Germany

## Journal of German-American Studies

#### A JOURNAL OF HISTORY, LITERATURE, BIOGRAPHY AND GENEALOGY



Wenn stolz auf neuen Glanz wir bliden, Der auf bas Sternenbanner fällt, So baut bas Herz oft gold'ne Brüden Hinüber in die alte Welt.

#### 

#### Published quarterly by the GERMAN-AMERICAN PUBLISHING CO. 21010 Mastick Road, Cleveland, Ohio 44126. Subscription Price: \$10.00 annually.

Editor-in-Chief: ROBERT E. WARD, Ph.D.,J.D.

#### **ASSOCIATE EDITORS:**

Karl J. R. Arndt, Ph.D. Clark University Worcester, Mass.

Norman Lederer, cand. Ph.D. 1519 Montclair Pl. Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104

Glen Ernst, cand.Ph.D.
Southwest Texas State University
San Marcos, Texas

Gert Niers, cand.Ph.D. Assoc. Editor, New York Staatszeitung und Herold 1201 Sleepy Hollow Rd. Point Pleasant, NJ 08742

La Vern J. Rippley, Ph.D. St. Olaf College Northfield, Minn. 55057 Robert Robinson-Zwahr 3801—57th Street Lubbock, TX 79413

Arthur Schultz, Ph.D. Wesleyan University Middletown, Conn. 06457

John R. Sinnema, Ph.D. American German Institute Baldwin-Wallace College Berea, Ohio 44017

Don Heinrich Tolzmann, cand.Ph.D. University of Cincinnati Library Cincinnati, Ohio

Alexander Waldenrath, Ph.D. Lehigh University Bethlehem, Pa.

Manuscripts are accepted in English or German and should follow the MLA Style Sheet.

Price of Genealogical Ads: 8 cents per word. (Abbreviations and numbers count as half-words; your name and address are included free of charge.)

Annual German-American Surname Research Index: All subscribers may submit two surnames annually to be printed in this list free of charge. Print each surname on a 3x5-inch file card. List your own name and address on each card under the surname you are submitting.

#### A PSEUDO-HEINZEN POEM\*

## By GERHARD FRIESEN Wilfrid Laurier University

The remarkable and now extremely rare verse epic. entitled Ein neues Wintermärchen. Besuch imdeutschen Reich der Gottesfurcht und der frommen Sitte von Heinrich Heine was first published anonymously in the Boston journal Der Pionier on April 2 and April 9, 1872. Imitating and updating Heine's Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen of 1844, the satirical poem shows how, fifteen years after his death, he leaves hell to travel through the recently established Wilhelminian empire where he identifies chauvinism. militarism, feudalism, pauperism, crime, immorality, ignorance, and injustice as the socio-political reality. In the last of the twenty capita, a totally disillusioned Heine returns to the underworld where he will remain until the inevitable revolution brings about a republican Germany.

From a number of allusions to historical events, it is possible to infer with some accuracy the time in which the Neues Wintermärchen must have been written. The adjournment of Session II of the Reichstag (41) on December 1, 1871, furnishes a terminus post quem (Session III began on April 8, 1872), and the reference to Heine's death fifteen years ago (28) establishes February 17, 1872, as a terminus ante quem. This would indicate a relatively rapid composition and might explain some stylistic infelicities as well as the tenor of outrage, sarcasm, and scorn which, unlike in the Wintermärchen, are not tempered by lyrical interludes of romantic melancholy or gentler irony. Whereas linguistic lapses in the Wintermärchen are rare (and usually intentional), the almost unmitigated mood of anger and aggresssiveness of the Neues Wintermärchen are vented in such radical departures from conven-

<sup>\*</sup>Paper presented at the second annual symposium on German-American culture, sponsored by the Society for German-American Studies at Baldwin Wallace College on May 13, 1978.

tional literary language as "fressen" (4), "verrecken" (9), "Kaisermist" (12), "Seich" (16), "Furzen" (37), and "Hintern belecken" (41).

