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Herausgegeben von
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Wenn stolz auf neuen Glanz wir blicken,
Der auf das Sternenbanner fällt,
So baut das Herz oft gold'ne Brücken
Hinüber in die alte Welt.

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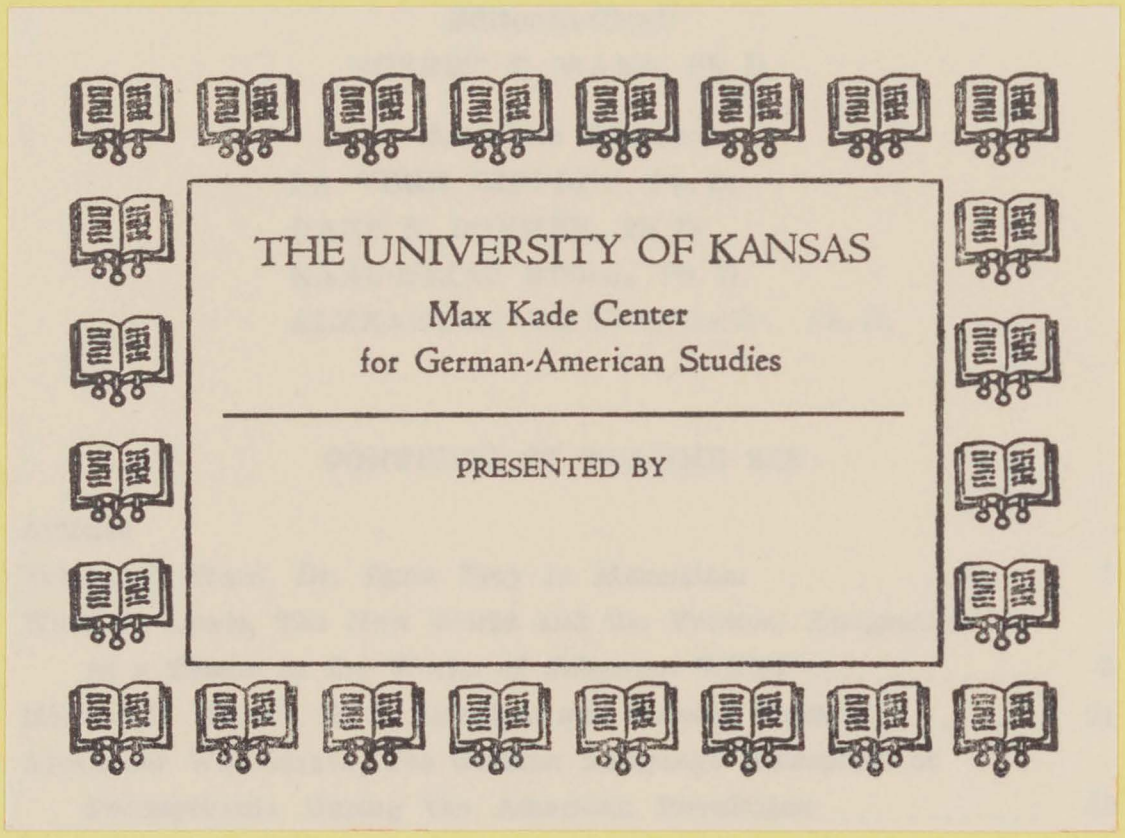


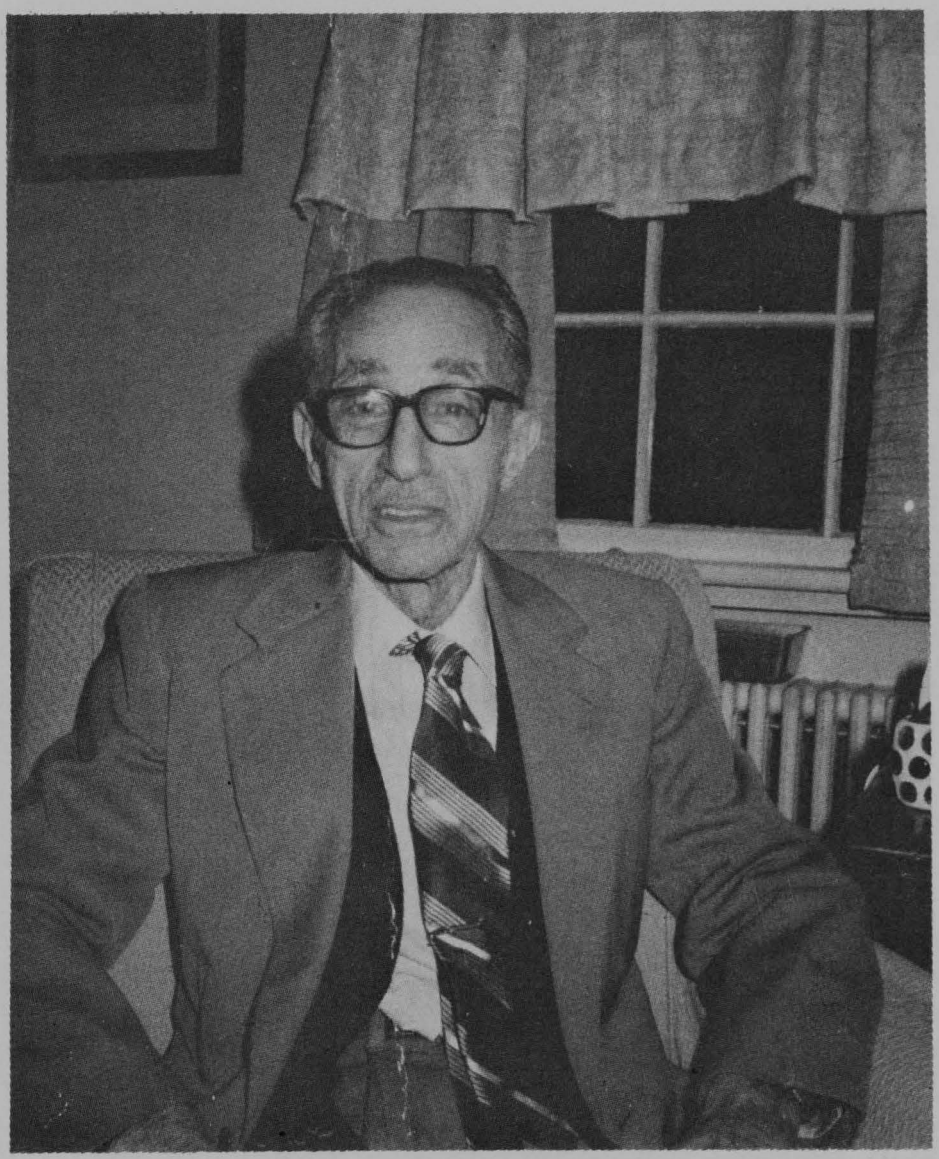
DR. EGON FREY IN MEMORIAM

The Society for German-American Studies dedicates Volume 6 of *German-American Studies* to the memory of Dr. Egon Frey who passed away on December 24, 1972 in New York where he had practiced medicine since 1945. Born on February 26, 1892 in Vienna, Austria, Dr. Frey was a specialist on lung disease. He worked for many years with the Alfred Adler Clinic for Mental Health and the tuberculosis clinic of Harlem Hospital. After completing his studies at the University of Freiburg and in Vienna, Dr. Frey emigrated in 1940 to the United States where he was a practicing physician in Cleveland, Ohio before moving to the Bronx. In addition to his many scholarly and scientific writings, Dr. Frey authored German poems, Novellen and novels, including *Rechenschaft* (1919), *Der Zensor* (1922), *Schakal* (1924), and *Werktagslied* (1968).

Dr. Frey will long be remembered for his dedication to healing and for his concern that today's youth retreat from the hectic pace of modern movements which disrupt the continuity and health of one's life and nation. Few who were in attendance that night will forget the urgent message the good doctor brought as the guest speaker at a banquet for foreign language students and friends in Youngstown in May 1970. Despite his weakened condition this German-American man of medicine, letters, and poetry made the tiring trip from New York to Ohio since, as he put it, "I must make a last attempt at reaching those young people."

Those of us who were fortunate to have known Dr. Frey will cherish the sense for clean living, nature and humanitarian ideals his presence instilled in us. German-America has lost a talented writer, poet, and friend—the world has lost a great and noble gentleman and humanitarian.

R. E. W.



IN MEMORIAM EGON FREY

Aus unsrem Heimatluftrevier
sprachst du zu mir
wie einer spricht zum andern Dichter.
Als Kritiker und weiser Friedensrichter,
als unbestochener Verteidiger
lobtest du oft Gehalt und Melodien
und tadeltest, was dir verworren schien,
doch warst du, Zarter, niemals ein Beleidiger.
Grossmütig deine Anerkennung zollend,
so unterschriebst du dich: "Neidhammel, doch wohlwollend."
Du wolltest wohl und tatest wohl uns allen,
drum warst den Menschen du ein Wohlgefallen.

Margarete Kollisch
New York

THE NEW WORLD AND THE YANKEE: EMIGRATION AS A THEME IN THE WORKS OF JOHANNES SCHLAF

by

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Commencing with the appearance of *Papa Hamlet* in 1889, which was authored in conjunction with Arno Holz, the range of Johannes Schlaf's productive life spans a period of more than fifty years and concludes with the author's death in 1941 at nearly eighty years of age. During this time Schlaf composed an immense body of literature consisting of nearly thirty prose works, an equal number of critical essays and monographs, eighteen collections of poetry, a half dozen dramas, and twice that number of translated collections of works by Whitman, Verhaeren, Balzac and Zola.

Schlaf's composition of the monograph *Walt Whitman* (1904) and his translation of *Leaves of Grass,* which appeared three years thereafter, as well as other works focusing on the American poet manifest their author's concern with a subject which recurs throughout the corpus of his work. This theme is treated in Schlaf's attention to the phenomenon of America and the nature of her inhabitants, both native born Yankees and German immigrants.

Schlaf never emigrated nor is he known to have ever visited North America. Moreover his knowledge of English was surprisingly poor.[1] Therefore an analysis of Schlaf's work with regard to the author's expression of attitudes toward the New World does not reveal judgement based upon first-hand knowledge and experience, but rather beliefs, and in some cases prejudices, associated with stereotypes which were widely known by the public and readily called to the mind of Schlaf's audience by allusion. The nature of these may be noted as appreciation is gained for the technique

whereby aspects of a rich and diverse subject are incorporated within his writings.

In this study of Whitman, Schlaf deals with the nature of the American historical experience and argues that events of the nineteenth century marked the beginning of an era for the New World. The abolition of slavery and the preservation of the Union as a result of the Civil War constituted the attainment of a state of spiritual freedom for the republic which was no longer restrained by "Kulturprämissen." This time saw the emergence of a new being, "der von der Historie befreite junge Yankee."[2] A description is given of the typical American then engendered:

> ein junger, ein neuer, ein harmonisierter Mensch; ein neuer Adam gleichsam, von dem Fluch alter Verbände und Schuld losgelöst und mit mächtigstem Steam des ganzen Wesens staunend, mit dithyramischem Jubel und in der Vollgesundheit herrlichster Barbarei in eine neue, junge, frische und werdende Welt tretend; hinein in das grosse Brausen und Jubeln neuer und unerhörter Anfänge. (WW, pp. 12-13)

That ecstatic exuberance expressed in Schlaf's conception of the American is not sustained in the author's estimation of men of commerce nor in his contemplation of the phenomenon of the metropolis. Conscienceless corruption and crime, ill health, materialism, and selfishness permeate the atmosphere of the industrial city and are predominating conditions there. From the German viewpoint Schlaf describes what is to be found.

> Überall, im Geschäft, in der Kirche, im öffentlichen Leben herrschen Heuchelei, Gemeinheit, Gewissenlosigkeit und alle jene abscheulichen Untugenden, die wir Europäer mit dem Begriffe des Yankee zu verbinden gewohnt sind. (WW, p. 14)

This state of affairs extant in America is a consequence of the pursuit of economic gain; implicit is the assumption

of Naturalism to the effect that the human being is a product of his political, economic, and social milieu. In another context this finds expression. The central figure of the novel *Das dritte Reich* (1900) is Dr. Emanuel Liesegang, a lonely, sensitive, and cerebral visionary who is given to observing the pulse of human life with which the streets and sidewalks of Berlin teem. Liesegang notes that when passersby adhere to the dictates of fashion or concede to the desire for comfort in dress and no longer wear clothes indicative of their occupation these people become indistinguishable from one another in appearance. Individuals are reduced to obscurity in an anonymous mass by the operation of economic forces such as those which operate within the framework of the American political system.

> All diese Menschheit so alt, klug, fertig und selbstbewusst, amerikanisch, demokratisch. Demokratisch! Ja! —
> Die demokratische Gleichheit und Gleichberechtigung aller, mit dem Prinzip der freien Konkurrenz.[3]

Those qualities which Schlaf attributes to the Yankee are illustrated more concretely in aspects of character and style evidenced by several figures in Schlaf's work. These are ascribed traits and mannerisms which the author designates as typically American in nature. The novel *Peter Boies Freite* (1903), which chronicles the development of a young man toward the accomplishment of his intention to emigrate, contains in the figure of the minor character, Erich Massmann, just such a person. An acquaintance of Boie from his student days, Massmann is visited at his comfortable villa near Hamburg where he deals in art. He is described as clever and conceited, oblivious to his faults, in the same terms we have seen employed above.

> ...es gab wohl so leicht keinen bewussteren oder gar selbstbewussteren, fortgeschritteneren, konsequenteren und fertigeren 'Modernen' als ihn. Er spielte sich

> gern etwas auf den Yankee hinaus, und sein Ideal war in jeder Hinsicht so etwas, das er Amerikanismus hiess.[4]

A cultivated dilettante, "ein Gourmand und Lebenskünstler aus dem FF" (PBF, p. 63), Massmann is intolerably affected and intersperses English words in his conversation. He has married despite the resolutions of his youth to the contrary—out of practicality, he concedes. In response to a question of Peter's he answers, "Kinder? — Never! — Kinder sind so unbequem, Kleiner" (PBF, p. 64).

Schlaf's conception of Americanism quite evidently involves excessive sensuality. This quality is evidenced by Massmann when with great pride he shows Peter his collection of erotic photographs and speaks of the details of love, demonstrating his "verfeinerten und kultivierten Geschlechtsgenuss" (PBF, pp. 70-71) and relating intimacies from the marital bed in an effort to make a convert to his style of life. The deleterious consequence of such sexual behavior is substantiated by the condition of Massmann's wife. At a distance her face presents a "kultivierte Weltdamenexterieur" (PBF, p. 67), which however upon closer observation betrays the traces of "einer blasierten und allzu erfahrenen Sinnlichkeit" (PBF, p. 73). That this quality is also characteristically American may be discerned by consideration of the description which Schlaf provides of the sexes in America during the early nineteenth century: "Die Jünglinge sind verschmitz, geschminkt, unlustig und unfähig zu ihrer Mutterpflicht; die Männer blasiert und korrumpiert in jeder Hinsicht" (WW, p. 14).

Other personal qualities which Schlaf interprets as characteristically American are evidenced in the temperament and behavior of Emanuel Liesegang's colleague, the chemist Conrad Horn. Upon Liesegang who is reflective and brooding by nature, Horn exerts an impulsive influence which is actively productive. Horn is ingenious and clever, strongwilled, and confident; "er ist praktisch wie ein Yankee" (DdR, p. 47).

However, upon becoming disillusioned or suffering a set-back, he becomes hardened in his single-minded self-assurance to the point of rudeness and brutality. When Liesegang falls hopelessly in love with Horn's fiancee, the beautiful Olga Wrede, Horn sarcastically torments his comrade with repeated allegations and reminders that this had been predicted from the time of Liesegang's first introduction to the young lady. Horn's unrelenting and uncompromising individuality lend him, we read, "eine geradezu yankeehafte Kälte und Rücksichtslosigkeit" (DdR, p. 274).

