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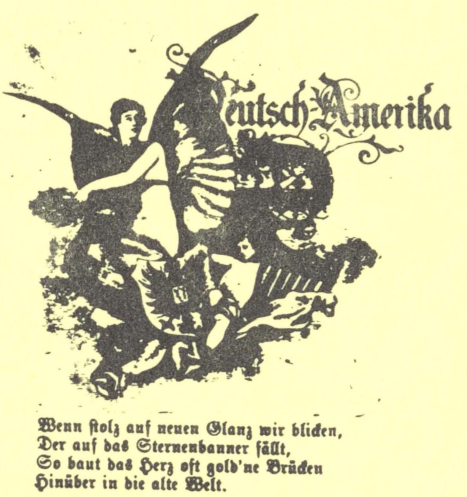

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JOHANN CONRAD BEISSEL, COLONIAL MYSTIC POET

by

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Anyone who has read Thomas Mann's novel, *Doktor Faustus,* could not fail to be impressed by the austere but charismatic figure of Conrad Beissel, the eighteenth-century founder and patriarch of the Ephrata cloister in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. In the novel, the musicologist Kretzschmar mentions in one of his lectures that his father had often heard the entrancing church music at Snowhill, a sister community of Ephrata. Comparing it with European opera, Kretzschmar's father had said of the latter, "das sei Musik für das Ohr gewesen, die Beissels aber ein Klang tief in die Seele und nicht mehr noch minder als ein Vorgeschmack des Himmels."[1] If Conrad Beissel composed music for the soul, it can also be said that he never wrote a poem which did not in some way depict either the plight of the soul in this life or its beatified existence in the next.

Beissel has often drawn the interest of scholars as a mystic, a theosopher, a musician, and a religious organizer. As a poet he has received scant recognition. The few critics who have read Beissel's poetry have read it superficially and then have usually dismissed it as being too long and too much. However, if the sensitive reader allows himself to look beyond the common afflictions which Beissel's lyrics share with most Pietistic poetry — the occasional run-on hymn, the stock image, the banal rhyme — to the panoramic soulscape spun out in his hundreds of hymns, each hymn another strand in a meticulously wrought spiritual tapestry, he will find himself in the presence of a mystic imagination rivalling that of Jakob Böhme and Meister Eckhart. It will be my

purpose here to survey the corpus of Beissel's religious poetry from three perspectives: first, to elucidate its general content and form; then, to flesh out this explication with a much-needed outline of some of Beissel's artistic and intellectual links with the past; finally, to consider his mystical-poetic vision of America, the New Zion.

Born in Ebersbach in the Palatine region of Germany in 1690, Beissel grew up in circumstances of extreme poverty, which proved to be excellent conditioning for the life of severe asceticism he was to pursue later on.[2] A baker by trade, he was largely self-taught and gained familiarity with the various separatistic religious movements from his wanderings through Germany. Shortly after 1715 he settled in Heidelberg where he rose to the position of treasurer of the Baker's Guild and moved with ease among Pietistic circles. His most notable acquaintance there was a Pietist by the name of Haller who was a friend of Johann Georg Gichtel, a zealous student of Böhme.[3] Beissel's inflexible honesty as treasurer of the Baker's Guild moved the members to search for a pretext by which to dispose of him. Using his extremist Pietistic leanings to that end, they promptly succeeded in getting him banned from the city.[4] He wandered through the areas of Wittgenstein, Berleburg, and Büdingen, all havens for separatistic sects at that time.[5] However, his impoverished condition and his disillusionment with the organized churches soon led him to set his sights on America, the new land of religious toleration.

In 1720 Beissel arrived in Boston and immediately made his way to Germantown.[6] His first association in the New World was with Johannes Kelpius' monastic community on the outskirts of Germantown. But the community was by that time in its dying stages and Beissel severed his connection with it after a short time.[7] In 1725 he became pastor of a German Baptist congregation at Conestoga.[8] Continually at odds with the headquarters congregation in Germantown, he resigned his pastorship in 1732 and retired in seclusion to the village of Ephrata on the banks of the Cocalico.[9] Beissel's

reputation for piety and asceticism soon gained him many followers and the embryonic community rapidly developed into a thriving religious institution.

Under Beissel's spiritual inspiration and creative leadership Ephrata became and remained one of the most important colonial centers of artistic activity until well after its founder's death in 1768. The more gifted of the brothers and sisters excelled in the composition of hymns, the ilumination of manuscripts, and the printing of important theological works. According to John F. Watson, the Ephrata press printed more original literary works than any other in the union at that time, and many families in the Philadelphia and Baltimore areas sent their children to Ephrata to be educated.[10]

Beissel himself was a prolific musician-poet who wrote, as nearly as I can estimate, about seven-hundred hymns. Perhaps the most consistent theme in the vast body of his poetry is that of renunciation of the world and its material allurements. Particularly in his early hymns, such as the collection *Jacobs Kampff-und Ritter-Platz* (1736), this theme is expressed in vigorous, robust metaphors portraying the heroic nature of the struggle to overcome one's involvement in the world. The believer is the knightly warrior on the battlefield of earthly existence whose mission it is to storm and conquer the fortress of self-will and worldly attractions:

> Kommt ihr glaubenskämpffer,
> Und ihr sünden-dämpffer,
> Kommt und sehet eure kronen!
> Es ist euch gelungen,
> Weil der feind bezwungen,
> Nun da habt ihr euren lohne.[11]

The terse, staccato trochaic verses sonorously reflected the ferocity of the battle and highlight the boldness of the faithful warriors whom the poet summons to their reward. The poem is a typical example of Beissel's extensive use of martial images to express an inner spiritual process or activity. To Beissel the process of cutting oneself off from the world in order to achieve the proper receptive disposition for the in-

dwelling of the Divine Spirit is an inward-going one that entails entering into the self and ridding the consciousness of all material images and ties. In the above poem, as in many others of the *Jacobs Kampff- und Ritter-Platz,* Beissel employs the imagery of external social conflict — the battlefield, wrestling with the enemy, soldiers of the spirit, deeds of valor — in order to dramatize and make comprehensible to his charges at Ephrata this internal process of self-purgation:

> Wo die helden thaten
> Einmal sind gerahten,
> Da kan man es weiter wagen.
> In dem kampffe ringen,
> Seine feind bezwingen,
> Biss sie alle sind geschlagen.[12]

When the believer has totally withdrawn into himself, he is in the state of *Eingekehrtheit,* a condition of perfect inner calm afording spiritual rejuvenation much akin to the yogi's meditative trance. Beissel often compares tranquil spiritual state to the satisfaction of a physiological need:

> Dann wann mein Hertz ermüdet auf den Wegen,
> so führ mich Gott in meine Kammer ein:
> und speiset mich mit reichem Trost und Segen,
> und tränckt mich mit seinem Guten Wein.[13]

At other times he uses the metaphor of the isolated garden:

> Ich bin ein verschlossner Garten,
> Achte nicht, was ausser mir.[14]

But the poet does not always fall back on the external to represent the internal. Occasionally he attempts to describe this inward-going process directly, without the aid of concrete, mediating images:

> Drum thu ich täglich in mir spüren,
> Dass er [God] mich thut hinein werts führen,
> Da ich genie verborgne krafft,
> Die meinem hertzen leben schafft.[15]

Although Beissel did not hold with the practice of self-inflicted bodily pain as a means of purging the flesh (a grim tactic of many mystics of the past) he did demand of himself and his charges at Ephrata the cultivation of an extremely severe asceticism. The world is an obstacle to the soul in its quest for God, and one must therefore strive to blot it out of one's awareness completely. The consciousness is always to be directed either inward or upward, never outward:

> Mein Leben ist zwar ausgeleert
> von Bildern und von Weisen;
> doch ist mein Hertz zu Gott gekehrt,
> lässt sich von nichts abreissen.[16]

The theme of renunciation finds its most compelling expression in the concept of the mystical death, a figurative dying to this world as a precondition for attaining the next:

> O Wol! wer hier bey Zeit der eitlen Welt absaget,
> der wird alldorten nicht vom andern Tod genaget.[17]

The poet sometimes imagines himself as existing in a state of frustrating transition between the earthly and the divine realms. He has forsaken the former but can only anticipate the latter:

> Die alte Welt ist hin, die neu hat noch zu werden:
> drum bleib in beyden arm, so lang ich leb auf Erden[18]

Beissel's poetry is replete with melancholic verse lamenting the inadequacy of earthly existence to fulfill man's deepest needs:

> Die Tage gehen hin, die Zeit kan mir nicht geben,
> Was mich vergnügen kan alldort in jener Welt.[19]

Particularly in the *Theosophische Gedichte* (1752) he lapses into a morose introspectiveness, wistfully brooding over the trials and tribulations of one who travels *die enge Bahn.* Only the hope of a higher and better existence can provide some measure of peace to the troubled soul:

Ich muss zwar stetig schweben
In vielem Weh und Leid;
Doch wird die Hoffnung geben
Den Frieden nach dem Streit.[20]

It is this sustaining hope that enables the poet to perceive the salutary effects of suffering and to view human suffering as a positive good:

Meine Schmertzen, die ich leide,
Tragen mich zu Gott dahin:
Sind des Geistes süsste Weide,
Enden sich mit viel Gewinn.[21]

Viewed in this light, self-denial and suffering become a kind of spiritual currency. The more we can amass in this life, the higher will be our reward in the next:

Trage ich schon manche Lasten
Auf dem Weg zu Gott hinan:
Werd ich so viel süsser rasten,
Wann sich öffnet Canaan.[22]

The opening hymn of the *Turtel-Taube* (1747), the first great hymnal of the Ephrata press, incorporates most of the themes and images discussed above. The progression of thought and feeling in this poem of ten stanzas points up the didactic tendency in much of the Ephrata-patriarch's religious poetry. The first four stanzas comprise a discouraged lament in which the poet bewails the ceaseless hardships and temptations that assail the soul as it gropes its way along the narrow path:

Ach Gott! wie mancher bittrer Schmertz
durchdringet meinen Geist und Hertz,
hier in dem Leib der Sterblichkeit,
auf meinem Weg zur Seligkeit.[23]

The hopeful outlook and clarity of vision often become clouded as the spirit vacillates between peace and turmoil, confidence and doubt:

Der enge Weg ist zwar gebahnt,
worzu uns Jesus angemahnt:
doch ist so vieler Drang dabey,
als ob er zugeschlossen sey.[24]

In the fifth stanza the emotional fluctuation begins to diminish as the tone becomes firm and positive. The poet marvels at the simultaneous dwindling of sensory attachments and expansion of spiritual awareness as the soul is purified:

Wie klein und niedrig wird der Sinn,
der auf demselben [engen Weg] gehet hin!
Wie rein und sauber wird der Geist,
der diesen Weg zu Gott hinreist.[25]

Having described in stanza five how the senses and the soul are inversely affected in the process of purifying transformation, Beissel assumes the tone of the spiritual pedagog in the next four stanzas and tells us what we must do to effect this transformation:

Wo gantz ertödet die Natur,
da findet man erst diese Spuhr
zum Himmelsreich . . . .[26]

Here Beissel has named the second formidable enemy of man in his quest for God — *Natur*. If man's first great enemy is the world and its material seductions, his second is his own nature which, in Beissel's view, is essentially weak and corrupt. Unillumined human nature is identical with self-interest and individual desire, which is the source of evil. A man who allows himself to be dominated by the self lives in *Finsternis*. Conversely, when the soul is filled with God's love, "so gehet . . . ein Licht in dem Menschen auf, da sein verfinsterter Verstand erleuchtet wird."[27] Just as even in this life man must die to the world in order to be saved, so too must he transcend his own depraved nature and his enslavement to self-interest. Beissel asserts this in stanza eight:

Ein Geist, der rein, wie Gold bewährt,
und lauterlich Gott zugekehrt,
erstorben allem Ich und Mein,
der geht zur engen Pforte ein.[28]

It is in this sense that Beissel consistently uses expressions in his poetry like "meiner selbst entladen" and "mir selbst entwerden." The poem ends on a typically triumphant note, the poet asserting his own freedom from the self:

Drum freue dich mein müder Geist,
der du bist aus dir selbst gereist.[29]

By undergoing the mystical death man attunes himself to the Divine. Those who are uninitiated in the mystical experience have extreme difficulty in grasping Beissel's conception of the Divinity. Experienced by the expanded mystical consciousness as a noumenal being, God is beyond the grasp even of metaphoric language. He is simply *das Unaussprechliche.* Nevertheless, Beissel attempts to convey his experience of God and his longing for union with the Infinite Being in hymn number 298 of the *Paradisisches Wunderspiel* (1766), the last and largest Ephrata hymnal. The sweeping continuity of rhythm and the internal rhyme contribute to a mood bordering on ecstatic anticipation of the poet's wish-fulfillment:

O Ungrund! der gewesen
von Ewigkeiten her
mach mich in dir genesen,
damit, was um mich her
mich ja nicht mehr entführe
von deiner Wesenheit,
noch anderwerts abirre
durch einig Ding der Zeit.[30]

God is the *Ungrund,* the Abyss, the Infinity, defying all attempts at description or definition. Still, the poet feels compelled to share his vision and, as always, must resort to those material images which, by virtue of their sheer colossal breadth, bear the closest phenomenal resemblance to infinity.

In stanza four Beissel likens God to a boundless sea and expresses his longing for union in terms of complete submersion into its depths:

> Drum lasse dich erbitten:
> o bodenloses Meer!
> bring mich in deine Mitte,
> da du seyst um mich her.[31]

In stanza five the poet acknowledges God as the source of all material creation and implies in the maternal invocation that sexuality is a meaningless material distinction when applied to the Infinite Being:

> O Mutter aller Dinge!
> Kleid mich in dich hinein;
> und in dein Wesen bringe,
> es wird bald anders seyn.[32]

Scholars such as Walter Klein[33] and E. Ernest Stoeffler[34] have well established the influence of Jakob Böhme on Beissel's theosophical writings. Undoubtedly, Beissel's mystico-poetic conception of God as the *Ungrund* and many of the images he uses in his poetry to represent this abstraction stem from Böhme's theosophy. In discussing Böhme's concept of the Being that exists outside of time, Rufus Jones says:

> This infinite Mother of all births, this eternal Matrix, he [Böhme] calls the *Ungrund*, "Abyss," or the "Great Mystery," or the "Eternal Stillness." Here we are beyond beginnings, beyond time, beyond "nature," and we can say nothing in the language of reason that is true or adequate .... It is an absolute Peace, an indivisible Unity, an undifferentiated One — an Abysmal Deep, which no name can adequately name and which can be described in no words of time and space, of here and now.[35]

Beissel must have realized that these highly rarefied verbal symbols of God were too cold and abstract to provide the less mystically inclined brothers and sisters of Ephrata with the necessary spiritual nourishment. For most of the

members there was little sense of communion to be gained from contemplating the vague, nebulous Abyss. It appealed to the intellect and the intuitive sense but not to the heart. A much more concrete and comprehensible being was needed, one that would have greater human appeal as an object of religious devotion. We find this being in Beissel's poetry in the figure of *die göttliche Sophia,* often referred to as *die himmlische Weisheit.*

A detailed account of Sophia's place in Beissel's theosophy would take us too far afield, since my primary concern here is with her dominant position in his poetry. Nevertheless, a brief word of explanation will help greatly to clarify her meaning. For Beissel Sophia is a virgin of divine stature who occupies a position equal in rank to the Persons of the Trinity. As Beissel explains in his theosophical treatise, *Urständliche und Erfahrungsvolle Hohe Zeugnüsse* . . . (1745), Adam had been united with Sophia as long as the harmony of his androgynous nature remained undisturbed. But his Fall caused a breach in the male-female balance and a separation from Sophia which man has been trying to repair ever since. Sophia hovers near every human being, hoping to win him for herself, but man cannot effect the reunion by his own power. Only by mystically uniting himself to Christ, who is the perfect embodiment of the male-female principle and is both Son and Bridegroom of Sophia, does man become spiritually capable of reunion with Sophia, his original Bride.[36]

Beissel composed innumerable hymns in which Sophia appears as the focus of all his longing for transcendence. His anticipation of reunion with his Bride sustains him in the midst of his earthly ordeal:

> Mein Glück wird schon erscheinen
> auf meinem Hochzeit-Tag,
> muss ich schon oft jetzt weinen
> bey so viel Ungemach:
> nach vielem Schmertz und Quälen,
> und so viel bittrem Leid,
> wird sie sich mir vermählen
> in jener Ewigkeit.[37]

In Beissel's theosophy Sophia is a goddess and as such commands man's highest esteem and reverence. In many hymns the poet invokes her as a transcendental force capable of elevating his spirit above the material world to her own sphere of cosmic harmony:

> O Sophia! du reines Licht
> und Glantz der Ewigkeiten:
> wer dir vermählt, kan ewig nicht
> mehr fallen oder gleiten.
> Dein Adel hat mich dir verwandt,
> weil ich verliebet worden,
> dass aller Welt wurd unbekant
> durch deinen hohen Orden.[38]

Just as often, however, the paradoxical relationship between the erotic and the spiritual in the mystical temperament is revealed as the poet describes his intimate communion with Sophia in erotic language befitting the most earthly of lovers. Devotion to her precludes natural marriage, and all the libidinal energy which the poet has learned to suppress in his cultivation of the celibate life becomes sublimated and directed toward Sophia, his Divine Beloved:

Der weiszheit liebeström, erquicken meine sinnen
Tränckt mich an ihrer brust, zieht meinen geist von hinnen.[39]

The figure of Sophia has a long history in the Western mystical tradition extending back to the book of Proverbs in the Old Testament. There she is called "Wisdom" and is the personification of justice, righteousness, and understanding, which men have forsaken. John Joseph Stoudt traces the history of Sophia in the Christian era from Philo and the Neo-Platonic tradition through such medieval mystics as Bernard of Clairvaux to Böhme and Gottfried Arnold.[40] Beissel's own concept of Sophia is probably derived from Böhme. According to Hans Lassen Martensen, Böhme regards Sophia as the Bride of Adam before the Fall to whom he became unfaithful.[41] She is also indissolubly wedded to Christ, who is

the Second Adam and is to restore her to man.[42] Theosophically, Beissel's concept of Sophia is identical with Böhme's so that it seems not out of place to regard Beissel's Sophia-hymns as the lyrical expression of Böhme's prose.

I have enumerated what appear to me to be the dominant themes in Beissel's poetry: renunciation, asceticism, and human suffering; the necessity of attaining the state of *Eingekehrtheit;* the evil inherent in the self; God as he is conceived in the abstract and represented in the concrete; and the cult of Sophia. A few words now on Beissel as a stylist will round out my survey.

As a poet-craftsman Beissel was quite versatile. He was adept at most of the traditional lyrical forms and metrical patterns. His verse ranges from terse, clipped iambic dimeter to *Langzeilen* of up to seven accented syllables; from the elevated Alexandrine quatrain to the simple folksong strophe; from the short, pregnant epigrammatic couplet to the long lyric stanza. In his chronicle, *Ephrata. Eine amerikanische Klostergeschichte,* Oswald Seidensticker hurls the following charge at Beissel as a stylist: "Beissel, der bei weitem die meisten Lieder lieferte [among the Ephrata brethren], schrieb zu viel und zu handwerksmässig. Der ehemalige Bäcker knetete seine Verse als stände er am Backtroge und schob Strophe an Strophe, als gälte es so viel Laib Brod zu machen."[43] There is no denying a degree of truth in Seidensticker's accusation. Beissel's meters are at times forced and contrived, and he uses certain standard rhymes with such frequency that they become all too predictable: e.g., "das keusche Lamm . . . der Bräutigam," "die Gottesfülle . . . die ewige Stille," "die Schmertzen im Hertzen." One searches in vain for a thread of unity in some of the longer hymns which contain more than thirty stanzas.

However, certain mitigating factors might be mentioned which partially explain, if not vindicate, Beissel's stylistic flaws. He had had very little formal schooling and probably had little more than a rudimentary knowledge of the prescriptive poetic of his day. His foremost purpose was always

to communicate his mystical vision to those who believed as he did, and he was not averse to forcing a metrical pattern or using a hackneyed rhyme to achieve his end. The phenomeon of Ephrata's longevity as a vital religious community is proof of his admirable success. Furthermore, Beissel was also a gifted composer and a unique one, having invented his own system of musical notation. His unorthodox theories of harmony, which he explains in detail in the preface to the *Turtel-Taube,* are doubtless at least partially responsible for the unbending rigidity of his meters.[44] In any case, most of his poems are also hymns of his own composition, which means that the musical factor must be taken into account in any comprehensive evalution of Beissel as an artist.

Moreover, one should not let Beissel's shortcomings as a stylist blind one to his strengths in the same area. Examples of bland imagery and humdrum meter can be countered with bursts of true poetic inspiration. Numerous lyrics can be cited in which language, meter, rhythm, and idea evolve as an inextricable unity. Consider, for example, the first stanza of hymn number sixteen in the *Paradisisches Wunderspiel,* in which Beissel consoles the brethren by pointing to the imminent end of their time of suffering:

> Bald gehen zu ende die traurige Stunden,
> betrübete Seelen, die Gott sich verbunden;
> die öffters gesessen in mancherley Drang,
> und vielen Weh-Tagen statt Lobens-Gesang.[45]

The tripping amphibrachs and feminine endings in the first two verses establish the joyful anticipatory mood of a rapidly approaching end to the hours of sadness, while a sudden, contrasting static effect is achieved in verses three and four through the heavy masculine rhyme *Drang* and *Gesang,* emphasizing the seemingly endless suffering of the past. Consider how the poet's apocalyptic rapture is so contagiously conveyed by the high-pitched vowel sounds and by the rhythmic flow of liquids and sibilants in hymn number seven, stanza one, *Paradisisches Wunderspiel:*

Ach verzeuch doch länger nicht,
meine Seel, erheb dich wieder:
siehe wie das Dunckle bricht,
darum singe deine Lieder.[46]

Notice, finally, how the poet elsewhere makes the fullest use of dizzying amphibrachs and liquid sounds to express the dynamic, bitter-sweet vacillation of the spirit between this world and the next:

Wir loben in Freuden, und lieben in Leiden:
und leben auf Erden in himmlischer Freud.[47]

It should be clear from the foregoing discussion that, although Beissel spent almost half his life in the contemplative seclusion of the Ephrata community, his thinking and creative work were by no means carried on in intellectual isolation. Unfortunately, the dearth of biographical evidence makes it difficult to single out specific influences of other poets on Beissel. As far as I can ascertain, neither the *Chronicon Ephratense,* which is the most authentic account of Beissel's life, nor Beissel's prose writings yields any information as to his poetic models. Nevertheless, internal evidence alone leads one to suspect that Beissel patterned the Alexandrine couplets in the collection, *Mystische und sehr geheyme Sprueche* (1730), on those of another mystic and devotee of Böhme, Angelus Silesius.[48] A comparison of Beissel's *Sprueche* with those in Silesius' *Cherubinischer Wandersmann* reveals several arresting parallels in theme and style. Both poets proclaim the paradoxical mystical death as the way to eternal life:

S.: Indem der weise Mann zu tausendmalen stirbet,
Er durch die Wahrheit selbst um tausend Leben wirbet.[49]

B.: Wilt leben du in Gott, so much du erst verderben,
Der beste glantz u. schein, musz gantz in dir ersterben.[50]

Complete withdrawal into the self enables one to establish closer contact with God:

S.: Wer in sich selber sitzt, der höret Gottes Wort,
Vernein es, wie du willst, auch ohne Zeit und Ort.[51]

B.: Geh in der seelen grund, aus allen weltgetümmel,
So findest du in dir den stillen Gottes-Himmel.[52]

We must break the chains of enslavement to the self; possession of God and love of self are mutually exclusive:

S.: Wer sich verloren hat und von sich selbst entbunden,
Der hat Gott, seinen Trost und seinen Heiland, funden.[53]

B.: Wer Gott besitzen will, der musz sich selber lassen,
Dann wer sich selbst besitzt, kan Gott nicht in sich fassen.[54]

Both poets delight in exploiting the contrapuntal qualities inherent in the structure of the Alexandrine couplet. Half-lines stand poised against each other in the tense interplay of verbal paradox:

S.: Die Armut ist ein Schatz, dem keine Schätze gleichen.
Der ärmste Mensch im Geist hat mehr als alle Reichen.[55]

B.: Das ist der Reichste mensch, der ärmste von begehren,
Wer sich darinnen find't, den kan kein ding beschweren.[56]

Although both poets were mystics within a general Böhmian orientation, there were also certain deep-rooted differences in outlook and temperament that should be acknowledged in any comparison between them. For example, although the themes of renunciation and worldly vanity crop up repeatedly in the epigrams of both poets, Silesius' pantheistic tendencies enabled him to view external reality as a positive good and to see in it the signature of its Divine Author:

S.: Die Schöpfung ist ein Buch; wers weislich lessen kann,
Dem wird darin gar fein der Schöpfer kund getan.[57]

Beissel, on the other hand, never spoke approvingly of external reality except when using some aspect of it as a

metaphor of the soul. Otherwise, he viewed the world with grave suspicion and believed that its natural function was to seduce man from his eternal destiny:

B.: O Welt! du trügerin, mit deinem eitlen schein
Ich bin dir nun entflohn, geh nimmer in dich ein.[58]

Moreover, Silesius firmly believed in the total interdependence of God and man:

S.: Ich weiss, dass ohne mich Gott nicht ein Nu kann leben;
Werd ich zunicht, er muss von Not den Geist aufgeben.[59]

Such a notion must surely have struck Beissel as blasphemous, feeling as he did that man could never be quite sure of his standing with the Creator:

B.: Hast du noch nicht gesehen das thal der nichtigkeit,
So baue ja kein nest ins Hauss der Sicherheit.[60]

The theosophical ideas and the attitudes toward the religious life that find expression in Beissel's poetry did not come to him in the form of revelation from on high, even if he did not discourage his followers from believing so. I have already alluded to Böhme's influence on his conception of God and his cult of Sophia. Beissel's idea of the *Ich* or self-will as giving rise to evil probably derives from Böhme as well.[61] Moreover, much of Beissel's specialized vocabulary of mysticism, including such terms as *magia, Tinctur, centrum,* and *Temperatur,* can be found scattered throughout Böhme's writings. But the question of whether Beissel knew Böhme's works directly or through his interpreters cannot be answered with certainty. It seems likely that he read both Böhme and his interpreters.

