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Herausgegeben von
Robert F. Ward

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.

VOLUME 5

German-American Studies

4156 Claridge Drive
Youngstown, Ohio 44511

A JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE LITERATURE, HISTORY, AND CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE GERMAN-SPEAKING ELEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES is the only journal that deals exclusively with the literary, historical, and cultural achievements of the German-speaking element in the USA.

In each volume you will find scholarly and semi-popular articles, book reviews, original German-American poetry, and important bibliographies Americana Germanica. Manuscripts are accepted in English or German and should follow the MLA style sheet.

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Volume 5

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German-American Studies

4156 Claridge Drive
Youngstown, Ohio 44511

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Front Cover

The front cover design shows Frau Muse holding the poet's laurel wreath. The cherub holds symbolically the German and American shields. The words Deutsch-Amerikanische Dichtung form the title to the literary magazine on which this design first appeared and which was published by Konrad Nies from 1888 to 1890. It is to Nies that GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES owes its inspiration. The verse immediately below this design has been extracted from Marie Raible's poem, Deutsch-Amerika.

Page 46

Reproduction of an engraved portrait of Francis Lieber.

Page 55

Photo portrait of Adolph Sonnenthal (1833-1899), pseud. Julius Bruck, famed German-American editor, playwright, poet, and physician.

Page 173

Photo portrait of Albert Wolff (1825-1893), 48er, poet, and German-American newspaper editor.

Back Cover

Photo of The Magazine Collector. See important ad on inside of back cover.

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF GERMAN-AMERICAN RESEARCH

See pages 50, 67, 96, 116, 162, 168, 188, and 199.

ATTENTION SUBSCRIBERS

A limited number of back issues of GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES is available. Order now while the issues you need are still in stock. A list of available back issues and their prices is given on page 2 of this volume.

EDITOR'S NOTE

With this issue *German-American Studies* has completed its third year of publication. During 1973 at least two volumes will be published, each containing approximately 125 to 150 pages of material relating to the cultural and literary contributions of the German-speaking element in the United States from the seventeenth century to the present. In so doing the Society for German-American Studies will continue to fill the gaps created with the demise of such important German-American periodicals as *Deutsch-Amerikanische Dichtung* (1888-1890), *Belletristisches Journal* (1852-1909), *Der deutsche Pionier* (1869-1887), *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* (1886), *Der arme Teufel* (1884-1900), *Der deutsche Kulturträger* (1913-14), and more recently the *American-German Review*.

The success of our venture to date is a credit to our contributors, editorial staff, and all of you who have provided the necessary capital by subscribing to our journal. The current rebirth of interest in German-American culture is riding a crest and is due in no small part to the efforts of the Society for German-American Studies. Not only is our mutual effort in step with the contemporary revival of ethnic studies, it is a solid contribution to knowledge and scholarship at a time when academia is endangered by a vigorous trend toward anti-intellectualism.

One of the most encouraging signs that our field of mutual interest is gaining new attention is the introduction

of courses on German-American cultural relations at various colleges and universities in the U. S. If your school or institution of higher learning teaches such a course or is planning to introduce one, please write me so that I may mention your course(s) to our readers in a future issue.

We are pleased to announce the appointment of Dr. Karl-Heinz Stoll (University of Mainz at Germersheim) to our editorial staff. Dr. Stoll will serve as poetry editor. All poetry manuscripts should be sent to: Dr. Karl-Heinz Stoll, 6742 Herxheim, Marktstrasse 6, West Germany. All other manuscripts should be directed to the editor c/o The Society for German-American Studies, 4156 Claridge Drive, Youngstown, Ohio, 44511.

The noted authoress of children's books, Kathlyn Gay has published her most recent work, *The Germans Helped Build America* (1971) with Simon & Schuster Book Co.: 1 West 39th Street, New York, 10018. The book, which costs \$4.50, is an excellent contribution to children's literature and would make a fine present to boys and girls from the ages of 8 to 15.

Beginning with Volume IV (1972), *German-American Studies* ceased to be published in two numbers per volume.

Vol. I, 1 (1969)	Price: \$3.50	Vol. III, 1 & 2 (1971)	Price: \$4.00
Vol. I, 2 (1969-70)	Price: \$2.50	Vol. IV (1972)	Price: \$4.00
Vol. II, 1 (1970)	Price: \$2.00		
Vol. II, 2 (1970)	Out of print		

The manuscript to my "Dictionary of German-American Creative Literature from its Beginnings to the Present" has

been sent to the publisher and is expected to appear in 1973. Watch for further announcements on my book in the forthcoming volumes of German-American Studies.

Some important organizations interested in our field of mutual endeavor are:

1. Forschungsstelle für Nationalitäten--
und Sprachenfragen
355 Marburg/Lahn
Rotenberg 21
West Germany
2. American Historical Society of Germans
from Russia
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P. O. Box 1424
Greeley, Colorado
3. YIVO Institute for Jewish Research
1048 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10028
4. Society for the History of the Germans
in Maryland
231 St. Paul Place
Baltimore, Maryland 21202
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R. D. 1, Box 469
Breinigville, Pennsylvania 18031
7. The Max Kade German-American Research
and Document Center
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9. Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen
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10. National Carl Schurz Association
339 Walnut Street
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Erforschung der deutschsprachigen
Exil-Literatur
University of Stockholm
Sweden
13. The Research Center for Canadian
Ethnic Studies
The University of Calgary
Calgary 44
Alberta, Canada

R and E Research Associates, 4843 Mission Street, San Francisco, California, 94112, has compiled an ethnic studies collection entitled, "Ethnology and Immigration 1970." Among the titles dealing with the German contribution are The Stranger's Gift by H. Bokum (\$6.00); German Political Refugees in the U. S., 1815-1860 by E. Bruncken (\$5.00); California Chronik (microfilm \$15.00); Deutschland in Amerika by W. Frank (\$8.00); German Pioneers in Early California by E. Gudde (\$3.00), and The German Correspondent, Vol. I, No. 1-6, New York 1820 by P. Schmidt (\$6.00). See Stechert-Hafner's Book News, Vol. XXVI, 6, pp. 84/85.

If you are a subscriber to G-AS you are one of the many responsible for its appearance since 1969. We hope that each subscriber will tell his friends and acquaintances about our effort so that we may expand our subscriptions and increase the number of pages contained in forthcoming volumes.

R. E. W.

as of
1969

A PARTIAL LIST OF GERMAN PERIODICALS
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In Milwaukee: 161 W. Wisconsin Avenue
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DER DEUTSCHAMERIKANER
4740 N. Western Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60625
(Official organ of the German-American National Congress)

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Mail Price: \$15.40 per year
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AUFBAU

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Mail Price: \$12.50 per year
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DER REGGEBÖGE

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Address all correspondence regarding memberships and back
publications to The Pennsylvania German Society,
R. D. 1, Box 469, Breinigsville, Pennsylvania 18031

DEUTSCHAMERIKA

(Ein blitzgeschichtlicher Überblick bis zum Ende des
zweiten Weltkrieges)

Einst blühte es -
So halbwegs,
Man schämte sich nicht,
Deutsch zu sprechen,
Im Heim, auf der Strasse -
So halbwegs,
Es kamen dann zwei Kriege,
Zwei Hetzen,
Gegen Deutschland,
Gegen das Deutsche,
Gegen die Deutschen,
Ihre Sprache und Sitten,
Man traute sich nicht,
Deutsch zu sprechen,
Manch einer schämte sich,
Deutscher zu sein,
Obwohl er für Schandtaten
Drüben
Kaum verantwortlich war,
Und die Eichenblätter wurden dürr,
Es erkrankte die Eiche,
Deutschamerika wurde...
Zur Leiche.

Herman F. Brause
Rochester, N. Y.

BLOCHER, BROOKS, AND AUGUST KOPISCH: A REPORT ON AN
UNPUBLISHED TRANSLATION*

by

Guy Stern
University of Cincinnati

German poets of the mid-nineteenth century found an appreciative reader and skilled translator in Charles Timothy Brooks (1813-1833), New England poet and writer, scholar and clergyman. Born in Salem, Massachusetts and educated at Harvard, Brooks served most of his life as pastor to the Unitarian congregation of Newport, R. I. In Newport he began writing for belletristic journals, contributing essays, translations, and original poetry. Probably his most lasting achievement as a translator was his early rendition of Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* (1837) and of Goethe's *Faust*, Part I (1862). With the publication of the latter work, Brooks became one of the first Americans to render Goethe's drama in the original meter and rhyme, and by translating some of the minor German poets into English, he made available to an English-speaking public poems which but for him would have remained untranslated.

Many of Brook's translations have appeared in book form; others, in various magazines and newspapers. A great number, however, apparently done as a labor of love, were never published; even a posthumously published volume of Brook's works (1885) makes no pretense of being complete and lists in its bibliography "a great number of [unpublished] poems and prose extracts translated from the German, French, Italian, Latin,

Greek, and other languages."¹ Also, Camillo von Klenze, writing his definitive book on Brooks in 1937, found that many of Brooks' translations still await publication.²

One of these translations, this one apparently submitted for publication, appears among the papers of the late Edward Carey Gardiner, a member of the publishing house Carey, Lea, and Blanchard of Philadelphia. These papers are now, uncatalogued, in the archives of the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society in Philadelphia, and still await thorough scholarly exploration.³ The MS is a translation of a poem by August Kopisch (1799-1853), one of the *Freiheitsdichter*, a group of poets who called for a war of liberation against Napoleon. Brooks, who personally knew and for many years corresponded with several *Freiheitsdichter*, displayed an abiding enthusiasm for their cause and their poetry. His specific interest in the poet-painter Kopisch, previously demonstrated by his translation of "Der grosse Krebs im Mohringer See" (The Giant Crab of Lake Mohrin), the German writer's best known poem, is further illustrated by this unpublished translation of "Blücher am Rhein."⁴

Blücher am Rhein

Die Heere blieben am
Rheine stehn:
Soll man hinein nach
Frankreich gehn?
Man dachte hin und
wieder nach,
Allein der alte
Blücher sprach:
"Generalkarte her!"

Blücher at the Rhine (from the German of Kopisch)

The armies halted at the
Rhine:
Now shall we go
To France or no?
The question ran along the
Rhine;
Then out and spoke old
Blücher,
"Ho!"

Nach Frankreich gehn ist
 nicht so schwer.
 Wo steht der Feind?"--
 'Der Feind?--dahier!!
 "Den Finger drauf! das
 nehmen wir!
 Nun schlägt die Brücken
 über'n Rhein.
 Ich denke der
 Champagnerwein
 Wird, wo er wächst, am
 besten sein!"

Bring me the map (says he),
 I'll show
 'Tis not so hard to France
 to go.
 Where stands the foe?" "The
 foe--why there.
 "Your finger on it--we'll
 take care
 of him. Where's Paris?"--
 Paris here--!"
 "Mark that! 'tis ours! oh
 never fear!
 Now throw your bridges over
 the Rhine,
 The Champagne wine,
 I do suppose,
 Will taste the sweetest where
 it grows."

In this translation Brooks, though taking some liberties with the rhyme scheme and the length of the lines, carefully preserves the mood and retains Kopisch' iambic pattern and enjambement. Brooks' careful work, demonstrated in this translation, together with his personal friendship with various German poets, might have assured him of a more lasting place in the lore of Americana Germanica, if he had not been overshadowed by his more illustrious contemporaries, Emerson, Lowell, and Longfellow.

FOOTNOTES

*This is an abbreviated version of a paper given before the Ohio Folklore Society.

¹Charles T. Brooks, *Poems, Original and Translated*, ed. W. P. Andrews (Boston: Robert Brothers, 1885), p. 235.

²Camillo von Klenze, *Charles Timothy Brooks, Translator from the German, and the Genteel Tradition* (Boston: Heath, 1937), p. 100f.

³These holdings are not mentioned in a most informative article about the German MSS in that library. Cf. Heinrich Schneider and Marvin C. Dilkey, "Letters by German Authors of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," GR, XV (Dec. 1940), pp. 239-257.

⁴For Brooks' translation of "Der grosse Krebs," see his German Lyrics (Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Field, 1853), p. 195. Kopisch's Blücher poem appears in Kopischs ausgewählte Gedichte, Bibliothek der deutschen Klassiker, XX (Hildburghausen, 1861-64), 337f.

DER GREIS

Ich bin alt, sehr alt,
 Und müde, so müde und schwach,
 Mir zittern die blassen Hände im Schoss,
 Und der Herbstwind rauscht im Dürreblätterwald,
 Rauscht ängstlich über die Felder--brach,
 hinaus in die Nacht der Schreckensgespenster,
 Wo Geister treiben auf silbernem Floss--
 Komm weg, Alter, komm weg vom Fenster!

Herman F. Brause
 Rochester, N. Y.

ROBERT REITZEL, A.T.

(1849-1898)

by

Erwin F. Ritter
University of Wisconsin
at Milwaukee

"Robert Reitzel, the editor of the *Armer Teufel*, stands preeminent among German-American authors."¹ For fourteen years his thought-provoking essays and his stirring lyrics fascinated the readers of his weekly, the most widely circulated German literary journal ever published in America. As a lecturer he exerted especially great influence in the *Freien Gemeinden* of this land. But his words on liberty and beauty were welcome wherever people gathered to hear them. An avid propagandist for freedom--religious, moral, social--but also a dedicated artist, Reitzel left the force of his personality on all that he wrote, said or did.

Born in the turbulent days of the revolution, on the 27th of January 1849, Reitzel grew up in Weitenau (badischer Schwarzwald) where he cultivated a lifelong hatred of monarchies and bureaucracies. The night he was born, the police searched the Reitzel home for a participant in the revolution, the brother of Reitzel's mother, to whom his father had tried to refuse shelter for fear of losing his position as a schoolmaster. His mother, however, persuaded Reitzel's father to give protection to her fugitive brother. The mother also gave

the child the name of Robert, in memory of Robert Blum, a hero of the people, who was executed in the revolution of 1849. The incompatibility of the parents caused much of the unhappiness of his early childhood. The father, an insignificant schoolmaster, believed in not sparing the rod; yet a great deal of sunshine was diffused during these early years by his mother, a woman of fine character who stirred the poetic imagination of the boy. Reitzel drew a striking picture of this poor consumptive woman who slaved in the wretched schoolhouse: "Es war ein recht hässliches altes Haus, aber ich habe doch darin die glücklichsten Stunden verlebt, und die dort sich mühte und sich grämte und den Tod sich holte--das war meine Mutter."²

In the Gymnasium this precocious, self-willed boy, to whom poetry meant more than his daily routine of dull lessons, proved to be a trial to his teachers, and was ultimately expelled. Nevertheless, he did reach the University of Heidelberg, registering for history and philosophy. As the son of a poor schoolmaster, theology was about the only area of study open to him, stipends being available only to students of divinity. Theology, however, was to preoccupy him very little, except for reading the Bible as an exercise in prosody and poetic imagery. He preferred to spend his time reading the works of the romanticists, such as Heine, Eichendorff, Brentano, etc. and began writing verse on the themes of love, wine, revolution, and freedom. He was one of six students who met regularly during those days, swearing not to rest until Ger-

many had become a republic. Twenty years later, two of these revolutionaries were dead, one had become a teacher, another a pillar of the orthodox church, and still another was prominent in governmental circles. The only one still dedicated to his revolutionary ideals was Reitzel.

It was customary for young men in that period, who had failed to establish themselves as professional men in Germany, and whose position in society forbade their doing manual labor, to go to America to survive or perish. Hence in 1870, when Reitzel's financial resources were exhausted, his father advised him to try his fortune in the United States. His account, *Abenteuer eines Grünen*, tells of the pleasures and hardships he met in America. Much has been said about the hardships of the lateinische Bauern in America, but even harder was the lot of the lateinische Vagabunden, or poet-tramps such as Reitzel and Martin Drescher. These university-trained men had to put up with hunger, the hardest and most menial sort of labor, persecution by the police, and actual imprisonment. After his arrival on the Eastern seaboard Reitzel tramped in Pennsylvania for a while and then began seeking winter employment. In Baltimore he went begging for work with an empty stomach until he seriously thought of ending his life. One day he crossed the path of a Reverend Pister who told the starving immigrant that the most logical thing for him to do was to pass an examination before the Board of the German Reformed Church and to take charge of a congregation.

In 1871 Reitzel was appointed minister of the German

Reformed Church in Washington. About a year later he married; this marriage proved to be unhappy and ended in a separation. As a clergyman, however, Reitzel could not have done his work more conscientiously. There were vague dreams of bringing together science and religion, of initiating a reformation of the church on a grand scale, of becoming even another Luther or Calvin in the nineteenth century. But he was to become a martyr to these personal aspirations. He met with so many discouraging failings in his congregation, of people who called themselves Christians, that he despaired entirely of the traditional modes of Christianity. Moreover his convictions were not orthodox enough for the Church Board who decided to give him the alternative of returning to more orthodox views or seeking another position. Reitzel chose the latter.

His unflagging enthusiasm for social issues, his love of truth and freedom, although these had precisely caused his clerical dismissal, won for him many friends in other German-American circles. For the next several years he traveled through most of the states of the Union as a lecturer on literary and social topics. Because of his spirited eloquence many came to regard Reitzel as the ablest German-American speaker, if not the German-American spokesman. To enable Reitzel to broaden his influence, his Michigan friends decided to found a newspaper for him in Detroit. The year in which this newspaper was founded was 1884, and Reitzel was to edit it until his death in 1898. As an editor and journalist Reitzel had inadvertently stumbled upon his real calling.

By naming the journal *Der arme Teufel* Reitzel had in mind history's disinherited geniuses, e.g. Feuerbach, Schiller, Lessing, and even Christ, but especially a chance acquaintance with a Norwegian itinerant inspired him to view the quintessence of his *armer Teufel* as follows:

Sein Weib starb im ersten Jahre des Glücks und mit ihr sein Interesse an allem, was sonst die Menschen ihr Teuerstes nennen. Er wurde zum ruhelosen Wanderer; aber, merkwürdig, wo immer die Standarten der Freiheit erhoben wurden, da hat ihn auch sein Schritt hingeführt. ...Seine wenigen Bedürfnisse deckt er entweder durch zeitweilige Arbeit als Schriftsetzer oder aber durch freiwillige Gaben, welche ihm gute Menschen darbieten. Dieser Mann hat seit langen Jahren nicht mehr in einem Bett geschlafen, "aber," erzählte er mir, "wenn ich so des Nachts an irgend einer Landstrasse liege, unter irgend einem Baum, und ich sehe die Sterne blinken und höre die Winde sausen, so kommt es mir vor, als ob ich der glücklichste Mensch sei, ich fühle mich als einen Teil dieser grossen unendlichen Welt, und von jenen Sorgen, wie sie die andern Menschen plagen, kann ich mir kaum mehr einen Begriff machen.

Das ist gewiss ein armer Teufel! und wenn wir bei der Taufe unsrer Zeitung an ihn dachten, so war es, weil er zwei Eigenschaften gewissermassen verkörpert, die einem echten armen Teufel nicht fehlen dürfen, nämlich erstlich die vollständige Unabhängigkeit von allen Verhältnissen, welche die Urteilskraft beeinflussen können, und zweitens die idealistische, tatkräftige Liebe zur Freiheit."³

About half of Reitzel's journal was filled with original contributions, most of them written by the editor himself. Some of his collaborators were: Bruno Wille, John Henry Mackay, Karl Henckell, Michael Georg Conrad, and Karl Heinzen. With the efforts of these collaborators, and also by means of his own critical evaluations of such authors as Goethe, Uhland, Heine, Seume, Boerne, Reuter, etc., Reitzel was to educate the German-American. But not only German authors, also Hawthorne,

Whitman, and especially Shakespeare, were celebrated by him in most original and trenchant essays.

Like Karl Heinzen, another German-American journalist, Reitzel felt the poet ought to be a man of the people, but not necessarily a socialist as Heinzen believed. He felt the nature and function of poetry to be social and not political. His ambition was to bring great literature closer to the hearts of every member in society, but he found this task increasingly difficult among German-Americans whom he considered to be falling away from their native tongue and its cultural ideals in an endeavor to become rich overnight.⁴

For a time, it can be said, Reitzel did become a socialist only because of his aversion to the smug bourgeoisie and their oppression of the laboring class. His indignation toward prevailing social ills often found in him anarchistic expression, but his independent temperament would not allow him ultimately to become a rapid follower of any social or religious cause: "Wie mir die Christen am Christentum, die Socialdemokraten am Socialismus, die Anarchisten am Anarchismus die Freude verleidet haben, so gehts mir jetzt auch mit den Individualisten."⁵ Any flagrant injustice, however, aroused in him an immediate response. At the time when popular opinion found it impossible to believe that the death sentence passed against the men involved in the Chicago Haymarket Affair would be carried out, Reitzel foresaw the revenge that capitalism would exact and tried to arouse the working class to action in order to save their leaders from the gallows.⁶ But in spite

of all he tried to do, four of the men were executed. His poem *Zum neuen Jahr 1888* recounts his disillusionment with the laboring class who were too terrified to do anything for the victims of the Haymarket incident: "Es war wie immer,/Es blieb beim Alten,/Wir haben uns Alle/Recht brav gehalten."⁷

Reitzel, the social battler that he often was, signed himself also as Reitzel the lover--both being for him the main expressions of his character as is revealed in a stanza of the poem *In Sturm und Drang*: "Wenn mich in dem Kampfgewühle/
Tötlich scharfe Hiebe trafen,/War mein letzter Frohgedanke:/
Bei der Liebe darfst du schlafen."⁸ His deepest love, however, was the social cause: the advancement of humanity towards greater enlightenment and liberty. The essay *Erste Liebe* touches upon this very theme: "Wohlauf ihr wackeren Paladine! da ist eine Dulcinea, für die es der Mühe wert ist, in den Kampf zu gehen: die Menschheit. Wenn ihr nur recht in die verliebt seid, dann findet sich leicht das sociale Heilmittel...."⁹ This twofold expression of Reitzel's personality contains much of Heinrich Heine's own *Weltanschauung*, and oddly enough Reitzel's own literary style in prose and poetry is even reminiscent of that past master of German letters. Max Baginski, the editor of the Reitzel collection, draws a notable parallel between the two poets: "Mag daran herumbosseln, dies und das mildern, das Charakteristische verschweigen, in milder Vergebung wegen der aussergewöhnlichen Persönlichkeit beide Augen zudrücken--für den engen Rahmen des hurrahpatriotischen Bardentums bleibt Reitzel eine zu glänzende, gigan-

tische Erscheinung, wie Heine in Reichsdeutschland zu unnahbar und zu gross bleiben wird für Gartenlauben-Schreiber, Regierungsrate, schwache Poeten und nationalliberale Stadtverordnete."¹⁰

The final years of Reitzel's life, as Heine's, were spent in bed with a lame back. It was hard for Reitzel, the active individual he was, to be tied down helplessly by his affliction. But while he increasingly became imprisoned by his body, his unyielding spirit struggled to be free. From his Luginsland or Matrazengruft, as Reitzel referred to his couch that was set before a window, he was to prepare many an essay and poem for the outside world.

Six months before his death Reitzel became acquainted with the poet Martin Drescher, and their friendship was to be important for Reitzel's journal. His intimate conversations with Drescher made Reitzel select his friend as his successor in the work of *Der arme Teufel*. For two years Drescher did so very ably, but financial difficulties finally put an end to the publication.

Reitzel's general disposition during his remaining years was cheerful. Whenever friends visited his sickroom it became the scene of a joyous occasion with wine and song. An autopsy was to reveal that all of the poet's organs were diseased--lungs, kidneys, liver--all but his heart. According to a statement by the poet's physician, Reitzel died of tuberculosis, a condition he had inherited from his mother. The disease attacked the spine, causing paralysis in his lower

limbs. Karl Schmidt, a Detroit businessman, offered Reitzel his summer home, Villa Weidenlaub, on Lake Orion in Canada when his condition began to worsen. This lovely spot became the poet's retreat for his final years. Death came on April 1, 1898 after Reitzel's forty-ninth birthday, but not at the villa as he had hoped. At his request his friends had his body cremated and then met together at Lake Orion to celebrate his memory over wine cups. He had envisioned such a gathering in a dream account: Die Tote am Orionsee.¹¹

Concerning his own life and its achievements Reitzel was from time to time pessimistic. All of his idealism and his aspirations for a liberated mankind seemed to have exerted very little influence over his contemporaries. In the resigned strains of the poem Zuletzt he voiced this disillusionment: "Die sanfte Schwermut...flüstert dir ins Herz das kühle Wort,/ Das aller Weisheit letzter Trost,/Dass man die Sterne nicht begehrt,/Und dass man arm dahinfährt, wie man kam."¹²

On December 6, 1884 Reitzel announced the program of a new journal, Der arme Teufel, in a short lyric poem entitled Für Freund und Feind:

Mir bleibe fern der Unkenchor der Heuchler,
 Mir bleibe fern, wer lächelt stets und witzelt,
 Mir bleibe fern, wen nur Gemeines kitzelt,
 Mir bleiben fern die Händler und die Schmeichler!

.

Ich lob mir leichte, lustige Gesellen,
 Die gerne sind, wo volle Becher winken,
 Und gern der Schönheit an den Busen sinken,
 Doch die auch, wenn zu Kampf die Hörner gellen

Begreifen unsrer Zeit gewalt'ges Ringen,
 Im Herzen heil'gen Zornes Springquell tragen,
 Der Freiheit ihre Schlachten helfen schlagen,¹³
 Und köstlich Herzblut ihr zum Opfer bringen.

In German-American letters Reitzel remains an anomaly. His life was an integral part of a movement in the 80's known as Jüngstdeutschland, a socialistically tainted naturalism: two tendencies which were not necessarily related, but which competed for the imagination of German writers during the 80's and early 90's. No serious writer of this period was left untouched by these trends. Jüngstdeutschland was an inevitable reaction to what had gone before in art, as well as a social protest against the economic conditions of the times. Both the social and the literary movements developed differently with each author, many of whom survived the age to go on to literary fame. The writers most closely related to Reitzel and with whom he must be grouped were Karl Henckell, John Henry Mackay, Bruno Wille, and Reinhold Maurice von Stern. All were contributors to Reitzel's Armer Teufel.

For a subscription of \$2.50 per year (five cents a copy) to Reitzel's journal the German-American could read a journal similar in its social outlook to Die Gesellschaft which was founded two months after Reitzel's publication. Reitzel frequently quoted from this sister journal in Munich for which he wrote several essays. Upon his death the Gesellschaft lauded Reitzel's work in an article which appeared in its twelfth issue.

Indeed, Der arme Teufel was much more provincial than Die Gesellschaft to which all of the great literary figures of the

day contributed. The social and literary spectrum of *Der arme Teufel* was, therefore, not nearly as wide, and its main interest was more revolutionary than aesthetic: the fight against the church and the ideals of the *Aufklärer* were emphasized much more in Detroit than in Munich. Nonetheless, it is this distinctness that makes Reitzel's publication something uniquely German-American and ought to be valued especially for this reason. Both journals do have, however, the same iconoclastic enthusiasm for social change, and their format at least was similar: short stories, poems, plays, reviews, political, literary, and religious essays, correspondence with readers, and theatrical and musical notices.

It cannot be said of Reitzel that he had a truly great influence over German-Americans. During his lifetime he was never able to enlist a large body of followers from among the German-American community. His influence failed for two reasons, namely: his attacks on religion made impossible any contact with *Kirchendeutsche* who were far more orthodox than their cousins in Germany, while his ridicule of philistinism lost for him the sympathy of many free-thinkers who would have readily forgiven the poet's lack of piety. Thus his followers were a select and small circle of authors, socialists, anarchists, and Bohemians--anything but the *Prominenten* of acceptable society. After his death various *Armer Teufel* clubs were formed in Toledo, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and other places. Just how extensively Reitzel influenced German-American culture, is difficult to estimate, "but wher-

ever Reitzel carried the message of the world's best literature, he brought the very finest, and his influence might be said to have been deep rather than broad."¹⁴

Another importance of *Der arme Teufel* is that it leads German-American publications in the number of contemporary German poets it introduced to the public. Though the paper was by nature radical, its literary standard was far from being narrow. It was fortunate for the journal that Reitzel's literary taste was truly cosmopolitan and that he possessed a fine appreciation of the classics, combined with a keen eye for newer works of lasting value. The greatest service to the journal was his gift for literary criticism.

Reitzel addressed himself to Germans in their language and dealt, therefore, mostly with German literature. But his knowledge of literature was by no means confined to the writings of one nation; he was aware, for example, of the greatness of Walt Whitman. To both Reitzel and German critics of the *Gesellschaft* Whitman was America's greatest poet, whom Reitzel heralded as a mediator in international peace and a prophet of a freer humanity. He also reviewed and reprinted in the *Armer Teufel* a vast number of contemporary works. Poems by one hundred and eighty-one modern German writers appeared in his publication, about a tenth of them written for the *Armer Teufel*, many translated from English and French, and about sixty poems were penned by the editor himself. Of the thirty leading contributors eleven were German-Americans, a fact which shows that the journal was truly a cultural phenomenon of

German-American art. "Never before nor since has there been such a representative German-American belletristic and aesthetic journal."¹⁵

Yet it was Reitzel's own critical talent that did much more for the spread of interest in the best of German and foreign literatures than merely his printing of poems and stories. Week after week he reviewed some German author or a particular work and discussed both in sensitive, vivid, and generous fashion. He took a great deal of pride in this work and it must be said "that it is a unique cultural act in America."¹⁶ He had an unpretentious drive to bring great literature to the public which was his abiding belief as a man of letters: "...ich meine, es gebe keine schönere Aufgabe als das ewig Schöne und das ewig Wahre, das was die Dichter in ihren Liedern verkörpert, so viel als möglich in unserm alltäglichen Leben heimisch, so viel als möglich dem arbeitenden Manne, der arbeitenden Frau zu eigen zu machen."¹⁷

The importance of Reitzel's labors can, in conclusion, best be evaluated by those who were closest to his journalistic efforts. Amalie von Ende in an essay appearing (May, 1899) in the Literarisches Echo had this to say: "Reitzel founded his Armer Teufel, this precious enfant terrible of German-American journalism, an organ which swore allegiance to no 'ism' whatsoever, but which for a period of fourteen years tossed week for week its flaming torch into the camp of philistinism.... It is an achievement which is not sufficiently recognized that it was Reitzel who introduced the German-

American public to Liliencron, Wille, Mackay, Henckell, Bierbaum, Wedekind, Keller and many others...."¹⁸ Max Baginski, the editor of Reitzel's collected writings offered the following comment: "Reitzel hatte sicher sehr schätzbare Qualitäten, mit welchen auch das Deutschtum schlechthin sich glänzend drapieren könnte. Seine Genialität, seine ausserordentliche Begabung, vor allem sein Stil stehen unübertroffen da unter den deutsch-amerikanischen Schriftstellern."¹⁹ In a study of German-American poets to be found in Singer's Jahrbuch für 1917 Martin Drescher writes: "Unbestritten war Robert Reitzel unter deutsch-amerikanischen Schriftstellern der letzten Jahrzehnte der grösste Stilist; er war auch einer der gedankenreichsten. Souverän wie der grosse Virtuose sein Instrument herrscht, beherrscht er die deutsche Sprache. Für jede Empfindung, die auf ein Menschenherz eindringen kann, fand er mit bewunderswerter Feinheit das treffende Wort.... Er war vornehmlich ein Dichter in Prosa, dessen Skizzen und Schilderungen, dessen Erinnerungen und Bekenntnisse nicht so bald vergehen. Aber auch von seinen Versen können manche sich getrost den besten Erzeugnissen der deutsch-amerikanischen Literatur an die Seite stellen."²⁰ A final incentive to further research Reitzel's singular literary productivity was made by Rudolf Rieder: "Robert Reitzel als Dichter der besten deutschen Prosa in Amerika und der anerkannte Literaturvermittler seiner Gemeinde von Anhängern verdient mehr Beachtung, als ihm bis jetzt zugekommen ist; das freisinnige Element der deutschen Einwanderung zu kennen ist Pflicht des amerikanischen Historikers."²¹

FOOTNOTES

¹ Adolf Eduard Zucker, Robert Reitzel (Philadelphia; Americana-Germanica Press, No. 25, 1917), p. 9. Cf. also Johannes Gaulke, "Robert Reitzel," Das literarische Echo, IV (1901-02); Edna Fern, "Robert Reitzel, ein deutsch-amerikanischer Heine," Deutscher Vorkämpfer, II, 5 (1908), 25-26; P. E. Werkshagen, Robert Reitzel. Seine Persönlichkeit und seine Weltanschauung (Champaign, Ill., 1908).

² Robert Reitzel, Des armen Teufels gesammelte Schriften, ed. Max Baginski (Detroit, 1913), I, 25.

³ Op. cit., III, 10-11.

⁴ Robert Reitzel, Mein Buch (Detroit, 1900), p. 166ff.

⁵ Op. cit., pp. 299-300.

⁶ Reitzel, Gesammelte Schriften, III, 112.

⁷ Reitzel, Mein Buch, p. 419.

⁸ Reitzel, Gesammelte Schriften, II, 31.

⁹ Reitzel, Mein Buch, p. 33.

¹⁰ Reitzel, Gesammelte Schriften, I, 10.

¹¹ Op. cit., III, 199.

¹² Op. cit., II, 49.

¹³ Ibid., 10.

¹⁴ Zucker, op. cit., p. 58.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 73

¹⁶ Loc. cit.

¹⁷ Reitzel, Mein Buch, p. 116.

¹⁸ Zucker, op. cit., p. 55.

¹⁹ Reitzel, Gesammelte Schriften, I, 10.

²⁰ Zucker, op. cit., p. 56.

²¹ Rudolf Theodor Rieder, Ein Bild Robert Reitzels und des armen Teufels aus seinem Verhältnis zur Litteratur (Diss.: University of Wisconsin, 1918), p. ii.

WENN WIR BEGINNEN...

Herrn Prof. Ernst Rose freundschaftlich

Wenn wir beginnen
Bedeutung und Wichtigkeit
unseres fluechtigen Hierseins
nicht mehr zu ueberschaetzen -

dann beginnen wir
hineinzuwachsen in seine
Unzulaenglichkeit -
und dann beginnen wir
ueber diese Unzulaenglichkeit
hinauszuwachsen
und reif zu werden -

fuer die Ueberwindung
dieser Unzulaenglichkeit
und fuer die Ueberwindung
unseres irdischen Weges -

dessen Sinn beginnt
mit seinem Ende
und im Beginn derer
die nach uns hineinwachsen
und hinauswachsen sollen...

Hans Wolff
Carmel

Francis Lieber (1798-1872): German-American Poet
and Transmitter of German Culture to America

by
Thomas J. Kennedy
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Francis Lieber was a nineteenth-century liberal, as the title of Frank Freidel's biography of him indicates.¹ He was known chiefly for his contributions to the fields of history and political science. At South Carolina College (later the University of South Carolina) and Columbia University he had a reputation as a lively and informative lecturer and teacher. Lieber led a feverishly active life which brought him into contact with many eminent Americans. In this brief study, it is my intention to indicate some neglected areas of investigation which might prove to be valuable sources for new researches in the field of German-Americana.