Among Schlaf's best known prose works are the tales of the *Dingsda-Geschichten,* which include the collection *Tantchen Mohnhaupt und Anderes* (1914). Here is to be found a short tale entitled "Frau Bornmüller" which constitutes a character sketch of a middle-aged widow by that name, who maintains a small "Gastwirtschaft" in the mythical village of Thalstedt bei Dingsda where the narrator stays during the period of his visit. Although tucked away in a fairly remote provincial area, Frau Bornmüller's establishment has not gone untouched by the commercial influence of the New World which has pervaded even this distant and little-known place and left its imprint on the life and character of its inhabitants. By means of a number of small and seemingly insignificant details the author conveys a feeling for the inconspicuous presence of the American giant; through the window of the front room where the customers sit and converse the sun falls upon an opened magazine, striking an advertisement for American petroleum;[5] for various landowners in the area Frau Bornmüller orders every month fifty pounds of American pork lard (TM, p. 99); she has relatives abroad and in their company feels at home even in "Neuyork" [sic] (TM, p. 98). But it is in the woman's characteristically shrewd and opportunistic self-aggrandizement that she is revealed as peculiary American.

> Ja, sogar den Umstand, dass sich die Leute hier manchmal ein bisschen über sie lustig machten,

> wusste sie, ohne jegliche Empfindlichkeit, mit grosser Schlauheit zu ihrem Vorteil auszunutzen. Es war kostbar zu sehen, mit was für einem sonderbar dummhörigen Gesicht sie bei solchen Gelegenheiten schweigen und lächeln konnte, wenn die Leute sie gelegentlich mal für dumm verkaufen wollten. Sie war wirklich eine Witwe, die sich ihrer Haut zu wehren wusste. Man hätte sie geradezu einen weiblichen Yankee nennen können. (TM, p. 93)

Schlaf's interest in America was shared by his contemporaries, who had a vague regard for geography and envisioned America as a land beset with danger from pestilence and fire.[6] The association of fierce Indians and the rugged wilderness was influenced by the works of James Fenimore Cooper, to whom Schlaf acknowledges his debt.[7] A glowingly idyllic report of farming in Missouri written by Gottfried Duden generated considerable public misinformation[8], but an accurate fact of common knowledge was the absence in America of royalty or a repressive government as well the state church. Visions of wealth to be gained abroad were fostered by that money sent from the New World to relatives at home.

The enthusiasm for America is documented by several great emigrations. These took place mostly from 1840 to 1889 and reached particularly large proportions in the years 1854, 1873, and 1882, at which times Germans totaled one-third to one-half of all immigrants admitted to the United States and amounted to more than six hundred thousand people.[9]

The historical causes for emigration from Germany in the nineteenth century are to be found primarily in the following: religious differences, bad harvests and food shortages during the late 40's and 50's, unemployment and economic hardship, flight from a repressive political atmosphere and the abortive revolution of 1848, and the loss of land as a consequence of overpopulation, foreclosure, and subdivision (K, p. 47f).

Attracted in part by Duden's words, German immigrants

from all walks of life settled during the early nineteenth century primarily in Missouri and the Middle West where they devoted themselves largely to agriculture. About the middle of the century the nature of the German immigrant population and its interest evidenced a change as laborers and mechanics as well as small businessmen such as tailors, brewers, and tradesmen, motivated by economic considerations, landed on American shores together with individuals moved by political ideals (K, pp. 47-48).

A classic description of the three periods of German immigration to America suggests that the early settlers of the Middle West were succeeded at the middle of the century by newcomers who sought urban surroundings and occupations and that these were followed after 1866 by members of the working class with greater education than that of their predecessors (F, p. 588).

Whatever the German immigrant was, he was not a pioneer.[10] Indeed it has been argued that Duden did German immigrants a disservice by encouraging settlement on the Middle West frontier where they encountered a life for which they were tempermentally unsuited. The harshness of hand-to-mouth existence, a characteristic desire for permanent land occupation rather than speculation, and absence of the comforts of civilized life caused great unhappiness. The German immigrant generally had a predilection for wooded areas to which he clung tenaciously and where he made a determined effort to remain unassimilated by the native born, seldom intermarrying and demonstrating little engagement in politics (H, pp. 21-53).

The interest which Schlaf expresses for the New World extends particularly to the German emigrant who leaves his people behind him in preference for that far shore. This figure occupies a central position in several of the author's works. The nature of this person as well as the circumstances which influence his decision to leave his homeland cast light upon Schlaf's conception of social and political conditions both in his own country and abroad.

Notwithstanding the historical fact that few German immigrants were pioneers or indeed were temperamentally suited to become such, the central figure of the novel *Peter Boies Freite* aspires to become this very thing. Depicted as resolute, practical, and imaginative, the young man, after concluding his university studies, decides to emigrate to America and therefore learns English and reads the verse of Whitman. He reveals the basis for his decision in a fervent exclamation which conveys his anticipation of an adventuresome frontier existence and his rejection of stolid intellectualism.

> O, lieber als Cowboy am Fangriemen sich schleifen lassen, ein wildes bocking [sic] horse zähmend, als im Centrum Berlins mit Kant und Fichte an der äussersten Grenze erkenntnistheoretischer Weisheit und letzten Wissens hockend und allwissend, wie Sokrates, den Bankerott seines Wissens wiederkauen! . . . (PBF, p. 195)

However romantically Boie pictures life in the New World after the fashion of Karl May, he nevertheless suffers no illusions about certain aspects of settling which the author clearly emphasizes. These are the hazards posed by natural catastrophes and the necessity of back-breaking physical labor. Boie reads from a newspaper the account of a settlement being established in Arkansas where each homesteader is granted free land amounting to 160 "Morgen" and is moved to exclaim fervently

> Arbeit, Arbeit und nochmals Arbeit! Von früh bis spät harte Arbeit. — Urwald musste gerodet werden . . . Es war ein Ringen mit der Natur auf Tod und Leben. (PBF, p. 334)

Consistent with what has come to be termed the "Protestant Ethic" Schlaf conceives of the American experience as beneficial in its effect upon Boie. Regarding himself as a

good-for-nothing, the hard-headed youth resolves to make something meaningful of his life by devotion to industrious activity which will allow him precious little time for nonsense. The attempt will be made to realize those virtues which the author in another context ascribes to the Yankee farmer: "*Energie, Ausdauer,* Gastfreundschaft und Biederkeit" (emphasis mine, WW, pp. 19-20). Boie decides to make a proper woman and wife of the immature, temperamental and spoiled Geesche, a lovely child of the North Sea, who accompanies him. With a vision before them, the couple sails from Hamburg "dem neuen Leben und der Arbeit entgegen. Der Arbeit!"... (PBF, p. 336).

A defensive attitude regarding Boie's decision to emigrate is expressed by a minor character jealous of Geesche's love for Peter. Motivated by rivalry, Klaus Hansen attempts to besmirch Boie's character and reveals the attitude of the stay-at-home toward those who would desert their fatherland. A comforting rationalization is provided by the suggestion that only the worst moral elements seek to begin a new life abroad. "Für gewöhnlich gingen ja doch da allerlei Faulenzer und Tagediebe hin, die hier nicht gut thäten, oder hätten sich irgend etwas zu schulden kommen lassen, deswegen sie sich dünn spielen müssten" (PBF, pp. 179-180). The reader recalls a literary prototype in Karl from Hebbel's *Maria Magdalene* (1844), a suspected thief who wastes his means in alcohol and bowling before fleeing to sea to escape the reckoning.

Rather than social misfits who benefit Germany by their departure, emigrants in Schlaf's works constitute individualistic, adventuresome, active, and somewhat head-strong personalities who evidence what the author characterizes as the quality of "Yankee-Tollkühnheit" (WW, p. 18). One such person is the young Baroness Irmelin von Sternbühl in Schlaf's two volume novel *Der Prinz* (1908). Feeling confined by the world of adults and her home in a small village of Thuringia, she rejects the townspeople for moral hypocrisy and her parents for stuffy philistinism. Impulsive and fear-

less, she resolves to run away from home and is deterred from doing so only by the example of an acquaintance whose similar venture concluded in disaster when he was unable to reconcile himself to the frustration of his plans.

> Im Dorf war mal ein Gutbesitzersohn gewesen, ein schöner, stattlicher, kräftiger junger Mann, so in seinem Alter jetzt, der eigentlich genau so ein Wesen wie Baroness Irmelin gehabt hatte. Und der war auch ausgerissen. Er hatte 3000 Mark seinem Vater aus dem Schreibtisch genommen und war ausgerissen. Nach Amerika hatte er gewollt. Sein Vater hatte ihn aber in Hamburg aufgreifen lassen, und da hatte er sich eine Kugel durch den Kopf geschossen.[11]

Emigrants share certain aspects of character. That streak of daring possessed by the son of the landed gentry as well as the Baroness Irmelin, who as a young girl contemplates dissolving all ties of security to family and village, is evidenced in another minor figure of Schlaf. This is Papa Pohlmann in the same novel, the proprietor of a cigar store in the university area of Berlin and a beloved "Studentenonkel." He is described as "ein Original" (P, II, p. 73) and thereby imputed that individualistic bent he bears in common with other Germans drawn by distant lands. During adolescence Pohlmann mustered his courage and executed an attempt to flee parents and homeland. "Als Obertertianer ... war er nach Amerika durchgebrannt, aber nur bis Hamburg gekommen. Wieder nach [sic] Hause angekommen wurde er für seinen Geniestreich geschasst, und sein Vater liess ihn Kaufmann werden" (P, II, p. 73). Undaunted by failure in this venture, Pohlmann reconciled himself quickly to this occupation because of the opportunity it provided to indulge his gregarious nature and good humor. The new undertaking also provided satisfaction and compensation for a feature which is mentioned again and again as constituting part of the particular appeal exerted by life in America, namely the actively industrious tempo and style of existence.

Throughout the fabric of the novel, which is set geographically in Thuringia and later Berlin, are woven references to the New World which suggest its proximity to Germany. It is the story of Jürg Deubel, dubbed "the prince" because of his descent from seventeenth century aristocracy, a boy whose existence is symbolized in the mill of his father to which it is expected he will succeed in later years. This building represents confinement to a rural, provincial environment beyond which lies an unknown world whose technological advances threaten to disturb the rustic idyl. The precarious state of Jürg's self-sufficiency is suggested in the opening sentence:

> Die Mühle war eine von dem alten biederen Geschlecht der Bockmühlen oder deutschen Windmühlen, wie sie heute immer mehr von den holländischen, den amerikanischen Halladay-Windmühlen, vor allem aber von den grossen Dampfmühlen verdrängt werden. (P, I, p. 1)

Jürg, described by his tutor as "ein Genie" (P, I, p. 791), demonstrates intelligence and diligence in study but is denied permission by his father to enter the Gymnasium. In a scene which evidence elsewhere strongly indicates is based upon autobiographical events (WW, p. 7), Schlaf describes how during the study of geography Jürg becomes aware of America as a country representative of that outside world exerting such an attraction upon him. Venting his hostility before his father toward the object which embodies his subjection to traditional, provincial and paternal ways, he cries defiantly, "Ich pfeife auf die Müllerei!!" (P, I, p. 104). When taunted for his timidity upon hesitation at the door, the boy demonstrates his daring by resolutely collecting his belongings and slipping quietly into the night; "...hinaus ins Freie; in die Weite hinein; hinein in eine ungewisse, weite, grosse, lockende Ferne" (P, I, p. 130).

The author conveys the impression of familiarity with Americana by interjecting references which evoke a particular

home-spun or intimate quality. Reference is made, for example, to Jürg's elderly Onkel Miesbach as he sits with company after dinner relating tales and adventuresome "Hinterwäldlergeschichten" in his Saxon dialect: "Es war ein Mark Twain an ihm verdorben" (P, I, p. 324). A similar literary effect is achieved where an atmosphere of masculine comfort and studiousness is associated with Jürg's colleague Kurt Wittig. His preference in tobacco is emphasized by repeated reference to "amerikanischen Shag" (P, I, p. 349) which he enjoys at his desk "an seiner Old-Judge-Pfeife paffend" (P, II, p. 72). Hospitality is extended by offering a cigarette with coffee and accompained by the interjection "Mokka, und Old Judge! Judge! Judge!" (P, I, p. 353)

Of central importance to Jürg is his association with the social-democratic and revolutionary "Klub der Moderne," where acquaintance is made with Lehrs, the son of a wealthy merchant and avid reader of Edgar Allen Poe. Endowed with a dynamic personality, he is intelligent, sensitive and religious in nature with a strange predilection for America, her culture and manners. Indeed his preoccupation with this subject to the point of indifference to contemporary European social conditions and the need for revolution elicits the reproach of colleagues.

Schlaf employs the figure of Lehrs in order to investigate the nature of American culture and offer an insight into its peculiar character. Upon the basis of his broad knowledge Lehrs defends "die allernüchternsten und verzwicktesten Eigenschaften des 'Yankee' gegen das allgemeine Vorurteil" (P, I, p. 297). That this, in the author's opinion, constitutes a service to Americans is readily evident upon consideration of that passage from his monograph where allusion is made in an off-hand manner to the existence of "amerikanische Nüchternheit" (WW, p. 47).

Jürg is asked how he explains the fact that in America a cannon or locomotive may be exhibited as a monument, such as, for example, those to be found at the Civil War battlefield of Gettysburg. The young man's confident

response expresses an opinion shared by the author, however unflattering it is to Americans. Jürg answers, "Vielleicht, weil sie überhaupt keine Bildhauerkunst mehr brauchen? Ich meine, weil die Kunst dort vielleicht überhaupt aufhört" (P, I, p. 297). On another occasion the author alludes to "trübe amerikanische Kulturzustände" (WW, p. 16) and that "ästhetische und sonstige Borniertheit"[12] which characterizes the Yankee public.

In rebuttal Lehrs argues that Americans possess "eine vollendete Kunst" (P, I, p. 258) and a deep appreciation for the nature of beauty which surpasses understanding by the German mind. Yankees are uniquely able to sense the soul of inanimate objects by projecting their own psyche within them. The machine embodies a god or demon which is immanent and accessible to mankind and is regarded as an individual who has been allotted a specific role in history. The American vision perceives the unity between humanity and concrete objects of art and constitutes "eine intime, ganz monistisch gewordene Weltanschauung" (P, I, p. 298).

The power of attraction exerted by the New World as this emanates from a central character is indicated by Schlaf's drama *Gertrud* (1898), which portrays the tension imposed upon a marital relationship by the return of a German emigrant to his homeland from America. This work in three acts presents Gertrud and Fritz Baerwald during a summer holiday devoted to the recuperation of her nerves. Moody and bored, she smokes in a shocking and flagrant fashion, behaving emancipated and making utterances such as "O Goddam! — Mein Gatte!"[13] Their relationship becomes strained and the atmosphere disturbed upon arrival of the figure from the outside much as in Hauptmann's *Einsame Menschen* (1891), which appeared seven years earlier and in which the bluestocking is not the wife but the young Anna Mahr who exerts the divisive marital influence. Here it is Albrecht Holm, a boyhood acquaintance of Fritz, who is presented as handsome, tanned by the sun, and muscular in appearance, possessing a quiet, modest, and likeable personality. Called "Buffalo

Bill" (G, p. 22) or "Cowboy" (G, p. 28) because of his demonstrated shooting prowess, he is introduced to the audience by means of the description given by Fritz to a comrade in lines which merely hint at his background and whet the curiousity of the audience:

> — Wunderbar guter Kerl! — Kommt aus Amerika! — Hat sich da wohl so an der Grenze rumgetrieb'n! — Globetrotter! — Auch so'n bischen [sic] Anarchist! (G, p. 19)

The attractive initial impression awakened by Holm's personal presence is heightened by the sense of romance associated with life in a foreign land and by his membership in the generation of the Forty-Eighters, who emigrated for idealistic political reasons. Schlaf here presents the figure of the hardy, independent individual who undertakes to fashion his own destiny shunning the support of others. Having cast aside ties to the Old World where he felt confined by the web of interdependent human relationships and having abandoned his former preoccupation with socialist politics, true to the historical personality of the German immigrant in America, Holm desires to permanently occupy land in that region glorified by Gottfried Duden. He expresses his intention to build a farm "Irgendwo am Missouri. In Dakota" (G, p. 34), that is, in the territory which in 1889, or nine years before this drama was written, had already been divided into the present day states of North and South Dakota.