Two of these interpreters were Johann Georg Gichtel and Gottfried Arnold. Beissel probably became familiar with their writings through Haller's encouragement while in Heidelberg. He may have understood Böhme's concept of self-will and individual desire as the origin of evil *(Finsternis)* through

Gichtel's mediation.[62] Arnold's tract, *Das Geheimnis der Göttlichen Sophia* (1700), could also have contributed to Beissel's understanding of the Heavenly Wisdom[63] — although, according to Stoudt, Arnold conceived of Sophia as the threefold body and blood of Christ, an idea that would not be consonant with Beissel's theosophy.[64] It seems much more likely that Beissel's position on Sophia came directly from Böhme. Beissel's glorification of virginity and celibacy could have been influenced by Arnold, who was vehemently against natural marriage,[65] as well as by Ernst Christoph Hochmann von Hochenau, who preached union with Christ as the only pure marital state.[66] Beissel knew of Hochenau through Alexander Mack and his Dunker sect, with which he came in contact during his wanderings in Wittgenstein.[67]

In any outline of probable and possible influences on Beissel's thought, the English Philadelphian movement should not be omitted. The Philadelphians were a society of mystics in the Böhmist tradition founded in London in 1670 by John Pordage and Jane Lead.[68] Their espousal of separatism and their ideas on the formation of religious communities with the designation of members as "brother" may well have been a contributing stimulus to Beissel's founding of Ephrata.[69] If this is so, then the Philadelphians may also have been the mediators for some of Beissel's knowledge of Böhme. Since Beissel had almost no knowledge of English, it is doubtful that he had any direct association which the Philadelphians. But he probably gained a familiarity with their ideas through the German Philadelphian sect in Wittgenstein before coming to America.[70] It is also possible that he later renewed this indirect contact through the members of Kelpius' monastic community near Germantown. Before setting sail for America in 1694, Kelpius had lived in London and had made the acquaintance of Pordage and Lead. While in Pennsylvania he maintained a lively correspondence with them.[71]

Finally, it is possible that even Rosicrucian mysticism did not escape Beissel's interest. Julius Sachse, the well-known

chronicler of Ephrata, identifies Beissel as one of the revivers of Rosicrucianism in Pennsylvania.[72] Sachse refers to the Ephrata community as the successor to Kelpius and his chapter of "true Rosicrucians" on the Wissahickon and says that at Ephrata "the secret rites and mysteries of the true Rosicrucian philosophy flourished unmolested for years."[73]

Influences come from the future as well as the past. Although Beissel's intellectual links with the religious poets and thinkers of his native Germany were deep and durable, the visionary temperament of the mystic could not help but be profoundly shaped by the promise of spiritual rebirth held out by the New World to which he had come. One could easily be led to infer from Ephrata's situation of relative isolation from its environment and from Beissel's strong inclination to the solitary life that his only interest in America was as a refuge from repressive ecclesiastical authority. However, his prophetic, if ungrammatical, words in the fifth "Theosophical Epistle" reveal a much grander, chiliastic vision of the New World:

> Asia ist gefallen u. seine Leuchter ist verloschen. Europa ist die Sonne am hellen Mittag untergangen. America siehet eine Lilie blühen, ihr Geruch wird unter den Heiden erschallen. Abend und Morgen wird wieder einen Tag machen. Das Licht gegen dem Abend wird einen Schein setzen gegen dem Morgen: und der letzt verheissene Abend-Regen wird dem Morgen zu hülf kommen, und wird das Ende wieder in seinem Anfang bringen; alsdann wird Jacob fröhlich seyn, und Israel sich freuen.[74]

The full significance of these cryptic utterances can be decoded without undue difficulty. Beissel first refers to the crumbling of the old ecclesiastical order in Asia and Europe. He then says America will bear witness to the blooming of a lily. The rich symbolism of the lily in Christian mystical literature has its origins in the Song of Songs in which Christ, the Bridegroom, woos the lily, which is the church, or, as the mystics would have it, the individual soul.[75] Beissel's pro-

phecy of the blooming of the lily is thus meant to symbolize the regeneration of the Christian spirit in the New World. This vision of the gradual westward movement of religion and of America as the new kingdom of God has deep intellectual roots in the medieval historical concept of the *translatio imperii,* the belief based on Old Testament prophecies that Rome's abuse of secular and religious authority had forced God to transfer the earthly seat of power to the Germanic peoples.[76] Beissel, along with other Pennsylvania German separatists, viewed his own forced exodus from the oppressive religious atmosphere in Germany and his journey to America as the beginning of still another phase in the westward migration of God's kingdom on earth. The remaining metaphors in the oracular passage quoted above are also rooted in the Old Testament. The image of evening and morning forming one day derives from the account of the creation at the beginning of *Genesis.* It would seem that Beissel envisioned this imminent spiritual regeneration as analogous to God's act of material creation. The promised evening rain is probably based on the innumerable Old Testament metaphors depicting rain as the beneficent, fertilizing shower. The references to Jacob and Israel imply that America is the New Canaan, the land of spiritual plenty where the descendants of the twelve tribes of Israel will flourish. Beissel thus expresses his vision of America in sweepingly apocalyptic style as a utopian land which was to witness a profound revolution of the Christian spirit.

The following passage from the preface to the *Paradisisches Wunderspiel,* anonymously written by one of the brethren, expresses the similar sentiments of the entire Ephrata community:

> Erweckung über das grosse Welt Meer in America begleiten. Wer wolte noch zweifflen, das nicht Pennsilvanien von Gott darzu bestimmt, des sich darinnen die Nachkommen der Zwölf-Sämmen unsers himmlischen Jacobs solten ausbreiten als in dem Land ihres Erbteils.[77]

Using Beissel's prose as a conceptual key, one can delineate a lyrical *Amerikabild* in the first, second, and fifth poems from section one of the hymnal, *Vorspiel der Neuen-welt* (1732), the title of which is itself significant. The first poem presents an expansive, euphoric vision of the New World in terms of its lush natural beauty, which inspires the poet to identify it with the Garden of Paradise. In the first stanza Beissel makes effective use of tropological imagery to represent America as the land of spiritual fertility with unlimited potential for the flowering of the soul. Also implied is the notion of a new era of religious freedom which is metaphorically contrasted with the former era of discrimination and persecution:

> Ich sehe die pflantzen im Paradies feld
> Vom lieblichen frühling sehr herrlich aussprossen,
> Nun wird wieder sanfte was vor war verstellt,
> Durch herbe und kälte im winter verschlossen.
> Da stehen die bäume mit lieblichem grünen,
> So dass es zur freude und wollust muss dienen.[78]

That Beissel is actually describing America as an earthly paradise and not merely entertaining visions of an afterlife becomes clear in the first two lines of stanza seven, in which he refers to the sisters of Ephrata:

> Da gehen die Töchter sehr prächtig einher,
> In diesem gefilde der Paradies-erden.[79]

The second poem also abounds in tropological imagery, begining with a triumphal proclamation of the end to Old-World strife and the imminent reunion of the Bridegroom with his Bride:

> Der frohe Tag bricht an, es legt sich nieder,
> Der harte Jacobs-dienst, es wird ihm wieder,
> Gegeben seine Braut die ihm vermählet,
> Und sich beym lebens-bronn, zu ihm gesellet.[80]

In stanza three the poet exhorts men to bear witness to America as *die neue liebes-welt* and prophecizes the worldwide spread of the spiritual revolution:

Der neuen liebes-welt, die sich thut zeigen,
Mit ihrem vollen pracht, wer solte schweygen,
u. es nicht zeigen an, was er thut sehen,
Weil es bald aller welt, wird offen stehen?[81]

The fifth poem is the shortest, consisting of only ten stanzas. Its relative brevity enables the poet to achieve a pleasing structural symmetry and thematic integration. The first four stanzas are earthbound and portray the blossoming of spring in the landscape of the New World, which, as always, is also the landscape of the soul. That Beissel intends his landscape to contain these two levels of meaning is evident from the following verses in stanza one:

Im geist man sieht,
Wie alles blüht,
Und breit't sich aus zur fruchtbarkeit.[82]

In the second stanza the poet alliteratively affirms the unfettered growth of the spirit in the New World and deplores its former smothered existence in the Old:

Der kalte winter geht zu ende,
Es rückt herbey das frohe jahr,
Drum hebet auf hertz, haupt und hände,
Weil nun wird hell und offenbar,
Was lang verdeckt,
Und war versteckt.[83]

Stanza four reveals that this renaissance of the spirit is not limited to the confines of Ephrata. Even the infidels will be engulfed in its wave:

Die blätter dieser fruchtbarkeiten,
Die dienen auch zur artzeney,
Und zum genuss der wilden heyden.[84]

In the fifth and sixth stanzas the New Jerusalem is significantly set in the middle of the landscape, and in the middle of the city are assembled the priests and Levites of the Old Testament. Stanzas five and six, then, are the pivotal stanzas of the poem both structurally and thematically, since they

form a transition from the earthbound description of the first four stanzas to the transfigured vision of the last four.

As the poem moves into its final stanzas it becomes increasingly difficult to discern whether the scene of events is still the greening utopia of America or whether we have been transported to the Eternal Kingdom. Occurrences seem no longer to be rooted in time and space: a sacrificial offering is made to the Lord at his golden altar (st. 8), and the soul-bride takes her place beside her King and receives the golden crown (st. 9). Subtly, imperceptibly the poet has blended the one realm with the other. The New World, the New Jerusalem, and the Kingdom of Heaven have become one. In the final stanza the two realms of reality resume their separate modes of existence as the poet realizes he has allowed his imagination to be seduced by the fertile promise of his new earthly environment:

> Ich freue mich schon in dem geiste,
> Ob ich schon noch auf erden bin.[85]

Conrad Beissel's lapse into obscurity among the German poets and writers on the early colonial scene is an undeserved fate. Few of his colonial contemporaries could match the range of his religious thought or the breadth of his poetic vision. Although it is certainly easy to fault him on esthetic grounds, such fault hardly diminishes the monument of his poetry as a profound probing into the depths of the human soul, combining the homely simplicity of biblical wisdom with the all-embracing mystical vision of an Eckhart or a Böhme.

I have had to work with a microprint reproduction of the original editions of the Ephrata hymnals. A complete lack of dating of individual hymns makes it most difficult to trace Beissel's development as a poet within a chronological framework. Clearly, much remains to be done even in the area of preliminary scholarship. To my knowledge, no comprehensive survey of Beissel's poetry has yet been made and there is no

edition of selected poems. The few critics such as Stoudt and Stoeffler who have touched on Beissel as a poet have not really distinguished him from the many members of the Ephrata community who composed verse. No effort has been made to sort out Beissel's poetry from that of the cloister as a whole. Also, a much more thorough investigation of the sources of Beissel's mysticism is needed. As the leader of a thriving and influential religious community entrusted with the education of many of early Philadephia's young people, Beissel was an important connecting link in the transmission of religious culture from the Old World to the New. His relationship to some of the great religious poets and writers of the German baroque, such as Daniel Czepko, Paul Gerhardt, Quirinus Kuhlmann, and Gottfried Arnold, is still virtually unexplored. I have dealt with only a few of the most obvious strains of Böhme and Silesius in his poetry; if Sachse is correct in asserting that Rosicrucian rituals were carried on at Ephrata, there may well be traces of Rosicrucian mysticism and symbolism in Beissel's verse that I have not managed to uncover. A more intensive scrutiny of the theosophical writings than I have been able to make might help to bring some of these connections to light.

NOTES

[1]Thomas Mann, *Gesammelte Werke* (Berlin, 1956), VI, 93. In an informative article, "Conrad Beissel and Thomas Mann," *AGR*, XXVI (1959-60), 24-25 and 38, Andres Briner identifies as Mann's factual sources for his account of Beissel a letter by Jacob Duche, an Anglican priest, written in 1771, and William Fahnestock's "An Historical Sketch of Ephrata" in *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania*, XV, 11. Both sources describe the moving effect of Beissel's music on the listener.

For an extensive analysis of Beissel's function as a character in Mann's novel, see Theodor Karst, "Johann Conrad Beissel in Thomas Manns Roman 'Doktor Faustus,' " *Jahrbuch der deutschen Schillergesellschaft*, XII (1968), 543-585.

[2]Walter C. Klein, *Johann Conrad Beissel: Mystic and Martinet* (Philadelphia, 1942), p. 2. Hereafter cited as Klein.

[3]Klein, p. 26,
[4]Klein, p. 27.
[5]Klein, p. 29.
[6]Klein, p. 34.
[7]Klein, pp. 40-41; 198.
[8]Oswald Seidensticker, *Bilder aus der deutsch-pennsylvanischen Geschichte, Geschichtsblätter, Bilder und Mittheilungen aus dem Leben der Deutschen in Amerika,* II, ed. Carl Schurz, 2 nd ed. (New York, 1886), p. 188. Hereafter cited as Seidensticker.
[9]Seidensticker, p. 194.
[10]John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, The Olden Time...,* II (Philadelphia,1850 ed.), p. 110. The later edition was not available.
[11]Conrad Beissel, *Jacobs Kampff- und Ritter-Platz...* (Philadelphia, 1736), p. 13, no. 5, st. 1. Hereafter cited as *JK.* According to Eugene E. Doll and Anneliese M. Funke, *The Ephrata Cloisters: An Annotated Bibliography* (Philadelphia, 1944), p. 41, no. 182, Julius Sachse claims that Beissel is responsible for twenty-eight of the thirty-two hymns in the collection.
[12]*JK,* p. 13, no. 5, st. 4.
[13] Conrad Beissel, *Das Gesang der einsamen und verlassenen Turtel-Taube Nemlich der Christlichen Kirche...* (Ephrata, 1747), p. 7, no. 7, st. 4. Hereafter cited as *TT.* According to Doll, p. 92, no. 374, two-thirds of the hymns in the *Turtel-Taube* are by Beissel, the remaining hymns having been contributed by sixteen brothers and twenty-three sisters. The style and thematic development of hymn no. 7 indicate Beissel's authorship.
[14]Conrad Beissel, "Theosophische Gedichte," in *Erster Teil der Theosophischen Lectionen...* (Ephrata, 1752), p. 407, no. 39. Hereafter cited as *TG.* Doll, p. 96, no. 380, says the "Theosophische Gedichte" are to be attributed to Beissel.
[15]Conrad Beissel, *Vorspiel der Neuen-welt. Welches sich in der letzten Abendroethe als ein paradisischer Lichtes-glantz unter den Kindern Gottes hervor gethan...* (Philadelphia, 1732), p. 18, no. 8, st. 2. Hereafter cited as *Vorspiel.* The authorship of hymn no. 8 is uncertain, but the mystical images and concepts it contains suggest that it may have been Beissel's.
[16]*TT,* p. 15, no. 18, st. 3. The style of the hymn indicates Beissel's authorship.
[17]*TT,* p. 4, no. 5, st. 1. Again, authorship is uncertain, but the didactic tone points to Beissel.
[18]*TG,* p. 403, no. 25.
[19]*TG,* p. 401, no. 18.
[20]*TG,* p. 409, no. 49.
[21]*TG,* p. 412, no. 60.
[22]*TG,* p. 418, no. 82.
[23]*TT,* p. 1, no. 1, st. 1. Authorship is uncertain, but the progression of thought and feeling indicates Beissel. Moreover, it was customary to print Beissel's hymns first in the Ephrata hymnals out of deference to his position before printing those of the other brothers and sisters.
[24]*TT,* p. 1, no. 1, st. 4.
[25]*TT,* p. 1, no. 1, st. 5.
[26]*TT,* p. 1, no. 1, st. 6.
[27]Conrad Beissel, "Die 1. Gemüts-Bewegung," *Urständliche und Erfahrungsvolle Hohe Zeugnüsse Wie man zum Geistlichen Leben gelangen möge* (Ephrata, 1745), p. 2. Hereafter cited as *UZ.*

[28]*TT*, pp. 1-2, no. 1, st. 8.

[29]*TT*, p. 2, no. 1, st. 10.

[30]Conrad Beissel, *Paradisisches Wunderspiel, Welches sich... als ein Vorspiel der neuen Welt hervorgethan...* (Ephrata, 1766), p. 1997, no. 298, st. 1. Hereafter cited as *PW*. The first section consists of 441 hymns by Beissel.

[31]*PW*, pp. 197-198, no. 289, st. 4.

[32]*PW*, p. 198, no. 298, st. 5.

[33]Klein, pp. 188-197.

[34]E. Ernest Stoeffler, *Mysticism in the German Devotional Literature of Colonial Pennsylvania*, The Pennsylvanian German Folklore Society, 14 (Allentown, 1949), pp. 43-65. Hereafter cited as Stoeffler.

[35]Rufus M. Jones, *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th & 17th Centuries* (London, 1928), pp. 174-175. Hereafter cited as Jones.

[36]Stoeffler, pp. 50-51.

[37]*PW*, p. 224, no. 331, st. 10.

[38]*PW*, p. 194, no. 293, st. 1.

[39]Conrad Beissel, *Mystische und sehr geheyme Sprueche, Welche in der Himlischen schule des heiligen geistes erlernet...* (Philadelphia, 1730), p. 19, no. 53. Hereafter cited as *MS*.

[40]John Joseph Stoudt, *Consider the Lilies How They Grow*, The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, II (Allentown, 1937), pp. 127-131. Hereafter cited as *Lilies*.

[41]Hans Lassen Martensen, *Jacob Böhme: His Life and Teaching, or Studies in Theosophy*, trans. T. Rhys Evans (London, 1885), p. 234. Hereafter cited as Martensen.

[42]Martensen, p. 265.

[43]Seidensticker, p. 222.

[44]Conrad Beissel, "Vorrede über die Sing-Arbeit," in *TT*, 2nd preface, pp. viii-xxi. This is Beissel's treatise on the basic rules of harmony peculiar to the choral music of the cloister.

[45]*PW*, p. 13, no. 16, st. 1.

[46]*PW*, p. 6, no. 7, st. 1.

[47]*TT*, p. 8, no. 9, st. 4.

[48]John Joseph Stoudt, *Pennsylvania German Poetry 1685-1830*, The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, XX (Allentown, 1955), lxv-lxvi. Stoudt mentions the connection between Silesius' *Cherubinischer Wandersmann* and Beissel's Alexandrine couplets, but does not pursue the subject.

[49]Angelus Silesius, *Sämtliche Poetische Werke*, ed. Hans Ludwig Held, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1924), III, bk. 1, 15, no. 27. Hereafter cited as Silesius. Silesius is abbreviated "S." and Beissel "B." to save space.

[50]*MS*, p. 17, no. 35.

[51]Silesius, bk. 1, 24, no. 93.

[52]*MS*, p. 15, no. 8.

[53]Silesius, bk. 2, 65, no. 61.

[54]*MS*, p. 17, no. 38.

[55]Silesius, bk. 5, 188, no. 80.

[56]*MS*, p. 15, no. 11.

[57]Silesius, bk. 5, 189, no. 86.

[58]*MS*, p. 18, no. 41.

[59]Silesius, bk. 1, 12, no. 8.

[60]*MS*, p. 15, no. 13.

[61]Jones, p. 178. Jones discusses Böhme's concept of the light and dark worlds: individual desires and aims sever a being from the totality of divine goodness, thereby creating the realm of darkness. This idea seems to conform closely to Beissel's notion of *Finsternis* in his theosophical prose and his notion of the evil *Ich* or *Mein* in his poetry.

[62]Klein, p. 201.

[63]Stoeffler, p. 40.

[64]*Lilies*, p. 127.

[65]Klein, p. 199.

[66]Stoeffler, p. 42.

[67]Klein, pp. 30-31.

[68]*The Encyclopedia Americana* (New York, 1963 ed.), XXI, 734-735.

[69]Stoeffler, pp. 39; 48-49.

[70]Seidensticker, p. 176.

[71]Brothers Lamech and Agrippa, *Chronicon Ephratense, Enthaltend den Lebens-Lauf des ehrwürdigen Vaters in Christo Friedsam Gottrecht* [Beissel], *Weyland Stiffters und Vorstehers des geistl. Ordens der Einsamen in Ephrata...* (Ephrata, 1786), p. 11. According to Doll, p. 117, no. 427, the *Chronicon Ephratense* contains a history of the Ephrata community of Seventh-Day Baptists since its foundation, including the background, customs, struggles, and accomplishments of the brothers and sisters, as well as the biography of the founder, "Friedsam Gottrecht." It is the chief source of information on life in the cloister and was used extensively by both Klein and Seidensticker.

[72]Julius Friedrich Sachse, *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1895), p. 198. Hereafter cited as Sachse.

[73]Sachse, pp. 4-5; 7. Sachse makes much of Rosicrucian mysticism in Beissel's thinking and in the religious ceremonies at Ephrata, but, unfortunately for us, he neglects to support his assertions with documented evidence.

[74]Conrad Beissel, "Die V. Theosophische Epistel," in *UZ*, p. 98.

[75]In *Lilies* Stoudt traces the history of lily-symbolism in Christian mysticism beginning with the Old Testament. On pp. 113-122 he quotes numerous passages from Böhme's writings in English translation (Bath, 1775 ed.) to illustrate the meaning of the lily for Böhme: essentially, it is the true reflection of God since it is an image of the new-born or renegerated soul. It is quite possible that the stimulus for Beissel's use of this symbol in his fifth theosophical epistle is to be found in Böhme.

[76]See Ernst Robert Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, 4th ed. (Bern and Munich, 1963), pp. 38-40.

[77]"Vorrede," *PW*, p. 5.

[78]*Vorspiel*, p. 5, no. 1, st. 1. Beissel is most likely the author of all seven poems in section one of the *Vorspiel*.

[79]*Vorspiel*, p. 6, no. 1, st. 7.

[80]*Vorspiel*, p. 7, no. 2, st. 1.

[81]*Vorspiel*, p. 8, no. 2, st. 3.

[82]*Vorspiel*, p. 13, no. 5, st. 1.

[83]*Vorspiel*, p. 13, no. 5, st. 2.

[84]*Vorspiel*, p. 13, no. 5, st. 4.

[85]*Vorspiel*, p. 14, no. 5, st. 10.

THE SIGEL REGIMENT

by

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Rapid stacatto drumbeats pierced the deep bass tones of martial brass as long lines of marching men moved steadily down the street amid shouts and applause from the throngs that lined the paths. Here and there men saluted or removed their caps as the colors swung past. Necks turned and twisted to catch a glimpse of father or husband, brother or son, while several young ladies rushed forward to drape floral bouquets about the bayoneted muskets of their sweethearts. Shouts of recognition and friendly waves came from well-wishers as the marchers passed. "Ludwig! Hans! Friedrich! Karol! Franz!" It was not Berlin; it was not 1914, nor even 1939. It was the United States of America, it was 1862, and the 26th Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry was marching off to the war.

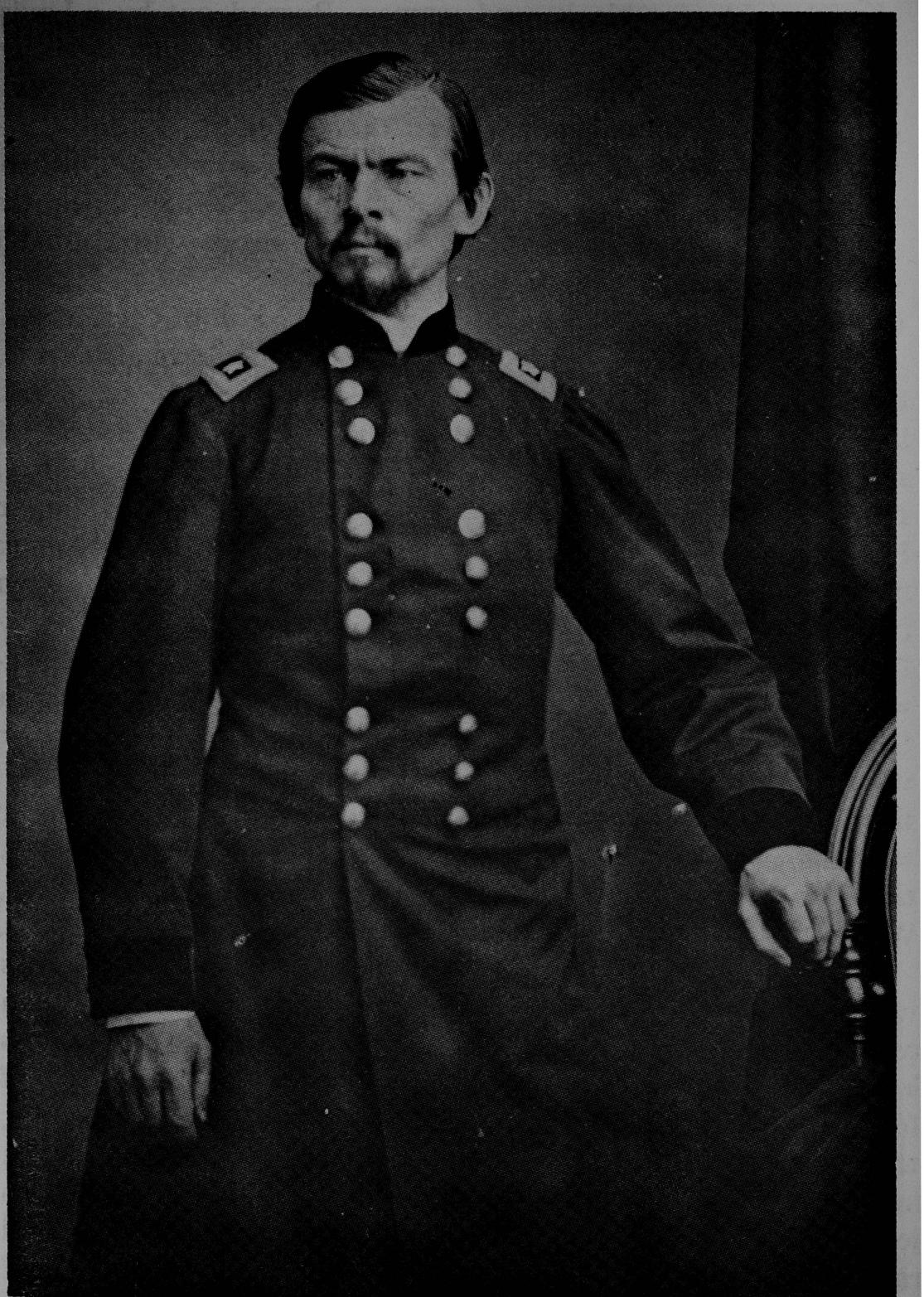
Even before it left the state the 26th Wisconsin held some claim to uniqueness, and not simply because most of the men on its muster rolls were immigrants or first generation Americans. There were dozens of so-called "foreign" regiments in the service of the Union Army, most of them decidedly Republican in their political persuasion. But Democrats predominated among the 26th, and on its rolls were scores of prominent, widely-traveled, well-read soldiers, making it one of the most literate regiments in the service.

