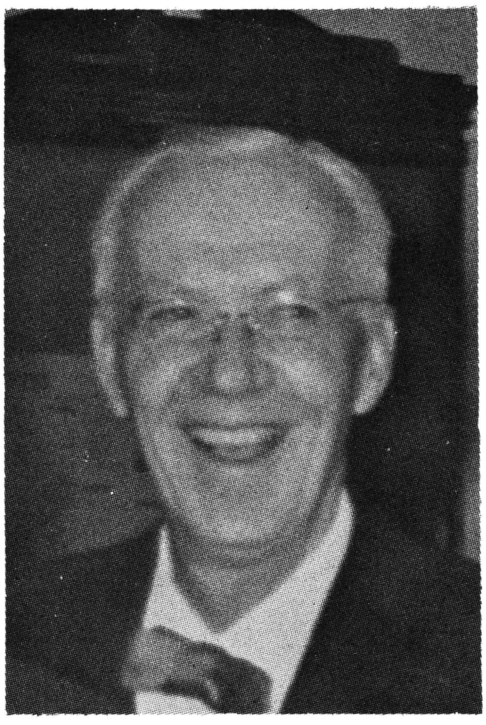
HENRY A. POCHMANN IN MEMORIAM



On January 13, 1973 emeritus professor Henry A. Pochmann passed away at his home in Nacogdoches, Texas. He was one of the world's greatest authorities on American and German-American literature and culture. Born on January 5, 1901 in Round Top, Texas, Dr. Pochmann received his B.A. from Southwest State College in 1923, an M.A. from the University of Texas in 1924, and a Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina in 1928. A recipient of numerous honors for his scholarship, he also studied at the British Museum and at the Universities of Heidelberg and Munich. He taught as a member of the faculties of Stephen F. Austin State College, the University of North Carolina, Louisiana State University, the University of Mississippi, Mississippi State College, and from 1938 until his retirement in 1971 at the Madison Campus of the University of Wisconsin. In addition to his service as dean of the Graduate School of Mississippi State College, Dr. Pochmann was a fellow of the Rockefeller Foundation in 1936-37 and 1939, and of the Huntington Library in 1947. He served as visiting professor at Southwest Texas State Teachers College, the University of Iowa, and at the Graduate School of New York University.

In recognition of his contributions to the study and teaching of American literature, Dr. Pochmann was named chairman for 1966 of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association, which he had helped organize. In 1970-71 he was a senior fellow at the Institute for

Research in the Humanities at the University of Wisconsin. A recognized authority on Washington Irving, he served as the General Editor of the first three volumes of that writer's collected works being compiled under the aegis of the University of Wisconsin Press and the Center for Editions of American Authors.

Among Dr. Pochmann's monumental works are:

German Culture in America: 1600-1900 (1957);

New England Transcendentalism and St. Louis Hegelianism (1949);

Masters of American Literature (2 vols., 1949) edited with G. W. Allen;

Bibliography of German Culture in America to 1950 (1953) compiled and edited with A. Schultz.

Dr. Pochmann is survived by his wife, the former Virginia Ruth Fouts, his daughter, Mrs. Theodore Weis, and two grandchildren. Although this editor did not have the privilege to meet Dr. Pochmann in person, I did have the honor of having him review the ms. to my forthcoming bio-bibliographical dictionary of German-American authors which Dr. Pochmann recommended for publication shortly before his demise. Dr. Henry Pochmann's dedication and invaluable contributions to knowledge will serve not only as great milestones in the history of academics and scholarship, but also as an inspiration to the scholarly world to close the gaps of knowledge remaining in the field of German-American literature so that this body of writing may take its rightful place in the annals of literary creativity rooted in American soil.

R. E. W.

FRIEDA VOIGT IN MEMORIAM

On September 5, 1973 Professor Frieda Voigt passed away in San Rafael California where she had resided since June, 1971. She is survived by her daughter, Mrs. William Epstein. Prof. Voigt was born Frieda Meyer on January 29, 1899 in Chicago. In 1925 she married Rudolf Voigt (1899-1956), noted German-American poet and writer.

A graduate of the National German Teachers' Seminary in Milwaukee, Frieda Voigt taught English in Nebraska, and was subsequently appointed to the German faculty at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee. She earned her B.A. degree in 1922, and her M.A. from the University of Wisconsin in 1937. A member of the MLA, AAUP, AAUW, Central States MLTA, and the Milwaukee Historical Society, Prof. Voigt helped organize the Wisconsin Chapter of the AATG, and served as third vice-president of the national AATG. She was active in the functions of the National German Teachers' Seminary Alumni Association, the Wisconsin Sprach- und Schulverein, and the Milwaukee Goethe Haus. In 1967, Prof. Voigt retired from her position at the Milwaukee Center of the University of Wisconsin at which she had served as acting chairman of the German Department from 1941 to 1946.

Frieda Voigt was an active supporter of the Society for German-American Studies and of scholarship in the area of German-American culture. A personal acquaintance of numerous German-American poets and writers, Prof. Voigt

authored several scholarly articles which appeared in American and Canadian journals.

Although this editor did not have the privilege to meet Frieda Voigt in person, he did enjoy a short correspondence with her. The warmness and grace of Frieda Voigt's letters reveal some of the traits of a woman of dedication, gentle humor, and devotion to the beauty of nature, of poetry, and of life. Her life has served not only as an inspiration to her students, colleagues, and friends, but also to the poetic art of her talented husband whose beautiful love lyrics represent a memorial to her existence.

R. E. W.

VIELLEICHT KEHRE ICH ZURÜCK

Vielleicht kehre ich zurück
Abends. Leichter wie Vögel
In Träumen schwingend. Azur.
Heimatstadt, Kinderglück —
Verblasste Spur.

Ein Licht wartet verlassen.
Fluss, Gärten, und Wälder —
Hymne im Windakkord.
Mild duftende Felder.

Die Dorfgasse verbleicht.
Die Zigeuner geigen.
Blaue Aster zuletzt,
Verrauscht Sommer in Zweigen.
Wo bist du jetzt . . .

Anna Krommer
Washington, D. C.

DORA GRUNEWALD: REMINISCENCES

by

ERWIN F. RITTER
University of Wisconsin — River Falls

Whenever Milwaukee German-Americans assembled in fellowship during the troubled times of World War II, the spirited voice of Dora Grunewald was sure to be heard as a part of the program for that day. Her presence usually marked the cultural highlight of the day's activities: her words always evoked nostalgic recollections in the hearts of her countrymen toward the historically rich legacy of the German nation. In her own way she rekindled and recalled for her audience the humanistic ideals of the Humboldtean educational system known to every German school child. Such was the value of her own verse at these occasions which expressed the sentiments dear to Germans at a time when their national allegiances were being sorely tried. From her poetic themes Germans could derive a needed consolation and pride in their homeland which reassured them that the political tragedy of the moment was but a passing one.

Born in Hanau, near Frankfurt on December 31, 1895, Dora Grunewald is the eldest of a family of three daughters. Her father was an architect whom she describes as "a studious and nature-loving man."[1] Both of her parents shared a particular love of poetry and nature. Able to read when she was three years old, word-rhyming came to her early as a mode of self-expression. Because of the nature of the father's profession, the family often moved: Dresden, Chemnitz, Offenburg, and lastly Braunschweig.

After finishing her formal education, Dora Grunewald attended a business college for a year, worked another year in an attorney's office, and then studied for the next four years at Teachers' Preparatory College at Rothenburg/Fulda.

From 1918 until 1922 she taught in a small country school in the province Hesse-Nassau and for a time in Hanover. Deciding to take a leave of absence from her position in Hanover, Dora Grunewald came to Milwaukee, her present home. In Milwaukee she was to meet her future husband, thus ending her teaching career in Germany.

With the birth of a son, now a professor of finance and business administration at Michigan State-East Lansing, she devoted all of her time to her family. Nevertheless, she pursued during these years the study of languages and continued to write verse during her leisure hours. Her poems were regularly printed in German-American newspapers. She also attended classes at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and Marquette University where she studied Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, and Russian. Ultimately, she was awarded an M. A. in German from Marquette University in 1960. While taking courses at these universities, Dora Grunewald substituted in practically all of the Milwaukee area high schools until she received a permanent position at Washington High School. Here she taught Spanish, German, and Ancient History until her retirement in 1968. Even before grade school foreign language instruction (FLES Programs) became popular, Mrs. Grunewald conducted German classes for thirty-two years at one of the Milwaukee *Freie Gemeinden* centers. It was as a grade schooler that the writer of this article received his first formal introduction to German at one of these Saturday morning sessions. Still active at the present, Dora Grunewald continues to offer regular evening classes in Italian, Spanish, French, Russian, and English-for-the-foreign-born at the Central YMCA in Milwaukee.

By her own admission, Dora Grunewald is a nature poet. Nature is the main theme and interest of her verse. In the "Foreword" to her *Gedichte* she explains the underlying intent of her collection of poems which in its inspiration resembles the Goethean *Weltanschauung,* especially the poet's views of man and nature during the classical years at Weimar which were

to become the inheritance of the German Romantics, and the legacy of German Idealism: "Die Gedichte dieses kleinen Buches sind der tiefsinnigen Liebe zur Natur entsprungen. Der Mensch ist ein Teil der Natur, und nur in enger Verbindung mit ihr kann er rein, wahr und glücklich bleiben. Ich habe das selbst an mir erlebt. Draussen, in freier Gottesnatur, fern von der grossen Stadt, fällt so vieles Hässliche vom Menschen ab. Er denkt und fühlt freier, und die Seele bekommt Flügel."[2]

Poetry has been a way of life for Dora Grunewald, and as she confesses, her "greatest joy."[3] Before her husband passed away, the Grunewalds used to spend weekends at their lake cottage at Bark Lake near Milwaukee. Each time they returned from the lake to their home in the city, she brought along a poem or two which had been inspired by being close to nature. The small collection of her verse entitled *Gedichte* is but a sampling of the verse she has written over the years. In a year or so Mrs. Grunewald intends to have a second volume of verse published. At the present, however, her poems appear almost weekly in the *Milwaukee Herold,* a German-American newspaper printed in Omaha, Nebraska. Thus she continues to enjoy a special talent that has given so much meaning to her life.

If nature is the thematic material *(Stoff)* of Dora Grunewald's verse, then the message *(Inhalt)* of her poems reflects the moral presence of the Creator in the universe. The seasonal moods and nature's phenomena are a source of inexhaustible joy to her:

Wenn der Schnee zergeht
und der Lenzwind weht,
ist mein Herz so froh,
so hoffnungsvoll, so frei.

Wenn die Sonne glüht,
und die Rose blüht,
jauchz ich auf in tiefer,
voller Sommerlust.

. . . . . .

Ist zur Winterzeit
alles eingeschneit,
staunt mein Auge
ob der weissen, hehren Pracht.

Mögen Blitze glüh'n,
schwarze Wolken zieh'n,
immer, Erde, bist du, ach
unendlich schön.[4]

Der Winter floh, es kam der Frühling,
und nun die gold'ne, heisse Zeit.
So reihen Jahre sich an Jahre,
wie liegst du, Jugend, ach so weit!

Bald naht der Herbst, die Früchte reifen.
Es eilt die Zeit, sie steht nie still.
Sie zieht mich mit in Riesenschritten.
Wie lange wohl? Nun, wie Gott will.[5]

Yet that joy which pervades the poetess' celebration of nature is always closely linked with the deeper awareness of the Divine Presence:

Es zucken Blitze, Donner grollen.
Ich sage leis ein fromm Gebet.
Nichts hat Bestand in allen Welten.
Nur ewig Gottes Geist besteht.[6]

Durch deine Träume
wehet der Hauch der Ewigkeit.[7]

Jahre kommen, Jahre gehen,
Und ich ziehe meine Bahn,
Folgend ewigen Gesetzen,
Doch das Aug' glänzt sternenan.[8]

Gott der Welten: voller Inbrunst
nennt mein Mund den Namen dein.[9]

The solace that comes to man in returning to a natural setting where he can once more be responsive to musing about the origins of life, makes the return trip to his "civilized" life style increasingly difficult. This recurrent motif echoes Dora Grunewald's devotion to nature:

Es brennt die Sonne aufs weisse Gestein,
es flimmert die Luft im Mittagsschein
Die Menge jagt in wilder Hast,
die grosse Stadt kennt keine Rast.

. . . . . .

Da sitzt verträumt an der Mauer Rand
ein alter Mann; mit blasser Hand
wehrt er dem grellen Sonnenlicht.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

Und Stunde um Stunde er starrt und träumt,
ihn eilet nicht, er nichts versäumt,
und niemand ruft ihn, volle Liebe bereit:
Die grosse Stadt hat keine Zeit.[10]

Das ist die grosse Stadt,
die steinerne Stadt,
die keine Seele hat,
wo die Menschen sich drängen
durch der Strassen Engen,
sich mühen und plagen,
das Glück zu erjagen,
zu erhaschen das Geld,
das ihre Sinne gefangen hält.

Doch tief drinnen im Herzen
brennen heisse Schmerzen.
Da rührt sich ein Sehnen
nach Licht und nach Sonne,
nach Reinheit, nach Wonne,
nach Atmen in freier Gottesnatur.[11]

The stylistic format of Dora Grunewald's verse is undoubtedly rooted in the tradition of the *Volkslied: the* words are direct, the message clear, the prosody and melody simple and unadorned. Poems which exemplify the folk element in her verse are those which reflect upon the cultural adjustment experienced by the German in a strange land. These poems single her out as a distinctively German-American poetess and endeared her to the generation of the war years:

Lang, lang ist es her,
seit ich kam übers Meer
in das neue Land,
das ich Heimat genannt.

Ich strebt' voran mit Herz und Hand,
schuf mir ein neues Heimatland.
Die Jahre flohen schnell dahin
Es jagt der Mensch nach Glück, Gewinn.

Viel Ängste gab's und Sorg' und Plag',
an Mühen reich war jeder Tag.
Es wuchs das Haus, der Freunde Zahl,
und Liebe lacht beim vollen Mahl.

Doch oft, in tiefer Abendstund',
wenn selig schweigt der Kindermund
und still die müde Hände ruh'n
von all des Tages em'sem Tun,

die Seele fliegt ins Heimatland,
dort, wo das Vaterhaus einst stand,
und träumt und denkt der holden Zeit.

O Kinderland, wie liegest du weit!
O Eltern traut, o Jugendglück!
was einstmals war, kehrt nie zurück.

Der Morgen graut, der Tag beginnt.
Heiss mir im Aug' die Träne rinnt
Fahr wohl, fahr wohl mein Kinderland!
Es ruh' auf dir des Glückes Hand![12]

Was ist das schönste Lied auf Erden?
Das Lied, das einst die Mutter sang
als ich daheim bei ihr gesessen,
ihr süsses Lied ins Ohr mir drang.
Was ist so teuer meinem Herzen?
Der Mutter Sprache, Mutter Laut,
die sie mit frommen Eifer lehrte
dem Kind, das gläubig ihr vertraut.
Was ist der schönste Platz auf Erden?
Der Ort, wo meine Wiege stand,
wo ich der Jugend Traum gelebet,
geleitet an der Mutter Hand.

Nie könnt' der Heimät ich vergessen,
sie machte stark mich, fromm und gut.
O Heimatsprache, Heimaterde,
mögs stehen du in Gottes Hut.[13]

To the German-American immigrant the aforegoing nostalgic expressions denote a cultural void that evokes nostalgic reminders. To the native of this land such sentiments are often received unfavorably — based on a lack of appreciation for the cultural ties which are strongest in the lingual development of the child. Dora Grunewald's verse voices the immigrant's indelible romance with the language of childhood: the only cultural legacy that most stubbornly resists Americanization. The unpublished poems, "Muttersprache" and "Amerika und Deutschland," summarize this very human plight of the German-American: his deep gratitude toward the land of his adoption, and his lingual privation which is his deepest awareness of all that we conveniently label *Heimweh:*

Amerika und Deutschland,
zwei Länder gross und schön!
Wer hätt' in allen Zeiten
je Fein'res wohl gesehen?

Und als in schwersten Zeiten
es arm, verlassen stand,

Amerika, du Grosse, gabst
helfend ihm die Hand.

Kunst, Denken, Fühlen, Wissen
tauscht ihr mit'ander aus.

. . . . . .

Amerika und Deutschland,
zwei Länder kühn und schön,
mög' eurer Freundschaft Bande
nun nimmermehr vergeh'n.

Mög' Weisheit stets Euch leiten,
in schicksalschwerster Zeit
zum Heile aller Völker
für jetzt und Ewigkeit.[14]

Die Sprache ist ein Heil'ges Erbe,
uns von den Vätern anvertraut,
dass wir getreulich hüten, pflegen
der Kindheit Lieder süssen Laut.
Wo du auch immer mögest weilen,
in fremdem Orte, fernem Land:
Die Muttersprache sei dir heilig,
gewalt'ger Schätze Unterpfand.
Und bist allein du, und verlassen,
drängt dich die Welt in irrem Lauf,
so falte still die müden Hände,
schau gläubig du zum Himmel auf.
Dann in der Muttersprache Lauten
formt sich in dir ein fromm Gebet,
der Kindheit Zauber liegt darinnen,
ein Glaube, der im Kampf besteht.
O Muttersprache, schönstes Erbe,
das Gott uns in der Wiege gab.
O pflege sie, sie sei dir heilig
dein ganzes Leben bis zum Grab.[15]

In conclusion what can be recorded of Dora Grunewald's life and verse? From her verse which is the record of her life we know she treasures a lifelong communion with nature, she raises her voice in pious gratitude for the gift of life, she nourishes an abiding love of the language and the land of her birth. She writes of a Germany known in her childhood, a Germany that has seen many changes, but whose cultural richness endures in the hearts of those who have made a home in foreign lands. In her recollection and praise of this Germany, the cultural Germany which transcends time and survives with each succeeding generation, she truly can be termed a patriot viewing the lasting qualities of her heritage in a foreign context. Such a literary disposition is, in essence, the ledger of German-American literature. Yet beyond the national traits of Dora Grunewald's poetry and life one senses notes of a deeper admission: her work conveys a happiness that can only come from personal contentment, a mystery in every land and age.

NOTES

1. Biographical material has been taken from Mrs. Grunewald's correspondence of July 16, 1972 with the author of this study.
2. D. Grunewald, **Gedichte** (Milwaukee, 1967), p. 3.
3. **Grunewald-Ritter Correspondence.**
4. "Wenn der Schnee zergeht," **Gedichte,** p. 9. Hereafter only titles from this work will be cited.
5. "Sommerandacht," p. 20.
6. **Loc. cit.**
7. "Schlummerlied," p. 39.
8. "Sehnsucht," p. 45.
9. "Leise senkt die Nacht sich nieder," p. 47.
10. "Stadtbild," p. 78.
11. "Die grosse Stadt," p. 86.
12. "Fernes Gedenken," pp. 42-43.
13. "Heimatsprache, Heimaterde," p. 83.
14. "Amerika und Deutschland" (1972).
15. "Muttersprache" (1972).

VERFALLENES DEUTSCHES WIRTSHAUS IM MOHAWKTAL

Ein Wirtshaus hier
mit grossem Saal,
dort sangen unsere Sänger,
sie tranken sonntags kühles Bier
und ruhten im Garten lang und länger.

Verklungen längst die Sängerfeste,
das Wirtshaus stirbt, steht grau und morsch,
im Friedhof ruhen seine Gäste,
doch Gläser klingen, Geister singen —
horch, ja horch!

Herman F. Brause
Rochester, N. Y.

THE GERMAN-AMERICAN VERSE OF DR. FRANZ LAHMEYER

by

RAYMOND A. WILEY
Le Moyne College, Syracuse, N. Y.

Sinnreiche Ei[nsichten]
in
Stundenfröh [lichkeit]
über me[in]
Vaterland Europa
verglichen mit der
Staatsverfassung und
Landesbeschaffenheit
gewidmet für
meine Europäis[c]hen Freunde
im Königreiche Hannover
von den dortigen Amerikanischen
Staaten
verfasst von
Franz Lahmeyer, M.D.

Baltimore
gedruckt auf Kosten des Verfassers
den 25sten Januar 1833

The manuscript thus titled is in the possession of Mrs. Erna Margaret Ward, R. N., of 428 East 66th Street, New York City, N.Y., from whom permission was obtained to copy and transcribe the same for purposes of publication. I am also indebted to her son, Thomas William Ward, who while a student of mine, made the manuscript available to me for study and investigation.

The following organizations and persons have cooperated in making available what little biographical information is known to exist concerning its author: The American Academy of the History of Dentistry; Baltimore City Health Department, Bureau of Vital Records; Baltimore City Records Management Officer; the late Dr. Dieter Cunz, Professor of German, The Ohio State University; Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore; German Society of Pennsylvania; Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, Stuttgart (Germany); The Johns Hopkins University, Welch Medical Library; The Journal of the American Dental Association; The Library of Congress, General Reference and Bibliography Division; Library of the Peabody Conversatory (Dielmann's Morgue), Baltimore; The Maryland Historical Society; State of Maryland, Hall of Records; Maryland State Library; Maryland Synod of the Lutheran Church in America; Medical College of Ohio at Toledo; (U.S.) National Archives; National Carl Schurz Association; Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv and Niedersächsische Staatsbibliothek, Hannover (Germany); Old Zion Lutheran Church, Baltimore; Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland; U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service; University of Maryland, Baltimore College of Dental Surgery; University of Maryland, McKeldin Library; University of North Carolina Library; University of the State of N.Y., Upstate Medical Center Library; Verein zur Förderung der Zentralstelle für Deutsche Personen-und Familiengeschichte, Berlin (Germany); Virginia State Library; Mr. Jay Wright, genealogist, *Syracuse Herald-American;* Dr. Klaus Wust, New York. For the sincere help of all the above, even when the search proved fruitless, the present editor is deeply grateful.

Beyond the manuscript the only external evidence of Franz Lahmeyer comes from the General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C. as follows: "Our index to Baltimore passenger arrivals 1820-74 includes a card for F.R.F. Lahmeyer, dentist, Germany, age

not shown, who arrived aboard the ship not shown, on January 1, 1833."[1] Internal evidence from the title itself indicates a familiarity with the Kingdom of Hannover at that time, but there is no precise information to verify that Lahmeyer was born and raised there, that he subsequently returned there or to another part of Germany, or finally, that he remained in the United States for the rest of his life.

Tracing all possible leads, this editor checked records of Baltimore and Philadelphia, because these cities are mentioned in the MS. No reference to any Lahmeyer was found in the Baltimore city directories nor in those of nearby counties for 1835-60, nor in the Census Records of 1840. However *McElroy's Philadelphia, Pa. Directory for 1850* lists: "John Lahmeyer, cabinet maker, 7 Nicholson St."[2] The same person is listed as a piano maker, in the 1852 edition. In the 1857 edition, an A. Lahmeyer of 97 Callowhill is listed as a showcase maker. Unprinted U.S. Pension Records (Mexican War) in the National Archives, Washington, D.C. list a Private John H. Lahmeyer of Co. E. 1st Virginia Volunteers. Civil War Records list an Ernest Lahmeyer, 15th U.S. Cavalry (Michigan), and a William J. Lahmeyer, 5th U.S. Cavalry (Ohio). No connection between these names and the manuscript author has yet been established.

Lahmeyer's poem contains the basic Aristotelian triad: a beginning (Verses 1-5), a middle (6-43) and an end (44-49). The introductory portions hail Columbus and the freedom from slavery to be found in the promised land of America. Verses 6-9 stress the benefits of the new country, e.g. equality, brotherly love, absence of indenture and privileged classes. The comparison of the separate forms of "Staatserfassung und Landesbeschaffenheit" announced in the title is rather one-sided in its execution in the larger middle section of the manuscript. Verses 10-43 stress the evils of Europe's *ancien régime* (courtly leeches, wolfish officials, stupid nobles, crafty lawyers, etc.) punctuated with a wistful sigh for the truth of the court fool (13), and negative contrasts to the good con-

ditions in America (17, 23, 24, 26, 29, 38, 39, 42, 43), viz. free hunting and fishing, no petty taxes, freedom of vocation, honoring of God, a volunteer army, and a better future. The conclusion (44-49) consists of a rebuttal to anyone disagreeing with the author's stance, an admonition to avoid useless revolution, and personal scandal, and a final plea for Germans to come to America.

The manuscript consists of six sheets of good parchment paper measuring 20½ x 16½ cm (8x6½ in.) folded, sewn into a booklet and written continuously on both sides except for the inside of the cover sheet and the last five half sheets thus formed. Nearly seven German verses fit on each double fold of the booklet. The hand of the poem proper is in the old style German Fraktur script (still in use until the earlier part of the present century). Spelling reflects varied usage before the standardization under the Second Reich in the latter part of the last century. The cover half page is written in Roman script, equivalent to British and American handwriting of the day. Other peculiarities of orthography will be noted as they occur in the verses themselves. For special assistance in deciphering parts of the manuscript, I am indebted to the late Dr. Albert A. Scholz, Emeritus Professor of German, Syracuse University.

☆ ☆ ☆

Melodie hierauf ist: Jüngling willst du dich Verbinden. :Die beiden letzten Reihen müssen bei jedem Verse wiederholt werden:[3]

1.

Heil dir Kolumbus, sey gepriesen,
Sei hochgeehrt in Ewigkeit,
Du hast uns einen Weg gewiesen,
Der uns aus harter Dienstbarkeit
Erretten kann, wenn man es wagt,
Und seinem Vaterland entsagt.

2.

Entledigt euch der Sklavenketten,
Die euch und eure Kinder drückt, [sic]
Und wählet euch die Blumenbetten
Womit sich unser Boden schmückt,
Ja, er verschafft uns Fröhligkeit[4]
Nach unsrer harten Dienstbarkeit.

3.

Wir sehn mit wehmuthsvollem Blicke
In die Vergangenheit zurücke
Ja, wir verwünschen die Geschicke
Die euch mit Sklavenketten drückt,
Wo euch beständig bis zum Tod
Die harte Sklavenpeitsche droht.