Life in America is one of hardship that cannot be survived by the effete. Fritz attempts to arouse Gertrud's feelings of maternal sympathy for his boyhood acquaintance: "Er steht doch so recht mutterseelenallein in der Welt und hat sich durch so manches durchfressen müssen, was mich z.B. längst kaputt gemacht haben würde" (G, p. 28). And Holm in fact represents America as a refuge for those who seek to release pent-up, undirected creative and productive energies which must otherwise lie dormant in contemporary German

society. He asks rhetorically, "Es giebt ja heute so viel kulturmüde Menschheit. So viel Kraft mit einem unbestimmten Willen?" (G, p. 35). Such words, however, evoke only sarcasm from Baerwald, who remarks with reference to the visitor: "Kommt aus dem gelobten Lande der Yankee's [sic] und philosophiert wie der deutscheste der Litteraturzigeuner!" (G, p. 36)

The attitude of Fritz vis-á-vis the friend from the New World reveals defensive jealousy and predisposition. He derides the "Amerikanimbus" (G, p. 29), suggests that Holm has turned his back to culture, and taunts, "Aber hast Dich nun doch wieder nach Europas übertünchter Höflichkeit zurückgesehnt?" (G, p. 32). The basis for Holm's intention to return to Germany, however temporarily, lies in the strong resistance which German immigrants in America exerted against assimilation by the native born and which manifested itself in intramarriage and the attempted preservation of language and customs. Among his female compatriots Holm seeks a bride, and even this revelation is greeted by the mockery of his host, "Aber sag mal: weshalb heirathest Du Dir eigentlich nicht so eine smarte Yankeese an?" (G, p. 33). Holm's response to this gibe includes an indication of those qualities which he deems most essential to successful survival and adaption in America and which he expects to find only among women of his own nationality: resolve, independence, bravery, freedom from prejudice, and sexuality.

Having steeled herself against Holm's attraction, Gertrud remains aloof until finally in a passionate outburst she reproaches him for wasting his words on uncomprehending philistines. Thereafter in confidence she begs him to leave, and he seeks to persuade her to accompany him. America is represented in his inducements as a world in which she may find self-fulfillment in an atmosphere free of restraint; he however concedes that life is primitive and physical conditions harsh, due in part to the fact that all types of people are thrown together to experience a common fate. In a fashion characteristically Biedermeier Gertrud overcomes her

romantic inclinations and resigns herself to contentment with her present state since she realizes that she is not suited for an exotic and adventuresome existence—one which Holm however did not suggest was to be found in America. Gertrud wishes him well with the parting exhortation, "Und bauen ihre Farm, und bebauen Ihr Land, und haben — Arbeit, und — eine Heimath . . ." (G, p. 51).

America in the works of Johannes Schlaf presents a complex phenomenon. It is pictured realistically and without romantic glamour, indeed life in the New World is described as a primitive existence bearing few traces of culture as it is known in Europe. The ethnic heterogeneity of the population contributes to the harshness of life, but the country offers both a place to experience freedom from restraint and a site for the release of productive energies in constructive effort. Native born Yankees are sensual in nature, philistine, and materialistic. They are conceited in that they regard themselves as individuals without shortcomings and as embodiments of the most progressive aspects of contemporary existence. Americans are pragmatic, practical, clever, and marked by a shrewd sense of self-interest which sometimes manifests itself in cold, ruthless inconsideration for others. The subject of emigration may evoke feelings of jealousy and defensiveness among those who remain at home. In Schlaf's works the German who feels confined or restricted by circumstances and his environment is a prime candidate for emigration. Such a person exercises self-reliance, resolve, and daring. He is ingenious, practical, and eager to embrace a somewhat adventurous, and exceedingly active, industrious life.

NOTES

1. He is accused of having "no knowledge of Whitman's language" (91) and showing "astounding ignorance" in this regard (94). O. E. Lessing, "Whitman and German Critics," JEGP, IX (1910), 85-98. Analysis by the same critic of Schlaf's translation leads to the conclusion, "seine Kenntnisse der englischen Sprache sind gleich null" (118).

See Henry Bryan Binn, **Walt Whitman, Englische Studien,** XXXVIII (1907), 117-118.

2. Johannes Schlaf, **Walt Whitman,** "Die Dichtung," Bd. XVIII, ed. Paul Remer (Berlin & Leipzig: Schuster & Loeffler, 1904), p. 12. Subsequent references to this work will be indicated as WW and cited parenthetically with the page number in the text.

3. Johannes Schlaf, **Das dritte Reich. Ein Berliner Roman** (Berlin: F. Fontane & Co., 1900), p. 256. Subsequent references to this work will be indicated as DdR and cited parenthetically with the page number in the text.

4. Johannes Schlaf, **Peter Boies Freite** (Leipzig: Hermann Seemann Nachfolger, 1903), p. 62. Subsequent references to this work will be indicated as PBF and cited parenthetically with the page number in the text.

5. Johannes Schlaf, **Tantchen Mohnhaupt und Anderes. Dingsda-Geschichten** (Leipzig: Reclam, n.d.), p. 95 Subsequent references to this work will be indicated as TM and cited parenthetically with the page number in the text.

6. Michael Kraus, **Immigration, the American Mosaic: From Pilgrims to Modern Refugees** (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1966), p. 38. Subsequent references to this work will be indicated as K and cited parenthetically with the page number in the text.

7. Nathanael Bumbo [sic] is described as "eine der schönsten und fruchtbarsten Lieben meiner ersten Jugend." Johannes Schlaf, ed, and trans. Walt Whitman, **Grashalme** (Leipzig: Reclam, 1907), p. 3.

8. Duden's **Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nordamerikas und einen mehrjährigen Aufenthalt am Missouri** appeared first in 1827. Albert Bernhardt Faust, **The German Element in the United States,** vol. 1 (Boston/New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1909), p. 441f. Subsequent references to this volume will be indicated as F and cited parenthetically with the page number in the text.

9. John A. Hawgood, **The Tragedy of German-America. The Germans in the United States of America during the Nineteenth Century—and After** (New York/London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940), pp. 57-58. Subsequent references to this work will be indicated as H and cited parenthetically with the page number in the text.

10. "...to regard the typical nineteenth century German settler as a hardy frontiersman, taming the wilderness and winning the west, is very far from the truth. Rather did he consolidate and improve what others had won" H, pp. 22-23.

11. Johannes Schlaf, **Der Prinz,** 2 vols. (München & Leipzig: Georg Müller, 1908). Subsequent references to this work will be indicated as P and designated by volume in roman numerals when cited parenthetically with the page number in the text.

12. Johannes Schlaf, "Walt Whitman," **Die freie Bühne**, Jg. 3, ii (1892), 981.

13. Johannes Schlaf, **Gertrud** (Berlin/Paris: Verlag Joh. Sassenbach [Neuland-Verlag], 1898). Subsequent references to this work will be indicated as G and cited parenthetically with the page number in the text.

MATER DOLOROSA

Einsame Frau auf steinerner Bank
Sitzend in Juliglut
Den Blick gerichtet aufs Hospital
Darinnen ihr Kind, der einzige Sohn
Der einzige Mensch der noch zu ihr gehoert
Von schwerer Krankheit Genesung sucht.

Mit gefalteten Haenden sitzt sie da
Auf steinerner Bank, einsam, allein
Betend, heisser als all die Juliglut
Bette mein Kind, o Herr,
"Rette mein Gott mir den Sohn
Und Du rettest mein eigenes Leben."

So Vieles gab ich in Leid und Schmerzen
Den Gatten, den innigst geliebten,
Eltern und Schwestern, Verwandte
Und Freunde, die treu einst gewesen.

Herzblut vergoss ich um sie
So wie auch das Herz mir noch blutet
Um die verlorene Heimat,

Standhaft und still hab ich getragen
All das Herzweh und Leid
Wenn heimlich der Strom der Traenen
Im Herzen auch niemals versiegte.

Drum fleh ich o Herr:
Eine Madonna der Schmerzen,
"Rette, o rette den Sohn mir
Und Du rettest mein eigenes Leben."

Hertha E. Nathorff
New York

H. L. MENCKEN AND GERMAN KULTUR

by

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I

In the year 1713, the Rector of the University of Leipzig, Johann Burkhard Mencke, aroused the anger of his contemporaries by delivering a lecture on the "Charlatanry of the Learned."[1] Two centuries later, Henry Louis Mencken,[2] the American reincarnation of the Leipzig professor, made it his life's vocation to arouse the anger of many of his contemporaries by revealing and ridiculing their charlatanry.[3]

H. L. Mencken was "fetched into sentience" by Dr. Buddenbohn in Baltimore, on September 12, 1880.[4] From 1886 to 1892 he attended a private school, the Knapp Institute, and from 1892 to 1896 the Baltimore Polytechnic Institute. His father offered him a choice between an undergraduate course at Johns Hopkins and a law course at the University of Maryland. Mencken wanted neither and went to work in his father's cigar business. After the death of his father, in 1899, Mencken was free to pursue the career of his own choice: he became a newspaper man. He started as a reporter for the Baltimore *Morning Herald,* and within six years rose to the position of managing editor. In 1906 the *Herald* ceased to exist and Mencken went to the Sunpapers, with which he remained connected until 1948. In 1908 he started his career as a literary critic by joining the *Smart Set,* a literary magazine whose co-editor he became in 1914. Ten years later, he founded the *American Mercury* which he edited until it ceased publication in 1933. During these years at the *Mercury,* Mencken reached the height of his fame and influence.[5] Between 1933 and 1948, the year he suffered a celebral thrombosis from which he never fully recovered, he wrote a

number of books, as well as articles and editorials for many different publications. Mencken died in Baltimore on January 29, 1956.

II

H. L. Mencken, as indicated in the opening remarks, was of German ancestry. He was interested in the background of his German ancestors to such a degree, that for a period of two years he employed the services of a firm specializing in tracing ancestry.[6] His private library, parts of which are now in the Mencken Room of the Pratt Library, contains over 230 volumes of family documents. Mencken outlines his family tree in the introduction to the English version of the *Charlatanry of the Learned,* which he edited and published in 1937. The first known members of the Mencken family lived in Oldenburg in the 16th century. In 1662, one of the ancestors, Otto Mencke, entered the University of Leipzig, and later became the first of a long line of scholars and professors in this city. While at Leipzig, he founded the *Acta Eruditorum* (1682), the first scholarly journal in Germany. The complete edition of this journal can be found in H. L. Mencken's library. Otto's son, Johann Burkhard, author of the famous *Charlatanry,* founded the Teutschübende Poetische Gesellschaft (1717) at Leipzig, and wrote poetry under the pseudonym of Philander von der Linde. Upon discovering this ancestor's discourse on charlatanry, H. L. Mencken was later to remark: "... it astonished me, and no little delighted me, to find that a man of my name, nearly 200 years in his grave, had devoted himself so heartily to an enterprise that had engaged me day in and day out in a far country—the tracking down of quacks of all sorts, and the appreciative exhibition of their multifarious tricks."[7] Another member of the Mencken family held a high office under Frederick the Great, and his daughter became the mother of Bismarck.[8]

It was H. L. Mencken's grandfather, Burkhardt Ludwig, who emigrated to Baltimore in 1848. He was not, however, one of the liberal refugees, the so-called forty-eighters; as

H. L. Mencken relates: "In his later life he used to hint that he had left Germany, not to embrace the boons of democracy in the great Republic, but to escape a threatened overdose at home."[9] Burkhardt Ludwig established himself in the tobacco trade and married a woman of Scottish descent. He maintained little contact with his fellow countrymen in Baltimore and remained aloof from the numerous German societies. "Their singing he regarded as a public disturbance, and their *Turnerei* as insane."[10] H. L. Mencken's father, August, married a German girl, Anna Margarete Abhau, whose family had also come to America in 1848. At the time of H. L. Mencken's birth, his parents were living on West Lexington Street, at that time a predominantly German neighorhood.[11] Mencken's father did not have a good command of the German language, and thus, all conversation in the home was conducted in English. The mother, however, spoke German fluently, and used it when conversing with German maids, shopkeepers, and workers. Whenever her father came to visit, he would speak to her in German, and she would reply in English. Mencken recalls, how he and his brother tried to deduce what the grandfather had said, on the basis of the mother's answers, and thinks that he learned some of his earliest German this way.[12] Mencken's first serious contact with German came at Professor Friedrich Knapp's Institute. Knapp, a Swabian who had come to Baltimore in 1850, was later remembered by Mencken for wearing, even forty years after his arrival, "the classical uniform of a German schoolmaster—a longtailed coat of black alpaca, a boiled shirt with somewhat fringey cuffs, and a white lawn necktie."[13] The schoolday began with songs, usually German folk songs, such as "Goldene Abendsonne," "Winter, Adieu!" or "Fuchs, du hast die Gans gestohlen." The instruction was generally in English, but courses were also offered in German, the latter being one of Mencken's weaker subjects. Although he wrote German excellently, he lacked proficiency in speaking the language. In his memoirs, Mencken gives an amusing account of this encounter with the German language, and an estimation of the result:

> ... I always get the curious feeling, hearing German spoken, that it is not really a foreign language, for all its sounds seem quite natural to me, including even the *ch* of *ich.* But the Professor and his goons certainly never taught me to speak German, or ever read it with any ease. They tried to ram it into their pupils as they rammed in the multiplication table—by endless repetition, usually in chorus. To this day I know the conjugation *haben* down to *Sie würden gehabt haben,* though I couldn't write even a brief note in Hoch Deutsch without resort to a grammar and a dictionary. What little of the language I actually acquired in my youth I picked up mainly from the German hired girls.[14]

At the Polytechnic Institute, Mencken continued to take German courses. Of a somewhat different nature was the German culture Mencken absorbed during the family outings to the Schützen Park and the old fashioned German beer-gardens in West Baltimore It may have been here that he developed the fondness for German *Gemütlichkeit* which remained with him throughout his life.[15]

One of the first books Mencken read as a child was an English translation of *Grimm's Fairy Tales.* But, as he did not have any "natural taste for fairy-tales," he never finished the work. Oddly enough, it was a book by Mark Twain, one of his favorite authors, that awakened an interest in him to Germany and German culture: "It was *A Tramp Abroad* that made me German-conscious, and I still believe that it is the best guide-book to Germany ever written."[16]

It may therefore be concluded, that certain aspects of German culture, or *Kultur* as he persistently called it, had permeated Mencken's early life and, as will be seen, were to continue penetrating it for many years to come. During his early days as a newspaper man, he used to frequent the saloon of Frank Junker, a quiet German, who rarely said more than "Wie geht's" to a customer.[17] There he would meet with his colleagues from other papers, among

them the German reporters of the two German dailies, *Der Deutsche Correspondent* and the *Journal.* Some of these German journalists were, according to Mencken, among the most eminent and popular reporters of the city.[18] They were somewhat envied by their American colleagues, since their main task was to cover the numerous social events, the picnics, weddings, and *Sängerfeste,* events which, according to German tradition, were accompained by much feasting and drinking.[19] John Gfeller, a Swiss, would lead the club of journalists at Junker's in their singing. One of his favorite songs was Victor von Scheffel's "Als die Römer frech geworden" which Mencken describes as "whooping up the victory of the primeval Nazis over the Romans under P. Q. Varus in the year 9 A. D."[20]

Although it cannot be said that Mencken kept in very close contact with the German element in Baltimore, he did become a member of the Germania Männerchor and several other German-American societies. Unlike his grandfather and father, who had shown little interest in cultural activities of any sort, Mencken's love of German music and his great admiration for German culture *per se* kept him in touch with educated Germans and German-Americans.[21] For the average uneducated German-American he had as much contempt as for his American counterpart, the *boobus Americanus:* "The Germans [in America] ... are on the cultural level of greengrocers. I have come into contact with a great many of them since 1914, some of them of considerable wealth and even fashionable pretensions. In the whole lot I can think of but a score or two who could name offhand the principle works of Thomas Mann, Otto Julius Bierbaum, Ludwig Thoma or Hugo von Hofmannsthal. They know more about Mutt and Jeff than they know about Goethe."[22] A more precise evaluation of the position of the German-Americans is presented by Mencken in "Die Deutschamerikaner," published in 1928 in German at Berlin.[23] In this article Mencken notes that being German-American is not so much a question of pure German ancestry, as it is a question of racial consciousness. He points

out that the children of German immigrants are often so thoroughly Americanized that they are hardly aware of their German heritage, while on the other hand, persons with only one German grandfather may consider themselves to be German. It is one of the tendencies in American life, Mencken continues, to make people forget their origin, and only immigrants of strong character succeed in maintaining their distinction. Their endeavors will find no sympathy, however, from either Americans or fellow countrymen. As a result, only a few of the educated and prosperous German-Americans preserve their cultural heritage. Mencken finds the racial consciousness of the German rural population of the West, and of the German communities of major cities to be of little cultural significance, since these groups have yet to play an important role in the intellectual life of their motherland. In conclusion, Mencken states that from a cultural point of view the majority of the Germans in America belong to the backward and lower classes, and consequently exert little influence upon American life.