Formed under the spirit of the German republican movement of 1848, the regiment trained at Camp Sigel, Milwaukee, where volunteers from Milwaukee, Racine, Manitowoc, and Fond du Lac County met to drill and perfect the skills they would need once they reached the battlefields. Known within the state as the "2nd German Regiment," the 26th Wisconsin adopted Franz Sigel, a leading German revolutionary figure,

as its patron saint. Thus it became the "Sigel Regiment" through popular usage. Indeed, many of the soldiers in the ranks came to the United States after serving with the unsuccessful revolutionary armies in Europe. The result was a curious mixture of mature men who learned their discipline in the Old Country, with younger men, often sons of those early immigrants, who were new to the demands of war, adding youthful zest and energy to the steadied discipline of their seniors.[1]

Thirty-year-old Wilhelm Jacobs, a successful Milwaukee banker, a native of Braunschweig, Germany, and a fine tenor in the local German Sängerbund, became colonel of the regiment, while other prominent immigrants served as officers and enlisted men. Blonde, blue-eyed, and handsome, Hans Böbel was a German "freethinker," and a founding member of both the Milwaukee "Turnverein" and the "Bund freier Menschen." Henry Bätz, a native of Stockhausen, Hesse-Darmstadt, and a Manitowoc politician, enlisted as an officer; while the surgeon was Dr. Franz Hübschmann, a native of Saxe-Weimar who served on the Milwaukee school board, waged an unsuccessful campaign for the Democratic nomination for governor of Wisconsin in 1852, and served as an instrumental liberal member of the 1846 constitutional convention which won for foreign-born citizens the right to vote in Wisconsin.[2]

One of the more famous members of the Sigel Regiment was Bernhard Domschke, a native of Freiberg, Saxony, who established himself as a revolutionary and editor in Saxony before moving to the United States in 1851. An ardent defender of liberalism and the anti-slavery crusade, Domschke worked on newspapers in New York and Boston before joining radical editor Karl Heinzen to publish an anti-slavery journal in Louisville, Kentucky. In 1854 the pair authored the radical "Louisville Platform" which denounced all racial and class privileges, attacked slavery and the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, and advocated free lands for settlers, easier and quicker naturalization procedures, and equal political and



General Franz Sigel, patron saint of the 26th Wisconsin
Photo Courtesy of the Library of Congress

social rights for blacks and women. Burned out by a Louisville mob, Domschke moved on to Wisconsin, penniless and destitute, to become editor of several short-lived newspapers. By 1860 his influence was such that he won election as a delegate to the Republican National Convention in Chicago. When the war finally came, Domschke, closing down his presses, marched down to the recruiter's office with the bulk of his employees.[3]

Martin Young was born in France, the son of a merchant, and Anton Kettlar served as a miller in Germany before imigrating to the United States in 1852. In 1855 he joined General Walker's army in Nicaragua, rising to the rank of captain. As the proprietor of a Janesville, Wisconsin, beerhall, he was a logical choice for recruiting officer. Karl Doerflinger enlisted as a private at the age of nineteen, rising to the rank of first lieutenant by the time he reached twenty-one. Adam Muenzenberger, age 32, left a wife, four children, a successful shoemaking business, and the secretaryship of the Greenfield "Burger-Verein" to enlist. For Charles Wickesberg, a carpenter by trade, the impetus of a broken love affair caused him to enlist.[4]

The Sigel Regiment, 988 strong, left Milwaukee on October 6, 1862, amid great shows of enthusiasm by the local populace. Three days of being jammed into uncomfortably cramped, cold, and damp railways cars cooled their ardor somewhat, but the reception they received in Baltimore sent their spirits soaring to new heights. Unlike the greeting the Northern troops received there in 1861, the citizens spoiled the Badgers with lavish cheers and applause, followed by a huge feast of delicious steamed oysters. Reluctantly leaving this paradise, the regiment moved quickly over the rails to Arlington Heights, gratefully acknowledging the cheers at every station along the way. They had two days to stretch their legs and collect their thoughts at Arlington Heights; then it was off to their assigned command at Centreville, Virginia.[5]

October 15 found the regiment drawn up at attention, their eyes fixed on a general officer about to review this new

Colonel Wladimir Krzyzanowski
Photo Courtesy of the Library of Congress

addition to his corps. The officer was Major General Franz Sigel, and the troops were ecstatic over their assignment to his command. Shoulders back, chests out, each soldier stood rigid with pride as Sigel strode before them to address his troops. Their eyes brightened and broad smiles lit their faces as he complimented them on their appearance, while intimating to them that if the war was to be won it would be up to the German soldiers to shoulder a major portion of the military burden.[6]

Alongside Sigel stood Brigadier General Carl Schurz of Wisconsin, a revolutionary compatriot of Sigel's from the German upheavals, who commanded the division to which the Sigel Regiment found itself attached. The troops knew Schurz well from his tenure in Wisconsin politics, as well as from his ardent campaigning on behalf of Abraham Lincoln in 1860. To them, the combination of Sigel and Schurz as commanding officers could not have been better. Even the Democrats, who despised Schurz's Republican affiliations, admired him as a champion of the German revolutionary movement, as well as a kind, humane, compassionate commanding officer. The review and speeches concluded, the men expressed their pleasure with three rousing hurrahs.[7]

The Badgers felt well at home in the Eleventh Corps, which contained a large percentage of Germanic immigrants, as well as in Schurz's 3rd Division, which was almost exclusively Germanic or foreign-born. Assigned to the 2nd Brigade of the 3rd Division, the Wisconsin troops were not familiar with their brigade commander, Colonel Wladimir Krzyzanowski of the 58th New York Infantry. They soon learned that he came to the United States in 1846 as a refugee of the ill-fated Mieroslawski Insurrection in Poland. A liberal Republican and a philosophical democrat, he loudly denounced slavery while speaking on behalf of Abraham Lincoln's candidacy in 1860. They soon found, too, that he was also a humane officer, caring for his troops as a father would care for so many sons.[8]

Krzyzanowski's Brigade consisted of four regiments of so-called "foreign" troops. In addition to the Sigel Regiment, there were the 75th Pennsylvania under Colonel Franz Mahler, the 58th New York under Lt. Colonel Frederick Gellman, and the 119th New York under Colonel Elias Peissner, a professor at Union College and former delegate to the 1860 Republican Convention in Chicago. The men of the Sigel Regiment fraternized well with their fellow soldiers in the brigade, the only problems seem to have arisen within the regiment when the fall elections rolled around. Adam Muenzenberger, for one, complained bitterly that some of the Republican officers in his company prevented the enlisted men, who were solidly Democratic, from casting their ballots. Some hostilities existed between the small, militant Republican faction and the Democrats, but the problem ameliorated itself when several of the Republicans resigned, while the others ceased their agitations as the election passed into history.[9]

In the brief time they spent at Arlington Heights and Centreville the men continued their drills, while passing their spare time learning how to build log cabins, bunks, mattresses, and carve sweet-briar pipes and chess figures. Many of the cabins they constructed had very ornate, aesthetically appealing chimneys fashioned out of the Virginia red clay, which they also used to mold a myriad of other items including rings and trinkets. On the picket line a frequent occurrence was a visit to the home of any one of a number of young Virginia maidens whose brothers were conspicuously absent. The men particularly enjoyed the delicious "Johnny cakes" which the women baked for one U. S. dollar apiece.[10]

But the idleness could not, and did not last. On November 2 the regiment broke camp and headed for Gainesville. On the 5th they suffered their first casualty when a musket ball wounded Lieutenant John Orth on the picket line at Thoroughfare Gap. The march continued, as all along the line the men engaged in a new pastime—foraging. Wherever the regiment pitched its camp for the night the young men rushed off to

liberate food from the surrounding countryside. They never returned emptyhanded, bringing in pigs, chickens, ducks, turkeys, and geese in large numbers. With campfires well stoked, roasted meat proved plentiful, and nightly feasts were commonplace. "No horse or cow is safe from the old regiment," noted Adam Muenzenberger. "The soldiers take everything along on the plea that they wish to pay the rebels for the treatment at the last battle of Bull Run."[11]

As the march continued the men began to grumble about the pay which had eluded them since their enlisting. In fact, most of them had yet to see the bonuses they were promised when they first enlisted. But their anger over this was tempered by the hearty laugh they enjoyed while reading stories of scandals surrounding the implementation of the draft in Milwaukee. "We have a great laugh at the simpletons who laughed at us because we volunteered," Adam Muenzenberger told his wife. "Please let me know who was drafted if you can find out so that I can laugh at their lot the way they laughed at mine."[12]

The march continued on through the Bull Run Mountains to Haymarket, Virginia, where Southern sympathizers lined the streets to greet the Northern troops with jeers and insolent shouts of reproach. Undaunted, the Germans broke into a rousing marching song containing the lyrics "In the South, in the South, where the German guns explode and the rebels fall." The long columns continued to wind through mountains and valleys, and then back toward Centreville which they reached on December 1.[13]

At Centreville the troops received recent newspapers from home. In them they found themselves accused of running away from a battle at Gainesville; a battle that was completely fictitious. They blamed the stories on a recent slur directed at the newspaper in question by Lieutenant Lehman. In commenting on the stories he read in the *Milwaukee Sentinel,* Adam Muenzenberger mused that for the paper's editors "It certainly would be aggravating to get a good dig

from a Dutchman and not be able to return it. You know, we are no Yankees."[14]

As December came to a close the campsites were swept by snowstorms and terribly cold, biting winds beat cruelly upon the exposed pickets. The men built small fireplaces in their tents, but the intermittent snow and freezing rain made cold and dampness a daily companion. Muddy roads froze in the evening and thawed to become soft and mushy by late morning. Since the road conditions impeded the supply wagons, the troops, for the first time, had to subsist on five crackers and two tablespoons of coffee per day. Firewood gave out, no pay proved forthcoming, and diseases began making the rounds of the ill-prepared camps.[15]

On December 31 the entire Eleventh Corps stood to for its bi-monthly muster, with the Sigel Regiment being acclaimed the best of all the units. Colonels Krzyzanowski and Jacobs received well-deserved praise for the regiment's showing, returning their men's dedication with compassion and fatherly care. Colonel Krzyzanowski endeared himself to the Badgers through his daily visits to their hospital and campfires, the sympathetic ear he turned to their problems, and his attempts to pursue their justified complaints with the higher authorities. As a New Year's present the colonel supplied each of his regiments with a large barrel of whiskey, enough flour for each soldier to obtain three tablespoons of the precious nutrient, and generous quantities of molasses. The jubilant troops spent the holiday baking pancakes—their first since joining the army—singing, and telling stories around their campfires.[16]

At the end of January the regiment participated in General Burnside's ill-fated "Mud March" which saw the men at times covered in slime nearly up to their belt buckles. The constant rains turned everything into a giant swamp. Guns parked overnight on firm ground were found to be sunk up to their hubs in sand and mud by the next morning. After three days of this rain and slime one officer submitted a written request for "50 men, 25 feet high to work in mud 18 feet deep."[17]

During the spring of 1863 several men of the Sigel Regiment managed to get short furloughs to visit Washington and New York, but the remainder of the regiment was confined to camp where they constantly drilled and stood watch on the picket lines. Rain and snow fell often, even into late April. Colonel Jacobs personally visited the men at their outposts, and arranged to have each guard relieved after two days instead of the usual three. Each picket, when he arrived back in camp, received a large glass of beer as a reward for his service on the exposed picket posts.[18]

In March the troops finally received a partial allotment of their accumulated pay, but there remained much bitterness about not receiving the full amount. Rations came in irregularly, and the men were generally fatigued from the foul weather and long hours of working on road construction. At the bimonthly muster in February Colonel Jacobs gave each company four dozen packages of tobacco supplied by his wife, but there was little that anyone could do about the emaciating diseases that daily thinned the blue ranks. Private Joseph Kowar, age twenty-one, died of heart disease on September 19, 1862. Between that date and April, 1863, at least twenty-three other soldiers died, while countless scores were down sick with everything from typhoid fever and tuberculosis to chronic diarrhoea and dysentery. But the Germans were lucky. Although they were satirized and stereotyped because of their fondness for sauerkraut, onions, and larger beer, their consumption of these foodstuffs proved a blessing in disguise for they were excellent antidotes for dysentery. Throughout the war the Germanic troops suffered far less from this one disease than did the "native American" troops.[19]

Through all of the difficulties in supply, in pay, and in reinforcement, which plagued the German troops in the Eleventh Corps, General Franz Sigel lobbied long and hard in Washington on their behalf. After continuous disagreements and rebuffs from the War Department, he finally tendered his resignation in a protest over the neglect of his troops' needs.

The War Department eagerly accepted the resignation, assigning Oliver Otis Howard to lead the corps in Sigel's place. The Germans blamed Howard for Sigel's departure, and in any case were outraged that the authorities assigned an outsider over the head of Carl Schurz, the ranking officer in the Eleventh Corps. Howard, who took over on March 2, was conversant in German, and attempted to get to know his men to some degree. But his own prejudices were not very well hidden, and in addition to his own problems he brought with him two other officers to replace two well-liked leaders of the Eleventh Corps. While Howard met with an outwardly cordial reception, there was much complaint over the loss of Franz Sigel and it was no small task to try to raise a cheer in the ranks when Howard rode past.[20]

Friday, April 10, dawned crisp and cold. A biting wind stung the fingers, ears, and noses of the men as they stood at attention while Colonel Jacobs addressed them. Next to the Badgers stood the other regiments of the brigade, followed, in a long line, by the rest of the corps. Off to another side, across a wide, wind-swept field, was a solitary reviewing stand on which stood a host of high-ranking officers and governmental officials including General Joseph Hooker, commander of the Army of the Potomac, and President Abraham Lincoln. For several days the President had been reviewing units of the Eastern army, and April 10 was the day he chose to end his tour on the front with a review of the Eleventh Corps.[21]

"Boys," Colonel Jacobs began, "when you march past act as though I were in front holding the review so that we get praise again the way we always do."[22]

Suddenly the boom of guns echoed across the field as the artillery batteries began a salute from right to left. The infantry bands struck up "Hail to the Chief," and the long lines of foot-soldiers began to move out across the field. As the infantry strode past the reviewing stand, the regimental bands, massed behind the Presidential party, sent strains of martial music surging through the wind. Drums, trumpets, and fifes

pierced the gloom and cold of the day, bringing a smile to the lips of the Chief Executive. President Lincoln loved the martial flair of the Eleventh Corps' German brass bands, which were generally acknowledged to be the best in the service.[23]

As Schurz's division tramped past the accumulated dignitaries, admiring looks of approval illuminated many a stoic face. "These men," noted Noah Brooks, "impressed us as the best drilled and most soldierly of all who passed before us during our stay."[24] Marching next to last, the 26th Wisconsin won praise as the best regiment in the Army of the Potomac, with Krzyzanowski's command singled out as the best appearing brigade. Lavish praises were once again passed around, and the brigade commander formally thanked his men for their outstanding efforts.[25]

April 19 found Wisconsin Governor Salomon in camp. A brief review was held in his honor, at which he praised the regiment for its services. That night members of the Milwaukee Sängerbund serenaded the Governor with "In Der Heimat Ist Es Schoen," and "Das Treue Deutsche Herz."

"In my whole life," the Governor declared, "I have never been so proud of my German descent as I am now in the camp of the Twenty-Sixth Regiment."[26]

The festivities at an end, it was now time for the Army of the Potomac to renew its drive on Richmond. The 26th Wisconsin broke camp on April 28 in a driving rain storm as "Fighting Joe" Hooker led three army corps off on a circuitous march of eighty-four hours duration that covered forty-five muddy miles and crossed two major rivers. At the conclusion of the march this large Federal force found itself on the flank and rear of Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. Camped close to the Chancellor House, in the heart of the dense forest of second-growth pine and scrub oak known as the "Wilderness," the troops with Krzyzanowski's Brigade made a brief advance on May 1, only to be ordered back to their positions soon after they left. They spent the rest of the night

catching up on their sleep under the orders of the army commander.[27]

The following morning, May 2, the officers of the Eleventh Corps could clearly see long columns of Confederate infantry marching off to the west toward the Federal right flank. Messengers rushed off to corps and army headquarters with repeated urgent warnings, but Hooker remained convinced that Lee was in full retreat, and Howard was completely oblivious to the danger. Headquarters officers who despised the German troops in the corps repeatedly dismissed their warnings, rejecting Carl Schurz's offer to realign his whole division facing westward, and going so far as to call the immigrants cowards.[28]

The price of this blind prejudice began to manifest itself about 6:00 P. M. As the men lounged about sleeping, playing cards, and cooking supper, a volley of musketry suddenly crashed out of the woods to the west. Long lines of gray-clad infantrymen under "Stonewall" Jackson surged from the covering underbrush onto the exposed flank of the Eleventh Corps. In minutes the attackers, who outnumbered the surprised defenders by close to four to one, pushed their way down the only avenue of escape, shattering one regiment after another like so many dominoes stacked end on end. Against a hurriedly prepared front of one or two regiments at a time the 33,000 Confederates advanced in three consecutive parallel lines stretching out for more than a mile across their front. On they pushed, attacking frontally, and outflanking their opponents on both sides. It was all the beleaguered Federals could do to escape with their lives and their equipment.[29]

Luckily for the Federal cause Carl Schurz had disregarded the apathetic attitude of his superiors and placed seven of his regiments in a position facing west to guard against such an attack. To the south, at the Dowdall Tavern, he placed Alexander Schimmelfennig's Brigade, reinforced by the 119th New York of Krzyzanowski's Brigade. To the north, at the Hawkins' Farm, he stationed the 58th New York (the "Polish Legion")

and the 26th Wisconsin under the personal supervision of Colonel Krzyzanowski. The 82nd Ohio, an unattached regiment, was slightly behind the line in a reserve position.[30]

Colonels Jacobs and Krzyzanowski placed the Wisconsin regiment skillfully behind what little cover there was, sending Captain Pizzala with Lieutenants Wallber, Doerflinger, and 100 sharpshooters, chosen from the ten best shots in each of the ten companies, into the woods ahead of the regiments as skirmishers. Soon a huge wave of Southern infantrymen bore down upon the small command. They fired a volley that sent several Confederates sprawling, then turned to make a run for their regiment. Captain Pizzala fell dead with a bullet through his head. When Lieutenant Doerflinger emerged from the woods he found himself opposite the color guard of the "Polish Legion." Praying that they would not mistake him for a Confederate, he raced across the clearing, then and there annihilating all previous regimental records for the 75 yards dash. Recognizing him, the New Yorkers yelled to him and his men to hurry out of their line of fire. Doerflinger raced through the blue line, turned left, sped past the colors, and did not stop until he found his own company.[31]

In seconds the rebel line emerged from the woods. The 58th New York met it with several quick volleys that stunned the Confederates into recoiling back into the woods. From there the Southerners opened a telling fire that killed the regimental commander, Captain Frederick Braun, and sprawled casualties haphazardly about the ground. After a few minutes the regiment retired behind a small bluff for protection. From there it continued to support the flank of the 26th Wisconsin.[32]

The Badgers, fighting in their very first engagement, were attacked from the front, and obliquely from the right at the same time. A quick rush by the Southerners would have annihilated the small regiment, but the unexpected resistance momentarily halted the advance elements of the Confederate attack and the impetus of the assult was lost. There was little cover for the Wisconsin troops, but they stuck doggedly to

their task, absorbing horrible casualties in but a short time. In the front lines Captain August Schueler of Company K was carried to the rear with a fatal wound in the first few minutes of the engagement. Lt. Doerflinger, still catching his wind from his narrow escape, took command.[33]

Amid the turmoil Adam Muenzenberger rammed charge after charge into his musket, firing as fast as he could load. All about him his friends, neighbors, and relatives in Company C were groaning, crumpling, and falling to the ground. First Lieutenant Robert Mueller suffered an early wound, and the second lieutenant was killed. Captain Henry Rauth was wounded and captured, while Sergeant Jacob Michel received a mortal wound. Louis Manz received a painful head wound, and a quick look around found the immediate area covered by the broken, maimed bodies of men named Springling, Burkhard, Deany, Stirn, Bigalke, Weiss, Krueger, Beres, Fritz, Luther, Urich, Hermann, and Koch.[34]

In Company D Peter Lorsch suffered through three separate wounds. A minié ball shattered Friedrich Puls' knee joint in Company F, and another inflicted a painful wound on Jan Waskowicz in Company E. Twenty men became casualties in Company E, while Company G lost thirty-two. Death and destruction lay everywhere as the Confederates regrouped to press home their attack. Desperately seeking to hold his position, Colonel Krzyzanowski sent an aide, Lieutenant Louis H. Orlemann, to General Schurz for reinforcements. There were none to be had, so Schurz mercifully ordered the remnants of the two regiments to retreat.[35]

Krzyzanowski ordered Jacobs to face his men about, but the Badger colonel refused to abandon the field his men were buying with their lives. It was a brave gesture, but Confederate skirmishers were already pressing around behind the regiment. If the retreat were delayed for only a few minutes the whole regiment would be captured or destroyed. In Company K, Lt. Doerflinger lay on the ground, his ankle shattered by a musket ball. As he looked out over the scene of destruction

at which his company lost more than thirty men, Colonel Krzyzanowski rode in among the embattled infatnrymen and personally led them to safety. Before he passed out, the wounded lieutenant counted six distinct ranks of Southern infantry passing over him. Then he lost consciousness. But he was lucky; many of the Badger wounded crawled into the underbrush for protection, only to be burned alive when it was accidentally set afire by an artillery shell.[36]

The regiment retreated slowly, pausing briefly to fire on its pursuers. It fell into line with Buschbeck's Brigade some 400 yards to the rear, and put up a good fight for half-an-hour. Finally, outflanked again, it retreated with the remnants of the corps. The Confederates, badly disorganized, suffering grievous wounds of their own, offered no pursuit as darkness closed in on the scene of desolation.[37]

The brilliant stand of the 26th Wisconsin Infantry bought the time necessary for the Federal artillery to escape, and the rest of the troops to reform into a makeshift defensive line. Their stubborn resistance saved the rest of the army from becoming engaged on May 2, and threw the Confederates into such confusion that they accidently shot and killed their own commanding officer, "Stonewall" Jackson, later that night. Fighting in their first battle, their resistance was fanatical. They received justified plaudits from their brigade commander, from General Schurz, and from a host of others present on that bloody field.[38]

But the end was not achieved without great sacrifice. Of all the regiments that fought at Chancellorsville during the next few days, the 26th Wisconsin ranked seventh in the total number of casualties—198 out of 471 in action—and suffered a fatality rate of eleven percent, one of the highest in the battle.[39]

Despite their heroism, their suffering, and their achievements, the men of the Sigel Regiment soon began to read newspaper stories characterizing them as a pack of cowards who ran away at the first sight of the enemy. Stung and in-

furiated by this gross injustice, the men wrote home to deny the vicious lies being spread about them. "I deem it my duty as a husband and father," wrote Adam Muenzenberger, "to write to you again and more particularly because the newspapers have published so much trash about the 11th Corps which no doubt disturbed you as well as others." Charles Wickesberg, the twenty-one year old son of an immigrant from the Dusseldorf area, went even further in his denunciation: "All the papers write lies," he said. "There are a few drunken scoundrels who have those things put into the paper. In time the truth will come out." The blame, Wickesberg said, rested solely on General Howard. "He is a Yankee, and that is why he wanted to have us slaughtered, because most of us are Germans. He better not come into the thick of battle a second time, then he won't escape."[40]

There was a brief rest for the troops as the two opposing armies jockeyed for position. They then set off on a fast march to the north following Robert E. Lee's invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania. Along the route, when they passed close to troops from the other corps, they were taunted by mocking and abusive jeers. "I fights mit Sigel," the proud rallying cry of the German-Americans, was thrown back into their faces in the form of "I fights mit Sigel, und runs mit Schurz." Officers and men alike were infuriated, all the more so because their superior officers condoned, and even helped to spread these ugly misrepresentations.[41]

Marching north through Virginia under a suffocating June sun, the troops staggered through the dust and dirt kicked up along the roadways, availing themselves of every opportunity to cool off and clean up by bathing in the streams over which they passed. Panting along with dry mouths and wet skins, the troops raided strawberry and blackberry patches along the routes of march, and nearly tore apart several unfortunate cherry trees whose path they crossed. After a very long 214 miles under the constant pressure of oppressive heat and Confederate bushwhackers, the Sigel regiment finally reached

the Potomac River and crossed into Maryland as part of the first corps to reach that state on the northward march.[42]

June 28 saw the replacement of Joe Hooker with General George Gordon Meade, a sad-eyed, mild mannered Pennsylvanian, as commander of the Army of the Potomac. Meade caught up with the Eleventh Corps at Emmitsburg, Maryland, where he paused briefly for the officers to have their picture taken with their new commander. The troops bedded down on the grounds of the St. Joseph College nunnery. Several of them got permission to receive Communion at the church, and everyone is said to have behaved in exemplary fashion.[43]

The troops were well pleased with the removal of Hooker, but they had little time to savor the moment. It rained all day June 29 and 30, with marching orders coming in early on July 1. Confederates were reported near the Pennsylvania town of Gettysburg, some thirteen miles away. The Sigel Regiment was on the march by 8:30 A. M. Colonel Krzyzanowski led his brigade forward at the usual pace so as not to wear them out before they reached their objective, but the usual ten minute rest periods each hour were eliminated. They marched in a torrential downpour that wet everyone to the skin. Mud and slime poured into the shoes of those lucky enough to have footwear, and walking became difficult and laborious on the churned-up roads. Halfway to their objective a messenger met them with word that the First Corps was engaged and for them to hurry up. On they pushed at the quick-step, now under a brilliant July sun that drowned the men in their own sweat, and made the dried mud cling to their clothes, hair, and skin. Bernhard Domschke pronounced it "the most difficult and exhausting march" he ever made.[44]

A mile from Gettysburg the sounds of musketry reached the ears of the marchers. They pushed on over the last mile on a dead run, making the thirteen mile march, a good day's travel under normal conditions, in just three and one-half hours. Panting for breath, they rushed into Gettysburg "wet as cats, hungry as wolves."[45] As they raced through the streets

the citizens lined the roads to cheer them, and several came forward with buckets of water for the men to quench their thirst. "Everyone's blood flows quicker," Domschke wrote, "every pulse beats louder, every nerve is more sensitive, and every one feels that he is living faster than he was half an hour since."[46]

On the north side of town the regiments paused briefly to catch their breath in an apple orchard. As the first sergeants called the roll, each man bowed his head in silent prayer or meditation before going into battle.[47]

In the next few hours they were doomed to meet the greater part of Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, intent upon seizing the heights surrounding Gettysburg. The Eleventh Corps pushed forward, whisking aside Confederate skirmishers and establishing a defensive line in the open plain north of town. Raked by twenty-four guns from Oak Hill, the blue-clad infantrymen soon found themselves assailed by twenty-four more guns and a whole Confederate infantry division that began arriving across Rock Creek on the flank and rear of the Federal forces. Battered by the crossfire of forty-eight guns, the troops held fast until they were finally assaulted by elements of two divisions of Confederate infantry.[48]

Bullets and shells rained down reminding the men of a heavy hail storm. Again in the forefront of the fight, the Sigel Regiment suffered accordingly. Lt. Colonel Hans Böbel lost a leg, and major Henry Bätz fell wounded. Lt. Sigmund Juenger and seventeen men of Company A became casualties, while in Company B twenty more men lay on the ground. Men whose roots lay all over Europe fought and fell that day, men with names like Zuehlsdorff, Berlandi, Rosenthal, Schneider, Simonek, Johnson, Swoboda, Rezac and Grochowski. But not a German, nor a Pole, not a Hungarian, nor a Czech fell that day, they were all Americans in the truest sense of the word.[49]

Casualty rates were astronomical. In Krzyzanowski's Brigade the 75th Pennsylvania lost 128 of its 208 men in fifteen

minutes. One hundred men were down in the 119th New York, while the 82nd Ohio lost more than 150 men of its 258. General Schurz' horse was shot through the neck, and Colonel Krzyzanowski was painfully injured when his incapacitated horse fell on top of him. Though fighting for breath, he remained on the field to direct his five regiments, every one of which lost its commanding officer as a casualty.[50]

"The troops," wrote Krzyzanowski, "were sweaty, blackened by gunpowder, and they looked more like animals than human beings." The men fought with "bloodshot eyes," he observed, the "portrait of battle was a portrait of hell." Just when it appeared they would all be lost, the order to retreat to Cemetery Hill came through from General Howard.[51]

Falling back through town, the 26th Wisconsin, along with the rest of Krzyzanowski's Brigade, acted as the rear guards. Casualties continued to be heavy, including Bernhard Domschke, Adam Muenzenberger, and several other men who were trapped in dead-end streets and captured. A woman saw Charles Wickesberg wandering lost in the streets with blood gushing from his wounded right wrist. She pulled him into her home, bandaged his wound, and fed him some supper. Back on the field, Dr. Franz Hübschmann and nine volunteers stayed behind to administer to over 500 Federal wounded.[52]

It was dusk by the time the battered Sigel Regiment got into position on Cemetery Hill. They were in action since noon, more than six hours, and a staggering total of fifty-one percent of the men in the brigade they marched with were casualties. The butcher's bill was sickening, but they purchased vital time with their lives, and prevented the southern infantry from occupying the vital heights around Cemetery Hill.