Karl Heinzen, in whose journal the poem first appeared, made it also available as a forty-page booklet in 1872.<sup>1</sup> In the following year another edition was printed by the German-American Verein zur Verbreitung radikaler Prinzipien, of which Heinzen was "the creator and guiding spirit." The small sextodecimo copies sold for five cents each and could be inserted in letters to Europe to propagandize a German revolution, for which Heinzen and like-minded refugees of 1848 had never ceased to campaign. In the same format (which was also utilized to ensure circulation of socialist writings), the work was soon distributed by the social-democratic weekly Das Felleisen in Zürich, under the imprint,

Ein neues Wintermärchen. Besuch in neuen Deutschen Reiche der Gottesfurcht und frommen Sitte, von Heinrich Heine, dem wiederstandenen Höllenbewohner. Gedruckt und verlegt in in der Hölle.<sup>4</sup>

From 1875 to 1887, the poem was published four times by the Volksbuchhandlung in Hottingen near Zürich, which was acquired by the German socialists in 1882<sup>5</sup> and became their party's first archive. Under the anti-socialist laws of 1878, the *Neues Wintermärchen* was listed among the approximately 1200 prohibited publications.<sup>6</sup> A London edition appeared in 1905, and only with the advent of the Weimar Republic was the poem finally published in Germany (Frankfurt, 1919).

Its evident popularity in socialist circles was undoubtedly enhanced by its explicit association with Heine. Long before Heine, in spite of his erratic attitudes towards communism, was pressed into Marxist sainthood and his Wintermärchen made mandatory reading in East German schools, his poetry apealed to the German proletariat. In Jakob Audorf's poetic homage to Heine, which the once well-known author of the "Arbeiter-Marseillaise" wrote in September of 1856, the central one of seven stanzas was hardly more than a paraphrase from the Wintermärchen:

Schon hier auf dieser schönen Erden Wollt' er uns einen Himmel bau'n; Hiet sollten wir schon selig werden, Nicht hoffend auf ein Jenseits schau'n. Für diese Welt sind wir geschaffen Mit unserm Leib, naturentstammt; Drum kämpft' er wider jene Pfaffen, Die alles Irdische verdammt.<sup>9</sup>

Of Heine's entire work, his versified Saint-Simonism enjoyed the greatest socialist vogue in the following decades. Thirteen stanzas lifted from Caput I of the Wintermärchen and set to music by Josef Scheu<sup>10</sup> became a staple in workers' song books of the 1870's.11 To appreciate their role, one must remember that many of the political groups considered subversive by the government camouflaged themselves as singing societies. With a footnote declaring the Wintermärchen "wohl die beste, iedenfalls die witzigste und treffendste Satire deutscher Zunge," the same segment was printed by the Volksstaat in 1871, with the promise that more excerpts would follow from time to time. 12 From the Neues Wintermärchen. 13 the Volksstaat quoted as freely as from Heine. Edited by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht for more than 6000 subscribers, 14 this weekly was the official organ of the Eisenach faction of socialist, whose 1873 congress resolved:

...der "Volksstaat" soll Geist und Charakter bilden und die Arbeiter, indem er ihnen das Verständniss der heutigen Zustände eröffnet, für ihre politische und soziale Mission erziehen. 15

In the sarcastic manner of the Neues Wintermärchen, the Volksstaat habitually referred to the German Empire as "das Reich der Gottesfurcht und frommen Sitte." 16

Predictably, bourgeois reception of the poem was less than kind. In his survey of socialist literature, one Richard Schuster pronounced it the ultimate defamation of the German people 17 and dismissed its revolutionary ardor raised to the pitch of brutal fanaticism as unworthy of serious commentary. 18 The only substantial review seems to have been the one by Paul Lindau in his national-liberal journal *Die Gegenwart*. 19 Assuming that Heinzen wrote the poem, Lindau labels it the epitome of grobianism and vulgarity that, according to him, are symptomatic of German-American journalism and especially Heinzen's *Pionier*. From this more or less aesthetic premise, Lindau ridicules the stylistic barbarisms in some of

the Berlin episodes, which constitute only one half of the poem. Modesty and good taste, he holds, prevent him from even mentioning "die saftigsten und charakteristischsten Stellen."20 Nevertheless, he asserts, those samples of Heinzen's "Rinaldiniverse" 21 included in his review sufficiently prove the healthy and normal state of freedom presently enjoyed in Germany. Heinzen, in the first of several rejoinders, pointed out that the author of the Neues Wintermärchen obviously did not share Lindau's trust in German freedom, for otherwise he would not have resorted to publishing his poem anonymously and in America. Emphatically Heinzen denied his putative authorship of the work and stated, "Der wirkliche Verfasser ist Ihnen weit näher als Sie glauben, und Ihr quis pro quo wird ihn sicher nicht weniger erheitert haben, als mich." 22 The unknown author must have been even more amused when Lindau in 1875 was sentenced for sacrilege to two weeks in the Plötzensee penitentiary; Lindau felt compelled to report on this experience in his journal by quoting some scatological lines from Heine's Wintermärchen. 23