The story of Francis Lieber's youth reads like the pages of an adventure novel. An impetuous young Berliner in the second decade of the nineteenth-century, he marched in the ranks of the Turnverein under the leadership of Ludwig Friedrich Jahn, whose goals included a free and united Germany. He fought patriotically against the armies of Napoleon at Waterloo and elsewhere, once receiving a wound which nearly cost him his life. After the defeat of Napoleon, Lieber's attention was directed towards Greece where a civil war was in progress. He joined the Philhellenic movement in 1821, only to have his romantic notions about Greek nobleness and heroism

crushed by the reality of the situation. He wrote later in his diary: "...the cowardice and incapacity of the Greeks made them unfit to defend or free their country."² The enthusiasm and idealism which marked Lieber's participation in these youthful undertakings were qualities which were to endear him to the hearts of his students and friends during a long and distinguished career in this country.

Lieber studied at the Gray Friar's Cloister Gymnasium in Berlin, "where he attended classes primarily in Latin, Greek, and the antiquities."³ Because of his radical political activities he was refused permission to continue his studies at a Prussian university. Defiantly, he matriculated as a student of theology at Jena, where in August of 1820 he received his Doctor of Philosophy degree. He had plans to enter upon a career in teaching, but was told by the Prussian ministry that he would never be allowed to teach in Prussia. Especially important for Lieber's intellectual development were the lectures he attended in Berlin at the university which had been founded there in 1809, and which was under the directorship of Wilhelm von Humboldt. A remarkable faculty had been assembled. Fichte was professor of philosophy, Friedrich Schleiermacher lectured in theology, and Barthold Niebuhr and Friedrich Wolf taught history and archeology respectively.

Lieber's social life in Berlin brought him into contact with many important personalities. Through his acquaintance with Henriette Herz, a person of great charm and intellect who had become the warm friend of many of Germany's leading intel-

lectuals and artists, he met the Humboldt brothers.⁴ At the home of Julius Hitzig, a highly respected and influential lawyer, he entered into stimulating discussions with E.T.A. Hoffmann, Adalbert von Chamisso, and Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué.⁵ With little hope of attaining any distinction in Germany, however, Lieber left for England with the intention of obtaining a professorship in German at the London University. He was bolstered by a warm letter of recommendation from his historian friend Niebuhr.

It is interesting to note that at this point Lieber may have attempted to obtain a letter of recommendation from Goethe, using the influence of Goethe's grand-nephew, Alfred Nicolovius. In a letter to Nicolovius of April, 1827, Goethe writes: "Verziehen sey mir gleichfalls wenn ich Bedenken trage ein Attestat für Lieber auszustellen, da ich seine Persönlichkeit gar nicht kenne und sein Talent nicht zu beurtheilen weiss."⁶ Before any decision was made regarding Lieber's application for the professorship, he sailed from England to Boston, Massachusetts, where he taught physical education at a gymnasium and founded a swimming school. Turnvater Jahn had recommended him for the post.

During Francis Lieber's forty-five years in the United States, he came into contact with countless distinguished Americans. President Gilman of the Johns Hopkins University once said: "...of the Americans devoted to public affairs, from 1840 to 1870, it may be said that Lieber knew every one of them."⁷ Despite his German background, Lieber must not be

thought of as being a zealous advocate of introducing German institutions and values into American life. He was clearly against the "Germanizing" of America. His attitude in this regard was expressed in a letter written April 23, 1847:

I love my country...but when they talk of Germanizing America, I spurn the idea... What, Germanize America and draw out of our country the Anglican institutions as the bones of a turkey, and leave a lump, fit only to be dispatched? No, no--modern liberty, people may say what they like, is...essentially Anglican liberty; develop, modify, change, trim, improve, but keep the backbone.⁸

Thus, it was not through any programmatic effort, but rather because of his German intellectual training and his admiration for German literature and scientific method, that Lieber became a vehicle for transmitting German culture to America. Pochmann states that he was "the first scholar of note widely to introduce the German scientific methods of research into American colleges and universities."⁹ Lieber is characterized as one whose "influence was exerted through periodicals, in the classroom and lecture halls, and in books."¹⁰

In his large works in the field of political science, which display a Kantian influence,¹¹ Lieber documented his quotations and sources thoroughly. This care in documentation was not popular in America at the time, and Lieber appears to have been chided by some for being pedantic. In a letter to his friend, George Hillard, a lawyer and author to whom Lieber sent a fifty-five volume set of Goethe's works for his assis-

tance in preparing a manuscript for publication,¹² he explains the reasons for his care in the use of footnotes:

One word to you on the charge of pedantry.... The making acquaintance with a considerable part of literature, even outwardly, only by passages or titles, seemed to me not unimportant. One thing leads to another. I owe thanks to many authors for faithful citation; it has led me on. If I effect nothing by my quoting than that I aid, perhaps, some chap in Michigan, I consider myself already rewarded for what, you know well, is after all not pleasant in writing.... I knew very well that this way of quoting is not relished by French, English, or Americans. I did it, however, as a matter of conscience....¹³

It was this kind of care which critics praised in Lieber's most ambitious enterprise, the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Americana*.

Francis Lieber signed his name to the preface of the final volume of the *Encyclopaedia Americana* on February 1, 1833. "In a little less than five years he had completed the task of editing an encyclopedia which was to remain standard in America until the time of the Civil War."¹⁴ Cheap in price, the *Americana* sold phenomenally. Lieber himself later estimated the total sales to have reached one hundred thousand sets.¹⁵ The work was based on the seventh edition of the *Brockhaus Conversations-Lexikon*.¹⁶ But this served only as a basis. "Almost all the significant articles were new or rewritten--and from an American point of view...Lieber had striven almost to the point of error to make the *Encyclopaedia* timely."¹⁷ The work received very favorable reviews. In the influential *North American Review* appeared the comment: "This work...deserves to

be recommended to the great body of our people, as a library of itself:--cheap, comprehensive, exceedingly well executed, and of the highest authority."¹⁸

The project had been given backing by many of Lieber's distinguished New England acquaintances, among them Edward Everett, classics scholar and later president of Harvard, George Bancroft, Massachusetts statesman and scholar, Charles Follen, the first instructor of German at Harvard, and George Ticknor, instructor of modern languages and literatures at Harvard. Everett promised to prepare articles on classics, and Ticknor on modern languages.¹⁹ Both of these men had studied in Göttingen which makes their contributions to the *Encyclopaedia* of significance to Germanisten.

An interesting incidental effect of the *Americana*'s success was the praise heaped upon the Brockhaus work as the reference work most suitable to be used as the basis for the first American encyclopedia. German scholarship received wide acclaim. One reviewer said of the *Conversations-Lexikon*:

It is free from all the narrowness of English prejudice, it contains many important and interesting details which can be found in no English production, and is a work which could be written by none other than German scholars....²⁰

In the *Americana* there was an emphasis on German civilization which was lacking in early English-language encyclopedias. "Infinite and incalculable as the effect of this emphasis may have been, the wide circulation of this work served as a means by which a strong element of the German

spirit was injected into the American mind, leading to a fuller understanding and appreciation of German arts, sciences, and institutions."²¹ In the Americana there are at least 265 individual articles on German writers, artists, composers, scientists, philosophers, theologians, and philologists.²² In addition there are numerous articles on German geographical locations, historical personages, and the like. There is an article on Germany which has the sub-headings: "German Language," "German Literature and Science," "German Prose," "German Poetry," and "German Criticism."

In this rather long essay Schiller is viewed particularly as a follower of Klopstock. His ideas are as holy and as elevated as Klopstock's, "but they appear clothed in reality and truth."²³ It is noted that Schiller's poetry has been objected to as being too philosophical, but in German drama he is "undoubtedly the first."²⁴ Goethe is compared to Wieland. Grace and fullness are found in the poetry of both. These qualities are attributed to Wieland because of his continual study of Greek and French models. But Goethe's excellence is due to the "strength with which his bold and penetrating spirit pervades the unlimited variety of nature and the hidden recesses of the human heart."²⁵ The author continues, however: "One thing...is wanting in Göthe's productions. He does not set forth strongly the moral dignity of man...."²⁶ Ludwig Tieck is said to possess "poetical resources hardly inferior to Göthe's; and his productions, moreover, are distinguished for virtue and purity as well as for poetical spirit."²⁷ Novalis,

"to whom the whole world was one great poem, wrote sacred hymns of the most intense feeling and the highest spirit."²⁸ In evaluating the works of Goethe and Schiller, the author exhibits a typically mid-nineteenth century concern for man's "moral dignity." I believe, however, that such high praise for Tieck and Novalis was as yet rather unusual in America in a survey of this kind. This emphatic endorsement of their talents may have influenced the reputations of both poets on this continent. All in all, the article contains hundreds of names and facts, and presents the reader with a satisfactory synopsis of the course of German literature.

Lieber himself is known to have contributed at least twenty-three articles to the *Encyclopaedia*.²⁹ These cover a wide range of topics from cookery to the immortality of the soul. The essay on cookery reveals Lieber's informal manner and is very entertaining reading (he recommends a German work on the subject "which should be glad to see a translation"³⁰). His articles concerned with German culture are: "Dresden," "Goethe," "Haller," "Hegel," "Kant," the "Nibelungenlied," and "Karl Sand." The articles on Kant, the *Nibelungenlied*, and Goethe are well done. The one on Hegel is poor and reveals, perhaps, Lieber's personal dislike for the man.³¹

Lieber exhibits a good grasp of the details of Kant's life, and shows an admirable ease in handling a brief exposition of Kant's philosophy. He maintains that "a man can hardly hope to acquire a good idea of Kant's philosophy without reading him in the original."³² Kant's categories are enumerated,

and two bibliographies of the philosopher's works are recommended. The *Nibelungenlied* is described as "an ancient German epic, little known to American and English readers, but ranking, in our opinion, among the noblest works of the imagination."³³ A brief account of the plot is then given and the historical background of the work is explained, noting, rather interestingly, that August Wilhelm Schlegel considers the author to be either Klingsohr of Hungary or Henry of Ofterdingen. The epic is then compared to the *Iliad*. "The language of the *Iliad*, is, in our opinion, superior to that of the *Nibelungenlied*, both as to the idiom itself and the mastership with which the Greek poet wields it, though the German epic has a childlike and venerable simplicity.... On the other hand, the plan of the latter appears to us vastly superior to that of the former."³⁴

Lieber calls Goethe "the greatest modern poet of Germany."³⁵ Goethe is looked upon as the universal artist, having made significant contributions to practically every literary genre. Although his dramas are not as great as Shakespeare's, and his epics and novels have certain shortcomings, Goethe is the preeminent poet of philosophy.³⁶ "It is the philosophy of life and of individual characters, pervading his works, which places them among the first ever produced. ...his greatest production is his *Faust*, emphatically a philosophical poem."³⁷ Despite the mislabeling of Goethe as a poet of philosophy, Lieber displays an intimate knowledge of Goethe's works. Such unequivocal, high praise of Goethe was not common in the United States at this time. In his work on

German literature in American magazines prior to 1846, Goodnight states:

...in 1832 the Goethe cult was as yet very young in America.... And it must not be forgotten that Charles Follen, who, by virtue of his position in Harvard, was perhaps the greatest of the forces then at work in the interests of German culture in America, and Franz List in Pennsylvania, were political refugees, intense admirers of Schiller, and, as former associates of Wolfgang Menzel, allies of the latter in his hostility toward Goethe. ...it need excite no wonder that not many champions of Goethe appeared among the Harvard graduates in the early years of Dr. Follen's labors there,...³⁸

Among Lieber's other writings there are several short pieces which are pertinent to his role as a transmitter of German culture in America. In his *Miscellaneous Writings*³⁹ there is an essay on Barthold Niebuhr, his historian friend, in which Voss, Schiller, Klopstock, and Goethe are mentioned.⁴⁰ The collection also contains an address on Alexander von Humboldt given before the American Geographical Society in 1859.⁴¹ Lieber once said of Humboldt, "If it were allowable to use the term for any mortal, he, more than any other, would lead me to call him Humboldt Divus."⁴² In 1835, Lieber translated the life of Caspar Hauser, a famous feral child, into English from the German of Anselm Feuerbach, one of the foremost writers on criminal law in Germany. The translation passed through several editions.

A thorough evaluation of Lieber's contributions to American periodicals has never been made. It is known that Lieber contributed anonymous articles to several American

reviews.⁴³ An investigation of this area of Lieber's activities may yield profitable results. As an example of what one may find, consider Lieber's article on "Turkey"⁴⁵ in the *North American Review*. It is a discussion of German works on this subject, one of them by Ranke, with whom Lieber corresponded.⁴⁵ Ranke is praised highly for his thorough research and his use of source material. In another article, entitled "German Association of Naturalists and Physicians,"⁴⁶ Lieber uses the occasion to quote and translate selections from Goethe and Schiller, while he promotes a literary and scientific union between Germany and the United States.

Besides corresponding with Ranke, Lieber carried on a correspondence with Wilhelm von Humboldt, whose works he read with great interest. He exchanged information with Humboldt on a number of topics, chief among them being the North American Indians, one of Lieber's favorite interests. Lieber had planned to establish a society for the promotion of the study of Indian languages. He asked Humboldt for advice concerning the project.⁴⁷ He also was acquainted with the writings of the Grimm brothers and Franz Bopp.⁴⁸ On one occasion, Lieber assisted Albert Gallatin, retired Secretary of the Treasury, in preparing a work on Indian languages by translating extracts from German manuscripts written by early missionaries to Pennsylvania.⁴⁹ It is difficult to assess the depth of Lieber's knowledge of the science of linguistics. He studied it for a while in Rome with Niebuhr.⁵⁰ Perhaps Freidel underestimates Lieber's importance in this field when he

states that "Lieber never became more than a dilettante who helped to introduce Americans to a little known study."⁵¹

No survey of Lieber's influence would be complete without taking into account his many acquaintances and friends. I would like to suggest some personalities whose relationship with Lieber may have led to a furthering of German culture in America.

One of these was Mrs. Elizabeth Ellet, the wife of chemist William Ellet. The Ellets met Lieber in South Carolina, when he arrived there to assume his responsibilities as professor of history and political science in 1835. Mrs. Ellet became known for her translations of German works, and wrote a whole series of essays on the works of Schiller. Goodnight states that she "...did more than anyone of her sex to make Schiller known and appreciated in America."⁵² In addition to these well known writings, Mrs. Ellet translated a poem of Lieber's which was published in 1844.⁵³ Goodnight suggests that Lieber may have been influential in arousing Mrs. Ellet's interest in German literature.⁵⁴ In 1835 the Ellets occupied the other half of a duplex assigned to the Liebers, and in the following years they continued to live in close proximity to the Liebers on the campus. A chronology of Mrs. Ellet's works shows that her first publication appeared in 1836, a year after meeting Lieber. Even if Lieber didn't initiate in her this interest in German literature, the exchange of ideas between the two might have focused her attention upon it at the time.

Julia Ward Howe, American author and reformer famous for

her "Battle Hymn of the Republic," met Lieber when she was a student in New York. They engaged in long conversations about German philosophy, among other things. Their friendship lasted a great many years, and it is quite possible that Lieber's animosity toward Hegel and admiration for Kant influenced her own opinion of these men. In a tribute to Lieber, she recalls:

He [Lieber] had heard Hegel lecture, and had been impressed by his harsh dialect and unpleasant manner. I asked him whether Kant was not the greater of the two. He thought so, and thought, as many do, that Hegel in his cumbrous way of expressing himself had aimed rather at obscurity than at clearness of diction.⁵⁵

Mrs. Howe, as well as her friend Theodore Parker, an intellectual associated with the Dial and its transcendentalist philosophy, had read Lieber's Manual of Political Ethics.⁵⁶

Lieber's friendship with Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Charles Sumner, and Joseph Story is rather well known. Lieber and Longfellow spent much time together and criticized each other's poetry. Longfellow even translated one of Lieber's poems.⁵⁷ Charles Sumner, whom Lieber referred to as Don Carlos, might never have learned German had it not been for Lieber's constant urging. In a letter to Sumner, Lieber mentions Hillard as well:

Ah my friend if you knew German...! Now I charge you and Hillard to say to each other every morning when you first meet, 'O Sumner,' or 'O Hillard, remember thou knowest not German...!'⁵⁸

Sumner replied: "Your friendly address to me I appreciate, and under your advice shall hasten to learn German."⁵⁹

It was through Lieber's influence that both Sumner and Judge Story, who contributed articles to the *Americana*, became acquainted with Karl Mittermaier, professor of criminal law at Heidelberg. This contact resulted in an exchange of legal thought across the Atlantic, which eventually led to the inclusion of an article by Story in a German legal publication, and to the publication of articles by Mittermaier in the *American Jurist*.⁶⁰ Once Lieber supplied Sumner with letters of introduction when Sumner travelled abroad.⁶¹ In 1835 Lieber had done the same for Ticknor, "to introduce him to Mittermaier, Ranke, Thiersch, Menzel, Förster, and Hitzig."⁶² The results of this kind of activity have never been thoroughly investigated.

Two other people whom Lieber might have influenced are Ralph Waldo Emerson and James Freeman Clarke, a Unitarian clergyman and Transcendentalist. Emerson makes rather frequent mention of the *Encyclopaedia* in his journals, and once quotes Lieber, identifying the latter's sentiments with his own.⁶³ James Freeman Clarke, a person with whom, to my knowledge, no one has connected Lieber, recalls meeting Dr. Lieber and discussing Schleiermacher with him. After they parted, Clarke writes: "I received some letters from this new friend, one of which contained a poem to Niagara."⁶⁴ This meeting took place in 1832, before Clarke began to publish his many translations of German literature.

Other persons whose connection with Lieber should be investigated are Edgar Allen Poe, William Cullen Bryant, and

Nathaniel Hawthorne. It was Poe who invited Lieber to contribute articles to the *Southern Literary Messenger*.⁶⁵ Bryant and Hawthorne are named as contributors to the *Americana*, and further research may bring to light unknown works by these authors.⁶⁶ There is an impressive list of contributors to the *Americana* whose work for the *Encyclopaedia* and whose connection with Lieber have not been fully explored. This list includes: Josiah Quincy, president of Harvard while the *Encyclopaedia* was in progress, William Ellery Channing, Transcendentalist and Unitarian religious leader, Cornelius Felton, translator of Wolfgang Menzel's *German Literature* (1840), Sylvanus Thayer, head of the West Point Military Academy, philologist Peter S. Duponceau, historians Bancroft and Prescott, zoologists John James Audubon and Johann Bachmann, the botanist Nuttall, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, the ex-king Joseph Bonaparte, and some of Lieber's earliest backers in the undertaking, Charles Follen, Edward Everett, and Moses Stuart.

Francis Lieber's poetic writings constitute another area for investigation which has never been adequately treated. Concerning a small volume of verse, *Wein-und Wonneliieder* (Berlin, 1826), which Lieber wrote in prison under the pseudonym Arnold Franz and dedicated to Karl Maria von Weber and Karl Friedrich Zelter, Goethe's composer friend, Lieber says:

Genuss...was one of the elements of my intellectual life at this period. Goethe was not inactive in all this. Asiatic poetry; Goethe; patriotism; serious reading; stern view of my opinions and convictions; Italy, as if I were in Rome; philosophy; history; disesteem for my fellow prisoners; every-

thing as active within me as if it existed alone at the time.... I now plunged...into the idea of the day,of the hour,of wirklich sein wirklich haben, Of Genuss in der Gegenwart; yet all my Goethic ideas or feelings were always tinged with additional glow and fervor. Hence these Wine-Songs.⁶⁷

Lieber also wrote a tragedy during this period, "Die beiden Hedwigs," which he took to Holtei for his critical opinion. It never appeared in print.⁶⁸ In addition, he sent a play and some poems to Jean Paul, asking him for comments. Lieber received no reply. Not until eighteen years after the fact did he discover that Jean Paul had indeed sent him a reply which never reached him. Mrs. Elizabeth Lee, the American biographer of Jean Paul, discovered the letter in the course of her research and notified Lieber. Jean Paul had some encouraging words for the young poet: "Ihrer Muse werde Musse und Segen."⁶⁹

The number of poems written by Lieber before he left Europe is difficult to ascertain. On several occasions in his diary he mentions writing poems. He is also known to have written several dozen poems dedicated to Matilda Oppenheimer, his future wife whom he met in London in 1826. These are still among the unpublished Lieber papers.⁷⁰

Lieber's wife tells us that during his career in America, he often composed poems: "Bei den ernsten Arbeiten, erholte er sich öfter auf diese Weise."⁷¹ To my knowledge less than thirty of his poems have appeared in print in this country. Lieber wrote poetry in both English and German. The poems were printed, for the most part, in small groups in German-American

periodicals. Only one small volume of Lieber's verse was published separately in the United States, *The West* (New York, 1848, pp. 31). The first small group of poems to appear here was published in translation in 1847. The translator was Rev. Charles Timothy Brooks, whom Lieber described as a man "with a delicate and sensitive soul panting for the food of literature and poetry,--a real character for Jean Paul to dwell upon."⁷² Other poems were not published until after Lieber's death in 1872.

Lieber was a versatile poet. He wrote sonnets, lyric poems in varying rhymes and rhythmic patterns, metrical epistles, long descriptive poems, and several poems in free verse. The recurring themes are love, nature, patriotism, America, brotherly love, and trust in God. Lieber was a sincere American patriot and expressed in some of his poetry a heartfelt attachment and pride in his adopted country. He viewed America as a refuge for fleeing Europeans, a haven for law and order, and a country of tremendous wealth and potential where hard work and respect for the rights of others were woven into the fabric of society.

The following is a selection (3rd stanza) from "An Champollion," a long poem written as a tribute to Jean Francois Champollion (1791-1832), a French archeologist and Egyptologist who was a friend of Niebuhr and Lieber. The poem is of interest since it is probably one of the very earliest poems written in free verse on this continent.

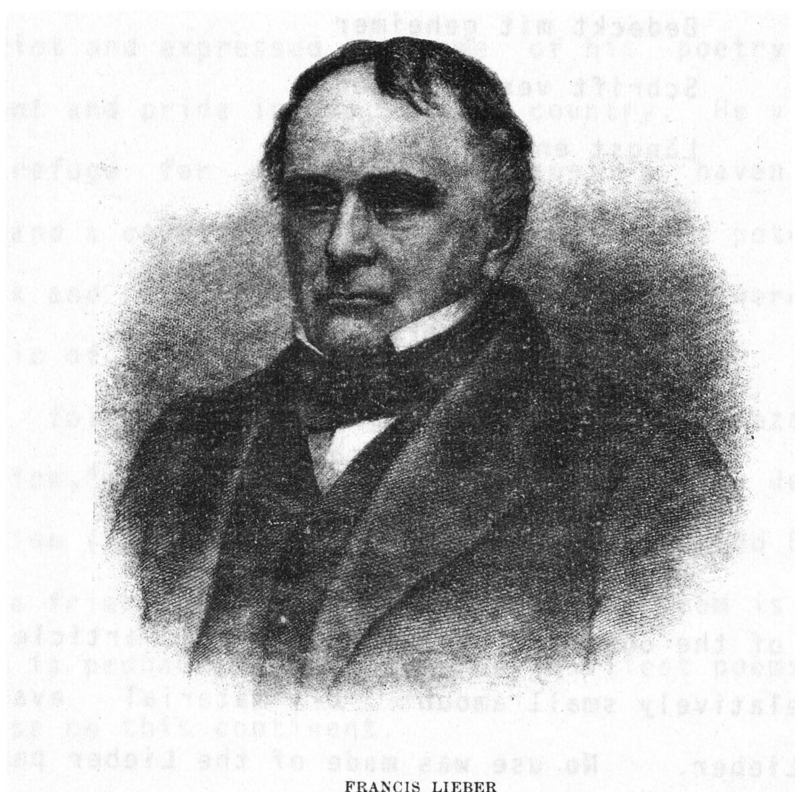
An Champollion (Boston, den 7. Mai 1832)

Verschlossene Pforten,
 Vor denen Jahrtausende
 Wundernd vorüberzogen,
 Sprangen auf vor dem Zauber
 Deines entriegelnden Scharfsinns.
 Du heissest die starren
 Basaltenen Bilder
 [Uns näher treten.
 Und uns erzählen]
 Säulen und Bogen
 Und Obeliskten,
 Unermässliche Wände
 Und Pyramiden,
 Bedeckt mit geheimer
 Schrift verflossener,
 Längst entschwundener
 Thätiger Völker--
 Räthsel die Keiner gelöst,
 Wie Viel' es versuchten,--
 Sie wurden von dir,
 Wie entsiegelte Bücher,
 Beredte Kunden
 Grauer Vorzeit.⁷³

All of the observations made in this article were based on the relatively small amount of material available on Francis Lieber. No use was made of the Lieber papers in the

Henry E. Huntington Library.⁷⁴ This collection contains tens of thousands of items and would aid inestimably in arriving at a fuller view of Lieber's contributions to the advancement of German culture in America.

To my knowledge, no one has compiled a comprehensive list of Lieber's contributions to American periodicals. Lieber's connection with the whole group of Transcendentalists affiliated with the *Dial* would be worth investigating. And finally, the relationship between Lieber and Mary Baker Eddy, and the claim that she utilized a Lieber manuscript as the basis for significant passages in her *Science and Health*, have not been considered here, since the matter is still open to some doubt.⁷⁵



FRANCIS LIEBER

FOOTNOTES

¹Frank Freidel, *Francis Lieber, Nineteenth-Century Liberal* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1947).

²Thomas Sergeant Perry, *The Life and Letters of Francis Lieber* (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1882), p. 14.

³Freidel, p. 19.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁶Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Goethes Werke* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1907), IV. Abteilung, 42. Band, 131.

⁷Henry August Pochmann, *German Literature in America (1600-1900)*, (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1957), p. 570, n. 538.

⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 569-570, n. 537.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 126.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 491.

¹¹*Ibid.*, pp. 125-126.

¹²Freidel, p. 165, n. 55.

¹³Perry, pp. 134-135.

¹⁴Freidel, p. 76.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 80.

¹⁶*Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyclopaedie für die gebildeten Stände (Conversations-Lexikon)*, (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1827-1829).

¹⁷Freidel, pp. 77.

¹⁸John Neal, "Encyclopaedia Americana," *North American Review*, 34 (1832), 262.

¹⁹Freidel, p. 68.

²⁰Francis Lieber, *Letters to a Gentleman in Germany* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1834). This review appeared two pages after page 356 in the left hand column.

²¹Pochmann, p. 125.

²²I arrived at this figure by checking through the indices to the 13 volumes. All German-sounding names were investigated.

²³Encyclopaedia Americana, ed. Francis Lieber, (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Carey, 1832-1835), V. 474.

²⁴Ibid., V, 474.

²⁵Ibid., V, 474.

²⁶Ibid., V, 474.

²⁷Ibid., V, 474.

²⁸Ibid., V, 474.

²⁹The articles are: "Common Law," "Constitution," "Cookery," "Cousin," "Dresden," "Greece," "Goethe," "Grotius," "Gymnastics," "Haller," "Hegel," "Immortality of the Soul," "Kant," "Macchiavelli," "Memory," "Montesquieu," "Mutual Instruction," "Napoleon," "Nibelungenlied," "Niebuhr," "Prisons," "Prison Discipline," and "Sand."

³⁰Americana, III, 512.

³¹See text to note 55.

³²Americana, VII, 305.

³³Ibid., IX, 276.

³⁴Ibid., IX, 277.

³⁵Ibid., V, 543.

³⁶Ibid., V, 545.

³⁷Ibid., V, 545.

³⁸Scott Holland Goodnight, German Literature in American Magazines Prior to 1846, in Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 188, Philology and Literature Series, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1907), p. 73.

³⁹Francis Lieber, Miscellaneous Writings, ed. Daniel C. Gilman, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1881).

⁴⁰Ibid., I, 82-148.

⁴¹Ibid., I, 389-410.

⁴²Lewis R. Harley, Francis Lieber, His Life and Political Philosophy (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1899), p. 173.

⁴³Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1957). See indices under "Lieber."

⁴⁴Francis Lieber, "Turkey," *North American Review*, 31 (1830), 291-308.

⁴⁵Perry, p. 89.

⁴⁶Francis Lieber, "German Association of Naturalists and Physicians," *North American Review*, 31 (1830), 84-95.

⁴⁷Perry, p. 81.

⁴⁸Freidel, p. 178.

⁴⁹Lieber, *Miscellaneous Writings*, I, 499.

⁵⁰Freidel, p. 178.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁵²Goodnight, p. 100.

⁵³*Ibid.*, p. 299.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 100.

⁵⁵Julia Ward Howe, "Dr. Francis Lieber," *The Critic*, 2 (1832), 352.

⁵⁶Francis Lieber, *Manual of Political Ethics*, 2 vols. (Boston: C.C. Little & J. Brown, 1838). See Howe, *The Critic*, 2 (1832), 352.

⁵⁷Freidel, pp. 243-244, n. 43.

⁵⁸Perry, p. 106.

⁵⁹Edward L. Pierce, ed., *Memoirs and Letters of Charles Sumner* (Boston: Roberts Bros., 1893), p. 144.

⁶⁰Mortimer L. Schwartz and John C. Hogan, ed., *Joseph Story* (New York: Oceana, 1959), pp. 80-81.

⁶¹Pochmann, p. 577, n. 558.

⁶²Perry, p. 105.

⁶³Ralph Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes, ed., *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1912), VII, 459.

⁶⁴Edward Everett Hale, James Freeman Clarke (Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside, 1891), p. 64.

⁶⁵Karl Goedeke, Grundriss zur Geschichte der Deutschen Dichtung aus den Quellen, 2nd ed., herausgegeben von Herbert Jacob (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964), XV, 584.

⁶⁶Heinrich Armin Rattermann, "Franz Lieber," German American Annals, 2 (1904), 711.

⁶⁷Perry, p. 59.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 60.

⁶⁹Jean Paul Friedrich Richter, Jean Pauls Sämtliche Werke, Historisch-kritische Ausgabe, ed. Eduard Berand (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955), 3. Abteilung, 8. Band (Briefe 1820-1825), 270.

⁷⁰Freidel, p. 47.

⁷¹"Nachgelassene Gedichte von Franz Lieber," Der Deutsche Pionier, 11. Jahrg., Heft 9 (December, 1879), 330.

⁷²Perry, pp. 176-177.

⁷³Heinrich Armin Rattermann, "Franz Lieber," German American Annals, 3 (1905), 6. Lines 8 & 9 were published in reverse order.

⁷⁴Freidel, pp. 418-421.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 420.

GERMAN-AMERICAN RESEARCH

Dr. Marion Miller, Department of German, Ohio University in Oxford, Ohio is researching the history of the German element in the Ohio Valley and is seeking data and materials.

NEW ULM, MINNESOTA

traum
eines deutsch-amerikanischen
dichters
hundert meilen von mir
immer
im hintergrund:
zerstörte hoffnung
meiner brüder
die ging zugrund
während des krieges
aber du bist anders
mit wurzeln, stamm
und zweigen
wächst du allein
eine quelle

die nie aufhört
ein alter nickt
und sagt guten tag
wir verstehen einander
soul-brothers
einige gläser
vom schell oder hauenstein bier
im kaiserhof restaurant
zum tanz
in der turnerhalle
ein deutscher gottesdienst
in der evangelischen kirche
ein rückblick und ein ruhplatz
den immer wiederkehrenden

Donald Tolzmann
Minneapolis

Deutsches Bühnenwesen in Amerika

In seinen **Amerikanischen Eindrücken** bezeichnet Ludwig Fulda das Drama als das Aschenbrödel der schöpferischen Künste in Amerika. Und das kennzeichnet vollkommen die Situation der deutschamerikanischen Bühne trotz der Bemühungen einer Gruppe talentierter Schauspieler, Direktoren und Theaterleiter, die zum Aufstieg des deutschamerikanischen Theaters in der späteren Hälfte des vergangenen Jahrhunderts in New York, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Baltimore, San Francisco und vielen anderen Städten beitrugen. Deutsche Theaterstücke wurden in deutschen und englischen Theatern und Opernhäusern oder auf Wanderbühnen bzw. von deutschamerikanischen Organisationen (zu vermerken sind hier die Turner) und anderen sympathisierenden Gemeinschaften und ethnischen Gruppen gespielt. Deutsche sowohl als auch englische Zeitschriften in Amerika druckten Kritiken und Bekanntgebungen dieser Aufführungen. Das „New Yorker Echo“ z. B. gab wöchentliche Reporte über deutschamerikanische Theater-tätigkeiten heraus. Häufig wurden Ausschüsse von deutschamerikanischen Bürgerorganisationen für die Behausung von deutschen Theatergruppen gegründet, falls keine deutsche Theatergesellschaft in der Stadt existierte. Deutsche Theatergruppen, bestehend aus berufsmässigen Schauspielern (den Meinigern, Fanny Janauscheck, Al-

vine Dommel) und Amateur-Spielern (den Herren Standau, Jarosch, Jordan, Konrad Nies), gingen auf Tournee. Meist traten sie in den klassischen Schauspielen von Schiller, Kotzebue, Kleist und anderen deutschen, österreichischen oder schweizerischen Dramatikern auf. Oft wurden Stücke an deutschamerikanischen Bühnen von Amateur-Schauspielern und Theaterbegeisterten aufgeführt, die Mitglieder von Bühnengesellschaften wie dem „Deutschen Dramatischen Verein“ in New York (gegründet 6. 1. 1840) und dem „Verein deutscher Theaterfreunde“ in Chicago (gegründet 1914) waren. Unter der geringen Anzahl deutschamerikanischer Schauspiele, die an deutschen Bühnen in Amerika aufgeführt worden sind, waren relativ viele Geschichtsdramen (z.B. Caspar Butz „Florian Geyer“, Ernst Anton Zuendts „Rienzi“ und Karl Heinrich Schnauffers „Cromwell“). Die Tatsache, dass ungefähr zweimal soviel Komödien wie Tragödien an deutschamerikanischen Bühnen aufgeführt worden sind, zeigt vielleicht den allgemeinen Geschmack der Zuschauer an, die weniger seriöse Kunstexperimente als Unterhaltung wollten. Ausserdem folgten Tanzveranstaltungen oder Feiern den Theateraufführungen und die Theaterleitung nahm oft Zuflucht in der Ausgabe von Geschenken an Zeitungskritiker und Verleger, die durch ihre „puffs“ die Zuschauerzahlen erhöhen sollten.

Am Vorabend des Zweiten Weltkrieges liess das Interesse für das deutschamerikanische Theater entschieden nach und das folgende antideutsche Gefühl sowie die Ankunft des Hollywood - Films besiegelte dann endgültig das Schicksal seiner Weiterführung auf kommerzieller Basis.