That night they slept under the stars, bivouacked among the tombstones in the Gettysburg Cemetery. It was a quiet night, the silence broken only by the tramp of fresh troops marching into position and the clatter of artillery batteries going into place.

July 2 dawned bright and clear. The Sigel Regiment dug in on the outskirts of Gettysburg, their new home for two

full days. There they duelled with Confederate sharpshooters in the buildings close to Cemetery Hill, and supported the counterattack, led by Colonel Krzyzanowski, which defeated the Confederate attempt to take Cemetery Hill on the evening of July 2. Somewhat rested by July 4, Krzyzanowski led them off on a reconnaissance of Seminary Ridge where they captured forty-seven prisoners, while discovering that the Confederates were in full retreat.[53]

At Gettysburg the Sigel Regiment lost all save honor. The Badgers left 217 men at Gettysburg in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Half of the strength the regiment brought north into Pennsylvania did not march south again when the unit left Gettysburg to pursue the fleeing Army of Northern Virginia back through Maryland into its home state. Was the sacrifice in vain? No. Gettysburg was the largest battle ever fought on the North American continent, and more importantly, it marked the historic "High Tide" of the Confederacy. It was the last major offensive of the Army of Northern Virginia, and marked the beginning of the end of Southern dominance on Eastern battlefields. The victory was possible because the Sigel Regiment, along with the other maligned "foreign" regiments in the Eleventh Corps, sacrificed their lives against hopeless odds to save the vital Cemetery Hill position until the remainder of the Union Army could come up to occupy it.

After the conclusion of the Gettysburg Campaign, the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps were hastily sent by rail from Virginia, via Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky, to Tennessee where Southern forces were besieging a Federal army at Chattanooga under General Rosecrans. Loaded into dank boxcars which smelled of manure, crowded forty or sixty to a car, the Sigel Regiment raced off along the rails, arriving in Tennessee in only a few days time. The entire episode remains as the greatest movement of troops in the entire war; two full corps, numbering 20,000 men, over 3,000 horses, and innumerable wagons, were moved over 1,157 miles of rails in just over eleven days.[54]

Still attached to Krzyzanowski's Brigade, though now with less than 270 muskets, the Sigel Regiment was present at the Battles of Wauhatchie and Lookout Mountain, and held the skirmish line at Citico Creek near Missionary Ridge. Though they suffered little from enemy actions, they contributed materially to the raising of the Confederate siege of Chattanooga, joining in the pursuit of the fleeing rebels after the rout at Missionary Ridge.[55]

No sooner was the Chattanooga Campaign completed than the regiment was off on a forced march to relieve the Federal garrison at Knoxville, languishing under a siege conducted by Confederate General James Longstreet. The march took place under dreadful conditions, amid freezing temperatures, bitter winds, and violent rain squalls. Nights were intensely cold, causing much discomfort to men ordered to leave their tents and other baggage at Chattanooga. Rations soon gave out, forcing the army to subsist off the countryside. At the point of physical exhaustion, spirits were revived somewhat with the capture of a large Confederate supply base at London, Tennessee, but the fatigue and the inclement weather took their toll on the men's bodies and minds.[56]

With the approach of the Federal relief force, Longstreet broke off the siege and retreated. After a day's rest, the Sigel Regiment began to retrace its steps without ever having laid eyes upon the city their sacrifices saved. Rain and cold continued, shoes gave out, clothing proved too thin for the cold, and mud continually sucked at the marchers' feet and oozed about their ankles. They lived off the country, using molasses for sugar and roasting wheat and corn as substitutes for coffee. The conditions were so bad that Colonel Krzyzanowski pronounced the march his most "terrible ordeal."[57]

Though the regiment suffered few battle losses in the Chattanooga and Knoxville Campaigns, the terrible conditions it endured cost the lives of many soldiers who sickened and died. August Schroennicke, Gothard Franke and John Ollig died in December, with casualties mounting alarmingly

through the spring of 1864. Nor were the deaths confined to the Tennessee operations. In Virginia, prisoners taken at Gettysburg began to sicken and die in rebel prisons. A dozen died during the winter of 1863-64, including the chronicler Adam Muenzenberger.[58]

On April 4, 1864, the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps were consolidated into the new Twentieth Corps. Most of the German regiments were left in their desolate conditions to guard the railroads during Sherman's famous march to the sea, but the Sigel Regiment, its strength raised to 417 muskets, joined the Twentieth Corps as a fighting unit. During the march to the sea the bulk of the fighting, and the bulk of the casualties, fell on the Twentieth Corps. Though the Sigel Regiment never again had 61 killed in action as it did at Gettysburg, nor 53 as at Chancellorsville, under the command of Colonel Frederick Winkler it fought hard at Pine Mountain, Kenesaw Mountain, and Atlanta. It had fifteen killed at New Hope Church and Peach Tree Creek, lost fourteen at Culp's Farm, twelve at Resaca, including the unfortunate Charles Wickesberg, and ten at Averysboro. At Peach Tree Creek the regiment lost a total of 45 casualties, but it succeeded in capturing the bulk of the 33rd Mississippi Infantry, including the regimental colors.[59]

Bentonville was the last engagement for the 26th Wisconsin. It lost one man killed. During the duration of the war, the Sigel Regiment enrolled a total of 1,089 men. It lost 188 killed in action, while scores died from disease. Its battle death percentage of 17.3 ranked fifth of all Federal regiments for the entire war. The men suffered much, endured much, and it was in large part through their efforts that the Civil War did not last many more months, or even years. General William Cogswell praised the 26th Wisconsin as "one of the finest military organizations in the service."[60] "In the roll of honor of Wisconsin's regiments," wrote Edwin E. Bryant, "none are more deserving, none have a more glorious record than this regiment." But it was left for Charles K. Fox to cast a proper

light on the regiment's achievements. Largely on the basis of its dogged determination and sacrifice at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, Fox places the Sigel Regiment in the number one position on his list of the most gallant regiments in the volunteer service.[61]

NOTES

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[7]Muenzenberger, 4; Wickesberg, "Letters," 6.

[8]Muenzenberger, passim; *Official Records,* I, XXI, 936.

[9]Muenzenberger, 12, 14; *Official Records,* I, XXI, 936.

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[12]Muenzenberger, 12.

[13]Muenzenberger, passim.

[14]Muenzenberger, 14, 16, quote from 19.

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[16]Wickesberg, 9, Muenzenberger, 28.

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[18]Muenzenberger, 53.

[19]Muenzenberger, 30, 32, 47; "Descriptive Book"; Jack McLaughlin, *Gettysburg: The Long Encampment* (N. Y.: Bonanza Books, 1963), 32; Bell I. Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank* (N. Y.: Grosset & Dunlap, 1952), 312.

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[30]Schurz, II, 418.

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[33]*Official Records,* XXV, I, 667; "Field and Staff Rosters, Wisconsin National Guard," MS in Wisconsin Historical Society.

[34]"Descriptive Book."

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[36]"Descriptive Book," Doerflinger, "Familiar History," 1-2, 8-9.

[37]*Official Records,* XXV, I, 666-68.

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[41]Bigelow, passim.

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[43]Howard, 395; Muenzenberger, 97; *Official Records,* XXVII, I, 707.

[44]Schurz, III, 4; Schlicher, 452.

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[52]Wickesberg, 19; Kaufmann, 514; Franz Huebschmann, Papers, MS in U. of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Library.

[53]Quiner, 752; Brooks, 64, Schurz, III, 56.

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FINSTRES TAL

Blumental
Dornental
Farbe und Duft
entflohn
finstres Tal
Furcht
Unglück
ich schrei

te hindurch

denn Dein
Stecken und Stab
trösten mich

CHRISTA K. DIXON
Philadelphia, Pa.

GERMANS IN CALIFORNIA: THE CALIFORNIA DEMOKRAT OF SAN FRANCISCO

by

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The vital role played by Germans in the development of California has received only limited scholarly recognition while the Spanish heritage, also so significant in the history of the state, is as well known as it is documented. Not until one hundred years after the German Jesuit missionary work had already begun in California did the Spanish Franciscans commence their mission.

Father Euebius Franciscus Kino S. J., born in 1644 in Tyrol, is the progenitor of German immigration of California. This learned man, who entered the Jesuit Order in 1665, was offered a professorship at the University of Igolstadt, however, he preferred to dedicate himself to missionary work and therefore departed for Mexico (i.e. California) in 1681. Until his death in 1711 he labored with great enthusiasm for the spiritual conquest of California and "enjoyed great fame as a missionary, educator, rancher, scientist, and explorer."[1] As a result of Father Kino's constant urging, the exploration of all of California (not just of the southern peninsula) followed in the decades after his death. His work was carried on by other German Jesuits, among them Johann Grashoffer, Philipp Segesser, and Kaspar Steiger, who were instrumental in the founding of the first permanent missions and settlements within the borders of land destined to become part of the United States.

After the Jesuits were disbanded in 1767, German interest in California seems to have subsided; it was not renewed until the publication of travel reports made by Alexander von

Humboldt in 1804 and Adelbert von Chamisso in 1816.[2] Many Germans connected with the history of California served in the employ of Russia, which desired expansion southward from Alaska. Otto von Kotzebue, son of the well-known writer, made exploration journies into San Francisco Bay sailing under the Russian flag. Hegemeister and Wrangel, governors of Alaska, frequented Northern California, especially Fort Ross which was commanded by Christian Beusemann, a Prussian. During the 20's and 30's of the last century the Rhinelander Heinrich Virmond controlled trade on the entire West Coast with his fleet of merchant ships and was assisted by an extensive and able staff of fellow Germans. A trapper, Jacob Primer Leese, the son of German-Americans and himself born in Ohio in 1809, arrived in 1831 and several years later became the founder of modern San Francisco.

Johann August Sutter, who was born in Baden in 1803 and who emigrated to New York in 1834 and to California in 1838/9, can deservedly be called the foremost pioneer of California. His contributions in agriculture, government, economics, and development in general have been well documented.[3]

Ground work for the conquest of California by the United States was laid by John F. Freemont who was assisted by a German engineer and topographer, Karl Preuss. Preuss produced the first official map for the U.S. government. Prominent in the revolt itself were Charles (Karl) Marie Weber of Homburg in Rheinish Bavaria (a major entrepeneur who was important in the development of San Jose and Stockton), John Daubenbiss, a Bavarian, and Samuel Neal, a Holsteiner.[4] Among the members of surveying parties sent by the U.S. government immediately following annexation one finds numerous Germans and German-Americans: D. Ottinger named Humboldt Bay; Arthur Schott of Stuttgart surveyed the new U.S.-Mexican border; Balduin von Moellhausen, a noted writer, explored the Colorado River.

It has been noted that "the German element very early became a vital factor in the development of the State and the

immigration of Germans was officially encouraged, especially after the legislature in 1870 granted $100,000 in aid of such immigration."[5] The Germans were particularly strong in Sacramento, Marysville (originally named New Mecklenburg), Stockton and the wine areas. Anaheim (south of Los Angeles) was predominantly German. Of the larger settlements in the 19th century, Los Angeles had a smaller although significant German community while San Francisco boasted a German population which played a major role in the economic, commercial, and cultural emergence of the city as the jewel of the Pacific Coast.

Jacob P. Leese established his trading post on the bay in 1836, therewith beginning the nucleus of the future metropolis. Development of the city remained slow, indeed by 1845 it had only several hundred inhabitants, the Germans being the chief non-native American group. Among the most influential mid-nineteenth century Germans of the city were: Emanuel Russ of Thuringia who arrived in 1847 and attained prominence in commercial and political life; James Lick (originally Lück), a wealthy Pennsylvania-German, who came in 1848 and is probably most known for his philanthropic support of scientific work, especially the Lick Observatory; the Rhinelander Adolph Sutro who reached San Francisco in 1850 and amassed his wealth in commercial and mining enterprises. His generosity in civic projects resulted in the funding of Sutro Heights, the Cliff House, Sutro Forest, and Sutro Baths. This California-German, so much admired by his fellow citizens, was twice elected mayor of the city. Frederick Zeile of Wurtemberg established the first public hospital on the West Coast; Charles Kohler is linked to the emergence of the cable car system; A. W. von Schmidt initiated the water works; Albert Miller founded the first savings bank; Claus Spreckels of Hanover established a vast financial empire; and Levi Strauss began the manufacture of jeans.

A German language newspress found, understandably, a most receptive readership in San Francisco during the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th.

The city has the distinction of being the home of the first German-American newspaper of the state, the *California Demokrat*. San Francisco supported vastly more German-American papers in the past one hundred years than any other Californian city, surpassing Los Angeles, its only potential rival, by almost five to one.[6] Among the best sources for understanding this country's past is its newspapers. In our era the foreign press in the United States has become a waning phenomenon. We would do well to attempt an analysis and an evaluation of its major impact upon the formation of the American way of life.

The *California Demokrat* (1852-1942; 1961-1966), published for about one hundred years, offers an excellent reservoir for understanding transitions in the German community of San Francisco and Northern California. Some circulation figures aid in indicating the influence this journal exercised: 1870 3500; 1900 5600; 1906 estimated between 5000 and 8000; 1915 9360; the Sunday edition still retained 14,000 subscribers in 1918. Circulation dropped markedly after 1918 and was down to approximately 2000 by 1942.[7] Its height would, therefore, appear to be in the years prior to active involvement of the United States in World War I. The basic format of the paper was altered from time to time, even the four page daily was enlarged to eight while the Sunday reached sixteen pages.

The *California Demokrat* leaned towards the Democratic party in politics, yet usually maintained a rather independent point of view. The omission of an accompanying motto, one proclaiming a moral or political belief—a practice common in the German language press of the United States—is most surprising. This tends to substantiate the editor's claim of full independence.[8] The paper's first emblem, the seal of California, appeared on June 9, 1874 in its title.

Yet, one underlying theme did find expression throughout the existence of the *California Demokrat*, namely a healthy pride in Germany and her contributions to culture and civilization coupled with pride in German-America. This became

the vehicle demonstrating the necessity for a common bond of friendship and understanding between Germany and the United States. The editions of June 10 and 11, 1894 provide an exemplification of this policy. The German Day celebration of that year (Claus Sprekels was honorary president) gave cause in these two numbers to remind German-Americans that, although residing on this side of the Atlantic, they should never forget their German origins. Also in California "... wird das Deutschtum blühn und fortbestehen." Feature articles and special illustrations call to mind major German scholars and poets. The seal of the United States and that of Germany are placed side by side to emphasize a mutual commitment to concord. Reports of American travelers in Germany related their love for that country and the warmth of her people. Indeed this aim remained paramount prior to World War I.

The *California Demokrat* spanned the gamut of news reporting: international; national; local; extensive advertisements; and columns of literary interest.

International news communiques focused for several years upon events in Mexico, lending support for its attempts to dispel the yoke of French imperialism. Other Central and South American areas also occasioned news stories. Toward the end of the 19th century the *California Demokrat* ardently supported the economic imperialism of the United States and joined the outcry for Cuban and Panamanian independence, moves aimed at bolstering American economic expansion.

Articles from the European scene cover an extensive spectrum from mundane items such as the cultivation of hops in Alsace or weather conditions in Norway to the burning political questions of the day, e.g. Schleswig-Holstein, the Franco-Prussian War, German unification, and the problem of the rights of nationalities. Developments in Germany found wider expression than incidents elsewhere and reflect respect for her achievements as, for example, the claim that the creation of the German Empire evolved from German Idealism.

The concern for international reporting together with a

keen awareness of national and local events maintained the high niveau of the *California Demokrat* and allows a favorable comparison with any other American newspaper of the day. Through the implementation of telegraphic reports from Europe news retained the same freshness exhibited in English language counterparts.

The ramifications of World War I proved catastrophic for the German language press in America. Before the United States entered the war, the *California Demokrat* supported objective reporting even though seasoned with pro-German sentiment. It attempted to counteract the overt pro-British and anti-German views of the anglo-American press before the outbreak of hostilities by demonstrating Germany's strong desire for peace and her active pursuit of programs for pacification and equality among nations. When the conflagration burst into flames in the summer of 1914 the government in Berlin, it emphasized, was still feverishly working for disengagement in all the capitals of Europe, only to be blocked by the ambitious designs of Russia and England.

Due to the hostility toward Germany by the Anglo-American press, the German-American papers recognized their mission in offering the public objective reporting of European affairs. "In dieser Zeit, zu der jeder deutschlebende Europäer versucht, sich genau über die Vorgänge in dem furchtbaren Weltkriege zu unterrichten und bereits Beweise genug dafür hat, dass die nun fast auschliesslich über England oder Frankreich hierher gelangenden Berichte eine stark antideutsche Färbung haben, muss er nach einer deutschen Zeitung greifen, deren Redakteure über die politischen Verhältnisse in Europa genau unterrichtet und bemüht sind, die Vorgänge auf den Kriegsschauplätzen soweit es nur möglich ist, wahrheitsgetreu zu schildern oder übertriebene sensationelle Meldungen als solche zu kennzeichnen" (August 9, 1914).

Preceding the active participation of the United States as a belligerent, the following formed the basis of news accounts: encouragement in German military advances; the claim of American hypocrisy in its policy of bellicose neutrality which

essentially aided the war aims of England; the sinking of the Lusitania as a justified act against a camouflaged war ship; condemnation of Allied refusal to discuss terms of peace with the Central Powers, and complete disclosure of Allied attrocities.

After April 1917, the German-American newspress found itself in a most precarious position. A federal censorship law of October 6, 1917 required the foreign language papers to deliver English translations of their news stories, a task which served to cripple German-American journalism. Similar to most of its compatriot journals, the *California Demokrat* now emphasized the strength of the parliamentary system in Germany as well as her propensity towards true democracy and western style liberalism. Ads for the purchase of war bonds mushroomed: "Sei wirklich ein Amerikaner—kaufen Sie einen Bond."[9]

The anti-German pressures exhausted the energies of the editors who ceased publication on May, 11, 1918, expressing, though, their hope to reissue the paper after the resentment of everything German had subsided. Upon reappearance after the war, San Francisco's oldest foreign language newspaper was reduced for a time to a weekly and tended to concern itself conspicuously more with local events.

The advent of Naziism in Germany in 1933 forced a response from the *California Demokrat* and it forthrightly rose to the occasion by attacking this "faschistische Diktatur" and by praising FDR; scepticism, however, expressed itself against Churchill for his alleged indefensible and emotional anti-German outbursts. Anti-Naziism did not blind the editors to justified claims Germany was believed to have. Numerous articles documented the widespread suppressions and persecution of German minorities in Czechoslovakia and Poland; Germany's claim to Danzig was accepted as a result of historical evidence.

Reporting of events on the national front began with the inception of the paper. The Civil War thoroughly occupied it

in the 1860's. Even though news remained essentially objective, an enthusiastic pro-Union viewpoint permeated all editions. These same years witnessed the undertaking of great railroad expansion and the *California Demokrat,* caught up in the spirit of manifest destiny, vividly noted these developments and their great impact upon the economic and cultural growth of the West Coast.

A special edition on April 16,1865, printed on black paper employing white print, mourned President Lincoln. Accounts of government transactions in Washington were prevalent as was political news from every section of the nation. Events such as a fire in Portland, Oregon, a Turnfest in St. Louis, the collapse of an hotel in Long Beach, California, a robbery in New York readily found their way into these columns.

Occurrences on the international horizon, however, dominated the issues up to World War I and national news stories tended to be secondary. Local affairs, i.e. California and particularly the San Francisco Bay area, merited attention throughout the existence of the *California Demokrat.* They consisted of business transacted in the state capital and in the city as well as announcements and reports of elections, break-ins, robberies, sale of real estate, fires, ship sinkings etc. A novel feature, a type of travel section, also came into being. Particularly beautiful areas in the proximity were recommended for weekend outings or longer sojourns. A sports section did not exist until the 1960's during the attempted revival of this journal.

The most prominent local news features pertain to the many German organizations which abounded in the San Francisco area. In California as a whole "Before the outbreak of the first World War the Lutheran Church alone had seventy German-American congregations and numerous schools and higher institutions of learning. German-American organizations in 1916: 9 cultural, 27 trade and professional, 49 musical, 13 social, 5 military, 34 Landmannschaftliche Vereine, 12 rifle clubs, 6 athletic clubs, 17 Turner, 46 mutual aid and burial, 18 educational and political, 116 lodges and branches."[10] The

column "Aus dem Vereinsleben" became a standard feature and published reports and events from such varied groups as Hessen Gesang Verein, Turnschwestern Verein, Verein Österreich, Grütli Verein, Zither Club, Gesang Verein Walhalla, Gesang Verein Harmonie.

Social reporting remained quite limited and consisted of short notifications of marriages, of deaths, and of births; after 1910 only obituaries continued to appear. Marriage announcements note the name of the couple and of the officiating clergyman; obituaries give the name and dates of the deceased. The notification of Germans who had just become naturalized citizens of the United States in San Francisco was prominently featured.

Also announced are market prices for flour, wheat, barley, fruits, and vegetables, meats and foul, thus providing evidence of the agricultural economy bordering the city. Stock quotations and shipping reports reveal a growing economic and commercial center.

The life-style of San Francisco's German community can be more readily understood by taking cognizance of the types of advertisements the newspaper carried. A study of the ads which appeared in the California Demokrat since its inception furnishes clear evidence of the affluence of German-Americans in San Francisco. In the early editions of the paper one finds ads for dry good stores, French cashmere shawls, cigars, furniture, bakeries, hotels and saloons, dance halls, seaside resorts, lessons in the English language, music schools, knife sharpeners, hats, watches, and insurance. Also, veterinarians, physicians, pharmacists, and lawyers offered their services. The lack of any ads for the sale of books is suprising. Later, however, we find large ads for art dealers. Toward the end of the century. The paper's issues abound in photographs accompaired by ads and feature stories, e.g. on the Goethe-Schiller monument, architecture of San Francisco, the beauty of the Sierras, and passage on the North German Lloyd.

The *California Demokrat* also contains many fictional and semi-fictional stories which frequently appeared in serial

form and deal with a multiplicity of themes such as travel, home life, love, and detectives.
Infrequently, literature of a moralizing nature appeared in the paper's columns, but usually only in holiday issues, generally only Easter or Christmas.

Very little poetry appeared in the *California Demokrat.* A five-verse poem, which appeared on March 16, 1913, begins:

DER KRIEG

Zieht gleich grimmer Schreckgestalt
Fremder Reiter durch die Gauen,
Hohl und knöchern, starr und kalt
Ist sein Antlitz anzuschauen;
Pestilenz und Hungersnot,
Mord und Flammen blutigrot
Streuen um ihr her das Grauen.

Another poem (published at the outbreak of World War I) warns: "Deutscher sei Wach! Wehr deine Sach, lass nicht den Bismarck sterben in dir!" Two weeks later, the paper published six verses enlisting the support of German-Americans for a just German cause. Entitled "An die Deutschen in Amerika," the poem begins:

Ihr Deutschen, die im neuen
Der Freiheit Land, Ihr lebt—
Lasst schwarze Wolken dräuen,
Doch hoch das Haupt erhebt:
Gedenket Eurer Ahnen,
Auch Ihr seid noch Germanen!

Although lacking major literary interest, the *California Demokrat* faithfully followed events of the German-language stage in San Francisco by noting the works being presented and commenting upon the actors and the directors. From these reports it is apparent that San Francisco's Germans enjoyed an active German-language stage.

San Francisco and its German community can be proud of having supported this outstanding newspaper for a century, which today serves as a wellspring for the investigator of the German heritage of San Francisco and of California.

NOTES

[1]See Edwin G. Gudde, *German Pioneers in Early California* (Hoboken, N. J., 1927).

Charles E. Chapman, *The Founding of Spanish California* (New York, 1916), p. 18ff.

[2]Chamisso, who was not only a renowned author but also a discerning botonist, discovered and named the golden poppy which became the state flower of California.

[3]See Henry A. Pochmann and Arthur R. Schultz, *Bibliography of German Culture in America to 1940* (Madison, Wisc., 1953), p. 475.

[4]See Albert B. Faust, *The German Element In The United States,* (New York, 1927), II, 443-4.

[5]Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1955 History and Bibliography* (Heidelberg 1961), p. 21.

[6]See Edward C. Kemble, and Helen H. Bretnor, *A History of California Newspapers 1846-1858* (Los Gatos., 1962).

Anne Loftis, *California—Where the Twain Did Meet* (New York, London, 1973).

[7]Cf. Emerson Daggett, *History of Journalism in San Francisco,* WPA Project 10008 (1939), pp. 21-24.

Karl J. R. Arndt, May E. Olson, op. cit.

[8]Exceptions: after September 15, 1912 ".... only German newspaper on the Pacific Coast that guarantees and proves its circulation" although this could hardly be considered a motto; after the resumptior of publication on March 7, 1961 "An American Newspaper Printed in the German Language" appeared in the title and was embellished by two American flags.

[9]See Carl Wittke, *The German Language Press in America* (Lexington, Ky., 1957), pp. 235-278.

Wittke discusses the plight of the press at this time.

[10]Karl J. R. Arndt, May E. Olson, op. cit.

GERMAN METHODISM'S OHIO ROOTS

by

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When one speaks of German churches in America, one quite naturally thinks first of those which existed as denominations in German-speaking countries before the beginning of the great German migrations of the 1830's. These include, of course, the Catholic, Lutheran, Mennonite, and German Reformed churches. Indeed, one source indicates that there were 71 German Reformed, 260 Lutheran, and 160 Mennonite churches in Ohio before 1850.[1] In the Lutheran Synod of Ohio there were twenty pastors serving 195 congregations in the years 1837 and 1838 at the very time that German Methodism was in its infancy here without one single church building.[2] Yet in these days the Methodist Episcopal Church, the mother church which promoted the German Methodist work here, had many more churches than any other, almost as many as other protestant denominations combined.[3] That is, one element of the German Methodist Church, as known in Europe today, sprang from the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. More specifically, it came into being in Ohio. Another constituent of Methodism in Germany is the former offshoot of Wesleyan Methodism from England.

When these two movements came to Germany, they were, so to speak, paying a debt which Methodism owed to German culture and religious thought, for Methodism's founder, John Wesley, had been strongly influenced by the Moravians. When he undertook a journey to Georgia in 1735, he learned German in order to communicate with the twenty-six Moravians traveling on the same ship. He participated in their worship services and was so enthused by their joyous singing that he translated thirty-three of their hymns into English, later including them

in the the Methodist hymnals.[4] He noted also their optimism, confidence, and evidence of faith, particularly in times of stress. Discussions with the leaders in Georgia, then with Peter Böhler in England, and later with Zinzendorf in Herrnhut, Saxony, centered on the Moravians' serene confidence in their salvation based on a personal religious experience. When Wesley felt his "heart strangely warmed" within him in a meeting on May 24, 1738, he believed that he had also had this important personal experience. He remained within the Church of England until his death in 1788, though he was not welcome to preach in its pulpits, owing to the evangelistic character of his sermons.[5] In 1791 the organization which Wesley had built severed connections with the Church of England and became known in England as the Wesleyan Methodist Church.