4.

Habt ihr bei allen euren Sorgen
Auch oftmals nicht das liebe Brod.[5]
Bringt euch ein jeder neuer Morgen
Nur neuen Gram und Hungersnoth;
So tröstet eure Kinder da
Mit diesem Land, Amerika.

5.

Ja, Freunde könnt ihr es bezwekken[5]
Reich' euer Vermögen nur so weit,
So lasst die Reise euch nicht schrekken,[5]
Und setzet sie in Tätigkeit,
So werdet ihr nach langem[6] Pein
Doch wieder bei uns glücklich seyn.

6.

Ja, hier in dem gelobten Lande
Wo treue Brüderliebe gilt,
Da wohnen wir am Brunnenrande,
Wo Gottes Segen häufig quillt;
Und jeder frohe Sonnenblick
Vergrössert unser Erdenglück.

7.

Ja hier in dem gelobten Lande
Wird unser Glück durch nichts gestört
Hier wird der Mensch von jedem Stande
Als wahrer Bruder hochgeehrt;
Hier tanzt die Bürgermeisterin
Selbst nebst der Besenbinderin.

8.

Hier ist der Mensch an nichts gebunden,
Was er erwirbt, gehört auch sein.
Die Steuern sind noch nicht erfunden,
Die euch das Leben macht zur Pein.[6]
Wer hier nur wirbet, der hat Brod,[5]
Und fühlet nicht der Lebensnoth.[7]

9.

Ja wir erkennen keinen Fürsten
Der uns bis zur Verzweiflung prellt.
Auch nicht die Gauner, die da dursten
Nach euer[8] Gut und euer[8] Geld;
Auch sind von Pfaffen-Bettelei
Wir im gelobten Lande frei.

10.

Was nützen die Gnadenfresser
Euch, dass der König sie ernährt?
Es ist ein Volk, ich weiss es besser,
Ein Volk das euer Mark verzehrt,
Ein Volk das weiter zu nichts taugt
Als dass es euer Blut absaugt.

11.

Dies Volk das brüstet sich als Pfauen
Und schleicht bei Tage wie bei Nacht,
Ist bloss mit ihren Räuber-Klauen
Auf euern Untergang bedacht;
Ein Mitglied so aus diesem Heer
Heisst sogar Steuer-Control[l]eur.

12.

Man dürft' sie mit dem Tiegernamen[5]
Betiteln, dies wär' ihnen recht,
Denn diese Thiere nach zu ahmen
Darauf verstehn die sich nicht schlecht,
Selbst mit der Steuer-Direction
Zertheilen sie die Raub-Portion.

13.

O! kehrt zurück ihr goldene Zeiten,
Wo der Hofnarr gebräuchlich war;
Der dem Regenten die Wahrheiten
Vor Augen stellte, hell und klar,
Dann bleibet nur in Freuden da
In eurem Lande Europa.

14.

Doch mancher Fürst der sieht gelassen
Sein hohes Ministerium
Ihr fein[9] Gesetzbuch abzustassen,[10]
Als sei er dazu selbst zu dumm,
So lässt Er diese Natterbrut
Die Zügel los, und heisst es gut.

15.

Ja diese hochgeehrten Männer
Bestehn aus Grafen mancher Art,
Sehr selten sind es Menschenkenner,
Doch weil sich Gleich zu Gleichem paart,
Ist oft der dümmste Herr Baron
Der nächste an dem Fürstenthron.

16.

Der Adel hat in allen Fällen
In Europa den ersten Sitz;
Er spielt den Grossen auf den Bällen
Und was er spricht, das heisst man Witz.
Doch stünd' er, wenns sein Stand nicht thät',
Kaum da wo jetzt sein Christoph[11] steht.

17.

Doch hier in dem gelobten Lande
Da wird der Adel ganz veracht';
Hier übt der Mensch von jedem Stande
Die freie Fischerei und Jagd.
Und selbst der stolz'ste Herr Baron,
Gilt nichts mehr wie der Bauernsohn.

18.

O! Deutschland du bist zu beklagen,
Du hast in Dummheit angestellt
Beamte, die euch immer plagen
Mit dem Berichtengeld.
Bei dem ist schon der Auditor
Ein Tieger[5] mit in ihrem Chor.

19.

Ihr müsst mit Zittern und mit Zagen
Den Wölfen untergeben sein,
Und alles mit Geduld ertragen,
Denn diese Ochsen sind nicht fein:
Hierdurch versteh' ich Polizei,
Beamte, Landvogt, Canzelei.

20.

Ihr Untervögte und Pedellen;
Du Wigbolds-Diener,[12] Bettelvogt,
Euch will ich ein Quartier bestellen
Im Missis[s]ip[p]i, wo es wogt.
Wollt ihr das nicht, so bleibt nur da;
Und kommt nicht nach Amerika.

21.

Beinahe hätte ich vergessen
Den Dr. Juris Procrator;[13]
Die thun euch zwar nicht ganz auffressen,
Doch ziehn sie auch den Beutel leer.
Und so ein Teufels-Kamerad[14]
Ist oft noch Mitglied in dem Rath.

22.

Durch ihn verliert der Implorant
Sehr leicht sein ganzes Hab' und Gut;
Denn diese Teufels-Anverwandten
Verstehn das Beutelschneiden gut,
So geht es auch dem Implort,[15]
Der so einen Wolf zum Anwalt hat.

23.

So wissen wir auch zum Exempel
In dem gelobten Lande hier
Nicht das geringste von dem Stempel
Auf Karten oder Schreibpapier.
Auch schleicht sich der Gewerbeschein
Nicht hier wie da in Deutschland ein.

24.

Hier darf ein jeder nach Belieben
Geschäfte treiben, die er kann;
Die Steuern sind nicht übertrieben,
Die wir entrichten dann und wann,
Auch kennen wir keinen Salzfaktor
Und keinen Schreiber an dem Thor.

25.

Die Fürstbedienten da im Lande
Sind übermuthig, dumm und stolz;
Den Unterthan vom geringsten Stande
Verschaffen sie für dürres Holz,
Und für so kleine Fischerei
In die Gewalt der Polizei.

26.

Wie glücklich leben wir dagegen
In diesem Reich der Herrlichkeit.
Man kann sich nach Gedanken pflegen
Und ist zum Wohlthun gern bereit,
Auch wird man, wenn man Gott verehrt
Durch Nahrungssorgen nicht gestört.

27.

Und ihr erwacht mit jedem Morgen
Zu neuer Last und neuer Pein;
Euch foltern stets die Nahrungssorgen
Von den der Tod euch kann befrein,
Und eure beste Lebenszeit
Ist Arbeit, Müh und Herzeleid.

28.

Und wenn die Vorsicht eure Ehe
Mit gute Kinder[16] hat beschenkt,
Wie thut es dann euch Eltern wehe,
So oft ihr an die Lösung[17] denkt
Wo dann eu'r Sohn von zwanzig Jahr
Wird commandirt[5] von ein'm Barbar.

29.

Doch hier in den vereinten Staaten
Bedienet man sich keiner Gewalt,
Denn wer hier Lust hat zum Soldaten,
Der wird auch untern Waffen alt,
Der, wer dafür ein[18] Abscheu hat,
Das wird kein tüchtiger Soldat.

30.

Doch dieses wird in eurem Lande
Auch nicht im geringsten nachgedacht,
Und es ist offenbare Schande
Dass man ein'n Mensch unglücklich macht
Der schon in seiner Jugendzeit
Zu allem Laster wird verleit'.

31.

Könnt ihr bei all[e]n euren Qualen
Den harten Fabrikanten nicht
Die kleine Rechnung gleich bezahlen
So zieht er euch vors Gericht,
Da läuft den[n] oft die Kostenzahl
Weit höher wie das Kapital.

32.

Ist das nicht offenbare Schande
Dass so ein Preller wird geduld't?
Kann denn der Mensch von geringem Stande
Die in der Noth gemachte Schuld
Gleich zahlen wenn man es begehrt
Und so mit Kosten es beschwert?

33.

Tyrannen die nach euch nichts fragen,
Die lassen ohn' Erbarmen froh
Euch alles aus dem Hause tragen,
Statt Betten lässt man euch das Stroh,
Da legt nun eure Kinder auf
Und opfert Gott die Leiden auf.

34.

Denn der Rechtswohlthat[19] zu erflehn
Das ist für Männer höhrer Art,
Die auf Betrügen sich verstehen
Von Wege Rechtens aufbewahrt,
Dadurch wird so ein Bankruttist[20]
Noch mehr wie es gewesen ist.

35.

Sie kriechen ihrer holden Frauen
Behutsam unter ihren Rock;
Indem sie durch ihr Schnürloch schauen,
Weiss ihre Frau bequem den Stock
Just führen gegen jede Macht,
Denn was da ist hab' sie gebracht.

36.

Das können aber nicht die Armen
So wenig wie der Mittelstand,
Und deshalb wird denn ohne Erbarmen
Die Ex'cution für sie erkannt;
Denn es bestechen, wie man spricht,
Die Thränen keinen Richter nicht.

37.

Doch kaum kann zum Konkurs sich melden
Ein grosser Herr, er wird gehört,
Weil durch dergleichen klugen Helden
Die Sportel-Kasse wird vermehrt,
Und deshalb stehn die Richter frei
Ein solchem Bankruttisten[20] bei.

38.

Wer wollte denn in solchem Lande,
Wo man es mit Betrügern hält,
Noch bleiben bis zum Grabesrande!
Nein, denn wir sind für eine Welt,
Die besser ist als eure da
Bestimmet in Amerika.

39.

Nicht Hochmuth hat uns fortgetrieben
Aus dem bedrückten Vaterland
Auch nicht von Habsucht angetrieben
Verliessen wir das theure Pfand;
Bloss weil man in die Zukunft sah,
Drum ging es nach Amerika.

40.

Ihr müsst euch in Europa bücken
Für jeden der ein Ämtchen hat,
Die aber nicht den Hut verrücken,
Weil oft ein alter Stadtsoldat,
Zum Landdragoner sich erhebt
Wofür das ganze Kirchspiel bebt.

41.

Ein solcher Held bei Friedenzeiten,
Der brüstet sich mit seinem Bart;
Gerathen sie in Streitigkeiten
So wird das Schelten nicht gespart.
Sie fangen Handwerksbursch[e]n auf,
Und lassen Dieben ihren Lauf.

42.

Wir denken stets an euch zurücke
So oft wir sitzen froh beim Wein.
O! wende traurige Geschicke,
Dass sich auch Deutschlands Brüder freun.
Hier ist zum täglichen Genuss
Das Fleisch und Brod[5] im Ueberfluss.[5]

43.

Accise braucht man nicht zu zahlen
Das heisst bei uns nur Prellerei,
Wir dürfen schlachten, dürfen mahlen
Hier steht ein jeder alles[21] frei,
Auch gelten keine Steuern hier,
Auf Salz, Wein, Brandewein[5] und Bier.

44.

So sey es mir vergönnt zu schliessen,
Da sich mein Lied zu enden zielt.
Und sollt es etwa wem verdrüssen,[22]
Der sich hierin getroffen fühlt,
Der werfe nicht die Schuld auf mich
Und gehe hin und bessre sich.

45.

Doch wollt ihr mich in Anspruch nehmen
So kommt nach Philadelphia
Da will ich euch denn bald bezähmen,
Für euch ist Holz zum Pranger da;
Wenn ihr dann niedlich daran prangt,
Dann habt ihr ja was ihr verlangt.

46.

Doch bleibt nur da ihr Galgenstrücke,[23]
Hallunken[5] seyd ihr durch die Bank;
Denn ihr gewinnt mit eurer Tücke
Bei uns nur Belzebubs-Gestank.
Denn euer letzter Lebensrest
Sei gelbes Fieber und die Pest.

47.

Euch aber auch, ihr deutschen[24] Brüder
Euch rath ich folget ihr mir nach,
Und leget auch die Fesseln nieder,
Die ich zu meinem Glück zerbrach,
Und kommt dann übers weite Meer
Zu mir im Paradiese[5] her.

48.

Ich will euch Brüder nicht verleiten
Zum Aufruhr, nein, bei Leibe nicht!
Könnt ihr die Kosten nur bestreiten,
So kommt zu mir und säumet nicht,
Dass man bei Rebellion verliert,
Das hat auch Hessenland[25] verspürt.

49.

Drum meide jedender[26] den Stempel,
Der losen Sitten sicher glaubt,
Damit ihr nicht durch das Exempel
Euch eure Freiheit selbst beraubt,
Und hiermit end' ich mein Gedicht
Nun kommet her und säumet nicht!

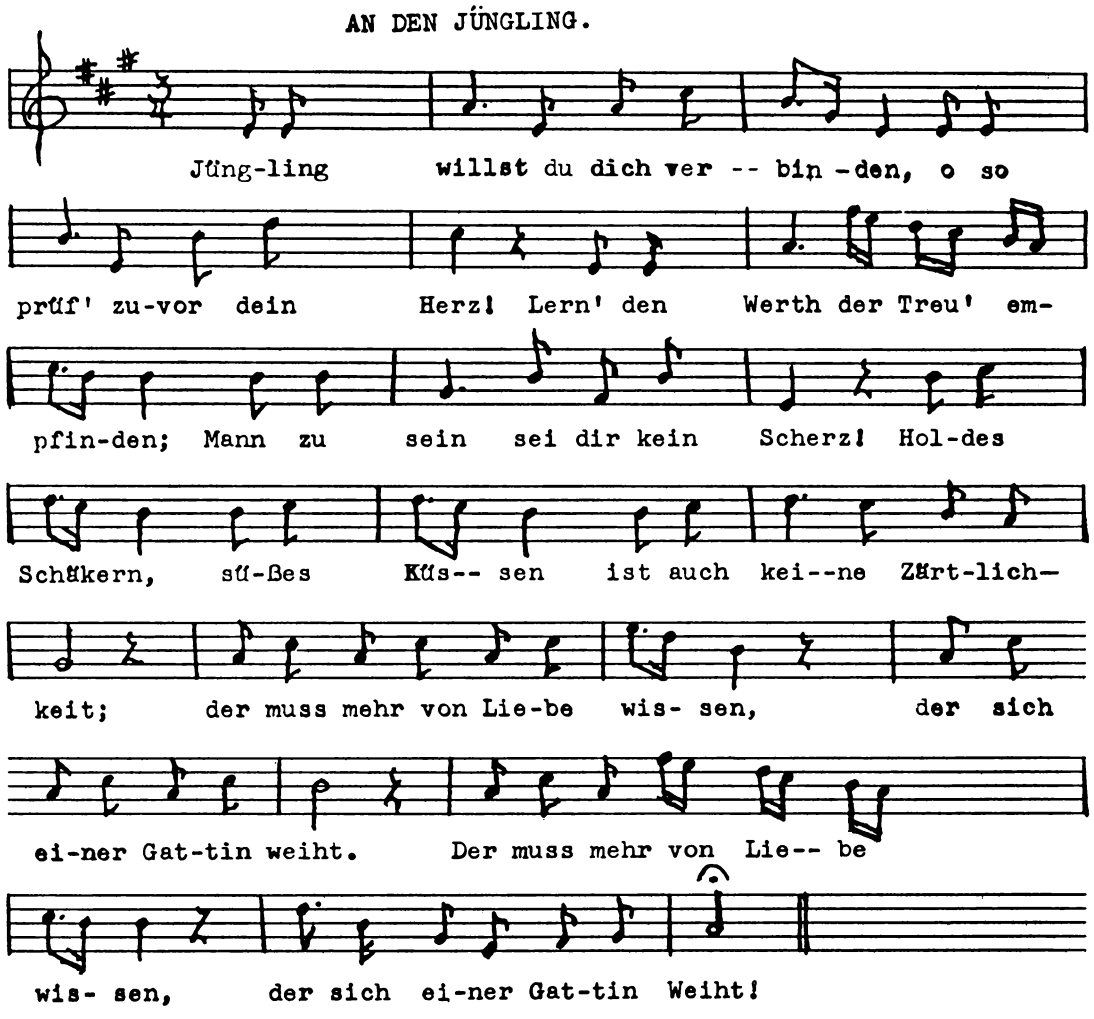
NOTES

1. Letter from U.S. General Services Administration, dated September 11, 1968 and photoprint from the **Index to Baltimore Passenger Arrivals: 1820-1874.**

2. Philadelphia: Biddle, 1850, p. 230.

3. In a letter from Dr. Wiegand Stief, Deutsches Volksliedarchiv, Freiburg, dated November 14, 1972, a photocopy of p. 231, **Zweite Sammlung beliebter Guitarrlieder,** ed. Franz Samans (Wesel: J. Bagel, 1849), gives musical notation and nine verse lines of a song entitled "An den Jüngling." Stief writes that the composer is unknown, that the extant version is probably a revision by Samans, and that the suggestion by A. H. Hoffmann von Fallersleben that it is a Volkslied is not conclusive because it is provided with rhythmic embellishments.

Below is a facsimile of the Samans edition transcribed by my daughter, Maureen E. Wiley.



[The original song has two quatrains in a rhyme scheme of abab, cded plus the repetition of the last 2 lines, whereas Lahmeyer's verse has varied the pattern to contain one quatrain of abab with a refrain of the two more lines he added-cc, making an eight-line stanza instead of ten. Meter is basically iambic tetrameter with frequent addition of an extra short syllable in lines 1, 3, 5, 7 in the original and in lines 1, 3 of Lahmeyer's. Generally, though not always, Lahmeyer's repeated lines emphasize the iambic quality. There are a number of exceptions and slips in this basically song-type rhythm, but a comparison of the two songs exhibits why the author reminded the reader to repeat the last lines of the shorter stanza and not to expect the longer format].

4. Dialect spelling, known in Frankfurt/M.
5. Spelling variants prior to 1890.
6. Should be feminine ending as in Verses 8 and 27 below.

7. Old genitive.
8. Modern usage requires dative case here.
9. Poetic omission of strong ending.
10. Poetic for **stossen** on account of rhyme.
11. Colloquial for **Diener.**
12. Unfavorable reference to Wigbold, Archbishop of Cologne (1297-1304), who as an elector voted to depose Emperor Adolf of Nassau in favor of Albrecht I of Austria; disputed with the latter and with city of Cologne over Rhine tolls and dowry lands, siding even with the French king and the Duke of Brabant.
13. For **Prokurator,** erroneously referred to in the plural in next line.
14. MS. has **Kammerad.**
15. Poetic licence for **Implorant.**
16. Modern usage requires dative here.
17. MS. could possibly read **Loosung**-"sharing" or "fate."
18. Poetic omission of accusative ending.
19. Poetic use of genitive.
20. Modern German **Bankkonto.**
21. Genitive with **frei** now replaced by dative after **von.**
22. Modern reading **wen verdriessen.**
23. For modern **Stricke.**
24. Modern usage has weak ending, **e.**
25. A reference to the Hessian peasant uprising in the village of Södel on Oct. 1, 1830, ruthlessly suppressed by government soldiers from Darmstadt. Participants from Vogelsberg were dragged to Rockenburg for punishment. See **German Literature Since Goethe,** eds. Ernst Feise and Harry Steinhauer (N.Y.: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958), Vol. I, p. 121, fn. 16.
26. Modern **jeder.**

LIEBESGESCHICHTE

Ich wollte die Liebe des Sommers —
unsre zwei Mondesschatten
betastend Meeresstrand,
zusammenliegend in lauer
Brandung. Ich bekam
die Verführung des frühen Winters,
plötzliche Kälte des Verlusts,
Verlorensein im Schnee,
etwas vom Tod.

Kurt J. Fickert
Springfield, Ohio

New

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by George F. W. Young

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German immigration and colonization merits special consideration even outside the Chilean context,

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A GERMAN DIALECT SPOKEN IN SOUTH DAKOTA: SWISS-VOLHYNIAN

by

CORA and MAURICE CONNER
University of Nebraska at Omaha

The year 1974 marks the centennial of the arrival from the former province of Volhynia, now a part of the Ukraine, of a group of German-speaking Mennonites in what is now the state of South Dakota. It is interesting to observe the language of these people whose ancestors settled near Freeman. Despite the lengthy period spent in foreign cultures and surrounded by other languages, the dialect of German spoken by the group before their migration to Volhynia has retained many of its original features. To be sure, Slavic words have crept into the language, particularly in the area of foods, and English, often in a Germanized form, has supplanted many native words and has supplied vocabulary for concepts which did not exist in 1874; but especially among members of the group older than about thirty-five years, the German dialect is native. For several reasons, including the advent of mass communication, a decline in the use of German in churches and schools of the community, and the increasing percentage of persons marrying outside their language group, German as the native tongue is undergoing a rather rapid decline among the younger people of the area. To examine briefly the status of the German presently spoken by the Swiss-Volhynian Mennonites near Freeman, South Dakota is a purpose of this paper.

Although the Mennonites discussed here are traceable to Switzerland historically, their language is not. They are, for the most part, descendents of a group that migrated from Switzerland to the Palatinate circa 1664, and to Volhynia by way of Galicia approximately a hundred years later.[1]

Those years in the Palatinate had a devastating effect on the Swiss dialect, (Note: these people still refer to themselves as *Schweizer*) yet a century in the Ukraine and another in South Dakota have influenced the language to a much lesser extent.[2]

It is understandable that one dialect of a language might supplant another if the first geographically surrounds the other, as was the case in the Palatinate. More interesting is the fact that the dialect has remained largely Rhenish Franconian in this country despite constant association of its speakers not only with speakers of another language, but also with members of other German dialect groups. In addition to the *Schweizer,* Mennonites who call themselves *Hutterer* and *Plattdeutsche* live in the Freeman community, and each group speaks a dialect of German distinct from the other two. While each of the three dialects is encroached upon by English, crossing among the dialects is hardly discernible. When intermarriage between speakers of two of the dialects occurs, the language of the new household is invariably English, not German. Some reasons for the lack of mixing of the various dialects in the Freeman area are that until fairly recently there was relatively little intermarriage among the groups; little mixing occurred in churches where German was used, for although all are Mennonites, each group had its own churches; and probably most important, the language which physically surrounds each dialect group is English rather than another dialect of German.

Personal interviews with native informants (using a tape recorder) are the basis for the following observations on the present-day Swiss-Volhynian dialect, for it is a spoken language only; to our knowledge no consistent written form exists. The informants represent two generations. They are of various occupational backgrounds, and (in varying degrees) all are familiar with Standard German, English, and isolated Slavic words. At the time of the interviews none had ever been in Germany, and none is an original emigrant from the

Ukraine. There are variations in pronunciation among families and even individual variations within families. In general, the vowels tend to be less tense than the ideal prescribed by Siebs. Long vowels have a tendency toward diphthongization. This may be an influence English has had on the sound system of the dialect, but the principal English influence is in the vocabulary.

When the original settlers arrived in Dakota Territory, legal, commercial, medical, dental, and governmental affairs were conducted by non-Germans. Almost without exception the Mennonites were farmers. Therefore, the German-speaking element had to use English to transact business, to see a dentist or physician, to go to the post office or to the county courthouse. The names of many staples are English because purchasing was done in English. English words were adopted for new concepts and objects such as electricity, furnace, refrigerator, and tractor. In some cases the English term is less cumbersome: [*mɛtʂ*] "match" and [*tɑol*] "towel" are shorter than *Streichholz* and *Handtuch,* or perhaps a nuance cannot be adequately expressed by using a German word: for example, [*flo:r*] "floor" usually refers to a wooden or tile floor; [*bɔdə*] "Boden" is a more general term referring to the ground or to a bottom as well as to the floor.

Some loan words are only partial; they are hybrid compounds, one part of which is English and the other German: [*'bʊtʂərmɛsər*] "butcher knife", [*'gʊdbæ sə:*] "to say goodbye", and [*'lɔntʂtsæt*] "lunch time". Also in this group are words such as [*'ʊfpɪkə*] "to pick up", [*'ʊf fo:nə*] "to telephone", [*'ʊf kli:nə*] "to clean up", [*'ɪnkænə*] "to preserve by canning", and [*'ɑosgəpæst*] "passed out". Others are loan translations, native words used with the meaning that the same etymological stem has in English. The pronunciation shows that the word is German and not English; for example, *Karre* for "car," *Krippe* for "corncrib." Both words retain the feminine gender with the English meaning. Other examples of this phenomenon are *Weg* meaning "way" in expressions such as

[dɛn ve:K] "in this manner," *Acker* for "acre", *Trubel* for "trouble", *Stock* for "haystack", the phrases *ein Jahr zurück* meaning "a year ago" and *frisch werden* referring to "a cow ready to give birth." Also included are the verbs *gleichen* for "like" in expressions such as [das glaeç ɪç nɛt] "I don't like that", *gucken* meaning "to appear" or "seem," *kurzlaufen* for "to run short of" and *nehmen* sometimes used where *dauern* or *bringen* would normally be employed.

As might be expected, the dialect has retained a number of archaic German words. Examples of these are *Schmant* instead of *Sahne* ("cream"), *Grundbeeren* instead of *Kartoffeln* ("potatoes"), *Freundschaft* instead of *Verwandtschaft* ("relatives"), and the verbs *strählen* and *hocken* instead of *kämmen* and *sitzen* for "to comb" and "to sit", respectively.

Formerly, Slavic loan words were more numerous than they are today. Some, however, are still in common use. In addition to names of foods, many of which have been retained, ['bʊrjən] or the alternate form ['bʊr'jən] "weeds" is heard more often than the German *Unkraut.* Also heard among the *Schweizer* are [bʊr'sʊK] "raccoon" in place of *Waschbär,* ['gətʂgɪ] "ducks" for *Enten,* [mə'dɛrgə] "screw nut" instead of *Mutter,* ['tʂɛnɪK] "teakettle" rather than *Teekessel,* [prə'gadɪ] "gambol" for *Luftsprung,* and [ɔb'dʒɪŋ gɪ] "harvest celebration" instead of *Erntefest.*

The following anecdote, related by a 65-year-old man, indicates the extent of English encroachment upon the dialect. To facilitate reading, it is transcribed into Standard German, retaining the word order, idioms, and vocabulary of the spoken original.

