonies 11 and 12 families. They also stay together in Germany where possible. Especially the village of Pfeilsdorf, in the district of Brien, it seems to be an almost pure Dobrudscha farmer colony. Here, 16 children of those who migrated have established new families. In the same district, Germans settled in Schönsee, Rosental, Polkau, Drückenhof and Leutsdorf; in the district of Culm in Bilau, Blandau and Rebkau; in the district of Thorn in Biskupitz and Luben; in the district of Schwetz in Pechau. It was also mentioned to me, Kamin and Deutschkrone near Bromberg.

After the Romanian declaration of war, the equally peaceful and loyal German farmers in Dobrudscha, through the seething hatred and very inhuman ways through deportation, persecution and defamation, were brought to a conviction that despite the century long absence from the tribal lands and despite the most loyal performance of duty on behalf of the country whose citizens they had become, they were seen as nothing else but as being Germans, as enemies. Within all of them was the invigorating strength of will to go back. What had quivered earlier as a quiet, scarcely conscious homesickness in one of their songs:

“It is beautiful in the foreign country,
But never comparable to the homeland.”

has now become a burning yearning. Village after village, from young and old alike, I heard the decision: we cannot and do not want to stay here, we want to go back to Germany. In the last years of the war, these desires and plans had taken on a firmer aspect. A number of families, who would become the forerunners of many others, left Dobrudscha and moved northward to settle in Courland. Confident that the old German cultural soil would now also be Germany's future for all. The unfortunate war outcome has destroyed their hopes and put them in the saddest position.

But no less difficult is the lot of those who returned to Germany earlier. The cycle of their wandering seemed at an end. They had taken a foothold there again from where a large part of their forefathers had moved a century ago to Poland, into the South Russia new territory and into Dobrudscha. They had found their home and were again rooted among their own people. As they believed, deep and unmovable forever. A fate of terrible tragedy intended something else. The just now captured home towns in the old homeland lie in the areas that have fallen to Poland through the peace treaty. And the poor farmers are suddenly again thrown into the unknown, forcibly, it having nothing to do with them, in an unknown which appears far more unbearable than that which they had fled. Again, they are determined to take up the walking staff and hope to find a place for themselves in the old fatherland.

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