Eine deutsche Theatergesellschaft existierte bereits 1839 in New Orleans. Die ersten deutschen Aufführungen fanden 1840 in New York und Baltimore, 1842 in St. Louis, 1846 in Cincinnati, 1850 in Milwaukee, 1855 in San Francisco und 1856 in Chicago statt. Deutschamerikanische Theater formten in sehr vielen anderen amerikanischen Städten (z. B. Ithaca, Rochester und Buffalo, N. Y.; Philadelphia, Pittsburgh und Reading, Pa.; Newark, N. J.; Columbus und Cleveland, Ohio; Belleville und Peoria, Ill.; Kansas City, Mo.; Detroit, Clinton und Plain View, Mich.; Davenport, Iowa; Denver, Colo.; St. Paul, Minn.; Omaha, Neb.; Boston, Mass.; Indianapolis und Evansville, Indiana; Louisville, Ky.; Galveston und Austin, Texas).

Die Zahl der Aufführungen von deutschamerikanischen Stücken ist reflektiert in Statistiken, zusammengestellt von Leuchs, der angibt, dass diese nur zu fünf Prozent aus einem Repertoire bestritten wurden, die weitaus meisten der Stücke wurden von deutschsprachigen Autoren in Europa geschrieben. Obgleich „Liehaber- oder Dilettantentheater“ bereits in den 50er Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts weit verbreitet waren, war die deutsche Bühne von solcher Wichtigkeit, dass folgende Erklärung von Norman Hapgood, der das Irving Palace-Theater in New York als das der Stadt einzige erstklassige Theater betrachtet, folgendermassen lautet: „The best average acting in any American playhouse is seen at the one which gives, in German, more classics than any of our English-speaking companies.“ Heute werden in Städten wie New York und Newark, N. J., nur noch selten deutsche Stücke aufgeführt und wenn dann meist in Gastspielen aus Deutschland.

ROBERT E. WARD

The Society for German - American Studies

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ESSENTIAL

KARL CHRISTOPH REICHE (1740-1790) AND AMERICA

by

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University of Kentucky

This essay is an attempt to reconstruct the career of Karl Christoph Reiche,¹ a man who gained brief European notoriety as a controversial "reformer" of the German book trade and then emigrated to America after the collapse of his quixotic enterprise. Reiche was born in Berlin in 1740, and at the age of twenty entered the University of Frankfurt an der Oder where he studied with the famous philosopher, Alexander Baumgarten, an outspoken critic of what he considered the exploitative practices of German publishers. His young disciple was deeply impressed by these sentiments.² Reiche left Frankfurt after a year at the request of university officials, being guilty of an outspoken rationalism in religious matters. (His real "fault" seems to have been a short temper and a tendency to get into scrapes).³ During the next fifteen years, after finishing his theological studies at Halle, he changed his residence frequently, working as minister, teacher, book dealer (in Berlin) and author. In the late 1770's he was called to the more congenial atmosphere of Dessau to teach at Johann Basedow's famous Philanthropinum.⁴ There, with the support of the reigning Prince Leopold Friedrich Franz, Reiche was able to put his ideas into practice, and launched the Buchhandlung der Gelehrten. The plan of allowing authors to publish their own books and thus eliminate publishers' profits, which, rightly or wrongly, were thought

to be outrageously high, was not really new; Klopstock's Gelehrtenrepublik outlined a similar scheme. Reiche's venture was, however, even if only for a few years, the most successful attempt of any to bypass the regular book trade.

The Buchhandlung was a non-profit corporation chartered by Prince Leopold in January, 1781, and empowered solely to be a distributing agency for books, prints and music. The cost of printing was to be borne by the authors (or their patrons). In all other respects the Buchhandlung functioned as a publishing house, taking orders, distributing books to other booksellers at the *Berichte der allgemeinen Buchhandlung der Gelehrten* (1781-84). Prospective authors were intrigued by royalties of 66 2/3% while tending to forget that they had to pay all the printing costs.⁵ The firm met stubborn opposition from the regular book trade and its allies.⁶ Furthermore, intermittent boycotting of the Buchhandlung at the Leipzig Fairs forced Reiche to enroll local agents and supporters throughout Germany. The *Berichte* for July, 1781, lists 170 nominal agents, including tradesmen, artists (Daniel Chodowiecki in Berlin being the best known), and such writers as Goethe, Wieland, Herder, Lavater and Lichtenberg. One year later, the number of titles listed by the Buchhandlung had reached 341.⁷

The obligation to distribute any book offered him, including many unsaleable items, became a heavy burden. "It is not our intention," he once complained, "to flood the world with new books" (Kapp and Goldfriedrich, III, 168). To the enmity of the regular trade were added the complaints of frustrated author;⁸

and even if Reiche were a superior businessman (which he was not) the collapse of the venture seemed imminent.⁹ In his search for new markets, Reiche conceived a plan to export German books to America. This was the first project of its kind to be suggested by a member of the German book trade, and although the cooperation of other publishers was never obtained, it remains a tentative first step to the more durable commercial ties of the nineteenth century.

Die Buchhändlerzeitung (Hamburg), Germany's first real book trade journal, carried a report from Philadelphia dated April 29, 1783, which very probably came to Reiche's attention. It read in part:

...The state of learning here is far more prosperous than one would suppose in, as it were, a new born country. In the midst of the troubles of war really useful knowledge is not forgotten. The College here has been elevated to a University. The German language has become a subject of public instruction--something not even done everywhere in Germany. In order to preserve it in its purity, which is beginning to be lost, Herr Pastor Kunze was named as Professor, and we expect much from the zeal and insight of this man. The only thing lacking is an adequate supply of good German books, and for the time being, also the opportunity to obtain them, even though our German fellow citizens are not especially enthusiastic about reading. Certainly there is more urgent business now than that....¹⁰

Reiche's response (and whether it was really inspired by the Philadelphia letter is only conjecture) was first published in the Berichte of November 1783, and later reported in the Buchhändlerzeitung.¹¹ First he analyzes the depressed condition of the German book trade in 1783:

Has anyone ever calculated the really astounding number of books which, from Fair to Fair are published in our Fatherland? One may credibly estimate

that over two million [sic] volumes, large and small, are printed yearly in Germany.... It becomes evident that to dispose of all our published books in Germany is simply impossible. Even editions of good authors remain in large part unsold and must be pulped unless a way out is found, and markets fostered outside Germany in heavily populated, and cultivated lands and provinces."

For Reiche, "the islands and especially the vast lands of the Free States of America," are the only answer. "Multitudes of well-to-do German citizens dwell there: And in even greater numbers Germans will emigrate, become wealthy, and long for our books." Admittedly the idea would be a gamble; the growing German-American trade, as Reiche pointed out, was primarily in the necessities of life or at least merchandise involving but small risk to speculators. A network of American agents was envisioned, each agent with his own stock of books--a kind of saturation marketing as well as a hedge against possible fraud. Finally, even if everything went smoothly, initial sales might not even cover packing, shipping, storage charges and commissions. To test the feasibility of his plan, Reiche asked all authors connected with the Buchhandlung der Gelehrten to donate ten to twelve copies of their publications and the Buchhandlung would ship them to America. Any profits would be divided among the authors. The invitation was extended to all German publishers and authors who were asked for contributions: "Especially of any out-of-date books no longer very salable in Germany." Reiche concluded resignedly, "if anyone laughs at these ideas, let him laugh! We have been laughed at before."

In August 1784, the Berichte claimed that four large bundles had already been packed and shipped to America, and others

were to follow (Meyer, p. 91). A terse but provocative notice in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* (Jena), datelined "Neuyork, d. 31. Merz, 1788" (soon after Reiche's departure from Europe), seems to indicate that some of the books did reach America: "Der ehemalige Buchhandler Magister Reich [e] ist gar nach Amerika gekommen. Er wollte die vor einigen Jahren hereingesandten Bucher gern für Makulatur verkaufen; aber Niemand bot ihm etwas."¹² Reiche had at least one ally--Johann David Schoepf, an acute observer of the American scene whose travels were published in Germany in 1788, who was perhaps familiar with Reiche's proposal and held similar views: "But probably the free and immediate intercourse now begun between the mother country and America will involve a betterment of the language. Since America, in the time of German literature, is 20-40 years behind, it might possibly be a shrewd speculation to let loose from their bookstall prisons all our unread and forgotten poets and prosaists and transport them to America after the manner of the English (at one time) and their jail-birds" (Morrison trans., I, 109-110). Despite the failure of Reiche's scheme, the last decade or so of the eighteenth century did see increased attention paid by German booksellers to the cultivation of the American market (that story is outside the scope of this brief paper).

The details of Reiche's bankruptcy are a mystery, but in 1787 he decided to emigrate to Philadelphia where, according to Kapp and Goldfriedrich, he "ist...im grössten Elend gestorben (III, 173)." From the American point of view there is more to

be said. For one thing, Reiche established a precedent by being the first trained German bookseller to emigrate to the United States.¹³ Secondly, as a writer and journalist, and simply as an educated man of the world, he made a definite contribution to Philadelphia's German culture. His first project, however, showed a great misjudgment of the German-American market. It was to be nothing less than a history of the world in German filling ten to twelve octavo volumes, each of 600 pages!

More than the entire front page of a local German paper¹⁴ was taken up with his prospectus. He began grandly enough: "Deutsche Männer!--You stem from a people with no equal on this earth...the most courageous, most enlightened of all civilized nations." The Germans of America, he wrote, should be aware of their great heritage; without a knowledge of history they would remain ignorant and incapable of participation in government or of even understanding the issues of the day. How can this knowledge be attained? "Where are the schools and universities where German youth, without great expense, can turn for enlightenment? Where are the books written in America or brought from overseas that would educate our German youth? And where is the desire among the Germans here to read such books?" He offered on subscription in Philadelphia and fifteen other Pennsylvania towns: "The history of all known peoples of the world from the most ancient times to the present, with philosophical and political notes on forms of government, religions, laws, rites and customs, on the causes of their flowering and decay. For the use and pleasure of Free Americans of German ancestry, to make them acquainted with the true art of govern-

ment. Carefully prepared and cleansed of all incomprehensible words and insignificant events, written in a style easily understood by all."¹⁵ The response was negative.

A year passed before Reiche again appeared before the public, this time with *Der General-Postbothe an die Deutsche Nation in America*, published twice a week from January 5 to June 29, 1790, with a sample issue dated November 27, 1789. The magazine was printed and probably backed by Melchior Steiner, publisher of the *Correspondenz*. Once more the appeal was to national pride as Reiche called on the Germans to "avoid giving the impression that our Fatherland has sent abroad only porters and drudges."¹⁶ The programs for the *Postbothe* and the world history overlapped, material originally intended for the latter appeared in installments as "Denkwürdigkeiten der Vorwelt." There were some excellent features about the journal: well-written accounts of the French Revolution and its possible effects (Reiche predicted that Germans would now emigrate to France rather than to America);¹⁷ an anti-British article on the price of corn, and an essay in favor of a standing army for the United States. Though often didactic, its coverage of foreign events was very good, a notch above anything else available. With only 350 subscribers as of June it obviously failed to attract sufficient support.

The *Postbothe* was not Reiche's only contribution to German-American journalism; Seidensticker (p. 576-77) is convinced that he was the unnamed editor who took over Melchior Steiner's *Correspondenz* in October, 1790. Its prior level of

excellence may be judged from Schoepf's description:

Melchior Steiner's German establishment (formerly Christoph Sauer's) prints a weekly German newspaper which contains numerous sorrowful examples of the miserably deformed speech of our American fellow-countrymen. This newspaper is chiefly made up of translations from English sheets, but so stiffly done and so anglic as to be mawkish. The two German ministers and Mr. Steiner himself oversee the sheet. If I mistake not, Mr. Kunze alone receives 100 Pd. Pens. Current for his work. "If we wrote in German," say the compilers in excuse, "our American farmers would neither understand it nor read it" (I, 109).

After October, the paper was so altered in style and content, that Steiner christened it the *Neue Philadelphische Correspondenz* and published it twice a week. Foreign news (as in the *Postbothe*) was derived from Continental rather than English sources, and the entire paper was written in a smooth and educated German. For the first time in the history of the German-American press, wrote Seidensticker (p. 577), the modern editorial was employed. He also called it the finest German-American newspaper to date, though its excellence lasted scarcely more than six weeks before returning to its former mediocrity. This squares with Reiche's chronology--the failure of his *Postbothe* at the end of June, 1790, and his death the following December.

A footnote to Reiche's career, was his hopeful entry into the world of Anglo-American letters with a natural history for young people. The book was placed on subscription in the last issue of the *Postbothe* and on sale late November under the title: *Fifteen Discourses on the Marvellous Works in Nature Delivered by a Father to his Children.*¹⁸ Printed testimonials by the astronomer David Rittenhouse and Dr. Benjamin Rush

indicated some entree into American intellectual circles. The latter wrote: "Mr. Reiche having put into my hands the printed sheets of his 'Fifteen Discourses on the Marvellous Works in Nature,' I have read them with great pleasure, and am of the opinion that the work is calculated to beget a grateful admiration of the power, wisdom, and goodness of the Supreme Being, which are manifested in the vegetable and animal creation. I sincerely wish that it may be introduced and read in all the schools in the United States."

The author barely lived to see his first American book in print; but there was little posthumous fame to have regretted. His obituary in the *Neue Philadelphische Correspondenz* (December 17, 1790) was brief:

Last Saturday in this city, Carl Christoph Reiche, Master of Arts, died after a lingering illness which had prevented him for more than six weeks from attending to any of his affairs. He was a man of much learning. The Royal Prussian capital of Berlin was his birthplace, and where he also apparently laid the foundation of his education; he later studied at Halle in Saxony, and came to America about three years ago. He lived to be almost fifty years old, and last Monday, accompanied by a large gathering of mourners, was solemnly buried in the local cemetery.

At Reiche's death, Steiner probably took over the stock of the *Discourses*. It was still being offered for sale in 1792 by Steiner's new partner, Heinrich Kämmerer, and by Thomas Dobson, a Philadelphia publisher known for his interest in German literature.¹⁹ Reiche's last claim to public attention also took place in 1792--the auction of his private library. The *Federal Gazette and Philadelphia Daily Advertiser* for April 4 announced: "The Library of the late Rev. Charles Reiche, will

be sold on Wednesday and Saturday Evenings next, at the sales of Mr. Prichard. The Books are in Greek, Latin, French and German, classical, historical, &c. several very valuable; as will appear by the printed catalogue. April 3d 1792." No copy of the catalogue is extant.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Friedrich Kapp and Johann Goldfriedrich, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels* (Leipzig: Börsenvereine der deutschen Buchhändler, 1886-1913), III, 151-73. A bibliography of Reiche's own writings may be found in Johann Georg Meusel, *Lexikon der vom Jahre 1750 bis 1800 verstorbenen teutschen Schriftsteller* (1802-16; rpt. Hildesheim: Olms, 1968), XI, 110-11. See also Karl Buchner, *Zur Geschichte des Selbstverlags der Schriftsteller*, 2nd ed. (Giessen: Rickersche Buchhandlung, 1874) and F. Hermann Meyer, "Die genossenschaftlichen und Gelehrten-Buchhandlungen des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, II (1874), 68-124.
2. *Berichte der allgemeinen Buchhandlung der Gelehrten* (Dessau), April 1781, pp. 124-24. Henceforth cited as *Berichte*.
3. Reiche was dismissed as pastor of the Pomeranian village of Gartz for similar reasons (ca. 1770?). That apparently ended his clerical career. On the other hand, his personal integrity and honesty were rarely questioned. Kapp and Goldfriedrich, III, 151; *Berichte*, Jan. 1781, p. 145.
4. August Pinloche, *La Réforme de l'Éducation en Allemagne au dixhuitième Siècle* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1889), pp. 149 and 165.
5. Prince Leopold also founded a Verlagskasse to finance the publishing of books by deserving authors (loans to be repaid from the author's profits if any). An agreement was signed obligating the Verlagskasse to distribute its books only through Reiche's Buchhandlung. The Kasse backed publication of 129 works including Wieland's *Horazens Briefe* (1782) and Herder's *Vom Geist der Ebräischen Poesie* (1782-83). The title page of the latter bore the characteristic notice--"Auf Kosten der Verlags-Kasse, und zu finden in der Buchhandlung der Gelehrten." Financial problems (the Kasse was borrowing heavily) and conflicts of interest hastened the failure of both undertakings.
6. August Niemeyer, friend of Goethe and professor at Halle, called it a "windproject...conceived by a madman...who seems to lack any understanding of the book trade" (Buchner, p. 30). Professor Meusel of Erlangen, however, thought the plan "really very well put together and rigorously thought out, only it will not be really understood that one is supposed to have the books printed at one's own cost and risk; and then certainly the booksellers know how to place so many obstructions in the way, that the enterprise must necessarily miscarry" (Kapp and Goldfriedrich, III, 160).

7. Among them C. F. Bahrdr's translation of Juvenal, an engraved portrait of William Tell by Chodowiecki, Reiche's own *Allgemeine synchronistische Weltgeschichte* in six vols., and J. H. Jacobi's translation of Virgil's *Georgics*.

8. Reiche's original plan called for cash sales only. To exist at all, however, the *Buchhandlung* had to comply with standard trade practice and allow purchasers credit for at least one year. An author who had invested in the printing of his own book might not receive any money at all until the year was up.

9. There was a plan for the young J. G. Göschen to take over the *Buchhandlung* and transform it into a regular business, but at the last minute the sale fell through. See George Joachim Göschen, *The Life and Times of Georg Joachim Göschen* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903), I, 50-3.

10. May 22, 1783, 325-26. The University of Pennsylvania is referred to in the text. Johann Christoph Kunze (1744-1807) a leading German minister in Philadelphia, was also Professor of Hebrew and Philosophy at the university. The reading habits of the Pennsylvania-German farmers were satirized by many including Johann David Schoepf: "The universal German farmer's library: the Almanack, and Songbook, a small Garden of Habermann, and the Bible. It is in vain to look for other books.... The highest delight of the German countryman in Pennsylvania is--drink." *Travels in the Confederation [1783-1784]*, trans. by A. J. Morrison (1911; rpt. New York: Burt Franklin, 1968), I, 107, 104.

11. Feb. 5, 1784, 89-95. The following account is based on this text.

12. Quoted in Paul Ben Baginsky, *German Works Relating to America 1493-1800* (New York: The New York Public Library, 1942), p. 118.

13. Granted it is an uneasy precedent since he never plied his trade in Philadelphia; but is chronologically sound and has symbolic importance when we look ahead to the German-American trade in the nineteenth century with its unceasing trans-Atlantic commuting of booksellers, publishers and books. No "professional" German bookseller established himself in America until Johann Georg Ritter arrived in Philadelphia (1824). Until then, the selling of German books had been usually a sideline of merchants, printers, American booksellers or improvising emigrants.

14. *Gemeinnützige Philadelphische Correspondenz*, Dec. 2, 1788. Hereafter cited as *Correspondenz*. Reiche's name does not appear, but his authorship seems certain. See following discussion of the *General-Postbothe*, and Oswald Seidensticker, "Die deutsch-amerikanische Zeitungspressen während des vorigen Jahrhunderts," *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, I (1886-87), 582.

15. This version of the title is taken from the *Correspondenz*, Jan. 6, 1789. It was probably a reworking of Reiche's old six volume world history (see note 7). A similar project was later

realized by the 48'er Gustav Struve--his Weltgeschichte (New York: 1853-54) in six vols.

16. Seidensticker, p. 585.

17. Reiche had a plan to attract half a million Germans to Pennsylvania. His idea was to prepare a brochure of five to six printed sheets giving a glowing description of Pennsylvania, print up an edition of 1000 and, through contracts in Leipzig, distribute them gratis to all the bookdealers attending the Fair. "And so the citizens of Pennsylvania, for only 50 Pounds, would have as many agents in Germany as there are bookdealers, that is over 300." These dealers would then happily sell their gift copies at home creating a further demand, and thousands more would be reprinted. General-Postbothe, Feb. 5, 1790.

18. The title page continues: "Calculated to make mankind feel, in every thing, the very presence of a Supreme Being, and to influence their minds with a permanent delight in, and firm reliance upon, the directions of an almighty, all-good, and all wise Creator, and Governor." By Charles Christopher Reiche, M.A. Philadelphia: Printed for the Author, by James & Johnson...MDCCXCI.

19. Neue Philadelphische Correspondenz, March 6, 1792.

GERMAN-AMERICAN RESEARCH

Dr. Robert E. Cazden is preparing
a social history of the German-
American booktrade since 1800 and
is seeking any material or information
relating to German-language publishing
in the U.S. Contact Dr. Cazden at the
School of Library Science, University
of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky. 40506

ICH BIN AN EINEM SOMMERTAG GESTORBEN

Ich bin an einem Sommertag gestorben.
Voll Schönheit träumte eine junge Welt.
Der Tod kam sanft zu mir, ein alter Seher,
Der mich mit dunkler Leier sacht gefällt.

Ich folgte ihm, und musste doch mich wenden
Ein letztes Mal noch trunken von der Pracht
Der Sommerwelt. Der Augenblick schien richtig
Fürs Lebewohl, Versinken in der Nacht.

Und jetzt hat Winter hart die Welt umfangen.
Die Tage schleppen qualvoll, ohne Sinn.
Die Menschheit weint. Und meine tote Seele
Drängt hungervoll zum Leben wieder hin.

Maria Berl Lee
Forest Hills, N. Y.

DR. J. H. STEPLER, CLEVELAND'S GERMAN-AMERICAN PASTOR-POET

by
Robert E. Ward
Youngstown State University

Of the various professional people who contributed to the largest body of non-English American literature, no group exercised a more profound influence on the German-American culture than the Lutheran pastor.¹ Through its literary organs and publishing houses the Lutheran Church made a most profound contribution to the great fund of German-American literature²--at a time in our history when the Church played such a vital role in the lives of the second largest group of immigrants. It was largely the Church to which German-speaking immigrants first turned for their education, social, religious, and cultural needs. And like Luther himself who united his followers through language, so the Lutheran Church in America with its German congregations served as the unifier of both the spirit and the mind of the German-speaking immigrant who was faced with the task of integrating himself into a foreign, often hostile environment. Thus the Church stood in the very center of the German immigrant's life: German schools, English classes, social organizations, religious instruction. In order to facilitate a common ground for communication the Church established a press and literary organs printed in German. One of the most important German-American presses was the Central Publishing House in

Cleveland which published the official literary organ of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, Die Kirchenzeitung. The publications of the Central Publishing House, the numerous church organs, and the German newspaper, Wächter und Anzeiger established Cleveland as a center for German-American literary activity.

Dr. Johann Heinrich Stepler (1841-1928), poet, writer, and editor of Die Kirchenzeitung in 1923 served as the pastor of the old Second Reformed German Church in Cleveland, Ohio.

My fourscore years on earth are gone,
 While still my days are marching on.
 The Indian Summer of my life
 Now finds me free from care and strife.
 My work on earth is almost done
 As now I face the setting sun.
 And while I look resigned ahead
 I see the sunset glow with red;
 And evening breezes whisper soft:
 "O weary pilgrim, look aloft!"
 Above, a better day will dawn--
 And so the Master leads me on.

Thus wrote Pastor Stepler on the occasion of his eightieth birthday in the preface to his autobiographical sketch "Leaves of my Life's Book of over Fourscore Years"³ to which he added: "I have had my place among men as a tree stands among trees...in no way exceptional, just the ordinary kind. Leaves have their time to fall. In the autumn of my life the following leaves are dropped to fall where they may."⁴ The flow of these lines reflects the poetic nature of this man of God whose life and literary activity⁵ have earned him a place in the chronicles of Ohio history.

Pastor Stepler's first poetic work, *Freiheit, Gleichheit, Brüderlichkeit*, was published in Cleveland in 1878. His collection of poems entitled *Feldblumen* appeared in 1899. As the editor of "Die Kirchenzeitung" he continued his literary efforts. In 1905 he contributed a lyric poem as well as an epic one to G. A. Neeff's⁶ anthology, *Vom Lande des Sternenbanners*, and in 1907 his poem commemorating the erection of the Goethe-Schiller monument in Cleveland appeared in the *Gedenkbuch der Goethe-Schiller Denkmalweihe in Cleveland, Ohio, den 9. Juni 1907*. All of the poems in his "Nachlass" have recently appeared in print.⁷ In addition to his poetic activity, he wrote a biography of the well-known German-American historian, Reverend H. J. Rütenik⁸ which is written in a smooth, even style, demonstrating a firm grasp of his adopted language and a keen sense for organization. Pastor Stepler's English autobiography was written as a supplement to his "Erinnerungen" which appeared in some twelve numbers of *Die reformierte Kirchenzeitung* (Feb., March, April, 1902). The biographical elements which follow have been drawn for the most part from his typewritten manuscript.

Pastor Stepler was born on October 15, 1841 in Maar, Kreis Lauterbach in Central Germany as the youngest of three brothers and three sisters. The Steplers had all been agrarians, and religion found a central place in their daily lives. At the age of eighty, he fondly recalled his father "reading with stress the morning prayers and occasionally a sermon by Scriver or Arndt."

As a boy Pastor Stepler witnessed the violence and turmoil of the Revolution of 1848 only slightly since its effects were felt less in rural areas than in the cities. His comments on the state of religion and morals during that period give us interesting insight into the social frame of a typical rural community of mid-nineteenth century Germany:

Aside from that politically restless year of storm and stress, there was moral and spiritual quiet. In fact it seemed as if a general spiritual death was prevalent. The church itself seemed dead in formalism. True, a child so young can hardly be a competent witness in such weighty matters and I am only stating the impression on my own mind. Still there lingers in my memory a strong contrast as to religion and morals. Actual crime there was next to none. Aside from too much use of whiskey and drunkenness, and some infractions of the law of chastity, especially of the unmarried, there was a fair moral rectitude. Of theft, highway robbery, burglary, perjury, murder, suicide, etc. there was none. As for divorce, I have no recollection of a single case. Would a boy up to fourteen years remember such an occurrence? Very probably, for in such a quiet, monotonous community any such unusual event would be the subject of gossip and talk for an indefinite time.

I can account for this contrast in a dead state of religion and a healthy state of morals only when I remember what others have said about it. The ethical condition was an inheritance of better generations when there was no such contrast. Rationalities had undermined faith, but it boasted of building up good morals.

In thus looking back on my early years I find much to be thankful for. I am glad that the land of Luther was my fatherland, and the language on which he left his impressions was my mother tongue.

On Whitsunday 1855 young Stepler was confirmed in the Lutheran faith and in the same year completed his eight years of study at the common school. In his recollections

of his early youth he relates the circumstances (so typical of the time) which led him to emigrate to America.

My oldest brother having married, he according to the old custom inherited the home and "Bauerei" and thus became "der neue Herr". It is true that by prenuptial contract he paid a price for it as agreed on and also engaged to provide for the parents who were growing old. The sum paid by him was to be divided among the remaining two brothers and two sisters then living. But home was then no longer what it had been. We were not driven out, but felt we were tolerated. As for me, the youngest, I was to learn a trade by being apprenticed to a cabinet maker. The brother eight years older than myself had in 1853 emigrated to America. He felt lonely in the strange land and longed for some one of the family to follow him across the ocean. While none of the sisters, married by that time, cared to leave the fatherland, I desired to seek my fortune over the sea.

On June 11, 1856 he left home and on the nineteenth sailed from Bremen for New York, arriving there on the fifth of August. His father had provided him with enough money to reach Kenton, Ohio. Being young and inexperienced, Stepler was an easy mark for unethical businessmen, and consequently he reached Cleveland with very little money. His predicament was solved when his brother arrived in the "Forest City" ten days later. The two brothers left immediately for Upper Sandusky where they found employment with the Pittsburgh-Fort Wayne-Chicago Railroad. During the next eleven months the brothers earned their living at a variety of jobs in western Ohio and young Johann quickly gained an elementary proficiency in English.

In the summer 1857 the two brothers took a job cutting cordwood in Forest, Ohio where they made the acquaintance

of some fellow Germans, "mostly railroad men who longed for public worship."

In the log cabin of one Nicholas Hartman we would meet on a Sunday evening to sing some hymns, read a sermon, and so try to satisfy the soul's sincere desire for communion with God. This seemed better than nothing, but oh we felt happy when Rev. Henry Bentz came to preach and pray with us. Then he succeeded in securing Peter Joerris to come to us. We organized a Reformed Church, and now enjoyed the use of the means of Grace.

It was on a Sunday evening I had read in a Lutheran Church paper an appeal to young men to devote their lives to the ministry. This appeal challenged me. I had from boyhood an undefined feeling that I should become a minister. Thus far I had suppressed it, there being no prospect of attaining anything so high. On the Sunday just mentioned, the Rev. Joerris, who could know nothing of my inner feeling, asked me straight out whether I did not feel called to prepare myself to the ministry. I did not have the courage to own up at the time, but from that day on, the inarticulate call within me became more definite, and I felt that my pastor would not let me go, even in his prayers. For weeks, for months, I had no power to dismiss that feeling. Then I corresponded with the Rev. Mr. Anstead of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania with the result that the day was set when I should start for the Lutheran institution at Gettysburg. As the day approached, money and courage failed me, and that feeling cooled in me. So some months passed. Late in the autumn of 1857 while in the employ of Dr. Stanley at Patterson (near Forest), I felt an impulse to take a trip to Tiffin, thirty miles away. I went, and called on Rev. H. J. Rütenik, hardly knowing why. Then in my embarrassment I asked him the way to Heidelberg College. He told me curtly and I went there. Professor J. Kecher, whom I had met once before, asked me if I had come to remain. In a brief interview it was decided that I should enter upon my studies there within a week. And so I started in a new direction.

Young Stepler began his studies at Heidelberg College with less than twenty dollars in his possession. He received eighty dollars annually from the Board of Beneficiary

Education, and frequent loans and gifts of money from his brother "who earned meager wages as a common laborer." From 1858 to 1862 he taught at Reformed Church schools in Fort Wayne, Indiana, and Lima, Ohio, worked as a harvest hand at various farms in western Ohio, and as a colporteur for the American Tract Society for Hardin County.

In his "Erinnerungen" Pastor Stepler recalls that he was teaching school at the time of the Presidential election of 1860.

My schoolhouse was used as a townhall for voting. It narrowly escaped being burned to the ground. It was a cold day, and some of the voters, perhaps intoxicated, lingered in the schoolhouse that night, keeping a roaring fire in the stove. After they left in the morning the building started to burn, but was discovered just in the nick of time. So Lincoln's first election was even to me a memorable event.

The political questions of the day, just prior to the Civil War, mainly about slavery might have occupied much of my attention if I had understood more fully what those questions involved. But this was not the case, and the exceeding excitement in politics of the day had little attraction for me. Decades later I fully realized what momentous issues were before the country in those days. Years after the children kept singing "John Brown's Body Lies A-mouldering in the Grave, but his Soul Goes Marching on!".

After April 1861 the war had broken out and indeed during those terrible four years of its duration I continued largely to ignore what was taking place. I heard, of course, the appeals of the recruiting officers. I was aware of the excitement in the country but was not carried away with the noise around me. That was largely the feeling of the mass of people in the North. All the while, though, party spirit rose high and often there was bitter enmity in the churches and in the neighborhoods, one part blaming the other.

In the fall of 1862 after the resignation of Pastor J. C. Ruhl, Stepler was urged to enter the ministry before the completion of his studies at Heidelberg College because of an urgent need for pastors. "So it happened that I was called to the pastorate of the Second Marion Charge, which after re-adjustment consisted of St. Jacob's Church (one mile east of Horton), St. Joseph's (six miles north of Horton), Prospect (seven miles west of same) and Burwick (eight miles north of Prospect)."

The text that follows constitutes the last eight pages of Stepler's 14-page typewritten manuscript. Only obvious errors in orthography and punctuation have been corrected.

[From Johann Heinrich Stepler's "Erinnerungen"]

MY FIRST CHARGE

Each of these little congregations had its own marked peculiarities. In point of spiritual interest, St. Joseph's seemed ahead of the others. Among those good people I had my home. St. Jacob's congregation had no church of their own. A "Block-Kirche" was held and used in common by the Reformed and Lutherans. There had been lack of harmony, but later there was some improvement. Very different was the little flock at Middletown, now Prospect. There the members were Pennsylvania-Germans. They had no church of their own but we held services in a Presbyterian church in the evening.

Three officers, main pillars of this church, were brothers Jacob, Levi and Phillip Woodring. The oldest of these was Jacob, an elder who was rarely seen in church. He claimed that there were too many churches in that village and that the preachers were to blame for the war. In a sense he was right. Too many churches was proof that the people were not united and especially Methodist ministers being agitate against slavery, were a cause of the war. Years later it was this elder who did most to build the Reformed Church and subsequently, too, a parsonage. To me there was little encouragement there. Even Levi and Phillip Woodring fell out with each other.

I had a little more satisfaction at Burwick, later called Greencamp. These people were poor, having settled in the primeval woods. They were trying to hew out farms where they were destroying mighty timber. They lived in cabins, log cabins. The old dilapidated schoolhouse in which we worshiped at first scarcely furnished shelter when it rained--for the table, the Bible or the Preacher. Later we held services in the private homes while they vainly endeavored to build a log chapel. Ere two years had passed, I was discouraged and resigned. At the time I was as yet no citizen of the United States and the bitter party spirit seemed to me foolish and wrong. I felt like taking a middle course, not going so fast in the direction of abolition nor the opposite. It seemed to me then, and has seemed to me since, that the slaves should have been prepared gradually

for freedom. It is true when emancipation came it was abrupt and was called a war measure.

NEWVILLE, INDIANA

When it came to be known in our ministerial circles that I was inclined to resign, there was no lack of invitations to other fields. My old friend, Rev. P. Joerris, was anxious that I should go to Watertown, Wisconsin, but the Rev. P. Vitts prevailed on me to go to Newville, Indiana. I preached there one Sunday in August 1864, was elected, and accepted the call. In this charge I had the Swiss church at Newville and the two Rock Creek churches west of Bluffton. These two consisted mainly of Pennsylvania-Germans, also a few good families from Crawford County, Ohio. My new parishoners were also mostly Democrats, but less violent. Here also as in my first charge I officiated in both languages. Here as in Marion County, Ohio there were many miles between my different churches and the roads were often in a terrible condition. But I took those hardships as matters of course. I did not think that I was too good for such a country charge, when again the salary was only three hundred dollars. However, the members kept my horse in feed and remembered the pastor besides in many ways, also the pastor's wife.