> Ich habe noch immer gern Hasenfleisch gegessen, aber weil ich ein schlechter Jäger bin und die Hasen schlecht treffen kann mit Schiessen, habe ich mir müssen einen anderen Weg suchen für die kleinen Häschen zu kriegen. Zum Glück ist von unserem Hof hier nicht weit ein *culvert,* und hier kriechen die kleinen Häschen im Winter 'rein, überhaupt wenn es

recht kalt ist und viel Schnee auf der Erde. Dann muss ich mir noch jemanden kriegen, und dann gehen wir. Eins hält den Sack, und ich nehme mir einen langen Stecken und tue am anderen Ende dort herum-*poken* drin im *culvert*, und das Häschen läuft in den Sack 'rein. Danach habe ich keinen *job* es zu kriegen.

So mal eines Winters, mal an einem kalten Tag, war eine von meinen *nieces* gekommen mich besuchen, und gerade jener Morgen habe ich gesehen, war ein kleines Häschen dort im *culvert* drin gewesen. "Nun", sag' ich zu ihr: "gehen wir mal auf die Hasenjagd, ich und du." Habe ich ihr einen Sack gegeben, und ich habe einen langen Stecken genommen; habe ihr gesagt, sie soll den Sack dort an einem Ende halten, und ich werde mit dem Stecken dort drin 'rum= [ɡuzlə], bis das Häschen in den Sack kommt. Ich hatte aber nicht gewusst, dass in jenem Sack ein Loch drin war. Also habe ich dort 'rumge*poked*. Wirklich, das Häschen in den Sack. Aber auch wie der Blitz aus dem Sack, durch das kleine Loch durch, und läuft dort ein Stückchen, guckt sich um und lacht zu uns, denkt sich: "Ich werde mich nicht so leicht von euch fangen lassen."

Aber ich habe noch nie das Ende von der Geschichte gehört. Fast noch alle Winter *phoned* meine *niece* mich auf und sagt: "Nun, Onkel, was denkst du? Sollten wir nicht wieder gehen ein Häschen fangen?"

Again using transcription into Standard German, the following conversation among three women (ages sixty-nine, sixty-seven, and twenty-five), discussing the menu for an evening meal, includes English as well as Slavic influences on the dialect.

1. Nun dann, was werden wir heute abend auf *supper?*

2. Nun, ich hatte ja hier Bohnen abgekocht, und dann werden wir die Bohnen dann haben.
1. Nun, ich hatte gedacht, man könnte ja auch mal [*bə'rogɪ*];[3] wir hatten schon so lange nicht. Oder hättest du nicht Zeit heute nachmittag noch [*bə'rogɪ*] machen?
3. O, ich denke, ich hätte auch noch Zeit. Man brauchte ja auch nicht so viel machen; und bis sie ja versorgt haben und bis was; und [wenn] du mir noch ein bisschen hilfst, dann denke ich, täten wir noch fertigwerden. Oder tätest du vielleicht lieber Borschtsuppe oder [*nənəs'nɪgɪ*]?[4] Sonst ich könnte auch das machen, wenn du willst, noch solange wie du daheim bist.
1. Nun, wenn so kalt ist wie heute, dann *sure* täte auch Suppe gut schmecken.
2. Nun ja, und ich hatte ja doch auch eine Huhn geschlachtet, und das gibt ja auch so gute Nudelsuppe von den alten Hühnern, und [da] wäre ja auch jenes gut.
1. Nun, da tun wir auch heute dann Nudelsuppe.

Although the dialect seems to be receding with the passing of the older generation, efforts have been made to preserve other elements of the culture. A growing museum in Freeman houses a number of artifacts brought by the original settlers and others acquired by them during their early years in this country. In an effort to retain identity with their Russo-German heritage, a number of family genealogies have been traced and published. And each spring the community stages a *Schmeckfest* at which native foods are prepared and served to thousands of patrons, and historical handicrafts such as spinning, weaving, and basket-making are demonstrated.

A century in this country has had an effect on the dialect spoken near Freeman, to be sure, but this does not diminish

its value as a vehicle of communication in Freeman and elsewhere. A number of speakers of the dialect have traveled to Germany in recent years. Upon their return they commented on their ability to communicate with their European contemporaries (especially in the Palatinate) without experiencing serious difficulties in the use of their dialect.

It is useful to study a dialect (such as the one discussed here) for several reasons. Because a transplanted dialect is not affected as strongly by the language of the host environment as is its counterpart in the native country, it remains purer, thereby providing insight into the development of the language. To examine a language other than English which is spoken in this country is beneficial, too, because it points up the fallacy which holds that ours is a monolingual society. And finally, in an age where frantic efforts are being made to establish and preserve traditions, and where anything over fifty years old is considered antique, it is helpful to identify and retain a linguistic heritage which transcends in importance any material artifacts which may be preserved.

NOTES

1. The migrations of the various Mennonite groups are well-documented. See, for example, Cornelius J. Dyck, ed., **An Introduction to Mennonite History: A Popular History of the Anabaptists and the Mennonites** (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1967); Cora Anne Miller, "A Phonological and Morphological Study of a German Dialect Spoken near Freeman, South Dakota," Master's thesis (University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 1966); Martin H. Schrag, "European History of the Swiss-Volhynian Mennonite Ancestors of Mennonites Now Living in Communities in Kansas and South Dakota," Master's thesis (Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1956); C. Henry Smith, **The Story of the Mennonites**, 4th ed. (Newton, Kansas: Mennonite Publication Office, 1957); Emil J. Waltner, **Banished for Faith** (Freeman, S. D.: Pine Hill Press, 1968).

2. See Miller, pp. 91-96, where the dialect is identified as mostly Rhenish Franconian.

3. Pirog, a cheese or sauerkraut-filled pocket of dough which is boiled or pan-fried.

4. A thin pancake filled with rhubarb, which is served with sour cream.

A COMPLEX FATE: SADAKICHI HARTMANN, JAPANESE-GERMAN IMMIGRANT WRITER AND ARTIST

by

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Sadakichi Hartmann's career in America is an ironic variant of the Horatio Alger "myth," in this case the story of a young man who rises through adversity to recognition as an art critic, major photography critic, and, in general, cultural entrepreneur and gadfly, village explainer,[1] reconteur and bohemian, and finally an aged Pierrot dying in obscurity, sick and forgotten. It was in his middle years, for many reasons, some of them cultural, others personal, that he began a decline into obscurity and near-oblivion. Hartmann had to endure the odd prejudices of the American public, against his youthful bumptiousness, his unrealistic expectations, his Japanese-German origins, and a pervasive provincialism in the adopted country he could never conquer.

Carl Sadakichi Hartmann (Sadakichi, roughly translates "fortunate if constant") was born about 1867 in the international trading settlement on the island of Desima in Nagasaki Harbour. He was the son of an aloof German merchant, Carl Herman Oskar Hartmann, and a Japanese mother, Osada, whose origins remain unknown and who died soon after his birth. Hartmann and an older brother, Hidetaru Oscar, were shipped home to Germany by their roving father to be raised in the wealthy Lutheran household of a Hamburg uncle, Ernst Hartmann, a man of refinement, a gourmet, and discriminating art collector. In an unfinished autobiography, Sadakichi speaks of studying French, English, Latin, and Greek, among other subjects in private schools, and from tutors, and learn-

ing as much or more by the age of twelve than any boy who goes through an American high school. His uncle expected him to chat knowledgeably on art and theatre, and to differentiate between the quality of performances by great German actors and actresses. Undoubtedly, it was this kind of discipline that, a few years later, enabled him to pursue the program of self-education, to read voluminously in Philadelphia libraries and to frequent art shops and museums where he spent long hours going through books and memorizing pictures.

When his father remarried, Sadakichi was sent to a naval academy in Kiel, where he soon rebelled against the military strictness and ran away to Paris. Enraged, his "honorable father" disinherited the 13 year old boy and shipped him off to relatives in Philadelphia. Arriving in 1882, he was dismayed by the bleak contrast to his former life. Carrying among other books, Diderot's *Paradox of a Comedian* in his luggage, Sadakichi made his way from Ellis Island to Philadelphia on a hot summer day of 1882, depressed by an alien landscape that seemed everywhere to spawn enormous signs for Dr. Schenk's Liver Pills. His aunt, a gaunt old woman in a Mother Hubbard, and his uncle, a greybearded tobacconist, were not overjoyed at the arrival of an odd youth of aristocratic mien in fancy European clothes which his uncle decried as "outrageous." Devoutly religious, goodhearted people—as Hartmann saw years later—they spent drowsy afternoons in a backyard shooing flies with palmleaf fans. They could not fathom a boy who brought home armloads of books which might put foolish ideas in his head. The uncle found Sadakichi a job sweeping floors and cleaning out spittoons for a lithographic firm. At night, alone in his room, he brooded over his lost Hamburg childhood, resolving each morning, however, to go forth, to steel himself for the menial work and prepare for a new life in art and literature.

In his massive manuscript *Esthetic Verities,* he writes retrospectively about his bitterness and disappointment, not-

ing the lack of cultural advantages and enumerating the daily routine in contrast with his former state:

1. *Over there I was well dressed; now my trowsers were fringed and my shoes full of holes in sole and vamp.*

2. *Over there I was always well provided with pocket money, often carrying as much as twenty Marks; now I often came down to the very last cent.*

3. *Over there I had the best of food; now I frequently went hungry for days.*

4. *Over there I moved among people aristocratic, at least in looks and manners; here I was confronted with proletarians who shocked me by crude taste and conduct.*

5. *Over there I had a servant, a governess, and private tutor in the evening, who took care of all my wants; now I had to clean spittoons and run errands for others.*

6. *Over there I lived the carefree life of a child of a rich family; now I had to work for my board and get up at five o'clock in the morning, if I wanted to do any studying.*

And thus his story goes on—hardships, struggles, but a determination to overcome. He worked at a succession of menial jobs, moving ever closer, it seemed, to a career in art and drama, studying nights in the Philadelphia Mercantile Library. Discovering Walt Whitman's poems through a bookseller in 1885, he paid his first visit to the old poet in Camden. Sadakichi occasionally translated letters from German correspondents and in other ways tried to help Whitman. The record of his visits is described in *Conversations with Walt Whitman* (1895), in Horace Traubel's multi-volume *With Walt Whitman in Camden,* in Whitman's own letters, and in the reminiscences of Whitman associates.

In one of his unpublished manuscripts *(1000 Happy Moments in a Lifetime, Where and How: New World Orders Analyzed)* one finds a systematic expression of his thoughts on Americanization. We might center in the second chapter, "Kultur über Alles: Germany- the U.S.A." The first two sections, "At the Crossroad" and "Americanization" are crucial

to an understanding of Hartmann's retrospective feelings about his foreigner status, and about America in general; but one is prohibited by lack of space. They indicate a close study of our political history, wide reading in economic and social theory, and express some rather cogent indictments of capitalist democracy.

In spite of bitter effusions, Hartmann at one juncture concludes that: *The United States of America attempted something that is near sublime, an ideal (although ideals are generally aspirations that cannot be attained) that actually can be carried out in this material world of ours if it were in other hands than it is at present. The greatness of our nation depends on how far we can accomplish the supreme task of Americanization.* Himself naturalized, Sadakichi concluded laconically that *Citizenship is not as accomodating as baptism.* He spoke of the immigrant's homesickness, how it strikes one with overwhelming force and *the world grows dark and you feel the "desolate isolation" as actual physical pain. Older folks may have it more frequently in milder form, as a mood of melancholy visualization of something that will never occur again. It is difficult to tear apart all ties of kin, climate and youth, environment, tradition, education habits, prejudices and superstitions.*

The remainder of this section analyzes such matters, until he states: *As a hero-worshipper of Walt Whitman, I acted a good deal as he advised, not imitating him (except in my very earliest literary efforts) but going my own way. Rather than becoming a poet in Paris, I chose to do pioneer work here. If at any time I would have regretted it I would not have stayed. If by chance I had preferred to live in Saigon, Angka Vat, or my brother's homeland I would have managed to get there. The world is still open enough. Aside from intellectual or professional considerations unmentioned, I took a liking to our American way of life, our manner of thought, our actual interest and aspirations as a nation. I am supposed to be an Eurasian and all my early amazing success and enterprise*

is due to that fact. The first Eurasian in Boston, lecturing, how interesting! All doors opened. I personally never think of myself as a German or Asiatic. Others do that for me.

He commented on many other matters, including our tolerance of "colonies" of foreigners and yet the strange pressures exerted on them. He was aware of the pluralistic, multiplistic, nature of our society, its polarities on wealth, labor, crime, marriage, and religion. He was, understandably, interested in acclimatization of Japanese and German immigrants. In the worst sense, he saw our society filled with hucksters and con-men, operators who preyed on naive foreigners: *The Academy of Hard Knocks has a fling at all newcomers and whips them into shape with savage force. The woods in broad daylight are full of dangers. Poisonous plants and wild animals in the jungles are playthings in comparison. Showdowns, badger games, swindler tricks, wily methods of fake employment bureaus, false change and gold brick money deals, investment robbery under false pretense practices, pawnshop usury and loan enslavement ,showdowns and holdups of foreigners .... It belongs to the education of the poor greenhorns from across the pond.* For these and other wrongs, he proposed solutions, one being eventual intermarriage and "intercopulation." He recounted a meeting with Max Nordau in Paris, when the German observed of his half Teuton and half Asiatic origins that he "should have married a negress or an American Indian girl, not an Anglo-Saxon. It surely would make a rare combination." Hartmann footnoted this: *Sorry that it was too late to accommodate the doctor.* He also observed, as an aside, *I do not particularly recommend it from personal experience or the adventures of my children, but I think it is an effective means, in the nature of a biological knowledge.*

Between 1886 and 1892, Hartmann made four trips to Europe, furthering his education in literature, theater, dance, and visual arts. During these sojourns he sought out major artists and writers, and came back to promote more vigorously

various aesthetic movements long underway in Europe. Between crossing, and later, he assayed the role of Society Lion in Boston—giving receptions, readings, and hosting concerts. He even wrote a self-satirizing play about it all: *Boston Lions.* Hartmann was self-serving, but he also sought to bring new wine to America, to produce Ibsen's plays, to popularize Symbolism—and was rewarded by imprisonment for producing his drama *Christ,* on instigation by the New England Watch and Ward Society. Almost all copies were confiscated and burned. He spent Christmas week in Charles Street Jail for *Christ.* Further undaunted, he launched art journals, tried to found a Whitman Society, stimulated interest in the *avant-garde* European movements. All destined to fail. In discouragement he fled to New York, and spent several restless, hack-writing, bohemian years. He even, at one time, despaired to the point of attempting suicide.

Between 1898 and 1902, he turned out more than 350 German-language sketches of New York life, ranging from studies of the down-and-out to essays on high society, for the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung.*[2] Hartmann served with Huneker on *The Criterion,* began his hundreds of articles on pictorial photography, and in 1896, the same year that Alfred Stieglitz launched *Camera Notes,* tried to revive his own art magazine under the name of *Art News.* The venture failed, but Stieglitz took on the unruly iconoclast for *Camera Notes* and later for *Camera Work.* Now he was in the front of artistic revolutions, and even at the turn of the century, as Jerome Mellquist noted, he had already "forecast the fighting lines of a decade later."[3] In the field of photography alone, between 1896 and 1915, he published more than 600 essays in the field of photographic criticism. His *Shakespeare in Art* (1900), two volume *History of American Art* (1901, revised in 1938), *Japanese Art* (1903), and *The Whistler Book* (1910), and a number of photography books under the pseudonym Sidney Allan, are indications of his productivity.[4] Hartmann's own medium was pastels, of which he executed hundreds. Many of them survive in the

UCR Archives and many others are owned by acquaintances across the country. Eventually, he took to the open road, carrying art to backbays and hinterlands and questing for identity. "God save all wanderers," Whitman hat said obliquely of the precocious youth who visited him in the 80's.[5] Sadakichi was to be a *Wanderer*, and a *Wandler*, until he died. In 1908 he deserted his first wife, Elizabeth Blanche Walsh, and family, for a sensitive young Quaker artist Lillian Bonham. She gave him loyalty and love but was unable to temper a personality steadily becoming more quixotic and irresponsible.

Sometime before World War I, he began to emerge as the exemplification of 20th century bohemianism. In Paris as a youth, he had heard the siren's call to Henri Murger's *La Vie Bohème*, and wavered some twenty-five years in accepting it as a literal portrait of the man he was to become. He had long alternated between the bohemian stance and the role of serious scholar, — until he finally metamorphosed to the former. Around the turn of the century he was rumored incorrectly to have been the model for Frederick Locke's *The Beloved Vagabond*. However, he was in fact depicted in Gene Fowler's *Minutes of the Last Meeting*, Harry Kemp's *Tramping on Life* (as "Nichi Schwartzman"), and in J. F. Burke's *Noah*. Now an habituè of Greenwich Village ateliers in the second decade of the century, he made the bohemian pose uniquely his own, refined into a total image,—rowdy genius, rough-house opportunist, a touch of Aretino on the make and Villon laughing at the world. The publicist Guido Bruno hailed him King of Bohemia and the tourists flocked to Romany Marie's and other Village spots to hear him declaim his verse, read Poe and Whitman, hold court for young disciples, or perform his rakish, improvised dances. It has been said that he later instructed Charlie Chaplin in choreographic routines. He became a source of much legendary for his bizarre pranks, as once when masquerading as a Japanese prince with an escort of costumed companions he hoodwinked the city of New York into holding a parade down Broadway.

From 1912 to 1916, Hartmann served intermittently as ghost-writer for Elbert ("The Fra") Hubbard at his Roycroft Colony, East Aurora. In 1916, he moved to San Francisco and launched an abortive little theater movement in the house of Mystery on Russian Hill, where he produced Ibsen's *Ghosts* and gave nightly readings. He lectured at Paul Elder's Bookshop and hobnobbed with artistic and literary figures, such as George Sterling, Jack London, Ambrose Bierce. His only novel, *The Last Thirty Days of Christ* was published in 1920. In 1923, he moved to Hollywood, where he attempted to break into motion pictures in various capacities. He wrote his first script, ironically, for *Don Quixote,* but could not find a producer. He became a member of John Barrymore's circle of cronies, but also made strong friendships with serious artists and intellectuals. During this period he wrote his thousand-page *Esthetic Verities,* another work never published. Hollywood has been the end of the line for many European questers in America.

Increasingly irascible and embittered, sick with asthma and alcoholism, his work rejected by newer art magazines, and his former reputation faded, he was increasingly put down as a disreputable Gully Jimson of American art, at times an amusing and endearing entertainer, a clown in rags. He was often the butt of jibes, such as W. C. Fields' calling him "Scratchy-Krotchy" and "Hootchy-Kootchy" Hartmann. Other, more affectionate, nicknames were "Sadi" and "Kichi." His last chance at fame was probably the role of Chinese Magician in Douglas Fairbanks' film spectacular, *The Thief of Bagdad* (1923). During the filming Hartmann was uncooperative because, allegedly, Fairbanks provided him with cheap whiskey. The man who had known great writers, such as Walt Whitman, Stephane Mallarmé, and Paul Heyse, who had danced with Isadora Duncan, slummed with Richard Le Gallienne and Maxwell Bodenheim, was too often looked upon as a hoax and charlatan.

His health failing, Hartmann fled Hollywood and built

an old-age retreat on land owned by a son-in-law, Walter Linton, a Morongo Reservation cattleman of Indian descent. Here he planned to finish the autobiography begun almost forty years earlier. In rural Southern California he was an exotic, eccentric, and eventually a threat, an object of chauvinistic suspicions. For the town of Banning during World War II, this odd man living in a clapboard shack he called "Catclaw Siding" among the chaparral was a possible spy. Because Hollywood celebrities had sometimes sent limousines to fetch him, he did possess a curiosity value, but his erudition, knavish wit, and dry sarcastic laugh, enormous ego and arrogance, and shabby appearance were disquieting. He might spend an evening in the company of the town's leading figures and the next afternoon be seen carousing with a group of Cahuilla Indians in a San Gorgonio Avenue bar.

Then came Pearl Harbor. Although a naturalized citizen since 1894, he was suspected, gossipped about, investigated, and harrassed by local police and the FBI. Even some Indian families at Morongo joined townspeople in exerting prejudicial pressures. When he walked the desert at night, drawing up charts of the constellations, it was rumored he was making one of his periodic climbs to the top of Mt. San Jacinto to signal Japanese bombers off the coast with a lantern. In spite of all the evidence of pioneering work in the visual arts of America, and having been a naturalized citizen since 1894, he was unconscionably badgered. In November of 1944, the 77-year-old man set out on his last journey, a trip to St. Petersburg, Florida, to gather more biographical material from a daughter, Mrs. Dorothea Gilliland. He died soon after arrival at her home and was buried in a pauper's grave surrounded by ancient magnolias heavy with Spanish moss.

That Hartmann's racial and national origins influenced his career is beyond doubt. First, he *looked* different. Then, too, his background and education made him *see* and *think* differently. Four years after their first meeting, Whitman, goaded to anger over an article in the newspaper, called his admiring

protégé that "damned Japanee."[6] Ironically, the poet had once remarked to Traubel: "I have more hopes of him, more faith in him, than any of the boys."[7] But Whitman had also discouraged him once about a projected study of Shakespeare's fools and about Hartmann's aspiration toward a dramatic career in America. Walt skeptically replied: *I fear that won't go. There are so many traits, characteristics, Americanisms, inborn with us, which you would never get at. One can do a great deal of propping. After all one can't grow roses on a peach tree.*[8] Walt always thought of him as a foreigner, referring to Sadakichi in letters as "the German-Japanese Hartmann."

Until recently, Hartmann has been one of those lost in the limbo of the 1890's, one of the lost legions, a man who, in Pound's words, had passed over Lethe. Ezra Pound reflected in Pisan Canto LXXX:

and as for the vagaries of our friend
Mr. Hartmann,
Sadakichi a few more of him
were that conveivable, would have enriched
the life of Manhattan
or any other town or metropolis
the texts of his early stuff are probably lost
with the loss of fly-by-night periodicals

And, in another place: ...*Sadakichi has lived. Has so lived that if one hadn't been oneself it wd.* [sic] *have been worth while to have been Sadakichi.* Pound added in a footnote: *Not that my constitution wd. have weathered the strain.*[9] H. L. Mencken, with whom Hartmann had correspondence, associated him with Pound. Speaking first of Pound, he once stated: *He is perhaps the most extraordinary man that American literature has seen in our time, and, characteristically enough, he keeps as far away from America as possible. Hartmann is another exotic—half German and half Japanese by birth, but thoroughly American under it all—in fact, almost the typical aesthetic revolutionist of Greenwich Village.*[10]

Gorham Munson wrote in "The Limbo of American Literature,"[11] of the many vital talents who had for various reasons been lost to the American public. After appraising several, he turned to Sadakichi: [Blackburn] *Harte* and [Michael] *Monahan and Sadakichi Hartmann will probably always remain in limbo and be discovered only by the curious from time to time. Their talents lack momentum, but let us honor them for their level heads and true eyes and gallant spirits which, in a time of most confused provincialism, chose and fought on the intelligent side. Hartmann was early in the field for Walt Whitman, Whistler, Swinburne, Verlaine and Mallarmé: he is a delightfully picturesque vagrom, but unfortunately he writes in broken English....* True, Hartmann's style was often uneven, but Munson probably did not have access to his more fluent essays in obscure journals. At one juncture in the unpublished *1000 Happy Moments,* Hartmann exclaimed, ironically admonishing the immigrant in America: *Straight ahead—the directions are somewhat blurred, we spell out Americanization, the world at a new angle, Whitman's large average bulk of excellent common folks, the future American race! It is a long way to go I fear.* For Sadakichi, being an American was what Henry James called "a complex fate."

NOTES

1. For details of Hartmann's life and works, see: **The Life and Times of Sadakichi Hartmann,** Rubidoux Printing Co., Riverside, Calif., 1970; **White Chrysanthemums,** Herder & Herder, New York, 1971; **Buddha, Confucius, & Christ,** Herder & Herder, New York, 1971; **The Sadakichi Hartmann Newsletter,** formerly publ. at University of Calif., Riverside, now edited by Prof. Richard Tuerk, East Texas State University. Anyone wishing a copy of **The Life and Times of Sadakichi Hartmann** (73 page catalogue, with color prints, of an exhibit held at UCR, May 1-31, 1970), please write to George Knox, Dept. of English, Univ. of Calif., Riverside, 92502.

2. These essays being currently translated by Prof. Hans-Peter Breuer, Dept. of English, Univ. of Delaware.

3. Jerome Mellquist, **The Emergence of an American Art,** N. Y., C. Scribner's sons, 1942, pp. 232-3.

4. Two of his photography books have been edited by Dr. Peter Bunnell and republished by Arno Press in 1973: **Landscape and Figure Composition** and **Composition in Portraiture.** A volume of Hartmann's pioneer essays on photography, edited and introduced by Harry Lawton and George Knox, will be published by Morgan & Morgan. Title: **The Valiant Knights of Daguerre.**

5. **The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman,** ed. Edwin Haviland Miller, New York University Press, 1969. Vol. IV, p. 208. Ltr. to Dr. Bucke, Sept. 10, 1888.

6. In his letters and in conversations with Traubel, Whitman refers to Hartmann variously as: "The German-Japanese Hartmann," "that Japanee," "our old friend the Japanee."

7. Horace Traubel, **With Walt Whitman in Camden,** N. Y., Rowman and Littlefield, Inc.

8. Hartmann reports this in his **Conversations with Walt Whitman,** N. Y., E. P. Coby and Co., 1895. 1961 (Vol II, p. 321; entry for Fri., Sept. 14, 1888).

9. **Culture,** Norfolk, Conn., New Directions, 1938, pp. 309-10.