In an explanation of this devastating evaluation of the German-Americans, Dieter Cunz points out that the racial consciousness of the German-Americans had been constantly diminishing since 1917, reaching its historical ebb at the time this article was written.[24] Another possible explanation might be Mencken's disappointment over the outcome of World War I, which dealt a shattering blow to his hopes of invigorating American cultural life with an injection of German *Kultur*. That this had actually been Mencken's intention, is indicated by Henry Lüdeke: "Es ging [Mencken] um 'culture with a K,' wie der sarkastische Ausdruck lautete, und Mencken sah im deutschen Charakter und in der deutschen Erziehung Züge, die der wachsenden Flut der amerikanischen 'Mobokratie' eine heilsame Korrektur sein könnten."[25] Even during the early years of the war, H. L. Mencken continued to be outspokenly pro-German, and at times his partisanship was more than just cultural.[26] In December of 1916, Mencken set out for Germany as a war correspondent for the Baltimore *Sun*.

After a brief stay in Berlin and on the eastern front, the break of diplomatic relations between America and Germany forced him to leave. "The Battle of the Wilhelmstrasse," a book on his experiences in Germany, was never published.[27] Upon returning to the United States, Mencken began to conduct himself in a more restrained manner. As he once remarked, "I do not want to appear a spokesman for Germany, for I am an American by birth and the son of native-born Americans."[28] But his true sentiments were well known and he was looked upon with great suspicion. He was even accused of being an intimate friend of "the German monster Nitzsky" (Nietzsche), and of carrying on radio communications with a German submarine, whose captain he had entertained while the vessel was docked in Baltimore, in 1916.[29]

The most vicious attack launched against Mencken followed his strong protest against the organized "effort to depict Dreiser as a secret agent of the Wilhelmstrasse, told off to inject subtle doses of *Kultur* into a naif and pious people."[30] The attacker, Professor Stuart P. Sherman, a literary foe of Mencken, exploited the political sentiments of the public and accused Mencken of German *Kultur*-propaganda. His arguments were anything but scholarly, as the following excerpts illustrate:

> He [Mencken] does indeed rather ostentatiously litter his pages with Germans words and phrases—*unglaublich, Stammvater, Sklavenmoral, Kultur, Biertische, Kaffeeklatsch, die ewige Wiederkunft, Wille zur Macht*.... He is a member of the Germania Männerchor.... His favorite philosopher happens to be Nietzsche.... He perhaps a little flauntingly dangles before us the seductive names of Wedekind, Schnitzler, Bierbaum... So that presently one begins to suspect that his quarrel with American criticism is not so much in behalf of beauty as in behalf of a *Kultur* which has been too inhospitably received by such of his fellow-citizens as look to another *Stammvater* than his.[31]

To the credit of Professor Sherman, it must be said that he was largely adhering to the truth. Mencken did indeed resort frequently to German words and expressions in his writings, he did belong to the Männerchor, he did admire Nietzsche, he did recommend the works of German authors during his days as a literary critic for the *Smart Set,* and he did attempt to introduce his readers to German *Kultur.* The objectionable parts of the article are the innuendoes and insinuations of its author.

For the present purpose, however, Professor Sherman's enumeration of H. L. Mencken's associations with German *Kultur* will serve as an outline for the following chapters.

III

Mencken's essays are, in the words of Henry A. Pochmann, "from a *Schimpflexikon* that bristles with German terms and allusions."[32] A brief sampling, in addition to that given by Professor Sherman, is a sufficient indication of Mencken's eclectic usage of German words. In his *Book of Prefaces* one finds *Weltschmerz, Schnorrer, Ja-sager,* and *Herrenmoral;* in the *Prejudices, Sturm und Drang, Kriegslieferant,* and *Nietzschefresser; Newspaper Days* contains *Tonkünstler, Polizeistunde, Totsäufer* (a brewery's customer's man), and *Doppelschraubenschnellpostdampfer;* and *In Defense of Women,* appropriately, *Schafskopf, Schrecklichkeit, Hausfrau,* and *Kirche, Küche und Kinder.*[33] Occasionally, complete phrases or quotations appear, such as: "Still wie die Nacht, tief wie das Meer," "Ach, München, wie bist du so schön!" "Erinnerungen aus dem fröhlichen Bubenleben," "Es ist nichts fürchterlicher als Einbildungskraft ohne Geschmack," or Jean Paul Richter's "...weil Verschiedenheit des Nichts/mehr ergötzt als Einerleiheit des Etwas."[34] Mencken also wrote three essays with German titles: "Totentanz," which is a somewhat apocalyptic description of the hectic way of life in New York City; "Bilder aus schöner Zeit," consisting of nostalgic reminiscenses of the pre-Prohibition era; and "Dichtung und Wahrheit," in which Mencken summarizes his preferences in

poetry with the rather un-Goethean statement, "I dislike poetry of intellectual content as much as I dislike women of intellectual content—and for the same reason."[35]

Mencken's choice and application of German words shows that he does not employ them to express himself more precisely, but to enrich and color his style. Nietzsche and James Huneker have been identified as the predecessors of Mencken's "advanced" individualism,[36] but they were also the predecessors of his "advanced" literary style. Mencken was fond of Nietzsche's multilingual puns and felt that the philosopher's greatest service to his own country was as a teacher of writing who "taught the Germans that their language had a snap in it as well as sighs and gargles;" in describing Huneker's style as staccato, ironical, witty, galloping, playful, polyglot, and allusive, Mencken could have referred to his own manner of writing.[37]

Mencken's serious and scholarly approach to the subject of language is confirmed by his great philological work, *The American Language: An Inquiry into the Development of English in the United States.* Most critics consider it to be Mencken's most lasting contribution to posterity,[38] but Professor Sherman thought it was "overambitiously designed as a wedge to split asunder the two great English-speaking peoples."[39] In addition to other topics, this comprehensive work is devoted to the study of the German language in America. Mencken draws upon hundreds of sources to support his statements, and even quotes Jacob Grimm in explaining why English has become the world's leading language: "In riches, good sense and terse convenience (Reichtum, Vernunft und gedrängter Fuge) no other of the living languages may be put beside it."[40] The Germans, Mencken asserts, have always constituted the largest body of people of non-British stock in this country, but almost all the German words in the American vocabulary seem to have appeared after the War of 1812.[41] This is explained by the lack of contact between the early Germans and Americans, "for the Germans had a numerous colony only in Pennsylvania, and there they kept

to themselves."[42] Mencken also deals with a story, still believed by many German-Americans, that a proposal before Congress, to make German the official language of the United States, was rejected only after the Speaker of the House, Muhlenberg, had cast the deciding vote against it. In 1931, it was discovered that this proposal was simply to provide for the publication of some laws in German translation, for the benefit of immigrants who had not yet learned English.[43] Discussing loan-words in American, Mencken mentions that the Germans "left indelible marks upon American, and particularly upon the spoken American of the common people. The everyday vocabulary shows many German words and turns of phrase," for example: *pumpernickel, lager-beer, wiener, frankfurter, schnitzel, schweizer* (cheese), *hamburger, kindergarten,* and *katzenjammer.*[44] A footnote points out that the majority of these terms apply to eating and drinking. "They mirror the profound effect of German immigration upon American drinking habits and the American cuisine."[45] It is the purpose of the work as a whole to demonstrate that the American language has emerged as a language quite different from English. Mencken maintains that an awareness of the growing differences between English and American is illustrated by the fact that some of the popular German *Sprachführer* now appear in separate editions, *Amerikanisch* and *Englisch.*[46] He frequently refers to German sources, since the peculiarities of the American language have attracted the particular attention of German philologians from the very first. The third edition of *The American Language* was translated into German by Dr. Heinrich Spies, who also lectured on the subject in Berlin.

A further example of Mencken's close acquaintance with German is his translation of Nietzsche's *Der Antichrist.* Mencken said that he did not begin the translation with any hope of supplanting earlier English editions, but simply for his own pleasure.[47] As the work on the translation advanced, he began to see new ways "of putting some flavour of Nietzsche's peculiar style into the English." The result has

been considered to be "in keeping with the finest of literary workmanship."[48]

IV

Early in his career, while preparing a book on George Bernard Shaw, Mencken was introduced to the writings of Nietzsche. Immediately, the German philosopher captured his interest, and Mencken proceeded to read all of his works, most of them in the original German, since only five had been translated into English at the time.[49] In 1908, Mencken published *The Philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche,* in which he summarized and interpreted the principal ideas of the philosopher. This was the first formal exposition of Nietzsche in America, and from this time on, Mencken considered himself both a journalist and a critic.[50] Probably no other single man left as deep an impression on Mencken's mind as Nietzsche. "Rid the world of Nietzsche," declared Mencken, "and the year of grace 1909 could show no living philosophy."[51] His interpretation of Nietzsche's philosophy is an effort to make Nietzsche comprehensible to the general reader.[52] He was praised by some critics, who thought that his effort was brilliant, comprehensive, and most illuminating,[53] and accused by others of having created Nietzsche in his own image.[54] According to Mencken, the Nietzschean creed, if reduced to a single phrase, "may be called a counterblast to sentimentality—and it is precisely by breaking down sentimentality with its fondness for moribund gods, that human progress is made."[55] The name Nietzsche and echoes of Nietzsche's philosophy are prevalent throughout the works of Mencken. Therefore, it is not surprising that Mencken was labelled a Nietzschean. "You are in the main a disciple of Nietzsche," La Monte writes, "or, in other words, you are an individualist whose ideal is a splendid aristocratic oligarchy of Beyond Man ruling over a hopelessly submerged rabble."[56] Mencken did not deny that this was the case, though Nietzsche is not the only German philosopher to appear in his writings. In

Treatise on Right and Wrong, he also refers to Leibniz, Lichtenberg, Kant, Fichte, Schleiermacher, Schelling, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Feuerbach, and Spengler.[57]

V

If it may be inferred that Nietzsche directly influenced Mencken's philosophy of life, then it may also be implied that Goethe indirectly influenced his literary criticism.

At the time Mencken joined the *Smart Set* as a literary critic, a fierce battle was in progress between two schools of American literary criticism. On one side was a group known as "The New Humanists," under the leadership of Irving Babbitt and Paul Elmer More, whose criticism was based upon strict adherence to "decorum, harmony, and standards referable to the inner and moral man."[58] For some time, Professor Sherman was their most aggressive spokesman. Opposing this group, were the representatives of the "New Criticism," among them James Huneker, Percival Pollard, and in a more indirect way, Professor Spingarn. This group rejected the Puritan ethics of the "Humanists" and fought for the acceptance of new criteria of criticism which would do justice to the literary efforts of the younger writers, such as Frank Norris, Theodore Dreiser, and Stephen Crane. When H. L. Mencken published his *Book of Prefaces* in 1917, he became the most active spokesman of this group. In the four essays contained in this work, he attacks the Victorian Puritanism and the Comstockery of "Humanists," who had condemned Dreiser's novels on moral grounds. Mencken singles out Professor Sherman, "not because his pompous syllogisms have any plausibility in fact or logic, but simply he may well stand as archetype of the booming, indignant corrupter of criteria, the moralist turned critic."[59] In his preface to the book, Mencken briefly considers the function of literary criticism: "to find out what an author is trying to do and to beat a drum for him when it is worth doing and he does it well."[60]

In the same year in which Mencken's *Prefaces* appeared, Professor Spingarn's *Creative Criticism,* the theory of "New Criticism," was published. Spingarn finds that "critics everywhere except in America have ceased to test literature by the standards of ethics, and recognise in art an inevitable expression of a side of man's nature that can find no other realisation except in it."[61] Accepting this concept, that art is expression, Professor Spingarn elaborates on it and traces its origin: "The first to give philosophic precision to the theory of expression, and to found a method of Criticism based upon it, were the Germans of the age that stretches from Herder to Hegel .... It was they who first realised that art has performed its function when it has expressed itself; it was they who first conceived of Criticism as the study of expression." Referring to Goethe's views on criticism, Spingarn arrives at the fundmental questions of creative criticism: "What has the writer proposed to himself to do? and how far has he succeeded in carrying out his own plan?" Carlyle, in his essay on Goethe, practically uses Goethe's own words to define the first duty of the critic.[62]

The parallels between this concept of the function of criticism and that of Mencken, as stated in his preface to the *Prefaces,* are quite obvious. In any case, they were apparent to Mencken, who in 1918, in his essay "Criticism of Criticism of Criticism," enthusiastically endorsed most of Spingarn's theories. "In a nation of evangelists," Mencken writes, it is difficult to shake the authority of the moral *Privatdozenten* who "judge a work of art, not by its clarity and sincerity, not by the force and charm of its ideas, not by the technical virtuosity of the artist, not by his originality and artistic courage, but simply and solely by his orthodoxy." Genuine criticism, continues Mencken, is impossible to such men, for the critic, to interpret his artist, must be able to "feel and comprehend the vast pressure of the creative passion .... This is why all the best criticism of the world has been written by men who have had within them, not only the reflective and analytical faculty of critics, but also the gusto

of artists—Goethe, Carlyle, Lessing, Schlegel," a.o. The Spingarn-Carlyle-Goethe theory[63] places a heavy burden upon the writer, but it is sound and stimulating, and expresses the true function of criticism.[64]

In summing up Mencken's position as a literary critic, one might once more turn to Professor Sherman, whose remarks, though somewhat exaggerated, are quite to the point: "He [Mencken] leaps from the saddle with sabre flashing, stables his horse in the church, shoots the priests, hangs the professors, exiles the Academy, burns the library and the university, and, amid the smoking ashes, erects a new school of criticism on modern German principles, which he traces through Spingarn to Goethe."[65] It may now be of interest to examine the extent of H. L. Mencken's acquaintance with German literature, and the critical opinions he held of it.