I should have mentioned before that I had married in 1863 a daughter of Dr. Sagabiel of Kenton, Ohio. A good wife, a helpmate who in her quiet way enabled me to live in and for

my work. In this I seemed fairly successful. The indications were that I could continue there for years had it not been for the ill health of my wife. Rather weak before, she took sick in the autumn of 1866 and died November 9th the same year. Aside from this I have no misgivings about those two years on the upper Wabash, notorious at the time for much malaria. There were large tracts of primeval forests that contained much moisture, breeding mosquitos in great abundance, this again aggravating the prevalent malaria. It was very bad in a wet, hot summer. Indiana was still at the time new in many respects. Drainage, good roads and such things came later. As my Newville congregation consisted almost entirely of Swiss, I came to understand and to love them. They were good citizens, churchly and upright as a class. Up the Wabash River the settlers were nearly all Swiss for ten miles, mostly on the east side of the River. Aisde from my own members the Evangelical Association was represented. More numerous were the Mennonites, very estimable as good, peace-loving citizens. An offshoot from them were the Amish people, still more ossified in their religious views and ways. They were noticeable at once for the cut of their clothing and beards. Those externals seemed to be a big part of their religion. Perhaps on account, in part, of their spiritual formalism, a new sect had sprung up among them called the "Neue-Täufer." They too were "wehrlos" like those mentioned. Also rural and extremely fanatical. Only they were real Christians--the "little flock". They hated an educated ministry (also me).

It was during the Civil War, 1864, that the government needed more soldiers. There was conscription but the Mennonites and even the Amish proved by their religion and history that their religion forbade war or the bearing of arms. The Neuer-Täufer had neither creed nor history to prove that they were to be exempt from the draft. They had to write a creed. They did try it and then came to me to translate it into English. I undertook to do them this service but found it very difficult, as their so-called "creed" was merely a confused string of words with little connection or sense.

It was now the last year of the Civil War, however the end was not in sight. Extreme and narrow-minded members of the Democratic Party, bitter against the war and the Lincoln Administration, suspected that the war spirit was kept up with intent and that peace was as far off as ever. Some joined a secret organization known as the Knights of the Golden Circle. They were Southern sympathizers and plotted secretly against the government of the United States. Some were discovered, arrested and brought themselves into serious trouble. One of my own church officers lost his farm and all his property in consequence. The war was nearing its end. Only ignorant people, blinded by party prejudice and led by disloyal newspapers failed to see this.

As for myself, for various reasons I kept aloof as much as I could from the malignant party strife. It was impossible for me to go with either party. It was not until about 1880

that I came into a fuller agreement with the Republican Party of Garfield, Sherman and Blane. In earlier years I took no interest in party politics and for years abstained from voting.

In view of my wife's ill health I resigned the Bluffton charge and accepted a call to Sharon, Pennsylvania to which my friend, Rev. M. Mueller had recommended me. But she died before we could move, leaving me and Meta and Calvin at less than three and less than eight years old respectively. Their aunt, Mrs. Vogler, in Kenton took them and kept them until I had a home of my own again in Sharon.

SHARON, PENNSYLVANIA

The change from Indiana to Pennsylvania meant much to me in every way. My new members were nearly all coal miners. In those days no pastor could remain indifferent to the church questions involved. I too had my views and they were as in my former surroundings, opposed to the High Church contentions. True, the laity around me were not affected by the theological controversies raging in the church publications, but the ministers as a rule were partisans. As a whole the pastors of West Pennsylvania sided with the Mercersberg Theology. This was at times painfully evident in the meetings of Synod, especially so at the old mother Synod at Hagerstown, Maryland in 1868. It seemed then that there was a determination to crush Dr. J. H. A. Bomberger, the main champion of the old Reformed Church Principals. In the

Pittsburgh Synod organized subsequently the same spirit prevailed. However the liturgical conflict had now reached its climax and the asperities began to subside. At least they became less violent so that my intercourse with the High Church ministers was not seriously marred. In fact I have only kind recollections of these good brethern. They have now all passed away, but I cherish their memories.

My pastoral work in the Sharon charge had some peculiarities. The men were largely occupied as coal miners. They had hard work and fairly good pay, but were measurably poor though some owned their modest homes. They were mostly by extraction people of the old Palatinate, more moral than religious. Indeed some were like the Phariseen of old, "tugendstolz", which is dangerously near to being self-righteous. In those cases even the good qualities of heart and conduct became impediments to conversion and spiritual life. Otherwise they were good citizens and estimable people. I had three small churches; one near Sharon, one six miles east of Sharon, one little preaching point across the state line in Ohio. At Hickory (Jerusalem's) six miles east of Sharon we had at first a union log chapel with the Lutherans. The building was old and not worth repairing. The Lutheran people were too few and dispirited to maintain their organization, so we undertook to build a Reformed Church. There as elsewhere the language question gave us much trouble. To me, and others, the English language seemed necessary to use. Some Pennsylvania-Germans were stubbornly opposed to this.

While at Sharon I found and married Dorothy B. Reimold, oldest daughter of J. G. Reimold near Orangeville, Ohio. This little town like Sharon itself is on the Ohio-Pa. state line. Rev. Cyrus Diffenbacher and Rev. Fred Pilgrim officiated at our wedding Aug. 13, 1867. While at Sharon there was born to us Rosa, who died at twenty months of scarlet fever, prevalent there at the time. Our Emma, Lousia and Phillip were also born there.

There also with the help of my father-in-law I bought nineteen acres of land and built a cottage, so we had our own home. Later when away from it for many years it was not a good investment--rather a loss. During my pastorate at Sharon I was present at the organization of Pittsburgh Synod, voted in favor of founding the St. Paul's Orphans' Home, and attended the meeting of Pittsburgh Synod at Buffalo. I took part in the laying of a cornerstone at Titusville, a dedication at Brady's Bend and the installation of D. D. Lebbermann at Meadville. My pastorate at Sharon lasted from November 1866 to October 1875. After seven years at Sharon I felt that a change was desirable. Resigning again, I came back to my dear Ohio, near Tiffin.

AGAIN IN OHIO

My new field, the Caroline charge, consisted of three congregations; the Baseline Church located on the Seneca-Crawford County Line, the Windfall Church on the "pike" (so-called), a road from Sandusky to Columbus, and thirdly

the Caroline congregation which had no church of its own. Of the three in my time the Baseline congregation was best. The services were well attended and I had the respect and goodwill of the people.

In 1876 we built the parsonage, one mile south of Carrothers. In this our youngest daughter, Clara, was born on April 23, 1877. Had it not been for an ill-natured quarrel in the Windfall Church about the burial of the dead, I might have remained there for an indefinite time. I loved the people and was prepared with horse and buggy, sulky, sleigh and saddle.

In the Classis and Synod I felt at home. In 1874 I was elected Stated Clerk, in which capacity I served Heidelberg Classis for 14 years. In 1875 I was elected as a member of the board of directors of the "Buch-Anstalt" (Central Publishing House). After this I was re-elected as such a member many times. So I came to have a part in the management under Dr. Rütenik as well as Rev. Becker.

IN LIMA, OHIO

Early in 1878 I received a call from the Reformed Church in Lima. The salary named and fully paid during my 10 1/2 years was six hundred dollars and parsonage. Lima at that time had about 7,000 people and was a railroad center with some other industries. The German population was less than 10%. My membership was about 150, after ten years 325. We arrived in Lima on the eighth of May 1878. A few days later I went

as a delegate to General Synod at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. This was an event in the church and also one in my life. My horizon enlarged and my name became known. I may say I was growing.

I missed my full church in Lima, as I had on the Baseline. But there was growth and improvement in various ways. In the town I myself and the church came to be known. So I came to enjoy the goodwill of the community--quite an advantage later; the Reformed Church in Lima had, prior to my time, quite a checkered career. The very plain brick church had been built in 1868. No pastor remained long. When a few good Swiss people came there, an improvement took place. But the growth of the congregation, like that of the town, was slow. Also in [sic] my time and the years passed quietly. I endeavored to do my duty in the pulpit and as pastor. The good seed was sown, some no doubt fell on good soil. There were no phenomenal conversions, but there was improvement in the church life, in morals and goodwill.

In regard to the General Synod of 1878 it might be worthwhile to say a few words, but as it is a matter of our church history, I will omit it here. While pastor of the Reformed Church in Lima I enjoyed in the Sunday School the much valued assistance of H. S. Prophet, a prominent attorney and vice-president of my Sunday School, English though he was. Similarly an old Presbyterian minister attended my church quite regularly. Like Mr. Prophet, Mr. Johnston loved the German language, though he had but a limited knowledge of it.

Our plain brick church was in need of some repairs. Some of my men opposed spending much money on the old building. They rather favored waiting and in time building a new church.

A very shabby fence enclosing our church property also called for repairs. Mr. J. Schlosser favored a new fence, as treasurer he had money for it (a fund surplus of the minister's salary). In 1886 when the matter was up, the question took the form of a new fence or a new church. I used all my influence to get permission to see what money we could raise for a new church. In three days I had over \$3,000 on the subscription list. Everybody was surprised at this, however, it was not smooth sailing. But in time I secured over \$11,000 and we got started to build in 1887. When the church was dedicated January 1, 1888, it was nearly paid for, costing about \$14,000. It was a bit of work on my part; we had no rich members in those years; oil and gas had not been found as yet or brought money to members. On the part of many of my members I received credit for my work and success in those ten years. Still I felt that there were a few who quietly seemed to desire a new pastor for the new church. As yet there was no real opposition, but I did not care to remain until an opposition made itself felt.

When in 1882 the Second Reformed Church in Cleveland was apparently unable to survive, the Mission Board desired to take the poor little mission, but nothing came of that. It was well--the only chance for survival at that time occurred when Rev. Mr. Young, a neighborly pastor, came to the rescue

with a goodly number of his members. So the Second Church was saved at that time. The Rev. Mr. Young fitted in well; he was fairly successful until he died in 1886. Then again vacant, they wrote to me, but as the movement for the new church in Lima had just begun, I declined. They then applied to Rev. C. H. Shoepfle. He accepted their call but in less than two years he was practically forced to resign. They then turned again to me. I resigned in Lima as I felt my work there was done. I have no regrets for having gone there in 1878, not for leaving in 1888.

IN CLEVELAND

Looking back now over that and previous turns and changes in my life, it does seem to me that there was a higher hand that led me on each important change. I had now been twenty-six years in the ministry. Could I anticipate that I would be another twenty-six years in the harness, in this one little congregation? I have not regretted coming to Cleveland where God led the way. Here my life and that of my family was cast in this fine, big city located favorably, growing steadily, with a large variety of commercial and industrial enterprises. We have here enjoyed good street car service, public libraries, parks, the Lake, river and public lectures, etc.

True, in Lima we left a fine, new church and a good parsonage. In Cleveland I had an old parsonage and a cheap old frame church. But here also we found good friends who

received us kindly and remained faithful and true. For a few years Calvin College students used to come frequently to assist in our Young Peoples' Society. So it came to pass that eventually Paul H. Land was to marry my daughter Louise and Jacob S. Kosover, persisting, took our Emma away from us. In 1892 Owen W. Ohl from Bloomville, Ohio had taken the oldest daughter, Meta, as his farmer wife.

Living in Cleveland was also decisive for the youngest son Phillip. His preference was farm work--rather gardening. He, Phillip Melanchton, learned his life-work with Martin Luther Rütenik while they were raising cabbage, etc.

We had in my church a Frauenverein, Jugendverein, Sunday School and, in 1890, organized the Bauverein⁹ the object of which was to gather a fund for the building of a new church. This organization bought the lot corner E. 38th and Woodland Avenue. This location at the time proved best for our purposes, being fairly central. Our members lived then east and west, north and south of this location. At the time there were as yet no Russian Jews there, but in 15 years they were all around in complete possession there.

Early in 1893 we had an offer of \$6,000 for our church property from a Catholic-Slovak congregation. They bought it, much to the chagrin of Bishop Horstman, who in my presence gave them a memorable tongue-lashing for wanting a church of their own. It became necessary for us to think of building. Our lot was only 50 X 120 ft. on which to build

Church and parsonage. But there was no thought of building a wooden church. While figuring on brick, a stone company made us a very tempting offer, so it came to pass that we built the stone church. When we were through building in 1893 we had an investment of about \$20,000 with a debt of \$3,500. A fine property, the location later on not so good for our purpose, was nevertheless valuable in a great street... [Editorial omission]. The debt mentioned, while not large, was nevertheless heavy when the financial condition of the members was considered. This and the removal of members, owing to the surroundings, prevented the church from growing.

When in this manner, laboring under increasing depression, still a brighter prospect opened. The First Evangelical Protestant Church located for many years at the corner of Erie and Central Avenue could no longer maintain itself at that downtown location. Being independent of any denomination or supervision, they were free to dispose of their property as they pleased. They sold it, paid their debt, and agreed to divide the balance. The majority, receiving about \$7,000 were led by President John Rock. They desired to unite with us. They took, however, thirty months to decide. Meanwhile they worshipped with us to see if they would feel at home with us. On Easter Sunday 1890 in connection with the Holy Communion, they to the number of 75 members, by rising, were received into the Second Reformed Church. True among the 75 there were many mere nominal members, still quite a number of good members came to us in this way. My congregation

was increased and strengthened financially and otherwise with the \$5,000 which they brought to us. We paid our debts, bought the adjoining lot and remodeled the church to gain room for a pipe-organ. This again caused us to incur a new indebtedness which was however not a great burden.

My people now appreciated what I had done and voted me a vacation to go to Europe if I wished. In this way I had my only real vacation in fifty years. With my youngest daughter I made a flying trip--three days in England, three weeks in Germany and one week in Switzerland.

On the third day of May 1903 when the church had just been renovated and remodeled, a torpedo factory near us exploded, doing immense damage all around us and completely wrecking our windows. They were repaired but were not what they had been. This increased our debt again by \$300.

A degree of disappointment came over me some months later and I was disposed to become Rev. Kosover's successor in Glenville. However, I was not elected. Later, wishing to rest or retire I bought a lot in the west end of Lakewood to build for my last trek. However it was not to be. Not even when I received a call from the Euclid congregation, when by unanimous vote my people refused to accept my resignation. This was gratifying to me at the time. I took courage again and although the surroundings changed for the worst, and some members left us by removal, in a measure we held our own. Church work continued as well as could be expected.

In June 1912 we had sold the church property but the purchaser, unable to pay, lost his "Angeld". October 15, 1912 my Sunday School teachers surprised me and lit 71 candles. November 12, 1912 my jubilee--fifty years in the ministry. In the evening the ministerial conference came to congratulate me. Revs. Belser, Roengten, Rütenik spoke. At 7:30 p.m. in the Church basement a banquet by the Ladies' Society, full house, music and speeches by Revs. Becker, Bomberger, Prof. Woltman and 18 other ministers present. Even Father Lindensmith, Roman Catholic, aged 90 had come. Near the end Prof. Woltman handed me ten time \$10 in gold with a fine speech.

Mrs. Stepler had suffered a stroke of paralysis at the end of October 1911. Her left side was paralyzed, dead, except for the pain. It became necessary to employ a nurse and a housekeeper, until Sister Margaret, the nurse, offered to take care of patient and the house. This continued until Mama's death on September 12, 1915.

Nov. 16, 1913:

Now I've been pastor here for 25 years. Mr. Woldmann spoke of this in a public meeting very feelingly. At the end of the meeting it was decided to accept the offer of Mr. Shanmann for the church property. It was \$19,000. Later the trustees bought the building back, to take it down stone by stone, cart it away and build it up again as before. (In church papers, as well as in the Cleveland German daily, there were lengthy reports of my Jubilee.)

February 15, 1916:

Today my congregation voted unanimously to buy three lots at Olivet Avenue and East 99th Streets. Total cost: \$10,000. To me, not quite agreeable, but seemed the best that could be done. It was necessary to come to a decision to avoid fractional spirit.

In December 1913 I had bought the lot on the east bank of Rocky River, contracted with H. V. Christmann to build a two-family house. June 13, 1914 we moved into the new house. The dear invalid wife enjoyed the pretty home for 15 months. August 2, 1914 we laid the cornerstone at East 99th. This day the war began in Europe. We held services in the hall in Cedar Avenue. I continued to serve my church from my home in Lakewood, even after I had resigned in August. November 15, 1914 my resignation became effective. Farewell sermon--full house--Mr. Woldmann also John Rock, elders spoke feelingly at the close. Their eyes, and many others, were wet. To me it was bitter-sweet.

After this I supplied the Monroeville Church for one year. Then I surrendered it to Rev. Mr. Belser. In July Mrs. Stepler became worse, the end was approaching, in great pain except when under the influence of sedatives. We had Dr. Waltz and Dr. Otto Miller, earlier Dr. Hastings. The end was peaceful on the day named, Sunday evening. It was a mild autumn day. Funeral was on the 15th, sermon in church on East 99th. Many friends showed sympathy. I remained in my home on Sloan Avenue. Herbert Land was with me and

Sister Margaret remained with us a housekeeper another four years. I disposed of my real estate and was no longer confined so closely to my home. We had company on and off.
August 1916:

I suffered of extreme heat, reduced in weight, voice was affected and my strength decreased. I recovered very gradually. Later on I was myself again.

June 1917:

Erie Classis asked me to write a biography of Dr. Rüttnik. I enjoyed it, and wrote as requested, also in English.

It being wartime, Rev. Dr. Roentgen came to be in ill favor in Washington and was no longer allowed to write the Kalendar. I then became his successor in that work. So I am the author of the same in 1919, '20, '21, '22, '23. Congenial work, but I earned my fifty dollars per annum.

Went east again in January 1920. I was two weeks in Baltimore, two at Lake Worth, Florida and three weeks at Rock-Ledge. In returning I was another two weeks in Baltimore. Later in 1920 Herbert, myself, and "Dupes" kept house in my home on Sloan Avenue. At times I stayed with my son in Rocky River. When the Sommerlottes came, October 25, 1920, I made my home with them. During 1920 I had enjoyed good health. During this year I preached on and off at various places, and officiated at the installation of Rev. William Klein, Rev. Sommerlotte, Rev. Belser and Rev. Kielsmeir.

On April 19, 1921 my left shoulder was dislocated

while riding in the automobile of Brother Sommerlotte. It was a severe ordeal. After adjusting it became again dislocated, the second adjusting was a horrible experience. November 1, 1921:

The last four months have been full. In July I went in an auto with Rev. Holtkamp to Helvetis, W. Virginia. Was there six to seven weeks. Enjoyed the mountain scenery. Just home again by the end of August I was called to Sharon, to be a guest at the Golden Wedding of Mr. and Mrs. Sholz whom I had married fifty years before. The following Sunday I preached to my former church at Sharon. As the older people had all passed away, the congregation looked to me as strange. After that I was again called to West Virginia to preach three weeks in Wheeling.

October 15, 1921 was a great day as I now completed my four score years. I recorded over 70 birthday cards and letters of congratulations. Same evening the surprise at Rev. Sommerlottes, all the members of the family that could be here were present. The last Sunday in October I preached in First Church. First Sunday in November I preached in Second Church and on November 13 at Mitiwanga, Birmingham, South Carolina.

* * * * *

The manuscript ends here. Seven years later Reverend Stepler passed away in his eighty-sixth year, and was laid to rest in Lakeview Cemetery in Cleveland in the presence of friends and members of the German-American community.

FOOTNOTES

¹ See Robert E. Ward, "Reflections on Some German Poems by Lutheran Pastors in America," *Concordia Hist. Institute Quarterly*, XLIV, 3 (August 1971), 114-121.

² An important influence on German-American culture was exerted by Lutheran publishing houses in the midwestern states, especially Missouri, Illinois, and Ohio: Concordia Publishing House, Louis Lange Publishing Co., Eden Publishing House (St. Louis); The Wartburg Publishing House, formerly Deutsches Verlagshaus, Verlag der Evangelischen Gemeinschaft (Cleveland). The Methodist Book Concern (Cincinnati) also played a vital role in educating the German-American reading public.

³ I am indebted to the following descendants of Dr. Stepler who generously provided me with a copy of the pastor's autobiographical sketch: Miss Miriam Schroeder of Toledo, Ohio, Mrs. Evelyn Kirkhart of Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio, and Miss Virginia Stepler of Rocky River, Ohio.

⁴ To this brief autobiography Stepler modestly added the post script: "This meager life story...is in no sense worth printing. It is of no interest to anyone except perhaps to some one of my descendants fifty or one hundred years hence, who may wish to know something of the first American progenitor of the family."

⁵ See Franz Brümmer, *Lexikon der deutschen Dichter und Prosaisten vom Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. VII, Phillip Reclam jun. (Leipzig, 1913), p. 61; G. A. Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika; Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutsch-amerikanischen Literatur*, Eyler & Co. (Chicago, 1894), pp. XiiV, 233; L. L. Leser, "Deutsche Dichtkunst in Amerika" in *Das Buch der Deutschen*, ed. Max Heinrici, Der Deutsch-Amerikanische Nationalbund (Phila., 1909), and G. A. Neeff, *Vom Lande des Sternenbanners, German-American Authors' Agency* (Ellenville, N.Y., 1905). See also Robert E. Ward, *Dictionary of German-American Creative Literature*, Amer. Library Assoc.: Chicago (In press).

⁶ Dr. Gotthold August Neeff (1869-1909) served as a Lutheran pastor in Nebraska and Ellenville, N. Y. from 1889 until his death. From 1892-1898 he served the Church as a missionary in New Mexico and Arizona. Like Stepler, he too was a prolific writer and German poet. Neeff was born in New York as the son of Pastor Gotthold Ludwig Neeff from Stuttgart. See Brümmer, vol. V, p. 109, and Ward, *Dictionary of German-American Creative Literature*.

⁷See Robert E. Ward, *Deutsche Lyrik aus Amerika. Eine Auswahl*, The Literary Society Foundation, Inc. (N. Y., 1969), p. 31, and Robert E. Ward, Jacob Erhardt, and Irene Heydle, "Deutschamerikanische Dichter: Ihr Leben und Schaffen," *Wächter und Anzeiger* (Feb. 14, 1969, p. 6; March 10, 1969, p. 4; March 13, 1969, p. 4; April 28, 1969), p. 6.

⁸Dr. Hermann Julius Rütenik (1826-1914) was Stepler's predecessor as pastor of the Second German Reformed Church in Cleveland. Reverend Rütenik wrote several volumes on church history as well as German grammars and religious stories for children. He also edited several Lutheran periodicals, among them *The Evangelist* (1856-1875), and *Die reformierte Kirchenzeitung* (1875-1880). His famous book, *Berühmte deutsche Vorkämpfer für Fortschritt, Freiheit und Friede in Nord-Amerika von 1626 bis 1888* was published by the Forest City Bookbinding Co. of Cleveland in 1893. See Ward, *Dictionary of German-American Creative Literature*.

⁹At a meeting of the German Reformed Church on July 3, 1892 in Cleveland, Stepler proposed that Cleveland should have a place "where sick and needy Germans and others could be taken care of in a kindly, sympathetic manner." On July 31, 1892, the Society for the Christian Aid to the Sick and Needy was formed. Through the efforts of this society Cleveland's German Hospital was built on September 8, 1896. The hospital's name was changed during the anti-German hysteria of World War I to Fairview Hospital, one of the finest hospitals in the Greater Cleveland area today. Dr. J. H. Rütenik served as the hospital's second superintendent.

Photos of Stepler and Rütenik as well as biographical data on them may be found in the first edition of *Cleveland und sein Deutschtum* (Cleveland, 1895).

* * * * *

GERMAN-AMERICAN RESEARCH

Prof. Robert E. Ward, editor of *German-American Studies* is seeking data and material, especially old theatre programs, to assist him in his research on the history of the German theatre in Cleveland and northern Ohio. Contact Prof. Ward at 4156 Claridge Drive, Youngstown, Ohio 44511.

ATTENTION RESEARCHERS

Manuscripts are solicited for the forthcoming volume (VI) of *German-American Studies*

DAS LEBEN

Gleich einer Pflanze--
Sind wir zum Leben erkoren
Darum genieße die kurze Spanne,
Sonst ist das ganze--
Leben fuer dich verloren!

Nur eine kleine Episode--
Sind wir auf dieser Welt,
Abhaengig von Glueck und Gnade--
Wie es der Natur gefaellt!

Gar mancher hat sein Glueck,
Erkaempft hier auf Erden--
Doch wer weise--denkt gern zurueck,
An den Kampf ums grosse Werden!

Es schreitet das Leben,
Hinweg--ueber Tag und Jahr,
Dem Schicksal still ergeben--
Doch zum Segen--immerdar!

Maurice Ruebner
Chicago

FRIEDRICH GERSTÄCKER'S IMAGE OF THE GERMAN IMMIGRANT
IN AMERICA

by
H. Schutz
Brock University, Canada

Most European observers who visited the early United States were unable to grasp the fact that life in America was so different from anything to be found in Europe, that one could not possibly survive as a civilized being anywhere but in the principal cities. Opinions were sometimes arrived at after so short a stay in the country as to be questionable in conveying any accurate conception of American life.

Quite contrary to the opinions expressed in these largely superficial reports about America are the impressions contained in the works of Friedrich Gerstäcker. His views are based on years of actual experience in America, and a substantial part of his work is devoted to correct whatever misconceptions about America there might be in circulation in Germany, whether glowing with enthusiasm or sinister. He brought a great deal of realism to his works, so that his appraisals are much more valid.

He first came to America in 1837 and for the next few years did not hesitate to perform even the meanest jobs with no other aim but to stay above water. He was thus a hunter, a sailor on the riverboats, a stoker at times, working next to all levels of society, from European noblemen, to men like himself, down to the lowliest negro. He worked as a blacksmith,

as a pedlar, then as hotel-manager, and even became a pill-box manufacturer. He sampled most phases of the American way of life and came in contact with many stratas of American society. It should be stated, however, that Gerstäcker's interest in America was restricted mainly to the American Middle West, its people and their natural, undemanding way of life.

Gerstäcker seizes upon the ultimate phenomenon that is America: the melting pot of races--Malays, Chinese, Hawaiians, Mexicans and all Europeans, good and bad, pious and profane, all searching for instant wealth. Needless to say, the Germans who have come to North America are of the greatest interest to him. It is here that we find one of the purposes behind Gerstäcker's works. As was previously stated, he tries to correct the image that America has in Europe. Associated with this is his desire to impart to future immigrants his own experiences. Not enough can he warn against the pitfalls that await the new arrival in the new world, the sharks who prey on their own compatriots, trying to get rich in that way, the land speculators who sell them land far in the interior of the country for fraudulent prices, the German boarding-houses which try to keep the rest of what these poor, naive wretches have left. To these newcomers Gerstäcker offers only this: the certainty, that if they face their new surroundings realistically and if they are willing to work hard, regardless at what occupation, they will eventually be in a better position than they were at home. To any who are not willing to do this he suggests that they stay where they are, for America cannot use

dreamers, theorists and social parasites. He likes to see noblemen working with shovels, but does not like those Germans who start by knowing everything better. In spite of this though, he takes pride in telling the reader that the German does do things better.

Gerstäcker's writings are not profound. He does not set out to be a social critic. Nor is he a philosopher but more of an observer, who narrates what he has personally seen.

American historical statistics show that between the years 1830 and 1849 a total of 1,965,000 immigrants entered the United States.¹ Although the total number of German immigrants never approached the number of Irish immigrants, a good quarter of the total number of immigrants, 510,000, were Germans. Gerstäcker moved among these people and he describes two basic types: the realists, recruited mainly from among the farmers, workers and tradesmen, with a generous sprinkling of members of the Middle Class, as well as some aristocrats; secondly, the idealists, educated members of the Middle Class, poets, theorists, doctors and lawyers, and bankrupt aristocrats. For the latter group Gerstäcker shows very little understanding. Not familiar with reality, they reject the manually active life, the only formula for success in America. Gerstäcker admires the realists, who, unafraid to leave prejudices and privileges behind, seize the opportunities of the moment and seek personal betterment through initiative and hard work at any job. From the outset Gerstäcker finds that the intellectual would be better off, if he stayed at home. Only if he can break with his past, has he any chance to succeed in America.

The first volume of *Nach Amerika* presents a cross-section of the German population and a picture of its living conditions in Germany. The lower levels, the small farmers, are plagued by the despair of seeing their few possessions decrease in number in spite of the hard work, their daily bread being ever more in doubt, without a spark of hope for relief from impending poverty; the artisan as well as the small merchant are being forced out of business in the face of mass production and uncompetitive prices. Intellectuals and government officials, whose salaries do not keep up with the rising cost of living, artists and other idealists yearning for freedom of expression and development, the more realistic among the aristocrats who want to shake off the burdensome bonds of society, good citizens and criminals, speculators and hard workers, the despairing as well as the confident, the timid as well as the bold, out of all conditions and spheres of society all want only one thing out of life

...Ellbogenraum um sich rühren zu können;...
einen Platz..., der ihren Bedürfnissen
Befriedigung verspricht. ²

To all these people "Nach Amerika" are the magic words that mean hope, a future without misery, freedom from restrictions which encroach upon the individual from all sides, freedom from oppressive laws under which everyone is a criminal whose misdeeds have simply not yet been revealed. "Nach Amerika" means leaving behind a Germany where conditions go ever from bad to worse and where diligence and hard work hold no guarantees for the present, let alone for the future. Confident in their own abilities and strength, they courageously set out for America.

However, not only conditions at home induced the people to leave. News of success in America arrived in Europe, and enterprising men seized upon the glittering accounts about America to lure the potential immigrants into their webs, filling their heads with false ideas about the new country. They promised them wages of at least one dollar a day, farms with buildings and herds of livestock, hotels and coffee houses just waiting to be bought by Germans. According to the agents, all of America was waiting with open arms to receive the German immigrants above all others. Gerstäcker has no respect for these "Seelenverkäufer", who send the poor immigrants, floating on misconceptions, into the harsh American world, where they are only disappointed. Everything is different for the new arrivals. No one is there to receive them, as they had been led to believe. There is no work to be found, the money and the food supply are drawing to an end, and the whole world looks black and dreary. The farms turn out to be miserable improvements, the buildings are ramshackle log cabins, the herds of livestock are almost wild. Instead of a dollar a day, the farmers offer five or six dollars a month, and four out of five farmers do not need any help at all. The hotels are wooden sheds, the coffee houses are so in name only; a bar, bottles and glasses give any establishment the right to be called coffee house. The situation leads a German farmer to express what is Gerstäcker's own opinion.

Es ist auch wirklich gar ein böses Ding um die lockenden Beschreibungen, die uns Alles mit überbunten Farben ausmalen und findet man nachher nicht wirklich auch jede Kleinigkeit wie man sie sich gedacht hat, so wird man mürrisch. 3

For the immigrant the first months are the worst. They are the period of transition and Gerstäcker feels that if the individual has courage he will weather it and that only a year later he will realize that in essence he had been told the truth and that it had been his own wishful thinking which had coloured his expectations, especially since one's standards of like and dislike often depend almost entirely on the past and on what has been left behind. Already a year later a new set of values has replaced the old, and although much of the old that was dear has gone, the old sorrows, the pessimism have been replaced by a belief in a bright new future, and the confidence that their work is not in vain. Not all the immigrants of course realize the new advantages and either continue to lead an unhappy life or return to Germany, which they had left for similar reasons. About them Gerstäcker says

...solche Leute gehören auch nicht in den Wald,
sie sind Futter für Bälle und Theater. ⁴

According to Gerstäcker, work is the secret of success in America. Whoever is healthy and willing to work cannot fail to do well. Nor is it dishonourable to work at a different job than the one originally learned. The alternative is hunger and misery. He warns, however, that the immigrant should not seek work with other immigrants, but rather with Americans, since after all, the immigrant employers are themselves only on the way up and are not likely to treat the "greenhorn" fairly. Americans pay better, provide better board and have the added advantage that with them the immigrant should above all gather experience, before he enters upon any form of speculation,

especially in real estate. Most important is that he should seldom heed the counsel of a third party, for he always runs the risk of falling into the hands of those who tend to draw profit from the ignorant. He even has one bitter German give the following advice to a group of new arrivals, that should they ever be in need of counsel

...so vertraut lieber einem Amerikaner als einem Deutschen. Hütet Euch vor ihnen, denn sie sind gegen ihre Landsleute viel schlimmer als gegen alle Anderen, weil diese immer die dümsten sind.⁵

Gerstäcker feels that this applies to all nationalities, since everyone likes to have confidence in a fellow countryman, whom he self-evidently assumes to be as honest as he is himself.

The shark, of course, seeks primarily his fellow countryman,

...um ihn sobald sich eine Gelegenheit dazu finden sollte, tüchtig übers Ohr zuhauen und hinterher auszulachen.⁶

The confidence-men justify their action by reasoning, that since the immigrants will sooner or later be taken for their money in any case, it is better that a countryman gets it, rather than a stranger. The most self-righteous rationalization is expressed by old Hamann, the New Orleans boardinghouse keeper, who feels that the German riff-raff which comes over

...und mit seiner Oberklugheit immer unser ganzes Amerika verbessern will, nicht eher Verstand bekommt, bis es seinen letzten Groschen an den Mann gebracht hat. Wer also dazu beiträgt, dass das sehr bald geschieht, thut den Leuten nur einen Gefallen und ist ihr wahrer Freund und nach den Grundsätzen handle ich...⁷

About Germans in general Gerstäcker is very disappointed. His impression had been that the Germans were respected. This

he found to be untrue. Taking Cincinnati as an example he finds that the Germans do not stand out either by their cleanliness or their good behaviour. He is especially disgusted with the German public establishments.

Es giebt nichts Traurigeres, Unerquicklicheres auf der weiten Gotteswelt als diese deutschen Wirtshäuser in Amerika. An Schmutz werden sie gewöhnlich nicht einmal von den Irischen übertroffen.⁸

Operated by sharks, who are out to take whatever the immigrant has, they lodge him at exorbitant rates until his money has been spent on food and drink. He is then permitted to stay until most of his possessions are used up. The innkeeper may promise to store his belongings while the poor devil continues to look for work, but most often he will never see his things again. How does he get into the boardinghouse in the first place? "Läufer--kleine Seelenverkäufer", agents working for the hotels, steer the unfortunates into what they believe to be a haven, a little piece of Germany in a foreign land.

The already established immigrants, however, are not the only ones to take advantage of the newcomers. The Yankee too will take the "greenhorn" for what he is worth, with the difference that the Yankee tends to go about it legally, that is to say, through the sale of real estate for instance, where the immigrant buys a cat in the bag at an exorbitant price, whereas the immigrant land lord simply squeezes the sponge dry. Gerstäcker gives us several examples of such sales.

Gerstäcker is opposed to two types of immigrants: the social parasites and the educated. He does not base his distinction between people upon social rank. Since no one in

America pays attention to rank and privileges, he likes to see nothing more, than people of all social levels working side by side, even at the lowest jobs. But in his image of America the parasites and the educated have no place. From among the parasites he presents Hugo, Graf von Böllinghausen und Nistadt, a "Rittmeister" who left Germany because

...der Rittmeister verdiente nicht genug, um den Grafen standesgemäss leben zu lassen. 9

What, however, could the count expect, but to play a very subordinate role in the New World. His attitude is very well expressed when he says,

Sollte ich etwa als Commis in eins dieser Geschäfte treten?--Dingen und Feilschen, wiegen und messen, und mir mit "ehrlichem Fleisse" einen Platz in der Gesellschaft mühsam erringen? --Bah. 10

Instead he prefers to endear himself to American society and make a name for himself in that way, not that he thinks very much of his new "friends", as he is celebrated and passed from one social circle to another. Appropriately enough, in Gerstäcker's eyes at least, he meets his downfall, when, at a gala party which he gave in honour of all his "friends", one of them robs him of all his money. Ruined, there was nothing left for him to do but to work as a fireman on a riverboat.