10. "Instigations: Books More or Less Amusing," **Smart Set,** LXII (Aug., 1920), p. 143.

11. **Broom,** II (June, 1922), pp. 250-260.

DIE LETZTE MELODIE

von

ANNA KATARINA SCHEIBE
Long Island, N. Y.

Im Schatten dunkler Tannen stand ein Greis müde an einem Baumstamm gelehnt. Sein langes Silberhaar flatterte im Wind. Er träumte von Liebe und vergangenem Schmerz. Noch einmal spielte er auf seiner Geige eine wunderbare Melodie. Aus den Zaubertönen sprach die Liebe Gottes.

Die Sonne versank im Dunkel, ringsherum der lauschige Tannenwald. Einer hat den Greis nicht verlassen, das war der liebe Mond. Doch unten am kleinen See verklang sein letztes Lied. Im fernen Osten graute schon der frühe Morgen. Dann ward alles still. Ein Engel nahm den Greis bei der Hand und führte ihn ins ewige Reich, ins Reich Gottes.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GERMAN-LANGUAGE AND RELATED ITEMS IN THE RARE BOOK COLLECTION OF BEEGHLY LIBRARY, HEIDELBERG COLLEGE, TIFFIN, OHIO

by

ALBERT B. FINK
Heidelberg College

Heidelberg College was established in Tiffin in 1850 by the Reformed Church in the United States. The church's German origins led it to maintain close ties with the German population of this country. The college was originally conceived as a theological seminary for the Reformed Church and throughout its early history special provisions for the study of German were made. In 1861 the Rev. Herman Rust of Cincinnati was named to a Professorship of German in the College and Seminary; from 1865 on he served as a Professor of Exegetical and Historical Theology in the Theological Department. A large number of the volumes in the Rare Book Collection come from Rev. Rust's personal library.

The importance of German in Heidelberg College's early years is illustrated by the fact that in 1855 seven of the nine graduates were native-born Germans as were six of the eleven underclassmen. At that time half of the instruction was given in German.

The college began its operations without the benefit of a library. During its first year the nucleus of a library was created when the Rev. J. C. Zahner of Shanesville, Ohio gave and solicited from friends approximately 150 books. In the summer of 1852 the college's president, the Rev. E. V. Gerhart, traveled extensively throughout New York and Pennsylvania canvassing for funds and books for the library Through gifts of money and texts about 1200 volumes were secured. Also in 1852 the Rev. N. Gehr of Chambersburg, Pa. collected some 500 books during a tour of Europe. Many German publications were among those he brought to the college.

Prior to 1879 all books were given as the property of the Theological Seminary which held, at that time, about 2500 volumes; many of these were considered to be rare and valuable. In 1879 a college library collection was begun and in 1891 its holdings as well as those of the Theological Seminary and the students' Literary Societies were consolidated. The entire collection amounted to about 10,000 volumes and was classified in the Dewey Decimal System in 1892.

The origins of the college's Rare Book Collection are unknown. Not until the opening of Beeghly Library in 1967 were the rare and valuable books brought together and suitably displayed. The present holdings number approximately 500 volumes. German titles comprise about 20% of the total.

One can only guess at the exact manner in which the Rare Book Collection has been acquired since the library has no records pertaining to this segment of its holdings. Bookplates and signatures in many volumes indicate that they were once the property of professors in the Theological Seminary. Other books may have been donated by ministers of the Reformed Church, friends of the college or by German-speaking families in the area. Numerous family bibles containing records of marriage, birth, death and baptism, all entered in German, are in the collection.

Approximately 115 German-language or related items have been considered either rare or valuable. Most are of a theological nature; eighteen are bibles dating between 1655 and 1874. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are each represented by three publications; five volumes were published in the twentieth century. The remainder of the books is about equally divided between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Thirty-three titles were published in the United States; places of publication include Chambersburg, Easton, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Reading in Pennsylvania; Cincinnati and Paris in Ohio; Haegerstaun, Maryland and New York City.

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by

PAUL M. HABERLAND
Universität Göttingen

During the nineteenth century, Baltimore was the Gateway to the South as well as its cultural center.

In order to determine how the literature of Germany was received in Baltimore during the last century, this author searched and studied English-language literary periodicals (published there from 1800-1875) which are now contained in the archives of the Maryland Historical Society. Appendix A represents a chronological list of forty-nine literary periodicals and the articles contained therein which pertain to German literature. Appendix B is a chronological list of the German authors treated in said periodicals. The numerals and letters following quotations refer to periodicals (listed numerically) and articles (listed alphabetically) in Appendix A.

The strong influence of Baltimore's religions institutions is revealed in the literary criticism of that city's periodicals. Apparently, few German literary works were popular among the Baltimoreans, who, for the most part, considered German literature as being morally pernicious. Yet, August von Kotzebue's writings did find an enthusiastic readership. In 1800 we find a short biographical sketch of the dramatist which tells of his appointment as director of the Imperial Theatre at St. Petersburg in Russia. However, in 1804 those sympathetic to Kotzebue's dramas are taken to task:

> Kotzebue's *The Stranger* encourages vice in the character of Mrs. Haller. The crime of infidelity in married women is irreparable, as it respects society: every violation of this nature diminishes the general

> stock of confidence. The prejudice which every sensible and virtuous mind feels against Kotzebue's productions, is far from being unfounded .... The popularity which he has acquired, though only of a temporary kind, is a keen satire on the frivolity of the age, and a degradation to the theatre; but there is some reason to hope that the returning good sense of mankind will send such authors with their productions, back to their original insignificance, or remember them only as instances of former folly, which time and experience have taught them to be ashamed of, and to despise. (3b)

It should be noted that Kotzebue's play is not criticized as a piece of literature, but rather it is condemned on the basis of its "immoral" tendencies.

In 1806, we encounter a debate between two critics on the subject of Schiller's *Robbers*. One of the critics (who signs his article as "A.") judges the *Robbers* upon its literary merits:

> There is one production from the pen of Schiller which has just claim to come into competition with Shakespeare's best pieces: this is the tragedy of the *Robbers,* a play of avowed merit and reputation .... Schiller has well exhibited his knowledge of the human mind, and is thoroughly acquainted with the art of interesting and commending the passion of his readers. (3c)

This favorable review of Schiller's dramatic skills is taken to task by a puritanical and less open-minded reviewer, Iwan:

> I was much surprised to find the writer an avowed advocate of a play, which I thought, and supposed almost every body else thought, so objectionable. I am prepared to admit that there is a splendor, a boldness, an energy in the character of Moor .... But this is the circumstance which constitutes my greatest objection to him; these lucid parts of his character, have the effect of blinding us to his faults, induce us to palliate his conduct, and to feel

> particular concern for his fate.... The manner in which he speaks of his suicide is exceedingly objectionable. (3d)

The defender of Schiller responds with a strong criticism of Iwan and others who are given to rejecting a work of art on purely moral grounds.

> Iwan finds fault with the soliloquy on suicide and the reasons given for declining it. No one will discover a difference between this and Hamlet's famous speech to the same purpose.
>
> When an individual under the influence of needless alarm and mistaken zeal, uses his powers to detract from the merits of a literary production of avowed reputation and points out tendencies which are not easily substantiated, through an unbounded prejudice to a whole class or particular nation, I shall ever consider such person unfriendly to the true interests of society and opposed to that progress in literary taste which can only be made by diligent study of the best models and authorities. (3c)

In addition to the works of Kotzebue and Schiller we find early translations of Gottfried August Bürger's *Leonore* and a poem by Albrecht von Haller in the literary periodicals of the first decade; but German literature is relatively unknown in Baltimore during this early period, and the literary merit of the literature which is familiar is strongly questioned.

German literature fared no better during the second decade of the nineteenth century. The Delphian Club, a group of professional men which convened between the years 1816 and 1822 for the express purpose of furthering interest in literature, sponsored two periodicals, the *Portico* (1816-1818) and the *Red Book* (1819-1820). Among the Club's illustrious members were John Pendleton Kennedy, Rufus Dawes, John Neal, Francis Scott Key, and William Wirt, whom Kennedy describes as being "very German and looking like Goethe." "The *Portico* contains a review of Alexander von Humboldt's *Travels in South America.* The reviewer claims that Humboldt's work is typical of German literature which has "too

much understanding, too little imagination." (8a) The book contains many technical terms, and represents more a scientific study of South America than a pleasant travelogue. Another volume of the *Portico* contains an article entitled "On the State of Polite Literature in Germany" whose author characterizes the genius of the Germans as heavy, dull, and in poor taste:

> They [the Germans] were long celebrated for ponderous criticism and elaborate learning: and it is only within a recent period that they have cultivated more elegant and refined natural taste or genius. (8c)

The author lauds contemporary German writers for their force of imagination, inventiveness and sentiment, but states that their lack of taste makes them objectionable. Ranking Salomon Gessner above Goethe, Schiller and Kotzebue, this critic writes:

> Goethe's *Herman and Dorothea* is implausible. The reader cannot enter into the sympathies of the landlord of a beer-house, and his wife. Bürger's *Leonora* is distinguished for a wanton blasphemy, a false and disgusting horror, and a supernatural agency, incredible to reason, shocking to piety, and revolting to every feeling. The *Oberon* of Wieland, is not less objectionable. In the plays of Schiller, the incidents are unnatural, and their tendency is often pernicious, and rarely even doubtful. Immoral principles and vicious sentiments are the characteristic features of this deluded author. Kotzebue is superior to Schiller, and indisputably the first of the German dramatic poets. (8c)

Prior to the 1820's few translations of German works appeared in Baltimore's literary periodicals. German literature was apparently known to Baltimoreans by reputation only. For the most part, pious and narrow-minded critics had imposed their prejudices upon German letters, dismissing the poets of Germany as being both ponderous and immoral. A marked change in attitude is discernible after 1820. We now find only a paucity of adverse literary criticism pertaining to

German literature. Translations of German literary works appear in abundance among the pages of Baltimore's literary periodicals during the succeeding decade. Several translations of poems by Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock are published. Translations of an ode from Klopstock's *Messiah* as well as one of his psalms appear in a Unitarian magazine. In view of the role which Baltimore played in the defense of Fort McHenry and the fame achieved by Francis Scott Key and his "Star-Spangled Banner," it is perhaps not surprising that translations of the battle and victory hymns of Klopstock and Theodor Körner should have also found their way into the city's periodicals.

The growing interest in Goethe was largely due to two American students, Everett and Ticknor, who had returned to New England after studying at the University of Göttingen. A Baltimorean, George H. Calvert, who had also studied at Göttingen, had visited Goethe before returning to his hometown in 1827. In 1828, three translations of Goethe's writings were published in Baltimore: "The Godlike", "Ganymede", and an excerpt from Goethe's *Faust*, "Margaret in the Cathedral."

Calvert edited a literary periodical, the *Baltimore Times*, from 1830 to 1832; the two volumes of this magazine reflect the great admiration which Calvert had for Goethe. Daily events in the life of the great German author were duly recorded in Calvert's magazine, which is filled with praise for the literary productions of Goethe. One article tells of a desk seal with the motto, "Ohne Hast aber ohne Rast" being presented to Goethe by an admirer, Sir Walter Scott. The *Baltimore Times* also contains an account of Goethe's birthday celebration at which Goethe was presented a bust of himself and ten poems were recited in his honor while two hundred guests dined. Calvert also published a fictitious conversation which supposedly took place between Goethe (age 60) and Yorke, the editor of *Fraser's Magazine*. Goethe reflects on the beginning of his career:

> In youth the mind desires excitement; thus it learns and hence it knows. The mind must love before it can learn; but afterwards learning supplies the place of love in literature. *Werther* was the fruit of that dissatisfaction with the world. *Götz von Berlichingen* was a production of the same period. Schiller wrote his *Robbers* in the fervor and heat of excited emotion. (17d)

The editor, Yorke, concludes with a praise of Schiller and claims that a reading of the *Robbers* is one of the most enriching experiences imaginable.

According to the *Baltimore Times,* the news of Goethe's death on March 22, 1832 claimed more attention in Baltimore than in Germany itself:

> The most celebrated literary man of modern times, John Wolfgang von Göthe, died at Weimar, at the mature old age of 83 (sic) years and 7 months. German papers contain nothing but the briefest mention of his death; however, a debt of justice and of boundless gratitude to the illustrious dead, will not permit us to confine our notice of him within such brief space. (17g)

A short biography of Goethe follows.

Another article pays final honors to Goethe:

> So then, our Greatest has departed. Could each here vow to do his little task, even as the Departed did his great one; in the manner of a true man, not for the day but for Eternity! Goethe's works are a glorious record; wherein he that would understand himself and his environment, and struggles for escape out of darkness into light, will long thankfully study.
>
> This man, we may say, became morally great, by being in his own age, what in some other ages many might have been; a genuine Man. A completed Man: the trembling sensitivity, the wild enthusiasm of a Mignon, can assort with the world-mockery of a Mephistopheles; and each side of many-sided life receives its due from him. (17i)

One realizes the great distance literary opinion in Baltimore has traveled toward an awareness and appreciation of German literature when one compares the above eulogy with the statement made fifteen years previously concerning the "implausibility" of Goethe's works. The literature which had been labeled as "heavy and dull" now receives just praise in the following sentence reprinted by Calvert in the *Baltimore Times*. The writer is Professor Follen of Harvard University, allegedly the first professor of German in America:

> I would profess my faith that there is no thought or emotion that moves with dread or delight the aeolian harp which God has placed in the bosom of man, that has not found an expression, if expression it can find at all, in the effusions of German poetry. (17b)

In 1835, the *Baltimore Athenaeum* printed a translation of the first German edition (1828) of "Correspondence between Goethe and Schiller from 1794 to 1805." The translation is unsigned, but the translator notes that the text is rendered into English for the first ime. This 1835 translation is identical to the version published in 1845 (translated by George H. Calvert) at the press of Wiley and Putnam in New York.

The study and criticism of German literature was in vogue in Baltimore during the 1830's, and the literary periodicals continued to include translations from and references to German literature. A Professor Sears extols the genius of German literature:

> The literature of Germany begins already to exert a commanding influence over the whole civilized world. In elegant literature, they have many, very many names of which they may well boast. The Germans exhibit ... a luminousness of exposition, and strength of genius, which may challenge the world, for an equal. (22b)

Amid the vast praise for Goethe during this decade is to be found one dissenting voice: the *Baltimore Athenaeum* in-

cludes a paragraph from the writings of the English poet, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, who claims that the theories of Goethe injured the steadiness and originality of Schiller's mind. Coleridge reserves his highest praise, not for Goethe or Schiller, but for Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. Except for a few anecdotes, none of Lessing's writing had previously appeared in Baltimore's literary periodicals. Coleridge writes:

> Goethe does not, nor ever will command the common mind of the people of Germany as Schiller does. The *Wallenstein* is the greatest of his works; it is not unlike Shakespeare's historical plays, a species by itself. Neither Schiller's nor Goethe's prose style approaches to Lessing's, whose writings, for manner, are absolutely perfect. (22c)

Interest in Goethe remained strong in Baltimore throughout the decade. The *Baltimore Monument* of 1836 contains two unsigned translations of Goethe's works: "Mignon" (from *Wilhelm Meister)* and "Erlking." An anonymous translation of Schiller's "Division of the World" is also to be found here.

Theodor Körner's works were also in vogue in the late 1830's in Baltimore. Much of the interest in Körner was undoubtedly inspired by Follen's lectures at Harvard. The *Baltimore Monument* contains eight translations of Körner's poems (by four different translators). Baltimore poet, John Hill Hewitt, prefaces his translations with a biography of Körner's life and a paragraph describing his poetry:

> So much has been said and written concerning the enthusiastic German poet, that the name has become familiar to almost every class of readers. There is a vein of fierce patriotism beautifully blended with habitual melancholy running through his poetry which never fails to warm the heart of the reader, and while it arouses every feeling of heroism, softens down the rough edge of passion with a generous feeling for the bard of the "Sword and Lyre". (24b)

Hewitt's translations include: "Song of the Black Chasseurs", "Prayer During Battle", "Sword Song", "Alliance Song", and

"Battle Song". Other translators are responsible for renditions of "Sword Song", "Lutsow's Wild Chase", and another version of "Prayer During Battle". Körner's influence is apparent in Hewitt's patriotic songs:

[From Hewitt's "The Texan Rally"]

Men of the South! — the groans
Of Baxar's murder'd band,
Are on the winged winds, and swell
Thy wrongs from land to land.
Respond with loud artillery!
Respond with vengeful shout!
Raise up thy star and rain-bow stripes,
And let thy war steeds out!

Hewitt's "The Bugle Horn" is similar in tone to Körner's "Lützows Wilde Jagd" (also translated into English):

What wild sound is filling the narrow glen,
And stealing o'er the lawn?
'Tis the shout of Saluda's merry men,
With their cheering bugle horn.

Baltimore's literary periodicals also concerned themselves with the development of the German language and early German epics. In 1828, a translation of a portion of the *Nibelungenlied* appeared. A lecture entitled "Early Literature of the Germans" by Reverend Henry J. Smith, Professor of German at Pennsylvania College appeared in 1839 in the *American Museums of Science, Literature and Arts.* This lecture is a lengthy discourse on the migrations of the Germanic tribes, whose morals and customs are highly praised by the author. An explanation of the various Germanic dialects is given, and the story of the *Hildebrandslied* is related.

During the years 1840-1860 only two references to German literature appeared in Baltimore's periodicals. In the *Baltimore Phoenix and Budget* of 1841 we find James H. Nussear's translation of Schiller's *The Criminal.* In 1853, the same organ printed a short review of Adler's *Handbook of German Literature.*

An explanation for this almost total disregard for German literature is difficult to find. The decline in interest may be attributed to the natural death of a sudden, short-lived acceptance of German letters created by the influential and persuasive Göttingen students. Then, too, there was an increasing interest in our own American literature which began to overshadow the importance of the literature of Germany. We might have expected the German political refugees of 1848 to spur interest in German authors, but the 48'ers were most interested in their newly acquired political freedom, placing their associations with Germany behind them. The influx of foreigners actually aroused some opposition to Germany among the people of Baltimore, for the ideas of the radical German free-thinkers did not fall upon receptive ears.

The slavery issue played a prominent part in the pages of Baltimore's magazines, and it is understandable that the citizens of Baltimore would be more interested in issues which threatened the Union and their very lives than in the discussion of a foreign literature. Since Maryland was a border state, the slavery question was hotly debated; and the fact that eight Baltimoreans were killed in a skirmish with Union soldiers on Pratt Street accentuated fears of a civil war. At the Civil War's end, Baltimore's literary periodicals again carried translations and critiques of German literature, especially the works of Lessing, Goethe, Heine, Spielhagen, Platen, Auerbach, Eichendorff and La Motte Fouqué.

In the *Cosmopolite,* a magazine published in 1866, we find a translation of "The Battle-Field of Hastings" by Heinrich Heine. The theme of the poem is particularly suited to the situation of the South in the aftermath of the Civil War. Between the years 1867 and 1870 a wealth of German literary material appeared in the literary periodicals, *Southern Review, Southern Society,* and the *New Eclectic* (which changed its title to *Southern Magazine* in 1871).

The *Southern Review* recommends the poems of August Graf von Platen to its readers:

> We commend to the hearts and minds of others a poet whose lofty and melodious verses bring back to the reviewer,... the golden music of the past, blending with the roll of the Rhine and lingering among the echoes of the Seven Mountains. His lyric poems commend themselves by their exquisite beauty of form, and some of his minor pieces quiver with suppressed sensibility. Though the author showed no little vanity when he said that "The Fateful Fork" was his introduction to the circle of the Immortals, his vanity in view of the admirable finish of his work, is pardonable.
>
> As Platen's powers matured, he devoted himself more and more to lyric poetry in antique metres; and as a master of the form, he is still unequalled in this direction; so that those who are desirious of enriching our English poetry by classic versification, would do well to study Platen in order to see what has been done in a kindred tongue. In our judgement some of his pieces, though a little cold, rank among the best of German literature. (41a)

A translation of Friedrich Spielhagen's novel, *Hammer and Anvil,* was published in serial form in the *Statesman* in 1868. A biography of the author and a critical analysis of the novel introduce the translation:

> As a delineator of individual characters..., as a painter of various situations, scenic and social, he appears to us unequalled by any other modern German writer of fiction. Indeed in Germany, he is generally acknowledged to occupy the foremost rank amongst modern writers of fiction. (44a)

The *New Eclectic* echoes this praise of Spielhagen:

> Spielhagen occupies a distinguished place among German novelists. Realistic and minute in his details, his characters are sharply defined and full of energy and originality, and his incidents novel and striking. Though we find in his stories much that seems to us morbid, and some things that deserve censure, we are compelled to admit that we have before us the work of an artist of no ordinary power. (43k)

A review of Auerbach's *On the Heights* is reprinted in the *New Eclectic.* The review asserts that Auerbach is too talented to be popular and that he may not be understood by the ordinary reader: "But it is to a very different class that *On the Heights* must appeal — to those who will study it as they would *Hamlet* or *Faust;* and by such certainly the new edition will be fully appreciated." (43a) The *New Eclectic* published a translation of Auerbach's *Little Barefoot* and a review of the story by Bayard Taylor in 1869:

> Auerbach's "Village Stories" are models of simple, picturesque, pathetic narration. A soft idyllic atmosphere lies upon his pictures, and the rude . . . peasant life of the Black Forest is lifted into a region of poetry. *Barfüssle* appeared in 1856. It is not too much to say that it is one of the most exquisite idyls of humble life in any language. (43g)

Concerning Eichendorff's *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts,* Earle Bertie writes, "This romance of Eichendorff's is a perfect specimen of the humorous idyl. The whole story is managed with wonderful delicacy and grace of development." (43b)

In *Southern Society,* a magazine devoted to the ladies, we find an article concerning the German authoress, Frau Klara Mundt, who wrote under the pseudonym, Louisa Mühlbach. "Louisa Mühlbach at present is writing four books, under the general title of *Germany in Storm and Stress.* Her novels are so popular!" (42a)

Baron de La Motte-Fouqué is represented in Baltimore by a translation of his *The Florentine Mother* in *The Leader* in 1868.

Our study shows that the early opinion held by Baltimoreans with regard to German literature was indeed favorable. But one critic, writing in the *Southern Review,* is hostile to the popularity of German translations. He directs his contempt in particular toward the German author, Hermann Schmid, whose *Habermeister* has appeared in translation:

> There is something strangely absurd in the passion of the day for translation of German novels; it is impossible to repress a smile at the eager interest evidenced everywhere in Mühlbach, Auerbach, and the rest. The *Haber-meister* is one of the most indifferent of German novels indifferently translated. Schmidt has made a poor story of it. The plot is bold without being simple; the characters utterly untrue to human nature; the pictures of peasant life, so confused and indistinct as to be worth nothing. (41c)

Despite this critic's dissenting opinion concerning Schmid, (whose works were popularized in *Die Gartenlaube*), there are two reviews of the *Habermeister* in the *New Eclectic* which hold Schmid's talents in high regard.

The favorable reception of German literature in Baltimore continued into the 1870's; the magazine largely responsible for the reflection of this interest was the *Southern Magazine,* previously known as the *New Eclectic.* In the pages of this periodical we find a translation of the autobiography of Friedrich Gerstäcker which had appeared in its original German form in *Die Gartenlaube.* Also to be found in the *Southern Magazine* are a review of Goethe's poems and ballads, a biography of Goethe's early youth, and stanzas from the medieval poets, Marner, Regenbogen, and Frauenlob. Walther von der Vogelweide, Gottfried von Strassburg, and Wolfram von Eschenbach are highly praised. One article contains a translation of "Lay of Our Lady" by Frauenlob (Henry von Meissen), a short biography of Frauenlob, and high praise for his poetry. A review of A. E. Kroeger's *The Minnesingers of Germany* tells of the indebtedness of modern German poetry, and hence our own American poetry, to the tradition of the Minnesang:

> This book is a most interesting account of a very remarkable and singularly luxuriant flowering-time of which all modern German poetry may be said to be the fruit, while, through the latter, it has in no slight degree influenced our own. (46i)

An article on Angelus [sic] Silesius (Johann Scheffler) contains a number of translations of Silesius' chorals, a biography of his life, and praise of his poetry:

> His rhymes are quite pure, his rhythm faultless, his alliterations always subservient to the matter of the poem, and his metres and stanzas more than usually varied, musical and interesting. (46d)

Modern German writers are not rated so highly by the reviewers: "Heine is the true modern, clutching himself fiercely and relentlessly by the throat because his will is impotent, his desires infinite, his attainings infinitesimal." (46l) Freitag's *Ingraban* is labeled "dull" (46m), and Auerbach's *Waldfried* brings the comment, "When a German does set about being dull and diffuse, he has a supernatural success that no less favored mortal can attain." (46q)

Our discussion of the reception of German literature in Baltimore ends on a note which points optimistically toward continued interest in the future. In a review of an outline of German literature we find a sentence which tells us of the expansion of the study of German: "With the present expansion of the study of German, a clear, vivid, compact compendium of German Literature is one of the urgent necessities of teacher and scholar." (46k)

The number of magazines which were published in Baltimore after the demise of the *Southern Magazine* in 1875 is small indeed, and the literary content of these periodicals is negligible. The magazines published during the period 1876 to 1900 provide a less reliable index of literary criticism concerning German literature. After 1900, books and professional journals assumed the function of the magazines as indicators of literary opinion. Therefore, further study of the development of literary criticism in Baltimore would, of necessity, involve research work in areas other than that of the magazine as it existed in Baltimore from 1800 to 1875.

A comparison of the reception of German literature in Baltimore with the reception accorded it in other intellectual

centers of America, e.g. Boston, Philadelphia, and New York reveals common traits. German literature was commonly reviewed on its ethical rather than aesthetic merits; Kotzebue, Goethe, and Schiller were labeled "immoral" in New England as well as in the South. Baltimore, however, recognized the worth of Goethe before Boston did, and this acclaim for Goethe was largely due to the singular efforts of George H. Calvert. Ticknor and Everett did their utmost to bring the proper Bostonians to an acceptance of the writings of Goethe, but as late as 1838 Goethe was still severely criticized in Boston. Emerson expresses his feeling toward Goethe in a letter to Carlyle dated November 1838: "The Puritan in me can accept no apology for bad morals in such as he." In Baltimore there is only the highest praise for Goethe from 1828 on.