Even in its early years Methodism reciprocated by exerting an influence on Germans who came to the British Isles. In 1758 Wesley's evangelism reached a small settlement of German-Irish whose parents had left the Palatinate about 1710 and had established themselves near Limerick in Ireland. A small group of these, including Philip Embury and his cousin, Barbara Heck, set out in 1760 for the New World. Six years later Barbara broke up a card game among friends by throwing the cards into the fire. She then aroused Embury to preach the morality their group had learned as Methodists in Ireland.[6] Within five years Embury's followers grew in number to 600, ten of them preachers.

A native German, Christoph Gottlob Müller of Winnenden in Württemberg, came to England in 1806 at the time of the unrest of the Napoleonic campaigns. He was attracted to a Methodist church service by the hearty singing and remained to become affected by the sermon. He followed the sequence of joining a Methodist class, becoming a class leader, and then receiving an exhorter's license. He visited his home in Winnenden several times, once in the year 1830 when his father was ill. On this occasion he held devotional services in his father's home. After he returned to England, members of one of the

Methodist classes he had formed in Winnenden petitioned the Missionary Committee in London in a letter dated November 15, 1830, that Müller be appointed to Winnenden as a missionary.[7] This was done and Müller became the founder of Wesleyan Methodism in Southern Germany. This movement prospered and in 1897 merged with the German Methodist Episcopal conference introduced from America into Northern Germany in 1849.

Methodism among Germans in America did not emerge from the German-Irish group whose spokesman was Embury, nor was there a German who became converted to Methodism in England and then brought it to the Germans of the New World. Rather it came into being in America among the German-speaking persons.

In the autumn of 1771 John Wesley sent Francis Asbury, a young minister twenty-six years of age, to become head of the itinerant ministry in America. The purpose of the itinerant ministry was to bring Methodism to outlying areas and to the frontiers long before churches were built. The ministers or missionaries were horseback circuit riders who visited twelve or twenty-four preaching points on a circuit of 100 to 200 miles distance round-trip. As soon as possible the circuit rider formed classes of eight or more persons, perhaps even two dozen, who entered their names on class lists as Methodists. Each class was under supervision of a lay leader between visits of the missionary. Several classes constituted a society or a church congregation with a pastor. When the number of churches in a territory warranted the appointment of a supervisor or presiding elder, a district was organized, and several districts became a conference which held annual meetings.

The structures of Methodism and its itinerant ministry were admirably suited to frontier America, the land of freedom. The organization made it possible to show great concern for the individual person of any station or rank in life without regard for his previous religious connection. It approached him wherever he was, in a burgeoning city or a lonely wood. It

provided a place for him in a small organized group within a larger flexible structure even before a church home could be built for him, and it also supported these small groups.

Methodism had in common with another eighteenth century movement, Storm and Stress, its appeal to the heart of the human being. It was also conformable to the demand for personal, human rights in the revolutionary age. America, being a haven for Europeans oriented toward freedom and change in their life styles, was thus a propitious field for Methodist evangelism.

Even though the worst religious persecutions had lessened in the eighteenth century, yet many Europeans migrated to seek refuge from oppression or domination abroad, e.g., the Salzburg refugees and the Herrnhuter.[8] The atmosphere in America, even before 1776, was one of freedom from restriction and control. The guarantees of the Constitution after the American Revolution underscored freedom of religion as an official position.[9] There was to be no state church, nor even one favored by the state.

Though diverse in national background, language, and religion, the immigrants to the new nation had in common a spirit of freedom and adventure and a readiness to adapt to their unfamiliar surroundings. As they adjusted to the new environment, they loosened ties to the European Christianity they had known, and they modified or adapted it to their needs here.[10] This resulted in many schisms, and these often created new sects. In some instances differences among sects or denominations were not necessarily doctrinal, but rather organizational, or perhaps differences of language. This was true of the relationship of the Methodist Episcopal Church to other religious movements, particularly among the Germans here. Two such churches must be mentioned here, since they merged in 1946 as the Evangelical United Brethren, and in 1966 this E.U.B. Church merged with the Methodist Church to become the United Methodist Church of the present day.

One of the components of the Evangelical United Brethren Church was the United Brethren in Christ *(Die vereinigten*

Brüder in Christo). It took its name from the exclamation *"Wir sind Brüder"* by Philip William Otterbein when he expressed wholehearted agreement with Mennonite Bishop Martin Boehm after he had heard the latter's German sermon in a barn meeting near Lancaster, Pennsylvania. The church established by these two men was Arminian in doctrine and evangelistic like the Methodist Episcopal Church. It became organized along similar lines in that it established classes and societies of new members and also held conferences of its preachers. Martin Boehm, a Pennsylvania German, was excommunicated by the Mennonite Church for his association with other societies.[11] He became a bishop in the United Brethren Church and also was a member of a Methodist class for the last ten years of his life. Boehm's son Henry is listed as a preacher in the records of the conference of the United Brethren in Christ held in Frederick, Maryland, on September 25, 1800.[12] He became an itinerant Methodist minister who traveled with Bishop Asbury.

Philip William Otterbein was recruited by Michael Schlatter for ministry in the German Reformed Church in America. Though he was a founder of the United Brethren Church, he maintained his Reformed connection throughout his life. His association with Asbury and the Methodists was also close. When Asbury was ordained bishop in 1784, he requested that Otterbein assist in the ordination service. When Asbury submitted some original poetry to Otterbein for criticism, Otterbein was reputed to have said, "Brother Asbury, I don't think you was born a poet."[13]

The other component of the E.U.B. Church was named the Evangelical Association in 1816. Before that, it had often been called the Albrights or Albright Methodists after the founder, born Jacob Albrecht, a Pennsylvania German. Albright had suffered deep emotional stress upon the death of several of his children and, after experiencing a radical change of heart, joined a Methodist class which had been formed by Bishop Asbury along with Martin Boehm and Benjamin Abbott.[14] In 1796 he began to preach independently among the Pennsylvania

Germans. As his adherents increased in number, he was able to form a conference under the temporary name "The Newly Formed Methodist Conference."[15] At this conference in 1807 Albright was made a bishop of the new church and he, in turn, ordained John Dreisbach as a preacher. Dreisbach became the leader of the church when Albright died, May 18, 1808.

The question has often been asked why the Methodist Episcopal Church did not merge with these two churches at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Their doctrines, methods, and organizations were similar. Their bishops and ministers were friendly, they joined each other in visitations and services, and at least two leaders, Bishop Martin Boehm and Bishop Albright, were enrolled as Methodist class members. Henry Boehm was listed as preacher in two churches.[16] Most of Bishop Asbury's comments about the Germans indicate his concern and admiration for them.[17] He often praised the work of Otterbein and seemed to recognize the work among the Germans as Otterbein's province. He called him "the German apostle to America" and said "I have heard a great work among the Germans toward Lancaster."[18] He did, however, wish that he could recruit more bilingual preachers for Methodism.[19]

In an article on "Bishop Asbury and the Germans," Paul F. Blankenship concludes that the union of the German churches and the Methodist Episcopal Church probably did not come early "because of organizational difference and not primarily because of a difference of language."[20] He notes that in 1810 the Albrights had 528 members, and the United Brethren Church had 10,000. At this time the Methodists numbered 174,560.[21] The Albright organization was then ten years old, the United Brethren somewhat over twenty, and American Methodism approximately forty years. Otterbein's missionary activity, however, had penetrated Ohio so far that in 1810 a United Brethren conference was organized in the Miami Valley.[22] Asbury believed, to be sure, that rapid, certain growth depended on a strong, orderly structure of the itinerant

work.[23] He was convinced that Otterbein's work would have grown even faster if his church had adopted a set of regulations similar to the Methodist Discipline. This the United Brethren did in 1815.

Bishop Asbury was convinced that the German migration would slacken and that the need for a German-language ministry would decrease after another generation. He could not have foreseen that the opposite was true. Within a generation the failure of European farm crops, particularly of the potato, and the deterioration of economic conditions brought more, rather than fewer, immigrants to America. From 1827 to 1836 the imigration grew rapidly. In the year 1836, 80,000 immigrants came. Of these, 60,000 landed at New York, the others at other eastern ports and New Orleans. In one decade 120,000 Germans came to the United States.[24]

Many Germans left Europe on French cotton boats headed for New Orleans. In search of a climate more suitable than that of the Deep South, some of them went up the Mississippi River to St. Louis, others continued via the Ohio River to Cincinnati.[25] These contributed to the German character of the Cincinnati population when added to the cluster of earlier German settlers from Pennsylvania and other eastern states and to the very large number of newcomers who entered at New York and then followed the new routes westward.[26] It was natural that a sizable settlement of German-speaking persons would have attracted still more. Approximately one-third of Cincinnati's population between 1830 and 1840 was German.[27] In numbers this was between 10,000 and 13,000, larger than that of any other nationality group.

It should be remembered that no German countries had established successful colonies in America and that the flight of the 1830's was from several different German countries, not any specific one. Germans who came to Cincinnati had migrated for economic reasons and out of dissatisfaction with political conditions. When they clustered with other speakers of German in places like Cincinnati, they did so without a

sense of allegiance to a foreign country. Being without obligations to their native lands and yet seeming to be foreigners because of their language, they impressed the ministers of the evangelistic denominations as being lost and lonely. If, additionally, the ties with the church to which they belonged in Europe were loosened, they appeared to the evangelists as "sheep without a shepherd."[28]

Recalling in later years the early itinerant missionary efforts in Ohio, William Nast wrote that it was "the sad religious condition of the Germans in their midst" which prompted the Methodists to approach them.[29] He also noted that thousands of Protestants were "too poor and too scattered to support a preacher."[30] William Strickland, in writing on the Methodist appeal to Germans here at home, stated, "To care for our own, in first making provision for the native population of our country, is not only perfectly natural, but our most obvious duty...."[31] Leonidas Hamline and William Raper noted that the German immigrants should be given evangelistic attention, for "Neither they nor their ancestor, either Catholic or Protestant, have ever enjoyed the opportunity to test the power of religion as inculcated by John Wesley.... All that which has been done for England and the United States,... is yet to be wrought for neglected Germany."[32] Adam Miller, in writing on the *Origin and Progress of the German Missions in the Methodist Episcopal Church,* conceded that "There are, however, evangelical Gospel ministers in Germany, who stand up against the darkness and corruptions that pervade the whole community; but these are comparatively few and far between."[33] He also explained that the Germans in Ohio, so plentiful that they had their own schools, were "more sensible of the privileges they enjoy in this, their adopted country," because of the "oppression which they have endured in their fatherland."[34]

While William Nast is acclaimed as the founder of German Methodism in America, much credit for early interest in preaching Methodism to Germans in Ohio and even for in-

fluencing Nast must be given to Adam Miller, a native of Maryland, raised in the Amish church. As a boy he became a Methodist at Shanesville, Ohio, and set about diligently to prepare himself for the ministry.[36] He had to begin by perfecting his command of English. He was licensed to preach as a probationer in 1830 and accepted "into full connection" as a deacon in 1834. In the new Methodist weekly paper published in Cincinnati, *The Western Christian Advocate,* he noticed a call from Bishop Emory for a minister who could preach German and French in the South. On March 9, 1835, Miller wrote to Thomas A. Morris, editor of *The Western Christian Advocate,* expressing his own interest in preaching German. The letter was obviously welcomed by Morris, for it elicited an entire column on the need to preach Methodism to the Germans in America. *The Western Christian Advocate* published other letters promoting the recruitment of German-speaking preachers. Miller determined to seek a competent tutor to help him learn the "European German language," for his own childhood language was Pennsylvania German. He had heard of William Nast, who had been engaged to teach at Kenyon College in Gambier. The contact with Nast was beneficial to both men and was influential in Nast's becoming a Methodist minister. At the annual Ohio Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church held in Springfield, William Nast was appointed on August 19, 1835, as a "German Missionary" to the Cincinnati District.[37]

Nast was a well-educated native German. He had attended the preparatory seminary at Blaubeuren studying under Ferdinand Christian Baur, founder of the critical textual methodology in Biblical studies.[38] Among Nast's classmates were the German poet Eduard Mörike and the theologian David Friedrich Strauss, later author of *Das Leben Jesu,* the controversial demythologizing work. With his classmates Nast moved on to the University of Tübingen. He left the university because he was dissatisfied and sought out his favorite poet, the romanticist Ludwig Tieck, for advice. Tieck suggested that he return to Tübingen, but Nast rather followed the counsel of

his sister and brother-in-law. They advised him to go to America and try to find his niche there.

Nast's first year as German missionary was disappointing. In a letter published in the *Western Christian Advocate* of February 5, 1836, Nast admitted his discouragement, but wrote, "I beseech my brethren not to give up the German cause." He was able to form only one class in his year in Cincinnati, but one of his three converts was a Swiss named John Zwahlen who became a stalwart preacher and a co-founder of German Methodism.

Nast's English-speaking colleagues did not abandon the German work, but he was assigned a new territory for the year 1836-37, the German mission of the Columbus District.[39] He therefore became a circuit rider who traveled three hundred miles each five weeks, preaching in Columbus, Thornville, Danville, Bucyrus, and Delaware on successive Sundays, but also making weekday stops at places like Newark, Mt. Vernon, Loudonville, Mansfield, and Galion.

Nast was not, however, a horseman. He was thrown from his horse often and had to chase it to catch it. Once he hitched the beast and knelt down to pray "to the Lord to control the bad disposition of his horse." Nast often related that he had been told that "he must take good care of his own horse, curry and feed him well." With this advice in mind, he once went to the stable to perform these chores. As he finished the task, another man entered and said, "Mr. Nast, why did you go to the trouble of currying and feeding my horse? I could have done it myself." Only then did Nast see that it was not his own horse.[40]

At the end of this second year, some Methodist ministers advocated abandoning the German work, one reason being that only one German missionary was available, yet both Cincinnati and the Columbus District needed attention. Nast made a strong appeal for continuance, stressing that among the most recent immigrants were "many well-educated and wealthy men" who were planning conventions "to perpetuate

the German language and literature, German sentiments and customs." He feared that if efforts were not made to influence these persons, such conventions might be organized into "a party strongly opposed to the religious observance of the Sabbath, and the benevolent institutions of this Gospel favored country."[41]

Nast then finished his report with a plea for German printed matter to help in his ministry, noting that even private publishing houses had entered the field of German religious publications for profit. He reasoned that the church could also risk such a venture. He added, "But it might be objected, will not the Albright Church provide for the wants of the Germans? I answer, they try to do it to some degree, but their resources in money and learning are limited; they are yet a small people, and principally confined to the country. Though it might be of great use to make them officially acquainted with our design, in order to invite their cooperation and patronage, prevent any feelings of jealousy, and convince them of our disinterested [i.e., unselfish] desire to lend them a helping hand in spreading the Gospel among the Germans. For I believe it would be highly desirable to bring their Church, which is a genuine scion of the Methodist Episcopal Church, into cordial fraternal relationship with ours."[42] The "Journals of the Ohio Annual Conference" for the annual session at Xenia in 1837 state that Nast was authorized "to translate the articles of religion and the General Rules of the Methodist Discipline and the Wesleyan Chatechism [sic] into the German language and publish them in tract form." At this conference Nast was again assigned to Cincinnati. The "Journals" for the year 1838 indicate that the Ohio Conference approved "the establishment of a German religious paper to be published at Cincinnati."[43] Plans were laid to seek donations of ten dollars from each of three hundred persons who wished to underwrite the project initially. Evidence of substantial support was received and publication of *Der Christliche Apologete (The Christian Apologist)* was planned for the beginning of the calendar year 1839, with Nast as editor. Strong interest came from the Pittsburgh

Conference where John Zwahlen, licensed as an exhorter, had been sent to solicit subscriptions and where Nathaniel Callender, an American-born minister of German extraction, had risen to the position of presiding elder.

Nast's first difficult years began to bear fruit in the years 1838 and 1839. In addition to the appearance of the *Apologete* which was destined to enjoy a full century of existence, Nast was able to form a society or congregation which met for services in the Asbury Chapel, a frame house on Main Street in Cincinnati.[44] This was the first German Methodist Episcopal congregation. The second congregation was organized in Pittsburgh were there was a nucleus of eight to ten German pietists in one of the English-language Methodist churches. Nast was invited to spend two weeks with them. An additional group joined the society during these weeks.

Zwahlen's efforts to raise funds for the *Apologete* also yielded other results in the Pittsburgh Conference, particularly in Wheeling, West Virginia, where he formed a society which was able to build a church edifice, the first German Methodist Church building, dedicated March 22, 1840. Later additions to the building were so arranged that when the centennial of the congregation's founding was celebrated in 1939, the larger building of the Central Methodist Episcopal Church still contained portions of the original walls.[45]

In the year 1839 the first German Methodist hymnal was published, the work of Nast and Peter Schmucker. The latter had been a Lutheran clergyman who as a young man had been strongly influenced by the United Brethren. He exhibited evangelistic tendencies which caused him to be decried as a Methodist. Nast encouraged him to become a Methodist, and when he did so in 1838, he was assigned to Cincinnati to replace Nast when the latter became editor of the *Apologete.* Adam Miller was appointed to Milford, near Cincinnati, in order that he might be near Nast to continue to improve his own command of German and also to be of assistance to Nast.

The number of Methodists available for preaching in German increased remarkably in the years 1838 and 1839. Like

Miller and Callender, both American-born Methodists of German extraction, Carl Best of the Erie Conference and John Kisling from the Indiana Conference made themselves available as German preachers. Like Peter Schmucker, George Danker had been a Lutheran clergyman and found himself more suited to the evangelistic style of the Methodists. As was the case with John Zwahlen, Engelhardt Riemenschneider and Ludwig S. Jacoby had been members of other denominations, joined the Methodists after hearing Nast preach, and then entered the ministry. George Breunig had been a Roman Catholic, joined a Methodist Episcopal society in Detroit, and then came to Cincinnati to work with the Germans. J. M. Hartmann, a member of the new Wesleyan Methodist movement in Germany, came to America and was assigned to the Pittsburgh Conference.[46]

The 1840's saw rapid expansion in the corps of preachers and in the territory served by German Methodism. The 1844 the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church took cognizance of the success of the German work by creating three German districts for efficient, direct supervision of the work. These were the Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis Districts. Moreover, the General Conference authorized sending William Nast to Germany to survey the possibility of an extension of the Methodist Episcopal Church over there. On his journey to Germany Nast conferred with Christoph Gottlob Müller of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Württemberg. Nast concluded that the political climate of the middle 1840's was not favorable for expansion of Methodism in the German states.

After the upheavals in 1848, it seemed more propitious and in 1849 Ludwig Jacoby and his wife, the former Amalie Therese Nuelsen, set out for Germany on the *SS Hermann* on October 20. They arrived in Bremerhaven on November 7 and reached Bremen two days later. Jacoby arranged his first preaching service in the *Krameramtshaus* on December 23, 1949.[47] His audiences ranged from four to five hundred persons in the rented quarters. By the end of February, 1850, he proposed the

construction of a church for a new congregation he had formed in Bremen. On May 21, 1850, the new congregation held its first Quarterly Conference. Jacoby sent a request for more preaching assistance, and in June two other native Germans preparing for the active ministry, Carl H. Döring and Ludwig Nippert, were dispatched to Germany. A year later two more ministers, Engelhardt Riemenschneider and Heinrich Nuelsen, arrived."[48] The 1856 General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church authorized an Annual Conference for Germany, an indication that the work was considered well-established. Within twenty-five years of Jacoby's arrival, i.e., by 1874, the year of his death, his work in Europe had grown to approximately 17,000 members in Germany and Switzerland.[49] On June 22, 1897, the American offshoot merged with the Wesleyan Methodist movement in Germany, adding about 2500 members. Thus the Swiss-German Methodist membership rose to about 26,000 in 1900.[50]

In the first twenty-five years, Jacoby's efforts had also resulted in the founding of a publishing house in Bremen and a theological seminary, first opened in Bremen on March 7, 1859, then moved to Frankfurt am Main where it was dedicated on January 17, 1869.[51] The seminary not only trained ministers, but was the proving ground for several professors later engaged at American institutions. Men who had taught in Bremen were: William Warren, later president of Boston University; John F. Hurst, professor at Drew University; Dr. Karl Riemenschneider, professor and later president of German Wallace College in Berea; and Friedrich Paulus, professor and for a short-time vice-president of German Wallace College.

Back home in America the language barrier problem manifested itself within the church as more ministers were needed to preach in German. Many of the persons available were not competent in English and experienced difficulty in comprehending business matters conducted in English. Two movements were undertaken to meet these problems, one to alter the structure of the church still further, the other to train

bilingual preachers. In 1864 the General Conference authorized the formation of four large German annual conferences in which the business could be conducted in German. These conferences eventually divided as needed until a total of ten had been formed by the early twentieth century. Gradually they were dissolved or re-absorbed by the English-speaking conferences between 1925 and 1943. Before this process began, the 1918 German membership had reached 63,336 persons.[52]

German Methodists were active early in promoting programs of training in the German language as well as in English. Conference training courses for probationary preachers for whom German was the native language included English. Not only was it emphasized that preachers had an obligation to become proficient in the language of the country, but also that the German Methodists were deeply indebted to their English-speaking brethren and should therefore exert themselves to remove any language barrier within Methodism.[53]

Persons writing to the *Western Christian Advocate* and the *Christian Advocate* published in New York encouraged English-speaking ministers to learn German in order to render themselves able to help the German immigrants.[54] Others recommended a thorough course for the training of men to preach in both German and English. The most enthusiastic exponent of such education was initially Adam Miller, the Pennsylvania German who had prepared himself so diligently to preach in both languages. Another pioneer preacher, George L. Mulfinger, wrote an article for the *Apologete* of May 26, 1853, in which he urged the establishing of a German course of study at an existing college. The proposal aroused interest, and a year later German was added to the curriculum of a Methodist college in Quincy, Illinois. The German studies prospered, but the college itself disbanded nine years later. The German program was therefore moved to an institution in Warrenton, Missouri, which became known in 1869 as Central Wesleyan College and Orphan Asylum. The institution continued as a four-year college until 1930, when it became a junior college.

In the years 1855 and 1856 Jacob Rothweiler, a native of the Grand Duchy of Baden who had risen to the position of presiding elder of the North Ohio District in the Methodist Episcopal Church, visited John Wheeler, then president of Baldwin University in Berea, for the purpose of discussing the creation of a German Department at Baldwin. President Wheeler and John Baldwin, donor of the property for Baldwin University, were both favorably inclined toward the proposal, and a German Department was opened in 1858 following solicitation of funds for a professorship. After a few years made difficult through the loss of students to service as soldiers in the Civil War, it was thought best to found a separate German college in Berea. Plans were laid at a convention in Berea in June, 1863, and on August 30, 1864, the college opened its doors to forty students. It was called German Wallace College after James Wallace, a trustee of Baldwin University and donor of funds, a building, and land for a campus. A second building was donated by Baldwin University. The college grew slowly but steadily and was merged with Baldwin University as Baldwin-Wallace College in 1913. During the time that it was a separate institution, its courses were taught in German, but students were permitted to enroll at Baldwin University for English and some other courses.

A similar arrangement of cooperation between an English-language Methodist college and a new German Methodist institution in the same town was established at Iowa Wesleyan University, of which John Wheeler had become president, and Mount Pleasant German College, opened in 1873. The latter college was absorbed by Central Wesleyan College in 1909.

German Methodists established five other colleges, one of which, however, was the William Nast College in Kiukiang, China.[55] The courses there were taught in the Mandarin language.

Other institutions founded in America by the German Methodists included four children's homes, four homes for the aged, and three hospitals. In Germany the Methodists established thirty-eight Deaconess Homes and Associations.[56]

It is to be expected that any religious organization would publish innumerable journals, hymnals, teaching aids, brochures, tracts, anniversary volumes, and church histories. The German Methodists also did this. More important perhaps is to note that the German Methodists, usually the preachers, editors, and professors, were active in publication of many scholarly books and some creative didactic literature. In addition to the translation of some 250 books from English into German, eighty-five German Methodists, also published approximately 225 books. It has been noted as an oddity that one of these books was William F. Warren's *Systematische Theologie,* published while he was teaching at the Bremen seminary. It is said to be the first attempt at a statement of basic Methodist beliefs.[57]

The results of German Methodism's appearance on the American scene in the nineteenth century can easily be seen from the preceding enumeration of its institutions and other accomplishments. In a speech delivered after the first thirty years of German Methodism's existence, William Nast also made these claims for its influence in America. He believed that the evangelistic type of preaching had been embraced by other German denomations. He claimed that other churches had also instituted midweek prayer meetings and Sunday evening services after the Methodist pattern. He found that values gained in adherence to the rules of the *Discipline* encouraged other denominations to organize their church regulations in similar fashion. He believed that German Methodism's perseverance even in times of abuse and discouragement made it easier for other so-called sects to gain acceptance in later years. He maintained that German Methodist Sunday Schools assisted in making these as common in German churches as they were in English-language churches. He stated that the publication of *Der Christliche Apologete* encouraged other German churches to inaugurate publication programs. Lastly he asserted that the success of the German mission work encouraged other English-language denominations to evangelize among the Germans in America.[58]

German Methodism filled an important need for about a century. Its demise came only with the diminishing immigration and the passing of the last generation of these persons.

This question remains: Why was Methodism, which was not a German religious movement but rather an English one, successful in America for a century? The answer has these two aspects: one, the contributions of the Methodist Episcopal Church; the other, the nature of the German people to whom it was directed.

The structure of the Methodist Episcopal Church and particularly of its itinerant ministry made it possible to approach each and every person individually, of any rank or social station. The system was adaptable to the circumstances at hand. It was able to function, first under a single missionary, then expand into districts within the English-language conferences, then grant relative autonomy to the ten larger German conferences, and finally to re-absorb these as the need for a German ministry disappeared. The Methodist Episcopal structure also rendered financial support to the ministry to the Germans. Not only was it willing and able to subsidize Nast's first two relatively unsuccessful years, but also to lend aid to his ambitious undertaking in publishing the *Apologete*. In speaking of the support received in this project, William Strickland, said, "As an individual enterprise, it never would have succeeded; but the church, after mature deliberation and prayer, had embarked in it, and most nobly did she come up to sustain the work her hands had begun."[50]

Perhaps even more important was the enthusiastic support afforded by individual English-speaking Methodists, beginning with Bishop Asbury, then Bishops Thomas A. Morris and Leonidas L. Hamline, the Irish soapmaker James Gamble, and many more, including persons like John Baldwin, John Wheeler, and James Wallace. These are but a few of the men who never failed to give encouragement and even generous financial support. These and other Americans must be counted among the stalwart builders of German Methodism.

Concerning the Germans to whom the missionary work was directed, Strickland said, "Of all races of men that exist on the face of the earth, foreign to the Anglo-Saxon, perhaps there are none whose predilections for the United States are greater than that of the Germans."[60] Strickland went on to point out the love of intellectual and moral liberty of the Germans who settled here and to describe them as an intelligent, industrious, virtuous, and religious people. Heinrich Koeneke, one of the pioneer German Methodist preachers, said that he "had often heard much of the religious liberty in this country" and for that reason came here.[61] Like Koeneke, of course, many German immigrants sought freedom from restriction.