From the second group Gerstäcker presents two examples: Fridolin Theobald, of whom Gerstäcker says

"Er schwärmt in höheren Regionen."

and "Professor der Ökonomie" Lobenstein. Fridolin, as his name suggests, is a dreamer, a poet, an idealist, who left Germany in order to bless America with his inspirations. He

refuses to admit to himself as well as to others that America requires a practical approach, if life is to be possible. Instead of felling trees to erect necessary buildings and shelters, he encourages the professor's son to hunt for specimens of flora and fauna and even helps the boy to construct a "Lusthaus" in which tea may be served and nature contemplated from the aesthetic point of view. For Gerstäcker Fridolin is a hopeless loss. The professor is another of those impractical Germans. Although he is an economist, it is the failure of his financial ventures in Germany which forced him to save what he could and come to America. As can be expected, never in his life has he felt; "so rath- und thatlos" as when he first stepped upon American soil, and found that the future of his whole family rested upon his shoulders. Nevertheless, Professor Lobenstein

...versprach sich Ausserordentliches von den hier einzuführenden Systemen, wollte den Amerikanern, die nur so oberflächlich ins Blaue hinein arbeiteten, einmal beweisen, wie man eine solche Farm, nach allen Zweigen und Richtungen hin, ausbeuten und verwerthen könne. Er hatte dazu grossartige Pläne. 11

Needless to say, Gerstäcker dislikes this man, who brought a grand-piano into the backwoods, as well as all sorts of farming equipment from Germany, and has the nerve to write a learned thesis about the impractical construction of the American plow. A gentleman farmer, this economist knows everything better. He plans to make the sugar-beet a profitable crop and builds a press to produce syrup. That there is not yet a demand for his product is of no consequence. Purely an experimental farmer, he depends on others to supply him. Ruled by sentiment

he employs Germans, who take advantage of his ignorance and who do a minimum of work for a maximum salary. All the activity around him he supervises in "Schlafrock und Pantoffeln", listens to no advice from his more practical friends, and faces bankruptcy and hunger by the end of the first year. A potential son-in-law prevents a foreclosure on the farm, and the fortunate discovery of coal on the land saves the family. Gerstäcker rescues Lobenstein from ruin only because he began to see the error of his ways as the end was approaching. In the introduction to the story "Europäer in der Wildniss", Gerstäcker tells us that it is the educated European in particular who is given most of all to illusions and dreams. His imagination, fed on romantic descriptions, takes him into situations previously animated by his ideals, out of which he has to drag himself, if that is at all possible for him to do, with blood and tears.

Der gebildete oder halbgebildete Europäer...bringt in sehr häufigen Fällen sogar eine Masse von Plänen mit, die ihn nicht allein zum reichen Mann, sondern das Volk, dem er die Gunst seiner Gegenwart bringt, auch heben und glücklich machen sollen.¹²

Not only are their plans not appreciated, but they themselves are entirely on the wrong track. What is their reaction?

Hol' der Teufel das ganze Amerika...und all die Canaillen dazu, die dicke Bücher zu dessen Lob schreiben. ...arbeiten immer nur arbeiten ist die Losung, und zwar mit den Fäusten. ...Kopfarbeit wird hier gar nicht gerechnet. Holz hacken, Strassen fegen, Bar keeping, Zeitungen herumtragen, Zettel ankleben, Handlanger sein, Fracht aus- und einladen, das sind so die verschiedenen Beschäftigungen, denen die Holzköpfe den Namen ehrliche Arbeit geben.¹³

To these people manual labour is a degradation of the dignity of their social position. In Gerstäcker's works this breed is outnumbered by realistic, active Germans, who do not bewail their miserable state, but who answer the question to sink or to swim? with good humour, untiring optimism and faith. At the bottom though they may be, they are determined to go up. Gerstäcker shows us noblemen, officers, intellectuals shoveling coal, chipping stones, serving at table, acting as porters, even tending cattle. In *Nach Amerika* we meet von Lochhausen, who hopes to get a steady job as street cleaner; the son of a German minister of justice is turning cigars after having been a cook and a coal miner; a former officer paints picture frames; a former law student has finally come to publish a newspaper; a doctor operates a cigarstore; and a former theologian after having been a preacher, a constable, a teacher, a cook on a steamer, is finally a manufacturer of pills.¹⁴ All are happy and all are likely to have other jobs the following month. One could speculate about the reasons for Gerstäcker's fondness of the people mentioned above and call it a self-justification, for he himself had at one time or other worked at most of the jobs mentioned and many more not mentioned here. Directed at the German public, Gerstäcker's message is obvious when he says

Ein armer Mann ist hier auch geachtet, und es kommt nicht auf den Rock an, den ich trage, 15

Gerstäcker appreciates the value of America's open society, where work renders all men equal, at the same time giving everyone the chance to rise above the others, and where no one

asks afterwards what he has been or done. Basically, Gerstäcker rejects social position based on birth and would much rather see a social stratification, if such is necessary, based on personal merit.

Contrary to the West, where it is a rarity that one should meet a fellow countryman and where the visitor is a welcome carrier of news from the homeland, in the East all new arrivals are treated even by their own nationals as "Preisverderber". Gerstäcker does not have a very high opinion of the Germans settled in the eastern cities. He detects a despicable pride in those already somewhat Americanized. Especially when in the presence of Americans, these Germans refuse to address even their friends in German, for fear that they should be unmasked as "Dutchmen". Gerstäcker finds that these Germans adopt the least admirable aspects of American behaviour, such as tobacco-chewing and the associated spitting, which is disgusting to Gerstäcker. Unattainable are the Americans' drive, their consciousness of freedom, their pride in a country which grows and prospers in every way. The Germans, on the other hand, renounce their fatherland at the first opportunity and are ashamed to be recognized as Germans, to the extent that they even shun the German "Wirtshaus" which meant so much to them at home. Void of any political discernment, a toy of the political parties, they swim with the current and can be bought as a block, they are the "Schmach und Schande ihrer Nation".¹⁶ Used to a servile existence, they at first grovel before anyone better dressed than they are.

However, as soon as they are acclimatized and realize that everyone is equal, they assume an overbearing manner towards all those whom they consider educationally or financially inferior, to prove that they are acquainted with their right to consider themselves to be as good as anyone. Judging by these people Gerstäcker shudders to think that it is with these types that Germany wants to found a democratic republic.

Es sind Elemente, trefflich geeignet zum Zerstören, zum Ansturm gegen einen hartnäckigen feindlichen Widerstand, aber zum Aufbau untüchtig, ja gefährlich.¹⁷

In short, "Das Volk ist nicht reif" for democracy.

Editor Rosengarten, of the New Orleans German newspaper, Die Biene, shows how the German press rides the political fence. According to him it tries to bring about

...eine Verschmelzung der beiden Parteien

indicating a complete misunderstanding of the party system. The rest is a pure farce of diluted, unprincipled rationalizations.

Es ist unser Prinzip, in ächt demokratischem Sinne beiden Theilen gerecht zu werden; wir stehen in Fechterstellung, bei zurückgeworfenem Körper mit dem linken Fuss auf der Demokratie, mit dem rechten den Whiggismus nur allerdings leicht berührend, nur danach fühlend, aber jeden Augenblick bereit, uns im Angriff momentan ganz darauf zu werfen und dann nur wieder zum Schutz auf den linken Fuss zurückzufallen.¹⁸

The Germans, he finds, cannot be interested in any form of German literature. Those among them, who understand English or at least pretend to understand it, no longer read German and prefer to piece their news together as best they can out of American newspapers. Those who have just arrived and as yet know no English, do not read at all. Under

those circumstances the German papers have a very small number of subscribers and can consequently not afford to employ German writers. Thus the German press is "ein reines Plünderungssystem", gathering its news and entertainment from any and all sources,

...denn für deutsches literarisches Eigenthum besteht hier nicht der geringste Schutz. 19

The fear of public reaction forces the press to steer clear of any controversial issues, especially slavery.

'Das ist eine Geschichte an der wir uns nicht die Finger verbrennen dürfen. 20

Strictly speaking, the faceless German press has no reasons for existing and is maintained purely out of personal initiative.

It is interesting to note that the Germans in their transition exemplify a paradox. With incomparable tenacity they hang on to their customs and regard anyone with suspicion who would like to change them. Their fathers had done things in a certain manner and it had been good, so why should they change. This conservatism is found particularly among the farmers, as one would expect. By nature petty in their outlook, they suspect everyone of being bent on profiting at their expense. They left Germany because of oppressive decrees and conventions and went to America.

Aber nicht um dort zu lernen, sondern im Gegentheil fest überzeugt, dass sie den Leuten dort zeigen müssen, wie man ackert und sät. 21

They refuse to change their tools and methods, and in their eagerness become a source of amusement to the Americans, who, instead of wearing themselves out by pulling out tree stumps

from dawn to dusk, as the Germans do, let them rot, living a life of minimum exertions. The same conservatism applies to their clothing, so that the attempts of the Germans to lose their identity are of no avail, since they are recognized as soon as they appear. It is the second generation which finally discards the tools and methods of the past and completes the transition. It also disturbs Gerstäcker to see that in a very short time the Germans become just as money conscious as the Americans. A man's name was never enough. His monetary assets always formed his surname.

As condemning as Gerstäcker seems to be towards the Germans in America, he does not really blame them for the way in which they appear. He sees them as apathetic patriots who have little reason to be proud of their fatherland, split into its many principalities. Insecure in their identity as representatives of a nation that is no nation, they try to maintain the wrong values, showing the wrong kind of strength at the wrong time. Plagued by superstitions, self-imposed restrictions and the conventions of their impoverished past, they suddenly find themselves unrestrained, freed from oppressive laws, uncertain of their own abilities, a plaything for any current, responsive to any firm hold. Used to being led, the German becomes

...ein so vortrefflicher Staatsbürger...(den alle anderen fremden Regierungen nicht genug zu rühmen wissen), dass er eben zu nichts weiter zu brauchen ist und eben nur so verbraucht werden muss. 22

This is a main point in Gerstäcker's defence of the Germans, and he cannot stress enough that particular German attribute

"Fleiss". He seems to be trying to rally them to their "Deutschtum" by pointing out to them that "Fleiss" is their chief asset, just as self-assurance and optimism are the assets of the Americans. He is convinced that sooner or later the immigrant will adopt the American way of life and then the combination of the two national characteristics will lead him to make his contribution to American prosperity.

It is a fact that the immigrants contributed to the advance of the frontier. According to Gerstäcker they generally did not act as pioneers since they lacked the skills for dealing with the forests, with firearms or the Indians. Rather, they provided a secondary line of settlement. They gave to the pioneer the capital he needed for the westward movement by buying his farm. It is here that their main contribution has to be sought. Young Hamann, in *Nach Amerika*, feels that it is they who form the backbone of the population, without whose help the various states would already have suffocated in their debts and perished. However, this may be, it must be remembered that Gerstäcker's works are set in the 1837-1842 depression, and that the more thorough cultivation of the land did increase the value of the land, making it capable to support an increasing population, to provide goods for the expanding system of transportation, eventually raising the amount of trade in the Mississippi valley to many times its previous value.²³ Repeatedly Gerstäcker tells us that once he has adapted himself, the German does do things better, more thoroughly. Contrary to the more provisional nature of

American planning, Gerstäcker's descriptions of German farms present the sedentary intentions of their owners.

Sie sehen es schon an den reinlichen massiv errichteten Gebäuden, den steinernen Scheunen, dem ordentlich aufgestellten Ackergeräth, den sorgfältig urbar gemachten Feldern. 24

Gerstäcker himself cannot help bragging that the Germans soon change into a paradise

...was noch vor wenigen Jahren eine öde, trostlose Wildnis gewesen.25

FOOTNOTES

¹ Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945 (Washington, 1949).

² Friedrich Gerstäcker, Ausgewählte Werke, Zweite Volks- und Familienausgabe von Dietrich Theden (Jena: Hermann Costenoble, 1887-1890) Serie I und II. All the references to Gerstäcker's works are made to this edition, unless otherwise stated. Only the titles, sub-titles, date of first publication, volume and page will be listed in the footnotes. Nach Amerika! Ein Volksbuch (1855), I, 171.

³ Aus zwei Welttheilen. Gesammelte Erzählungen (1854), p. 346.

⁴ Ibid., p. 506.

⁵ Streif-und Jagdzüge durch die Vereinigten Staaten Nordamerikas (1844), p. 46.

⁶ Aus zwei Welttheilen, p. 479.

⁷ Nach Amerika!, II, 70.

⁸ Streif-und Jagdzüge, p. 174.

⁹ Aus zwei Welttheilen, p. 331.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 331.

¹¹ Nach Amerika!, II, 178.

¹² Wilde Welt, p. 165 in Gesammelte Schriften, IV, Zweite Serie (Jena: Hermann Costenoble, 1885).

¹³ Nach Amerika!, II, 124.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 134 ff.

- ¹⁵ Aus zwei Welttheilen, p. 355.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., p. 341.
- ¹⁷ Ibid., p. 343
- ¹⁸ Nach Amerika!, II, 112.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., p. 119.
- ²⁰ Ibid., p. 117.
- ²¹ Ibid., p. 150
- ²² Nach Amerika!, I, 218.
- ²³ Nach Amerika!, II, 251.
- ²⁴ Ibid., p. 252. (My underlining)
- ²⁵ F. Gerstäcker, Mississippibilder, ed. Rudolf Menny (Reutlingen: Ensslin und Laibach, 1937), p. 310.

GERMAN-AMERICAN RESEARCH

An analysis of the Pennsylvania Germans by Alice P. Kenney of Cedar Crest College appears in her article "Private Worlds in Middle Colonies: An Introduction to Human Tradition in American History" in New York History (January, 1970).

Glenn G. Gilbert has edited a recent book entitled, The German Language in America, University of Texas Press: Austin and London, 1971 which includes the papers read at the symposium on German dialects in America.

JUSTUS HENRY CHRISTIAN HELMUTH--HYMNODIST

by
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Probably no German-American pastor had more influence on the development of music and hymnody in German Lutheran congregations in America from the Revolution until the mid-nineteenth century than the Rev. Justus Henry Christian Helmuth. During his long tenure (1769-1825) as a pastor with the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania, including over forty years with St. Michael's and Zion Congregation in Philadelphia, Helmuth wrote hundreds of hymn, anthem, and cantata texts for use both in his own congregation as well as for other churches associated with the ministerium. He was also a prolific anonymous contributor of poetry to the German language newspapers in the Philadelphia area and authored several books of a devotional character.

Born in Helmstedt, Germany, May 15, 1745, Helmuth was educated at the Halle Waisenhaus following the death of his father. He studied theology at the University of Halle and came to America in 1769, serving first as pastor in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, before he accepted a call to St. Michael's and Zion,¹ Philadelphia. Helmuth had an active interest in church music and both sang and played the piano. He began writing hymn texts shortly after his arrival in America, and as early as 1782 Henry Melchior Mühlberg, senior

pastor of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, referred to Helmuth as "the second Gellert."² Thus it was only natural that in 1782 the ministerium appointed Helmuth to a committee (which also included H. M. Mühlenberg, G. H. E. Mühlenberg, and J. C. Kunze) charged with preparing and publishing America's first Lutheran hymnal. The committee's efforts reached fruition in 1786 with the publication of the *Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung zum gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch in den vereinigten Evangelisch Lutherischen Gemeinen in Nord-America* (Germantown: Leibert und Billmeyer, 1786). H. M. Mühlenberg signed the preface, and for this reason the 1786 hymnal is often called the "Mühlenberg hymnal." However, Helmuth was the dominant influence on all the numerous subsequent editions of the *Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung* which appeared until 1950. The *Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung* remained the official German hymnal of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania until it was gradually replaced by the *Deutsches Gesangbuch für die Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Philadelphia: Wollenweber, 1849).

Helmuth recognized that not only did the German Lutheran congregations need a good hymnbook, but the organists and schoolmasters needed a tunebook which fitted the hymnal and could provide all the necessary music from one source. Today we are accustomed to having musical notation printed in hymnals, but the expense and typographical problems of doing this before the mid-nineteenth century

made this the exception rather than the rule. Therefore, in 1813 Helmuth was the guiding force behind the publication of the Choral-Buch für die Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung der deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinen in Nord-Amerika (Philadelphia: Zentler und Balke, 1813). The 1813 Choral-Buch contained 266 melodies for 188 different meters, and provided tunes for all the texts in the Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung as well as for all except three texts in the later Deutsches Gesangbuch.

Most of Helmuth's papers, diaries, and imprints are in the archives of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Synod in the Krauth Memorial Library of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Mt. Airy (Philadelphia). Helmuth was an extremely prolific writer, and verses flowed from his pen almost daily. In his diary for February 8, 1792, Helmuth himself divides his verses into three types: (1) poems which flow from his heart, primarily during his daily morning meditations; they have an inner value and are songs for souls for whom blessedness is the main thing; (2) songs for the choir, singing school, or youth in his congregation; these are written for special occasions, but still with the feeling of his heart; (3) verses that are more refined and have artistic pretensions; these are intended primarily for those who are lovers of poetry. Helmuth placed great emphasis upon the didactic value of sacred vocal music, and for this reason he wrote many verses to be sung by the schoolchildren in his church. Helmuth's texts for musical

settings are basically either hymn texts or cantata-anthem texts which included arias, recitatives, and choruses. Helmuth intended most of his hymns to be sung to existing melodies, but a few have their own tunes, probably written by either himself or one of the church's schoolmasters. In some cases the schoolmasters and organists at St. Michael's and Zion provided original music for Helmuth's anthem and cantata texts, thus emulating the practices of church musicians in large parishes back in Germany.

The best way to gauge the extent of Helmuth's contribution to German-American hymnody is to examine a bibliography of the hymn, anthem, and cantata texts which he wrote and published. In addition, Helmuth's diaries and papers refer to numerous imprints which are not extant, so his output of published texts was even greater than the extensive bibliography below indicates. This bibliography is in two parts. The first part lists all hymn texts in the *Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung* which can be attributed to Helmuth. Undoubtedly, there are a few more Helmuth hymns in this large collection which it has not been possible to trace because they are not mentioned in his diaries or included among his extant publications. Helmuth published most of his hymns anonymously, and this obviously complicates the establishment of authorship. The second part of this bibliography lists all known Helmuth hymn and cantata texts which he published as either broadsides or pamphlets, primarily for distribution to members of his large congregation. This list gives complete

titles and details of publication (when known) since most of these imprints are not included in the standard bibliographies of American printing. The large number of these musical texts indicates that St. Michael's and Zion maintained an extensive and highly developed program of church music. This bibliography includes only texts which can reasonably be assumed to have been set to music, and totally ignores the numerous poems of a non-musical nature which Helmuth wrote for the German newspapers and almanacs.

Bibliography--Part I

HYMN TEXTS BY HELMUTH IN THE ERBAULICHE LIEDER-SAMMLUNG

(Melodies are indicated in parentheses)

Texts in the original 1786 edition:

No. 547 "Am Grabe bebt, gehüllt in Dunkelheiten"

("Mein Freund zerschmelzt")

Helmuth included this text as No. 21 in the 1781
Empfindungen.³

No. 111 "Der Heiland lebt, er drang hervor"

("Heut' triumphiret Gottes Sohn")

Originally published in the 1781 Empfindungen, No. 32, this hymn is also included as No. 196 in the Deutsches Gesangbuch.

No. 76 "Dort auf jenem Todtenhügel"

This was one of the most popular of Helmuth's hymn texts. It was first published in an undated pamphlet probably printed in 1785 or 1786 entitled Charfreytags-Gesänge

und Osterlieder (see Bibliography, Part II). Schoolmaster David Ott supervised an ambitious program of choral music in the congregation, and Helmuth wrote the text for Ott's singing school. This hymn was included in a little booklet, *Die ersten Früchte der Singeschule*, published by the church in 1786. It is in all editions of the *Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung* as well as the *Gemeinschaftliche Gesangbuch*,⁴ No. 86; the *Deutsches Gesangbuch*, No. 165; *Das neue Gesangbuch*,⁵ No. 29; and Schmauk's *Sammlung religiöser deutscher Gesaenge*,⁶ as well as his *Deutsche Harmonie*. "Dort auf jenem Todtenhügel" has its own tune, and circumstantial evidence indicates the composer may have been Ott or possibly Helmuth himself.

No. 602 " Du eitle Jugend wimmre heut"

("Mein junges Leben hat ein End'")

This text is almost identical with that published by Helmuth in a pamphlet in 1811, *Auf den Tod einer liebenswürdigen jungen Freundin*. He also published the pamphlet version in the *Evangelisches Magazin*,⁷ I, 59. However, Helmuth's authorship of the original hymnal version may be doubtful.

No. 252 "Hier stehe ich und weine"

("Wenn meine Sünd mich kranken")

Helmuth first published this as No. 13 in the 1781 *Empfindungen*.

No. 190 "Jehovah! Hirte bist du mir"

("Mein Gott! das Herz ich bringe dir")

This was first published in the 1781 *Empfindungen*,

No. 7, and was included in the Deutsches Gesangbuch as No. 79.

No. 672 "Laut und majestätisch rollet"

This hymn first appeared as No. 18 in the 1781 Empfindungen and was included in the Gemeinschaftliche Gesangbuch, No. 422. In the 1781 publication it was sung to the tune of "Prächtig kommt der Herr, mein König," but later it had its own melody, perhaps written by David Ott or Helmuth.

No. 694 "Lobe, Zion, lobe deines Herren Thaten"

("Wunderbarer König")

Helmuth wrote this hymn and "Wir fühlen heute Liebesdrang" for the re-dedication of Zion Church on September 22, 1782, when the damage caused by British troops during the Revolution had been repaired. The hymns were published in a 4-page pamphlet entitled Lobet den Herrn, der zu Zion wohnt! Charles Evans, American Bibliography, lists this pamphlet as item 17569 and assigns its authorship to John Christopher Kunze, Helmuth's co-pastor. However, the initials "H.H." on the title page plus a reference to this pamphlet in H. M. Mühlenberg's diary makes Helmuth's authorship indisputable.

No. 705 "Mein Heiland! eine Wolke zieht"

("Mein Herzens Jesu, meine Lust")

This was first published in the 1781 Empfindungen, No. 22.

No. 619 "Prächtig kommt der Herr, mein König"

One of Helmuth's most popular texts, this hymn has its own tune and first appeared in the 1781 *Empfindungen*, No. 27. It is also in the *Gemeinschaftliche Gesangbuch*, No. 117, and the *Deutsches Gesangbuch*, No. 690. Schmauk's 1824 *Sammlung* gives it a harmonized setting, and it is also included in Schmauk's later tunebooks published in 1833, 1841, and 1847.

No. 701 "Steh armes Kind! wo eilst du hin"

("Auf, Christen Mensch, auf, auf")

Originally this children's hymn was the first text in the 1781 *Empfindungen*. It was also included in the *Deutsches Gesangbuch*, No. 559.

No. 103 "Von Sinai erthönte"

("O Haupt voll Blut")

Sometimes this hymn is printed as "Vom Sinai erthönte." It was first published in the 1781 *Empfindungen*, No. 30, and was also included in the *Deutsches Gesangbuch*, No. 169.

No. 695 "Wir fühlen heute Liebesdrang"

("Ich weiss mein Gott" or "In dich hab' ich gehoffet, Herr")

See the comments above for "Lobe, Zion, lobe deines Herren Thaten ."

The *Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung* had several editions during the more than sixty years it served as the official hymnal for German Lutheran churches. The hymn numbers given above are those found in the 1786 edition. Beginning with the 1795 edition the total number of texts increased

from 706 to 718, and the numbering was changed slightly so that in later editions hymn 694 became 693, etc. The edition of 1818 enlarged the Zugabe so that the total number of texts increased even more to 746. Most of these additional hymns were by Helmuth, and it seems probable that he wrote several others which cannot be traced. The following 23 hymns can definitely be assigned to Helmuth. Many were first published in the 1781 *Empfindungen*, and these are indicated by the year and number of the hymn in parentheses.

No. 729 "Ach! er ist todt, mein Herr und Gott"

("O Traurigkeit, o Herzeleid")

An entry in Helmuth's diary states that he finished this hymn on April 12, 1802, and took it to the printers Becker and Geyer to have 2,500 copies printed for distribution to the congregation on Good Friday and Easter.

No. 730 "Auf, trage nur die Bürde weiter"

("Wer nur den lieben Gott")

This was first published in a pamphlet for Good Friday, 1805.

No. 723 "Der Heiland weint! es fliessen heisse Thränen" (1781, No. 12)

("Am Grabe bebt, gehüllt in Dunkelheiten")

No. 722 "Der Seelenfeind erregt neue Stürme" (1781, No. 10)

("Am Grabe bebt, gehüllt in Dunkelheiten")

No. 740 "Dort bebt in dunkler Nacht zum Oehlbergs Grunde" (1781, No. 29)

("Am Grabe bebt, gehüllt in Dunkelheiten")

No. 733 "Freude, Freude über Freude"

("Alle Menschen müssen sterben")

Helmuth's diary for December 4, 1805, says that he wrote hymn 733 on this date for the schoolchildren to sing in Zion on Christmas. Two days later he finished a second hymn, "Welch ein Wechsel unsrer Tage" for the children to sing on New Year's Day. Both were first published in a 4-page pamphlet with the title, Auf das Heil: Weynachtsfest, 1805. "Welch ein Wechsel unsrer Tage" also is hymn 583 in the Deutsches Gesangbuch.

No. 721 "Heilig und heiter, du schönster der Tage"

(1781, No. 11)

("Jesus, hilf siegen, Du")

No. 732 "Herr ein Häuflein Deiner Kleinen"

This hymn follows the model of several other hymns which Helmuth wrote for children in that it is designed for a type of antiphonal performance, with the verses designated alternately "choir" and "answer," while everyone joined in singing the final verse. It was first published in a broadside entitled, Auf das heilige Pfingstfest, 1807. There is no tune indicated.

No. 724 "Ich drence mich an diesem frohen Tage"

(1781, No. 14)

("Der Tag ist hin, mein Jesu")

No. 451 "Ich ging bisher auf einem Pfade"

("Wer nur den lieben Gott")

The Deutsches Gesangbuch included this text as No. 470. It was first published in the 1795 edition of the Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung.

No. 743 "Ich walle noch im Thränenthal" (1781, No. 33)
("Heut' triumphiret Gottes Sohn")

No. 725 "Jesu! siehe mein Verderben (1781, No. 3)
(Own melody or "Werde munter mein Gemüthe")

No. 726 "Jesu! siehe mein Verderben (1781, No. 3)
("O ihr auserwählten Kinder")

No. 735 "Jesu wir betreten heut"
("Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier")

Helmuth wrote this hymn for the dedication of Zion Lutheran Church, Baltimore, October 9, 1808, and it was first printed in a 12-page pamphlet published for this occasion.

No. 738 "In Traurigkeit zerfließen" (1781, No. 19)
("O Haupt voll Blut")

No. 731 "Kommt Kinder, kommt betend"

Helmuth first published this hymn in the pamphlet, Auf das heil. Pfingstfest, 1805. No melody is indicated.

No. 737 "Lobet ihn alle den gütigen König der Ehren"
("Lobe den Herren, den Mächtigen")

Helmuth used hymns 735, 736 and 737 for the texts which he wrote for the dedication of Zion in Baltimore in 1808.

No. 742 "Mein Gott! tief ins Verderben" (1781, No. 26)
("O Haupt voll Blut")

No. 741 "Seht! wie majestätisch, mächtig" (1781, No. 28)
 ("Prächtig kommt der Herr, mein König")

No. 728 "Verfluchtes Gift der Wollust Triebe" (1781, No. 6)
 ("Hier legt mein Sinn sich vor Dir nieder")

No. 734 "Welch ein Wechsel unsrer Tage!"
 ("Dort auf jenem Todtenhügel")

This was first published with hymn 733, "Freude, Freude,
 über Freude."

No. 736 "Wir singen heute Deinen Ruhm"
 ("Sey Lob und Ehr")

Helmuth originally wrote this text for the festivities connected with the dedication of the large Tannenberg organ in Zion Church, Philadelphia, October 10, 1790. It was printed in the pamphlet which the Philadelphia printer Michael Billmeyer published in honor of this event. These same verses appear in Helmuth's diary on August 2, 1790, while he was writing the cantata text for the organ dedication. He also used a portion of his hymn for the dedication of Zion in Baltimore in 1808.

No. 739 "Wo reisst mich die Betrachtung hin?" (1781,
 No. 25)

("Mein Herzens Jesu")

This was also published as hymn 698 in the Deutsches Gesangbuch.

Bibliography--Part II
 CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF HELMUTH IMPRINTS CONTAINING
 HYMN, ANTHEM, AND CANTATA TEXTS

Items listed in Evans, American Bibliography, or the Shaw-Shoemaker continuation of Evans are designated with their appropriate number. Items without a number are not included in these bibliographies, and in these cases the library where each is located is indicated. If Helmuth's name does not appear on the title page no author attribution is given; absence of a publisher likewise indicates that none is listed. The great majority of these imprints are in the Krauth Memorial Library of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Mt. Airy (Philadelphia), and this library is identified by its standard abbreviation, PPLT.

Helmuth, Just. Heinrich Christian. *Empfindungen des Herzens in einigen Liedern*. Philadelphia: Melchior Steiner, 1781. (Evans 17186). The main body of this book contains 33 hymn texts on 81 pages, plus a fairly extended preface. Nine of these hymns were published in the 1786 *Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung*, and from 1811 to 1817 Helmuth reprinted 20 of the other texts in the *Evangelisches Magazin*. When the *Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung* was enlarged in 1818 Helmuth included 12 more texts from this collection in the enlarged hymnal.

H.[elmuth,] H.[enry]. *Lobet den Herrn, der zu Zion wohnt*. Philadelphia: Melchior Steiner, [1782]. (Evans 17569).

Helmuth wrote the three texts in this 4-page pamphlet for the re-opening of Zion, September 22, 1782. The first hymn is "Erhebe, Volk! mit Freudenthränen." The other two texts are numbers 694 and 695 in the 1786 hymnal and are discussed in Part I of this bibliography.

Auf das Oster-Fest, 1783, (PPLT). This little broadside contains a single Easter text of four verses, "Bringt Macht und Ruhm und Stärke dar." Probably the printer was Melchior Steiner.

Die Frohe Weihnachts-Freude, 1784. und Neujahrs-Andacht, 1785. Der Evangelischen Lutherischen Singeschule der Gemeinde in Zion. Philadelphia : Melchior Steiner, [1784]. (PPLT). This broadside contains three hymns: "Heil uns an diesem Tage," "Halleluja, Lob Preis und Ruhm," and "Gott, du bist unsre Zuversicht.;" All three texts were reprinted in Die ersten Früchte (1786) and in the Evangelisches Magazin, II, 123-124.

Die Frohe Pfingst-Freude und Andacht der Evangelischen Lutherischen Singeschule der Gemeinde in Zion, abgesungen unter der Anführung des Herrn David Otts. 1785. (PPLT). Helmuth included two anthems for Pentecost in this broadside. Both were later published in the Evangelisches Magazin, IV, 86. Each anthem has five verses, of which the first, third, and fifth verses are in the same meter and designated "chorus." The alternate verses have a different meter and are called "duetto." The two anthems are "Der Geist ist da! Es rauscht der Wind" and "Wie lieblich bist du Tag der Freude."

Auf den Tag der Unabhängigkeit der Dreyzehn Staaten von Nord-America, den 4ten Julii, 1785. Abgesungen von der Singeschule der Evangelischen Lutherischen Deutschen Gemeine in Philadelphia, unter Anführung Herrn David Otts, Schullehrer. (PPLT). This broadside includes a complete cantata text of three choruses, two duets, and two solos or arias, plus three hymn verses not designated. The aria, "Vergebung, Herr, ich nur begehre," is reprinted in Die ersten Früchte of 1786.

Charfreytags-Gesänge, und Osterlieder, welche in der Zions Kirche, unter der Anführung des Herrn David Ott, Schulmeisters der Evangelischen Lutherischen Gemeine, in Philadelphia, mit der Singeschule abgesungen werden. [Philadelphia]: Melchior Steiner, [1785 or 1786]. (PPLT). This 4-page pamphlet dates from 1785 or 1786 and contains the earliest printed version of one of Helmuth's most popular hymns, "Dort auf jenem Todtenhügel." In the pamphlet the verses of this hymn are called "chorus" and alternate with a second hymn, "Schau auf, ich büsse deine Sünden" designated as "duetto." The second Good Friday hymn is "Stirbst Du, mein Heiland, ein Fluch dort am Kreuze," while the two Easter texts are "Triumph! des Grabes Siegel bricht" and "Wohl mir, Jesus ist erstanden." All the texts except for the last were reprinted in Die ersten Früchte of 1786.

Die ersten Früchte der Singeschule der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeine in Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Melchior

Steiner, [1786]. (Evans 19630). St. Michael's and Zion Congregation gave this booklet to the schoolchildren at the time of their fall examinations in 1786. It contains 21 texts which Helmuth wrote for David Ott's singing classes during 1785 and 1786. Several of these texts are mentioned in the imprints discussed above. Hymn No. 6, "Sieh! in Demuth fall ich nieder" was reprinted in the *Evangelisches Magazin*, III, 247.

Folgende Ordnung wird heute, als am 12ten October, 1786, bey der Vocal Musik unserer Singeschule und Rede-Uebung verschiedener Studenten und Schüler der hiesigen Deutschen Academie, in Zion gehalten werden. (PPLT). This broadside is actually a program for the public exercises of the schoolchildren. It does not contain any complete texts, but lists the first lines of eight selections presented by David Ott's singing school during the program. This appears to be the examination at which the children received their copies of *Die ersten Früchte*.

Auf den Tod des entschlafenen Vater Mühlenbergs. (PPLT). Two hymns, "Stimmt heute dumpfe Trauerlieder" and "Zion singet Trauerthöne" comprise this broadside printed in memory of H. M. Mühlenberg. They were also included in the memorial booklet printed in Mühlenberg's honor in 1788.

Ordnung der Rede-Uebungen in der Zions-Kirche, den 29sten November, 1787, von Deutschen und Englischen Kindern. (PPLT). Six musical selections (mostly with texts by Helmuth) are listed by their first lines in this program of the fall examinations for 1787.

Denkmal der Liebe und Achtung welches seiner Hochwürden dem Herrn D. Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, verdienstvollsten Senior des Evangelisch-Lutherischen Ministeriums in Nord-America und treueifrigsten ersten Lehrers an der St. Michaelis und Zions-Gemeinde in Philadelphia ist gesetzt worden. Philadelphia: Melchior Steiner, 1788. (Evans 21139). Authorship of this memorial booklet cannot be assigned solely to Helmuth although he was involved in its publication and the two texts in the broadside immediately above were reprinted here.