Despite the fact that the population of Baltimore was larger than that of Boston in 1829, Baltimore was the home of only eleven local magazines; Boston had forty. Baltimore's magazines did not receive German literature in great quantities, but quantity is not synonymous with quality, and in many cases Baltimore critics proved to be more astute than their Northern counterparts. On the other hand, Baltimore's critics did not treat Gellert's fables, Zshokke's "Abaellino", or Zimmermann's "Solitude" — all of which met with a favorable reception in other major cities.

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*Cf. also the chronological list of Baltimore magazines given in Appendix A.

APPENDIX A

1. 1800. **Baltimore Weekly Magazine** (1800-1801).
   a. p. 54- "Kotzebue". A short biography.
   b. p. 280- Bürger's "Leonora". A translation.
2. 1800. **Child of Pallas** (1800-1801) Nos. 1-8.
   a. p. 72- Article on Lavater and Physiognomy.
   b. p. 167- References to the personality of Frederick the Great.
   c. p. 250- Biography of M. Kotzebue.
3. 1804. **Companion and Weekly Miscellany** (1804-1806).
   a. p. 35- Character of Kotzebue.
   b. p. 34- Adverse criticism of Kotzebue and his "The Stranger"

c. p. 185-190- Long article on Schiller's "The Robbers".
d. p. 209-212- Another criticism of Schiller's "The Robbers".
e. p. 225- A defense of Schiller's "The Robbers" in reply to previous adverse criticism.

4. 1804. **Marvelous Magazine** (1804) Nos. 1-4.
No articles concerning German literature.

5. 1806. **Observer** (1806-1807) Vols. 1-2.
a. Vol. 2, p. 95- Poem by Haller translated.

6. 1811. **Baltimore Repertory of Papers on Literary and Other Topics** (1811) Vol. 1.
No articles concerning German literature.

7. 1815. **Wanderer** (1815) Vol. 1, Nos. 1-26.
a. p. 239- "Song from Afar" translated from a German poem. Author not given. Translator not given.

8. 1816. **Portico** (1816-1818) Vols. 1-2.
a. Vol. 1, p. 169- Review of "Humboldt's Travels in South America", Philadelphia, Carey (1815).
b. Vol. 1, p. 356- Poem, "The Vicar's Daughter of Taubenheim" (Des Pfarrers Tochter von Taubenhain), after the manner and from the German of Bürger. Signed F.
c. Vol. 2, p. 17- "On the State of Polite Literature in Germany" Discussion of Bürger, Goethe, Lessing, Baggesen, Schiller, Kotzebue, and Gessner. Signed S. Criticism adverse.

9. 1818. **Baltimore Weekly Magazine and Ladies Miscellany** (1818) Vol. 1. No articles concerning German literature.

10. 1818. **Journal of the Times** (1818-1819) Vol. 1.
No articles concerning German literature.

11. 1819. **Red Book** (1819-1820) Vols. 1-2.
No articles concerning German literature.

12. 1821. **Unitarian Miscellany and Christian Monitor** (1821-1824) Vols. 1-6.
a. Vol. 5, p. 30- A Psalm translated from Klopstock (1824).

13. 1823. **Baltimore Philosophical Journal and Review** (1823)
No articles concerning German literature.

14. 1827. **North American** (1827)
a. p. 2- "The Father Land" translated from the German "Wo ist das deutsche Vaterland?"
b. p. 179- "German Epigrams".

15. 1828. **Columbian Register** (1828) Vol. 1.
No articles concerning German literature.

16. 1828. **Emerald and Baltimore Literary Gazette** (1828-1829) Vols. 1-2.
a. p. 13- April 19, 1828: "The Bath of Beauty". A tale abridged from the German.

b. p. 29- "Anecdote of Love" from the German of E. T. A. Hoffmann's "The Mines of Verlun".
c. p. 46- Anecdote concerning Lessing's absentmindedness.
d. p. 47- Goethe's "Ganymede" translated by J. G. Percival.
e. p. 55- Lessing and absentmindedness.
f. p. 56- Klopstock's "Song of Victory" from his "Hermann's Schlacht". Translated by J. G. Percival.
g. p. 56- "The Farewell". A German hymn translated by John Hill Hewitt.
h. p. 64- "The Destination of Jerusalem". Ode from Klopstock's "Messiah", Book 20.
i. p. 72- Goethe's "The Godlike", translated by J. G. Percival.
j. p. 88- "Margaret in the Cathedral". Translated excerpt from Goethe's "Faust".
k. p. 189- A passage from the "Nibelungenlied".
l. p. 220- "Fatal Love". A tale from the German of Doring.
m. p. 282- "The Black Rifleman's Song" translated from the German of Körner by H. (Hewitt?)

17. 1830. **Baltimore Times** (1830-1832) Vols. 1-2.
a. p. 44- An account of a present to Goethe presented by Sir Walter Scott and other Englishmen.
b. p. 54- A praise of German poetry by Professor Follen of Harvard University.
c. p. 88- An account of Goethe's birthday celebration.
d. Vol. 3, p. 44- An imaginary "conversation" between Goethe and Yorke, the editor of "Fraser's Magazine".
e. Vol. 3, p. 51- A translation of Goethe's autobiography concerning Goethe and Madame de Stael.
f. Vol. 3, p. 70- An article on the humor in Bürger's poetry.
g. Vol. 3, p. 90- An article concerning the death and accomplishments of Goethe.
h. Vol. 3, p. 102- Final honors to Goethe.
i. Vol. 3, p. 161- Two page article in praise of Goethe.
j. Vol. 3, p. 208- Translation of a German war song by Germanicus.

18. 1830. **Metropolitan, or Catholic Monthly Magazine** (1830) Vol. 1. No articles concerning German literature.

19. 1830. **National Magazine, or Lady's Emporium** (1830-1831) Vols. 1-2. No articles concerning German literature.

20. 1830. **Young Ladies Journal of Literature and Science** (1830-1831) Vols. 1-2. No articles concerning German literature.

21. 1832. **North American Quarterly Magazine.** (1832-1838) Vols. 1-9. No articles concerning German literature.

22. 1834. **Baltimore Athenaeum** (1834-1839)

a. Vol. 2. (1835)- A translation of the German edition of "Correspondence between Goethe and Schiller from 1794 to 1805". Original German edition printed by J. G. Cotta in 1828 in Stuttgart. Translated into English for the first time by George H. Calvert. Later published in one volume by Wiley and Putnam, New York, in 1845.
b. p. 280- A praise of German literature by Professor Sears.
c. p. 299- A passage by S. T. Coleridge on the merits of Schiller's works. Lessing also praised.
d. p. 328 (1835)- "Selections from Jean Paul Richter".
e. May 25, 1839- "Aurora" from the German of Herder. Translator not given.

23. 1835. **Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine** (1835-1841) Vols. 1-7. No articles concerning German literature.

24. 1836. **Baltimore Monument** (1836-1838) Vols. 1-2.
a. Vol. 1 (1837, p. 254- "A German Ghost Story". Author not given.
b. Vol. 1 (1836), p. 98- Article on Theodore Körner by J. H. Hewitt. Also two poems by Körner: "Song of the Black Chasseurs" and "Prayer During Battle". Translated by J. H. Hewitt.
c. Vol. 1 (1837), p. 137- "Frederick von Heilberg" by Le Roy (an original Faustian story).
d. Vol. 1 (1836), p. 52- Translations from the German. "Division of the World" by Schiller. Unsigned. "Mignon" from Goethe's "Wilhelm Meister". "The Erlking" from Goethe.
e. Vol. 1 (1837), p. 122- "Alliance Song" translated from the German of Körner by J. H. Hewitt.
f. Vol. 1 (1837) p. 148- "Battle Song" translated from the German of Körner by J. H. Hewitt.
g. Vol. 1 (1837), p. 110- "Lutsow's Wild Chase" translated from the German of Körner by E. W.
h. Vol. 1 (1837), p. 225- "Prayer During Battle" translated from the German of Körner by X.
i. Vol. 1 (1837), p. 107- "Sword Song" translated from the German of Körner by J. H. Hewitt.
j. Vol. 1 (1837), p. 120- "Sword Song" translated from the German of Körner by H. C. W.
k. Vol. 2 (1837), p. 31- "Nature" translated from the German. Neither author nor translator given.

24. 1836. **Baltimore Monument** (cont.)
1. Vol. 2 (1838), p. 184- "Love and Madness" from the German. No author given.

m. Vol. 2 (1838), p. 233- "The Visionist" translated from the German by James N. Nussear. Author not given.

25. 1836. **Christian Review** (1836-1845) Vols. 1-10.
No articles concerning German literature.

26. 1838. **American Museum of Science, Literature, and Arts** (1838-1839).
a. Vol. 1 (1838), p. 101- Writer acknowledges indebtedness to Goethe for many ideas in this critique. Signed N.
b. Vol. 2 (1839), p. 194- A lecture, "Early Literature of the Germans." By Rev. Henry J. Smith, Prof. of the German and French Languages and Literatures in Penn. College, Gettysburg.
c. Vol. 2 (1839), p. 236- "Handel"; a Novelette from the German of Lyser. By Mrs. E. F. Ellet.
d. Vol. 2 (1839), p. 259, 422- Researches of the Polyglot Club. "My Life is like the Summer Rose." A German version of the poem.

27. 1838. **Baltimore Literary Monument** (1838-1839).
a. "A Legendary Ballad" translated from the German of Herder.

28. 1841. **Baltimore Phoenix and Budget** (1841-1842) Vol. 1.
a. April, 1841, p. 29 (completed p. 58, May, 1841)- "The Criminal" translated from the German of Schiller by Jos. H. Nussear.

29. 1842. **Baltimore Monthly Visitor** (1842) Vol. 1.
No articles concerning German literature.

30. 1842. **Religious Cabinet** (1842) Vol. 1.
No articles concerning German literature.

31. 1842. **Spirit of the XIX Century** (1842-1843) Vols. 1-2.
No articles concerning German literature.

32. 1843. **United States Catholic Magazine** (1843-1845) Vols. 2-4.
No articles concerning German literature.

33. 1852. **Parthenian** (1852-1859) Vols. 1-2.
No articles concerning German literature.

34. 1853. **Metropolitan, a Monthly** (1853-1858) Vols. 1-5.
a. Vol. 2, p. 180- "Handbook of German Literature" by Adler. Reviewed.

35. 1858. **Home Companion.** (1858) Vol. 1.
No articles concerning German literature.

36. 1859. **Mirror** (1859-1860) Vols. 1-2.
No articles concerning German literature.

37. 1860. **Metropolitan** (1860) Vol. 1.
No articles concerning German literature.

38. 1860. **Weishampel's Literary and Religious Magazine** (1860) Vol. 1.
a. "The Song of Hatred" translated from the German of Herwegh by Clarence Mangan.

39. 1864. **New Era** (1864) Vol. 1.
No articles concerning German literature.

40. 1866. **The Cosmopolite** (1866) Vol. 1.
    a. No. 11- "The Battle-Field of Hastings" translated from the German of Heine by T. R. P.
41. 1867. **Southern Review** (1867-1878) Vols. 1-24.
    a. Vol. 4 (1868), p. 434- Platen's Poems.
    b. Vol. 6 (1869), p. 245- "Over Yonder" from the German of Marlitt; translated and reviewed.
    c. Vol. 7 (1870), p. 245- "The Habermeister" translated from the German of Schmid.
    d. Vol. 8 (1870), p. 234- "Hammer and Anvil" translated from the German of Spielhagen by Browne.
    e. Vol. 17 (1875), p. 471- "Laocoon" translated from the German of Lessing by Ellen M. Frothingham.
42. 1867. **Southern Society** (1867-1868) Vol. 1.
    a. p. 15- Miss Louisa Muhlbach — "Joseph II" — popular historical novel. A notice about her writing, "Germany in Storm and Stress" (concerns Goethe and Schiller).
    b. p. 39- A physical description of Goethe.
    c. p. 140- Article on Faust meditating suicide.
    d. p. 145- Reference to Schlegel and Tieck's translation of Shakespeare.
    e. p. 174- Jean Paul Richter — on infinity. "Dream of the Infinitudes of Space" translated by De Quincy.
43. 1868. **New Eclectic** (1868-1870) Vols. 1-7.
    a. Vol. 2, p. 104- "On the Heights", by Auerbach. Translated by Bunnett. Review reprinted from "Round Table".
    b. Vol. 3, p. 1- "Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts", by Eichendorff. Review by Earle Bertie. Reprinted from "Home Monthly".
    c. Vol. 4, p. 74- "Hermann Schmid, the German Poet and Novelist". Translated from "Die Gartenlaube".
    d. Vol. 4, p. 188- Louise Mühlbach. Contribution from Berlin.
    e. Vol. 4, p. 194- "A Pistol-Shot". Translated from "Die Gartenlaube".
    f. Vol. 4, p. 344- "Pechnazi, the Chamois Hunter". Translated from "Der Hausfreund".
    g. Vol. 4, p. 569- Berthold Auerbach. By Bayard Taylor (with cut).
    h. Vol. 4, p. 592- "The Bramin's Secret." Translated from "Die Gartenlaube".
43. 1868. **New Eclectic** (cont.)
    i. Vol. 5, p. 5, 139- "Little Barefoot" translated from Auerbach.
    j. Vol. 5, p. 233- "The Villa on the Rhine", by Auerbach. Translation reviewed. Reprinted from "Overland Monthly".
    k. Vol. 5, p. 239- "Problematic Characters", by Spielhagen.

Translated by Schele de Vere. Review reprinted from "Statesman".

l. Vol. 5, p. 368- "The Habermeister", by Schmid. Review of translation reprinted from "Statesman".

m. Vol. 6, p. 117- "German Tales", by Auerbach. Review reprinted from "Nation".

n. Vol. 7, p. 70- "Lohengrin", by Wagner. (The legend.)

o. Vol. 7, p. 121- "Hermann and Dorothea", by Goethe. Review of translation by Ellen M. Frothingham.

p. Vol. 7, p. 210- "Spielhagen's Novels". By William H. Browne.

44. 1868. **Statesman** (1868) Vols. 1-4.

a. p. 133- Publication of a translation of Friedrich Spielhagen's novel, "Hammer and Anvil". Biography of Spielhagen. Critical analysis of his work.

b. p. 439- Review of "Edelweiss, A Story", by Berthold Auerbach. Translated by Ellen Frothingham. Printed in Boston by Roberts Bros. (1869).

45. 1868. **The Leader** (1868)

a. p. 7- Remark on Ludwig Uhland's popularity in Tübingen.

b. June 13, 1868- "The Florentine Mother", translated from the German of La Motte Fouqué.

46. 1871. **Southern Magazine** (1871-1875) Vols. 8-17.

a. Vol. 8, p. 166- "Gerstäcker's Autobiography" translated from "Die Gartenlaube" by Mrs. Rudolf Tensler.

b. Vol. 8, p. 320- "Stanzas from the Minnesingers" translated by A. E. Kroeger.

c. Vol. 8, pp. 641- "Ulrich von Lichtenstein," by A. E. Kroeger.

d. Vol. 9, p. 200- "Angel[i]us Silesius" (Johann Scheffler), by A. E. Kroeger.

e. Vol. 9, p. 404- "The German Lied of Early Days", by C. Woodward Hutson.

f. Vol. 9, p. 755- "Poems and Ballads of Goethe", by Aytoun and Martin. Reviewed by W. H. Browne.

g. Vol. 11, p. 328- "Frauenlob, the Last of the Minnesingers." By A. E. Kroeger.

h. Vol. 11, p. 606- "A German Legend of the Tropic Sea."

i. Vol. 12, p. 115- "The Minnesingers of Germany", by Kroeger. Reviewed by W. H. Browne.

j. Vol. 12, p. 503- "The World-Priest", by Schefer. Translated by Brooks. Reviewed.

k. Vol. 13, p. 371- "Outlines of German Literature", by Gostwick and Harrison. Reviewed.

l. Vol. 13, p. 506- "Scintillations from Heine", by Stern. Reviewed by E. S.

m. Vol. 13, p. 765- "Ingraban", by Freitag. Translation by Malcolm. Reviewed by W. H. Browne.

46. 1871. **Southern Magazine** (cont.)

n. Vol. 14, p. 58- "The Cooper of Overbach. A German Legend", by R. W. (Poem).

o. Vol. 14, p. 144- "Körner's Friend" (Friedrich Förster), by E. V. Valentine.

p. Vol. 14, p. 253- "Early Youth of Goethe, Lessing, and Schiller", by F. Schaller.

q. Vol. 14, p. 676- "Waldfried", by Auerbach. Translation by Stern reviewed.

r. Vol. 15, p. 246- "The Last Days of Heinrich Heine", by J. A. H.

s. Vol. 15, p. 636- "Myth of William Tell", by W. W. Lord (poem).

t. Vol. 17, p. 119- "Art, Life, and Theories of Richard Wagner", by Burlingame. Reviewed.

47. 1872. **Amateur Journal** (1872) Vol. 1.
No articles concerning German literature.

48. 1873. **Southern Star** (1873) Vol. 1.
No articles concerning German literature.

49. 1889. **No Name Magazine** (1889-1892) Vol. 3.
No articles concerning German literature.

APPENDIX B

A List of German Authors Mentioned in Baltimore Literary Magazines.

1800-1809

Bürger
Frederick the Great
Haller
Kotzebue (4)
Lavater
Schiller (3)

1810-1819

Bürger (2)
Gessner
Goethe
Humboldt
Kotzebue
Lessing
Schiller

1820-1829

Doring
Goethe (3)
Hoffmann
Klopstock (3)
Körner
Lessing

1830-1839

Bürger
Goethe (11)
Herder (2)
Jean Paul Richter
Körner (9)
Lessing
Schiller (3)

1840-1849

Schiller

1850-1859

None

1860-1869

Auerbach (6)
Eichendorff
Goethe (3)
Heine
Herwegh
Jean Paul Richter
La Motte Fouqué
Lessing
Marlitt
Mühlbach (2)
Platen
Schlegel
Schmid (3)
Spielhagen (4)
Tieck
Uhland

1870-1875

Angelius Silesius
Auerbach
Wolfram von Eschenbach
Frauenlob
Freitag
Gerstäcker
Goethe (2)
Heine (2)
Lessing
Marner
Regenbogen
Schefer
Schiller
Gottfried von Strassburg
Walther von der Vogelweide

Note: The numbers in parentheses refer to the number of times the author is mentioned in each decade.

NEW PUBLICATION

FRANZI ASCHER-NASH,

Gedichte eines Lebens—Poems of a Lifetime

(selected poems in two languages)

Europäischer Verlag, (Wien: 1974)

zu beziehen durch

Adler's Foreign Bookstore

162 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10010

BOOK REVIEWS

The reader of *German-American Studies* is familiar with some of the work of Mimi Grossberg of New York. Her poems have appeared in several volumes of this journal. In addition, this reviewer had the pleasure of reviewing the anthology *Kleinkunst aus Amerika* in volume I, number 1, as well as the bio-bibliographical compilation *Oesterreichische Autoren in Amerika,* and a short treatise on *Oesterreichs literarische Emigration in den Vereinigten Staaten 1938,* both in volume V. Her latest book—

Mimi Grossberg, *Gedichte und kleine Prosa.* Bergland Verlag (Wien, 1972), 78 pp.

—contains poems, aphorisms, and short essays, as reflected by the title.

Repetition is one of the favorite poetic devices employed in the poems, and so are alliteration and assonance. Many poems have a gentleness and freshness about them, particularly those, where Mimi Grossberg eschews the traditional verse-forms and rhymes. Not all poems fall into this category, however. The melancholy poem "Wer bin ich?", for example, is all but ruined by the line "und ich trinke, trinke, trinke,". Goethe's drunkard in *Faust II* says virtually the same thing in a rather different context: "Doch ich trinke! Trinke, trinke!"

A delight to read are the aphorisms. They range from insights which we may have felt but were unable to formulate so succinctly: "An manche Gesichter kann ich nur familienweise denken", or: "Manche Menschen werden ungemuetlich, wenn sie gemuetlich werden", to practical advice: "Statt fuer jemanden zu beten---hilf ihm!"

The seven essays deal mainly with the plight of emigration. Most touching and sad among the selections is the last one in the book: "Portraet meines Freundes Schroeder."

Jacob Erhardt
Westminster College
New Wilmington, Pa.

Margarete Kollisch: *Wege und Einkehr; Ausgewählte Gedichte.* Bergland Verlag: Wien (1972?), 64 Seiten

Das dünne Bändchen von Margarete Kollisch *Wege und Einkehr* enthält 71 ausgewählte Gedichte. Der Titel der Sammlung leitet sich von dem ersten und letzten Gedicht her, nämlich "Wege", beziehungsweise "Einkehr". Zwischen diesen beiden befinden sich die restlichen 69 Gedichte, die alle auf ein gemeinsames Ziel hindeuten: Einkehr.

"Wege", am Anbeginn der Sammlung stehend, wurde nicht am Anfang des dichterischen Schaffens von M. Kollisch geschrieben, sondern zu einer fortgeschritteneren Schaffensperiode. Von diesem Zeitpunkt aus schaut sie nämlich zurück auf ihre Kindheit, die ihr wie ein Garten erscheint, den sie an Mutters Hand in seliger Blindheit durchwandelte, bis sie sich unvermerkt zu Hause fand. Aus dieser Erinnerung schöpft sie Kraft und will sich wie einst mit erneuerter Jugendkraft ins Wunderbare stürzen. Doch die Realität der Erinnerung überträgt sich nicht auf die Gegenwart. Sie ist nicht mehr die ihr so vertraute Person ihrer Mädchenjahre, die auf hellen Strassen dahineilt.

> "Doch wie ein Fremdling und mit leisem Bangen
> Setz' ich den Fuss auf meine Gegenwart.
> Noch ist der Weg vom Mittagsdunst verhangen,
> Der ahnungsvoll auf Gottes Segen harrt." (**Wege,** Seite 5)*

Die Gegenwart ist für die Dichterin verhangen. Die ihr einst so bekannte Strasse ist ihr unbekannt geworden und damit auch ihr Ende. Sie gibt aber nicht auf. Anstatt ziellos umherzuirren, hofft und vertraut sie vielmehr auf Gott, dass er sie richtig leitet, dass sie zum Ziele kommt.

> "Denn jeder Schritt, ich weiss es, führt zum Ziel." (**Wege,** Seite 5)

Es ist ein Gedicht, das einfach gehalten ist und viele romantische Elemente aufweist wie, schon oben erwähnt, der Garten der Kindheit, Mutters Hand, selige Blindheit, die hellen

Strassen, das Wunderbare. Das Romantische wird noch — wie bei Eichendorff — vertieft durch das leise Bangen, den Mittagsdunst, das ahnungsvolle Harren und den kommenden Abend mit der sich im Windesspiel ablösenden Blüte. Im Gegensatz zu den romantischen Dichtern, die vielfach von der Wirklichkeit ausgehend in eine andere Wirklichkeit übergehen, beginnt die Dichterin mit einer verromantisierten Vergangenheit, in der trotz aller Blindheit alles hell ist, und kommt zu einer realen Gegenwart, die, anstatt klar zu sein, verhangen ist.

Das Gedicht, aus vier Strophen, jede Strophe aus vier Zeilen, jede Zeile aus 5-füssigen Jamben bestehend, lässt in Sprache, Form und Struktur das Romantisch-Volksliedhafte immer wieder durchklingen.

Von hier aus sind die Gedichte wie Stationen auf dem Lebenswege der Dichterin, wie Momente des Ruhens, in denen sie reflektiert und sich ihres Weges vergewissern will. Im zweiten Gedicht der Sammlung fühlt sie

> "... eine freigewordne Sehnsucht, die sich heisser
> Dem Atem Gottes öffnet um Erlösung." (**Erneuerung,** Seite 6)

Das Endziel des Weges wird hier klar: Erlösung in Gott sucht sie. Einkehr bedeutet nicht nur physische Einkehr, sondern auch psychische Einkehr. Das dritte Gedicht bringt der Dichterin das Leben um sie herum zum vollen Bewusstsein. Mit den Vögeln (einem Symbol für Seele), deren Ruf sie in ihrer Seele trägt, mit den Bienen, den Knospen und dem Staubkorn fühlt sie eine Bindung: Liebe. In dieser unendlichen Liebe wird sie zur Mitte des Lebens

> "Heilig fühl' ich ein grosses Blühen
> Aufflammen — und erbebe:
> Ich l e b e." (**Die heiligen Tage,** Seite 7)

Im folgenden Gedicht zeigt die Dichterin, dass sie sich bewusst ist, alleine ihr Ziel nicht erreichen zu können

> "Leite mich in deiner Güte," (**Erfüllung,** Seite 8)

sagt sie,

"Dass ich langsam mich in dir erfülle,
Nur an Liebe gross vor meinem Richter." (ebenda)

Wieder greift sie das Bild der Flamme auf als Zeichen des Lebens und gleichzeitig als Zeichen der Wandlung. Das Alte, das Bekannte muss sich in das Unbekannte, das Ende verwandeln. Das Weltliche muss entrückt werden, damit man Gott erschauen kann.

"Alles Aussen wandelt sich nach innen,
Abklingt jeder angemasste Ton,
Eine Stille schwebt um deinen Thron," (ebenda)

Mit diesem Gedicht sind vier Dinge gegeben, die zur Einkehr nötig sind: die zu beschreitenden Wege, die Vergewisserung des Zieles, die Bekräftigung der Tatsche der Liebe und des Lebens, sowie die Bitte um Güte, Erkenntnis und Erfüllung des Zieles.