Like Nast, many of the Germans in America were of a romanticist temper or type. In the view of Jacques Barzun, romanticists were more united by the problem they faced than by their individual solutions to the problem. Barzun states, "In the romantic period . . . this problem was to create a new world on the ruins of the old."[62] There were signs of society's weakness in the eighteenth century. There had been an intellectual revolution in Europe and particularly in Germany. The French Revolution and its aftermath were the expression of the rebellion against the conditions and left the European scene ready for the rebuilding process.

The romanticists of the early nineteenth century were the creators and builders. The ways in which they approached the task were divergent, accounting for the great contrasts in their views as well as the many attributes, sometimes seemingly conflicting, which are assigned to them. The source or center from which they started on their divergent ways was a common one.

The Germans who came to America were among the creative persons—the ones who took into their own hands the building of a future. Just as their compatriots who remained at home did by literary or journalistic means seek to face and create a new, emerging world, so did these adventurous

Germans who accepted the challenge of a frontier life thus express their own readiness to create a new life here and build for the future not yet clearly seen before them. They had a vision or an ideal yet unrealized, but toward which they would struggle, if not for their own benefit, then at least to be realized in future generations.

These were the people to whom German Methodism could and did appeal. They, the preachers and the Germans to whom they addressed themselves alike, had been dissatisfied with the economic and political world they knew and even with the past as embodied in churches under state control. They felt within their hearts a need for a personal, individual, religious reorientation. It was their searching for a way to satisfy their common need which brought together German Methodism where none had previously existed, beginning here in Ohio and then spreading throughout this country and to Germany.

NOTES

[1]Robert E. Chaddock, *Ohio before 1850* (New York, 1908), p. 128, n.1.

[2]Carl Edward Schneider, *The German Church on the American Frontier* (St. Louis, Mo., 1939), p. 79, n.76.

[3]Chaddock, p. 128.

[4]John L. Nuelsen, *John Wesley und das deutsche Kirchenlied* (Bremen, 1938), pp. 65-82.

[5]John L. Nuelsen, Theophil Mann, and J. J. Sommer, *Kurzgefasste Geschichte des Methodismus von seinen Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Bremen, 1920), p. 73.

[6]Ibid., pp. 389 ff.

[7]Ibid., 543-544.

[8]Josef Lewis Altholz, *The Churches in the Nineteenth Century* (Indianapolis, 1967), pp. 7 ff.

[9]Ibid., p. 201.

[10]Ibid., p. 200.

[11]F. Hollingsworth, "Notices of the Life[sic] and Labours of Martin Boehm and William Otterbein also . . .," *Methodist Magazine,* VI (1823), 210-214.

[12]Henry G. Spayth, *History of the United Brethren in Christ* (Circleville, Ohio, 1851), p. 82. Henry Boehm denied later his having been a preacher of the United Brethren in Christ. See J[oseph] B[eaumont] Wakeley, *The Patriarch of One Hundred Years; being Reminiscences, Historical and Biographical, of Rev. Henry Boehm* (New York, 1875), p. 388.

[13]Lucy Forney Bittinger, *German Religious Life in Colonial Times* (Philadephia and London, 1906), p. 105, n.2; Abel Stevens, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church,* 4 vols. (New York, 1867), III, 211, n.5.

[14]Samuel Spreng, *History of the Evangelical Association,* in vol. 12 of *The American Church History Series,* ed. Philip Schaff et al (New York, 1894), p. 393.

[15]Ibid., pp. 405-406.

[16]See note 12, above.

[17]Wakeley, pp. 185 and 312; see also Francis Asbury, *The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury,* ed. Elmer T. Clark, J. Manning Potts, and Jacob S. Payton, 3 vols. (Nashville, 1958), I, 760; II, 705, 709; and III, 491.

[18]Asbury, *Journal,* I, 401; II, 710-711; III, 478-479.

[19]Ibid., III, 555.

[20]Paul W. Blankenship, "Bishop Asbury and the Germans," *Methodist History,* IV, 3 (April, 1966), 5-13; see p. 7.

[21]Ibid., p. 8.

[22]D[aniel] Berger, *A History of the United Brethren in Christ,* in vol. 12 of *The American Church History Series,* ed. Philip Schaff et al (New York, 1894), p. 353.

[23]Adam Miller, *Origin and Progress of the German Missions in the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Cincinnati, 1943), pp. 242-243.

[24]*Der Christliche Apologete,* Sept. 27, 1839.

[25]Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940), p. 188, n.54; quoted from the *Allgemeine Auswanderungs=Zeitung* (Rudolstadt), Jan. 27, 1852.

[26]Chaddock, pp. 34-35.

[27]Charles Cist, *Cincinnati in 1841: Its Early Annals and Future Prospects* (Cincinnati, 1841), pp. 38-39; see also Friedrich Wunderlich, *Brückenbauer Gottes,* vol. 7 of Beiträge zur Geschichte des Methodismus (Frankfurt A.M.: Anker-Verlag, 1963), pp. 22-23, quoted from Albert Nast's unpublished manuscript "William Nast, Founder of German Methodism;" and also Adam Miller in *Western Christian Advocate,* March 30, 1838.

[28]The common scriptural figure is encountered frequently. Two examples are found in Wilhelm Nast, *Der Hundertjährige Bestand des Amerikanischen Methodismus* (Cincinnati, 1866), p. 34, and Wakeley, *Reminiscences,* p. 312.

[29]Nast, *Bestand,* p. 33.

[30]Ibid., p. 34.

[31]William Peter Strickland, *History of the Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Cincinnati, 1850), p. 52.

[32]*Apologete,* January 4, 1839.

[33]Miller, *Origin,* p. 15.

[34]Ibid., p. 14.

[35]Ibid., p. 148.

[36]See Adam Miller, *Experience of German Methodist Preachers,* ed. D. N. Clark (Cincinnati, 1859), pp. 43-75 for his biography.

[37]*Western Christian Advocate,* Sept. 4, 1835.

[38]Altholz, p. 106.

[39]*Western Christian Advocate,* Oct. 14, 1836, and *Christian Advocate and Journal,* Nov. 4, 1836.

[40]Miller, *Experience,* pp. 70-71.

[41]Miller, *Origin,* p. 35.

[42]Ibid., p. 37.

[43]From the manuscript copies of the "Journals of the Ohio Annual Conference" in the Ohio Methodist Historical Society Library of the Ohio Wesleyan University Library, Delaware, Ohio. The use of a microfilm copy is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

[44]Miller, *Experience,* pp. 72-73.

[45]*The Wheeling Intelligencer,* July 29, 1937.

[46]Information from biographies in the *Geschichte der Zentral Deutschen Konferenz,* ed. C[hristian] Golder, John H. Horst, and J[ohn] G. Schaal (Cincinnati, n.d. [1907]), passim.

[47]Wunderlich, pp. 60-63, passim.

[48]Ibid., p. 69.

[49]Paul F. Douglass, *The Story of German Methodism* (Cincinnati, 1939), p. 125.

[50]Ibid., p. 129; Nuelsen, Mann, and Sommer, p. 579.

[51]Douglass, pp. 154-156, passim.

[52]*Souvenir of the Ninetieth Anniversary of the Organization of German Methodism* (Cincinnati, 1928), p. 58.

[53]*Der Christliche Apologete,* Oct. 30, 1840.

[54]*Western Christian Advocate,* April 10, 1835, and April 13, 1838; *Christian Advocate and Journal,* Dec. 16, 1836.

[55]Others were the Northwest German-English Normal School of Galena, Illinois, which became Charles City College, Iowa, before merging with Morningside College; St. Paul's College, Minnesota, and Enterprise Normal Academy, Kansas, both of which existed for about twenty years; and Blinn Memorial College of Brenham, Texas.

[56]Douglass, pp. 282-285, passim.

[57]*Times Literary Supplement,* No. 3286, 118.

[58]Nast, *Bestand,* 38-39.

[59]Strickland, p. 185.

[60]Ibid., p. 180.

[61]Miller, *Origin,* pp. 180-181.

[62]Jacques Barzun, *Classic, Romantic, and Modern,* rev. ed. of Romanticism *and the Modern Ego,* 1943 (Boston and Toronto, 1961), p. 14.

DER HARZ

Die Fichtenfinger weit sich dehnen,
Todesschatten triefend schwarz,
In allem schmerzt ein tiefes Sehnen,
Golden quillt der Fichten Harz.

HERMAN F. BRAUSE
Rochester, N. Y.

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF KONRAD NIES TO H. H. FICK

by

EDWARD P. HARRIS and DON HEINRICH TOLZMANN
University of Cincinnati

In the recently established *Heinrich H. Fick Collection of German-Americana* at the University of Cincinnati several unpublished manuscripts, documents and letters have been located. In Fick's *Bibliographie der deutsch-amerikanischen Schönliteratur* a letter from the German-American poet Konrad Nies was discovered.[1] It is addressed to Fick and shelds light on the creation of the poetry journal, *Deutsch-Amerikanische Dichtung.*

Omaha Neb. 25. Novb. 87
808 South 19 Str.

Sehr geehrter Herr Professor!

Nehmen Sie herzl. Dank für die freundl. Zusage Ihrer Mitarbeiterschaft an dem von mir geplanten Blatte.[2] Daselbe soll, wie ich Ihnen dies schon mittheilte, nur Originalbeiträge enthalten. Sollten Sie aber das eine oder andere Gedicht in Ihrer Mappe haben, das vor Jahren vielleicht in irgendeinem nicht allgemein gelesenen Tageblatt veröffentlicht wurde und von dem anzunehmen dass es längst vergessen ist, so steht die Aufnahme desselben in unserem Blatte nichts im Weg.[3] Die erste Nummer soll bis Mitte Dezb. fertig gestellt werden, und würde ich Ihnen, sehr geehrter Herr, deshalb (PAGE 2) verpflichtet sein, wenn Sie die versprochenen Beiträge gütigst recht bald schicken wollten.[4] Sehr willkommen wäre eine kl. literarische Abhandlung—vielleicht über deutsch-amerik. Werke—aus Ihrer geschtz. Feder.[5]

Ich bewahre in meiner Mappe einen "Westen" vom 5. August 83 auf, der einen Vortrag von Ihnen über "Poesie in der deutsch-amerik. Schule" enthält und das beste Zeigniss der literarisch-kritischen Fähigkeit seines Verfassers gibt.[6] Da gerade die 1. Nummer der "Deutsch-amerik. Dichtung"

den besten Kritikern hier und in Deutschland zu gesamelt werden soll, ist es sehr zu wünschen, dass dieselbe Beiträge enthält, die die Kritik nicht zu scheuen brauchen, und das brauchte eine Arbeit von Ihnen ja wohl nicht.[7] (PAGE 3) Vielleicht haben Sie die Güte, mir noch einige Adressen von Literaten, deren Mitarbeiterschaft wünschenswerth, mitzutheilen. Wo wohnt Dr. Klemens Hammer und Philipp W. Bickel?[8] Ich finde im "Deutsch Litteraturkalender"[9] noch die Herren Ehrenberg,[10] Zimmermann,[11] Raster[12] Ruhland und Dietzsch[13] in Chicago verzeichnet. Die drei Letztgenannten sind mir bekannt. Denken Sie, dass es wünschenswerth, auch die Herren Ehrenberg und Zimmermann zur Mitarbeiterschaft heranzuziehen?[14] Ich bin Ihnen, sehr geehrter Herr Professor, für jeden Wink und jeden guten Rath in dieser Sache dankbar!—Neben Versen, Uebersetzungen, kleinen Novellen und literar-historischen & kritischen Abhandlungen soll die "D. A. D." unter der Rubrik (PAGE 4) Literarische Vereinsnachrichten kurze Mittheilungen über die deutschen wissenschaftl. & literarischen Vereine in den Ver. Staaten bringen und solcherweise ein gedrängtes aber übersichtliches Bild von dem geistigen Leben Deutsch-Amerikas geben, wie es einst die "Aesthetische Zeitung" des "Olymp" gethan. Ich lege Ihnen eine No. des Letzten hier bei, um Sie über die Art der gewünschten Mittheilung zu unterrichten.[15] Sie gehören, so viel ich weiss, dem wissenschaftl. gesellig. Verein in Chicago an und des öfters vielleicht so gütig sein, uns eine kl. Notiz über die Thätigkeit desselben zu kommen zu lassen.[16] Den "Olymp" schicken Sie mir vielleicht gelegentlich wieder zurück.—

Ihre gefl. Nachricht entgegensehend, gewahre ich,
mit hochachtungsvollstem Gruss
Ihr ergebenster
Konrad Nies

FOOTNOTES

[1]This special collection was established at the University of Cincinnati Main Library in April 1974. For the check-list of this collection, see Robert E. Ward, "The German-American Library of H. H. Fick: A Rediscovery," *German-American Studies,* I (1969): 49-68; II (1970), 2-29. Dr. Ward discovered the Konrad Nies letter at the Fick Collection of German-Americana in April 1974.

[2]Konrad Nies designed and edited the first issue of his *Deutsch-Amerikanische Dichtung* in collaboration with Hermann Rosenthal of New York. The original office of the journal was 843 South Seventh St. in Omaha, Nebraska. The excellently edited journal attained a readership of three hundred, but failed after two years. See Robert E. Ward, "Konrad Nies, German-American Literary Knight," *German-American Studies,* III (1971), 7-11.

[3]For a selection of Fick's poems see H. H. Fick, *In Freud und Leid* (Cincinnati: Verlag von Gus. Muehler, 1914).

[4]It is obvious from the letter that Nies intended to publish the first issue in December 1887, however, it did not appear until April 1888.

[5]See H. H. Fick, "Die deutsch-amerikanische Dichtung," *Monatshefte*, IV (1903-04), 271-87.

[6]Nies is referring to the *Anzeiger des Westens*, a St. Louis German newspaper.

[7]Fick's reviews, articles and poetry appeared in most German-American newspapers, but mainly in the Cincinnati and Chicago German publications. In Cincinnati, Fick edited *Jung-Amerika*, a German-American children's journal, for five years. He was also on the editorial staff of *Erziehungsblätter* (Milwaukee) for ten years as editor-in-chief. His criticism was greatly respected in German-American literary circles.

[8]See Heinrich A. Rattermann, "Dr. phil. Klemens Hammer, erster Pastor der Marienkirche in Cincinnati," *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. XII (Cincinnati: Selbstverlag, 1911), pp. 135-64.

[9]An annual containing bio-bibliographical data on German authors.

[10]Hermann von Ehrenberg had been a radical student agitator in Germany in the 1830s. In America he became a topographical engineer. See Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), p. 12.

[11]Gustav Zimmermann, a prolific Chicago German author, and editor of the poetry anthology: *Deutsch in Amerika: Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutsch-amerikanischen Literatur* (Chicago: Eyller und Co., 1892).

[12]Hermann Raster (1827-1891) immigrated to New York in 1851, a refugee of the 1848 German revolution. He served as a correspondent for several European newspapers and edited the *Buffalo Demokrat, New York Abendzeitung* and the *Illinois Staatszeitung*. See A. E. Zucker, *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), p. 329.

[13]Emil Dietzsch (1829-90) came to the U.S. in 1853 and worked as an apothecary in Chicago and was elected to several posts. Dietzsch published humorous verse and historical monographs. See Zucker, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

[14]Ward reports that Nies consulted several German-American authors in 1887 about the publication of his new journal: H. C. Bechtold, Max Hempel, E. A. Zündt, Karl Knortz and Theodor Kirchoff. "Although Nies had expected support from German-American organizations such as the Turners and especially from the great many teachers of German around the country, he found little interest on their part." Robert E. Ward, "Konrad Nies, German-American Literary Knight," 8. Fick did subscribe to *Deutsch-Amerikanische Dichtung* and published poetry in it.

Apparently Nies wanted to know if he should enlist the aid of Zimmermann and Ehrenberg. It is not known if either did support Nies, although Nies was included in Zimmermann's anthology in 1892. According to Ward, Rudolf Cronau, another German-American author, corresponded with Nies in 1897 about a successor to the poetry journal but abandoned the plan.

[15]Nies here mentions several German literary publications which he had been studying. The *Olymp: Aesthetische Zeitung* was published in Dresden from 1877-80. Nies, therefore, had journals which were seven years old.

[16]One of the oldest German-American literary organizations (founded by Carl Schurz), it which took a new lease on life in the 1930's under the direction of the emigre author Peter M. Lindt. See Robert E. Cazden, *German Exile Literature in America* (Chicago: ALA, 1970), p. 155.

THE GERMAN ELEMENT OF WEST CENTRAL OHIO

by

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A glance at maps showing the density of German-born in the State of Ohio reveals that the Germans were concentrated along two roughly parallel lines at the southern and at the northern extremities of the state.[1] Along both lines, however, the density of German-born increases the farther west one moves. Thus, in the area of the Western Reserve in Northeastern Ohio, the Germans were relatively few while they were numerically more superior as we move through Cleveland to Sandusky and Toledo. Along the southern border, there were many German-born in Steubenville, Marietta and Portsmouth, but compared to the concentration of German-born in the City of Cincinnati, the southeastern Ohio cities had small percentages of Germans.

The maps indicate another phenomenon, namely, that the in-state cities of northern Ohio had their share of German-born as did the rural belt which extends from Youngstown to Akron, and on westward south of Sandusky and Toledo. It is also clear that the cities and farms in the heartland of Ohio were not especially populated by the German-born. The reason for this is obvious, in as much as the land was occupied before 1830 by both yankee settlers and by spill-over Germans from Colonial territories, most of whom moved westward from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. Where we do find Germans concentrated in the Ohio heartland, they represent early arrivals who were in America because they were religious separatists and not because of economic reasons. Thus, in these eastern and central rural areas of Ohio one finds the Pennsylvania Dutch culture,[2] the former Christian-communistic society of Zoar, the Amish Mennonites around Wooster and Plain City,

plus others. The point to be noted is that: 1) these German immigrants arrived in Colonial times prior to 1830 and 2) while these German immigrants proved to be highly successful in earning a living, economic improvement was not the primary cause for their migration to the New World. Their reason for coming was for religious freedom.

Most authorities agree that the Germans who came to the United States after 1830 did so mainly for economic reasons.[3] To be sure, the refugee from political oppression was always present among the pre-1830 and the post-1830 waves of German immigrants, but frequently a political refugee was also an intellectual refugee. Small in number, such individuals, known as the German Forty-eighters, exerted influence and received recognition far beyond their numerical significance.[4] In fact, as Mack Walker has argued, there is probably no correlation at all, numerically speaking, between political oppression in Germany and the immigration of Germans to the United States.[5] It was the celebrated liberals from Baden—Schurz, Sigel, Struve—and a handful from other German states who succeeded in creating the myth that the "defeated army of 1848" had migrated en masse to the United States. In actual fact, the Forty-eighters were influential emigrés, not immigrants in the strict sense of the word.

Since central Ohio is the limitation of my territory, we must recognize that the arrival of German immigrants in the Columbus, Dayton and Lima areas occurred later than elsewhere in Ohio. Therefore, the Germans in this region fit more exactly into the classification of those who came to America for economic reasons than do those who spilled westward across the Pennsylvania border down the Ohio River or eastward along the coast of Lake Erie. It is important to note, however, that the Germans who arrived in western Ohio did so nevertheless in relation to water routes. Those in the north as well as those in the south, availed themselves of existing lakes and rivers for travel. Those in my target area came by way of the canals, either directly on the newly constructed waterways or overland to take up work building the canals.

Interestingly, the maps which show the location of Germans in Ohio for the decade of 1850-1860 depict, in addition to the previously noted dense areas, belts of concentrations that coincide with the routes of Ohio's two major cross-country canals, the "Ohio and Erie Canal" and the "Miami and Erie Canal."[6] The Ohio and Erie Canal transsected the state from Portsmouth in the south northward through Chillicothe, bypassing Columbus. However, the capital city did adjoin the main artery by means of a feeder canal which opened for traffic in 1831. From Columbus the Canal ran in a northeasterly direction to Canton, Akron and Cleveland.

The trunk line of the "Miami and Erie Canal" led from Cincinnati northward through Hamilton, Dayton and Piqua, then upward by a series of locks over the summit at St. Marys, and straight northward until it joined the Maumee River at Defiance and thence proceeded northeastward on the river to the port of Toledo on Lake Erie. That the Germans in central Ohio are concentrated along the routes of these two major canals is no anomoly for indeed the general population of inland Ohio also tended to cluster along these waterways.[7] This was an age truly dominated by the waterway. The railway had not yet been invented.

Essentially, these two canals bracketed the state on a north-south line while branch canals such as the Mahoning Canal from Akron to Youngstown, the Sandy and Beaver Canal from near Canton to East Liverpool, and the Walhonding Canal from the Zanesville area to Marietta grafted the state's inner core to its periphery on an east-west basis. In addition to these transportation routes, the Ohio center enjoyed transportation access on an east-west basis by means of the famous National Road which bisected the State roughly on the same path as that used today by U.S. Route 40 and Interstate Highway 70.[8] The two Ohio cities, Columbus and Dayton, which shall occupy our attention for the next few pages, were both on canals and while only Columbus was on the National Road, Dayton was not far removed from it. We shall turn our attention first to Columbus.

With transportation assured, the Capital City of Columbus leaned on its geographical position and its prestige as the state capital to garner large blocks of immigrants after 1830. City directories and newspaper reports indicate that Columbus' Southside, especially its fifth ward, which was virtually all German, more than kept pace with the pattern of expansion throughout the city.[9] As ward boundaries shifted, of course, the German ward was renumbered the second ward, where Columbus' German population remained remarkably stable in the same position for approximately a century. As late as 1921, the Columbus German area was defined as follows:

> The renowned German section of the city extends along the South High Street from Livingston Avenue as far south as Washington Park, bounded on the east by Parsons Avenue, and on the west by the Hocking Valley tracks. It comprises an area of about a square mile and falls, for the most part, within the second ward. Many of the most prominent of the old German families reside along High Street south of Livingston Avenue. Practically all of these families own their homes and many of them have resided here for over thirty years. The whole community, just outlined, is fundamentally German. The dwellings represent the typical German village structure, built close up to the sidewalk, with garden space and chicken house in the rear. Many of the alleys are lined with small residences. Frequently the owner of a fine home will have a small building on the rear of his lot occupied by a tenant family. The shops, churches, and other public places of this district are owned and operated by Germans, and the German language is used almost exclusively.[10]

As those of us who are familiar with Columbus well know, the German Village today is not just a geographical area but also a legally constituted Society that oversees the preservation of this distinctly German section of Columbus.[11]

Throughout the period of heavy immigration to the United States, Columbus continued to receive large numbers of newcomers of all nationalities. Yet the largest percentages among

the foreign-born were consistently the Germans. Several sources indicate that between the years of 1830 and 1870 Columbus may have had a population that was one third German, understanding "German" to mean German-born together with German stock, namely, children born in the United States of German parents.[12]

Such a large percentage of German stock in the population is bound to leave its mark on a city in several ways. However, sociologists and historians generally agree that the effects of a large foreign-language element in a city have frequently been left uncharted because on the one hand the foreign-tongue citizens had difficulty making their influence felt in political and civil circles. On the other hand, their activities, their politics, their organizations and their politics, their organizations and their records remained masked from general scrutiny by being in a foreign language. To this might be added that where the foreign-language elements were well-received and accepted, as was the case generally in Columbus, then the tensions that create news reports simply did not exist. As such, the Columbus Germans were just that fraction of the amorphous population which worked hard and built for the future.

Troublesome the Columbus Germans were not, but neither were they entirely invisible. For nearly eight decades they fielded an excellent German-language press, a host of exclusively German churches and a list of countless clubs, organizations and mutual aid societies. True to their own brand of European culture, they staged German-language plays and musicals, often surpassing the city's English-language clientele, particularly in the field of music. The Germans were a number of German parishes in the city. However, not all of the German churches were consistent in maintaining parochial schools through the years. The German-speaking Trinity Lutheran Church began a parochial school in 1866 and operated it for dozens of years. More successful was St. Mary's Catholic Church which began operating as a German-language a decided force in politics, voting Democratic throughout all

of their history. Not least, the Germans in Columbus achieved for their schools what few other German-Americans were able to secure, namely German-language public schools in which not only was there German instruction but instruction through the medium of the German language.[13]

In response to pressure from Ohio's large German-speaking population, the Ohio Legislature in 1839 amended its one-year-old law permitting the teaching of certain academic subjects in a foreign language in the public school, so that all subjects could be taught in German.[14] This law subsequently served as a model and a precedent for many other state legislatures in the United States. However, few states went as far as Ohio did and even fewer kept the law on the books as long as Ohio did, namely until 1890. Perhaps the law outlived its need since assimilation of German-speaking children began rapidly after 1880, and without the influx of new German-speaking immigrants, Columbus' German schools were doomed before 1890. Until the year 1887, however, reports of the superintendent of schools in Columbus continued to list separate entries for the "German-English" schools, a designation which meant that these schools were bilingual. The exception remained the "Central German" school which continued for several more years until gradually German in the Columbus public school assumed the subordinate position of any other subject.[15]

In addition to the use of German as the medium of instruction in three or more of the public schools of Columbus during the second half of the nineteenth century, German was the exclusive tongue in the Sunday and parochial schools for Catholic school even before a parish was organized there in 1868. Still standing and in use, the once German-language school of St. Mary's proudly displays its corner stone which reads "Katholische St. Marienschule 1865".

While the German-language schools served the German population of Columbus, there is no evidence that this instigated controversy with the English-language majority of that city. Apparently, the German immigrants of Columbus

were already too mature, too far along the road to assimilation, to become caught up in struggles for the preservation of the German language such as were waged in states farther west. In Ohio there was nothing parallel to the 1890 Bennett Law in Wisconsin or the 1899 Edwards Law in Illinois.

Specifically, the Bennett Law was passed in Wisconsin at the urging of Governor William Dempster Hoard who discovered that in 129 German Lutheran parochial schools of Wisconsin pupils were receiving no instruction whatever through the medium of English. A similar situation prevailed in the state's Catholic schools. In gist, both laws provided that no educational institution in those states could be regarded as a "school" unless the subjects of reading, writing, arithmetic and United States history were taught therein through the medium of the English language.[16]

The role played by the central Ohio Germans in the field of politics has not been one that deserves great praise or much blame. For instance, it is well known that filiopietistic German writers around the turn of the century have tried repeatedly to prove that the German element tipped the balance in the election of Lincoln. Today, as a result of reevaluations of this myth by Professor Dorpalen and others,[17] scholars no longer claim that the Germans worked the miracle. This myth never lived in Columbus. Even if the Columbus Germans in subsequent years had wanted to make such boasts, the *Columbus Westbote* left no room for such claims, for in the 1860's it certainly demonstrated no love whatsoever for Abraham Lincoln. Democratic to the core, the Columbus Germans cheered vociferously when Douglas appeared there for a rally in October of 1860. Expressing regret that such a bright man as Carl Schurz, who had also spoken in Columbus, could not muster the brains to turn away from the Republican Party and join the Democrats, the Columbus Germans marched in support of Douglas under the motto "Germans by birth, Americans by choice, Democrats by principle."[18]

Four years later when Lincoln was up for reelection, the Columbus and central Ohio Germans were fed up with the

Civil War and clamored for ending it at the ballot box. Therefore, when George B. McClellan was nominated for the Democratic ticket, the editors pleaded with their readers to vote Democratic, not just because the Germans were Democrats but because, as they put it, "our country has suffered long enough under the party which has brought so much misfortune to our land. A victory for the Republicans would put the last nail in the coffin of freedom. Don't rest until the last vote of every Lincoln opponent has been tallied. Lincoln's policy has been destructive of people and country."[19]

Grief at the assassination of President Lincoln did not convert the Columbus Germans into Republicans and so throughout the rest of the nineteenth century they defiantly but unvictoriously cast their ballots for Seymour, Greeley, Tilden, Hancock and the rest. By 1900, according to some reports, the German-born and German-stock population of the United States numbered over ten million or eighteen percent of the total population, therefore politicians decided they had better start courting the German vote more zealously.[20] However, there is little evidence that the politicians of central Ohio made a pitch to secure the ethnic German vote. Seemingly, the necessity and the technique of courting the ethnic vote, while defined by the Irish, was not sufficiently refined to be targeted at the Germans as an ethnic block. By the time ethnic campaigning was widespread, the German element had passed out of existence as a consequence of World War I. It was after World War I that politicians skillfully courted the Irish, the Italian, the Polish, the Jewish and other block votes.