In spite of Heinzen's disclaimers, the Neues Wintermärchen is ascribed to him by his biographer Carl Wittke 24 and by Eitel Wolf Dobert in his study on the German expatriates of 1848,<sup>25</sup> and reputable bibliographies continue to attribute the anonymous work to him. 26 Apart from the fact that he was notoriously truthful and that his known poetic efforts (although influenced by Heine) 27 do not include any sustained satires, there is conclusive philological evidence that Heinzen did not write the Neues Wintermärchen. Verbs like beuteln (38), schwadern (38), and fitzen (4) as well as the conjugation of sitzen with the auxiliary sein (2) are distinctly Southern German regionalisms which the native Rhinelander Heinzen would not have employed. A remarkably large number of impure rhymes like Eisen/Preussen (5), Köln/ Gesell'n (8), gepriesen/Füssen (9), Scheu/Blei (10), Kindern/ Hintern (10), and Haide/Geleite (22) also suggests a Southern author in whose dialect such sounds would not be differentiated. And since he specifies, with reference to local lore.<sup>28</sup> the spot where his fictitious Heine surfaces from hellIn Baden, der alten Bäderstadt, Bei der alten Schwarzwaldquelle, Da, spricht die dortige Sage, hat Ihr Ausgangsthor die Hölle (3)—

one might well conclude that the author was a native or resident of this area. This is corroborated by the fact that the deviations from High German which he uses are found in the completed part of the *Badisches Wörterbuch*. One of them, fitzen, is listed as a localism of Achern.<sup>29</sup>

More clues concerning the author's identity come from another anonymous work in sextodecimo that first appeared 1875 in Zürich-Hottingen, with the title-page imprint

Vom
Verfasser des "Neuen Wintermärchens".
Daniel in der Löwengrube.
Von Heine II.

And an advertisement of the Volksbuchhandlung, on the rear cover of the 1876 edition, states, "Vom gleichen Verfasser erschien bei uns: Ein neues Wintermärchen." A poem is Knittelvers, Daniel in der Löwengrube reveals but little connection with the real Heine. Its Babylonian setting hardly disguises the author's intent to satirize imperial Germany's harsh measures against dissidents during the period of the Kulturkampf. Of relevance to our investigation is that the work constitutes a protest particularly against the government's prosecution of the dissenting press. In a prologue, the narrator renounces any poetic ambitions but implies that he is a journalist, and the remainder of the poem shows, with reference to Bismarck's frequent recourse to special legislation stifling any freedom of the press, how the pseudo-Biblical Daniel is incarcerated for violating these laws. Expert knowledge of the Bible and pronounced disbelief in its authority emerge as further characteristics of the author.

Of the numerous lawsuits Bismarck initiated against the press around 1875, none were more controversial than the ones against the tenaciously libertarian *Frankfurter Zeitung*, at a time when national conventions of German journalists and jurists debated the legal liabilities of the press.<sup>30</sup> Founded by Leopold Sonnemann in 1856, this newspaper vigorously

upheld Frankfurt's republican tradition even after this city's annexation by Prussia in 1866. Since 1868 it was the most important forum for the radical democrats of Southern Germany, who co-ordinated their political strategy with the socialist faction that in 1869 formed the Eisenach Party.<sup>31</sup> Their voice, the *Volksstaat*, took almost its entire political content from the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, as Friedrich Engels stated in a letter to August Bebel.<sup>32</sup> 1871-76 and 1878-84, Sonnemann was a member of the Reichstag, where he remained relentlessly opposed to Bismarck's policies. That Frankfurt in 1913 became the first German city to unveil a monument to Heine was in large measure due to the continuing liberalism of this paper,<sup>33</sup> which also sponsored repairs and upkeep of Heine's grave in Paris.<sup>34</sup>