Zum neuen Jahr 1789 wünschet ein aufrichtiger Verehrer seines Erlösers allen wahren evangelischen Christen unbewegliche Standhaftigkeit in der Lehre und im Gehorsam des Evangeliums. (PPLT). There is no definite evidence that this New Year's poem of 16 verses is actually by Helmuth, although it is with other Helmuth imprints and manuscripts in the seminary library at Mt. Airy. It begins, "Zu herrlich waren unsre Fluren mit Gottes Seegen ausgeschmückt."

Lieder. Philadelphia: 1790. (PPLT). According to the brief foreword, this 7-page pamphlet was a gift to the children of St. Michael's and Zion. It contains four hymn texts: "Das Herze klopft, wir freuen uns," "Komm hernieder Geist von oben" (which was reprinted in the Zion re-dedication pamphlet dated November 27, 1796), "Seele falle staunend nieder," and "Getrost! auf deiner Pilgrims-Bahn."

Lob und Anbetung des Gottmenschen am Tage der Einweihung der neuen Orgel in der Deutschen Evangelisch Lutherischen

Zions Kirche in Philadelphia, den 10 October, 1790.

(Evans 22797: the imprint with the same title which contains the music is not in Evans. Michael Billmeyer of Germantown published the imprint listed by Evans; the music was printed by Johannes McCulloch of Philadelphia). St. Michael's and Zion published two different pamphlets with identical titles for the dedication of their grand, three-manual Tannenberg organ. The 16-page pamphlet listed by Evans contains the texts for the cantata sung during the morning service, a different and shorter cantata sung in the afternoon and repeated in the evening, plus the hymn texts Helmuth wrote for all three services. Hymns include: "Schaue, treuer Heiland, heut," "Wir singen heute Deinen Ruhm," "O! dass mit unsrer Orgelthönen," and "Thönet mit Cimbeln, Posaunen und lauten Trumpeten." The second pamphlet, not listed by Evans, contains the music (9 pages plus foreword and title page) which David Ott wrote for Helmuth's cantata texts; this music is in the Library of Congress.

Auf den ersten Advents Sonntag. Den 28 November, 1790. (PPLT). John Christopher Moller, prominent early American composer and organist, wrote the music (now lost) for this cantata text by Helmuth. The texts were reprinted in the *Evangelisches Magazin*, IV, 81. Probably Billmeyer was the printer.

Zum 24sten December, 1790. (PPLT). This 4-page pamphlet contains texts for a special Christmas Eve service

for choir, schoolchildren, and congregation. The hymns sung by the children were in English, while the remainder of the service was in German. Billmeyer probably was the printer.

Auf das Fest der Menschwerdung Jesu 1790. (PPLT). While this appears to have been issued as a separate broadside, it was also published as the third and fourth pages of the pamphlet mentioned above for the first Sunday in Advent, 1790. It contains texts for a Christmas cantata and an anthem for New Year's Day, 1791. Billmeyer was probably the printer. Helmuth reprinted the Christmas verses in the *Evangelisches Magazin*, IV, 82.

Die Spuren der Güte Gottes in der Deutschen Evangelisch Lutherischen Gemeinde in Philadelphia. Germantown: Michael Billmeyer, 1791. (Evans 23697). St. Michael's and Zion published this 36-page booklet to celebrate the remodeling of St. Michael's Church. It is one of the few imprints intended for a service in St. Michael's rather than the newer and larger Zion Church. In addition to a short history of the congregation it includes the texts sung by the singing school and congregation at a special service April 3, 1791. Helmuth wrote three hymns for antiphonal singing; they are: "Dich, Gott! zu loben, O wie schön," "Ja, treuer Hirte, weide Du ," and "Gedenket, O, Deutsche! der Wunder des Herrn."

Ueber die Geburt Jesu auf Weynachten 1791, und auf das Neue Jahr 1792. (PPLT). Helmuth's diary indicates that his

cantata text in this 4-page pamphlet was set to music by J. C. Moller. The cantata is for two choirs, soloists, and congregation.

Ein Geschenk für die Kinder, von den Gliedern des Kirchenraths der St. Michaelis- und Zions-Gemeinde in Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Steiner und Kämmerer, 1793. (PPLT). This 8-page pamphlet includes anthem-cantata texts for Good Friday, Easter, Pentecost, and Trinity of 1793. Helmuth reprinted the entire pamphlet in the Evangelisches Magazin, III, 241-245.

Auf das Heil. Pfingstfest 1793. (PPLT). The two choruses and aria from this broadside are included in Ein Geschenk above.

Am Sonntage Trinitatis 1793. (PPLT). The chorus and aria in this broadside are also in Ein Geschenk above. Probably the texts for Good Friday and Easter were also printed as separate broadsides, but are no longer extant. Steiner and Kämmerer were probably the printers.

Bey dem Grabe der würdigen Gattin Seiner Wohlehrwürden des Herrn Pastor Friederich Schmidts, welche den 6ten Julii, 1793, beerdigt wurde. (PPLT). One hymn of three verses, "Von Deiner Höh! Gott! schau herab!" is in this broadside. Schmidt was Helmuth's associate at St. Michael's and Zion.

Helmuth, J. Heinrich C. Kurze Nachricht von dem sogenannten gelben Fieber in Philadelphia für den nachdenkenden Christen. Philadelphia: Steiner und Kämmerer, 1793. (Evans 25595). Helmuth included a nine-verse hymn, "Nun

fliesse, heiss Thräne" at the conclusion of this little book. He wrote this text for Johann Hermann Winkhaus, German Reformed pastor in Philadelphia, who was buried October 7, 1793. It is reprinted in Rev. H. Harbaugh, *The Fathers of the German Reformed Church in Europe and America* (Lancaster: Westhaeffer, 1872), II, 322.

Helmuth, J. H. Chr. and Moller, J. C. *Dank und Gebet am Tage der Einweihung der Deutsch Evangel: Lutherischen Kirche in Reading den 15 Juny 1794.* (PPLT). This 8-page cantata is the only known surviving example of a Helmuth-Moller cantata that includes the musical notation. During Moller's four years as head organist at Zion his duties required that he compose music for all major festivals and three other occasions each year as directed by the church council.

Lieder abgesungen in der Zions-Kirche den 27sten November, 1796. Philadelphia: Steiner und Kämmerer, 1796. (PPLT). The congregation published this 13-page pamphlet to celebrate the re-opening of Zion after the church interior was rebuilt following a disastrous fire December 26, 1794. It contains texts for the cantata, anthems, and hymns for the morning, afternoon, and evening services on November 27. Helmuth borrowed at least three of the texts from earlier sources. They are: "Komm hernieder Geist von oben," from the 1790 *Lieder*; the area "Sey lebendig hier zugegen," from the 1794 cantata for Reading; and "Lobe, Zion, lobe deines Herren Thaten" from the first re-dedication of Zion in 1782.

Other hymns in this pamphlet include: "Die Pracht von Zions Herrlichkeit," "Erschrecklich war'st Du im Gericht," and "Herr, unser Gott, wir preisen heut."

Trauer-Music, auf den Abschied des seel. Herrn Doct. Hendels, den 9ten December 1798. (PPLT). This 3-page imprint contains a hymn, "Herr, Welch' ein Schlag! die Heerde weint," and a chorus text. Hendel was a Reformed pastor and close friend of Helmuth.

Gesang am Schlusse des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts. (PPLT). "Auf, versammelt euch in Tempeln," a hymn of 12 verses sung to "Wachet auf," is printed in this 6-page pamphlet. Authorship is assigned to Helmuth only because it is included with his papers in the library of the Mt. Airy seminary.

Klagen über den Tod des General Waschingtons am 22sten Februar 1800, in dem Deutsch Evangelisch Lutherischen Zion, zu Philadelphia. (Evans 37603). Helmuth wrote part of these texts in his diary for January 10 and 13, 1800, and they undoubtedly provided the words for the "stirring music" which his diary says was performed in Zion on February 22. The verses begin "Mitten unter Freud und Leiden" and "Bange, dunkle Tage senken." The United States Congress held funeral services for Washington in Zion on December 26, 1799. This was the occasion on which General Lee delivered his famous oration.

Am Feste der Heil. Dreyeinigkeit 1801 in der Deutsch. Evangel. Lutherischen Zions Kirche. [Philadelphia]:

G. Helmbold und J. Geyer, 1801 . (Library of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg). This pamphlet contains hymn, anthem, and cantata texts for Easter, Pentecost, and Trinity. One of the verses, "Sanft schallt die Stimme Gottes, hört!" is in Helmuth's diary for May 12, 1801, and was reprinted in the *Evangelisches Magazin*, IV, 87. "Komm, heil'ger Geist, erfüll die Herzen" was originally written for Pentecost, 1785 (see above), where it was a "duetto" alternating with the verses of "Wie lieblich bist du Tag der Freude."

Charfreitags-und Oster Lieder, Für die eingesegneten Erstlinge und die Schul-Kinder der Evangel. Lutherischen Gemeinde. Philadelphia: Johann Geyer, 1802. (PPLT). According to his diary Helmuth wrote the Good Friday hymn, "Ach, er ist todt, mein Herr und Gott," on April 12, and the Easter hymn, "Jesus Christus ist erstanden" on April 10, 1802. He sent the texts to Becker and Geyer, who printed 2,500 copies of this 4-page pamphlet for distribution to the congregation in Zion on Good Friday and Easter.

Empfindungen am Heil. Todes- und Auferstehung-Tage des Herrn Jesu. Philadelphia: Johann Geyer, 1805. (PPLT). This 4-page pamphlet contains three hymns: "Auf trage nur die Bürde weiter," "Der Heiland lebt, Er ist erstanden," and "Er lebt--seyd froh! der Heiland lebt " Helmuth's diary indicates that he wrote the first hymn January 15, while he completed the Easter verses March 18, 1805. "Auf trage nur die Burde weiter" was included as No. 730 in later editions of the *Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung*.

Auf das heil. Pfingstfest, 1805. [Philadelphia]: J. Geyer, [1805]. (PPLT). The three printed pages of this pamphlet contains a hymn of seven verses, "Kommt, Kinder! kommt betend, kommt zum Thron der Gnade."

Auf das Heil: Weyhnachtsfest, 1805, in der Deutsch Evangel: Lutherischen Kirche von den Kindern abgesungen. [Philadelphia]: Johann Geyer, [1805]. (PPLT). A Christmas hymn, "Freude, Freude über Freude!" and a New Year's hymn, "Welch ein Wechsel uns'rer Tage!" are in this 4-page pamphlet. These two texts were included as hymns 733 and 734 in later editions of the Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung.

Am Charfreytage--1806 and Auf Ostern--1806. (PPLT). Helmuth printed two hymns in this 4-page pamphlet: "Ach, sehet! welch' ein Mensch ist das" (Good Friday) and "Jesus lebt, Er ist erstanden" (Easter). His diary indicates that he wrote these two texts on February 27 and 28, 1806.

Auf das heilige Pfingstfest, 1806. (PPLT). This broadside contains a single hymn, "Nun walle fort, belad'nes Herze?" According to his diary Helmuth wrote it May 9, 1806. Helmuth reprinted it in the Evangelisches Magazin, I, 243.

Auf Charfreytag und Ostern, 1807. [Philadelphia]: Conrad Zentler, [1807]. (PPLT). Two hymns are on this broadside: "Erwürgtes Lamm am Creutz erhöht" and "Willkommen verklärter Besieger der Feinde."

Auf das heilige Pfingstfest. 1807. [Philadelphia]: C. Zentler, [1807]. (PPLT). Helmuth's diary indicates that he wrote this antiphonal hymn (verses are designated "Chor,

Antwort," etc.) April 29, 1807. It later became hymn 732, "Herr, ein Häuflein deiner Kleinen," in later editions of the Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung.

H., J. H. Ch. Auf das heilige Christfest, 1807. [Philadelphia]: Conrad Zentler, [1807]. A single Christmas hymn, "Jauchzt Ihm alle heut, ihr Sünder," is printed on this broadside. (PPLT).

Auf das heilige Pfingstfest. 1808. [Philadelphia]: C. Zentler, [1808]. (PPLT). "Herr, wir sind heut' auch beysammen" is the text on this broadside.

Bey Einweihung der Deutsch Evangelisch-Lutherischen Zions-Kirche in Baltimore auf den 9ten October, 1808. Baltimore: Warner und Hanna, 1808. (PPLT). Helmuth's original manuscript of this 11-page pamphlet is in PPLT. The pamphlet contains the complete order of the dedication services including the hymn and anthem texts. Hymn texts include: "Dir Ewiger sey dieses Haus geweiht," which later became No. 401 in the Gemeinschaftliche Gesangbuch: "Jesu, wir betreten heut," "Wir singen heute Deinem Ruhm," and "Lobet Ihn alle den gütigen König der Ehren," which later respectively became hymns 735, 736, and 737 in the enlarged Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung.

Helmuth. Etliche Kirchenlieder. Philadelphia: Conrad Zentler, 1809. (Shaw-Shoemaker 17734). It has not been possible to locate a copy of this imprint, which is listed by Oswald Seidensticker, The First Century of German Printing in America, 1728-1830.

Auf das Fest der Geburt und Menschwerdung Jesu Christi, 1808, und auf das Neue Jahr, 1809. Philadelphia: Conrad Zentler, [1808]. (PPLT). The three pages in this pamphlet include two hymns: "Bringet Dank; tönet lauten Lobgesang" and "Schnell entfliehen uns're Tage."

Auf den Charfreytag und das heilige Osterfest, 1809. Philadelphia: Conrad Zentler, [1809]. (PPLT). Helmuth's diary indicates that he wrote the hymns in this 3-page pamphlet on February 24, 1809, (for the Good Friday hymn, "Tag der Schmerzen, du bist heilig, hehr") and March 6 (for the Easter hymn, "Wischt alle, wischt die Thränen ab").

Auf das heilige Pfingstfest. 1809. [Philadelphia]: C. Zentler, [1809]. (PPLT). This broadside contains a single hymn, "Heiland, schenke aus Erbarmen." The text is in Helmuth's diary for April 18, 1809.

Helffenstein, Samuel. Lieder zur Erbauung. Philadelphia: Conrad Zentler, 1810. (Shaw-Shoemaker 20316). This 39-page collection of hymns by the Reformed pastor in Philadelphia also includes an Anhang with two hymns by "J.H.C.H." They are, "Mit hohem, warmen Lobgesang," which Helmuth wrote January 7, 1801, according to his diary, and "Jesu, meiner Jugend Lust."

Auf den Tod einer liebenswürdigen jungen Freundin. [Philadelphia]: Zentler, [1811]. (PPLT). Helmuth's church council printed this 4-page pamphlet in memory of a member of Zion's choir. It contains a single hymn text, "Du eitle Jugend wimmre heut." This is a slightly altered version of

hymn 602 in the Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung; it was also reprinted in the Evangelisches Magazin, I, 59.

Auf den Tod ihres unvergesslich theuren Lehrers, Johann Friedrich Schmidt. Abgesungen in der Zions-Kirche, am 31sten May, 1812, von dem Singe-Chor der Deutsch Evangel. Lutherischen Gemeine. Philadelphia: Conrad Zentler, [1812]. (Shaw-Shoemaker 24656; is this the same as 25516?). This 4-page imprint contains the anthems and arias sung by the choir on this occasion. The first chorus is a text by Klopstock, "Auferstehn, ja auferstehn wirst Du."

Bey der Antritts-Predigt des Wohl-ehrwürdigen Predigers, Herrn Friedrich D. Schäfer. Abgesungen von dem Singe-Chor der St. Michaelis- und Zions-Gemeinde dahier, den 30sten August 1812. (Shaw-Shoemaker, 25863; is this the same as 26450?). This pamphlet has two texts: "Herr, wir dringen uns zu Dir" and "O Jesu, Herr der Herrlichkeit." The latter is an older hymn, not by Helmuth.

Helmuth. Freude, Dank und Anbetung; abgesungen im Singe-Chor am Tage der Einweihung der Deutsch-Evangelisch-Lutherischen Christ-Kirche in der Stadt York, den 1sten May, 1814; verfasset durch den Ehrw. Pfr. Helmuth, D. D. aus Liebe und Hochachtung gegen die Gemeine. York: D. Billmeyer, [1814]. (PPLT and the seminary library at Gettysburg). Here is another of Helmuth's musical services for a church dedication. This 12-page pamphlet contains the hymn, anthem, and aria texts which he wrote. Hymn texts include: "Dem Vater und dem Sohne," "Mit starkgerührten

Herzen eil," "Gott Vater, Sohn und Heil'ger Geist," and "Kommt alle, ruft Er, kommt heran." Helmuth used the first three texts again for the dedication of Zion Church in Hummelstown, Pennsylvania, in 1816, and he reprinted these hymns in the *Evangelisches Magazin*, IV, 85.

Auf Charfreytag und Ostern. 1815. [Philadelphia]: Conrad Zentler, [1815]. (PPLT). The two hymns in this pamphlet, "Er kämpft, Er zittert" and "Sie, die bangen finstern Nächte," were reprinted in the *Evangelisches Magazin*, IV, 83-84.

Auf die Einweihung der Zions-Kirche in Hummelstown, Dauphin County, Den 28sten July, 1816. Libanon: J. Stöver, 1816. (Seminary library at Gettysburg). This was a simpler service than the texts which Helmuth wrote for the York dedication. Three hymns are from the York services (see above), and one additional text is "Liebster Vater! kehre heut."

Der 31ste October, 1817, zum feyerlichen Andenken an den 31sten October, 1517, mit Rührung begangen in der St. Michaelis und Zions Gemeinde in Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Zentler, 1817. (Shaw-Shoemaker 41029). Pages 2-18 of this 80-page book contain the hymn and anthem texts for this festival, part of which were written by Helmuth. Hymns include: "Tag der reinsten Wonn' und Freud," "Heil uns! die Sonne bricht hervor," "Laut jauchze heut das Luthertum," "Kommt, ihr lieben kleinen Brüder," "Wir, wir kleinen Adams-Kinder," "Ich bin so froh, ich freue mich," "Ich trage eine

schwere Bürde," "Habe Dank, o mein Erbarmer," "Wie bin ich, armes Kind, so froh," "Dies ist der Tag, den Gott uns schuf," "Jauchzet laut, dem Herrn zu Ehren," and "Lobet den Höchsten, den Gott aller Götter."

Gesänge bey der Antrittspredigt unsers vielgeliebten Lehrers, des Ehrwürdigen Herrn, C. Demme. Philadelphia: Conrad Zentler, 1822. (Shoemaker 8534). Although Helmuth was pastor emeritus at this date, the two hymns in this 7-page pamphlet are probably his work. They are: "Beherrscher deiner Christenheit," and "Nun ist Er unser, der uns liebt."

Gesänge bey der Confirmation am Palmsonntage, 1824, in der Deutschen Lutherischen Zions-Kirche in Philadelphia. [Philadelphia]: Conrad Zentler, [1824]. (PPLT). This 4-page pamphlet is the earliest of several such orders of service which the congregation printed each Palm Sunday for confirmation.

Gesänge bey der Beerdigung des Hochwürdigen J. H. C. Helmuth. (PPLT). While Helmuth was not responsible for printing his own funeral pamphlet, it seems appropriate to conclude this bibliography with this item. It contains the verses sung both at the actual funeral services on February 8, 1825, as well as the more elaborate anthems which the choir presented at the memorial service February 12.

UNDATED IMPRINTS

Eine Buss- und Gnaden-Stimme an allerley Menschen Seelen. (PPLT). This broadside may be by Helmuth since it

is among his papers at the Mt. Airy seminary. It contains a single hymn of nine verses, "Kehre wieder, kehre wieder."

Ermunterungs-Lied für christliche Knechte und Mägde. (PPLT). One suspects that the 40 verses of the hymn in this 4-page imprint, "O wie gut ists, Jesu dienen" would not be very "rousing" for modern boys and girls. This pamphlet is among Helmuth's papers and he might have written it.

Auf Pfingsten. [Philadelphia]: C. Zentler, [after 1805]. (PPLT). Zentler did not begin printing for St. Michael's and Zion until about 1805, so the single hymn in this broadside, "Komm, du reiner heil'ger Geist," probably dates from later in Helmuth's life.

Auf das heilige Osterfest. [Philadelphia]: Conrad Zentler, [after 1805]. (PPLT). Two texts, "Heil mir! des Heilands Grab ist leer" and "Er lebt, der Erreter, und wir sind nun frey," are in this Easter broadside. Helmuth reprinted the second text in the Evangelisches Magazin, IV, 83.

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FOOTNOTES

¹The congregation had two church buildings, the older and smaller St. Michael's and the newer, larger (seated 2,500) Zion; hence the double name.

²Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein (eds.), *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1942-1958), III, 507.

³Just. Heinrich Christian Helmuth, *Empfindungen des Herzens in einigen Liedern* (Philadelphia: Melchior Steiner, 1781).

⁴*Das gemeinschaftliche Gesangbuch zum gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch der Lutherischen und Reformirten Gemeinden in Nord-America* (Baltimore: Schäffer und Maund, 1817). Though not an "official" hymnal, this collection enjoyed wide use in Lutheran and Reformed congregations until mid-century.

⁵*Das neue Gesangbuch zum öffentlichen Gottesdienst und zur häuslichen Andacht* (Pittsburgh: Jacob Schnee, [1815]). This was a smaller, cheaper hymnal intended to be more practical along the frontier.

⁶J. G. Schmauk was a talented schoolmaster-organist for St. Michael's and Zion in the 1820's and 1830's. He wrote a popular German reader that had at least forty printings plus two major collections of chorales and anthems. These were the *Sammlung religiöser deutscher Gesaenge, nebst einem kurzen fasslichen Unterricht zum Singen, eingerichtet für oeffentlichen Gottesdienst und Singeschulen* [Philadelphia: 1824] and *Deutsche Harmonie oder mehrstimmige Gesänge für Deutsche Singeschulen und Kirchen* [Philadelphia: 1833]. The *Deutsche Harmonie* was reprinted in 1841 and had a second, greatly enlarged edition in 1847.

⁷The *Evangelisches Magazin* was America's first Lutheran periodical. Helmuth was editor, and it was published in four volumes from 1811 to 1817.

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ALEXANDER CONZE: AN EARLY
MILWAUKEE GERMAN-AMERICAN POET

by
Carl H. Knoche
University of Wisconsin--Milwaukee

One of the most promising young men to come to Milwaukee while the German community was still in its infancy was Alexander Conze. Unfortunately his stay was brief, too brief to have been of significant importance for the community. Those who knew him however, long remembered him for his outstanding talents and his youthful enthusiasm for life in America. Conze was born in 1819 in Bückeberg and completed his studies in philology and botany at the Universities of Jena and Leipzig. In 1845 he was lured to the United States by a fascination for its political institutions as well as a desire for adventure and freedom. Shortly after his arrival in Milwaukee he began a private school for the instruction of German and English.¹ He lived and taught in the home of the widow of Louis Trayser, one of the early German arrivals in the city. It is not known how successful the school was, but after Conze left Milwaukee it was continued for a short time by Chs. Combes de la Porte.²

His pleasant personality soon made Conze a popular figure among his peers and he joined such men as Dr. Franz Hübschmann and Moritz Schöffler, both important cultural and political contributors to the German-American community; a favorite meeting place for political discussions, singing and drinking was a tavern called the "Latin Grocery."³

Close association with his fellow Germans was not however, as with so many other nostalgia-suffering immigrants, a means of escaping the harsh realities of the new homeland. It was soon evident that his restless spirit would not permit him to settle into a comfortable and secure life. Thousands of Americans were already migrating to the Far West and the slogans of the day, "Fifty-four forty or fight," and "All of Oregon or none," whetted his innate wanderlust and desire for adventure. Conze was in the United States only a few months when he wrote his *Oregon Lied*, which reveals an insight into the American urge to open the West under the guise of "Manifest Destiny."

Frisch auf des Westens Söhne,
 Die Ihr das Feld nicht sä't,
 Die Ihr als freie Schützen
 Ein ruhig Loos verschmäht,
 Der Wandrung Strom von Osten
 Dringt nah und näher schon,
 Es schwinden Eure Wälder--
 Drum auf nach Oregon!

Und Ihr, nach Abenteuern
 Begierig und nach Streit,
 Nach Jagen und nach Wagen,
 Nach Waldeslustbarkeit,
 Herbei aus allen Staaten
 Der weiten Union!
 Es lebe Berg und Prairie!
 Es lebe Oregon!

Wohl Tausend stark, wir sammeln
Uns an Missouri's Fluth,
Der Niedre und der Hohe
Ob reich, ob arm an Gut,
Die tausend Herzen bindet
In Eins ein einz'ger Ton;
Begeisternd schallt die Losung:
„Frisch auf nach Oregon!“

Unübersehbar vor uns
Blüht, duftet die Prairie,
Des Urwalds Wipfel rauschen
In wilder Poesie,
Und über Fels und Schluchten
Zieh'n muthig wir davon,
Das Sternenbanner pflanzen
Wir auf in Oregon!

O, dies sind nicht die Herzen,
Die zittern vor'm Gefecht,
Die, wenn Monarchen drohen,
Entsagen ihrem Recht.
Als Freie zieh'n sie westwärts,
Und nach errung'nem Lohn
Als Freie auch behaupten
Sie glorreich Oregon!⁴

The popularity of the Oregon Lied would certainly have ranged far beyond the German community if it had been written in English, for it reveals not only the poet's bold energetic temperament but also, through a surprising number of idealist Yankee traits, Conze's own Americanization. Certainly the poet is not addressing fellow German immigrants who did not seek out wild frontier territories but generally preferred to settle in areas which were reasonably secure and offered the opportunity of ultimate success, even if this meant years of hard work. Searching for the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow was left to the Yankee, who was willing to cross the Missouri, the plains and the mountains to plant the star-spangled banner in Oregon.

In spite of the obvious enthusiasm, Conze did not join the westward trek to Oregon. In the last stanza of the Oregon Lied he is no longer a participant in the movement he has espoused. Perhaps he already felt the possibility of an even greater venture in the south as the rumblings along the Texas-Mexico border became more ominous and dangerous than the disagreement with England over the territorial outline of Oregon. The Texans were not afraid to fight for the freedom which they felt was threatened by Mexican law. When the news reached Milwaukee that political efforts had failed and that war had been declared against Mexico in early May 1846, many Germans enthusiastically proclaimed that they were willing to join the military and to serve their new homeland. Because of the slowness of communications and other governmental delays, the Wisconsin German

volunteers were not called to service immediately. In the intervening time many had second thoughts about the sanity of non-citizens serving as cannon-fodder, and as a result much of the original eagerness quickly waned.⁵

For Alexander Conze the delay was intolerable. He refused to wait until the Milwaukee company could be completely organized and prepared to march. With his friends Hermann Upmann and Carl von Rekow he hurried to Chicago to join an Illinois Regiment which was ready to move on to the staging area in Alton, Illinois.⁶

There was another delay at Alton as the military units were formed and drilled. During the interim Conze composed the following farewell poem.

Abschied von Milwaukie

Der Abschiedsang,
 Der trübe Klang
 Des letzten Bechers ist verklungen,
 Der Freunde Arm,
 Geliebt so warm
 Hielt mich zum letzten Mal umschlungen.

Leb' wohl nun, Ort,
 Am Ufer dort
 Des See's so malerisch gelegen;
 Wo ich auch sey,
 Ich denke treu,

Milwaukie, dein auf fernen Wegen.

Der Kessel braust,

Der Dämpfer saust

Dahin durch leichtbewegte Wellen;

Die Ehre winkt,

Die Büchse blinkt,

Des Vaterlandes Feind zu fällen.

Nochmals Ade!

Und fort dann Weh'

Der lang' gemiednen Trennungsstunde;

Heiz', Maschinist,

Denn sicher bist

Du nicht mit Mexico im Bunde!⁷

Although Conze had been in Milwaukee for less than one year, he was already well known and for the benefit of his many friends the poem was published in the Wisconsin Banner on July 18, 1846. The youthful idealism of the Oregon Lied is evident here too, but it now seems somewhat more forced and pseudo-heroic. No doubt there is an awareness that the ultimate dangers which the poet so loftily extolled in the previous poem are now very real for him. Nevertheless, it is also clear that he has volunteered his life for the good of his country, with no hint that he was ever anything but an American.

A few days later he wrote another poem, this one directed to his friends at the "Latin Grocery."

Alexander Conze
 Der verehrlichen Abendgesellschaft
 bei Herrn Heß, General a.D.

Dampfboot Ohio auf dem Illinoisfluß, d. 28. Juni 1846,
 abgesandt von Alton d. 2. Juli 1846.

Motto: Die Langeweile gab mir's ein,
 D'rum--ist's langweilig--müßen Sie's
 verzeih'n.

Aus dem winzig engen Raume
 Einer Dampfbootkoje trug
 Mich von Illinois im Traume
 Nach Milwaukee heut' mein Flug;
 Was der Traumgott ließ erscheinen
 Mir auf dieser Pilgerfahrt,
 Sing im Großen wie im Kleinen
 Ich nach Bänkelsänger Art:

Von des Pieres weiter Strecke
 Wandr' ich durch die Hurongass',
 Biege rechts dann um die Ecke,
 Geh' entlang die Wasserstraß',--
 Guck hinein in's Werbquartiere,
 Dort die Liste anzuseh'n,
 Wo auf mächtigem Papiere
 Dünn Wisconsin's Helden steh'n!--
 Bald komm ich zur rothen Brücke;

Gar behutsam, säuberlich
 Prüf ich die geflickten Stücke,
 Ob sie tragen auch wohl mich;
 Dank dem Himmel und Herrn Grotkie!
 Dieses Wunder ist gescheh'n:
 Leidlich sicher Mensch und Rindvieh
 Kann hinüber jetzo geh'n.
 Ja, ich wag's, und schreite weiter,
 Thut doch kühn're Dinge schier
 Für das Vaterland ein Streiter,
 Ein Milwaukee-Voluntier!

Und ich seh' ein Häuschen winken,
 Einst die „Latin Grocery“,--
 Pfl egt' dort manches Glas zu trinken
 In fideler Compagnie.
 Freudig tret' ich in die Halle,
 Finde sie versammelt da,
 Die gewohnten Gäste Alle,
 Treiben grad' Politica.
 Ist mir's recht?--seh' ich nicht scheele?
 Ist das da der General?
 Glaub t' ihn doch in meiner Seele
 Längst im dicht'sten „Chapperal“.
 Er beginnt mit mächt'gen Schlägen
 Auf den Tisch zu hämmern bald,
 Und, die Herzen zu bewegen,
 Spricht er folgender Gestalt:

„Lassen Sie uns eiligst räsén
 „Hier ein Jägerregiment,--
 „Lieb' einmal's Soldatenwesen,--
 „Krieg war stets mein Element.
 „Zu der Patrioten Zeiten--
 „(Ich war damals dünner noch)--
 „Thät' ich beinah' tapfer streiten,
 „Canada befrei'n vom Joch.
 „Oberst würde ich vor allen,
 „Keiner sonst die Sachen kennt.
 „Auf nach Montezuma's Hallen!
 „Herrgott--Himmel--Sacrament!!"--
 „„Dummes Zeug!""--läßt sich vernehmen
 Der Jenenser Doctor nun--
 „„Sollten Sich wahrhaftig schämen,
 „„So zu faseln, alter Coon!
 „„Sind ein kleiner Blücher heute,
 „„Weil der Kümmel grade gut:
 „„Aber morgen Sie's gereute;
 „„Schwör's bei meinem Doctorhut!""--
 Drauf Herr Heß: „Grob sein kann Jeder!
 „Dazu braucht's kein Studium.
 „Dächt', die Herren von der Feder
 „Sollten suchen bessern Ruhm.
 „Doch die Loco's, wie bekannt schon,
 „Sind ein ungeschliff'nes Volk;
 „Whigs allein besitzen Weltton:
 „Hurrah Taylor gegen Polk!
 „Mutterwitz ward mir gegeben,

Mehr, als Einem wohl von Euch;
 Mache leicht mein gutes Leben;
 Weg mit dem geschwoll'nen Zeug!"--
 Spricht Herr Winkler: „„Gar nicht übel
 „„Scheint des Gen'rals neu'ster Plan.
 „„Zu des Ruhmes höchstem Giebel
 „„Klimmert kühnlich er hinan.
 „„Drum, zu zeigen meinen Willen,
 „„Daß die Sache schreite vor,
 „„Biet' Kanonenfiebertpillen
 „„Unentgeltlich ich dem Corps." "--
 „„Meine bombenfesten Röcke"--
 Tönt im süßesten Accent
 Eine Stimme aus der Ecke--
 „Kriegt dies honest Regiment.
 „Doch ist dabei die Conditio,
 „Daß es sende mir zur Frau
 „Eine Dame von Tampico,
 „Sei sie schwarz, grün oder blau." "--
 „„Wär's nicht gut, daß dies Versprechen
 „„Man gleich schriftlich machte hier?
 „„Sich'rer und nicht leicht zu brechen
 „„Ist, was steht auf dem Papier." "--
 So Herr Hanschke. --Doch dagegen
 Spricht mit Wärme der Gen'ral:
 „Solches Vorurtheil von wegen
 „Des Geschrieb'nen herrschte mal;

„Doch die Zeiten sind vorüber,
 „Kehren nimmer wohl zurück;
 „'S ist mir auch un Vieles lieber:
 „Volle Freiheit nur bringt Glück."--
 „„Lassen wir doch diese Sachen" "--
 Fängt Herr Lackner nunmehr an--
 „„Möchte wissen, was wohl machen
 „„Unser Conze und Upmann?" "--
 „Was sie machen? --nun--sie fressen
 „Ohne Zweifel Pork und Beans,
 „Hätten gern zum Mittagsessen
 „Frisches Fleisch und etwas Grün's.
 „Ochsen, Foole sind sie Beide!
 „Doch der Cuhnze dauert mich,
 „Konnt' ihn wahrlich sehr gut leide,--
 „Wird's bereuen bitterlich!"--
 „„Lieber Stolze!" " --spricht das Göth'chen
 „„Gar vernünftig redest Du;
 „„Jeder findet sein Stück Brödchen,
 „„Hier noch leicht in Fried' und Ruh'.
 „„Nie, bei Gott, werd' ich verspritzen
 „„Für dies Land mein theures Blut.
 „„Lot' mir's, so beim Heß zu sitzen
 „„Und zu schlürfen Best'sche Flut.
 „„Aber wenn im Ländchen Baden
 „„Die Tyrannenherrschaft fällt,
 „„Werd' ich gleich das Büchsen laden,
 „„Kämpf' mit Ehrenström als Held!" "--

Grade wollt' ich mir erbitten
 Von dem George ein Cerevis--
 Ah! --da kam dahergeschritten
 Ein Muskitovieh und biß
 Unverschämt mich in die Nase.
 Weg war Traum und Seligkeit.
 Nichts genoß ich aus dem Glase,--
 Von Milwaukee war ich weit.⁸

No doubt his friends enjoyed this witty sketch of their individual foibles as armchair warriors, even though the humor is at times somewhat caustic, especially with regard to the heroics of saving Canada and Baden. In the letter which accompanied the poem Conze described his surroundings and the activities in the camp and indicated that he had been assigned to the First Company of Belleville, St. Clair County, a unit which called itself the Texas Guards. He also related his favorable impression of American soldiers and ascribed their good behavior to the fact that in America everyone was basically free and thus they had to learn to rule themselves instead of always looking to a superior for guidance.⁹

His last letter arrived in Milwaukee late in November, dated Camp Crockett, Texas, September 10, 1846. Here he described the trip down the Mississippi and the march through Texas. The rigors of the trip and the mistreatment of the men by their officers had eroded the morale of the troops, so much so that most of the volunteers would have rather returned home than continue on to Mexico. A few however, including himself,

were still eager to cross the Rio Grande. His disillusionment with the entire campaign is expressed in the closing lines of his letter.