It is impossible, of course, to determine all of the German authors and works Mencken may have read. One clue to his reading may be found in that portion of his library which he donated to the Pratt Library, and which contains over sixty German books. Among the better known authors represented are: Hermann Bahr, Otto Julius Bierbaum (5 vols.), Wilhelm Busch (sämtliche Werke), Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Walter Hasenclever (3), Heinrich Heine, Walter von Molo, Roda-Roda (13), Johannes Schlaf, Arthur Schnitzler (3), Ludwig Thoma (6), and Frank Wedekind. Many of these books contain personal dedications of their authors to Percival Pollard, the author of *Masks and Minstrels of New Germany* (Boston, 1911), and probably came into Mencken's possession after Pollard's death. Mencken had become a close friend and admirer of Pollard, who seems to have introduced him to many of the younger German writers, and H. L. Mencken discloses that he "had affection for him as well as respect, for he was a capital companion at the *Biertisch* and was never too busy to waste a lecture on my lone ear—say on Otto Julius Bierbaum (one of his friends)."[66] Evidence for the incompleteness of the Pratt collection is the absence of Sudermann and Hauptmann, the two writers that Mencken

discussed at great length, and whose works, at one time, were on his shelves.[67]

In order to establish a more conclusive picture of H. L. Mencken's relationship to German literature, his writings as a literary critic for the *Smart Set* must be examined. From the following comment, it seems that he was not overly impressed by contemporary German literature: "You will find no Goethes and Schillers, nor even Lessings, Klopstocks, Herders and Heines in Germany today, for the Germans are too busy in their factories and shipyards to be producing great literature."[68] In his opinion, Clara Viebig, Gustav Frenssen, Arthur Schnitzler, or Thomas Mann, were not comparable to novelists such as Joseph Conrad.[69] There is little in German fiction, he declares in an essay on Dreiser, which may be favorably compared with some of Dreiser's works, "either as a study of man or as a work of art."[70] Mencken attributes this unfortunate situation to the fact that "the naturalistic movement of the eighties was launched by men whose eyes were upon the theatre." Mencken felt that only a few of the novels produced by this movement were "respectable," including Gustav Frenssen's *Jörn Uhl,* Clara Viebig's *Das tägliche Brot,* and Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks.* These are the exceptions, however, and cannot be considered evidence of a "national quality." Mencken concludes that "all of these German naturalists—and they are the only German novelists worth considering—share the weakness of Zola, their *Stammvater.* They, too, fall into the morass that engulfed *Fécondité,* and make sentimental propaganda." This, to the disciple of Nietzsche, was an unpardonable sin.

There is little evidence that Mencken was familiar with any German writers other than his contemporaries, save Goethe and Heine. In reviewing Heine's *Atta Troll,* Mencken maintains that the poem, if understood as a satire on democracy and feudalism, "resolves itself into a pre-Nietzschean travesty in the best Nietzschean manner, a riotous attack upon all the pet ideal of the Philistine."[71] The references to Goethe, which are found frequently in Mencken's works, indicate that

he did not admire Goethe so much as a poet, but as a great historical personality. In disagreeing with the "theory that inferior stocks often produce superior individuals" he points out that they have never produced a Goethe: "The Goethes all come from superior stocks." On another occasion Mencken claims that "all of the more successful religious leaders have been notoriously fools . . . and in the whole history of the world there is no record of one even remotely comparable to a man as Newton or Goethe."[72] In his longest commentary on Goethe, Mencken describes him as "one of those rare and massive geniuses who defy all labelling." Mencken sees in Goethe "the final flower and perfect epitome of that most glorious of centuries, the Eighteenth." In conclusion, Mencken adds that the name of Goethe may remain vague to the world at large, "but to the minority whose concern is with ideas he is perhaps the most precious possession that the last three centuries have vouchsafed humanity."[73] Whether Mencken actually had read any of Goethe's works or was merely acquainted with them through secondary sources is not evident from his writings.

It is quite clear, though, that Mencken had read many of the works of contemporary German writers, as can be seen in his book reviews in the *Smart Set*. One of the first German authors Mencken mentions is Frank Wedekind, whose *Awakening of Spring* he considered to be a remarkable drama, "marked chiefly by a delicate vein of melancholy poetry." He feels that the author is not merely a "literary anatomist," for he often penetrates the very souls of his characters, so that the tragedy of the drama is seen through their childish eyes. Mencken regrets that the play is "impossible of performance before chemically pure Americans."[74] Of the play *Such is Life*. Mencken says, "it is a delicious reductio ad absurdum of the whole pompous piffle of royalty, and when it was first presented in Germany . . . it set the whiskers of the empire to wagging furiously."[75]

Mencken once remarked that among his intellectual gods were Hermann Sudermann and Gerhart Hauptmann.[76] He

thought that Sudermann was one of the foremost of living German authors, and with the exception of Hauptmann, there was no one to compare with him. He considered the drama *Magda (Heimat)* to be the best play to come out of Germany since Ibsen's days in Munich. Later, when the play was viewed as a failure by most critics, he revised his opinion. Mencken felt that there was only one thing which prevented Sudermann from crossing "the shadowy line separating the merely respectable from the incomparable. That one thing is an individual, comprehensible and credible philosophy of life," which every "amaginative writer of true genius" must possess. But Sudermann, it seemed to Mencken, was "eternally flabbergasted by life."[77] In later years, Mencken's praise of Sudermann was much more reserved. In 1923, a reference to Sudermann as "the greatest living German dramatist and novelist," caused Mencken to reply, "this is nonsense. Gerhart Hauptmann is a far better dramatist, and Thomas Mann a far better novelist."[78] Mencken did, however, declare Sudermann to be the absolute master of the short story. Concerning two stories in the *Indian Lily* he said that "nothing better has been done in our time, even in English, the language of the short story."[79]

The first work of Hauptmann which Mencken reviewed was the *Weavers,* which he found to be very impressive and one of the most striking and influential of modern German plays.[80] He received the novel, *The Fool in Christ,* with mixed feelings. Mencken conceded it was a careful, incisive, and captivating work, but disliked "its accentuation of the disputative side," and considered it to be too long for American tastes.[81] In a later review he called the novel "big in plan but wobbly in execution," and regarded Hauptmann's second novel, *Atlantis,* as "psychologically incredible" and "almost unreadable." In his estimation, Sudermann was still "vastly superior as writer of prose fiction."[82] He did not hesitate, though, to admit that Hauptmann was "a master dramatist of a very high order, and perhaps the greatest now living in the world." H. L. Mencken was particularly impressed by

Hauptmann's astonishing versatility, and granted that one would have to return to Goethe, to find "a scrivener with more hands."[83]

Mencken reviewed three more German authors in the *Smart Set:* Gustav Frenssen, Arthur Schnitzler, and Ludwig Thoma. He was unimpressed by Frenssen's novel, *Klaus Hinrich Baas,* but thought it would probably help the author to gain a following in America.[84] Schnitzler's *Professor Bernhardi,* Mencken suggested, was not very suitable for American audiences.[85] His enthusiasm was aroused by Ludwig Thoma, whom Mencken held to be more a man of the world than the American comic writers who, "almost without exception, show a naif and somewhat provincial character." He praised Thoma's work as editor of *Simplicissimus,* "the greatest of all comic papers," found his play *Moral* to be a masterpiece of irony, and credited Thoma with a "Rabelaisian capacity for burlesque," "an air of sophistication" and "a keen critical sense."[86]

With the founding of the *American Mercury* in 1924, H. L. Mencken began to focus his attention on the political developments in America, and to lose all interest in literature and literary criticism.[87] As a result, Mencken published only two brief book reviews on the works of German authors in the *Mercury.* The first one deals with Roda-Roda's collection of anecdotes on America, *Ein Frühling in Amerika,* which Mencken found amusing and burlesque, yet fundamentally true.[88] The second is a review of Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front,* "unquestionably the best story of the World War so far published" and "a powerful tract for peace."[89] Another comment on German literature is found in an essay on female authors, in which Mencken contends that "it would be difficult to think of a contemporary German novelist of sounder dignity than Clara Viebig, Helene Böhlau or Ricarda Huch."[90]

The claim that H. L. Mencken "came to be as much at home in German letters as in the literature of his own land"[91] seems only partly justified. It appears that Mencken had

little knowledge about the German literature which preceded his own age, for it is difficult to imagine that he would never have mentioned it. Furthermore, it is apparent that even among his contemporaries only one group attracted his attention: the writers he classified as naturalists.[92] Mencken's attitude toward the works of Thomas Mann substantiates this. He praised *Buddenbrooks* as a naturalistic novel, but had little regard for Mann's later works: "The case of Mann reveals a tendency that is visible in nearly all of his contemporaries. Starting out as an agnostic realist . . . he has gradually taken on a hesitating sort of romanticism, and in one of his later books, *Königliche Hoheit* . . . he ends upon a note of sentimentalism borrowed from Wagner's 'Ring'."[93] Mencken's essays and book reviews suggest that he was well acquainted with the writings of only a relatively small group of contemporary German authors.

H. L. Mencken once said that he is a critic of ideas. The ideas he criticized most consistently and fervently were those he associated with the English traditions in America. Like many of the young Americans of his day, he resented the Anglo-Saxon ascendancy. His German background brought H. L. Mencken into early contact with German culture, and there he found what he had longed for: an antithesis to English-American culture. The more significant connections of Mencken with German *Kultur* are revealed, it is hoped, in this paper. In addition, there are many minor ones, such as his great love of German music—Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, and Brahms were his favorites—or his frequent travels to Germany.[95] Whenever he was unable to enjoy *Gemütlichkeit* in its native setting, he tried to find it in the German restaurants of Baltimore and New York. Among the many elements of German culture, the following seem to have attracted H. L. Mencken most strongly: the anti-sentimentalism of Nietzschean philosophy and naturalistic literature, German music, and bourgeois *Gemütlichkeit.*

NOTES

A slightly different version of the final part (V) of this paper was published earlier under the title "A Dose of **Kultur**" in **Menckeniana** (Fall, 1966). It is reprinted here with the permission of the editor of **Menckeniana.**

1. Published in Leipzig, 1715, under the title **De Charlataneria Eruditorum.**

2. "The second **n** in the name was a sediment from the Latin form, Menckenius." (Johann Burkhard Mencken, **The Charlatanry of the Learned,** trans. F. E. Litz, notes and introd. H. L. Mencken [New York, 1937], footnote, pp. 7-8).

3. Gustave L. Roosbroeck, in his pamphlet **The Reincarnation of H. L. Mencken** (New York, 1925), p. 10, states that "Mencken is a reincarnation of that learned and daring ancestor of his."

4. H. L. Mencken, **Happy Days** (New York, 1940), p. 6.

5. Dieter Cunz, **The Maryland Germans** (Princeton, 1948), p. 412.

6. William Manchester, **Disturber of the Peace** (New York, 1951), p. 139.

7. **Charlatanry,** p. 44.

8. F. Schönemann, "H. L. Mencken: Ein amerikanischer Kritiker und Satiriker," **Die Grenzboten** (n.p., 1921), 179.

9. **Happy Days,** p. 92.

10. **Ibid.** p. 99.

11. Isaac Goldberg, **The Man Mencken** (New York, 1925), p. 62.

12. **Happy Days,** p. 28.

13. **Ibid.,** p. 22.

14. **Ibid.,** p. 27.

15. Cf.: "Munich," **Europe after 8:15** (New York, 1914), pp. 71-106.

16. **Happy Days,** p. 170.

17. **Newspaper Days** (New York, 1941), p. 221.

18. **Ibid.,** p. 249.

19. Cunz, p. 366, gives 80,000 as the number of Germans in Baltimore around 1900.

20. **Newspaper Days,** p. 251.

21. E. G.: his friends of the Saturday Night Club, Theodore Dreiser, Louis Untermeyer.

22. **Prejudices: Third Series** (New York, 1922), pp. 35-36.

23. Trans. Sophie Kellner, **Die Neue Rundschau,** xxxix, ii, 489-495.

24. Cunz, p. 414.

25. "Henry Lewis Mencken," **Zürcher Zeitung** (April 1, 1956), p. 4.

26. See: Goldberg, pp. 208-210; Manchester, pp. 88-94; Edgar Kemler, **The Irreverent Mr. Mencken** (Boston, 1950), pp. 85-96.

27. Manchester, pp. 94-105.
28. **Ibid.**, p. 89.
29. Kemler, p. 96.
30. **A Book of Prefaces** (New York, 1917), p. 78.
31. "Beautifying American Literature," **Nation** (New York, 1917), CV, 593-594.
32. **German Culture in America** (Madison, 1957), p. 491.
33. Pp. 97, 173, 208, 236; III, 23, 45, 144; 218, 252, 253, 85; (New York, 1918), pp. 7, 54, 120.
34. **Europe**, p. 7; **The Artist** (Boston, 1912), p. 32, and **Europe**, p. 88; **Heathen Days** (New York, 1943), p. vii; **Prefaces**, p. 140; **A Little Book in C Major** (New York, 1916), p. 71.
35. **Prejudices: Fourth Series** (New York, 1924), pp. 145, 297; **Damn! A Book of Calumny** (New York, 1918), p. 70.
36. Louis Kronenberger, "H. L. Mencken," **After the Genteel Tradition** (New York, 1936), p. 102.
37. **Prefaces**, pp. 179-181.
38. Kronenberger, p. 110.
39. **Americans** (New York, 1922), p. 10.
40. **Language**, p. 599.
41. **Ibid.**, p. 619.
42. **Language: Supplement I**, p. 198.
43. **Ibid.**, p. 139.
44. **Language**, p. 155.
45. **Ibid.**, p. 488.
46. **Ibid.**, p. 85.
47. **The Antichrist** (New York, 1920), p. 35.
48. Edward Stone, "Henry Louis Mencken's Debt to Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche," (diss. Austin, 1937), p. iv.
49. Ernest Boyd, **H. L. Mencken** (New York, 1927), p. 27.
50. Donald M. Goodfellow, "H. L. Mencken: Scourge of the Philistines," **Six Satirists** (Pittsburgh, 1965), p. 89.
51. "What about Nietzsche," **Smart Set**, XXIX (Nov., 1909), 153-157.
52. **The Philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche**, 3rd ed. (Boston, 1913), p. vii.
53. Fred L. Pattee, **Side-Lights on American Literature** (New York, 1922), p. 72; Goldberg, p. 159.
54. Boyd, p. 29; Manchester, p. 35.
55. **Nietzsche**, p. x.
56. **Men versus the Man** (New York, 1910), p. 1.
57. (New York, 1934), pp. 75, 76, 208, 312.
58. Goodfellow, p. 91.
59. **Prefaces**, p. 138.

60. **Prefaces,** n. p.

61. **Creative Criticism,** new ed. (New York, 1931), p. 29.

62. **Ibid.,** pp. 14-17.

63. Actually, "Spingarn-Croce-Carlyle-Goethe," but Croce is irrelevant for the present discussion.

64. All quotes from: "Criticism of Criticism of Criticism," **Prejudices:** I, pp. 9-21.

65. **Americans,** p. 5.

66. **Prejudices: I,** p. 131.

67. See: **Book of Calumny,** p. 54.

68. **Smart Set,** XXX (1910), 153.

69. **Prefaces,** p. 62.

70. And all further quotes in this par.: **Prefaces,** pp. 77-78.

71. **Smart Set,** XLII (Feb., 1914), 156.

72. Both quotes: **Minority Report** (New York, 1956), pp. 189, 255.

73. "Goethe as Viewed by American Writers and Scholars; A Symposium," **Monatshefte,** XXIV (March-April, 1932), 88-89.

74. **Smart Set,** XXX (March, 1910), 158.

75. **Ibid.,** XXXVIII (Oct., 1912), 152.

76. Kemler, p. 89.

77. **Smart Set,** XXX (April, 1910), 153-154.

78. **Evening Sun** (June 30, 1923), n.p.

79. **Smart Set,** LXXII (Sept., 1923), 144.

80. **Ibid.,** XXXIV (Aug., 1911), 152.

81. **Ibid.,** XXXIX (March, 1913), 153.

82. **Ibid.,** XXXIX (March, 1913), 155.

83. **Ibid.,** XXXIX (March, 1913), 153-154.

84. **Ibid.,** XXXIV (June, 1911), 154.

85. **Ibid.,** XLI (Dec., 1913), 157.

86. **Ibid.,** LII (May, 1917), 398-399.

87. See: Charles Angoff, **H. L. Mencken: A Portrait from Memory** (New York, 1956), p. 253; Manchester, pp. 219-223; Kemler, pp. 163-171.

88. **Mercury,** I (April, 1924), 507-508.

89. **Ibid.,** XVII (Aug., 1929), 510.

90. **Prejudices: III,** p. 203.

91. Pochmann, p. 491.

92. See his statement, p. 23.

93. **Prefaces,** p. 78.

94. **Newspaper Days,** p. 74.