Shifting westward now to the other metropolitan concentration of Germans in central Ohio, we note that Dayton, like Columbus, had a substantial German component. For Dayton, no close-up study has yet been completed and therefore only a few broad generalizations about the Dayton Germans are possible. From the U.S. Census Reports, however, it can be noted that while Dayton's total population did not grow as rapidly as did that of Columbus, nevertheless the Dayton totals of German-born for each decade roughly equal those of

Columbus. In other words, while both cities reached their highest accumulation of German-born between 1900 and 1910, Dayton actually had more German-born than Columbus in the decades of 1870 and 1880, and again in the decades of 1930 and 1940. On a percentage basis, then, Germans were more heavily concentrated in Dayton than in Columbus.[21]

COLUMBUS

Year	Population of Columbus	Franklin County Foreign born	Columbus For. born	Columbus German-born (incl. Austrian and Swiss)
1860	18,554	9,229		
1870	31,274	10,537	7,611	4,196
1880	51,647	11,821	9,071	4,416
1890	88,150	15,184	12,488	7,141
1900	125,560	14,669	12,328	6,780
1910	181,511	18,649	16,285	6,879
1920	237,031	18,177	16,050	5,165
1930	290,564	17,401	15,279	3,390
1940	306,087	13,830	11,927	3,117
1950	375,901	13,750	10,960	2,249
1960	471,316	14,895	11,052	listed as Ger. stock: 9,887

DAYTON

Year	Population of Dayton	Montgomery Co. For. born	Dayton For. born	Dayton German-born (incl. Austrian and Swiss)
1860	20,081		5,591	
1870	30,473	10,979	7,423	5,156
1880	38,678	12,297	7,246	5,048
1890	61,220	14,695	9,587	7,097
1900	85,333	14,312	10,053	6,982
1910	116,577	16,534	13,847	6,594
1920	152,559	15,459	13,111	4,848
1930	200,982		12,042	5,284
1940	210,718	11,399	9,329	3,153
1950	243,872	10,787	7,983	2,302*
1960	262,332			

*no information given about Swiss born for this year

Just where the German element lived in the City of Dayton is unclear. One report notes that Dayton's Germans settled largely in what is known as the Burns-Jackson area.[22] However, a student wrote a paper for his class at Antioch in 1961 commenting that it is "extremely difficult to locate specific German neighborhoods in Dayton." Using German churches and schools as an index of a surrounding large German population, the author concludes that Fifth and Wayne streets was the area most heavily populated by German immigrants in the 1850's. Both the Burns-Jackson area and the Fifth/Wayne street areas are located in the southeast part of Dayton, and comprised the fifth and sixth political wards.[23]

Wherever the Dayton Germans were located, they avidly supported several German-language newspapers. While such papers had a somewhat earlier start in Columbus than in Dayton, several were being published in Dayton around 1850. However, the mainstay of Dayton's German-language papers was the *Gross-Daytoner Zeitung* which began operations in January, 1866.[24] During the heyday of German settlement in the City of Dayton and Montgomery County, this paper published on a daily basis, namely from 1869 to 1874, and thereafter on a schedule of daily except Sundays until the astonishingly late date of 1937. After that date it reverted to weekly publication. Edited and published for years by the Georg Neder and Otto Moosbrugger families, the *Gross-Daytoner Zeitung* ranks among the most successful German-language papers in the entire United States. Surprisingly its circulation rose steadily reaching about 2,000 in 1900, and over 2,500 after World War I until its recent demise in 1947. Billed as independent in politics, the paper deserves a through analysis by a forth-coming scholar of German-Americana so that the German element in Dayton can be more accurately delineated. To be sure, the *Cincinnati Volksblatt,* the *Cincinnati Volksfreund,* the *Cleveland Wächter und Anzeiger* as well as the *Columbus Westbote* each had much larger circulations but this should not diminish the significance of the *Gross-Daytoner Zeitung.*

In politics, too, not enough study has been devoted to the

Dayton area to permit many conclusions about the voting patterns of the Germans who lived there. Unlike Franklin County and the City of Columbus, however, Montgomery County and Dayton did vote Republican in 1860, which is not to say whether the Germans of Dayton were Lincoln supporters or not. In subsequent presidential elections, the Dayton area seems to have gone Republican more than Democratic, but again, there is no data available to indicate how the German vote came out.[25]

As with other German-populated cities in America, Dayton had its share of German churches. According to Linn Orear, the Antioch student, these included Emanuel Catholic Church which was founded in 1837 and in later years supported a German-language parochial school, the German Reformed Church which was founded in 1830 and St. Paul's German Lutheran Church which was established in 1859. By the end of the nineteenth century, at least twelve German churches had existed in Dayton, and they were rather widely scattered about the city.[26] One writer, however, comments that Dayton was a city of zealots and that piety manifested itself in the most colorful ways. "[Dayton] repräsentiert eine ziemlich vollständige Musterkarte des gesammten amerikanischen Sektenwesens, und wer diesen Confessionen-Wirrwarr kennen lernen will, findet dazu keinen besseren Ort als Dayton."[27]

As with the Columbus and Cincinnati schools, the Dayton School Board was authorized by Ohio state law to introduce instruction by means of the German language in the Dayton public schools. According to the Orear paper, the Sixth District School was virtually "the German school" and he reports also that in 1884 the Twelfth District School was largely populated by Germans. Both of these schools were located in the southeastern section of Dayton.

In the rural settlements of central Ohio, however, a different religious situation prevailed. Like other German communities in rural America, the Auglaize County communities of New Bremen, New Knoxville and Minster kept themselves virtually distinct from each other and from the outside world

for a century and a half by means of subdividing lines that have seldom been crossed within the greater ethnic German community. Thus the town of New Knoxville, for instance, had an Evangelical and Reformed Church which served physically and spiritually as the hub of its community life in spite of the fact that a short distance away was the town of Minster, where the entire German population went to the Catholic Church and for that reason voluntarily isolated itself from New Knoxville and New Bremen, both of which were exclusively Protestant.[28] The ethnically German settlers taken as a group did manage to stay in contact with each other but clearly the matter of religious loyalty in these farm communities was far more significant than ethnic loyalty.

Founded in 1832 by agents of a German colonization society of Cincinnati, the towns of Minster and New Bremen were platted in 1833 and designed to remain German to the core. Stray non-German settlers apparently did not feel a sense of identify with these communities and soon sold whatever land they owned there and moved on. New Knoxville and Fort Loramie were platted in 1836 and 1837, respectively, while others such as Delphos, Glandorf and Fort Jennings arose almost simultaneously. Settlers for the new communities usually arrived by way of Cincinnati, then moved 120 miles north over land or the canal. In the early years, when the canal was not yet completed, the immigrants found work constructing the canal and its fifty-two locks needed to transfer ships down the 400 feet decline to the level of Lake Erie.

With regard to the canal work, a pattern existed which became typical for the German settlers who moved west. Generally they acquired farms in an area where they could find work to supplement their incomes until such time as the farms became self-supporting units. In Minnesota, for example, the Germans preferred the woods to the better soils on the open prairies because they could cut and sell wood products in their first years of settlement. For this reason, the "Big Woods" of Minnesota is the rural area in Minnesota which "housed" the highest percentage of Germans in the state.[29]

Thus, while the Cincinnati settlement society was responsible for establishing the rural German communities of west central Ohio, it was the canal — first as a work source, then as a transportation system — that made the settlements a reality.

Along the canal in Auglaize County, the landscape is strikingly similar to the north German landscape, an area that is also laced with canals and dikes. Therefore it is not surprising that most of the settlers in Auglaize County came from northwestern Germany. Once they had constructed their new churches, which still dominate the Ohio horizon in that area, these north Germans were readily reminded of their homelands in Westphalia and Lower Saxony.

As Fleischhauer has discovered in his studies of dialects in this Ohio area, the immigrants of each community came from a single, small district in Germany.[30] In other words, each new community in America had ties not only to religion, as noted above, but also to family, long lines of blood relationships, history and not least, to local German dialects and homespun folklore. In the case of New Knoxville, virtually all of the settlers came from the small Westphalian village of Ladbergen, located between Münster and Osnabrück. Due to the close ties these immigrants had to the famous bishopric of Münster, they eventually went so far as to change the name of their town from Stallo (in memory of its founder, Franz Joseph Stallo) to Minster.

In his extensive field work taperecording the citizens of New Knoxville, New Bremen and Minster, Fleischhauer discovered that the Low German dialects were exceptional among German-American settlements. The language of daily life in the American community of New Knoxville is the exact idiom of the people who live today in the parent village of Ladbergen, Germany. No substantial changes have occurred in a century and a half except that the two isolated languages on either side of the Atlantic have inevitably borrowed or invented words to cope with new inventions. For example, the American

Germans say *underpass, baler, combine* while the home Germans say *Autobahn, Vielfachgerät, Mähdrescher,* etc.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the comparative study of these rural, as opposed to urban, German-American communities. One is that the speech in the new daughter colony, e.g. New Knoxville, shows a greater tendency to resist change than does the mother tongue back in Germany. Another is that in American cities, a German dialect has seldom outlasted the first generation. As soon as children were born and began to grow up in a linguistically diversified German-American community such as Columbus, they inevitably learned some English. The tendency for both children and parents to use English was often hastened in the cities because the parents, although they settled in an ethnically German area, were usually forced into speaking the High German idiom, thus an idiom that was somewhat strange, which in turn readied them to accept the English idiom sooner. In other words, although the German-American neighborhood in the urban area was ethnically homogeneous, it was usually linguistically heterogeneous. Understandably, then, retention of the mother tongue was more natural in dialect form, and more practicable in the isolation of rural, ethnically cohesive parish units.[31]

From my studies of the German-language school in Columbus and in the rural communities of Ohio, it is clear that the ethnic school is indispensable if mother tongue maintenance is to be successful.[32] Furthermore, if language maintenance does not include quality maintenance, that is, formal, high-quality instruction in and by means of the foreign language, then maintenance efforts soon fail.[33] In all of the German-American communities, only such closely-knit religious communities as the Hutterians and the Amish have been able to maintain high quality German language. Elsewhere on the American continent, the German language today suffers from shock — the result of two world wars, and the result of inferiority feelings on the part of immigrants.

What we have left today is only a German heritage, though it is a heritage filled with rich multiplicity. What is needed

for a fuller appreciation of that heritage is a team of scholars to restudy the German element in Ohio and America in a multiplicity of ways. Interdiscriplinary work is needed! The geographer, the sociologist, the economist, the linguist, the theologian and the artist as well as the statistician (with all the wonders he can work with his computers and calculators) need to team up before we can fully grasp the significance of the German ingredient in the American recipe.

NOTES

[1]See Max Hannemann, *Das Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten: Seine Verbreitung und Entwicklung seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* Ergänzungsheft 224 zu Petermanns Mitteilungen (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1936), pp. 62 ff.

See also in a general way, Eugene H. Roseboom and Francis P. Weisenburger, *A History of Ohio* (Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1967), especially pp. 115-116 and pp. 374-377.

[2]Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America* (Cleveland: Western Reserve University, 1964), p. 197, and Carl Wittke, "Ohio's Germans, 1840-1875," *The Ohio Historical Quarterly,* 66 (1957), 339 ff.

[3]Ibid., p. 189. See also Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States* I (New York: The Steuben Society, 1927), p. 583.

[4]See A. E. Zucker, ed. *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1950) and Ernest Bruncken, "German Political Refugees in the United States during the period from 1815-1860," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter,* 3 (1903), 33-48 and 4 (1904), 33-59.

[5]*Germany and the Emigration, 1816-1885* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1964), pp. 153 ff.

[6]Cf. Hannemann, *op. cit.,* map of 1860.

[7]See in a general way Harry N. Schreiber, *Ohio Canal Era: A Case Study of Government and the Economy, 1820-1861* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio Univ. Press, 1969). See in a particular way the map showing the major lines of transportation operating in Ohio in 1850 on page 234. Note also on the same map the shaded counties which reported the significant population increases that coincided with the contruction of canals.

[8]See Ralph Gray, "From Sea to Shining Sea," *National Geographic,* 120 (July, 1961), 16 ff.

[9]Here I rely heavily on my previous publication, "The Columbus Germans," *Report 33, Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland,* 33 (1968), 1-45.

[10]R. D. McKenzie, "The Neighborhood: A Study of Local Life in the City of Columbus, Ohio," *The American Journal of Sociology,* 27 (1921), 156.

[11]Mrs. William A. Scheurer, "German Village, Columbus, Ohio," *Historic Preservation,* 18 (1966), 64-67 and Bill Thomas, "Touch of Old Germany in the Middle of Ohio," *New York Times,* April 21, 1968.

[12]Rippley, "The Columbus Germans," p. 3.

[13]Ibid., 21-29. As pertains to the situation regarding German-language schools nationally, see Heinz Kloss, "Die deutschamerikanische Schule," *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien,* 7 (1962), 141-175.

[14]Nelson L. Bossing, "The History of Educational Legislation in Ohio, from 1851 to 1925," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications,* 39 (1930), 161. See also Gustav Körner, *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, 1818-1848* (Cincinnati: A. E. Wilde & Co., 1880), pp. 197-200.

[15]See in a general way, Harold Barnes Handerson, "German Language Instruction in the Columbus Public Schools, 1870-1900," (unpubl. M. A. thesis, Ohio State Univ., 1959). See also Edwin H. Zeydel, "The Teaching of German in Cincinnati: An Historical Survey," *Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio,* 20 (1962), 29-37.

[16]See Colman J. Barry, O.S.B., *The Catholic Church and German Americans* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic Univ. Press, 1953), pp. 184 ff., and especially Wilhelm Hense-Jensen and Ernest Bruncken, *Wisconsin's Deutsch-Amerikaner bis zum Schluss des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Milwaukee: Verlag der deutschen Gesellschaft, 1902), pp. 144-169.

[17]Andreas Dorpalen, "The German Element and the Issues of the Civil War" in Frederick C. Luebke, *Ethnic Voters and the Election of Lincoln* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1971), pp. 68-91. The article appeared originally in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* in 1942. See also the other ten articles on this subject collected in the Luebke book.

[18]See the *Columbus* (Ohio) *Westbote,* March 22, October 4, 1860.

[19]*Westbote,* October 6, 1864.

[20]*Columbus* (Ohio) *Express,* November 10, 1900.

[21]See the Censuses of the United States for the years as shown in the following tales.

[22]Report of the Bureau of Housing Inspection, "Dayton's Forgotten Colony."

[23]Linn Orear, "Survey of the Germans of Dayton 1830-1900," unpubl. student paper deposited in the Dayton and Montgomery County Public Library, p. 72.

[24]Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1955* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1961), p. 480.

[25]See the state voting maps in Roseboom and Weisenburger, *op. cit.,* pp. 181 & 252.

[26]See Orear, Appendix H, p. 72 and corresponding map.

[27]Dr. C. Büchele, *Land und Volk der Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika* (Stuttgart: Hallberger'sche Verlagshandlung, 1885), pp. 133-134.

[28]The most important work done on Auglaize County is that of Wolfgang Fleischhauer "German Communities in Northwestern Ohio: Canal Fever and Prosperity," *The Report 34, Society for the History of Germans in Maryland,* 34 (1970), 23-24. The reader should also see Charles Bösel, "Ansiedlung von New-Bremen," *Der deutsche Pionier,* 1 (1869-1870), 84-87, 118-121, and "Ansiedlung von Minster, Auglaize County, Ohio," *ibid.,* 147-152. For an interesting study of religious life in the county, see "Great Churches of America: Evangelical and Reformed, New Knoxville, Ohio" *The Christian Century,* 67 (February 22, 1950), 233-238. See also Körner, *op. cit.,* p. 235, and

Georg von Bosse, *Das Deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seines politischen, ethnischen, sozialen und erzieherischen Einflusses* (New York: E. Steiger & Co., 1908), p. 167.

[29]See Hildegard Binder Johnson, "The Distribution of the German Pioneer Population in Minnesota," *Rural Sociology*, 6 (March, 1941), 16-34.

[30]Wolfgang Fleischhauer "Westphalian in Ohio, *The American-German Review*, 30 (October, November 1963), 26-30. See also Marion R. Wenger, "A Swiss-German Dialect Study: Three Linguistic Islands in Midwestern U.S.A.," (unpubl. diss. Ohio State Univ., 1970).

[31]See John E. Hofman, "Mother Tongue Retentiveness in Ethnic Parishes," in Joshua A. Fishman, ed., *Language Loyalty in the United States* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1966), pp. 127-155.

[32]See Rippley, "The Columbus Germans," 25, and Joshua A. Fishman and Vladimir C. Nahirny, "The Ethnic Group School and Mother Tongue Maintenance," in Fishman, *ibid.*, pp. 92-126.

[33]Heinz Kloss, "German-Language Maintenance Efforts," in Fishman, ed., *ibid.*, pp. 206-250.

DAHEIM

Nur in der Ferne
Von der Sehnsucht ich lerne
Nach altdeutschen Sitten
der Minnesotaer,
die dafür gelitten,
freu'n mich sehr
Nach jeder Heimkehr
in Kleindeutschland
auf der Prairie
Mein letztes Band
zum Verlorenen . . .

DON HEINRICH TOLZMANN
Cincinnati, Ohio

GERMAN IN COLORADO: BACKGROUND FOR A LINGUISTIC SURVEY

by

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Through the years there have been many calls for a comprehensive survey of the German spoken in the United States. The lack of any such study gives an indication of the difficulty of the undertaking. Gilbert's recent study suggests an unified approach in order to overcome present obstacles.[1] Eichhoff has noted that one of the major obstacles is the sheer number of speakers of German.[2] Other factors are their wide distribution in the United States and the practical administrative difficulties facing such a project. On the other hand, this situation does not preclude useful studies of smaller areas which have so far been relatively untouched by studies of American German.

Colorado is not a state that immediately comes to mind when American German is discussed, but yet it is one of the states which cannot be excluded when the total picture is drawn. While in terms of numbers the German-speaking population of the state has by no means been as striking as those of states like Pennsylvania or Wisconsin, it has been a significant element in the comparatively small population of Colorado. To the knowledge of this writer no description of German spoken in Colorado has been published. The well-known rapid decline in the speaking of German that has occured throughout the United States also makes this an appropriate time, if not too late a date, to do some stock-taking and make an examination of Colorado German. As a first step, areas where Germans have settled can be ascertained from the existing literature, from the data compiled for the United States census reports and from local inquiries where necessary. Secondly, a survey in the field would establish whether, in fact, German is

still spoken at all and, if so, which varieties and to what extent. At the same time samples of the language could be recorded for later analysis and to determine areas justifying further study. The remainder of this article gives details of the extent and areas of German settlement in Colorado and discusses methods of approaching the study of the language.

The figures of the official reports tell part of the story of German settlement in Colorado. Table 1 shows the number of native Germans in relation to the population of Colorado and to the foreign-born population. At the turn of the century and in recent years Germany has been the major source of immigrants to Colorado. Their numbers reached a peak in 1910 while their percentage in the foreign-born population was highest in the early years of the state.

Table 1: Residents of Colorado 1860-1970 born in Germany

Year	Population of Colorado	German-born	German-born in foreign-born population	Rank among foreign countries
1860	34,277	567	21.3%	3rd
1870	39,864	1,456	22.1%	2nd
1880	194,327	7,012	17.6%	3rd
1890	413,249	15,151	18.0%	1st
1900	539,700	14,606	13.3%	1st
1910	799,024	16,908	13.3%	1st
1920	939,629	11,992	10.3%	3rd
1930	1,035,791	9,988	10.0%	4th
1940	1,123,296	7,017	9.9%	3rd
1950	1,325,089	5,821	9.9%	2nd
1960	1,753,947	8,522	14.2%	1st
1970	2,207,259	9,412	15.6%	1st

Speakers of German are to be found not only among persons born in Germany, but also among their descendants.[3] Table 2 gives details of natives of the United States with one or both parents born in Germany for the period 1910-1970 and combines these figures with those of the German-born from Table 1 to form the category "German stock."

Table 2: Colorado residents 1910-1970 born in Germany or with parents born in Germany

Year	Born in U.S. One or both parents born in Germany	Total German stock
1910	38,974	55,882
1920	37,323	49,323
1930	40,367	50,355
1940	33,800	40,817
1950	30,620	36,441
1960	31,841	40,363
1970	33,760	43,172

Besides persons of German stock and some native Americans of German descent who are of the third generation one other significant source of speakers of German in Colorado is present in the Volga Germans, descendants of the many thousands of Germans who went to Russia as colonists in the second half of the eighteenth century at the invitation of Catherine the Great and settled along the Volga river. After their emigration from Russia, beginning around 1870, many eventually reached Colorado and are classed as natives of Russia in the census reports. Russia's rank among foreign countries as a source of immigrants to Colorado rose from thirteenth in 1890 to first position in 1920 (with 16,639 immigrants) and in 1940 (with 11,185). A very large proportion of the Russian immigrants at the beginning of the century were Volga Germans. Sallet estimated that in 1920 nearly 20,000 of the

approximately 120,000 Volga Germans of the first and second generations in the United States were in Colorado, as many as in any other state.[4]

The German settlers spread themselves widely throughout the state and were among the first residents in many counties, but their major area of concentration was in and around Denver.[5] Many of the Volga Germans settled in northeastern Colorado. The first major stimulus for movement into the state by Germans and settlers of other nationalities alike was the discovery of gold. In the important mining camps of the second half of the nineteenth century like Pike's Peak, Leadville and Cripple Creek, the Germans were well represented. A consquence of the high percentage of Germans in the population of Colorado at this time was the publication of the constitution and laws of Colorado and many other public documents in German, as well as in English and Spanish, between 1877 and 1899. After the decline of mining many, the Germans among them, turned to agriculture. As in Wisconsin there was never much group settlement by Germans in Colorado. Most came as individuals or in families. One major attempt to establish a group settlement was an agricultural colony which had been organized in Chicago by the so-called German Colonization Company. Three hundred sixty-seven persons settled in 1870 in Wet Mountain Valley in the present Custer County. The experiment in cooperative living was an idealistic venture begun by Carl Wulsten for the benefit of Germans whom he saw forced to toil in poor conditions in Chicago, but failed shortly after its inception. Many of the settlers dispersed and only a few remained to work the land as individuals.[6] Germans also engaged in the major forms of agriculture in the state, raising cattle and dry farming in eastern Colorado and fruit-growing on the Western Slope and in the San Luis Valley. The association of the Volga Germans with the sugar beet industry is discussed below.

The largest urban population of Germans was in Denver and they have remained a significant group. Germans served on the first Territorial Legislative Assembly and frequently in

other political offices in later years. Their *Turnvereine,* singing societies and the German theater became well-known in Denver. In the eighteen-seventies the first German newspapers were published. Oehlerts found that thirty-two different German newspapers had appeared in the state at one time or another, if only for a short period, before the end of 1963.[7] The figure was more than for any other foreign language, although it is now likely that this number has been surpassed by newspapers in Spanish. An examination of this written German would complement the study of the spoken language. Many of the state's churches have held services in German. Although this practice has declined sharply, it has not disappeared.

The Volga Germans, the largest single group of speakers of German in Colorado, settled principally in the South Platte River Valley and live in the cities of Greeley, Loveland, Windsor, Berthoud,Longmont, Fort Morgan, Sterling and others, and also in Denver.[8] Colorado became a major resettlement area of the Volga Germans (whose centers of population had been further east in Nebraska and Kansas) when the Great Western Sugar Company required more laborers than they were able to hire in Colorado. Hill found that since their arrival the Volga Germans had risen economically to become owners and tenants of farms, so that by 1940 they accounted for 75 percent of the beet growers or tenants of such farms in the South Platte River Valley (p. 65). Since their arrival in Colorado little more than half a century ago the culture of these people has suffered a rapid decline in contrast to its retention for some 160 years in the colonies in Russia Hill rightly attributes the latter to the autonomous existence of the Germans on the Volga with their own schools and churches and a virtual absence of social contact with the Russians. On the other hand, the settlement in Colorado was in an already thriving agricultural area where children attended existing American public schools and there was much contact with speakers of English (p. xi). The conflict between the culture of the home and the culture of the outside world resulted in the loss of the former. The change in cultural alle-

giance took place within a short period of time in spite of the fact that the pietistic religion of the Volga Germans and their social life, which was closely associated with it, kept them out of the mainstream of American life. Such was the strength of the forces of assimilation.

The term, *Colorado German* applies to all the different varieties of German that were and are spoken in Colorado. It is therefore parallel to the term *Wisconsin German* which refers to a great variety of German dialects from High German to Low German, excluding *Pennsylvania German* which designates a single type of German (with regional variants) that is spoken over a wide area. It has also become evident that the most suitable candidate for linguistic study is the language of the Volga Germans. The individual nature of most of the rest of the German settlement and the openness of the Germans to American society were not conducive to the maintenance of an immigrant language. To what extent German is still known by descendants of these immigrants with their different dialects of German is a matter for further study. Such cases will serve for the study of individual bilingualism if not for that of a community. The use of German by Volga Germans is described briefly by Hill: "German is still used universally by first generation Volga Germans and virtually all those of the second generation are able to speak it because it was the only language spoken in their homes. Generally speaking, however, the second generation does not speak German except when conversing with the older people and they have not passed on the language to their offspring—the third generation" (p. 113). It is probably not over-optimistic to expect that there are still at least some who have a sufficient command of the language to provide information on the sounds and forms that were used when the speaking of German was general in their communities.

Methodology for the study of American German in Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Texas has been established in the work of Reed, Seifert, Eichhoff and Gilbert, respectively. In examining German spoken in other parts of the United States it

is useful to follow this approach in order to obtain comparable materials. A preliminary linguistic survey would involve taking samples from as many different areas as possible. The investigator may choose to study the language either in relation to the dialects of the old homeland or with regard to the changes caused by its contact with English. If he chooses the latter, which is often the more rewarding approach, he will look for English influence at all levels of the language, but especially in the lexicon, and examine the phonological, morphological and semantic integration of loanwords. The questionnaire is one of the most important tools of the fieldworker, for with it he or she can obtain comparable material in an economical manner from each of the informants. A suitable basis for a workbook for the collection of data on English influence is Lester W. J. Seifert's Wisconsin German Questionnaire (Typescript, Madison 1946), an assemblage of some 700 English sentences grouped according to topic and intended for translation by an informant. It was used by Eichhoff in his survey of Wisconsin German and in revised form by Gilbert in Texas. It is easily adapted for use in Colorado or in other states and can provide a common element in different studies. For a comparison with native German dialects the investigator may choose to record the forty sentences used by Wenker for the *Deutscher Sprachatlas*. In those cases in which further study is desirable a questionnaire compiled specifically for the dialect under examination is needed since neither of the above aims at an exhaustive treatment of any one dialect.