Wie herrlich stimmt das mit dem
 Enthusiasmus, der vor einigen
 Monaten Sieg oder Tod auf unsere
 Fahnen schrieb, und dem erst die
 Fluthen des Stillen Oceans eine
 passende Grenze zu sein schienen!
 --Hoffentlich mehr vom mexicanischen
 Gebiet!¹⁰

The only news to arrive from Mexico however, was the notice that Private Alexander Conze, Company H, 2nd Regiment of Illinois had been killed on February 23, 1847 at the battle of Buena Vista. A companion who had been at his side in battle later wrote that Conze had been a courageous model soldier, admired by officers and men alike. His philological training had aided him in quickly learning enough Spanish to be of still further use to the military unit. Until shortly before his death he had continued collecting botanical specimens, identifying them and keeping some in his back pack for later study. The loss of this gifted young man was a blow to the meager cultural life of the Milwaukee German community in the mid-1840's. Some of his closest friends believed that Conze had been despondent and that his great desire for adventure was actually a yearning for death.¹¹

FOOTNOTES

¹ Wiskonsin Banner, May 8, 1847, p. 2; April 17, 1847, p. 3; Wilhelm Hense-Jensen, Wisconsin's Deutsch-Amerikaner (Milwaukee, 1900), I, 116.

² Rudolf A. Koss, Milwaukee (Milwaukee, 1871), pp. 194, 217; Wiskonsin Banner, November 14, 1846, p. 2.

³ Hense-Jensen, I, 67.

⁴ Koss, pp. 194-195.

⁵ Koss, p. 233.

⁶ Hense-Jensen, I, 114.

⁷ Wiskonsin Banner, July 18, 1846, p. 1. The poem is dated June 22, 1846 and appeared in the paper with a letter from Alton, Illinois dated July 2, 1846. Koss' version of the poem on p. 224 differs slightly in spelling and orthography.

⁸ Koss, pp. 225-228. Identification of the names appearing in this poem.

Heß; John Heß, owner of the tavern formerly called the "Latin Grocery." (Koss, p. 215).

Hurongasse, Wasserstraße; streets on the east side of Milwaukee.

Werbquartier; located at J. A. Liebhaber's tavern. As previously mentioned, recruitment to fill the German Washington Guard was rather slow.

Rothe Brücke; the Chestnut Street bridge, originally finished in 1841 and painted fire-engine red. The bridge broke under its own weight within a year, was rebuilt but destroyed again during the "bridge war." After it was rebuilt again it was in constant need of repair. (Koss, p. 125).

Grotkie; Carl Grotkie was the bridge tender on the red bridge for several years and was considered to be the town character. Later in the poem Conze pokes fun at him with a reference to "Bombenfeste Röcke." Grotkie spent much of his spare time designing such things as tanks, bulletproof vests and steamships propelled without steam; as is also evident in the poem, he was not very successful with the ladies. (Koss, pp. 200-206).

Der Jenenser Doctor; Dr. Franz Hübschmann, politician and recognized leader of the early German community in Milwaukee.

Winkler; Karl Winkler, pharmacist-apothecary. (Koss, p. 161).

Hanschke; J. Hanschke, shoemaker. (Koss, p. 138).

Lackner; F. C. Lackner, merchant. (Koss, p. 158).

Göth'chen; (?) Göth, watchmaker. (Koss, p. 217).

Best'sche Flut; Best Brewery, forerunner of today's Pabst Brewery.

George; David George, captain of the Washington Guard. (Koss, p. 223).

⁹Wiskonsin Banner, July 18, 1846, p. 1.

¹⁰Wiskonsin Banner, November 21, 1846, p. 1.

¹¹Milwaukee Sentinel, May 8, 1847, p. 2. The Sentinel carried an excerpt of the letter written to the New York Evening Post. See also Koss, p. 224.

GERMAN-AMERICAN RESEARCH

Recognizing the danger that many important German-American publications may be lost if action is not taken, the MAX KADE RESEARCH CENTER in cooperation with other organizations is endeavoring to procure such materials and to provide adequate services for housing, cataloguing and making them accessible to scholars through the facilities of the recently opened Kenneth Spencer Research Library at the University of Kansas. It is hoped that owners of German-American books, manuscripts, magazines, newspapers, annuals, calendars, etc., will be willing to present them to the Center, or if necessary to sell them. In particular, libraries, historical societies, German-American clubs and other groups which for lack of space, or because of other priorities, wish to dispose of their German-American material, are encouraged to turn them over to the MAX KADE RESEARCH CENTER. Although our funds are limited we would be glad to pay packing and shipping expenses. -- Erich A. Albrecht & J. A. Burzle

A LETTER FROM CINCINNATI'S COMMITTEE
FOR THE NEEDY IN GERMANY TO JAKOB GRIMM

by
Heinz Röllecke
Visiting Professor, University of Cincinnati

During the years 1846-47 a great famine prevailed in almost all parts of Europe followed by increasing prices and increasing unrest. As a result of these wretched conditions the rate of emigration to America, especially to German-American centers such as Cincinnati, greatly increased. Many Germans sought a new home, but not all of them could afford the expensive fare across the Atlantic. The German governments could afford very little support to the poor, and the desertion of entire villages and communities as a result of this mass emigration gave cause for concern and alarm.

In America many segments of German-American society were quick to offer their assistance to their unfortunate former countrymen. In Cincinnati a Committee for the Needy in Germany (Kommittee für die Nothleidenden in Deutschland) was founded, whose officers were: Henry Roedter, president; J. H. Ronnebaum, vice president; J. B. Moormann, secretary; N. D. C. Moeller, treasurer. The main address of their effort was given as 29 Main Street.

A large-scale fund drive yielded, \$2,774.57 by April 12, 1847, an impressive sum for that time. The Cincinnati Volksblatt, a German Democratic newspaper founded and directed by

the Committee's president, reported on the decision of the Committee on April 15, 1847 to collect the funds and immediately divide them into five equal parts to be sent to the cities of Osnabrueck, Berlin, Dresden, Duesseldorf and Darmstadt for their respective provinces. Circular letters signed by seven members of the Committee were addressed to two well-known personalities in each of these German cities. The contact persons in Germany were mostly mayors, delegates, and bishops of the respective provinces. As contacts in Berlin the Committee chose Friedrich von Raumer, a noted historian (1781-1873), and the world renowned Jakob Grimm (1785-1863).

The following letter to Jakob Grimm is contained in the archives of the Staatsbibliothek Berlin:

[Envelope]

Post marks (1) Cincinnati (2) MY 14 1847 (3) Aachen 16.5
(4) 19.5 (Berlin)

Avis.

Herrn Jakob Grimm zu

Berlin

Germany

via Boston by British steamer.

Die Unterstützung

der Nothleidenden in

Deutschland betreffend.

[Letter]

Cincinnati St. Ohio, 17 Apr. 1847.

Herrn

J. Grimm

zu Berlin.

Geehrtester Herr!

Die Unterzeichneten, als Committee einer am 12ten dss Mts gehaltenen Versammlung der hier wohnenden Deutschen, haben die Ehre, Sie zu benachrichtigen, daß als Beitrag zur Linderung der Noth in Deutschland in hiesiger Stadt, soweit, eine Summe 2774 57/100 Dollars¹ gesammelt und in gleichen Theilen nach fünf verschiedenen Gegenden Deutschlands zur Vertheilung bestimmt wurde; zu deren zweckmäßigsten Verwendung in Ihrer Gegend das hiesige deutsche Publikum Ew. Wohlgeboren in Gemeinschaft mit Herrn Friedr. von Raumer zu Berlin ausersehen hat, mit dem Sie sich deshalb gefälligst in Benehmen setzen wollen. Die ganze Summe der gesammelten Beiträge wurde an das Haus J. Berenberg, Gossler u. Co zu Hamburg abgeschickt, mit der Ordre, den jedesmaligen Betrag eines fünftels an solche seiner Correspondenten zur weiteren Besorgung zu überweisen, die den zur Vertheilung ernannten Herren am nächsten wohnen. Durch jenes Haus also, resp. deren Correspondenten, werden Sie demnach seiner Zeit das Geld, sowie ein dasselbe begleitendes ausführlicheres Schreiben zugestellt erhalten, aus dessen Inhalt Sie sodann das weitere ersehen werden.

Gegenwärtiges Schreiben soll nur als Avisbrief dienen.
 Mit ausgezeichnete Hochachtung Ihre Ergebensten
 Dr. Adolph Bauer. Arno Kattenhorn. Henry Joedter.
 Jos. Schwegmann. G. Wylick. Zach. Auer. John Leist

Die Portogebühren wollen Sie von den zukommenden Geldern zu entnehmen belieben, da wir hier nicht durchaus frankiren können.

The post marks on the envelope indicate that the letter was forwarded by the British steamer on May 14, 1847, reached the German border at Aachen on May 16 and arrived in Berlin three days later. The actual circular letter was sent later. The Volksblatt reported that the money collected was to be distributed to the needy without consideration of religion, since it had also been given without consideration of religion.

On April 14, 1847 the Cincinnati Trust Company drew a bill of exchange for the amount (free of charge) on Boston and sent it to the banking house of Johann Berenberg, Gossler and Co. in Hamburg.

The Volksblatt published a touching letter of thanks to Dr. Adolph Bauer in Cincinnati from Osnabrueck dated June 23, 1847, which the latter received on August 6, 1847. This letter related the conditions caused by the famine in Westphalia and other areas whose poorer inhabitants would be helped with the money sent. The letter closes: "For now we can only express our deepest and strongest feeling of joy and gratefulness; joy in as much as we as Germans can be

happy about the living proof, coming to us from so far away, of a still existing German sentiment and concern for the old fatherland; and gratefulness for the fact that you, gentlemen, have honored us to be the voice of the humane attitude of men, whose trust must honor and elevate us."

The undersigned members of the committee were mostly well-known Cincinnati businessmen of German descent. The Cincinnati city directory of 1846 gives the following information:

Dr. Adolph Bauer:² East Walnut between 6th and 7th;
 Arno Kattenhorn: business "Kattenhorn and Ficker, grocers",
 30 Lower Market; Henry Roedter:³ Attorney and notary, south
 side of Court St. between Main and Sycamore (See also: Cin-
 cinnati: The Queen City, 1788-1912, Volume IV, 1912, pp. 911-
 915); Joseph Schwegman: Coffee house, no. 4 Sycamore; G. Wylick:
 not listed; Zacharius Auer: business "Auer and Cohen, clothiers,"
 between Sycamore and Broadway on Front St.; John Leist:
 Leather Store, west side of Main between 7th and 8th.

The money raised through concerts, theater performances, private donations (from \$1 to \$51.35) and primarily by churches of various denominations was collected by volunteers in the ten wards of Cincinnati.

The spirit of humanitarianism has remained undiminished in Cincinnati over the years, for at the close of World War II, exactly 100 years later, innumerable CARE packages brought help to a destroyed Germany and her needy people.

FOOTNOTES

¹The rate of exchange at the time was: 1 Mark = 35.25 cents

²Bauer wrote under the pseudonym, "Der Alte." He was born in 1809 in Augsburg and died in 1868 in Cincinnati. He received his M.D. in America in 1838 (three years after his emigration) and set up a practice in the Queen City. Several of his articles and poems appeared in the "Alte und Neue Welt" (Phila.), "Volksblatt" (Cinci.), F. Hassaurek's "Hochwächter," Konrad Nies' "Deutsch-Amerikanische Dichtung," and in "Der Freisinnige" which he co-edited with F. L. Emmerth. Cf. Robert E. Ward, Dictionary of German-American Creative Literature (in press).--Ed.

³Heinrich (Henry) Rödter wrote under the pseudonym, "Gracchus." He was born in Neustadt an der Hardt on March 10, 1805. While studying law at Munich he met Siebenpfeifer and Dr. Wirth who influenced him to join the Turner movement and take part in the Hambacher Fest. In 1832 Rödter arrived in Cincinnati, and subsequently worked in other cities in Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky (primarily as a German-American journalist). He was one of the founders and the first editor of the Volksblatt, and edited several other newspapers. A biographer, poet, political and social essayist, Rödter's articles in the Volksblatt during 1836 inspired the movement which led to the German-American conventions of 1837-42. Cf. Ward, op. cit.--Ed.

GERMAN-AMERICAN RESEARCH

The University of Calgary (Alberta, Canada) has instituted a Research Centre for Canadian Ethnic Studies which publishes a journal entitled Canadian Ethnic Studies. This new publication contains vital information on Canada's German-speaking element.

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THE GERMAN LANGUAGE PRESS IN MINNESOTA,

1855 TO 1955

by
Donald Tolzmann
Minneapolis

"Deutsch-Amerikanertum" has blossomed in Minnesota since 1850 when the first German immigrants entered the state. Minnesota has usually been falsely conceived of as "Swedeland, U.S.A.," for the state received far more German than Swedish immigrants in the period 1850 to 1900.¹ By 1860 there were 18,400 persons from Germany residing in Minnesota according to the U.S. census.² And by 1870 the German population consisted of 41,364 persons born in Germany and 2,647 persons born in Austria.³ The German-speaking population of the state was estimated at one hundred thousand, that was a fifth of the state's population.⁴ Minnesota's German-Americans established a foreign language press that spanned a century, from 1855 to 1955.⁵

By 1855 enough Germans had congregated in Minnesota to justify the establishment of the first German-language newspaper in St. Paul for the new territory, Die Minnesota Deutsche Zeitung. Two prominent Germans of St. Paul, F. A. Renz, owner of a bakery, and Dominik Troyer, a brewer, together with Governor Alexander Ramsey (who was of German descent) were the founders. Friedrich Orthwein and Albert Wolff were contracted as the business manager and editor.⁶ Wolff played a key role in the history of the German-language press in Minnesota. He had been a theological student at the time of the 1848 revolution in Göttingen. A military tribunal had sentenced him to

death, a sentence which had been commuted to expulsion from his homeland. Under Wolff the *Zeitung* adopted an anti-slavery policy which was opposed by Orthwein who attempted to force his influence into the editorial position of the paper. Disenchantment caused Wolff to leave his position to become the editor of the *Minnesota Thalbote* in Chaska, Minnesota where there was a large settlement of Pennsylvania Germans and German immigrants.⁷ In the interlude the *Zeitung* was acquired by Samuel Ludvigh who was infamous for his radical socialist and anti-clerical viewpoint. From 1857 to 1866 he edited the *Zeitung* until it had become a considerable force and influence in German-American circles. In 1866 Wolff and T. Sander gained control of the paper from Ludvigh who could not make the paper a financial success because of his increasingly radical outlook. Sander was an able manager and Wolff a gifted journalist, and together they produced a German newspaper that gained wide recognition beyond the boundaries of the state. Its descendent is the *Volkszeitung-Tribüne* which is published in Omaha, Nebraska.

In 1856 a second German-language newspaper was founded in St. Paul which espoused the political philosophy of the Democratic Party, the *Minnesota Volksblatt*. The editor and owner was Philip Rohr who had previously edited the *Pfälzische Volkszeitung* in Rheinbayern. Both the *Minnesota Volksblatt* and the *Minnesota Deutsche Zeitung* were determinative as opinion leaders and centers of intellectual life for the German-Americans of the state. They served as vehicles for the publication of various literary contributions, they strove to

preserve the German language and culture by supporting the work of amateur and professional theatricals and authors in various German-American societies, by seeking to arouse interest in German-English schools, and contributed immensely to the introduction of the German language in public schools. The July 24, 1858 issue of the Minnesota Staats-Zeitung expressed the concern that all German-American intellectuals would promote the cause of German-American newspapers amongst "the intellectually blind and the unintelligent masses."

Der Wanderer, a German paper established for Roman Catholics in 1868, stated that it was a Christian messenger with news and educational material for the German-American home. Literary, educational and cultural material flooded the pages of these three newspapers. Many articles and editorials dwelt with the problem of the preservation of the language and harshly criticized German-Americans who renounced their cultural heritage in exchange for Anglo-Saxon folk-ways. An August 3, 1867 article in the Minnesota Volksblatt entitled Ein Wort an die amerikanisch sein wollenden Deutschen refers to the alarming speed with which some parents ban the language from their home and attempt to forget their ancestral heritage. Weak character and the desire for acceptance were cited as the main reasons for such behavior. Readers were urged to learn English but to not cast aside the German. Ludvigh stressed German achievements in music, literature and art as the means of gaining the respect of non-Germans. Other writers foresaw a rapid disintegration of institutions and customs unless German was taught, read and maintained, if not in the school, at least at home.

Alexander Schem's *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Konversations-Lexicon* was probably the most important German-American literary effort and one that received considerable comment in St. Paul's early German press. Prominent German-Americans contributed to the *Lexicon* which was to be to the German-American what Brockhaus and Meyer were to the German. It was published by E. Steiger of New York in 80 issues.⁷ St. Paul's Germans were urged to support this venture in many issues of their press.

German-American bookstores placed many advertisements in the German press for certain authors: Schiller, Koerner, Auerbach, Reuter, Boerne and Freiligrath. German-American prose and poetry was also highly recommended and widely advertised. Johann Straubenmueller's *Gedichte für die Jugend* and Henicus vom See's *Gedichte* were popularized as representative German-American literary art. The newspaper complained that German-American poetry had been ignored too long. Attention was specifically called to Karl Heinzen, Otto Ruppis and Theodor Mundt, and the German-American anthology *Heimatgrüsse aus Amerika*, containing poems on the 1870 victory of Prussia over France. Albert Wolff published *Gedichte gemischten Inhaltes* in 1867 which was quite favorably received by German-American readers in the Midwest. *Der Wanderer* published mainly religious and Roman Catholic books but did bring forth the work of several German-American authors. In 1891 it published *Land und Leute; Reisebilder und Skizzen* by Alexander Berghold of New Ulm, Minnesota. Berghold advocated the German-language press of



Albert Wolff

Minnesota to the new German immigrant:

Für deutsche Auswanderer geben deutsche Zeitungen auch gerne Auskunft; man thut gut, sich auf solche Zeitungen zu abonniren, ob man in Europa oder in Amerika wohnt. Zeitungen zu halten and zu lesen ist ein grosser Vortheil in jedem Lande.⁸

All of St. Paul's bookstores had rental libraries. A German rental library was established in 1858 in Van Hamm's bookstore and was open from eight in the morning to eight in the evening. Initial membership was one dollar, and three cents per day per book borrowed or else fifty cents a month if two books were borrowed. The rule was: "Wer ein Buch verliert, beschädigt oder der Kupfer beraubt, hat den Ladenpreis zu bezahlen."⁹ R. T. Hoelterhoff opened his bookstore in 1861 with German books, periodicals and dictionaries. C. Hoeniger started a rental library in 1868 with works by Auerbach, H. vom See, Schuecking, G. Sand, Mrs. H. Ward, Spielhagen and many others. Bure's book shop was the third rental library advertised in the Wanderer in 1870 with a specialty in German-Catholic materials.

The German-language press in Minnesota also supported the German-language press in the United States. It advertised the Deutsche Volksblätter from Oshkosh, Wisconsin which was a monthly devoted to science, history, travel and memoirs. Gerhards Deutsch-Amerikanische Gartenlaube of New York was so popular that the St. Paul press reprinted many of its articles. Kaspar Butz's Deutsch-Amerikanische Monatshefte

was also quite popular. Other advertised papers were: Dr. Carl Dilthey's New York Illustrierte Familienblatt and Ludvigh's Die Fackel which served as the spokesman of liberal views. Der Wanderer supported Alte und Neue Welt and Der Katholik.

The New Ulm Pionier was the first paper in the frontier settlement of radical socialists and refugees of the 1848 revolution. It was published from 1858 to 1862 by Ludwig Bogen who had been a law student and a member of the Frankfurt Parliament. Bogen's motto was "Freier Boden, Freie Menschen, Freie Arbeit, Freie Presse."¹⁰ The founders of New Ulm visualized a newspaper that would be free of party cliques and would advocate radical change and also disseminate knowledge regarding conditions in the state and serve as the intermediary for members of the Ansiedlungsverein and Turnverein of New Ulm.

Several other publications are noteworthy. 1,800 Mennonites immigrated from Russia to Mountain Lake, Minnesota in 1873. There Russian-Germans soon established their own schools, churches and press. J. J. Baergen published Unser Besucher from 1901 to 1922 at the Mennonite stronghold in Mountain Lake. Other German-Russian papers were published in New Ulm. The Dakota Freie Presse from 1932-36 and also the Deutsch-Ungarischer Familienkalender from 1939-52 were published in New Ulm. The latter was the "Jahrbuch der Deutschen aus Batschka, Banat, Burgenland, Slavonien, Ungarn und der Arader Gau in Amerika."¹¹

The German-language press in Minnesota grew steadily until World War I when "German-American institutions were dealt a deadly blow from which they have never recovered."¹² The one

daily and eighteen German-language papers in Minnesota did not escape this death blow. Bernhard Ritter, formerly of the New York Staats-Zeitung, was the editor of the English-language Pioneer Press during the War and supported the German-Americans vigorously. More decidedly pro-German in sentiment was the position of Joseph Matt of the Wanderer. He maintained that German-American Catholics should support their co-religionists in Germany in their endeavors to defend themselves against French accusations. He further urged Anglo-Saxon Americans to realize the just indignations of the German-American Catholics over the calumnies which were being hurled against "everything German" which they cherished as their "precious heritage."¹³ Matt constantly defended the German culture transplant to America and stated that Germany was fighting against the anti-Catholic forces of the world. His statements brought thunderous disapproval from anti-Germans and anti-Catholics. Extracts from Matt's paper had to be submitted to the Safety Commission for scrutiny. The other German newspapers were also thoroughly investigated as to their patriotic character. On August 1, 1917 Joseph Matt and Friedrich Bergmeir of the Volkszeitung of St. Paul appeared at the request of the Commission. The state of mind of the German publisher in America was discussed and the two editors promised to cooperate with the Commission. Unfortunately, on August 10, 1917 Bergmeir was interned in prison for disloyalty to the United States for making anti-war and pro-German statements.¹⁴ The German-language press did survive the War in spite of its removal from churches and schools.

In 1913 the St. Paul Volkszeitung had a circulation of 15,301, according to Ayer's Directory, and in 1921 had 17,122. However, by 1939 circulation had dropped to 16,250. In 1941 the paper was transferred to Omaha, Nebraska to merge and become the Volkszeitung-Tribüne. It is still subscribed to by German-Americans in Minnesota and circulates about three to four thousand copies.¹⁵

The disastrous anti-German hysteria of World War I and the passing of the first-generation of German-Americans can be registered in the closing of several German-language publications in New Ulm, Minnesota. In 1921 the New Ulm Volksblatt closed, followed by Hermanns-Sohn in 1928, the Amerikanische Turnzeitung, the Freidenker, and Die Neue Zeit in 1932, and the next year the New Ulm Post ceased publication. The closings in New Ulm signified the end of an era. However, it was not quite the end of the German-language press for Minnesota. Four German-American papers survived in Winona, which was to be the last stronghold of the German-language press in Minnesota. In 1925 the publishers stated that they had been publishing nine different papers in which 43 older papers had been merged. In 1955 this publishing company moved and sold its newspapers to the Omaha Volkszeitung-Tribüne. For the first time in one century the state of Minnesota was without a German-American newspaper.

FOOTNOTES

¹Sister John Christine Wolkerstorfer, "Ramsey County's German Americans: Their Struggle with Pride and Prejudice," Ramsey County History, 5 (Spring, 1968), p. 3.

²Karl Arndt and May E. Olson, German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955, History and Bibliography (New York, 1965), p. 220.

³Arndt, p. 220.

⁴Arndt, p. 220.

⁵Arndt, pp. 220-37.

⁶See Otto Rudnick, Das Deutschtum St. Paul's in Wort und Bild, Eine Historische Beleuchtung Deutsch-Amerikanischer Tätigkeit in St. Paul (St. Paul, 1924).

⁷There is a paper in the Minnesota Historical Society by Estella Elke, The Moravians in Carver County.

⁸Alexander Berghold, Land und Leute; Reisebilder und Skizzen (St. Paul, 1891), p. 365.

⁹Margarete E. Mussgang, Literary Interests of the Germans of St. Paul, 1855-70 (Minneapolis, 1932), p. 24.

¹⁰Arndt, p. 225.

¹¹Arndt, p. 226.

¹²Robert E. Ward, "Konrad Nies, German-American Literary Knight," German-American Studies, III, 1 (1971), 7.

¹³Sister John Christine Wolkerstorfer, Anti-German Nativism in Ramsey County 1850-1918 (Minneapolis, 1968), p. 61.

¹⁴Wolkerstorfer, p. 77.

¹⁵See Ayer's Directory.

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Robert E. Cazden. German Exile Literature in America 1933-1950. American Library Association (Chicago, 1970), 173 pp. plus appendices and bibliography. \$10.00.

Robert Cazden's book, *German Exile Literature in America*, is an indispensable research tool for the specialist of twentieth century German literature. Dr. Cazden has prepared a vast compendium of bibliography and statistical data covering the German Free Press during the Third Reich, World War II, and the immediate aftermath.

This ambitious study discloses furthermore the heretofore untold story of the German-American cultural exchange that took place between the years 1933-1950. Dr. Cazden vividly describes this political exodus with numerous biographical sketches. Here are to be found the illustrious names of German letters--Thomas and Heinrich Mann, Bertolt Brecht, Franz Werfel, Alfred Döblin, Fritz von Unruh, Carl Zuckmayer--side by side with the tragic accounts of thousands of lesser known authors, journalists, political organizers, and scholars. A single cause, however, was to unite the efforts of these political émigrés, and that was the desire to keep the German language alive in their host country. Thus was born the far-reaching and dynamic German Free Press which rekindled the hope of a German renaissance among the enslaved populace of the Hitler regime.

While older German-Americans were seemingly unresponsive to the plight of the newly arrived exiles, the German-American

labor movement did take an anti-Nazi position. Cooperation with the new immigrants was especially strong among the Socialist and Communist parties. It is this convergence of German-American radicalism and the spirited German left-wingers of the 20's that Dr. Cazden molds for his readers into a highly fascinating chapter.

How literally thousands of German books and journals were able to be printed outside of Hitler's borders by an enterprising group of publishers is a remarkable achievement that encourages rewarding research in an area which has virtually been untapped. Robert Cazden's book is an indisputable milestone towards such research.

Erwin F. Ritter
Wisconsin State University
River Falls

UND JAHRE ENTFLIEHEN

Ich bin ein in der Irre Gehender,
Ein in der Fremde Sehender,
Doch Winde rühren die Wälder,
Die so stumm und fremd vor mir stehen,
Traktoren brummen, die Bauern mähen,
Und Jahre entfliehen,
Es wird kälter.

Herman F. Brause
Rochester, N. Y.

Rudolf Glanz. *The German Jew in America.*

Hebrew Union College Press (Cincinnati, 1969), 192 pp.

(*Bibliographica Judaica* Number 1)

Rudolf Glanz is a name familiar to many readers of this journal, his reputation resting upon numerous contributions to the history of the German Jew in America, the products of years of research and wide familiarity with quantities of obscure publications. In a manner worthy of emulation, he has fashioned a very individual bibliography on a theme sadly neglected, a by-product of his more formal historical studies. The user is given access to the scholar's card index file rather than to a fully articulated bibliography. In the present instance, this is clearly worthy of applause. Dr. Glanz has read through innumerable books, periodicals and pamphlets, on topics sometimes rather distant from German-Jewish history (on the surface at any rate) but whenever a relevant passage was found, even if only a page or two, it was conscientiously noted. In this manner, numerous American state, county and local histories are analyzed especially for biographical data on German-American Jews.

This volume is the first of a new bibliographical series, *Bibliographica Judaica*, issued by the Library of Hebrew Union College (Cincinnati)--Jewish Institute of Religion, and edited by Herbert C. Zafren. The generally high standards of both production and content that characterize the *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, published by the same institution, have been maintained.

Only the generation of immigrants born in German speaking countries are considered, native born descendants are excluded. Arrangement and scope are best described in the author's own works:

This bibliography covers, German-Jewish life in America against the broad background of the historic German-American community. It touches upon all the points which give meaning and color to the life of German Jews in this country. It is organized into five main groups: Immigration and acculturation to general American life(I-III); life within the cultural milieu of the Germans in America (IV); Independent life as a Jewish group(V); biographies of German Jews (VI-VII); assessments of the group by others, especially in comparison with the achievements of other immigrant groups (VIII-IX). (p. xi).

To further facilitate use, there are appended two indexes of personal names and one of place names.

As a tiller in neighboring fields, I feel an honest and strong personal enthusiasm for this bibliography. Dr. Glanz's scholarly achievement should encourage and stimulate students of American Jewish as well as German-American history and culture. A source of dissatisfaction--and this reflects on the available literature rather more than on the bibliography --is the difficulty or impossibility of getting to the more specific topic: e.g., Jews in particular occupations, German-Jewish journalism, etc. The deliberately broad categories of classification and absence of subject indexing are barriers to easy access. For a dry run, I turned my attention to the topic of relations between German Jews and other German Americans (including anti- and philosemitism); there was no direct approach. To the scattered entries bearing on this subject one

might add the travel experiences (with a pedlar from New Orleans) of P.W.G. Wagner, *Wanderungen eines Heimathlosen in Nord Amerika* (Reading, Pa., 1844). Pertinent here (and also to section IX--"The image of the German Jew in literature, popular humor and folklore") is a note on Theodor Griesinger (see no. 569), whose *Lebende Bilder aus Amerika* (Stuttgart, 1858) were read in the U.S. from 1874 through 1900 in the New York edition of Salomon Zickel--*Leben und Treiben in Amerika*, with a number of intentional omissions such as the hostile sketch, "Der Chathamstreetjude in Newyork." Additional comments on the anti-semitism of some German-American writers (including Willibald Winckler) can be found in G. Condoyannis' Columbia University dissertation, "German American Prose Fiction," not noted by Dr. Glanz.

Since there seems to be little material on organized anti-semitism among Germans in America, it may be of interest to note that the *Deutsch-amerikanische Buchdruckerzeitung* for April and May, 1896, contains information on the activities of ex-Reichstag member Hermann Ahlwardt in the U.S., his publication in Brooklyn of a weekly, *Der Anti-Semit* (not listed in Arndt-Olson) and his reported purchase of the Hobokener *Abendpost*.

Robert E. Cazden
Associate Professor
University of Kentucky

Oesterreichische Autoren in Amerika. Geschick und Leistung der oesterreichischen literarischen Emigration ab 1938 in den Vereinigten Staaten. Mimi Grossberg und Viktor Suchy, Hrsg. (Wien: Dokumentationsstelle fuer neuere oesterreichische Literatur, 1970, keine Seitenangabe).

Im April 1968 fand erstmals eine Ausstellung oesterreichisch-amerikanischer Autoren im Oesterreichischen Kulturinstitut in New York statt. Nicht ganz zwei Jahre spaeter konnte man erfreulicherweise die nunmehr um einiges bereicherte Ausstellung im Amerika-Haus in Wien zeigen. Das oben angefuehrte Buch enthaelt groesstenteils biographische und bibliographische Notizen ueber die oesterreichisch-amerikanischen Autoren der Wiener Ausstellung. Dieser wertvolle Katalog ist fuer jeden unentbehrlich, der sich mit der oesterreichischen Literatur der Emigration befasst. Der Sammlung ist ein Vorwort vorangestellt und ebenfalls ein aus zwei laengeren Zitaten bestehendes Kapitel aus einem anderen Buch von Frau Grossberg, naemlich:

Grossberg, Mimi. Oesterreichs literarische Emigration in den Vereinigten Staaten 1938 (Wien:Europa Verlag,1970,65 Seiten).

"Die Welt von gestern" wird--so lautet die Ueberschrift des letzten Kapitels, die an das autobiographische Buch mit gleichem Titel von Stefan Zweig erinnert--noch einmal heraufbeschworen. Zu Anfang steht eine kurze, lebendig einpraegsame Skizze ueber die Tage kurz vor dem Anschluss.Liest man weiter, so ist man immer wieder erstaunt ueber die starke Liebe der

Dichter und Schriftsteller zum alten Oesterreich. Dies wird noch anschaulicher, wenn man die in diesem Buch eingestreuten Gedichte liest. Stefan Zweig z.B. trieb diese Liebe zum Selbstmord. Wie viele andere starben wohl am Heimweh? Joseph Roths Romane schildern schon frueher das zu Ende gehende Oesterreich mit meisterhafter Erzaehlkunst. Er selbst war bereits 1939 in Paris gestorben, doch die Weiterlebenden mussten versuchen den Verlust ihrer Heimat zu ertragen. Das Leid und die Qual des Verlustes machten es den amerikanischen Einwanderern unmoeglich sich unvoreingenommen mit Amerika auseinanderzusetzen. Daher die meist negative Reaktion der Eingewanderten auf Amerika.

Die meisten Leser, die sich fuer dieses Buch von Mimi Grossberg interessieren werden, kennen die bekannten Gestalten wie Stefan Zweig, Broch und Roth. So liegt denn auch meiner Meinung nach das Verdienst dieses Buches darin, dass das Leben und Werk von weniger bekannten Dichtern und Schriftstellern vorgestellt wird, was zur Diskussion und Auseinandersetzung fuehren soll. Frau Grossberg hat ihre Arbeit 1966 abgeschlossen, jedoch spaeter noch Ergaenzungen und Berichtigungen eingefuegt.

Jacob Erhardt
Westminster College
New Wilmington, Pa.

THE MAX KADE
GERMAN-AMERICAN DOCUMENT
AND RESEARCH CENTER
Kenneth Spencer Research Library
University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas 66044

Victor W. von Hagen. *Der Ruf der neuen Welt: Deutsche bauen Amerika.* Droemer Verlag (Munich, 1970), 368 pp.