95. Mencken visited Germany at least six times (his biographies contain contradictory information on this).

THE GERMAN LANGUAGE NEWPRESS OF OF PENNSYLVANIA DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

by

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A significant movement of immigration in the colonial history of America was initiated in 1683 with the arrival of a group of German settlers at the Port of Philadelphia. Personal freedom, particularly with respect to religious convictions, and the economic opportunities which the system of government offered colonists in Pennsylvania were the bases for attracting the largest number of non-British settlers. It has been estimated that at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War the colonies were composed of ten to twelve per cent German stock. Pennsylvania had the largest concentration; approximately one third of its population was either native German or German-American.

In the course of the 18th century the more adventurous German settlers pushed out into the frontier areas of the colony, however, the territory of southeastern Pennsylvania with its fertile farm lands and relative proximity to Philadelphia was to exercise a magnetic force in becoming the heartland of German-American culture in colonial America and for American history in general.

Benjamin Franklin, the first citizen of Philadelphia, had little enthusiasm about the proportion of Germans relative to the total population of the colony and to the potential influence they might exercise in the political and economic affairs of Pennsylvania. Yet as an astute businessman he did not fail to recognize the opportunity for financial gain attainable through these Germans. Consequently, he established the first German language newspaper in America, the *Philadelphische Zeitung* on June 10, 1732.[1] In comparison to modern

newspapers this one is sparce indeed, but in form or content did not differ essentially from English language counterparts; it was a four page edition, six and one half by nine inches. The venture was short lived. Actually the German-American newspress traces its origin to Christoph Saur's establishment in 1739 of the *Hoch-Deutsch Pennsylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber* in Germantown.

The Saur family continued to publish a German language paper in the Philadelphia area up to and during the Revolutionary War, a period which saw the rise of six additional journals. From these emerged America's most significant non-English language newspress. In the period from 1776-1783 five different German language papers were published in Philadelphia; one in Germantown; one in Lancaster.[2] A German language religious press simultaneously flourished in Allentown, Bethlehem, Germantown, Lancaster, and Philadelphia but concerned itself in general rather with religious issues than with the volatile political, economic, and social questions of the day.

John Joseph Stoudt's study furnishes an excellent background for the general orientation of the German newspress at the time of the Revolution; however, no systematic analysis of these papers with respect to their orientation to and influence upon the period has yet been undertaken.[3] Stoudt's study emphasizes the different religious denominations among the Germans which led to the establishment of two distinct types of newspapers, namely those of the Saur press mainly in Germantown and those of their competitors, i. e. a press supported essentially by Lutheran and Reformed Germans and the Saur press supported by the various German sects.

The popular belief concerning the political climate of America at the outbreak of hostilities with Great Britain of a nation unified by common ideals and goals and prepared to fight a powerful oppressor for the protection of its rights seems grossly inaccurate. The colonists seem to have been divided into three groups of about equal numbers: one third against the British, the Whigs; one third sympathizing with

the British and the concept of empire, the Tories; one third indifferent to the whole event.[4] For the Whigs to be successful in their efforts for political independence from Great Britain they would need to attain as much popular support as possible; in Pennsylvania it would be the Germans who held the balance and whose support would have a major effect upon the outcome of political and military events. Through an examination of the German language newspapers, German-American sentiment and reaction to the Revolution and their effectiveness in the cause during those years can be more clearly understood.

Of the seven German language newspapers of the day only one held a Tory policy, Christoph and Peter Saur's *Der Pennsylvanische Staats-Courier, oder Einlaufende Wöchentliche Nachrichten* of Philadelphia, final successor of their grandfather's important *Die Germantowner Zeitung* (initially *Pennsylvanische Berichte).* When the elder Saur died in 1758 his Germantown paper was continued by his son, Christoph until 1776. In general during the 1760's the four-page editions are all quite similar in format; page one is devoted almost exclusively to international news of a political nature with such objective reporting that the personal views of the editor do not emerge; page two displays a similar pattern, whereas pages three and four are devoted essentially to advertisements, illustrated by numerous wood-cuts. As a result of the few copies available from the 1760's a determination of its attitude towards the march of political events in the colonies prior to the Revolution remains speculative; in the 1770's extensive domestic reporting covers the growing movement towards separation from Great Britain in an objective tone. A technique enjoying wide popularity not only in the Saur press but in journalism of the day in general consists of printing extracts from letters pertaining to significant events. Saur prints, for example, such an extract from a letter penned by a British army officer in New York to a friend in London to report all America is inflamed due to the export of taxed tea from England; the colonists seem determined to deny all

vessels transporting tea the right to land; in fact the sons of liberty threaten to burn all such ships (April 21, 1774). During the year various letters of a similar nature concerning the explosive issue of the tax on tea can be found. Although the Saur press is not only anxious about the relations with Great Britain—its deeply religious foundation necessarily led it to consider moral questions such as slavery which it condemned as un-Christian (Sept. 22, 1774)—the British-American controversy receives wider coverage than any other single matter.

To call Christoph Saur II a Tory or a British-sympathizer, though, does not seem justified in light of his journalism or his orientation to life.[5] As long as he himself continued to publish the paper a pro-British and anti-American tone cannot be discerned. Rather Saur seems anxious to be objective and neutral in his reports: parliamentary debates on American colonial policy are numerous and usually include pro and con viewpoints of M.P.'s regarding the policy of the British government; reports concerning the closing of the harbor of Boston, the issue which seems to have pushed other newspapers into anti-British hysteria, is simply objectively reported. More evidence points to his hope of avoiding military confrontation through compromises than to a pro-British attitude; how subdued is the tone of an article dealing with the mistreatment of a colonist in Boston by the British military: "Wir bitten Euer Excellenz, dass der bereits zu grosse Bruch zwischen Grossbrittannien und dieser Provinz nicht durch solche Brutalität Eurer Truppen vergrössert werden möge." Much space in the Saur paper is devoted to efforts of influential critics of royal colonial policy in England toward an amelioration of conflicting views between London and America. Completely objective reporting is encounted in reports of military engagements early in the war and not until the paper is taken over by his sons, Christoph III and Peter, does it become the organ for Tory views. The younger Saurs printed the newspaper in Philadelphia during the British occupation and although only few copies have survi-

ved, its loyalist, i.e. pro-British orientation, is clearly evident. For example, the issue of March 12, 1777 carries an article on page one in two and one half columns praising King George and the war against the American rebels coupled with a sharp warning against treason, i.e. treason against England.[6] A conversation between two farmers refers to the Americans as rebels and as an unsavory band; they will all become slaves of Congress if the British and Hessian troops do not save Americans from such a fate (May 6, 1778). Perhaps one of the saddest fates of the revolutionary years is that of Christoph Saur II, the deeply religious pacifist whose energies were directed toward the avoidance of armed conflicts, but who, as the victim of hate and intolerance, lost all his material possessions and had his high reputation severely infringed upon.[7]

During the British occupation of Philadelphia, Frantz Bailey edited and published *Das Pennsylvanische Zeitung-Blatt* in Lancaster from February 4, 1778 to June 24, 1778. Knauss observes it printed almost exclusively news of the war; although essentially correct, this furnishes no substantive information.[8] General Washington uses its columns when communicating with the German farmers of Pennsylvania, asking them to supply much needed grain to his winter headquarters. He also announces public food markets for the army and furnishes a list of prices, a visible attempt to halt the spiralling inflation during the war.

Propaganda efforts are directed toward discrediting the British in America and at home; for example, General Howe's financial requests to the Americans for the sustenance of captured American prisoners of war receives wide publicity. Protests made by the American Congress to British authorities because of alleged maltreatment of American prisoners are extensive; in fact, to show American benevolence the paper reports Congress' willingness to send money and clothing to the British to care for the Americans they hold captive. News from London emphasizes the military's responsibility in pursuing this war with an eye to enhancement of British

national honor. Bailey consistently notes the dissent and general lack of support for the American war among the British, an attitude he claims to have been extensive among the people as well as among political leaders as Lord Coventry, Lord Chatham, Lord Camden. Lord North's speech requesting a peace conference and recognition of American independence appears as a supplement to the edition of April 1, 1778 and offers a clever contrast to the King's speech before the House of Lords in which his vanity and ignorance of American events seem quite recognizable. He earnestly believes his policies toward America enjoy wide support in Great Britain and aim at ending the bloodshed by having "my American colonies" return to their patriotic duty of supporting the crown (Feb. 11, 1778).

Numerous letters are also printed here as means of propaganda to demonstrate popular support for the war in the colonies and to chastise the tyrant, Great Britain. Curious is the column "From Rebel Newspapers" which carries items from the Saur press, called "rebel" because of its pro-British sentiment; the Saur press ran a similar column, but there "rebel" referred to the anti-British press. Bailey affords news of American military victories extensive coverage, whereas international news remains a minor aspect unless it directly affects America as, for example, the development of events in France and her growing discord with Great Britain.

After the British evacuation of Philadelphia competition from a rejuvenated German language newspress there must have forced Bailey to abandon this journalistic enterprise.

Concerning the newspaper which chronologically made its appearance next on the scene, *Die Pennsylvanische Gazette, oder der Allgemeine Americanische Zeitungschreiber* in 1779, little can be said since only the initial issue still exists. If meant as a replacement for the now defunct Saur newspaper, a reversal in political opinion is obvious.[9] The extant issue heralds the alliance with France and gives a German translation of the pact. It also discusses the difficulties incurred with respect to the paper money the American Congress

issued and asks the citizens to have faith in this money since God will always support a just cause and such is the American one. The editor, John Dunlap, balances national and international news, almost a novel feature of the German language newspapers of the day, as indicated by the lengthy report on page one entitled "Berlin" which reports of the strained relations between Prussia and Austria. He places their conflict also within its historical development.

Published from 1779-1781, the *Philadelphisches Staatsregister* continues the staunch support of the struggling new nation encountered in all other German-American newspapers except in the Saur press. The element of propaganda is visibly stronger here than in its above mentioned compatriots; for example, by means of letters General Washington praises the victories of General Wayne; other letters refer to the moral and military strength of the new American nation; still others, such as those from two British officers, Commodore George Collier and General William Tyron, are employed to purposely convey the scorn and bitterness the British supposedly hold towards the rebels and all who support them; even British threats of methodical and immanent physical destruction aim at inflaming hatred toward Britain and continuing staunch German-American support for the war. The destruction in the towns of Farfield and Norwalk, perpetrated by the British troops evacuating Philadelphia, demonstrates it maintains, this British policy of terror. A lengthy article covering an entire page on August 9, 1779 enthusiastically praises American freedom and Congress' course of action. Patriotic support for the American cause is evoked especially since a letter from a European to his American friend relates England has not yet been humbled enough to grant America her freedom: "Die zuneigung von ganz Europa zu unserer sache als die sache der freyheit . . ." is proudly proclaimed.[10]

A curious item, in the form of an extensive editorial, calls for a type of emergency legislation which would grant the government unlimited power. This paper feels the need for such legislation in light of the present danger; however,

it is warned, such a law should not be incorporated into a constitution because of possible misuse, especially in time of peace.

The reporting of war events tends to favor the Americans; international news remains scant and usually has reference to the American Revolution as, for example, the attempts of France to bring about peace.

This short-lived venture, oriented almost exclusively to the one issue of the war, was succeeded by the *Gemeinnützige Philadelphische Correspondenz,* edited initially and for the remaining war years by Melchior Steiner, who together with Carl Cist had published the *Philadelphisches Staatsregister.* During the war years it exhibits a high level of journalism and overcomes the provincialism indicative of the above mentioned newspapers, exclusive, of course, of the Saur press.[11] International news coverage, similar to Dunlap's enterprise, consists only of events which directly affect the American Revolution; in fact, various editions devote even more extensive coverage to it than to domestic events. Propagandizing, now more sophisticated, spans a wide range from reports of protests in England against the war, such as petitions sent to the King from inhabitants of Westminster to end the hostilities, to praise for the high ideals America represents, exemplified in a poem announcing the end of the year (December 26, 1781). And finally at the end of the war a plea for clemency permeates a fictitious conversation between Wilhelm Whig and Hans Tory in which Wilhelm demonstrates to his misguided friend the institution of royal office is only an historical development and a democracy is vastly superior; therefore they should now join together in this noble democratic experiment (June 3, 1783). By the summer of 1782 as the war enters its final phase a Christian moralizing tone becomes pronounced in numerous stories. Great Britain is regarded as a violator of morality because she disregards basic human rights (April 3, 1782). Of course, progress in the American military campaigns attracts Steiner's attention from the inception of the paper. The rumors of negotiations after

the summer of 1782 hold the interest of the editors, and extensive reporting of such events occurs.

The edition of March 13, 1782 is particularly noteworthy because of its defense of the German element among the colonists. Various letters prove the Germans to be hard working, reliable, and reasonable and reject negative comments directed against them by some English-Americans. In addition, German-Americans must stand together and preserve their culture and heritage otherwise it will become lost in their newly chosen country.

Reasons which impelled the writing of such an apology may be conjectured. Much must have been made of the thousands of German mercenary soldiers whom the King of England had hired for the war (even history books today dwell extensively on this); on the other hand, little is related of the thousands of German colonists fighting for General Washington or of the many high ranking German-American officers in his army or of the extensive support rendered Washington by the German-American farmers in supplying needed food or by the German-American pacifist sectarians who opened their homes and towns to care for the sick and wounded.[12] It has even been suggested that without the devoted efforts of the German-Americans the war against England could never have been brought to a successful conclusion.

The most extensive holdings of a German-American newspaper of the period are from Henry Miller's *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote.* Since publication commenced in 1762 insight into the growing crisis between London and the American colonies with particular reference to the German-American element can be gained. Miller's extensive experience in printing and journalism in Europe and America afforded him the abilities to initiate a newspaper of superior quality.[13] His staunch support for the American revolutionary movement manifests itself clearly and his abilities as a propagandist and apologist for the American cause in the German language seem not to have been surpassed by anyone else in the colonies. Due to the extensive distribution of his paper,

it was read not only in Pennsylvania but throughout the colonies, and its pronounced hostile tone toward British colonial policy, the revolutionary leaders must have been greatly indebted to him. He countered the influence of the Saur press and helped solidify the active support of the German-Americans for the cause of American independence.

In the years before the outbreak of hostilities Miller constantly laments and rejects the forced servitude of American commerce to British political designs and her disregard of American attempts to ameliorate the situation; rather Britain refers to the American pleas as initiating from "einer missvergnügten Rotte" which must be forced to bend under the will of the crown. By 1773 sentiment for breaking with Great Britain permeates many articles and in 1774 anti-British reaction almost reaches hysterical proportion.[14] The theme of taxation without representation demonstrates for Miller the lack of adherence and respect Great Britain pays to its tradition of liberty. In fact, because of this Britain is accused of raping an Englishman's birthright (June 21, 1774).[15] A news item reprinted from a South Carolina paper entitled "Eintracht bringt Macht" claims America faces even a greater threat from England now than at the time of the Stamp Act; consequently all must band together to halt the arbitrary and despotic actions of the British government since America is not to become a vassal country or a slave, rather the embodiment of man's natural rights (July 19, 1774).

News of the Boston Massacre further serves to fan the flames of discontent as Miller brands the encounter blatant and premeditated murder of unarmed civilians. When the British government responds with the blockade of the Boston harbor, his reaction becomes still more vehement, expressing itself in hostile attacks upon British policy and supporting a complete boycott of any and all goods shipped from Great Britain. Those who do not comply with this boycott come in for bitter attacks and are labeled enemies of patriotism, willing to sell-out their country for several pieces of gold.

No opportunity is missed to praise America and its

promise for mankind; indicative is a letter written by an Englishman: "I am completely convinced that within 100 years North America will become the home of freedom and power and the refuge for those who love liberty and the protestant religion. Were I not so old, I would immigrate with my family."[16]

Initial reaction to the commencement of hostilities at Lexington and Concord takes the form of merely reporting the encounter followed by numerous reports of eye-witnesses. Not until the edition of May 16, 1775 does an overt cognition of the significance of the event appear.