Im weiteren folgen Gedichte wie "Gebet", in dem sie den Vater um Aufnahme bittet; "Vor Sonnenaufgang", dessen Titel schon den nahen Tag, das nahe Ziel ankündigt

"Baum, Tier und Mensch im Lichte auferstehn.
Seht, es wird Tag! Nun kann euch nichts geschehen."
(**Vor Sonnenaufgang,** Seite 11)

Mit ihr, der Dichterin, soll auch der Rest der Schöpfung frohlocken, denn mit dem Tagesanbruch wird aller Erlösung kommen.

Doch der Weg ist kein ebener. Was die Dichterin überkommen muss, ist ein Dämon, eine Unruhe, ein Traum und ein Schmerz. Doch kann der Dämon sie nicht von ihrem Ziele abhalten und wird, da er mit ihr verbunden ist, auch in Ewigkeit mit ihr verbunden sein, verbunden, aber kraftlos.

Rückschläge und Enttäuschungen können sie nicht aufhalten. Immer wieder durchläuft sie dieselben Wege, erleidet sie dieselben Schmerzen, bis sie alle Wege durchlaufen, alle Schmerzen gelitten hat. Dann kommt die Erlösung.

"Alle die Wege, krumme und grade,
....
Wollen beschritten sein.

Abgerissene Wochen und Tage,
....
Wollen erlitten sein.

Lass mich die Wege, lass mich die Zeiten
Nochmals erleiden, nochmals durchschreiten,
Dass sie mich länger zum Ziele führen,
Bis deine Strahlen mich endlich berühren
Mitten ins Herz hinein." (**Aufschub**, Seite 17)

Es wäre zuviel, alle Gedichte hier in irgendeiner Form wiederzugeben, obgleich viele wegen ihrer Form, Sprache und Struktur Erwähnung finden sollten. Sie alle haben einen Zweck: über die Möglichkeiten, Mittel und Wege zur Einkehr zu reflektieren. Sie alle entspringen der Sehnsucht nach und Hoffnung auf Erlösung. Obwohl einige pessimistisch gestimmt sind und Zweifel zum Ausdruck bringen, sind die meisten doch optimistisch, sogar der Erlösung gewiss. Diese Überzeugung fliesst aus der religiösen Grundhaltung der Dichterin, nach der das Ziel erreicht werden kann, muss und wird.

Gegen Ende der Sammlung kommt diese Notwendigkeit der Erreichung des Zieles zum Vorschein. Dazu gebraucht die Dichterin, wie schon vor ihr viele Dichter, das Bild der Generationsfolge, ausgedrückt im Symbol der sich zur Kette formenden Kreise. Wie ihre Grossmutter und Mutter, so betritt sie als Mutter und zukünftige Grossmutter den Pfad des Lebens. Das Bild der Mutter wird im Folgenden wieder aufgenommen

"Silbern wird mein Haar und schütter,
Stiller meine Atmosphäre,
Auf den Spuren meiner Mütter
Kreist mein Herz in süsser Schwere.

Und so folg' ich beim Beschreiten
Eigner Bahn im Weltgetriebe
Spuren, die mich heimbegleiten
Zu dem Schoss der letzten Liebe." (**Begleitung**, Seite 62)

Der Lebenslauf, der sich an vorhergehende knüpft, wird im nächsten Gedicht zu einem Kreis, beziehungsweise Kreislauf. Alle fünf Strophen beginnen

"Immer wieder schliesst sich der Kreis." (**Der Kreis**, Seite 63)

Und damit der Gedanke noch weiter unterstrichen wird, kehrt dieselbe Zeile am Ende des Gedichtes, gleichsam als selbständige Strophe, wieder. Dieses Gedicht erinnert an Goethes "Grenzen der Menschheit", in dem er dem Menschen seinen Platz und seine Bestimmung aufzeigt, nämlich ein Glied in einer unendlichen Kette zu sein. Das Unendliche in ihrem Gedicht "Der Kreis" fasst die Dichterin in die Frage

"Wo ist der Ursprung, wo ist das Ende?" (ebenda)

Im letzten Gedicht findet die Einkehr statt. Es ist eine Einkehr besonderer Art. Nicht die Dichterin kehrt bei Gott ein, sondern Gott kehrt bei der Dichterin ein.

"Wenn du niedersteigst von deinem Berg,
Gönn mir deines Abends letzte Süsse,
Wenn du ruhst von deinem Tagewerk,
Mach mich, Herr, zum Schemel deiner Füsse." (**Einkehr**, Seite 64)

Die Rollen scheinen hier vertauscht. Gott, der menschliche Eigenschaften besitzt, wird von der Dichterin empfangen, damit er sich bei ihr ausruhen und erholen kann. Doch ist in Wirklichkeit Gott immer noch Gott. Die Dichterin hat sich gewandelt. Die Suchende vom Anfang hat ihr Ziel erreicht, sie hat Gott gefunden oder Gott hat sie gefunden, was am Ende doch das gleiche ist. Beide haben sich gefunden und

"Wenn du gehst, der niemals heimgefunden,
In den stillen Winkel meiner Welt,
Der dir Obdach bot für kurze Stunden,
Noch ein Abglanz deiner Glorie fällt." (ebenda)

Dieses Gedicht, mit dem die Sammlung ihren Abschluss findet, ist thematisch das Gegenstück des ersten Gedichtes. Mit dem

ersten hat es nur die Form gemein, auch es besteht aus vier vierzeiligen Strophen, das Versmass hier ist jedoch 5-füssiger Trochäus.

Zusammenfassend kann gesagt werden, dass das Bändchen eine glückliche und interessante Auswahl von Gedichten darstellt. In vielseitigen und immer wiederkehrenden Variationen zeigt sich das Ringen der Dichterin um letzte Gewissheit des Lebenszieles. Dadurch, dass sie sich durch nichts in die Irre führen liess und sich stets ihren Glauben an Gott bewahrte, erreichte sie ihr Ziel.

Dieses Büchlein sollte jungen Menschen in die Hand gegeben werden, damit sie ebenfalls wie die Dichterin unbeirrt ihren Weg gehen und ihre Einkehr halten können.

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*Gedichte, Strophen und Zeilen werden hier und im Folgenden zitiert unter Angabe des Gedichtstitels und der Seitenzahl gemäss ihrem Erscheinen in der oben erwähnten Sammlung.

Lore Foltin, *Franz Werfel.* Stuttgart, J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung (1972), 127 pp.

For the novice as well as the student already familiar with the limited research materials heretofore available with regard to Franz Werfel and his writings, Lore Foltin's contribution to the Metzler Series (Band 115) will be a most welcome and vitally necessary tool. But for the seasoned scholar who may retain personal intimate ties with the cultural heritage of Werfel's age and milieu, Professor Foltin's work will succeed in an accomplishment which is truly remarkable in view of the brevity of the volume—it will reawaken a living scenario and a personal contact with Werfel and many of his pro-

minent contemporaries, transporting such a reader back to a world of yesterday. In a sense, the observations of the eminent George Steiner in his quartet of essays *In Bluebeard's Castle* on the death of the great European Culture which flourished up to World War I, almost seem poignantly audible in the personal commentaries that lie interspersed with the critical, biographical, and bibliographical material which comprises the principal aspect of the study.

Divided into three major sections, the first, *Materialien,* presents exhaustive details regarding the contents of the Werfel archives in the United States as well as holdings in various locations in Europe and Israel, followed by a general bibliographical orientation into the primary and secondary materials. The second section, *Leben und Werk,* much longer than either of the others, continues with the presentation of exhaustive bibliographical references in accordance with the chronology of Werfel's life and works. Professor Foltin presents this material in six phases, adding the bibliographical references at the end of each. The chronological divisions and the fact that the references themselves are categorized greatly facilitate the use of this study.

However valuable this facet may be, it is in the account of Werfel's life that the reader already familiar with the era will find a most gratifying contribution. Professor Foltin sketches Werfel's biography through key events, a few brief anecdotes, and references to historical occurrences in such a fashion as to allow the reader to feel the tension of the culture in which Rilke, Kafka, Brod, Werfel, and many others experienced that "explosive Atmosphäre" and the "sprachliche und soziale Isoliertheit" which made their creations so unique to German literature. This chapter is a storehouse of data concerning numerous prominent artists and political personalities of the time, and it is by virtue of the author's personal intimate knowledge and understanding of the stage upon which they played their parts that the reader already familiar with the political and literary milieu will find that this data im-

parts a depth to her commentaries on the works of Werfel which one would hardly have expected in so slim a volume. This depth, however, does not and could not extend to the philosophical considerations which are mentioned in passing; brevity and depth in this area are incompatible. One must therefore tread carefully, for example, over an apparent suggestion that Werfel's "eigene Theologie, der zufolge die Weltschöpfung selbst schon Sünde ist", was original. Later in the work it becomes clear that the author was well aware of the fact that this idea was also "in the air" at the time, and that indeed, Werfel's own religious orientation had more significant positive facets, which themselves are noted in conjunction with literary and expository works. Likewise does the brevity of the study preclude the discussion of related themes which are scattered throughout—in particular the themes of guilt and existential isolation. Such matters would appropriately be treated in a different type of study, and Foltin provides the service of defining and stating those themes which invite closer scrutiny.

The final chapter: *Aufgaben und Probleme der Werfel Forschung* is self-explanatory and concludes with additional general bibliographical references. In this section the author makes a claim: "Über Werfels Leben gibt dieser Band genauere Auskunft als sie bisher zu finden war. Die Daten, Lebenstatsachen und sonstigen Einzelheiten sind, wie wir hoffen, präzise und umfassend wiedergegeben." We can only enthusiastically agree with the claim and energetically assert that the hope has been fulfilled. So complete are the bibliographical references that even the New York Daily News has achieved admission to the world of *Germanistik* in this truly remarkable and most welcome tool for future research and present enjoyment.

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Richard A. Banyai, *The Legal and Military Aspects of German Money, Banking, and Finance 1938-1948*

1971, Pp. 121, 8.5x11" softbound, illustrated, $4.50

Order directly from: R. A. Banyai, 4520 North 34th St., Phoenix, Arizona 85018

This monograph is an in-depth study of a generally neglected aspect of the 1938-48 period of German economic history. As stated in the preface, "Military Government fiat in the money and banking area is an interesting study not only in economics but also in law. In general, this was a period of large-scale warfare and the occupation and administration of vast territories. The occupied territories required a military authority for the task of controlling money, banking and government".

This study is divided into three major parts, is illustrated with maps and specimens of currency and coin, and has a large, comprehensive references section. Part I examines military occupation and the issue of military currency in the context of international law, with a select number of case citations as precedent. Part II is an in-depth analysis of the legal and military aspects of German money, banking and financial policies in the occupied and annexed territories of continental Europe, 1938-45. Numerous decree laws issued by the German military authorities relating to money and banking are examined. There are maps showing areas of invasion and occupation, and specimens of both military and regular coin and currency issued by both the German authorities and the German controlled regimes in the occupied and annexed areas. Part III examines the legal and military aspects of the banking and monetary reconstruction in Germany from 1945-48 under the Allied Military occupation forces of the United States, Great Britain, France and the U.S.S.R. Numerous decree laws and other documents issued by the Allied forces of occupation relating to money and banking in occupied Germany are examined. There are maps of the zones of occupa-

tion in Germany and in the city of Berlin, and specimens of military currency used in Germany and Austria by the Allied forces. The important German monetary reform of June 1948 is carefully examined, and illustrated are specimens of the currency and coin issued during this reform in both the East and West zones of occupation in Germany and the city of Berlin.

This monograph is a concise, well illustrated and documented study. It will prove enlightening to specialists in economics and law, scholars and numismatists.

Vera Flach, *A Yankee in German America Texas Hill Country* (The Naylor Company, San Antonio, Texas, 1973), 176 pages, $5.95.

This highly personal work must be considered a valuable addition to the growing body of German-American literature.

Vera Flach is of Welsh ancestry and was born (1895) and raised in Chicago. She married a descendent of Dr. Ernst Kapp, the geographer and freethinking Forty-Eighter who settled in Sisterdale along the Sister Creeks (Upper Guadalupe River), the site of a "Latin farm" colony. The authoress learned German to at least some degree of fluency, and, ultimately, began delving into the Kapp family past. As might be expected, several traditional familiar German folkways come under "Yankee" scrutiny, and, ocassionally, authoress Flach has some interesting observations or insights to pass on to the reader. Raised in a teetotaling family, her discovery of the German beer cult (to cite but one example) becomes an almost major life experience. Far more significant, however, is the authoress' ability to breathe life into so many different phases of early twentieth century Texas German life. Her vivid recollections of sausage-making (she fails to use the term, but *Schlachtfest* it is!) makes for enjoyable and, at times, quite humorous reading:

> While the meat was being mixed, someone (good grief, not me!) was sent to the river with a washtub of entrails. There they were washed, thoroughly I am sure, turned inside out, washed again, and brought back to be sausage 'jackets'. In place of the grinder, a sausage stuffer with a funny-looking snout was now attached to the table. The entrails were cut into pieces ten to twenty inches long and tied at one end with sausage twine. They had to be tied very tight, for who wants sausage squirting all over the smokehouse?

Sausage-making, soap- and butter-making, a wee bit of folk medicine, and several casual recipes for such "favorites" as cabbage loaf, wine soup, *Kochkäse,* and *Zwieback* are all included. Here, too, we encounter the folksy story-teller. For the Texas version of Philadelphia scrapple, called *pannas,* she advises: *Be sure you have a nice, long-handled paddle, and when your arm breaks, go right on stirring.* For *Zwieback* she relates:

> Make a yeast dough with milk, flour, and eggs. Let it rise. Add sugar, butter, salt and more flour. Make nice round rolls and let 'em rise again. Bake the things. Then all you have to do is cut 'em in half and bake 'em again — slowly. My children ate buckets of these things.

The "down-on-the-farm" aspect of this book contrasts with its more serious historical accounts, written in a style which alternates between simple eloquence and casual slang. Compare the following passages:

> (1) Somewhere beneath the smooth highway lay the muddy, deep-rutted road on which our pioneers had come north in a wagon brought from Germany, behind six mules driven by a blasphemous boy. Ida and her children bounced in the wagon. The professor rode a horse. It took them five days.
>
> (2) At Mainz another slick realtor arrived. His name was Henry Fisher. He told the Adels-Verein that **his** Land, the Fisher-Miller grant, was far superior to that of Mr. Bourgeois. He was a big buddy of everyone at Austin and Mr. B. could never get a renewal. So — head over heels — they signed on his dotted line to pay $9,000 in three installments.

The book abounds in cultural and socio-historical themes: ranch and family life, marriage, divorce, the role of the female, pregnancy, sex education, German *Vereine* and *Feste* (chiefly *Schützen-* and *Gesangvereine*), theater, general education, and religion — or lack of it. Treated in a rather exacting manner is the immigration of Forty-Eighters to Texas. Important are the many translations of family letters which unfortunately do not read well (they are termed "free translations"). The first letter written by Ida Kapp (wife of Ernst Kapp) begun aboard the *Franziska* (voyage of 1849) captures her first impression of America: *We crossed the St. Mark's River . . . on a ferry. By this time the country was becoming much more beautiful. It would take only human hands, as in Germany, to make it a garden spot . . . .* And there is the inevitable discouragement: *I feel so sorry for Mrs. . . . She hates it here and is so homesick. She says her husband did not tell her the truth about conditions. I am worried because there is a fever, a sort of epidemic, going around in New Braunfels and I am anxious to get away.* Other free translations include Reports I-XI for the period 15 July 1844 to 30 April 1845 by Prince Carl von Solms-Braunfels (which the writer terms as *probably the saddest and at the same time funniest documents ever sent by a colonizer to his directors at home),* and the almost poetic letters by Amanda von Rosenberg written while aboard the *Franziska.* In one passage, Frau von Rosenberg writes: *The waves, whipped up by the storm, rise up high as the hills. Our little ship lowers its bow. Now the surging waters strive to reach it, flood over and cover it and behold, the beautiful structure raises itself gracefully, majestically higher and higher, and the waves sink helplessly.* A letter by Ernst Kapp to his brother-in-law in Germany underscores the optimism of a "Latin farmer" who believes farming and intellectual preoccupations can be brought into some form of mutuality and harmony.

The critical scholar will suffer disappointments: the authors and titles of only a few sources are cited in text;

there is no table of contents, no bibliography, no index, no family-tree diagram (there is considerable genealogy in this work). A map showing the location of the Texas Hill Country is also absent. The lack of appropriate documentation (e.g. Dr. Ernst Kapp is referred to as a "professor at the University of Minden") is unfortunate. Homespun observations are intermingled with valuable historical information. The general historical data regarding the settlement of Texas by German immigrants appear to be accurate; we can only hope that the translations of family papers reflect the true spirit of the German originals. The first five chapters flow smoothly (pp. 1-37); thereafter, however, sequential coherence is lacking. Some chapters are too repetitious of others; one of them (XXVIII) consists of only three paragraphs comprising fourteen lines. Orthographic errors (in the German) are numerous. Upon reading the German passages, one wonders whether they are intended to represent the Texas German dialect, e.g.

> Ist dass nicht ein schoenes haus?
> Ya, dass ist ein schoenes haus
> Kommt ya nicht ein man heraus?
> Ya, da kommt ein man heraus
> Ah, wie schoenes!
> Ah, wie rotten!

The book's shortcomings, however, are offset by the liveliness of the authoress' presentation and richness of the material she employs. The "Welsh woman" has, indeed, ably comprehended the Texas German *Volksseele,* and I thoroughly recommend putting books of this delightful quality into the hands of young adult readers inclined toward things German and German-American; they are bound to derive both joy and perhaps even inspiration to learn more of America's sound German heritage. Other readers too (particularly those raised in rural or small town settings) will enjoy the nostalgia emanating from the contents of this book.

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KARL HEINZEN'S GERMAN-AMERICAN WRITINGS: SOME LITERARY ASPECTS

by

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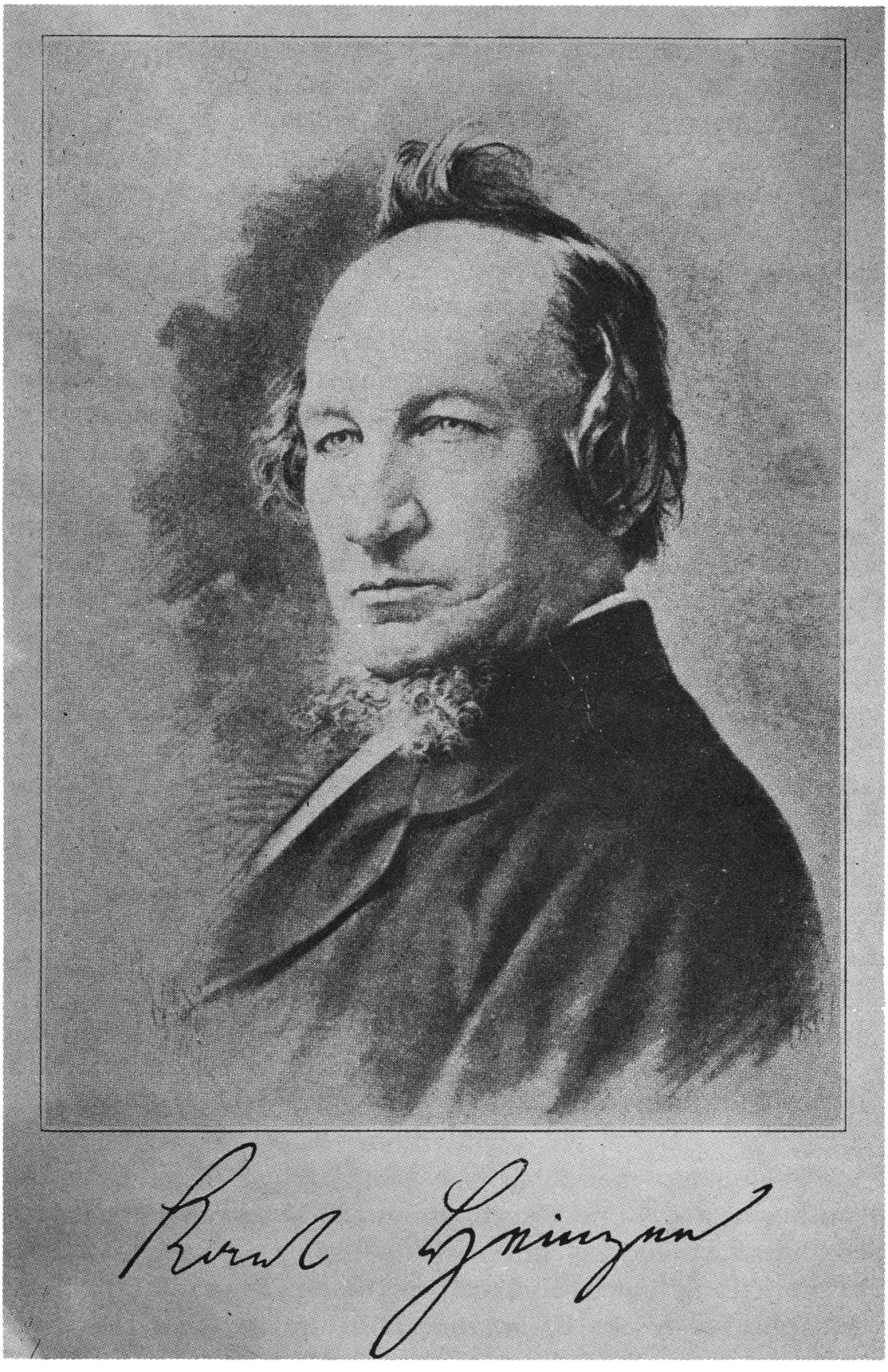
> ... setzt mir einen Leichenstein mit folgender Grabschrift, die meinen Verbrechen bei den kommenden Geschlechtern zur Entschuldigung dienen wird: "Hier ruht ein Teutscher, der das Unglück hatte, im 19ten Jahrhundert ein freier Mann zu sein."[1]

In the eyes of his contemporaries Karl Heinzen stood prejudged as "der Lange,"[2] "der grosse radikale Streiter,"[3] "der gefürchtete Redacteur des 'Pioniers,' "[4] and "das Krokodil."[5] Today he is remembered, if at all, primarily for his lectures, journalistic pursuits, and for his consistently radical and outspoken nature. This study intends to focus on a few lesser known literary aspects of Heinzen's work. In an attempt to rectify some errors made by previous Heinzen scholars, it will concentrate on his role as a German-American author, with particular emphasis on the literary and documentary value of the only one of his satirical comedies set in America, *Die teutschen "Organisten der Bildung" in Amerika* (1859).

Heinzen was born in Grevenbroich near Düsseldorf on February 22, 1809 as the son of a forester. He attended the Gymnasium in Cleve and later the University in Bonn. Relegated from the university for allegedly bad conduct, he joined the Dutch military service and spent 1829 to 1831 in the Dutch East Indies. This experience later inspired his imaginative travelogue *Reise nach Batavia* (1841). Upon his return he worked for many years in the Prussian civil service, but his bitter criticism of bureaucracy and militarism in *Die*

preussiche Bureaukratie (1844) caused such a furor that Heinzen was forced to flee, first to Belgium and then to Switzerland.

During his Swiss exile he became acquainted with, among others, Gottfried Keller, Conrad Ferdinand Meyer, August Adolf Ludwig Follen, Wilhelm Schulz, Ferdinand Freiligrath, Karl Grün, and Arnold Ruge. An indication of Heinzen's notoriety as a radical at the time is found in an 1847 letter of Meyer to Keller, in which he states: "Bei diesem Feste [a meeting of the Rosenbund in 1847] haben wir *in effigie* verbrannt: Feuerbachs Werke, Ruges Werke, Heinzens Schriften, Viktor Hugos 'Le roi s'amuse', Heines Schöpfungslieder und G. Sands sämtliche Romane. Das gab einen Rauch, Satanas fuhr aus!"[6] Faced with expulsion from Switzerland as a *persona non grata* for his reputed leadership in the subversive activities of a Zürich *Flugschriftenfabrik*,[7] Heinzen used his connection with Wilhelm von Eichthal of the New York *Deutsche Schnellpost* to aid him in his emigration to the United States. Upon Eichthal's death in January of 1848, Heinzen became editor of his paper. In March of 1848, however, Heinzen felt compelled to return to Europe in order to take part in the imminent German revolution. When the second Baden revolt collapsed, Heinzen, after a short stay in London, returned to New York in 1850. From 1850 to 1853 he was the editor of five newspapers in succession, all of which failed because of his relentlessly radical outlook. The business offices of the last of these five papers, the *Herold des Westens*, were burned down in Louisville by opponents of Heinzen's steadfast pro-abolitionist position. Heinzen's next paper, the *Pionier*, was founded in Louisville in 1853, moved to Cincinnati, then to New York,and finally in 1859 to Boston, where it continued to be published until 1879, when it merged with the Milwaukee *Freidenker*. This paper remained the main forum for Heinzen's uncompromising social and political journalism until his death on November 12, 1880. If there is any consistency in Heinzen's eventful and colorful life, it is his outspoken and unrelenting tenacity throughout his literary



career in advocating truth, liberty and justice, showing a total disregard for personal advantage and practical gain.