This book presents some history, some compilations about German emigrants, and some tidbits about Germans in the United States. Its downfall is that the author tries to do too much. Two entire continents of North and South America as a New World that received German emigres for 500 years is too big an order for one book. General impressions can be made, of course, and the reader does gain an appreciation for the range of German influences on the New World. For instance, Germans accompanied the Norsemen to our shores and we know that a descendant of Germans was among the first to walk on the moon. Ideas and culture follow individuals, to be sure, and we can agree with the author who notes in his preface that a people which has been recently burdened with so much collective guilt deserves for a change to receive some collective laurels.

The volume is bolstered by a selective bibliography. While there are some in-text references to these sources, there are no footnotes to guide the researcher behind the generalities found in the book. Both a name registry and a subject matter index provide some comfort. Pictures and illustrations, some of them colored, add visual dimension to the text. Otherwise the student of German-Americana is set afloat in an ocean of trivia, some of it interesting but none of it cohesive except in so far as it underscores the fact that Germans contributed to the settlement of the New World.

It is fun to learn that in 1493 ambitious Nürnberg book printers determined to write a chronicle about the entire history of the world and included a letter from Columbus, "Epistola Christoferi Colom," with reference to the newly discovered West Indies. But it is not fun to wade through countless episodes in the early history of South American colonization and to be told that this or that adventurer had a German or two in his entourage and to find out where each was born and where he studied. Furthermore, it is true that the Habsburg family is intimately linked from its roots in Austro-German history through Spain to the New World, especially South America, but that linkage by itself fostered virtually no German-American cultural transfer.

Well-known stories like the Humboldt travels in North and South America receive too much attention while chapters on the Forty-Eighters and the American Civil War rely rather heavily on books by Carl Wittke and Wilhelm Kaufmann. Students of German-Americana will find certain chapters, such as the one on Emperor Maximilian's experience in Mexico out of place in a book of this nature. Likewise, they will be disenchanted with the superficial treatment of German immigration to the United States in the last hundred years. When one considers that the greatest surge of German immigration to our shores occurred after Bismarck came to power, and that Kaiser Wilhelm II, Hitler and two World Wars were decided factors in the assimilation of these Germans into American society, then surely fifteen pages is not adequate space to cover the subject.

Time does not permit the reviewer to double-check all of the author's facts. A few, however, raise the hair of even the most casual reader. For example, on page 310 the author reports about Graf Zeppelin's experiences with balloons in the American Civil War. "Nach Kriegsende stieg er in Saint Paul in Kanada [!] mehrmals in einem Fesselballon auf." The author is wrong not only about Canada but also about the dates, for Zeppelin actually made his first balloon ascension with a Professor Steiner in the City of St. Paul, Minnesota on August 19, 1863 and not after the Civil War. This story was confirmed by Zeppelin's own letters as reported widely by Rhoda Gilman in *Minnesota History*, 40 (Summer 1967).

Nevertheless, for the general German-language reader this book will present a broad overview of praiseworthy German emigrants to two continents. Clearly such a reader will be equally interested in South America as in the North and he will not mind that Canada is barely mentioned.

LaVern Rippley
St. Olaf College

GERMAN-AMERICAN RESEARCH

Prof. Herman Brause (Dept. of German,
St. John's College, Rochester, N.Y.)
is seeking and collecting data on the
German theatre and stage in Rochester,
New York.

Desider Stern: Werke jüdischer Autoren in
deutscher Sprache (1970)

"Aber wo ich auch gehe
flattern die dunklen Gewänder
der Toten um mich"

Diese Worte, die Schlusszeilen von Friedrich Torbergs Gedicht "Die Rückkehr," stellt Desider Stern der dritten Auflage, 1970, (5.-12.Tausend) seines Kataloges zu den Buchausstellungen des B'nai B'rith voran. Es ist mehr als ein Katalog, darf wohl mit Recht als Nachschlagewerk bezeichnet werden, denn, so sagt Christine von Kohl, Sterns helfende Mitarbeiterin, in einem Bericht: "Eine solche Zusammenstellung von Schriftstellern, die hauptsächlich aus den deutschsprachigen Raum, vor allem aus den von den Judenverfolgungen der Nazizeit betroffenen Gebieten stammen, hat es bisher nicht gegeben."

Der Katalog ist seit seiner ersten Auflage, 1967, die anlässlich der Buchausstellung im Wiener Künstlerhaus erschien, von 400 Schriftstellern, die mit Kurzbiographien und Werkverzeichnissen präsentiert wurden, beinahe auf die doppelte Autorenzahl angewachsen, eine ungeheure Leistung, wenn man bedenkt, dass jeder Autor, Verleger, Nachlassverwalter, neuerlich einen Fragebogen zugeschickt erhielt, wodurch bisherige Irrtümer ausgemerzt und Neuerscheinungen hinzugefügt werden konnten. Kein Autor wurde ohne seine Zustimmung aufgenommen, woraus sich das Fehlen einiger Autoren--gegenwärtig und in Zukunft--erklärt. Das Werk will keine jüdisch-deutsche Literaturgeschichte sein, Wertungen werden nicht abgegeben und

bestimmen in keiner Weise die Aufnahme oder den Ausschluss von Autoren jüdischer Herkunft. Desider Stern sagt in seiner Einführung zur 2. Auflage: "Der Katalog und die Buchausstellung berücksichtigen nicht nur die Grossen unter den Autoren jüdischer Herkunft. Ein kritisches Urteil, wer zu den Grossen gehört und wer nicht, liegt weder im Sinn der Ausstellung, noch im Zuständigkeitsbereich der Veranstalter, ganz zu schweigen davon, dass so mancher, der es unter den tragischen Umständen der Vergangenheit nicht mehr werden konnte, unter anderen Umständen vielleicht ein Grosser geworden wäre. Auch darüber wird die Geschichte zu urteilen haben."

Was diesen Katalog so ganz besonders auszeichnet, sind seine wertvollen Verzeichnisse von Büchern und Werken über die Verfolgung (107), über das Exil (20), von Angaben über Bücher in hebräischer und jiddischer Dichtung und Prosa in deutscher Sprache (63), von Judaica, von einschlägigen Anthologien und Katalogen, von Verzeichnissen jüdischer Institutionen, Organisationen und Schutzverbänden und von Verlegern jüdischer Werke: 312 in Deutschland, 40 in Österreich, 42 in der Schweiz und 20 im kleinen Israel.

Desider Stern, der mit wenigen Helfern nebenberuflich und selbstlos an diesem Katalog gearbeitet hat, gönnt sich selbst jetzt noch keine Rast, er plant "weitere Autoren in einem Nachtragsband zu dokumentieren und Neuauflagen und Neuerscheinungen in einem Bulletin zu publizieren." Jedenfalls sollte er den wichtigen Karl Emil Franzos (1848-1904) und den genialen Daniel Spitzer (1835-1893) mit aufnehmen. Er fordert Inter-

essenten auf, ihm unverbindlich Namen und Adressen mitzuteilen.
(Desider Stern, A-1011 Wien, Postfach 107)

Ähnliche Bemühungen wie die Desider Sterns sind seit langem in Gang. Kein Wunder, dass man eine grosse Literatur nicht einfach gemeinsam mit so manchem ihrer Schöpfer verbrennen und untergeben lassen will. Einer der ersten Historiker, die sich dieser Aufgabe widmeten, war der bewundernswerte Professor Walter A. Berendsohn, dessen "Einführung in die Emigrations-literatur 1933-1939," Die humanistische Front, 1949 erschien und dem es gelang, die "Stockholmer Koordinationsstelle zur Erforschung der deutschsprachigen Exilliteratur" an der Stockholmer Universität aufzubauen, die jetzt von Professor Dr. Helmut Müssener weitergeführt wird. Ein zweites äusserst rühriges Zentrum ist das von Professor Eppelsheimer ins Leben gerufene an der Deutschen Bibliothek, Frankfurt /M., dessen Katalog Exil-Literatur 1933-1945 besonders die politische Tätigkeit der Exils-Autoren betont. Ebenfalls nicht zu unterschätzen ist der Wert von Wilhelm Sternfeld-Eva Tiedemanns Bio-Bibliographie, die 1970 in zweiter stark erweiterter Auflage bei Lambert Schneider, Heidelberg, erschien: Deutsche Exil-Literatur 1933-1945. Das Leo Baeck Institut, New York, gab 1970 in Tübingen bei J.C.B. Mohr den 1. Band seines Bibliotheks-Archiv Kataloges heraus, doch fallen in das hier behandelte Gebiet bloss die unveröffentlichten Manuskripte und Memoiren des Kapitels C.

Von all den genannten Werken unterscheidet sich das Desider Sterns dadurch, dass er auch die jüdisch-deutsche

Literatur der Vor-Hitlerzeit aufnahm und dass hier eine grosse Anzahl deutsch-jüdischer Autoren aus dem Osten erfasst wird, die sonst nirgend aufscheinen. Es sei ihm gedankt.

Mimi Grossberg
New York City

ZWEI FIGUREN

1.

Der Winter kommt, ein Fremder,
schaut sich die Bäume an,
die sich verneigen müssen;
ruht sich aus noch dann und wann
bei Kreuzung und Strassenlampe;
brennt sich eine Zigarette an
auf der Bank im Park, wo Dunkeln
mitlungert. Ein grauer Mann,
verreist und einsam. Traurig
jeder, der schaut ihn an.

2.

Ein alter, verwachsener Mann—
erinnerst du dich noch heut morgen?
der Zeitungen ausruft: wer kann
denn das vergessen—die Sorgen,
in hustender Stimme der Zeit,
die Mord- und auch Lustgeschichten,
Politik—wie heiser er schreit!
So haette man ueber uns zu dichten?
So gedruckt auf armsel'gem Papier
ist uns das Leben, gelesen
und ausgeschrieen sind wir,
der Rest von was einmal gewesen.

Kurt J. Fickert
Springfield, Ohio

HAROLD GOTTFRIED CARLSON

In Memoriam

January 5th, 1972, marked the passing of a man who spent much of his adult life deeply involved in the analysis and interpretation of German's social, economic, political, and military affairs. Although this man will probably be noted primarily for the invaluable service he rendered to his country, his long sustained interest in German-American literature must also be recognized.

Dr. Harold G. Carlson was born on May 11th, 1904, in Middletown, Connecticut, where he attended Wesleyan University. In 1928 he received his M.A. from Cornell University. Winning the Germanistic Fellowship of America in 1930, Dr. Carlson was able to study for a year in Germany toward his doctoral degree, which was conferred upon him by Cornell University in 1932.

After teaching for twelve years, Dr. Carlson entered government service in 1941. Having worked for twenty-four years with the U. S. Intelligence Agencies, the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey, and the U.S. Military Government in Germany, Dr. Carlson retired from government service in 1965 and returned to the teaching profession. During the last six years Dr. Carlson taught at Harker Prep School in Potomac, Maryland, and more recently at Luther Rice College in Alexandria, Virginia.

During his academic career Dr. Carlson wrote articles on German and American literature, language, and semantics. He

was also a contributing editor to *Words*, a journal published from 1934-1941.

German-American writer Eduard Dorsch, his life and works, was the topic of Dr. Carlson's M.A. thesis (Cornell University, 1928) and a topic in which he never lost interest. In "A Distinguished 48'er: Eduard Dorsch" (*Michigan Historical Journal*, 1935) Dr. Carlson pointed to the many-sided literary talents of Dorsch, emphasizing the poet's love lyrics, nature poems, and prose essays. These aspects of Dorsch's literary activity had not been considered by previous critics, who had seen in Dorsch a mere philosopher and poet of protest.

The article on Dorsch brought forth replies which led Dr. Carlson to discoveries of important Dorsch manuscript volumes. With these new materials Dr. Carlson was able to clarify many obscurities concerning Dorsch's life and especially to support further his evaluation of Dorsch as a major poet of German-American literature.

After retiring from government service, Dr. Carlson was able to devote more time to the Dorsch papers and composed his *Inhaltsverzeichniss zu Eduard Dorsch's literarischem Nachlass* (1966), an important bibliographic contribution to German-American studies.

The death of Dr. Harold G. Carlson marks the passing of a man with a profound and diverse knowledge of German-American relationships--a man whom German-American scholars will long remember for his perceptive publications and lifelong interest in the literary activity of Eduard Dorsch.

L. Allen Viehmeyer
Youngstown State University

JOHANNES URZIDIL IN MEMORIAM

Fast ein Jahr ist verflossen seit dem Hinscheiden eines Amerikas bekanntesten deutschsprachigen Dichters. Johannes Urzidil wurde am 3. Februar 1896 in Prag geboren und starb 1970 in Rom nach 52-jähriger Tätigkeit als Redakteur, Kritiker, Essayist, und Dichter. Nach seinen philologischen Studien in Prag redigierte er den "Menschen" (1918 f.) 1939 begab er sich nach England und zwei Jahre später nach den USA, wo er in New York viele glückliche Jahre mit seiner ebenfalls talentierten Gattin Gertrude zusammenverbrachte. Unter seinen seit 1940 verfassten Werken sind folgende besonders zu erwähnen; Der Trauermantel (1945); Die verlorene Geliebte (1956); Denkwürdigkeiten von Gibacht (1958); Das grosse Hallelujah (1959); Das Prager Triptychen (1960); Das Elefantenblatt (1962); Geschenke des Lebens (1962); Entführung (1964); Die erbeuteten Frauen (1966); Prag, Glanz und Mystik einer Stadt (1967); Väterliches aus Prag und Handwerkliches aus New York (1969). Johannes Urzidils Gedichte und Prosaschriften sind in verschiedenen Zeitungen, Zeitschriften und Anthologien erschienen. Zur Ehre seines dichterischen Talents schrieb Gerhard Trapp ein Werk (Die Prosa Johannes Urzidils), das 1970 in Frankfurt am Main herausgegeben wurde. Wir bedauern sehr den Verlust eines unserer liebenswürdigsten Dichter, dessen Werke einen reichen Platz in der Geschichte der deutschamerikanischen Dichtkunst sowie der deutschen Exil-Literatur gefunden haben.

Robert E. Ward
Youngstown State University

July 4, 1971

GRETA HARTWIG MANSCHINGER

IN MEMORIAM

Am 5. April d.J. fiel eine Amerikas talentiertester deutscher Schriftstellerinnen einem Herzschlag zum Opfer. Greta Manschinger wurde am 19. April 1899 in Wien geboren. Als Mitglied der ASCAP schuf sie gemeinsam mit ihrem ebenfalls bekannten Gatten Kurt Manschinger (Ps. Ashley Vernon) Opern, die in verschiedenen Teilen unseres Landes aufgeführt wurden: "The Barber of New York," "Triumph of Punch," "Cupid and Psyche" u.a. 1947 wurde Frau Manschingers Arbeiter-Roman "Rendezvous in Manhattan" veröffentlicht. Ihre One-Woman Show "Aus der alten und der neuen Welt mit Chansons von Kurt Weill, Paul Dessau, Jacques Brel und ihrem vorangegangenen Gatten und eigenen Texten genossen die vielen Gäste, die letzten Dezember das New Yorker "Cabaret Theatre at Noon" auf der Lexington Avenue besuchten. Frau Manschinger war auch Schauspielerin, Tänzerin, Lehrerin.

Aus politischen Gründen emigrierte sie mit ihrem Gatten nach London, wo sie die antifaschistische Kleinbühne "The Lantern" gründeten, und schliesslich nach New York, wo sie während des Krieges grosse politische Kabarettabende gaben. Greta Manschinger war die Tochter des Philosophen Theodor Hartwig und die Schwester der bekannten Malerin und Schriftstellerin Mela Hartwig. Ihre Gedichte und Chansons erschienen in deutschamerikanischen und österreichischen Zeitungen sowie

in "German-American Studies" und Mimi Grossbergs Anthologie "Kleinkunst aus Amerika" (Wien, 1964).

CARL W. SPOHR IN MEMORIAM

As the cold winter winds descended this year upon his adopted hometown, Carl W. Spohr was laid to rest in Chicago where he had resided for many years. Born in Hamburg, Germany on July 15, 1896, Carl Spohr emigrated to the United States in 1922. Before making America his adopted homeland, he entered the German military service during World War I. Writing prose and poetry as an avocation, Carl Spohr provided for his family as a mechanical engineer and machine designer in Chicago. He was a frequent contributor to the Chicago Abendpost and the author of an historical monograph, Gempei, The Civil Wars of Old Japan (Chicago, 1967). Copies of his novel, Der fromme Landsknecht (1929) and his volume of poems, Spätlese (Chicago, 1968) are to be found at the Library of Congress and the Youngstown State University Library.

The editors of German-American Studies are indebted to Mr. Spohr who as a subscriber and correspondent gave such enthusiastic support to the journal's task. In his memory we express our appreciation and gratitude for his encouragement and works. Carl W. Spohr will be missed not only by his loved ones, but also all friends of German-American literature.

Robert E. Ward
Youngstown State University

December 10, 1971

ZUM ABLEBEN CARL FREDERICK WITTKES

Alle Freunde deutschamerikanischer Geschichtschreibung wird die Kunde vom Ableben Carl Frederick Wittkes mit tiefer Trauer erfüllen. Der Tod erreichte den neunundsiebzigjährigen Gelehrten im Mai d.J. in seinem Heim in Cleveland.

Unter den Forschern, die sich die Aufhellung des Einwandererschicksals zum Ziel gesetzt hatten, stand Professor Wittkes Name an erster Stelle. Seine Abhandlungen *German Americans and the World War* (1936), *Against the Current: The Life of Karl Heinzen* (1945), *The Utopian Communist: A Biography of Wilhelm Weitling* (1950), *The German Language Press in America* (1957), *William Nast: Patriarch of German Methodism* (1960) füllten schmerzlich empfundene Lücken deutschamerikanischer Geschichtschreibung in vorbildlicher Weise aus. Sie dienten aber keineswegs der unkritischen Verherrlichung einer einzelnen amerikanischen Bevölkerungsschicht. Auch den *Irish in America* (1956) galt eine von Wittkes fleissigen Studien, und sein Buch *We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant* (1939) versuchte das gesamte Einwandererschicksal unter einheitlichen Gesichtspunkten zu erfassen. Selbst mit den *Minstrel Shows* hat sich der Verschiedene befasst und dadurch auch ein Licht auf die Geschichte unserer schwarzen Mitbürger geworfen. Ueberhaupt war Professor Wittke kein engherziger Spezialforscher. Er schrieb eine weitverbreitete Geschichte Kanadas und betätigte sich noch zuletzt als Herausgeber einer sechsbändigen Geschichte seines Heimatstaates Ohio.

Es ist uns unmöglich, in diesem kurzen Nachruf alle Forschungsbeiträge des verdienten Forschers einzeln aufzuzählen oder seinem Wirken als akademischer Lehrer an der Ohio State University, am Oberlin College und an der Western Reserve University, wo er zuletzt Dean der Graduate School war, auch nur einigermaßen gerecht zu werden. Carl Wittkes Bedeutung wurde auch ausserhalb der Vereinigten Staaten frühzeitig anerkannt. So hielt er 1932 die Münchener Gedächtnisrede auf George Washington, die ein Jahr später in erweiterter Form als George Washington und seine Zeit (1933) herauskam. Die Deutsche Akademie ernannte ihn zu ihrem Ehrenmitglied, und die Deutsche Bundesrepublik verlieh ihm ihren Verdienstorden.

Carl Wittkes zahlreiche, tüchtige Schüler, die seine Arbeiten in seinem Geiste besonnener Hingabe weiterführen, werden das Andenken dieses bedeutenden Forschers und treuen Menschen noch lange lebendig erhalten.

Professor Ernst Rose

November 1, 1971

GERMAN-AMERICAN RESEARCH

Anton Rumpf, Dr. John R. Sinnema, Dr. Robert E. Ward, and W. von Uhlenhorst Ziechmann are seeking and compiling data for a book they will write to commemorate the 300th anniversary of the American Revolution. The book is entitled: The German-Speaking Element of Greater Cleveland. A cultural History. Send all correspondences to: Die Gesellschaft für deutsch-amerikanische Kulturforschung in Cleveland:
5923 Twin Lakes Drive, Cleveland, Ohio 44129.

PRESTON A. BARBA IN MEMORIAM

The Society for German-American Studies is proud to have had one of the leading authorities on the Pennsylvania Germans and the Germans in America as a subscriber to its journal: Preston A. Barba.

Dr. Barba's latest contribution to Pennsylvania German literary history (Rachel Bahn, Pennsylvania German Poetess) appeared in Volume III of the Yearbooks of the Pennsylvania German Society just a few weeks before his demise at his home in Emmaus, Pa. For nearly a quarter of a century he served as editor-in-chief of the Yearbooks of the Penna. German Folklore Society.

As the founder and editor of "'S Pennsylvaanisch Deitsch Eck," Dr. Barba contributed hundreds of articles and book reviews in his weekly column to the Allentown Morning Call in the course of thirty-four years (1934-1969). Included among his other major works are:

"The Life and Works of Friedrich Armand Strubberg,"
Americana Germanica, Vol. 16, Publications of the
Univ. of Penna. 1913.

"Balduin Moellhausen, The German Cooper," Ibid.,
Vol. 17.

"The American Indian in German Fiction," German
American Annals, 1913 (Pub. by the German American
Historical Society, Phila., Pa.).

"Emigration to America Reflected in German Fic-
tion," Ibid., 1914.

"Cooper in Germany," Ibid., 1914. (Reprinted in
Indiana Univ. Studies, 1916).

- "The General Swiss Colonization Society," Ibid., 1916.
- German Lyrics and Ballads. Henry Holt & Co., 1925.
- "Elisabet Ney--The Singular Destiny of a German Woman," American-German Review. Dec., 1936.
- "Louis Miller, Penna. German Folk Artist" (Preston & Eleanor Barba), Ibid., March & June, 1938.
- "Im Memoriam Charles C. More," Ibid., Aug., 1940.
- "The Story of Tell City," Ibid., April, 1942.
- "Frederick Valentine Melsheimer, Father of American Entomology," Ibid., Feb. & April, 1945.
- "Carl A. Bruckman, German Printer & Publisher," In Review of Berks Co., 1944.
- Pennsylvania German Cookery. A Regional Cookbook (Ann Hark & P. A. Barba) Schlechters, Allentown, Pa., 1950.
- Pennsylvania German Tombstones. A Study in Folk Art (With Eleanor Barba) Vol. 18. Penna. German Folklore Society, 1954.
- A Pennsylvania German Grammar (A. Buffington & Barba) Schlechters, Allentown, Pa. 1954.
- They Came to Emmaus--History of an 18th Century Moravian Communal Town (Pub. by the Borough of Emmaus on the Occasion of its 200th Anniversary, 1959).
- Editor in Chief of the Yearbooks of the Penna. German Folklore Society since 1942 until the merger of the Society with the Penna. German Society in 1966.
- Founder and Editor of 'S Pennsylvaanisch Deitsch Eck. Weekly Column in the Allentown Morning Call. 1935-1969.
- "The Dialect Poems of Ralph Funk," Vol. II (1968) of the Yearbooks of the Penna. German Society.
- "Rachel Bahn, Pennsylvania German Poetess," Vol. III of the Yearbooks of the Penna. German Society.

German-America has lost one of her greatest knights whose works remain a monument to his dedication to scholarship and the cultural contributions of America's largest ethnic minority.

Robert E. Ward
Youngstown State University

December 2, 1971

MAURICE RUEBNER IN MEMORIAM

Vor einigen Wochen starb in Chicago der bekannte deutschamerikanische Dramatiker und Schriftsteller Maurice Ruebner. Der am 25. April 1904 in Bielitz Geborene war Absolvent des Instituts für Zeitungskunde in Breslau und Hamburg und feuilletonistischer Mitarbeiter an verschiedenen deutschen Zeitungen vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg. Sein letztes musikalisches Lustspiel (Reportage) wurde 1931 an der Hamburger Volksoper aufgeführt. Herr Ruebner lebte sechzehn Jahre in Chicago, wo er gelegentlich an der Hausfrau arbeitete. Außer fünf Dramen schrieb er über 200 Kriegsgeschichten, die in verschiedenen deutschsprachigen Zeitschriften und Zeitungen Europas und Amerikas erschienen. Die Kunde von seinem Ableben erfüllt alle Freunde deutsch-amerikanischer Literatur mit tiefer Trauer.

Robert E. Ward

August 1, 1972

GOETHE*

Als ich zuerst dem Subwayschacht entstieg,
 zuerst mich unter Wolkenkratzern fand,
 war mir wie dem Gescheiterten am Strand--
 Viel Niederlage war in meinem Sieg.

Die grossen Haeuserfelsen ragten dicht
 und engten steinern meinen Himmel ein,
 und ringsumher hoert ich die Brandung schrein--
 sie sprachen, aber meine Sprache nicht.

Da ist ein Eiland: ausgesparter Raum,
 ein wenig Gruen--ich rette mich hinueber;
 da steht ein Denkmal; noch in halbem Fieber
 tret ich heran--und glaub mich ganz im Traum!

Kann es denn sein, dass diesen Namen hier
 dies Land mir als sein erstes Denkmal boete?
 Und doch--sein grosses Haupt blickt her zu mir:
 der Herr und Meister meiner Sprache: GOETHE!

Und nun ist nicht mehr alles fremd und wild.
 Es lebt hier jenseits wuetender Gewaesser
 der Geist, der auf Europens Wappenschild
 einst schrieb: "Amerika, du hast es besser!"

*This poem by Julius Bab was written as a holiday greeting to Rudolf Voigt in December, 1941. It was sent to German-American Studies by the latter's widow, Prof. Frieda Voigt of Milwaukee.

VORWORT

In Dankbarkeit für die Bemühungen des Herausgebers von Deutsche Lyrik aus Amerika--Prof. Dr. Robert E. Ward--um die deutschamerikanische Dichtung und damit zugleich für seine Verdienste um das Werk meines Onkels, des Schriftstellers und Professors der deutschen Sprache in Amerika,

GEORG EDWARD
(1869-1969)

lasse ich als Betreuerin seines reichen, z.T. noch nicht veröffentlichten Nachlasses in dem vorliegenden, meinem Onkel Georg Edward gewidmeten Band einige Gedichte im Druck erscheinen.

Gustel Wagner
Gießen

Sommer 1971

SO STEHT ES GESCHRIEBEN

So steht es geschrieben: Hand um Hand,
Wunde um Wunde, Brand um Brand!
So steht es geschrieben mit Flammenglut:
Auge um Auge, Blut um Blut!

Der Gott, der über den Sternen thront,
Ist ein eifriger Gott, der straft und belohnt,
Der den Gerechten erhebt und hält,
Und der den Schlechten richtet und fällt!

Denn sein ist die Rache und sein das Gericht,
Und die Toten vergessen die Lebenden nicht,
Sie schweigen und warten und lassen sich Zeit,
Denn den Toten gehört die Ewigkeit.

Und wehe dem, der vieltausendmal
Den Mord geplant und den Mord befahl,
Denn vergossenes Blut färbt die Hände rot,
Und Tote gibt es, die sind nicht tot.

Die lauern ihm auf, die folgen ihm nach,
Die mahnen ihn stündlich an seine Schmach,
Und Gott erhebt sich vom goldenen Stuhl
Und stößt ihn hinab in den höllischen Pfuhl.

Denn der Gott, der über den Sternen thront,
Ist ein eifriger Gott, der straft und belohnt,
Der das Verborgenste kennt und spricht:
Mein ist die Rache und mein das Gericht.

Denn so steht es geschrieben: Hand um Hand,
Wunde um Wunde, Brand um Brand!
So steht es geschrieben mit Flammenglut:
Auge um Auge, Blut um Blut!

E I N A B S C H I E D

Am Wege draußen liegen
 Zwei Gräber unterm Schnee —
 Da muß ich noch vorüber,
 Wenn ich nun wandern geh:
 Da grab ich aus dem Grunde
 Mir eine Handvoll Sand,
 Die will ich mit mir tragen
 Hinaus ins fremde Land.

Und eine mag wohl weinen,
 Weil sie verlassen blieb —
 Doch morgen, ach, schon morgen
 Herzt sie ein ander Lieb —
 Dann ist mir nichts geblieben,
 Und alles still und leer —
 O Gott, mein Gott, dann habe
 Ich keine Heimat mehr!

Nun wird es still und traurig
 In Heide und Geheg,
 Eiskalte Nebel suchen
 Sich durch das Tal den Weg —
 Und ich muß alles lassen,
 Was mein war lange Zeit,
 Und wandern muß ich, wandern
 Gott weiß allein, wie weit.

Das Mühlrad ist zerbrochen,
 Im Winde knarrt das Tor,
 Und auf dem stillen Teiche
 Verfault der Kahn im Rohr;
 Die Blumen sind verdorben
 Schon lange vor der Zeit,
 Die Welt wie ausgestorben,
 Und jeder Pfad verschneit.

HESSISCHE HEIMAT

Auf tausend Äckern wogt und reift das Korn,
Die Berge ragen hoch, die Wälder steigen
Zum Tale nieder: Stille rings und Schweigen,
Man hört das Raunen tief im Wiesenborn.

Das wirre Tosen der lebend'gen Zeit
Dringt nicht herab zu diesen grünen Fluren,
Von fern herüber schlagen träg die Uhren,
Als zählten sie den Gang der Ewigkeit.

So hab ich es geliebt, das stille Land,
Und es belauscht und seinen Sinn verstanden:
Die Wogen draußen, die wie Donner branden,
Verlaufen hier gemächlich sich im Sand.

Hier reift das Korn und ungehört verklingt
Das wüste Rühmen zügelloser Taten —
Doch eine Lerche hebt sich aus den Saaten
Und schwingt sich sonnenwärts und singt
und singt.

EINMAL WERDEN WIR NICHT MEHR SEIN

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Einmal werden wir nicht mehr sein,
Fremde Geschlechter werden die Erde bewohnen,
Fremde Menschen aus fernen unnennbaren
 Zonen —
Ewig bleiben nur Regen und Sonnenschein.

Einmal erkaltet die Sonne und löscht ihr Licht,
Keine Sterne werden mehr glitzern und funkeln,
Alles, was schön ist, erstarrt und versinkt
 im Dunkeln,
Aber die es erleben, die wissen es nicht.

Niemand wird wissen, daß wir gewesen sind,
Niemand wird jemals unsere Namen nennen,
Niemand unsere Gräber kennen —
Ruhlos wie immer weht dort der ewige Wind.

KLEINES LIEBESLIED

In meinem stillen Herzen
Ist eine Rose erblüht,
Luftige, duftige Träume
Huschen durch mein Gemüt.

Über die blauen Berge,
Über das grüne Revier
Fliegen meine Gedanken,
Fliegen hinaus zu dir.

Weil du nicht ahnst, wie mein Herze
Heimlich sich sehnt und glüht,
Leg ich mit wortlosen Grüßen
Dir meine Rose zu Füßen,
Ehe sie welkt und verblüht.

MEXIKANISCHES VOLKSLIED

Wenn ich die Tür dir öffnen soll,
Bring einen goldnen Ring,
Poch leise an mein Fensterlein,
Ganz leise nur, klingkling.

Brauchst keine Schuhe, keinen Rock,
Brauchst weder Hemd noch Hut,
Brauchst nur das Ringlein klingklingkling,
Dann bin ich dir schon gut.

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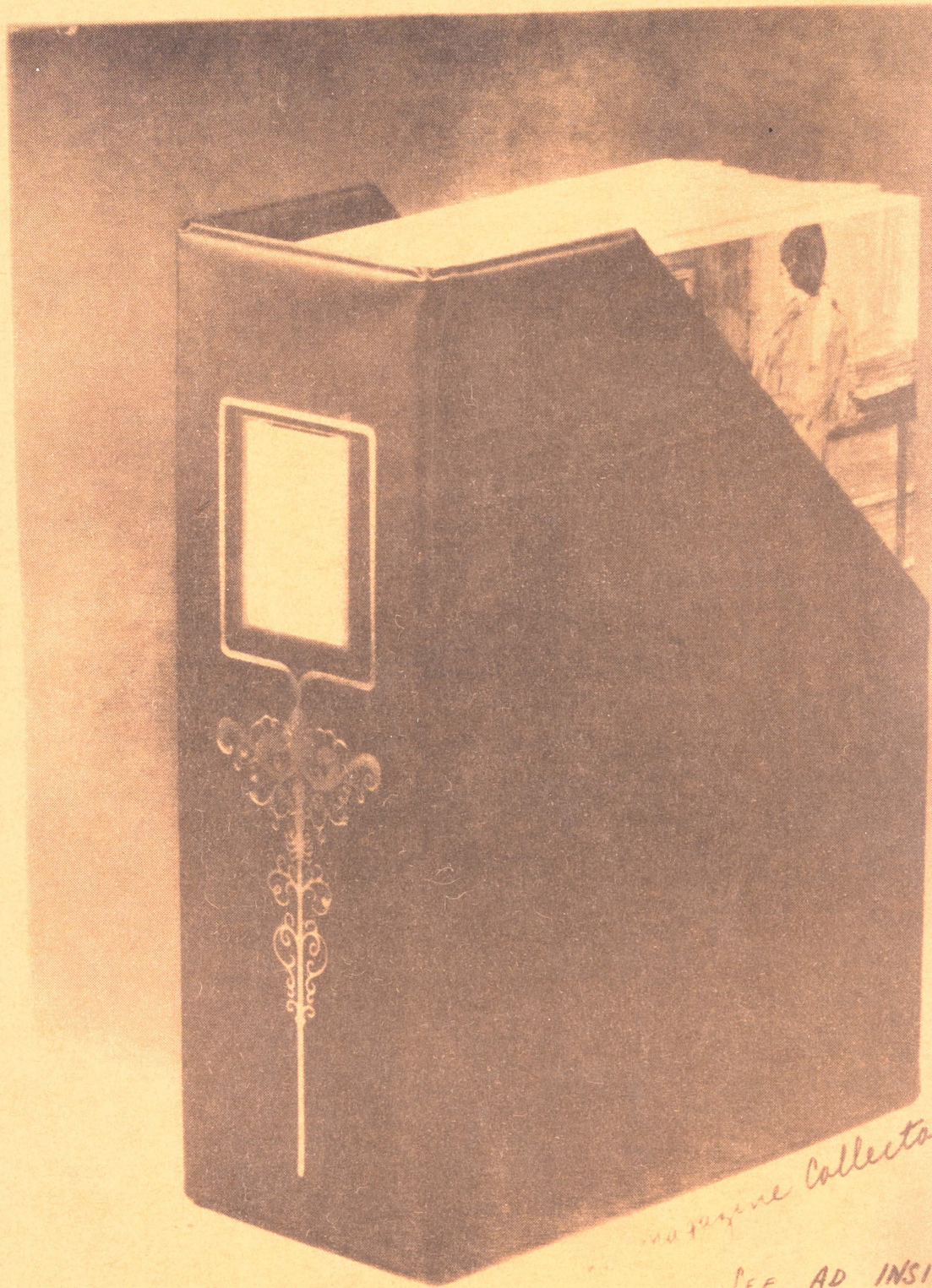
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