Among the editors of the Frankfurter Zeitung who were labelled Reichsfeinde and personally prosecuted in the 1870's. one has the profile accomodating the above-mentioned facets that characterize the author of the Neues Wintermärchen. Otto Hörth was born on November 24. 1842 as a tailor's son in Achern-the Black forest home town of Brecht's paternal ancestors,35 located not far from where Erwin von Steinbach was born and Grimmelshausen died. Hörth abandoned his study of Catholic theology in favor of history, literature, and modern languages, to become a journalist in 1866. From Munich he wrote anticlerical essays on the Old Catholic movement for the Frankfurter Zeitung, before joining its editorial staff in March of 1872. Here his successive responsibilities included the sections on Southern German affairs, feuilleton, and politics, until he was appointed to the board of directors in 1903. After his retirement he lived in Berlin, where he died on January 6, 1935.36

In the period of the Kulturkampf, Hörth took a pronounced stand against Bismarck's policy.<sup>37</sup> On October 24, 1874, Hörth was charged with four separate violations of the press code, among them Majestätsbeleidigung and libel of Bismarck, and was eventually sentenced to a total of six months' imprisonment. His arrest came early on a Sunday morning, even before the sentence was legally in effect, and

raised a storm of indignation.<sup>38</sup> These circumstances together with various legalistic technicalities that cannot be entered into here are satirically reflected in *Daniel in der Löwengrube*, which was also included in the index of prohibited books<sup>39</sup> and distributed in the United States.<sup>40</sup>

A number of shorter poems by Hörth testify to his literary talent and his political orientation. "Meister Erwin's Heerschau" (written at Achern on August 10, 1870)<sup>41</sup> shows that Hörth, like other liberals, was at least temporarily affected by the wave of patriotic enthusiasm that swept the German lands at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War. The poem is formally significant in that it treats the revenent motif in a Kontrafaktur of a famous 19th-century poem (Zedlitz's "Nächtliche Heerschau")—both essential features of the Neues Wintermärchen. Echoes of this satire are found in Hörth's poem mourning the death of Herwegh on February 7, 1875:

Was tust du auch noch auf der Erde? Die andern liessen alle dich Und bückten, eine ganze Herde, Vor ihrem neuen Götzen sich. Das Volk in seines Denkens Kleinheit Weiss nimmer, was es einst geliebt; Vergessen ist, dass nach der Einheit Es auch noch eine Freiheit gibt! 42

As representative of the Frankfurt democrats, Hörth attended Herwegh's provisional funeral in Baden,<sup>48</sup> and the necrologue he wrote for the *Frankfurter Zeitung* was reprinted by the *Volksstaat*.<sup>44</sup>

Such veneration for Herwegh in republican and socialist circles is explained by his participation in the abortive Baden revolt and by his subsequent departure from a bombastic rhetorical style. Abandoning vague utopian ideas couched in pathos and hyperboles, his political poetry after 1848 bears the definite imprint of Heine's, 45 whom he apostrophized after reading the latter's *Romanzero* (1851):

Grüss den Aristophanes Dort auf Asphodeloswiesen; Ich hier oben will indess Deinen Lorbeer fromm begiessen.<sup>46</sup> Like Feuerbach, Herwegh had come to consider satire the only poetic form appropriate for his time,<sup>47</sup> and, like Hörth, he directed it against Redwitz, Venedey, Döllinger, Lasker, and "Gottesfurcht und fromme Sitte."<sup>48</sup>

Hörth's identification with the democratic demands of the 1848 Revolution is the theme of several poems commemorating it.<sup>49</sup> They were written for and declaimed in Frankfurt at anniversary gatherings of surviving left-wing revolutionaries and their ideological heirs in 1873 and 1898. Of these events and the 1923 anniversary in the Paulskirche, Hörth published a memorial volume in 1925.<sup>50</sup> Such lines as