NOTES

[1]Glenn G. Gilbert, "A Unified Proposal for the Study of the German Language in America," in *The German Language in America: a Symposium*, ed. Glenn G. Gilbert (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1971), pp. 128-135.

[2]Jürgen Eichhoff, "German in Wisconsin" in Gilbert, p. 43.

[3]They will, of course, also be found among natives of Austria, Switzerland and other countries and their descendants, but their numbers are small and they are not included in the present survey.

[4]Richard Sallet, "Russlanddeutsche Siedlungen in den Vereinigten Staaten" in *Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Gesellschaft von Illinois,* XXXI (1931), 108.

[5]Two books deal exclusively with the German element in Colorado: Mildred S. McArthur, *History of the German Element in the State of Colorado* (Chicago: German-American Historical Society of Illinois, 1917) and W. R. Hentschel, *The German Element in the Development of Colorado* (Denver: A. D. Meyer, 1932). From the many general histories of the state the following was most useful in making this survey: Colin B. Goodykoontz, "The People of Colorado," in *Colorado and its People: A Narrative and Topical History of the Centennial State,* ed. LeRoy R. Hafen (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1948), II, pp. 77-120.

[6]Further details in James Field Willard, *Experiments in Colorado Colonization 1869-72,* University of Colorado Historical Collections, 3 (Boulder, Colorado, 1926).

[7]Donald E. Oehlerts, *Guide to Colorado Newspapers 1859-1963* (Denver: Bibliographic Center for Research, 1964), p. vii.

[8]Details of Russian -German settlement in the United States are available in Schwabenland (op. cit.) and in George J. Eisenach, *Pietism and the Russian Germans in the United States* (Berne, Indiana: The Berne Publishers, 1948). Alton David Hill, Jr. deals especially with Volga Germans in Colorado in his "Volga German Occupation in the Windsor area," M. A. thesis (Univ. of Colorado, 1959).

[9]See particularly Carroll E. Reed and Lester W. J. Seifert, "A Study of the Pennsylvania German Dialect Spoken in the Counties of Lehigh and Berks," *Modern Language Quarterly,* IX (1948), 448-466; Eichhoff (op. cit.); Glenn G. Gilbert, "The German Dialect of Kendall and Gillespie Counties, Texas," *Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung,* XXXI (1964), 138-172.

AUFRUF

Töchter und Söhne
deutscher Saat
und Erden,
Pfälzer Kindeskinder
im blühend Mohawkland —
erhört die Winde linder
und hehrer werden,
erhört die frischen Töne,
der Ahnen stillen Rat:
Erneuert das deutsche Band!

HERMAN F. BRAUSE
Rochester, N. Y.

BOOK REVIEWS

Agnes Huszar Vardy, *A Study in Austrian Romanticism: HUNGARIAN INFLUENCES IN LENAU'S POETRY*. State University of New York College at Buffalo, Program in East European and Slavic Studies Publication No. 6, Buffalo, Hungarian Cultural Foundation, 1974. 173 pp., with illustrations, notes and bibliography.

Proceeding from the contention that Lenau's critics have "constantly" taken only extreme stances in connection with the Hungarian element in Lenau's poetry, "some dismissing the influence as non-existent or very minimal, others presenting him as a 'Hungarian poet who sang in German'," the author undertakes what she calls "the first attempt at a comprehensive analysis of Hungarian imagery in Lenau's works" with a view toward unraveling this problem.

Vardy's contention is somewhat over-stated; however, there is no denying that extreme views have been put forth concerning Lenau and Hungary, particularly by some who have written a great deal about the poet — for the most part, Austrians and Hungarians anxious to claim him as their own. The latter have tended to assign undue importance to Lenau's poems dealing with Hungary (a total of only nine have clearly Hungarian themes, and Vardy has appended these to her text), while the former have often displayed here, as elsewhere, the kind of misunderstanding of Austria's neighbors at which Hungarians never cease to marvel. To quote an Austrian scholar chosen at random: Josef Nadler writes, in his *Literaturgeschichte Österreichs* (Salzburg, 1951, p. 253), about the Czechs and the Hungarians in the first half of the last century:

> Diese Völker hatten seit Menschenaltern nur ein verkümmertes Eigenleben der Sprache und des volkhaften Bewusstseins geführt. Sie . . . fanden sich einem blühenden [Austrian] Kulturleben gegenüber, das

> ihnen so schön wie fremd und nicht erreichbar scheinen musste. Die natürliche Schwermut ihrer Volksseelen und die Schwermut jedes Volksliedes, auf das sie zunächst angewiesen waren und das sie allein vorzeigen konnten, mischt sich . . . mit Sehnsucht nach einer noch fernen Zukunft, mischt sich aus Nichthaben, Habenwollen und Nichthabenkonnen mit dem Gefühl des Ungenügens und dem Bewusstsein aller innern Hemmungen . . . .

Surely the Czechs have another view of this, too; but to make such a statement about 19th century Hungary, which then could already look back on several hundred years of independent literary tradition, especially in poetry, and which, having just passed through a rather sophisticated period of intellectual enlightenment, was at that very time producing first-class writers whose works have since come to be regarded as classics (Csokonai, Vörösmarty, Kölcsey, the Kisfaludy, etc.), is simply absurd; nevertheless, such examples of learned ignorance abound in circles that ought to know better.

Vardy is in a unique position to deal with her topic: a *Germanist* of Hungarian extraction, she understands Lenau's Hungary better than his non-Magyar critics, yet as an American scholar she is able to maintain a higher degree of emotional detachment from the subject than certain Hungarian authors have shown. Thus she is able to prove, more or less convincingly, that which should have been obvious to everyone all along, had literary historians not created the problem: namely, that there is a definite Hungarian ifluence discernible in Lenau's works, that "the memories of the formative years of childhood and youth never left him," and that his uniqueness in this respect is that, unlike other Germans using Hungarian imagery (Körner, Grillparzer, Stifter et al), Lenau understood the imagery he used, with mind and heart alike. She also demonstrates, probably quite correctly, that Lenau's evidently one-sided, highly romantic depiction of Hungary is not due to his inability to grasp "his native land in all its meaningful reality," but rather to the fact that he never in-

tended to write anything but "highly personalized impressions of his youth" — and that therefore all attempts to evaluate the Hungarian elements of his works outside of "the context of heir artistic imagery" are *ab ovo* false. Many of the poet's critics have failed to keep this in mind.

With regard to method, after describing the problem of Lenau's Hungarian relationship, the overall interest of German literary circles for Hungary in the 19th century and after rendering a brief, but thorough biographical sketch of the poet's early years, Vardy dedicates one chapter each to Lenau's treatment of the *puszta,* Hungarian Gypsy music and "Hungarian Genre Pictures," by which she means three stereotypes frequently encountered in the poems: the figure of the hussar, the Gypsy and the *betyár* (outlaw). By analyzing passages and providing an explanation for numerous details that may not be entirely intelligible to readers not familiar with Hungarian local color, she attempts to interpret the *moods* Lenau intended to evoke with his "Hungarian" poems — whereby she is careful to remind us, again and again, that we are not dealing with Hungarian reality in any sense, but rather with Lenau's subjective, one-sided and romanticised impressions of the landscape and some of its — actually atypical — denizens. In this, her central purpose, the author is, generally speaking, successful, if somewhat uneven in her approach: thus the section on the *puszta,* especially in connection with the "Schilflieder," seems rather inadequate.

Other faults of the work are minor; a somewhat greater attention to reading the galley proofs would have eliminated most of them. There is an occasional error in interpretation on the author's part: for example, while commenting (on p. 116) on the poem "Die Bauern am Tissastrande," she states, "The contrast between the forces of old and new is skillfully conveyed through the effect of the Magyar melodies upon the two generations in the *csárda.* At the beginning, the older peasants are content to sit and watch . . . but as the melody of the old recruiting song resounds in the air, they . . . leap to

their feet and join . . . in the dance. They are soon left alone with the memories of the past as the *gypsies and young peasants take their leave . . . .*" The trouble is, Lenau mentions nothing about the young peasants leaving; in fact, only the musicians depart, while the peasants, old *and* young, continue to dance, "Toren, die immer noch sprangen, / während schon längst, erschöpft und versiegt / Ihre Musik war heimgegangen." It is therefore not "evident that Lenau sided with the new generation," and the conclusions Vardy tries to draw from the passage regarding Lenau's political opinions are not tenable. (Elsewhere, too, the political arguments are weak.)

On one minor point, the author's knowledge of the Hungarian landscape fails her. In discussing the "Schilflieder," she mentions only Lake Fertő as a natural swamp, and adds that in addition to this, "numerous smaller, artificial or man-made lakes and fishponds can be found on the Great Hungarian Plain." These, too, she implies, could have influenced Lenau. But the truth is that there were extensive bogs and marshes on the *Alföld,* until they were drained late in the last century; as for the man-made lakes, most of them were bulldozed out in Vardy's own lifetime. Bismarck's main reason for not invading Hungary — seriously contemplated during Prussia's war with Austria — was that the swamps in the interior of the country would make military operations difficult and that the army would be decimated by disease. Lenau's moods were not evoked by "fishponds."

As for style, the work is enjoyable to read; only an occasional bit of sentimental vaporizing had better been left out. "These giants of nature could tell us so much. But apparently not even Lenau was able to penetrate their secrets" — we learn of the oaks of the Bakony woods. And the translations of the poems, into English prose, must sometimes cause us to wince. Yet Vardy has our sympathy here: "and the swine drops without a sound" is certainly not an acceptable rendition of "Und lautlos sinkt der Eichelmast / Entseelter Gast," but let him who is able to do these lines justice cast the first stone.

All in all, Vardy's book is a valuable contribution to Ame-

rican Lenau-studies and a welcome addition to Hugo Schmidt's recent *Nikolaus Lenau* (New York, 1971). It should be read by all who are interested in Lenau's life and works.

LOUIS J. ELTETO
Portland State University

Ilse Pracht-Fitzell: *Gedichte,* Eine Auswahl.
Eine Veröffentlichung der Blaugraspresse, 3307 Cornwall Drive, Lexington, Kentucky 40503 (USA).
Copy number 32 of a limited edition of fifty, handset and letterpress. Copyright by Ilse Pracht-Fitzell 1973.

Das Büchlein enthält eine Sammlung von 22 Gedichten, die unter der Dedizierung "Für John" steht. Der Themenkreis der Gedichte ist ein vielfältiger. Er beginnt mit dem ersten Gedicht "Der Maulwurf", berührt Tier und Pflanze, Eintritt in die Welt und Tod, Glaube, Liebe und Erinnerung. Gegen Ende der Sammlung steigt er auf und in die Höhe mit dem Gedicht "Die Lerche". Obwohl die Themen unverbunden sind, so vereint sie doch alle eine aufwärtsstrebende Bewegung.

Die Formen der Gedichte variieren. Man findet straff organisierte und freie rhythmische Formen. Die Versfüsse sind entweder steigend (jambisch) oder fallend (trochäisch) mit einigen wenigen Ausnahmen. In den meisten freien rhythmischen Gedichten gliedert ein regulär-irreguläres Endreimschema die einzelnen Gedichtsabschnitte.

Zwei Gedichte, "Der Maulwurf" und "Der Schatz", haben nicht nur das Motiv das Schatzes gemein; die geheimnisvolle Atmosphäre, die Sprache und der Rhythmus erinnern stark an Goethes "Schatzgräber", so stark sogar, dass man fast gewillt ist, sie als in der Manier Goethes verfasste Gedichte zu bezeichnen. In dem ersten Gedicht begräbt der Maulwurf seinen Schatz, in dem zweiten Gedicht versucht eine Frau ihn auszugraben. Der Schatz in beiden Gedichten ist wohl der Sinn des Lebens. Im zweiten Gedicht wird dieser Schatz noch näher bezeichnet durch das Symbol der Rose, es ist die Liebe.

Der "blinde" Maulwurf — wie der Diener mit seinem Talent — versteckt den Schatz, "sieben Klafter tief", wo er ihn doch anlegen sollte, um Profit zu ziehen. Die alternde Frau hingegen versucht, sich ihren Schatz aus dem Dunklen zu kratzen — sollte das Dunkle das Leben bedeuten? — als die herannahende Gestalt des Todes sie tröstet, die Liebe wird sie überdauern. Sorgsame Wortwahl, wenige Bindeworte, sparsame Wiederholung von Ausdrücken tragen zu einer geheimnisvollen, zauberischen, fast rituellen Atmosphäre bei.

Das Gedicht "Sonne im Winterwald" ist ein Gedicht, das aus Paradoxa besteht wie Eis und Flammen; blau und rot; ein Lied, das Leid und Freude heisst. Ein fallender Takt mit Stabreimen untermischt, fallende Kadenz im Reime, der eine steigende Kadenz umarmt, geben den vier dreizeiligen Strophen etwas Unruhiges. Ein Kardinal, verdoppelt durch die Spiegelung im Eis, und durch gleichzeitiges Brechen des Lichtes in den Eiskristallen, scheint sich aufzulösen in sein Lied, das die ganze Welt durchdringt. Es ist, als ob eine Metamorphose vom Konkreten zum Abstrakten sich vollzieht. Das Schlüsselwort 'Seele' steht in der Mitte des Gedichtes.

Ein anderes Gedicht "An was da kreucht und fleucht" erinnert an einen germanischen Segensspruch. Die Tiere des Waldes werden beschworen, ihre Gebete zu sprechen, damit es zu regnen aufhöre. Die letzte Zeile zerstört die rituelle Atmosphäre durch ihre unpersönliche und moderne Fassung.

"Auf dem Spaziergang" ist eine Mischung von Novalis'schen und Hölderlin'schen Elementen. Man sieht die Zeichen und Kreise, die Chiffren, die das Leben bedeuten; die, wenn erkannt und bekannt, das Leben halten. Hier ist die Hälfte des Lebens erreicht, von der die Vergangenheit und die Zukunft in gleicherweise überblickt werden können. Die erste Hälfte des Lebens war Bewegung, Spaziergang; die zweite Hälfte stille Schau. Diese stille Schau mit ihren silbernen Früchten und hängenden zweigen hat etwas klirrende Kaltes an sich, das der schimmerende Fish im Bach auch nicht überwinden kann.

"Sommernacht", ein Liebesgedicht, beginnt mit Wärme,

süssem Duft und Balsam, wird zur Sommerliebe, die das Gnadenmass überfliessen lässt. Sie steigert sich zur Liebe, die das wunderbare Gnadenmass füllt.

Wieder ganz romantisch ist das Gedicht "Von alten Bildern". Eichendorff hätte hier Pate stehen können. Selbst das ungewisse drohende Element ist vorhanden. Das Gedicht dürfte wohl eine Art Symbol sein für das verlorene Paradies, das wir nicht mehr besitzen können, das wir aber erträumen und mit unseren Träumen füllen können.

Ein besonders kunstvolles Gedicht ist "Hattos Eintritt in die Welt". Die erste Strophe besteht aus fünf Zeilen, die erste Zeile sich als letzte Zeile wiederholend. Die zweite Strophe beginnt und endet mit der zweiten Zeile der ersten Strophe, die dritte Strophe beginnt und endet mit der dritten Zeile der erste Strophe u.s.w. Die erste Strphe wiederholt sich als fünfte Strophe. Damit hat das Gedicht einen Kreis beschrieben. Das Ende wird wieder Anfang. Diese, um es gelinde auszudrücken, begrenzende Technik wurde von der Dichterin erfolgreich angewandt. Eine Frage bleibt jedoch offen, verlässt Hatto die hier beschriebene Welt oder wird hier die Welt beschrieben, in die Hatto eintritt? Gedichtsform und Fragestellung haben einen Kreislauf vollendet. Anfangspunkt ist gleichzeitig Endpunkt. Beides vermischt sich.

Die Sammlung umfasst ein Kaleidoskop von Ideen und Gedanken. Bilder der lateinischen und deutschen Klassik, Bilder der Romantik und Dekadenz mischen sich. Noch reichhaltiger wird dieses Kaleidoskop gestaltet durch die Vielzahl der Themen und Motive.

Vom einfachen Volkslied, ja vom Kinderlied über straff organisierte Formen hin bis zu freien Rhythmen reicht die Formenvielfalt. Man kann nicht sagen, dass sich die Dichterin in ihrem Schaffen auf weniges begrenzt. Nicht nur kennt sie sich in ihrem Metier aus, sie scheint auch mit den Werken anderer Dichter eng vertraut. Immer wieder tauchen wohlbekannte Themen und Dichter auf, nicht in imitierter, sondern in eigenständig umgearbeiteter Weise. Es ist, als ob man alte

Bekannte träfe, die man sehr gut kennt. Bei näherem Hinsehen doch stellt man fest, dass es nur Leute waren, die sich ähnlich sahen.

Die Sprache der Gedichte ist gewählt und gedrängt, keine langen Sätze, Konjunktionen fehlen oft. Adjektive Verben und Wortkombinationen sind häufig persönlich, neu und überraschend, wenn auch manchmal eigenwillig. Sie reflektieren altbekannte und neue Aspekte.

Viele Gedichte enthalten eine Aufwärtsbewegung, und manche erreichen ihre Höhe schon in der Mitte. Der Rest ist dann stille Betrachtung und Schau. Auch beginnen einige Gedichte mit einem einzelnen, alltäglichen Ereignis und schreiten fort in ihrer Entwicklung zum Besonderen, zum Generellen.

Um einen tieferen Einblick in das Schaffen dieser Dichterin zu bekommen, ist diese Sammlung von 22 Gedichten nicht ganz ausreichend. Sie ist aber ausreichend genug, um den Wunsch zu entfachen, mehr von ihr zu lesen und dadurch mehr von ihr zu lernen.

John Carroll Universität WILHELM BARTSCH

AUF DEM LEBENSWEG MIT GEBORGTEN MITTELN.

Verlassen sitzt du im Abteil und träge,
"Immer weiter musst du!" geht die Nervensäge.
"Immer weiter!" knarrt die Eisenbahn —
voran, voran, voran, voran, voran.

Am Horizont erscheinen blasse Städte,
vom Nebel bald verschlungen letzte Häuserkette—
nur die Pfeife reisst das Grau entzwei.
Vorbei, vorbei, vorbei, vorbei, vorbei.

ILSE PRACHT-FITZELL
Jamesburg, New Jersey

GERMAN-AMERICAN NOTES

Editor's Note: The editorial staff of German-American Studies taken great pleasure in congratulating a most distinguished scholar, Prof. Harold Jantz, on the recent honor bestowed upon him by Clark University. We are grateful to our collegue, Prof. Karl J. Arndt, for providing us with the text to his recommendation to the president of Clark University on behalf of that institution's faculty that Prof. Jantz be awarded an honorary doctorate.

Mr. President: On behalf of the faculty of Clark University I have the honor to present Dr. Dr. Harold Jantz, Professor of German and head of the department at Johns Hopkins University.

Nationally and internationally famed teacher and scholar in the fields of Anglo-German and American-German literary relations, the Age of the Baroque, and the Age of Goethe, we welcome him back into our midst as a former colleague in our department of German and Lecturer in the Worcester Art Museum, for it was during his service here that the foundations of his later fame were laid.

Trained at Oberlin and Wisconsin by the great Germanist Alexander Hohlfeld, he continued post-graduate work at the Universities of Bonn and Munich before coming to Clark in 1934. Here his research culminated in his first book *The First Century of New England Verse,* in recognition of which he was elected to the American Antiquarian Society and the Massachusetts Historical Society, and for which he was recently named Distinguished Scholar of Early American Literature by the American Literature division of the Modern Language Association. For his book, Goethe's *Faust as a Renaissance Man: Parallels and Prototypes* and many other significant publications in the age of Goethe he was awarded in 1969 the German Goethe Medal in Gold. His pioneer scholarship in

the period of German Baroque Literature has won for him the encomiums reserved for scholars in the *Deutsche Poetische Schatzkammer* of that learned age: "Ein Geist der Feur hat. Von welchem Fama trägt die Post durch alle Welt. Der würdig ist dass seinem Leben die Parcen noch eins so lang den Faden weben."

Although deeply devoted to research as a form of higher learning, he has been uniquely successful in transferring this devotion to his students, one of whom wrote: "While you let us exercise our imagination and venture into unexplored territory, you showed us the value of the sternest discipline and the necessity of building only on territory explored under the strictest scientific scrutiny." His learned publications, which are listed in *Traditions and Transitions,* studies in his honor, will continue to provide inspiring vision so that higher humane learning may not perish in our critical time.

In recognition of such accomplishments, Mr. President, I request that the degree of Doctor of Humane Letters, *Honoris Causa,* be conferred upon him.

KARL J. R. ARNDT
Clark University

WEST HILL

Am Hügelhange, Weissbeckerhange,
da stand ich neulich träumend, schweigend,
ich lauschte droben Drosselgesange,
ich lugte hinaus, die Seele wohl steigend,
hinüber zum breiten Eichhügelkamme,
hinaus zum verlorenen Heimatstamme.

HERMAN F. BRAUSE
Rochester, N. Y.

GERMAN-AMERICAN NOTES

Ethnic Archives in Cleveland

The Library of the Western Reserve Historical Society of Cleveland, Ohio is seeking manuscript and published items relating to German-American history in the Greater Cleveland area. Among the materials being sought are the records of lodges, singing societies, Turnvereine, businesses, political organizations and churches; the papers of politicans, lawyers, doctors, writers and the "ordinary citizen"; and published items such as newspapers, anniversary pamphlets and books. Preserved in the Library's archival stack building, such records are of great value to scholars studying Cleveland's German population.

The Library of the Western Reserve Historical Society is the only professionally staffed manuscripts repository in the Cleveland area. The Library has been collecting and preserving manuscript and published materials relating to Cleveland's history for over 100 years. Since 1971, the Library has been making special efforts to locate all types of library materials relating to the various nationality groups that have settled in Cleveland. It is the hope of the Society's Library to preserve enough primary source materials to allow extensive research to be undertaken in Cleveland ethnic history in a Cleveland-based repository.

It is important therefore that the records of Cleveland's German population be located and preserved before they are scattered beyond the city, or lost forever. Individuals and organizations having, or knowing of minute books, correspondence, scrapbooks, photograps, newspapers, books and pamphlets relating to German-American history in the Cleveland, Ohio area should contact John J. Grabowski, Ethnic Archives Specialist at the Western Reserve Historical Society, 10825 East Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio, 44106 — (216) 721-5722.

All arrangements for the preservation and scholarly use of materials donated to the Library are made only under conditions agreeable to the donor. Donors always retain access priviliges to their materials. Because of the Society's status as a non-profit organization, gifts of monetarily valuable items are often tax deductible.

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510 YORK STR.
CINCINNATI, OHIO

Mein Wallfahrtsort:
ein Lagerhaus im Negerghetto
namens Over-the-Rhine
wo Dichter weilten
verkannte Gedichte
verfolgtes Volk
damals pflückte man Blumen
zu bunten Kränzen
ein Saufbold speit
Unkraut und Unrat
zerdrückte Träne
wonnenvolle Andacht
Deine Stimme flüstert
hinterm Vorhang:
Engelsklänge in flammender Glut
NIMMER weich' ich von Dir
ahnende Brust
verbotene Lust
man vergass unsren Weg
zum Pfade der Stillen
das Höchste nicht geglückt
doch unterwegs: Rattermann . . .

DON HEINRICH TOLZMANN
Cincinnati

HERRN DIPL.-VOLKSWIRT, DR. RER. POL. HEINZ KLOSS ZUM 70. GEBURTSTAG!

Seit dem Jahr 1929, in dem Dr. Kloss die *Lewendische Schtimme aus Pensilveni, Schreiwes vun Charles R. Roberts, Astor C. Wuchter un Charles C. More* herausgab und einleitete, hat sich Dr. Kloss in unermüdlicher und umfangreicher Weise um das Deutschamerikanertum verdienst gemacht. Die im Jahr 1971 erschienene *Forschung im Dienst der Sprachen und Schulen,* Bibliographie aus Anlass seines 65. Geburtstages, enthält neben zahllosen, das Deutschtum in nahezu der ganzen Welt betreffenden Büchern und Schriften, die folgenden das Deutschamerikaner- und Kanadiertum im Besonderen betreffenden Schriften. Die hier angeführten Veröffentlichungen sind dem Deutschen Gelehrten-Kalender des Jahres 1970 entnommen: *Um die Einigung des Deutschamerikanertums,* Berlin, 1937; *Volksgruppenrecht in den Vereinigten Staaten; Statist. Handbuch der Volksdeutschen in Übersee,* 1943, *Die Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen von 1800—1950* (enthält einen Abschnitt: Pennsilfaanisch), 1952; *Das Nationalitätenrecht der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika,* 1963; *Zum Problem des Fremdsprachenunterrichts an den Grundschulen Amerikas und der BRD,* 1967; *Ahornblätter, Anthologie deutsch-kanadischer Lyrik,* 1961; *Die Nationalhymnen der Erde,* 1958.

Der Zweck dieser kurzen Auswahl der Schriften von Herrn Dr. Kloss ist, ihn zu grüssen und ihn wissen zu lassen, dass seine wertvollen Bemühungen um das Deutschamerikanertum und das Deutschkanadiertum dankbarst anerkannt werden und als Glückwunsch zu seinem 70. Geburtstag geäussert worden sind.

ERICH A. ALBRECHT
University of Kansas

AUFBRUCH

Hier auszuruh'n. Genug der ungewissen Jahre,
Da unstet allen Strassen ich und jedem Ort,
Ein Wunsch zu bleiben, den ich heimlich mir bewahre,
Der Traum nach einer Heimat, dem ich wandre fort.

Wenn diesem Dasein sich ein andres hat durchwoben,
Zu mir ein Wissen her aus jenen Weiten schweift,
Und was ich einstmals wähnte Drunten der Oben,
Zerfloss vor mir zum Ganzen einer Welt gereift.

Mein Glück genährt nicht an des Tages karger Kost,
Aus meinen Einsamkeiten zog es seine Kraft,
Und trunken trank aus meiner Armut noch es Most.

So ging dahin ich aus den Menschen aufgerafft,
Weil niemand gab zur Einkehr mir zum Gruss die Hand.
Ich aber immer weiter zog von Land zu Land.

BERNHARD MOCK
N. Hollywood, Calif.

NATÜRLICHE BRÜCKE

Regenbogen aus Stein
Brücke über der Zeiten Strom
Jahrtausende zwischen den Mauern
Verflossen.

Einsames Denkmal
Trage
Ertrage mich auf deinem Rücken
Wie ich mich lasse
Herunter zu dir auf dem Seil
Vom Felsen dort oben.

Lass mich hinüber
Erblicken die Zukunft
Vergangenheit
Den Frieden
Von dem du umgeben
Warst
Bist
Auf immer sein wirst.

LOWELL A. BANGERTER
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