That many in the thirteen colonies turned their eyes toward Canada with the hope that she too would join in the battle against Britain is no secret. With great enthusiasm Miller's efforts support this union as exemplified in the call to Canadians to disperse with the slavery Great Britain has impelled upon her and to join in this effort to win anew our God-given rights.

Coverage of the war itself finds, as recognized in other German-American newspapers of the day, extensive expression. The major propaganda campaign continues in the war years in order to tarnish the image of the British and to evoke a feeling of pride and patriotism among Germans in America. Inhuman conditions in British prison camps, disgust on the part of British soldiers fighting in the colonies, their hope for termination of hostilities, a threatening conflagration between Great Britain and France, etc. form aspects of this undertaking. Much has been made of Miller's announcement of the Declaration of Independence; in fact, since his paper appeared on July 5, he became the first to print the announcement. That such weighty news appears on page two and is acknowledged in merely one curt sentence seems indeed curious. However, the edition of July 9 compensates for this by printing the entire Declaration of Independence translated into German, the first translation the Declaration experienced. Miller's jubilation expresses itself in a stylistic medium never before undertaken in his *Staatsbote* and one not continued

or typical of newspapers of the day, namely to sensationalize the event through headlines; he even employs several different sizes of type in this innovation.

Among the efforts to solidify German support for the new nation the poem *Ihr Americaner,* of March 19, 1776 should be mentioned. As a work of art it offers little but as a function of propaganda it seems effective. It reminds all of the reign of tyranny perpetrated by Great Britain upon the colonies and of the unresponsiveness of Parliament to all pleas from the colonists. Each line begins with the word "remember", for example:

Gedenkt an die Zoll Acte

Gedenkt an das blutbad zu Boston durch
Britische soldaten angerichtet etc.

The same issue carries a letter composed by a German in Germany directed to Germans in America, especially in Pennsylvania. He reminds them why they left Germany, namely to escape bondage and to live in freedom; consequently, America is praised by contrasting her life style to social conditions in Central Europe. German-Americans must indeed all value highly their new life of freedom and pour forth all energy to defend it.

During the British occupation of Philadelphia, Miller had to flee the city and suspend publication. Upon his return he commenced work on the *Staatsbote* but on May 26, 1779 this influential paper, a clarion of American patriotism during the Revolution, ceased publication.

The Pennsylvania German-American newspress during the Revolution was a staunch defender of the American point of view. (Among the seven different newspapers published during those years only one was Tory and existed merely as long as the British troops occupied Philadelphia. It very probably was read mostly by the German mercenaries in British service). German-American support for the Revolution was

extensive and these newspapers continued to consolidate German-American sentiment behind the effort. They served as the major avenue not only of news but more importantly of propaganda for a large segment of the colony's population. Had they not been so vociferous we can only speculate whether the role German-Americans played might have been significantly different. Although the niveau of their newspapers varies considerably, they felt they had a mission to fulfill and never lost sight of it as they strove to champion the American cause.

NOTES

1. See Julius F. Sachse, "The First German Newspaper Published in America," **The Pennsylvania-German Society Proceedings and Addresses** (Lancaster, Penna. 1900), Vol. X, p. 41.

2. a. Germantown, **Germantowner Zeitung** 1762-1777, bi-weekly and weekly (a continuation of Christoph Saur's **Pennsylvanische Berichte**; also called **Die Germantowner Zeitung, Germantowner Wochen-Blatt**; after the battle of Germantown the Saurs moved to Philadelphia and there continued the paper as **Der Pennsylvanische Staats Courier**).

b. Philadelphia, **Der Pennsylvanische Staats-Courier, oder Einlaufende Wöchentliche Nachrichten,** 1777-1778, published weekly by Christoph Saur jun. and Peter Saur.

c. Lancester, **Das Pennsylvanische Zeitungs-Blatt,** 1778, weekly, edited and published by Frantz Bailey.

d. Philadelphia, **Die Pennsylvanische Gazette, oder der Allgemeine Americanische Zeitungs-Schreiber,** 1779-? (evidence indicates that only several editions appeared), weekly, published by John Dunlap.

e. Philadelphia, **Philadelphisches Staatsregister,** 1779-1781, weekly, edited and published by Melchior Steiner and Carl Cist. With the dissolution of this firm it was succeeded by the **Gemeinnützige Philadelphische Correspondenz.**

f. Philadelphia, **Gemeinnützige Philadelphische Correspondenz,** 1781-1790 at which time its name was altered. Publication was continued for twenty-two years as a weekly by Melchior Steiner.

g. Philadelphia, **Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote,** title varies, 1762-1779, weekly, at times semi-weekly, published by Henry Miller. Publication was suspended during the British occupation of Philadelphia (Sept. 17, 1777-August 5, 1778). Its circulation has been estimated at 6500 with readers not only in Pennsylvania but throughout the colonies.

3. John Joseph Stoudt, "The German Press in Pennsylvania and the American Revolution," **The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography** (Philadelphia, 1935), Vol. LIX, 74-90.

4. See Moses Coit Tyler, "The Party of the Loyalists in the American Revolution," **The Amreican Historical Review** (New York, 1896), Vol. I, 24-45.

5. Cf. Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, **German-American Newspapers and Periodicals** (Heidelberg, Germany, 1961), p. 523. The claim is here made that Saur remained loyal to England during the Revolution.

6. See Oswald Seidensticker, **The German Press in America** (Philadelphia, 1893), p. 99.

7. See Oswald Seidensticker, **Bilder aus der Deutsch-pennsylvanischen Geschichte** (New York, 1885), p. 113ff and especially 158.

8. James Owen Knauss, Jr., **Social Conditions among the Pennsylvania Germans in the Eighteenth Century as Revealed in the German Newspaper Published in America** (Lancester, 1922), p. 16.

9. **Ibid.**

10. This letter from a European to his American friend appears in the edition of May 24, 1780.

11. The superior niveau of this paper resulted from the excellent editorship of two Lutheran pastors, Kunze and Helmuth; in fact, even English language newspapers printed translations from it. See Knauss, loc. cit. p. 18.

12. See, for example, H. M. M. Richards, "The Pennsylvania-German in the Revolutionary War 1775-1783," **The Pennsylvania-German Society Proceedings and Addresses** (Lancester, 1908), pp. 1-542; F. J. F. Schantz, "The Domestic Life and Characteristics of the Pennsylvania-German Pioneer," **The Pennsylvania-German Society Proceedings and Addresses** (Lancester, 1900), pp. 5-97; J. G. Rosengarten, **The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States** (Philadelphia, 1890); A. B. Faust, **The German Element in the United States** (New York, 1927); Ralph Wood et. al, **The Pennsylvania Germans** (Princeton, N. J., 1942).

13. See J. J. Stoudt, loc. cit., pp. 80-87; A. B. Faust, loc. cit., p. 368.

14. Such a tone is particularly rabid in the edition of January 4, 1774.

15. Cf. Moses Coit Tyler, loc. cit. Tyler shows how the colonists really did have representation in Parliament because of the manner in which the British parliamentary system functioned.

16. April 30, 1771. The letter is quoted, of course, in German. Cf. the open letter directed to the King which defends the American view of liberty and castigates George III (June 4, 1774).

CONTRIBUTION OF THE GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH TO AMERICAN CULTURE

by

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It is well known that during the eighteenth century so many immigrants came to Pennsylvania from the Palatinate and from Switzerland that by the time the Declaration of Independence was signed, about one-third of the colony's population was German or Swiss. It is also well known that the heavy German immigration continued throughout the nineteenth century and at times reached the proportions of a national exodus. While political events in Germany contributed to the migration, it was often crop failure, heavy taxation, or simply a dream of America as a land of unlimited opportunities that provided the impetus to start a new life beyond the sea. Thus a substantial number of the German immigrants were humble folk, who upon their arrival engaged in clearing the wilderness and establishing farms, or made their living as craftsmen.

About one third of the Pennsylvania Germans belonged to the Reformed Church. At first, they maintained connections with the Reformed Church of Holland, a wealthy established state church, which could well afford to subsidize missionary work among the German immigrants in the New World. The Reformed Church in the Palatinate, on the other hand, having suffered much persecution, was poor and unable to offer financial assistance to the German congregations scattered on the American frontier. But in 1793, after years of dependence on the mother-church in Holland, the German congregations in Pennsylvania organized themselves into an independent body and became known as *Die Deutsch-Reformierte Kirche der Vereinigten Staaten.*

From the beginning, the church faced many challenges, for the religious situation of early nineteenth-century America was that of great disarray, particularly when viewed through European spectacles. A modern church historian puts the difference into sharp focus when he writes:

> From the European point of view, therefore, the American scene loomed as a reversion to bedlam. Its radical separation of church and state seemed to have exterminated every vestige of any concept of authority. There appeared a riot of sects, and an unholy competition among them. All this was frightening enough... but in addition there were horrendous narratives of American revivals, wherein hysterical enthusiasts barked like dogs, writhed in sawdust.... In the settled opinion of Germany, America was a religious chaos.[1]

It goes without saying that the learned and austere German churchmen who spent their days reading the old church fathers or writing their surveys of systematic theology were appalled by these accounts. So were the laymen, conditioned to give due respect to the men of the cloth and to consider all matters of religion with reverence and awe. This background in itself helped the German Reformed Church preserve a high measure of dignity and independence even at the peak of the revivalistic movement, though at times there were controversies over the matter and the church did not remain wholly unaffected by the religious atmosphere of America. Another factor was the language. The Germans usually came in groups, and settled down in districts where the German element was strong. They clung tenaciously to their mother tongue, which set them apart from the surrounding English-speaking populace and made it more difficult for outside influence to penetrate.

However, there were yet other factors that were instrumental in the church's success in maintaining a distinct character in the avalanche of strange new ways. The objective

of this article is to call attention to some of these factors and to the impact that the German Reformed Church, whose constituency consisted primarily of ordinary, hard-working peasants and artisans, made on the intellectual and religious climate of nineteenth-century America.

Though humble and poor, the German immigrants brought from their homeland a heritage of deep love of religion and deep respect for education. Germany was, after all, the acknowledged leader in educational matters, the home of some of the most venerated centers of learning in the world. It is no wonder that even in America the immigrants insisted from the very beginning on a well-educated clergy and disdained the ill-trained, uncultured preachers so common on the frontier. The earliest church records show that among the sixty-four ministers then in active duty no fewer than thirty-five were educated in German or Swiss universities. As the church grew and the need for additional clergymen became more pressing, the task of adequate theological training began to loom as the most important task of the church. It was the unconditional insistence on well-educated clergy that led to the founding of several colleges and seminaries (Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pa., Heidelberg College in Tiffin, Ohio, Catawba College in Salisbury, N.C., Mission House in Sheboygan, Wis., Mercersburg Seminary in Mercersburg, Pa., and others). Through them, the German Reformed Church contributed to education of young people far beyond its own constituency.

The story of the founding of these institutions sometimes provides interesting reading. Let one example illustrate the trials and tribulations that the founding of an institution of higher learning brought to the church in the first half of the nineteenth century.

In 1834 the Ohio Synod of the German Reformed Church went on record as entertaining "the exalted intention of establishing an institution for the education of worthy young men for the gospel ministry".[2] In 1838, an attempt was made to turn the 'exalted intention' into reality. At the annual

Synod meeting, the Rev. Dr. J. G. Buettner was elected Professor of Theology. His salary was fixed at 250 dollars a year, and besides teaching he was to serve two congregations. The opening of the seminary was advertised in the *Ohio Repository* on September 13, 1838 in the following way:

> Theological Seminary of the
> German Reformed Synod of Ohio, &c.
>
> This institution, for the present located at Canton, Stark County, O., a city which for health and beauty is surpassed by none in the flourishing State of Ohio, will be open for the reception of students from and after the first of October next. The Rev. Dr. J. G. Buettner has been elected professor. He is a man whose theological and philological acquirements recommend him to all who desire a thorough theological education and whom the committee feel proud to recommend to the Christian public for his orthodox doctrine, integrity and moral worth. All lectures will be given in the German and English language if required, and no efforts spared to qualify students to preach in both languages. Those who are desirous of attending are required to make immediate application. Tuition to all theological students free.
>
> Rev. N. P. Hacke, Greensburg
> Rev. C. L. A. Allardt, and
> Rev. G. Schlosser, of Ohio Committee of Arrangements[3]

The same paper also carried an advertisement of Mrs. Buettner's embroidery class.

Dr. Buettner was a very learned man. Born in 1809 in Münchenbernsdorf in Prussia, he matriculated at the University of Leipzig in 1829 and transferred to the University of Jena in 1831. In the spring of 1834 he earned his doctorate there, and in the fall of the same year he sailed for America. He worked as a missionary among the Germans in Pennsylvania, Missouri, and Ohio. He was held in such high esteem by other clergymen in Ohio that he sometimes caused them to suffer feelings of inferiority. In spite of his scholarship,

however, the seminary was a failure. Only two students applied, and both left before the semester was over. There were no students in the second semester. After another unsuccessful semester, Dr. Buettner resigned and returned to Germany, and the seminary closed.

For several years, the question of a seminary was pushed into the background but never quite forgotten. It was raised again at the Synod meetings in 1844, 1846, 1847, and 1848. In 1850, after sixteen years of effort and three failures, a college and a theological seminary were established in Tiffin, Ohio. In a true Reformed tradition they were given the name of Heidelberg.

It is only logical that a church which put so much stress on thorough preparation of clergy would have counted some of the most distinguished theologians of nineteenth-century America among its members. It is beyond the scope of this article to draw a full picture of the accomplishments of the German Reformed Church's theological scholarship. May it suffice to say that for years the seminary in Mercersburg stood under profound influence of two widely acclaimed scholars, Dr. J. W. Nevin and Dr. Philip Schaff. Nevin, an American of Scotch background, came from a Presbyterian family but during the early years in the ministry became deeply attracted to both the German language and the German theology, joined the German Reformed Church and eventually became one of its best-known spokesmen. Dr. Schaff was called to the Mercersburg professorship from Berlin, where he had earned his doctorate at the age of twenty-two and began to lecture as *Privatdocent* at the age of twenty-four. "He and Nevin propounded what was known as the 'Mercersburg Theology,' chiefly through the medium of a journal, *The Mercersburg Review,* which was as sophisticated a work as America could then boast."[4] His influence was enormous both inside and outside the German Reformed Church; his fame was worldwide. He occupies a position of honor in the history of American theological scholarship.

The insistence on thorough education of the clergy was only one distinct mark of the German Reformed Church; a second mark was the emphasis on an educated laity. The fatherland of the German immigrants was not only the land of famous universities; it was also a land where public education was offered to both rich and poor, where thousands of new books appeared annually, where orthodox religious training was the concern of not only the church but also the family. The church in America continued in the same tradition. It engaged in a rather prolific publication enterprise and exercised influence over its membership through magazines and books. In the course of time, several magazines (*Evangelische Kirchenzeitung, Die Evangelische Zeitung, Der Herold, Die Kirchliche Zeitschrift, Der Evangelist,* and others) appeared, only to disappear after a few months or years. Finally, two papers came on the scene that were destined to outlast the others. In 1835, Rev. B. S. Schneck of Gettysburg, Pa. started to publish *Der Christliche Herold,* and in 1837 Rev. J. C. Guldin of Chester County, Pa. came along with *Die Evangelische Zeitschrift.* In the same year, both these privately-owned publications were transferred to the Board of Missions of the church, merged into one and renamed *Die Christliche Zeitschrift.* The printing, originally left in Gettysburg, was later transferred to Chambersburg, Pa., where the church founded its first printing establishment. In 1848 the title was changed again, this time to *Die Reformierte Kirchenzeitung;* under this name the paper kept appearing for more than half a century.

On July 30, 1864, the publishing work of the church came to a sudden stop in a shattering way. The Civil War was raging, and a detachment of the southern army invaded Chambersburg and burned the town almost to the ground. The beautiful printing house with all its valuable contents was totally destroyed, and the church was left without the necessary facilities to publish its books and magazines. After the calamity, the printing operation was transferred to Philadelphia.