Wohl steht die Form, doch kein lebend'ger Hauch
Hat Geist und Seele mit hineingegossen;
Wohl ragt das Haus, doch nur im Schlachtenrauch
Hat blut'ger Kitt der Wände Ring geschlossen;
Wohl prangt das deutsche Banner schwarz und rot,
Doch ist das Gold zerrissen und begraben;—
Was soll das Weiss? Was soll der bleiche Tod?
Wir wollen Gold, das Gold der Freiheit Haben! 51

and

Wir wollen rastlos kämpfen für das Licht,
Den Volksgeist lösen von dem Gangelbande,
Damit er selbstbewusst die Ketten bricht
Und frei und stolz kann schreiten durch die Lande!
Wir wollen von Geschlechte zu Geschlecht
Den Idealen schaffen feste Horte
Und wollen Menschenliebe, Menschenrecht
Durch Taten feiern, nicht allein durch Worte! 52

which were recited at these occasions are recapitulations of ideas expressed with far less rhetorical restraint in the Neues Wintermärchen.

Thus, in light of the philological, biographical, and literary evidence presented, credit for the *Neues Winter-märchen* is due not to Karl Heinzen but to Heine II alias Otto Hörth.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Boston, Expedition des Pionier, 1872.

<sup>2</sup> Carl Wittke, Against the Current. The Life of Karl Heinzen (1809-80) (Chicago, [1945]), p. 224.

- 3 E.g., the Lasall'sche Westentaschenzeitung (Berlin, 1874-75) and the Volks-staatskalender (Leipzig, 1873-1875). Cf. Reinhard Höhn, Die vaterlandslosen Gesellen. Der Sozialismus im Licht der preussischen Polizei 1874-1914, vol. 1 (Köln and Opladen, 1964), p. 272.
- 4 Richard Schuster, Die Social-Demokratie. Nach ihrem Wesen und ihrer Agitation quellenmässig dargestellt (Stuttgart, 1875), p. 45.
  - 5 August Bebel, Aus meinen Leben (Stuttgart, 1910-14), vol. 3, p. 240.
- 6 Otto Atzrott, Sozialdemokratische Druckschriften und Vereine verboten auf Grund des Reichsgesetzes gegen die gemeingefährlichen Bestrebungen vom 21. Oktober 1878 (Berlin, 1886-88), Nos. 905-907, 1210.
- 7 Hans Kaufmann, Politisches Gedicht und klassische Dichtung. Heinrich Heine. Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen (Berlin, 1959), p. 5.
- 8 Karl Kautsky, Erinnerungen und Erörterungen, ed. Benedikt Kautsky (S'Gravenhage [1960]), p. 299, about the appeal of the Volksstaat in the early 1870's: "Allerdings, Lyrik wirkte gewaltig auf die Genossen ein, von denen viele Sangesbrüder waren. Freiligrath, Herwegh, namentlich aber Heine [italics mine] wurden von ihnen verehrt, doch für Romane und Erzählungen hatten die meisten der männlichen Arbeiter nichts übrig, in der Regel fehlte es ihnen an Zeit und Ruhe, derartiges Zeugs zu lesen."
- 9 From his poem "Heinrich Heine," in Stimmen der Freiheit. Blütenlese der besten Schöpfungen unserer Arbeiter- und Volksdichter, ed. Konrad Beisswanger. Fourth ed. (Nürnberg, 1914), p. 239.
- 10 Herbert Steiner, "Die Gebrüder Scheu," Archiv für Sozialgeschichte, vols. 6/7 (1966-67), p. 482.
- 11 Sozialdemokratische Lieder und Deklamationen. Third ed. (Zürich, 1974), pp. 59-60. Arbeiter-Liederbuch. Gedichte und Lieder freisinniger und besonders sozialdemokratischer Tendenz (Chicago, [1871]), pp. 38-39. Cf. also Wilhelm Bracke, Nieder mit den Sozialdemokraten! Sozialdemokratische Bibliothek, vol. 28 (London, 1889).
- 12 "Aus Heine's Deutschland Ein Wintermärchen," Der Volksstaat, No. 42 (May 24, 1871). Cf. also No. 19 (March 5, 1870) and No. 34 (April 26, 1873).
- 13 "Politische Uebersicht," Der Volksstaat, No. 127 (Dec. 21, 1873). "Die Landfrage vor dem preussischen Abgeordnetenhaus," Der Volksstaat, No. 20 (Feb. 19, 1875).
- 14 Protokoll über den fünften Congress der Sozial-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei abgehalten zu Eisenach... 1873 (Leipzig, 1873), p. 29.
  - 15 Protokoll...1873, p. 36.
- 16 "Deutsche Justiz," No. 48 (June 15, 1872). "Politische Uebersicht," No. 50 (June 20, 1872). "Politische Uebersicht," No. 61 (July 31, 1872). "Correspondenzen," No. 45 (June 4, 1873). "Auch ein Gedenktag," No. 84 (July 22, 1874). "Politische Uebersicht. Aus dem Reich der Gottesfurcht und frommen Sitte," No. 103 (Sept. 4, 1874). "Correspondenzen." No. 17 (Feb. 12, 1875).
  - 17 Schuster, p. 44.
  - 18 Ibid, p. 164.
- 19 "Deutsche Poesie in den Vereinigten Staaten," Die Gegenwart, vol. 1 (1872), pp. 234-237.