The neglect of Karl Heinzen as an author in his own right, apart from his role as a political and polemical *bête noire* in Europe and North America, is inherent in the few past investigations, which have also generated a number of errors regarding his literary output. In his article "Karl Heinzen: Reformer, Poet and Literary Critic,"[8] Otto P. Schinnerer grants only cursory attention to the prose works, the many pamphlets and newspapers, and makes no mention of Heinzen's autobiography, novel, and *Lustspiele*.[9] Although Schinnerer includes all three editions of Heinzen's collected verse (Köln, 1841; New York, 1858;[10] Boston, 1867) in an appended list of Heinzen's publications, he confines his rather uninspired consideration of Heinzen's verse to the first edition. On the basis of one early poem, "Ermannung eines jungen Poeten" (1827), he concludes that "we might almost regard Heinzen as one of the forerunners of Young Germany."[11] Notwithstanding any possible association of Heinzen with his Young German contemporaries, however, it should be pointed out that their self-styled prosecutor Wolfgang Menzel did not hesitate to laud the earthy appeal of Heinzen's poems in a review of 1842:

> So findet sich hier denn manches Gedicht, bei dem wir Freude haben, zu fühlen, dass es in schweren und leichten Stunden frei entstanden und nicht gemacht sey. Es weht darin ein Hauch des Lebens, bald ein rauher und kalter, bald aber ein zarter, von fremdartigen Düften trunkner Hauch, der uns überzeugt, der Dichter hat Wirkliches erlebt, er hat nicht bloss hinter seinem Fenster Phantasieblumen aufgekränkelt.[12]

Schinnerer mentions in passing that Heinzen was the "author of a great number of epigrams,"[13] and that "he selected the satire and polemic form of poetry as more congenial to his nature,"[14] but no specific attention is granted to Heinzen's *Amerikanische Epigramme* in Schinnerer's article. These epigrams were added to the second edition of Heinzen's

poems[15] and were especially important in shaping his literary reputation among German-American contemporaries. After the second edition of 1858, Heinzen featured a column in his *Pionier*, entitled "Die Gedichte von K. Heinzen und die Teutsche Kritik in Amerika,"[16] in which he reprinted recent reviews of his poetry. The longest critique came from the St. Louis *Anzeiger des Westens*, whose editor at the time was Heinrich Börnstein. While recommending the purchase of the volume, this review concludes, "Heinzen ist ein trefflicher Prosaiker mit einem markigen, klaren Styl, aber Heinzen ist kein Dichter."[17] Most other reviewers, however, voiced their preference for Heinzen's epigrams to the rest of his poetry, which some criticized for occasional formal flaws. Characteristic in its appreciation is the review of the New York *Familienblätter:*

> Das Epigramm ist denn auch überhaupt die dem scharfen dialektischen Geist unseres Autors am meisten zusagende Form der Dichtung. Wir betrachten den 5. Abschnitt, welcher ausschliesslich kleine Gedichte und Epigramme enthält, als den interessantesten und gelungensten der ganzen Sammlung.... Etwas bitter, doch desshalb oft nicht minder treffend sind die beigefügten "Amerikanischen Epigramme." Der Autor geisselt unbarmherzig die Schwächen des amerikanischen sozialen und politischen Lebens; nachdem er inzwischen seinem ganzen Grimme Luft gemacht und der modernen Musterrepublic ihr Sündenregister vorgehalten, kann er doch schliesslich nicht umhin, ihr auch Gerechtigkeit widerfahren zu lassen.[18]

Carl Wittke's biography of Heinzen, *Against the Current*, delineates his career from a historical rather than literary point of view and thus contains neither a systematic nor a critical evalution of Heinzen as a literary figure. Wittke recognizes, however, that "Heinzen's literary ambitions were great... he was not satisfied to be known only as a journalist; he wanted recognition as a poet and a playwright and as an author of books...."[19] Although Wittke further informs us that

"Heinzen regarded the *Editoren-Kongress* as the best book he had produced in America," Wittke held that "its plot was insignificant and stupid."[20]

The complete title of this book is *Der teutsche Editoren-Kongress zu Cincinnati, oder Das gebrochene Herz,* and its preface explains that it is in fact a fictitious work, a satirical novel.[21] Although the preface also indicates that the novel had been printed earlier in one of Heinzen's newspapers, Wittke and others would have us believe that it did not appear until 1872 in Boston. The *Editoren-Kongress* had, however, been serialized as early as 1857 and 1858 in Heinzen's *Pionier.*[22] Even a cursory reading of this novel reveals the striking similarity between its content and that of Heinzen's comedy *Die teutschen "Organisten der Bildung" in Amerika.* The reason for this is readily apparent when one considers that both works originated at the same time, i.e., the late 1850's. The novel depicts the experiences of Editor Längst at a congress which meets in various American cities for the purpose of improving the state of journalism and culture among German-Americans. The preface to the 1872 book edition confirms the obvious: Editor Längst really represents "der Lange," i.e., Karl Heinzen, who is taking this fictitious trip with the high hopes of an "Organist der Bildung." The subtitle, "das gebrochene Herz," foreshadows the sad outcome of the story, while the ultimate disgust of Editor Längst is reflected in the epigram "Teutsche Tonangeber in Amerika":

> Teutschlands Vertreter wollt ihr sein?
> O lasst euch diesen Irrthum nehmen!
> Teutschlands Vertreter sind allein
> Die Wen'gen, die sich eurer schämen.[23]

A good example of Heinzen's imaginative talent and prophetic intuition, as well as of his concern about slavery and racial prejudice is offered by the conclusion of his *Editoren-Kongress.* As in the *Pionier* serialization, one of Heinzen's favorite fictitious characters, Julie von Berg, is called upon to com-

plete the narration of Längst's story, because he has been suffering from heart trouble since his return from the itinerant congress. As his cardiac condition worsens, she reports, a team of doctors decide to perform open-heart surgery. Upon seeing the condition of his heart, they agree, however, that the only remaining solution is to attempt a heart transplant, using the hearts of several slaughtered men—Negroes of course—to create a perfect donor-heart. There is just one complication: "... der Patient wollte kein fremdes Herz im Leibe haben,"[24] and thus the novel concludes with the patient's prejudice resulting in his death. It would seem difficult to agree with Wittke that his novel has an "insignificant and stupid plot."

The same complex of critical ideas expressed in the novel—the questionable quality of the language and content in German-American newspapers, the venality of many German-American intellectuals, the problems of American slavery, and women's rights—was also taking dramatic form in Heinzen's mind during 1858. Evidence of this can be found in the *Pionier* of this year. However, before we approach Heinzen's dramatic treatment of these ideas in his play *Die teutschen "Organisten der Bildung" in Amerika,* a brief glance at Heinzen's previous *Lustspiele* might here be indicated.

Whenever Heinzen's dramas are mentioned at all, there seems to be some confusion as to their number, correct titles, places of publication, and present availability. As far as can be determined, Heinzen's first play was *Doktor Nebel, oder: Gelehrsamkeit und Leben* (Köln, 1841). According to Eitel Wolf Dobert, this play has been lost.[25] Unknown to Dobert, at least one copy of it still exists.[26] In the past, critical reaction to *Doktor Nebel* has generally been short and negative. Thus August Lewald in 1842 concluded: "Das Theater ist nicht sein [Heinzens] Bereich und dieser Versuch ein gänzlich verfehlter zu nennen."[27] Similarly, Heinrich Kurz, while showing some appreciation for Heinzen's poems, commented, "Der bekannte K. Heinzen bewies in 'Dokor Nebel' . . ., wie weit man

es in Geschmacklosigkeit und Unsinn bringen könne."[28] At least one critic has felt this play to be of value; Michael Singer, editor of the *Jahrbuch der Deutschamerikaner,* wrote in 1918, "Das Volkstück fand in dem radikalen aber vielseitigen Achtundvierziger Karl Heinzen einen erfolgreichen Vertreter. Sein 'Dr. Nebel, oder Gelehrsamkeit und Leben' verdiente . . . dem Moder entrissen zu werden . . . ."[29]

Possibly another of Heinzen's early plays is *Die Kölnische Komödie* (Köln, 1842). Wittke repeatedly notes that Heinzen wrote "some satirical comedies"[30] during the early 1840's, but he does not name this work by its title. Several sources simply attribute it to Heinzen.[31] Although a copy of this work could not be located, its full title can be identified as *Die Kölnische Komödie, von Tante Alhieri, oder getreue Beschreibung der Höllenfahrt des Hanswurst und des Höllenzuges aus dem Kölnischen Karneval im Jahr 1842.*[32]

On August 15, 1858, Heinzen offered for subscription the second volume of his collected works, which was to contain his *Lustspiele.*[33] This volume did not appear until a year later, and although it was published in New York, Heinzen had already moved with his *Pionier* to Boston.[34] A second edition appeared (1872) in Boston and included only two plays, *Professor Irrwisch* and *Die teutschen "Organisten der Bildung" in Amerika.*[35] The first and longer of these satirical comedies, *Professor Irrwisch,* is interesting in a number of respects. One thing which Heinzen does not mention, but which immediately becomes evident upon comparing this play with *Doktor Nebel,* is that *Professor Irrwisch* is merely a reworking of the earlier drama.[36] The text has been altered to some degree, but of the twelve characters, only the names of Dr. Nebel and Dr. Feger have been changed to Dr. Irrwisch and Dr. Gift, respectively. A "Vorbemerkung" has also been added, in which Heinzen explains that this *Lustspiel* was originally conceived as the introduction to a planned comic novel called "Irrfahrten des Professors Irrwisch." Perhaps this explanation came in response to negative criticism of

Doktor Nebel, or in anticipation of the major objection future critics might have to the play, namely its reliance on monologues and dialogues rather than on action.[37] Heinzen notes in his autobiography that *Professor Irrwisch* is based on his experiences at the University of Bonn during the year 1827.[38] This separates it in time and space from the second *Lustspiel* in the volume, which grew out of Heinzen's career as a journalist in the United States during the 1850's.[39]

Let us now turn to a fuller discussion of this latter play, *Die teutschen "Organisten der Bildung" in Amerika* and its background. On September 5, 1858, a column appeared in Karl Heinzen's *Pionier* which was written in dialogue form and bore the heading "Ein Beitrag zur teutsch-amerikanischen Originalliteratur."[40] An obvious continuation of this column appeared in the September 19 issue with the title "Lesefrüchte aus dem Garten der N.Y. Staatszeitung." Six further articles[41] with this heading followed in the *Pionier,* but the initial dialogue form eventually gave way to prose letters. The issue of November 7, 1858, brought the "Fortsetzung und einstweiliger Schluss" of the series.

The material in these columns, as well as the manner in which it is presented, very closely resembles in form and content the second act of Heinzen's play, *"Organisten der Bildung,"* which appeared as the second *Lustspiel* in the 1859 edition of Heinzen's collected works. Some of the newspaper columns begin with a stage direction: "Szene: Sanktum der 'N.Y. Staatszeitung'," "Sanktissimum der 'N.Y. Staatszeitung'," and finally, "Im eisenbeschlagenen Rhomboide der 'Staatszeitung'."[42] In one instance the column also closes with "Der Vorhang fällt."[43] Each of these columns contains a long conversation between a female editor, identified at first only as "die Patronin," and her assistants, variously referred to as "der dienende National-Geist," "der Lokal-Kopf," and "der Lokal-Verbrecher." The subjects discussed range from slander (mostly of Karl Heinzen) and slavery, to German-American literature and foreign literary critics. The author of these

columns—obviously the editor of the *Pionier*, Karl Heinzen himself—only thinly disguises his purpose here, which is to present a dramatization of his disagreements over a wide range of subjects with the *New Yorker Staatszeitung*. In the columns "die Patronin" is eventually identified as "Jakob Uhl's Wittwe." This is the historical figure Anna Uhl, who became publisher and editor of the *Staatszeitung* upon her husband's death in 1852 and served as such until 1859.[44]

Heinzen's feud with this newspaper was also responsible for the somewhat unusual title of his comedy *Die teutschen "Organisten der Bildung" in Amerika*. In the preface to the *Editoren-Kongress*,[45] (which, as explained above, had likewise been serialized in the *Pionier* during 1858), Heinzen informs us that it was the *New Yorker Staatszeitung* which had nicknamed him the "Organist der Bildung." It intended to imply by this cognomen that Heinzen, as the typical Forty-Eighter, was over-anxious to organize and educate all German-Americans socially, politically, and culturally, especially those who had come to the United States during the 1830's. In order to understand the reasons for this personal literary feud, one must see it in the context of a general rift in contemporaneous German-American circles. The editors of the *Staatszeitung*, like the editors of many other German-American papers, belonged to this latter group who felt confident that there was nothing wrong with the quality of their papers (even if every other word in them was an Americanism), nor with their social attitudes (even though they opposed abolition), nor with their right to speak as representatives of German culture in America (even though their papers did not show any interest in German literature, let alone its German-American branch).

This conflict was thus by no means limited to a personal feud between Karl Heinzen and the *New Yorker Staatszeitung* during the 1850's and early 1860's. The split was so wide-spread among German-American newspapers of the day that the editors who had established themselves before 1848 came to be

known as the "Grays," and those who had come after, as the "Greens."[46] The term "Greens" arose because the older editors, those who had been in America for at least twenty years in the 1850's, liked to refer to a Forty-Eighter as a "Grünhorn." Besides their demand for higher standards in journalism and their concern about German culture in America, the Forty-Eighters also advocated such radical plans as the establishment of a separate German state in the western United States and the abolishment of the U.S. Presidency. Karl Heinzen, however, wisely confined himself in his three-act *"Organisten der Bildung"* to an exposure of two undesirable types of German-American editors.

In the single lengthy scene constituting the first act, these two editors are indirectly introduced through the conversation of two men, Geissel and Streichling, at the former's inn. Geissel is a Forty-Eighter, a writer-editor who has chosen to become an innkeeper because of the corrupt state of American journalism. His enemies have labelled him the "Organist" or "Organisator der Bildung," and, true to his name, he is anxious to "whip into shape" at least two of them. Streichling is a violinist, who has recently fled from Germany (even his musical interpretations of Louis XVI's death at the guillotine, he relates, could not elude the censors) and wants to establish a reputation as a true artist in America. With his somewhat hesitant help Geissel devises a plan which will force the despicable editors of two rival papers to reveal publically their true natures.

Act Two is divided into two scenes. The first scene is set in the " 'Sanktum' des 'National-Hickory' " (176),[47] while the second scene takes place in the " 'Sanktum' des 'Staats-Hickory' " (185). The editor we meet first is Beutel. He can be described perfectly by one of Heinzen's American epigrams, entitled "Der 'Graue' ":

> Ich bin schon zwanzig Jahr' im Land,
> Verlernte Sprache und Verstand,
> Drum soll kein Grüner sich erfrechen,
> Mir gegen die Sklaverei zu sprechen.[48]

The quality of his "Päper" becomes apparent when his assistant Bengel informs him that the next edition will contain "... wie gewöhnlich: ein Leitartikel über eine verbrannte Frau, ein Mann zu Brei zermalmt, ein durchgegangenes Pferd, das 6 Menschen gekillt hat, und ein Artikel gegen die Whigs ..." (176). When Bengel asks whether they should print a refugee's poem gratis, Beutel reveals in his answer at once his ignorant attitude toward literature and his bastardized German:

> Well, das wär' ein Büsiness, Gedichte umsonst aufzunehmen! Das heisst, ich bin nicht ganz gegen die Gedichtkunst: sogar Göthe und Schiller können ein Gedicht in mein Blatt setzen, wenn sie dafür bezahlen wollen, aber Käsch daun, das ist american fashion. Der "National-Hickory" ist ein demokratisches Blatt, das soll so ein Grünhorn von einem Versemacher sich merken, und wir Demokraten sind praktisch. Was sagst Du, Tschali? (177)

The monetary significance of Beutel's name is demonstrated when Draht, a tailor and father of six children, tries to collect the long overdue payment for his work. Rather than part with any of his ill-gained "honorariums" (most of which, we learn, he promptly spends in nightly carousals), Beutel prefers to intimidate and threaten the tailor. First he asks questions like "Wie können Sie Grünhorn mir solche Dinge in meinem Sanktum sagen? Sind Sie ein Demokrat?" (181) When this evasive technique fails, Beutel begins to preach: "... ich sage Ihnen, dass ein Grüner an unsern gastlichen Gestaden erst etwas lernen muss, ehe er mitsprechen darf. Ich bin schon zwanzig Jahre im Lande—" (182). Finally he threatens to slander the tailor: "God däm! Jetzt ist es genug. Herr Grünhorn, in meinem nächsten Blatt werden Sie einen Artikel finden, dass kein Mensch von der national-demokratischen Partei Ihnen mehr einen Cent zu verdienen geben soll." (182)

There is also some attention given to politics, particularly to an impending "Elekschen." Beutel's paper is supporting "Der Fox" because he is a "Schentlemän" and his election will benefit the paper. But this election is by no means a central

theme in Heinzen's play, as it is, for instance, in Gustav Freytag's earlier *Lustspiel, Die Journalisten* (1853).

After Beutel's assistant becomes so disgusted with him that he hurls him out the door, we meet the second editor, Schneider. He has been in America only ten years (188) and in comparison with Beutel is considered a " 'Soft', ein Weichschaaliger, ein Barnburner, ein Jungamerikaner, ein Sozialist." (187)[49] His manner of speech resembles that of a student of Hegel, and he boasts of his ability to conceal his shrewd opportunism from his readers. On the ever present issue of slavery, Schneider reveals his shifty editorial stance as follows:

> Wir müssen immer eine Zeitfrage, z.B. die Sklavenfrage, benützen, um vor den Hunkern den Schein als Fortschrittsmänner voraus zu haben, wir dürfen solche Fragen aber niemals bis auf das praktische Gebiet verfolgen, denn das verstösst gegen unsre Partei, untergräbt unser Büsiness und gleichzeitig die Kuppel dieser grossen Union. (187)

This editor is also inclined to publish "popular" articles rather than literary or cultural ones, whatever promises to attract more subscribers (188). As in the previous scene, an assistant, this one named "Typus," is so revolted by his editor's lack of ethical principles that he throws him out the door.

Act Three again takes place in Geissel's inn. The two editors, who have fallen for Geissel's trap and simultaneously exposed each other in their newspapers, come to the inn demanding "Satisfäkschen." Geissel, whom they pretend to have never met before, introduces himself: "Ich bin nämlich ein Philosoph und heisse Hagel." (199) He then succeeds in so confusing the editors with his dialectical discussion of positives and negatives that they allow themselves to be whipped as just punishment for their corruption of the German language (204). To add insult to injury, the whipping is performed by a Negro, who has escaped from the South by the Underground Railway and is heading for Canada. Geissel feels this is particularly appropriate because Beutel and Schneider

are two of the anti-abolitionist German-American editors, "welche über Tyrannei in Europa schimpfen und ihr in Amerika die Schleppe tragen." (205) Geissel's position could best be described by these lines from Heinzen's "Teutsch-amerikanisches 'Volkslied' ":

> Nur Der ist Mensch, nur Der ist frei,
> Der jede fremde Sklaverei
> Hilft wie die eig'ne niederstreiten.[50]

The ultimate humiliation comes when the editors learn that the Negro speaks "Dötsch" (207), which he learned from his German plantation master, and when Beutel finally finds out that his own sister is going to marry the Negro (208). This situation thus recalls the problems caused in the *Editoren-Kongress* when a Negro's heart was to be transplanted into a white man's body. As a last punishment, Geissel forces the editors to promise that they will give up their editorships and never begin another paper. When they ask whether they could not simply reform, Geissel replies, "Wissen Sie denn nicht, dass Sie die teutsche Literatur und die Sache der Freiheit noch mehr schänden durch Ihre Gunst als durch Ihre Anfeindung?" (210) The play ends as the editors circumvent their pledge to Geissel and exchange their papers together with their political positions. When Schneider mildly protests about doing this, Beutel laconically declares, "Nevermeind, es ist ja doch Alles eins." (213) This sameness in the endeavors of two apparently hostile rivals is actually implied throughout the play by Heinzen's choice of names for both editors. As they have been active in the same selfish pursuit of material gain by all sorts of underhanded trickery, they are no better than swindlers, *Beutelschneider.*

In considering the critical reception of this play by various German-American editors, many of whom were authors in their own rights, one can begin to form an idea about the state of German-American drama during the 1850's. Writing for the *Anzeiger des Westens,* Otto Ruppius was the first German-American to review the play.[51] His little-known interest

in drama is apparent from his collaboration (1859-61) with another author and critic, Heinrich Börnstein, who had founded the St. Louis German stage in 1859. Ruppius' review is extremely negative; he supports his arguments by selectively reprinting only the derogatory comments made about the play by the Leipzig critic Hermann Marggraff.[52] A partial explanation for Ruppius' malevolence is that he had been assistant editor of the *N.Y. Staatszeitung* during the period of Heinzen's feud with the paper,[53] and there can be no doubt that Ruppius considered slavery an economic necessity for the South.[54] Another appraisal of the play appeared early in 1860 in the *N.Y. Demokrat*[55] and came from Adolf Douai. A German-American author, who had formerly been assistant editor of the *Pionier* and had later broken with Heinzen, Douai recognizes that Heinzen had made a noble effort to fill a gap in German-American literature. He laments what he found most *Lustspiele* of the day to be lacking in, "an Ideen, an edler zeitgemässer Tendenz, an Wahrheit der Charaktere, die in der Regel viel zu stark karrikirt [sic] sind, und an Neuheit der Fabel," and concludes somewhat tepidly, "Es ist offenbar, dass Heinzen diese Mängel gefühlt und ihnen abzuhelfen gesucht hat."

In Germany, the first review of Heinzen's play was Hermann Marggraff's three-page critique in the *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, announcing: "In unserer lustspiellosen Zeit wird uns plötzlich zu unserer Ueberraschung ein Lustspielgericht von Nordamerika aus servirt, und zwar durch keinen andern als durch Karl Heinzen, den gefürchteten Redacteur des 'Pionier' . . . ."[56] Marggraff lauds Heinzen's honesty, admires his defense of America's "schwarze Brüder," and agrees with him about the generally deplorable state of the German-American press and its readership, insofar as Marggraff is convinced that "Journalismus ist Ausdruck und Produkt des Bildungszustandes eines Volks."[57] His distress over Heinzen's uninhibited use of profanities as well as Heinzen's brutal treatment of his "weisse Brüder" in the play is temper-

ed by the conclusion, "er meint es mit seinen Bestrebungen zur Besserung der Lage des menschlichen Geschlechts ganz ernst und ehrlich."[58]

Whether the *"Organisten der Bildung"* had any significant practical effects at the time is difficult to ascertain. In 1860 Karl Weller, editor of the Leipzig *Jahrbuch deutscher Dichtung,* viewed Heinzen not only as "der erste Pionier in der Geisteswildniss deutsch-amerikanischer Cultur," but in many respects comparable and even superior to Ludwig Börne:

> Heinzen ist seinem Charakter, seiner Anschauungsweise und selbst seinem Style nach ein auferstandener Börne — nur ist sein Gesichtskreis ein weiterer, ein viel mehr kosmopolitischer und radikaler, weil er eine viel grössere Fülle von Ideen und Verhältnissen an sich herantreten liess.

Weller attributed to him a marked improvement in German-American journalism:

> [Heinzen] hat es erreicht, dass nachgerade jedes einigermassen verbreitete deutsch-amerikanische Blatt sich eines erträglichen Styles befleissigt, nachdem er mit beissendem Spotte die yankeesirenden Verhunzung unserer edlen Muttersprache in den dortigen Journalen zehn Jahre lang gegeisselt . . . .[59]

Undeniably, Heinzen's *Lustspiel* is of considerable socio-historical interest today because it is basically the translation into a dramatic art form of his active role in American affairs of the 1850's. But, as the preceding analysis has attempted to demonstrate, it is also possible today to take issue with the 19th-century critic who felt that Heinzen's *Lustspiel* was "in culturhistorischer Hinsicht interessant, aber keineswegs erfreulich."[60] This play contains a good deal of genuine humor which the modern reader can still appreciate. It merits rank and recognition as an original contribution to a select number of memorable satirical German comedies. Over the last hundred years, far too many German playwrights have with a good deal of repetition and anachronism made Johannes

Gutenberg and Ulrich von Hutten exponents of modern journalism and its problems. Heinzen's *Lustspiel* is comparable to the few imaginative German comedies on the subject of journalism, like Eduard Bauernfeld's *Der literarische Salon* (1836), Gustav Freytag's *Die Journalisten* (1853), and Arthur Schnitzler's *Fink und Fliederbusch* (1917).

Stimulated by his American comedy, German critical interest in Heinzen was, however, short lived. When Marggraff, in his article "Characterstudien über die Deutschen in Deutschland und Amerika,"[61] condemned Heinzen as a compulsive detractor of German *Literatenthum*, the editor of the influential *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes*, Joseph Lehmann in Berlin, came to Heinzen's defense.[62] Heinzen's *Pionier* recorded this dispute in a column "Teutsche 'Kritik' hier und drüben"[63] and expressly invited further exchange of views between German *literati* on both sides of the Atlantic. "Wir sind ja doch alle 'teutsche Brüder'," he wrote, "bloss getrennt durch ein wenig Wasser und ein wenig Polizei."[64]

Unfortunately, Heinzen's invitation met with no substantial response until twelve years later. When in 1872 the *Pionier* printed the anonymous epic *Ein neues Wintermärchen. Besuch im neuen deutschen Reich der Gottesfurcht und der frommen Sitte von Heinrich Heine*, a caustic satire on the hollowness of the newly founded Prusso-German Empire, readers immediately attributed it to Heinzen. Paul Lindau's indignant review of it,[65] charging that Heinzen had outdone *Götz von Berlichingen* in pugnaciousness and vulgarity, prompted a repartee from Heinzen.[66] After emphatically denying authorship of the epic and thus refuting Lindau's personal invective against him, Heinzen broached a larger issue: the frequently lacking or prejudiced reception of German-American works by 19th-century Germany. Heinzen linked this problem to an even larger perspective. If German critics were to continue in their habit of ignoring as irrelevant, or even misinterpreting as unaesthetic, the only truthful works in their language, those written by freedom-loving authors in

forced or self-imposed exile, Germans would be enlightened only too late. Heinzen postulated that the future of a free Germany would lie in its close association with America, and prophesied destruction for a smug and illiberal Germany, if not in the first major war, then in the second. In an arrogant rejoinder reflecting the optimistic conceit of the *Gründerjahre,* Lindau dismissed Heinzen's warning as "wiederum eine schwarze Ausgeburt Ihrer Phantasie."[67]

NOTES

1. From Heinzen's manuscript describing his expulsion from Bern in the winter of 1847. **Nachlass Seidensticker,** No. 25.6835, No. 90, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen.