It is obviously impossible to list all the books published by the German Reformed Church. A short mention, though, should be made of the publication of the hymnal *Sammlung Evangelischer Lieder,* commissioned by the Synod in 1841, which replaced the widely used hymnbook *Neues und Verbessertes Gesangbuch* of 1797. The new hymnal was unfortunately hastily prepared and was replaced in 1859 by the *Deutsches Gesangbuch.*

Of far greater importance than the publication of the hymnals was the repeated publication of a book venerated by Reformed churches the world over, the *Heidelberg Catechism.* First published in 1563 in Heidelberg on orders of Frederick the Pious, Elector of the Palatinate, the book is considered to be one of the finest products of the German Reformation. In the succeeding centuries, it was used by Reformed churches far beyond the narrow boundaries of its place of origin, and its fate in the United States presents an interesting story in itself. According to church historian J. H. Dubbs, the Dutch deserve the credit for having brought it first to our shores:

> There is every reason to believe that religious services were held on the site of the present city of New York soon after the first settlement of New Amsterdam, in 1614. It has, therefore, been plausibly asserted that "Heidelberg Catechism was taught in America before the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock".[5]

About one hundred years later a group of Germans from the Palatinate brought a German edition of the book to their new home in Pennsylvania. It was bound into one volume along with a hymnbook, the Psalms, and a collection of family prayers. The first American edition appeared in 1752 in Germantown, Pa., a work of the famous printer Christoph Saur who is said to have printed more books than any other printer in the colonies. It, too, was bound together with

the hymnal, the Psalms, the list of gospel and epistle readings for the church year, and a short treatise entitled *Historie der Zerstörung Jerusalems.* The book, used by the members of the earliest German Reformed congregations in America, was apparently published only once.

The next edition of the catechism, dating from 1790, appeared at Carl Cist's publishing house in Philadelphia. The Psalms and hymns were gone, but in their stead there was an appendix of two parts: *Erste Wahrheits-Milch für Säuglinge am Alter und Verstand,* and *Ein kurzer Auszug aus dem Herrn Doktor und Professor Lampe's heil. Brautschmuck usw.* The same book was later republished by Cist's successor, Conrad Zentler. In the first half of the nineteenth century the catechism was published three more times: by G. W. Mentz in Philadelphia, by Gruber und May in Hagerstown, Pa., and by the Reformed Church's publishing house in Chambersburg. The first English translation published in America appeared in 1820 in Philadelphia.

However, 'the year of the Heidelberg Catechism' was 1863, the 300th anniversary of its appearance. That year, which brought enormous suffering to the country as a whole, was in many ways the most glorious year in the history of the German Reformed Church. While a suggestion for an impressive commemoration was expressed already in 1857, it was renewed two years later at a meeting of the Pennsylvania clergy who formally sent to the Synod the following resolution:

> Beschlossen, Dass es der Synode empfohlen sei, die Bearbeitung und Herausgebung einer kritischen Musterausgabe des Heidelberger Katechismus, enthaltend den ursprünglichen deutschen und lateinischen Text von 1563, eine revidierte englische Uebersetzung, sammt einer geschichtlichen Einleitung, zu veranstalten; welches Werk im Jahre 1863 als Jubel-Ausgabe in würdiger und eleganter Ausstattung veröffentlicht, und nachgehends allen gewöhnlichen Ausgaben zu Grund gelegt werden soll.[6]

The Synod acted favorably on the resolution, charging the church at large to plan the celebration as 'a sublime festal service to God', and soon plans got under way for a truly impressive observance of the anniversary. To coincide with the precise date of the original publication—January 19, 1563—the Synod was held that year from January 17 to January 23, and no less than twenty-one papers on the catechism or on Reformed theology were read by American Reformed clergy or by German and Dutch theologians invited specifically for the occasion. The Historical Society of the Reformed Church was organized; special services were held in numerous congregations; large free-will offerings for the work of the church were received throughout the year. In general, the church experienced a time of remarkable joy, vigor, and growth.

From the literary aspect two works of lasting value were published. The first was the impressive *Gedenkbuch der dreihundertjährigen Jubelfeier des Heidelberger Katechismus in der Deutsch-Reformierten Kirche der Vereinigten Staaten,* containing a valuable historical introduction and texts of the papers read at the Synod. Because of the Chambersburg fire, it was published with great difficulty but did appear in the anniversary year. The second book was the so-called Tercentenary edition of the catechism, and included a 127-page long introduction with the standard text in old German, Latin, modern German, and English. It appeared at Scribner's of New York, and was considered the finest edition ever published.

The festive mood characterized not only the official activity of the church's ecclesiastical leadership but was felt among the grass-roots membership as well. One devout member, Henry Leonard, the first financial agent of Heidelberg College, left behind a long poem which expresses well the mood of the time. It reads in part:

Hört! hört! wie tönt das Jubellied
So schön und herrlich über Land;

Gott Lob! das bringt doch wahre Freud,
Herr, öffne uns in Dankbarkeit
Und Liebe Herz und Mund und Hand.

Eilt, Christen, eilt zum Tempel hin:
Reich, Arm, Alt, Jung und Gross und Klein
Komm Nord, Süd, Komm Ost und West,
Dreihundertjährig Jubelfest
Will von uns hoch gefeiert sein!

Nach dreimal hundert Jahren steht
Mein alter Glaube fest und gut;
Mein Trost in aller Seelennoth,
Mein Trost im Leben und im Tod:
Das gibt das Herz zum Danken Muth.[7]

Henry Leonard, incidently, a man widely known in the church under the nickname 'The Fisherman' because of his "fishing for funds" the newly founded college desperately needed, brought about the endowment of the German Professorship at Heidelberg College in 1862. From the testimonies of his contemporaries it appears that he was the most colorful personality in the history of the institution; from his life's work it is obvious that he was the finest example of a member of the German Reformed Church: of humble origin, yet totally devoted to the cause of religion and the cause of education.

The simple marker over his grave bears the words, 'This mortal put on immortality'. The same, perhaps, could be said about the church he so dearly loved. Like him, it is no more; German has long since ceased to be used within its congregations, and through various mergers with other denominations the German Reformed Church has eventually become a part of the United Church of Christ. But his labor of love for the church and the college entitled him—at least in the opinion of his contemporaries—to immortality; likewise, the labor of love of the German Reformed Church entitles it to at least a measure of grateful remembrance.

NOTES

1. Perry Miller in "Editor's Introduction" to Philip Schaff, **America** (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1961), p. viii.

2. J. H. Dubbs, **Historical Manual of the Reformed Church in the United States** (Lancaster, 1888), p. 303.

3. Quoted in James Good, **History of the Reformed Church in the U. S. in the Nineteenth Century** (The Board of Publications of the Reformed Church in America, New York, 1911), p. 118.

4. Perry Miller, **ibid.**, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

5. J. H. Dubbs, **ibid.**, p. 157.

6. **Gedenkbuch der dreihundertjährigen Jubelfeier des Heidelberger Katechismus in der Deutsch-Reformierten Kirche der Vereinigten Staaten** (M. Kieffer u. Comp., Chambersburg, 1863), p. viii.

7. Henry Leonard, **The Fisherman's Allegories** (Reformed Publishing Co., Dayton, 1887), pp. 297-298.

NEUERSCHEINUNGEN

Handbuch eines Deutschamerikaners. Gedichte

von Don Heinrich Tolzmann

Zu beziehen durch:

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G-105 Cooperstown

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Auf fernen Wegen. Gedichte

von Herman Brause

Zu beziehen durch:

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LUTHERISCHE PASTOREN, DIE ZUR DEUTSCHAMERIKANISCHEN LITERATUR BEIGETRAGEN HABEN

von

ROBERT E. WARD

Cleveland, Ohio

Wer die seit langem überfällige Geschichte der deutschamerikanischen Literatur verfassen will, muss die Rolle lutherischer Zeitungen, Zeitschriften, Verlagshäuser und Pastorendichtung in Amerika miteinbeziehen, denn ein beachtlich grosser Teil dieses Schrifttums ist durch den Einfluss der lutherischen Kirche geschaffen worden. Ausser den zahlreichen theologischen Schriften aus der Feder von deutschsprechenden lutherischen Geistlichen in allen Teilen der Union muss eine derartige Studie auch die Gesamtheit schöpferischer Literatur von deutschamerikanischen lutheranischen Pastoren behandeln.[1] Der Einfluss der Kirche auf die grosse Zahl weltlicher deutschsprachiger Dichter in Amerika kann auch nicht geleugnet werden. Es ist bemerkenswert, dass so viele der in Amerika geborenen deutschsprachigen Autoren von streng religiösen Gemeinden kamen, in denen die Kirche danach strebte, das Erbe ihres Volksstammes gegen die oft feindlich eingestellte angloamerikanische Umgebung zu erhalten. Die grosse Beliebtheit deutschamerikanischer Jugendliteratur im vorigen Jahrhundert war hauptsächlich den enormen Anstrengungen konfessioneller Verlagshäuser zu verdanken, die deutschamerikanische Prosa in Form von Fortsetzungsromanen erscheinen liessen, mit dem besonderen Zweck, einen adäquaten Gegenpol zu bilden gegenüber jener weltlichen Literatur, die junge Gemüter in ihrem christlichen Glauben erschüttern könnte. Professor Condoyannis berichtet, dass die wenigen in Amerika geborenen Autoren, die deutschamerikanische Prosa schrieben, in Schulen erzogen wurden, die der Kirche angesch-

lossen waren, und dass die meisten von ihnen eine grundreligiöse Einstellung hatten.[2]

In meinem *Handbook of German-American Creative Literature from its Beginnings to the Present,* welches im Verlag der American Library Association (Chicago) bald

HEINRICH MELCHIOR MÜHLENBERG

erscheinen wird, findet man bio-bibliographische Artikel über etwa 3000 Dichter und Schriftsteller, darunter folgende lutherische Pastoren, deren Werke von Literarhistorikern und anderen Forschern noch nicht ausführlich behandelt worden sind:

Der Hauptanteil deutschamerikanischer schöpferischer Literatur des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts wird von der Vielfalt religiöser und theosophischer Strömungen getragen. Ausser den Schriften der verschiedenen weltlichen Dichter und nicht-lutherischen Geistlichen sollte auch das deutsche Schrifttum früher lutherischer Pastoren in Betracht gezogen werden, z. B. *J. Falckner, S. Helffenstein, J. H. C. Helmuth, J. Kraus, J. C. Kunze, F. A. Muehlenberg, H. M. Muehlenberg, D. Schuhmacher, J. G. Schmucker* und *G. M. Weiss.*

Dass unsere Pastorendichter des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts vielerei Themen und Motive behandelt haben, ersehen wir aus ihrer Lyrik und Prosa, die einen reichen Platz in der deutsch-amerikanischen Literaturgeschichte gefunden haben.[3] Zu untersuchen wären die Werke von *A. F. Augustin, K. F. Bauer, K. Beck, E. Becker, E. Berdau, A. J. Berens, G. Berkemeier, P. Biedlow, G. von Bosse, J. M. Bürkle, R. Clemen, J. H. G. Drolle, J. G. Eberhard, C. J. Fick, T. C. Graebner, F. W. A. Grimm, J. Hensen, F. W. Herzberger, A. F. W. Hildebrandt, J. Hoffmann, H. P. Holler, L. Horn, A. R. Horne, P. Ilgen, C. P. Krauth, P. E. Kretzmann, A. Lange* (starb 1922), *A. Lange* (starb 1944), *G. W. Lose, J. K. C. Maass, F. Mayer, P. Menzel, E. F. Moldehnke, O. Mordhorst, G. A. Neeff, G. Rath, H. Remke, K. H. Rohe, G. Schaller, H. G. Schneider, P. F. A. T. Spaeth, K. G. Stoeckhardt, W. Strobel, J. W. Theiss, C. F. W. Walther, O. H. Walther, H. Weigand, H. Weseloh, A. C. Wuchter, H. H. Zagel, C. M. Zorn.*

ANMERKUNGEN

1. Vgl. dazu Robert E. Ward, "Reflections on Some German Poems by Lutheran Pastors in America", **Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly**, LXIV, 3 (August 1971), S. 114-121.

2. George E. Condoyannis, "German-American Prose Fiction from 1850-1918," Diss.: Columbia University, 1953.

3. Siehe **Deklamatorium. Eine Sammlung von deutschen Gedichten für die beiden unteren Klassen amerikanisch-lutherischer Hochschulen** (Milwaukee, 1929); G. A. Neeff, **Vom Lande des Sternenbanners. Eine Blumenlese deutscher Dichtungen in Amerika** (Ellenville, N. Y., 1905); G. A. Zimmermann, **Deutsch in Amerika** (Chicago, 1892, 1894); **Für Herz und Leben. Eine Sammlung kurzer Erzählungen für die Christliche Jugend** (1905); Robert E. Ward, **Deutsche Lyrik aus Amerika. Eine Auswahl** (N. Y., 1969).

RÜCKBLENDUNG

(zwischen Semmering und New Hampshire)

In der alten Heimat grünster Grüne
stillesteht mein Atem auf Sekunden,
tropft mein Lebenssaft aus ungeheilten Wunden,
der verbrauchten Tage letzte Sühne.

Warum irrt mein Blick aus grünster Grüne
zu dem jungen Tann an Strassenrändern,
der mir Hoffnung gab in unbekannten Ländern,
den ich herzuzaubern mich erkühne?

Wie sich Grün mit Grün in eins verblendet,
Moos und Farn und dunkelndes Gezweige,
weiss nicht, ob ich abwärts, ob ich aufwärts steige,
immer noch der Lichtung zugewendet.

Margarete Kollisch
Staten Island

MINNESOTAISCH

un ich haba
notion aw tsu gea
for se sawys mer
kann sich so a
discussion dicket kawfa
uf em railroad
for holb price

ich will awe
de particulars
schreiwa
de neghst woch
gea ich nach
nei ulm
tsu sea

wie's gea.

Donald Tolzmann
Lexington, Ky.

ERINNERUNG

Schöner Frühlingsduft,
wie erweckst du alte,
schmerzhafte Tage,
der Erinnerung tödliche Qual.
So süss ist diese Luft,
und doch so voller Trauer:
nordische Erde, die kalte,
östlicher Himmel aus Stahl,
und immer heisst's — Ertrage!
Gott,
zerschlage die trennende Mauer!

Herman F. Brause
Rochester, N. Y.

AN MEINEN GELIEBTEN GROSSVATER

(1875-1972)

Mein guter Wanderkamerad,
Wandert fort
Und kehrt nicht
Wieder.
Des Herzens Hort,
Er weilt am Friedhofspfad,
Und Tränen rieseln
Hernieder.

Herman F. Brause
Rochester, N. Y.

FREUND UND FEIND

Wir kennen einander,
über den Tellern schwebt
unser Geschwätz. Augen
bespiegeln Augen. Lächeln
betastet Lächeln. — Stille,
einen Moment lang.
Vereist im Alleinsein.

Kurt J. Fickert
Springfield, Ohio

ERRATA (Volume 5)

Page 57

Insert between lines 10 and 11:
Leipzig Book Fair, collecting bills and advertising its publications in the

Page 67

Delete the word **contracts** (line 4), insert in its stead: contacts

Page 71

Omit (line 9) first **n** in **Gendenbuch.** Should read: **Gedenkbuch**

Page 118

Change date in line 15 (1950) to read: 1850

Page 119

Change name in line 5 **(Balke)** to read: Blake

Page 120

Change **guage** in line 10 to read: gauge

Page 127

Omit line 8, insert in its stead:
No. 726 "Jesu ! Vorbild reiner Tugend" (1781, No. 4)

Page 130

Place brackets around **Philadelphia** in line 12

Page 139

Place brackets around late in line 1 (1801)

Page 140

Delete **s** from the word **contains** in line 3

AREA OF EARLY GERMAN SETTLEMENTS IN PENNSYLVANIA AND NEW JERSEY