- 20 Ibid, p. 235.
- 21 Ibid, p. 237.
- 22 "Ueber Grobheit," Die Gegenwart, vol. 1 (1872), p. 350.
- 23 "Vom Plötzensee," Die Gegenwart, vol. 7 (1875), p. 202.
- 24 p. 279.
- 25 Deutsche Demokraten in Amerika. Die Achtundvierziger und ihre Schriften (Göttingen, 1958), p. 114.
- 26 Leopold Hirschberg, Der Taschengoedeke. dtv No. 4030 (München, 1961), vol. 1, p. 207. Don H. Tolzmann, German-Americana: A Bibliography (Metuchen, N.J., 1975), p. 141. Library of Congress Catalog of Printed Cards, vol. 66 (Ann Arbor, 1943), p. 194. The National Union Catalog. Pre-1956 Imprints, vol. 239 (Chicago and London, 1972), p. 139. Goedeke's Grundriss. Second ed., vol. 14 (Berlin, 1959), pp. 261, 263 does not indicate the author.
- 27 Carl Wittke, "Karl Heinzen's Literary Ambitions," Monatshefte, vol. 37 (1945), pp. 97-98.
- 28 Carl Julius Weber, Deutschland, oder Briefe eines in Deutschland reisenden Deutschen. Second ed. (Stuttgart, 1834), vol. 1, p. 407. Cf. also Badisches Sagenbuch, ed. August Schnezler (Carlsruhe, 1846), vol. 2, pp. 256, 266.
  - 29 Ernst Ochs, Badisches Wörterbuch (Lahr, 1925 ff.), vol. 2, p. 163.
- 30 Europäischer Geschichtskalender, vol. 16, ed. H. Schulthess (Nördlingen, 1876), p. 159.
- 31 Roger Morgan, The German Social Democrats and the First International 1864-1872 (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 12-13.
- 32 March 18, 1875. Cf. August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels, ed. Werner Blumenberg. Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der deutschen und österreichischen Arbeiterbewegung, vol. 6 (The Hague, 1965), p. 28.
- 33 Geschichte der Frankfurter Zeitung. Volksausgabe (Frankfurt a.M., 1911), p. 1034.
- 34 *Ibid*, p. 1038. Franz Mehring, who had been a contributor to the journal (pp. 155, 263), in 1911 edited Heine's works for the German working class.
- 35 "Ich, Bertolt Brecht, bin aus den schwarzen Wäldern," Die Zeit, No. 35 (Aug. 27, 1976), p. 16.
- 36 These biographical details are based on Geschichte der Frankfurter Zeitung, p. 151, supplemented with information received from the Standesamt Berlin-Charlottenburg (letter of May 3, 1977).
- 37 According to Johannes B. Kissling, Geschichte des Kulturkampfes im Deutschen Reiche (Freiburg, 1911-16), vol. 3, p. 193, Hörth published a tract entitled Der Kulturkampf (Frankfurt, 1875). I have not been able to locate a copy of this.
  - 38 Geschichte der Frankfurter Zeitung, pp. 392-397.
  - 39 Atzrott, Nos. 156, 906, 1019.
- 40 "Verzeichniss von sozialistichen Schriften, zu haben bei Gebrüder Herminghaus," Volksstimme des Westens, St. Louis (July 15, 1878).
- 41 Lieder zu Schutz und Trutz. Gaben deutscher Dichter aus der Zeit des Krieges in den Jahren 1870 und 1871, ed. Franz Lipperheide (Berlin [1871]), vol. 3, pp. 25-26.