2. "Am Empfindlichsten trafen mich die vernichtenden Beinamen, durch welche ich als öffentlicher Verbrecher gekennzeichnet wurde, und unter diesen zahlreichen, mit dem äussersten Aufwand von Geist ersonnenen Beinamen war keiner mehr geeignet, mich unter allgemeine Polizeiaufsicht zu bringen, als jener, den Inbegriff aller geistigen Unfähigkeit wie moralischen Verworfenheit bezeichende: 'Der Lange.' " From the preface to Heinzen's **Der teutsche Editoren-Kongress** (Boston, 1872), p. 3.

Heinzen's American biographer, Carl Wittke, records that one of Heinzen's uncles was six feet five inches tall, and that Karl Heinzen was no exception to this family trait. **Against the Current** (Chicago, 1945), pp. 2-3.

Although the above-mentioned preface seems to suggest that Heinzen was only known as "der Lange" in America during the years 1847-48 and 1850-1880, Gottfried Keller also refers to his thus in a line of his epigram "An Karl Heinzen," which was written as early as 1846:

Du mit dem Kopfe voll Erbsen, o langer und redlicher Heinzen!
Sämtliche Werke, ed. Jonas Fränkel (Bern und Leipzig, 1926-49), XIII, 357.

Later, in these lines of his satire "Der Apotheker von Chamounix" (**Ibid.,** XV, 287), Keller again speaks of Heinzen as:

Jener lange Karl, der Heinzen,
Der seit vielen langen Jahren
Theoretisch Köpfe schneidet,

Aber friedevollen Herzens
Noch kein Tröpflein Bluts vergossen,
Während schweigend die Tyrannen
Morden, dass die Erde raucht!

3. Gustav Adolf Zimmermann, **Deutsch in Amerika** (Chicago, 1892), p. xxx.

4. Hermann Marggraff, "Karl Heinzen als Lustspieldichter," **Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung,** vol. 6 (February 9, 1860), III.

5. **Der Pionier** (September 19, 1858), p. 3. Heinzen satirizes this appellation by the **Staatszeitung** when he puts the following words into the mouth of its female editor: "Das was man Schimpfwort nennt, wirkt nur dann, wenn es die verstärkte Bezeichnung einer Wahrheit ist; wenn Sie aber ein Pferd eine Wanze schimpfen, wird es dadurch eine Wanze? Der Bösewicht vom 'Pionier' hört Sie mit lächelnder Miene alle Namen der Naturgeschichte ablesen und wenn Sie zu Ende sind, sagt er bloss: der Mensch scheint im Reich der Bestien gut zu Hause zu sein."

6. Emil Ermatinger, **Gottfried Kellers Leben, Briefe und Tagebücher,** I (Stuttgart und Berlin, 1924), 163.

A clash over atheism in 1845 generated a number of literary works from these writers. Cf. Wittke, pp. 148-151; Ermatinger, I, 157-163; the Fränkel edition of Keller's works, XIII, 357; XIV, 341 ff., and II (II. Abteilung), 287 also adds to the available knowledge about this religious conflict which took literary from.

Of primary importance for this study is the realization that, as early as the 1840's, Karl Heinzen was already giving literary form to his strong feelings on religion, politics and the general social state of the society around him. Heinzen's **Gedichte** (3rd. edition 1867, p. 228) include his sonnet "(An den Zürcher Dichter G. Keller, Zögling und Schildknappen Follens.)", which in turn provoked Keller's epigram quoted above, his inclusion of Karl Heinzen in his literary satire, and possibly also Keller's use of Heinzen as a model for the atheist Peter Gilgus in this novel **Der grüne Heinrich,** as Ermatinger suggests (I. 577). Keller continues to refer to Heinzen in his letters until at least 1880 (Ermatinger, II, 252).

Reprinted also in Heinzen's volume of poetry is Follen's sonnet entitled "Einem Kaiserkandidaten (1846) 'An Karl Heinzen'" (p. 223). Several of Heinzen's sonnets to Follen, dated 1846 (pp. 223-228), with a note about their significance, as well as a number of epigrams directed at Follen (pp. 182, 192, 193) are included as well.

7. Karl Glossy, "Literarische Geheimberichte aus dem Vormärz," **Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft,** vol. 21 (1912), 95.

8. **Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Gesellschaft von Illinois,** vol. 15 (1915), 84-144.

9. Heinzen's non-poetic works are dismissed with the remark: "Space will not permit a more comprehensive account of Heinzen's literary activities, but in order to convey a vivid idea of the variety of his labors, a list of his publications is added at the end of this

paper." (p. 120) On p. 143 Schinnerer merely lists the **Lustspiele** as item No. 49. He fails, however, to indicate the date of publication, giving only Boston as the place. In fact, they first appeared in New York (1859) and only later in Boston (1872).

10. Not 1856, as Schinnerer (p. 143) claims. Heinzen's **Pionier** contains the "Einladung zur Subskription" for this volume of poetry on February 28, 1858 (p. 7), and the volume was not available until June 27 of that year.

Several other dates Schinnerer offers are inaccurate, e.g., 1843 for **Reise eines teutschen Romantikers nach Batavia.** According to the **Literaturblatt** of February 7, 1842 (No. 14, p. 15), Wolfgang Menzel had reviewed this work prior to this date. But conclusive proof that the **Reise** appeared in 1841 rather than in 1843 is found in C. G. Kayser's **Neues Bücher-Lexikon,** Erster Theil (Leipzig, 1841), p. 413, where "Reise nach Batavia. Köln, 1841. Boisserée" is listed. The **British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books,** Cl (London, 1961), 141, also dates it 1841.

11. Schinnerer, p. 110.

12. "Gedichte von Karl Heinzen," **Literaturblatt,** No. 14 (February 7, 1842), 55. An interesting sidelight here is given by Heinzen in **Erlebtes** I, 331, where he states: "... bald vergiftete man aus Bosheit meinen treuen Begleiter, meinen Hund, der den glorreichen Namen Menzel trug ...."

Heinrich Kurz gives a similar positive judgment in **Geschichte der neuesten deutschen Literatur von 1830,** 3rd. ed. (Leipzig, 1874), IV, 46: **"Lyrische Poesie.** Von dem bekannten Agitator Karl Heinzen ... erschienen 'Gedichte' (Köln, 1841), die nur zum Theil hierher gehören, aber unter diesen zeichnen sich mehrere durch Tiefe des Gefühls und Kraft des Ausdrucks aus ...."

13. Schinnerer, p. 117.

14. Schinnerer, p. 114. Heinrich Rattermann in "Karl Heinzen," **Der deutsche Pionier,** vol. 13 (1881), 5, expresses a similar opinion.

15. Usually only the third edition (Boston, 1867) is listed as "enlarged." The review of the New York **Familienblätter** (see fn. 18) reveals they were also included in the New York, 1858 edition.

16. **Pionier,** vol. 5, No. 29 (July 18, 1858), p. 5 begins the column. It was continued in the issues of: July 25; August 1, 8, 22, 29; and September 5, 1858. The review from the **Anzeiger** appeared in the July 25 issue, p. 6, and continued into the August 1 issue.

17. **Ibid.,** (July 25, 1858), p. 6.

18. **Ibid.,** (August 22, 1858), pp. 5-6.

19. Wittke, p. 142.

20. **Ibid.,** p. 143.

21. (Boston, 1872), p. 4.

22. The January 3, 1858 issue of the **Pionier** contains this column, which begins: "Ich heisse Krüger und mein Name kommt von Krug, und es gäbe keinen Krug, wenn es kein Bier gäbe . . . ." (p. 2). This corresponds exactly to page 281 of the Boston, 1872 edition of the novel. The initial date of the column could not be determined at this time because the 1857 volume of the **Pionier** is presently missing from the Library of Congress. The column ends, however, on April 18, 1858 with the line "Gross bist du, Herr Jesus!" which is identical to the conclusion of the 1872 edition (p. 372).

23. **Editoren-Kongress,** p. 303. This also appears as an American epigram in the 1867 edition of Heinzen's poetry (p. 204).

24. **Ibid.,** p. 346.

25. **Deutsche Demokraten in Amerika** (Göttingen, 1958), p. 109.

26. In the private collection of Professor Harold Jantz in Baltimore. The publishers were J. & W. Boisserée.

27. **Europa. Chronik der gebildeten Welt,** vol. 4 (1842), 585.

28. **Op. cit.,** IV, 522.

29. "Deutsches Bühnenleben in Amerika," **Jahrbuch der Deutsch-amerikaner,** vol. 4 (1918), 227.

30. Pp. 23, 25, 143.

31. Dobert includes this work among Heinzen's "Andere Schriften", p. 115; Schinnerer lists it as item No. 5, p. 142.

32. C. G. Kayser, **Vollständiges Bücher-Lexikon,** IX (Leipzig, 1848), 520; also Wilhelm Heinsius, **Allgemeines Bücher-Lexikon,** X (Leipzig, 1848), 454, which gives the volume as 2 **"Bogen,"** i.e. 32 pages, and informs us that Ritzefeld was the publisher.

The **Kölnische Komödie** is not listed in the National Union Catalogue at the Library of Congress, and no review of it during 1841, 1842 or 1843 could be found. As far as could be determined there is no mention of the work in Heinzen's autobiography. Perhaps it is still available in a private collection, or reference to it can be found in the German magazines to which Heinzen was contributing at the time it was written.

33. **Pionier,** No. 33 (New York), p. 6.

34. **Ibid.,** No. 33 (August 20, 1859), p. 6. The long delay in publication is attributed to the length of the volume and its printing costs.

35. Dobert (p. 113) mentions only the first edition and distorts the title. In addition, the plot summary and one-sentence criticism offered by Dobert apply only to **Professor Irrwisch.**

36. Wittke mistakenly informs us that "Heinzen also wrote **Lustspiele,** like **Professor Irrwisch, Dr. Nebel,** and several others, and published them in 1870." (p. 143) The date 1870 is correct neither for **Doktor Nebel** (1841), nor for **Professor Irrwisch** (1859; 1872), and Wittke seems to think that these are two different plays.

37. The "Vorbemerkung" reads: "Dieses Lustspiel hatte ursprünglich bloss die Bestimmung, als Einleitung zu einem (wegen Ungunst der Verthältnisse unbeendigt gebliebenen) komischen Roman, 'Irrfahrten des Professors Irrwisch' zu dienen. Auf Bühnengerechtigkeit wurde daher wenig Rücksicht genommen. Es bedarf wo[h]l keiner Bemerkung, dass die Häufung von Monologen im ersten Akt ein absichtlich angewandtes Mittel der Introduktion ist." (New York, 1859), p. 4.

In light of the above, Wittke's criticism of Heinzen's comedies, of which he mentions only **Dr. Nebel** and **Professor Irrwisch,** seems unjustified: "The comedies could not possibly have been performed on the stage with success. They were practically all dialogue and no action ... utterly lacking in taste, dramatic form, and understanding of the demands of the theater." (pp. 143-144)

Dobert makes a similar mistake when he states that **"Professor Irrwisch** verrät einiges über Heinzens Technik als Bühnendichter." (p. 113)

38. **Erlebtes,** 1. Theil (Boston, 1864), p. 40.

39. Wittke (p. 143) generalizes about Heinzen's **Lustspiele** thus: "They were attempts to write satire for the theater and attacked such favorite abuses as censorship, police, and bureaucracy and extolled the virtues of the revolutionary spirit." This description seems to relate only to **Dr. Nebel** and **Professor Irrwisch** as these abuses are not at issue in **Die teutschen "Organisten der Bildung" in Amerika.**

40. No. 36, p. 2.

41. **Ibid.,** September 26; October 10, 17, 24 and 31; November 7.

42. **Ibid.,** September 5; September 19 and 26; October 10.

43. **Ibid.,** September 19, p. 3.

44. Karl Arndt and M. Olson, eds., **German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955** (New York and London, 1965), pp. 399-400.

45. (Boston, 1872), p. 4.

46. Cf. Carl Wittke, **We Who Built America** (Ann Arbor, 1939), pp. 193-195.

Franz Löher, **Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika** (Cincinnati und Leipzig, 1847), p. 456, gives an excellent description of the reputation of the **Schnellpost,** the **Anzeiger des Westens** and the **New Yorker Staatszeitung** during the late 1840's. The picture is anything but flattering for the **Staatszeitung,** which is referred to as the "Chorführer der Gemeinheit." Arndt-Olson (p. 399) confirm that this paper did not reach its highest standard of excellence until the editorship of Oswald Ottendorfer (1858-1900).

47. All further references to this play will be given in parantheses and apply to the 1859 New York edition.

48. **Gedichte** (Boston, 1867), p. 198.

49. For Heinzen's own dislike for "Junghegelianer" and their cowardly "Jungamerikaner" counterparts, cf. **Erlebtes,** I, 47.

50. **Gedichte,** p. 244.

51. See reprint in **Pionier** (April 12, 1860), pp. 1-2. For a discussion of Ruppius by Heinzen cf. **Pionier** (September 20, 1860), pp. 2-3.

52. This falsification is revealed in **Pionier** (September 20, 1860), pp. 2-3.

53. Arndt-Olson, p. 399, state that Ruppius was editor from 1856-57.

54. Cf., e.g., Otto Ruppius, "Amerikanische Zustände Nr. 2," **Die Gartenlaube** (1861), p. 622.

55. Reprinted in **Pionier** (April 12, 1860), p. 2.

56. Cf. fn. 4 above.

57. Marggraff, p. 111.

58. **Ibid.,** p. 112.

59. Reprinted in **Pionier** (September 27, 1860), pp. 2-3.

60. Kurz, IV, 522.

61. First published in Marggraff's own Leipzig **Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung,** and reprinted in **Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes,** No. 35 (August 29, 1860), p. 420.

62. "In der That sind Goltz und Heinzen selbst die besten Widerlegungen ihrer eigenen Behauptungen von der Engherzigkeit, Kurzsichtigkeit, Gemeinheit und Lüderlichkeit der Deutschen und des deutschen Literatenthums insbesondere, denn in Beiden ist, bei aller Einseitigkeit und Verranntheit—der Eine in konservativ-religiöse und der Andere in destructiv-atheistische Ideen—ja, bei aller scheinbaren Lüderlichkeit, ein universeller Geist und die vollste Theilnahme für alles Menschliche und Edle nicht zu verkennen." **Ibid.** and reprinted in **Pionier** (September 27, 1860), pp. 2-3.

63. **Pionier** (April 12, 1860), pp. 1-2; (September 20, 1860), p. 2: (September 27, 1860), pp. 2-3: "Mehr Kritik"; (October 4, 1860), pp. 2-3: "Noch Mehr Kritik."

64. "Mehr Kritik," **Pionier** (September 27, 1860), pp. 2-3.

65. "Deutsche Poesie in den Vereinigten Staaten," **Die Gegenwart,** No. 15 May 4, 1872), pp. 235-237.

66. "Ueber Grobheit," **Die Gegenwart,** No. 22 (June 22, 1872), pp. 350-351.

67. "An den Redacteur des 'Pionier', Karl Heinzen in Boston," **Die Gegenwart,** No. 30 (August 17, 1872), p. 109.

Polish American Studies

—a journal of ethnic studies focusing on Americans of Polish origin, published twice each year since 1944 by the Polish American Historical Association.

Polish American Studies is devoted to scholarship—articles, criticism, edited documents, bibliographies, reviews—dealing with all aspects of the history and culture of Poles in the United States. It attempts to place the Polish American experience in historical and comparative perspective by examining its roots in Europe and its relationship to other ethnic groups.

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WIEDERGEBURT DES DEUTSCHAMERIKANERTUMS

(für Ward-Leyerle)

dem bindestrich
wieder zeit zu leben
keine weltkriege nun
brüderliche sprachinseln
im himmelspinselstrich
der blauen blume
deutsch-amerikanischer
visionen: also
frisch auf
zeit zu schweigen
vorüber
gedichte zu gedichten
gedichte zu dichten
sitten bräuche zu erhalten
luft tief einzuatmen
ohne angst dass man heisst
deutsch-amerikanisch:
mir besser
als anglo-amerikanisch

Donald Tolzmann
Cincinnati, Ohio

KREBSGANG

Krebs, Du, hör zu!
Geh Du zurück!
Wir bekämpfen, bestrahlen,
blenden Dich
immer wieder.
Du kannst meines Liebsten Richtung
nicht ändern.
Er geht dennoch
vorwärts
mit IHM
und uns.

Christa K. Dixon
Philadelphia, Pa.

VIER GEDICHTE

von

LOWELL A. BANGERTER
Laramie, Wyoming

ERFRISCHUNG

Roter Sandstein
Jahrtausende schon
in der Sonne gebacken,
vom Winde
zärtlich und rot gestreift,
geschnitzt, gekitzelt,
vom Wasser geleckt,
gekost, geformt.
Glattsteile Mauern getürmt,
die Höhe des Abhangs
von unten
kaum zu ermessen.

Drückende Wärme,
Strahlen der Sonne
wie Steine
auf uns herab.
Aus den Wänden
sickert die Schwüle
wie Dampf.

Donner
dumpf in der Ferne
dann näher,
der Himmel plötzlich bedeckt,
willkommener Regen
giesskannenartig
kühle Erfrischung gegossen
auf braune Gesichter
gierig nach oben gedreht.

Offene Augen verschwommen
mit fallenden Tropfen
vom Rote
der steinernen Höhen
durchschimmert
als flössen die Klippen
schnell in die Augen
herunter.

Wolken entflohen,
die Sonne schon wieder befreit,
nur noch des Wasserfalls
glühender Gruss
auf dem Abhang
Kuss
auf den Lippen der Steine.

EINE FRAU

Gesicht
alt
uralt und braun.
Runzeln wie Spinngeweb
Spitzennetze
zart und fein
um die Augen eingegraben.

Schwarze Augen
glühen
aus tiefen Gruben,
spiegeln die Mädchenjahre
in der Wüste.

Sitzt wie versteinert,
ewiger Teil der rotbraunen Erde
vor dem Hogan.
Diese Sicherheit
Anteil
an der mageren Existenz.

Kleindungsfarben verschwimmen,
und die Münzen
glitzern vom Halse
vom Rande des Hemdes
scharf in der Nachmittagssonne,
silberne schweigende Zeugen
des Reichtums
der Armut.

WEGESZEICHEN

Räder drehen
durch die Wüste
folgen müden Hufen
über den Alkaliboden,
drehen, krieschen, drehen,
eintönige Ebenen,
Kaktus, Sand,
Salbeigewächs.

Menschenleer
kaum ein Vogel,
Reich der kleinen Wüstentiere,
Schlangen,
manchmal Eidechsen
kriechen, schleichen
neben unsren Wagenspuren
zwischen grosse
Ameisenhaufen.
Etwas Weisses
in der Ferne,
langsam rollen hin

Räder aus Holz und Eisen,
gebleichtes
Schädel eines Auerochsen
darauf geschrieben
Namen und ein Datum
achtzehnhundertsechsundvierzig,
auch diesen Weg
andere vorangegangen.

MUSIKTEMPEL

Steinerne Wände
schräg nach oben
zusammenkommend,
eisgraue Schatten,
der Sonne Licht
nie durch den Spalt,
nur gespiegelt
auf dem Sand
von schimmernden Felsen.

Die Grotte,
ruhige Kühle am warmen Nachmittag,
dahinten
farblos gefangen
eingewölbt
der Teich,
unbelichtetes Wasser.

Atemberaubende Kälte
kaum über null,
das Wasser unerwartet,
aus Spass hineingestossen
mit allen Kleidern
Mittagsbrot noch im Munde,
auftauchen
Erstaunen weilt in den Augen.

Lachend erfrischt
hinaus in die Wärme
noch triefend,
gebadet
zum zweiten Male
in Strahlen der Sonne.

DER SUCHER

Ich ging und suchte Beeren
    blutrote Beeren
        im kraftlosen Licht.

Ich ging und suchte
    den einsamen Pfad
        der meine Schritte leite.

In der Dämmerung
    im tiefen Wald
suchte ich das Tageslicht
    bekannte Klänge
        meine Welt

Keins davon hab ich
    je gefunden.

Marie Berl-Lee
Forest Hills, N. Y.

Howard B. Furer, compiler and editor, *The Germans in America 1607-1970,* Oceana Publications, Inc. (Dobbs Ferry, N. Y., 1973), 156 pp.

Noting in his "Foreword" that this book is not intended to serve as an extensive reference volume, Prof. Furer (Newark State College) has compiled most of his data from the authoritative works by Carl Wittke, Ralph Wood, and A. E. Zucker, and from Richard O'Connor's recent study *(The German-Americans: An Informal History)* as well as from Maldwyn A. Jones' work, *American Immigration.* Whereas he acknowledges A. B. Faust's monumental history of German-America, Prof. Furer does not cite it as one of the "major sources used to compile the bulk of the chronological factual materials comprising the chronology of this work." In addition to some 82 pages of facts arranged in chronological order under five major headings ("Early German Settlement, 1607-1800"; "Ante-Bellum Immigration, 1801-60"; "German Immigration in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century, 1861-1910"; "German Immigration in the Twentieth Century 1911-50"; "The Hyphenated German Is Gone, 1951-70"), Furer offers the reader a valuable "Documents"-section (in English) comprising 51 pages of excerpts from the writings of such notables as Pastorius, Herman Melville, Gottfried Duden, Karl Theodor Griesinger, Carl Schurz, which shed considerable light on a variety of German-American topics, problems, attitides, experiences, and observations. Appended to this volume is a 14-page "Bibliography" which provides more than ample reference to additional materials for those who are inspired to delve deeper into the annals of German-American history. Furer also provides an index to the many names mentioned in the main body of his text.

Secondary school students, adults seeking their first introduction to the vast field of German-American studies, and community and junior college students will welcome Prof. Furer's attractively bound book. However, in addition to the several faulty grammatical and stylistic constructions among

the compiler-editor's annotations, his inconsistency in citing either the German or Anglicized forms for proper nouns is a negative feature of the otherwise attractive format of this book. For example:

Page 147: .... Detailed *geneology* of the Pershing family *written by a member of that family from 1749-1925.* [Italics mine]

Page 147: .... Excellent biography of the famed millionaire *although old.* [Italics mine]

Page 4: ...from the Palatinate.../ Page 9: ...the "Pfalz"....

Page 13: *John* Heckewelder/ Page 8: *Johann* Kelpius [Italics mine]

A cursory review of the orthography of this book revealed some seventy spelling errors. The punctation, especially when it comes to hyphenization, also needs improvement. Examples:

Page 29: Kirschenverein [Kirchenverein]

Page 30: Deutsch-Römish [Deutsch-Römisch]

Page 97: ...mehrjahrigen Aufen-/ / / thalt... Vebervölkerung... [...mehrjährigen Aufent-/ / / halt... Uebervölkerung....]

This reviewer looks forward to a revised edition—in the very near future—sans the misspellings and other shortcomings mentioned above. Oceana Publications would do well to have *The Germans in America 1607-1970* proofread by a person schooled in the German language, and preferably one who is familiar with German-American history, English grammar, and punctuation.

Robert E. Ward
Cleveland, Ohio

DIE VERWENDUNG VON GEDICHTEN

Ich hab sie aufgespart,
Goldmünzen der Sommertage.
Ich hab sie leicht versteckt,
die Fotos stiller Stunden
im Silberlicht der Frühe.
Heut les ich sie mir auf,
eingeschlossen in
der Langweil' engen Wänden
und fensterlosen Wahn.

Kurt J. Fickert
Springfield, Ohio

VERLETZTER BAUM

Ein letzter Baum
auf ödem Gelände,
ein Märchen, ein Traum,
so ganz ohne Ende.

Verletzter Baum,
die Wurzeln dürr,
ein Märchengewirr,
so ganz ohne Traum.

FARBENLEHRE

Goethe — klassischweiss,
Novalis — himmelblau,
Hoffmann — phantasiebunt,
Eichendorff — waldesgrün,
Heine — bläulichrot,
Hauptmann — rötlichblau,
Kafka — verzweiflungsgrau,
Hesse — tödlichblau
und
bläulichtot.

Herman F. Brause
Rochester, N. Y.

GERMAN-AMERICAN NOTES IN BRIEF

by *Don Heinrich Tolzmann*

The Balch Institute, 123 S. Broad St., Phila. 19109, has a list of collections available for research, including microfilm runs of German newspapers.

The Michigan Historical Collections at the University of Michigan has been presented with photographs, printed materials and mss. on the G-A community in Saginaw.

Marie Berl-Lee of Forest Hills, New York has recently completed a novel, *Late Days in March,* and a volume of poetry, *Schaumwein aus meinem Krug,* both of which will soon be off the press.

Dr. Heinz Kloss (Institut für deutsche Sprache) of Mannheim, Germany is compiling and editing a *Handbuch der deutschen Sprache in Nordamerika.*

Mr. Anton Rumpf, Dr. John Sinnema and Dr. Robert E. Ward are writing a book to be published during the Bicentennial. It is titled: *The German-Speaking Element of Greater Cleveland: A Cultural History.*

The Cleveland chapter of the Deutsch-Amerikanischer National-Kongress sponsored a "Symposium über deutsche Kultur in Amerika und Ohio" on October 13 at the German Central in Parma, Ohio, a suburb of Cleveland. Papers were presented by Dr. William I. Schreiber, Dr. John R. Sinnema, Dr. LaVern J. Rippley, and Dr. Robert E. Ward.

Errata in Volume 6 are: p. 55 (footnote 1c.), Lancaster (not Lancester); p. 62 (para. 2, l. 1), July 30, 1863 (not 1864), p. 72 (last line), Verreist (not Vereist).

Ad in *Tri State Trader* (Week of March 9, 1974): German Research. Professional Genealogist, Master's Degree German. Philip K. Folsom, Box 11945, Salt Lake City 84111.

German Family Research Made Simple by J. Konrad, 27 pp., Mimeo, paperbound. Order from Summit Publications, P. O. Box 222, Munroe Falls, Ohio 44262. Price: $3.00.

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