- 42 Published in the Frankfurter Latern on April 10, 1875. Cf. Der Freiheit eine Gasse. Aus dem Leben und Werk Georg Herweghs, ed. Bruno Kaiser (Berlin, 1948), pp. 395-396, 425.
- 43 Otto Hörth, "Von Herwegh's Grab," Frankfurter Zeitung. Morgenblatt, No. 104 (April 14, 1875).
  - 44 "+ George Herwegh," No. 43 (April 16, 1875).
- 45 Victor Fleury, Le poéte Georges Herwegh (1817-1875) (diss. Paris, 1911), pp. 237-240. Alexander Schweickert, Heinrich Heines Einflüsse auf die deutsche Lyrik 1830-1900. Abhandlungen zur Kunst,- Musik- und Literaturwissenschaft, vol. 37 (Bonn, 1969), pp. 39-41.
- 46 George Herwegh, Neue Gedichte. Herausgegeben nach seinem Tode (Zürich, 1877), pp. 124, 290.
- 47 Adolf Trampe, George Herwegh. Sein Leben und sein Schaffen. Diss. Münster, 1909 (Borna-Leipzig, 1910), p. 60.
- 68 Herwegh, pp. 65, 90, 125, 218, 224, 241. Emma Herwegh, his widow, reported: "Nationalliberale und Altkatholiken waren in seinen Augen nichts Anderes, als eine Art politischer und religiöser Phyloxera, gegen die bis jetzt leider noch kein Vertilgungsmittel gefunden ist."—"Eine Erinnerung an Georg Herwegh," *Der Volksstaat*, No. 73 (June 30, 1875).
- 49 Geschichte der Frankfurter Zeitung, pp. 309, 858. Hörth also wrote a poetic prologue for the Frankfurt celebration of the first U.S. centennial (ibid, p. 310).
- 50 Gedenkfeiern 1873/1898/1923. Die Paulskirche. Eine Schriftenfolge (Frankfurt a.M., 1925).

- 51 Ibid, p. 12.
- 52 Ibid, p. 44.

#### AM FENSTER

Da steht er sonnendurchwirkt, Augusthimmel New Jerseys. Lichtblaue Folie über Trauerweiden schneidet Silberblätter aufs Wasser. Salzgeruch Meer in die Bucht. Der Sommer ruht still, bevor er zur Neige geht.

Gert Niers Brick Town, N.J.

#### FROM BABENHAUSEN TO SAUGATUCK: THE ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF CARL HOERMAN\*

By
PETER C. MERRILL
Florida Atlantic University

Carl Hoerman was a versatile and talented artist, and in presenting this paper I hope to pay him some measure of tribute and help to make his work more widely known. However, I also hope to offer a preliminary assessment of Hoerman's many-sided genius in terms of the milieu in which he worked and the influences which affected his artistic development.

Carl Hoerman was born in Babenhausen, Bavaria, a picturesque village about twenty miles southeast of the city of Ulm. Overlooking the village is a castle, the residence of the princes of Fugger-Babenhausen. It was in this setting that Carl Hoerman was born on April 13, 1885, one of the several children of Simon and Theresa (Kaufer) Hoermann. Born into a family of craftsmen, Hoerman and his brothers were trained from boyhood in the art of woodcarving. He soon tried his hand at drawing, however, and while still in his teens attracted the attention of Prince Carl Fugger. Under the patronage of the prince, he was enabled to study at the Royal Art School in Munich.<sup>1</sup>

In 1904, Hoerman emigrated to the United States and settled at Chicago, where he studied architecture for the next two years and worked for several Chicago architectural firms. In 1907 he married Christiana Ackermann, the daughter of a German-American family in Chicago, and the following year he became a licensed architect. In 1909 he opened his own architectural office in Chicago. During the next ten years he designed many private residences and a few commercial

<sup>\*</sup>Paper presented at the second annual symposium on German-American culture, sponsored by the Society for German-American Studies at Baldwin-Wallace College, May 13, 1978.

buildings. From around 1911 he and his wife lived in Highland Park, a suburb north of Chicago. Their house in Highland Park had been built to one of Hoerman's own designs.

In 1920 Hoerman gave up his architectural practice in Chicago and moved with his wife to Saugatuck, Michigan. Saugatuck, which is located at the place where the Kalamazoo River flows into Lake Michigan, is a lakeside resort in the midst of a land of pine woods and sand dunes. Even at that time Saugatuck had become something of an artists' colony as well as a resort for summer visitors from Chicago. When he first settled in Saugatuck, Hoerman started a tree nursery business, but in 1922 he gave this up in order to devote most of his time to painting.

In 1923, Hoerman built the Chalet, his residence, studio, and private gallery in Saugatuck. Located on a hillside and commanding a view of the Kalamazoo River, the Chalet is a monument to Hoerman's artistic versatility. In its many fascinating details, the Chalet reflects the hand and mind of a master craftsman, a craftsman whose range of skills included the arts of stonemasonry and leaded glass as well as woodcarving, architectural design, and painting.

After settling in Saugatuck, Hoerman gained both popular and critical recognition for his paintings of the sand dunes along the Lake Michigan shore. He continued to accept architectural commissions, but it was as a painter of landscapes that he was to become best known. There was a steady demand for his paintings and he produced nearly two thousand of them during his lifetime. Before the end of the 1920's he began to visit the American southwest and to paint desert landscapes. Eventually he established a winter studio, the "Casa del Desierto", at Riverside, California. There he gained particular recognition for his paintings of the Grand Canyon. A series of his Grand Canyon landscapes was purchased by the Acheson, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad and a number of his other paintings were acquired by museums and other public institutions. His work was also shown in numerous public exhibitions and won a number of awards. He did etching as well as paintings and in both his etchings and paintings he sometimes represented architectural subjects as well as landscapes. During several trips to Europe he painted German scenes, often of architectural subjects. He also did a good deal of painting in Mexico, particularly at Taxco.

Carl Hoerman died at Douglas, Michigan near Saugatuck on November 8, 1955. He is survived by his wife, who continues to live at the Chalet. Christiana Hoerman is also a painter whose work has been recognized by a number of awards. Their only child, a son named Rowland, died in infancy.

In trying to convey some impression of the quality of Carl Hoerman's work, it is best that we first consider his painting, for it was as a painter that he was most productive and best known. He was, to begin with, a realist who was completely uninfluenced by the fashion for abstract art which prevailed during much of his career. In choice of subject matter he was primarily a landscape artist whose most typical paintings depicted the Michigan dunes, the Grand Canyon, the Mojave Desert, and the Rocky Mountains. Secondarily, he was a painter of architectural subjects, his most notable architectural paintings being those which he completed during his frequent visits to Mexico.

Although a realist, Hoerman's realism was tempered by a softness of outline and a fulsome use of color. In general, his paintings make effective use of large color masses and exhibit less concern for sharp definition in the rendering of details. Hoerman's artistic vision was essentially that of a twentieth-century realist and he was no doubt affected by the example of his contemporaries. His skilled handling of light and shadow, for example, recalls the work of Edward Hopper. His work probably stands closest, however, to that of Sheldon Parsons, an American regionalist whose paintings of New Mexico during the 1920's can be compared to Hoerman's work in both subject matter and intent.

As an architect, Hoerman was by preference a designer of private residence, though he sometimes designed small commercial buildings and once even designed a grain elevator. Two things about his domestic architecture are immediately

striking: the degree to which he drew inspiration from folk architecture and his love for graciously executed decorative detail. He had, in other words, rejected the example of the Bauhaus architects and others committed to an architecture characterized by severity of line, industrial producability of structural elements, and an avoidance of decoration. Everywhere in Hoerman's buildings one finds a variety of ornamental features, such as decorative motifs carved or painted on wood, painted mural panels surmounting doorways or set into alcoves, ingenious color effects accomplished in the stains applied to wooden surfaces, and even goldleaf decoration on some of the woodwork. His skill as a craftsman is everywhere evident in the decorative details which formed part of his architecture. Doors are decorated with intricate carved designs, windows are embellished with graceful patterns in leaded glass, and the stone steps, patios, and fireplaces which are incorporated into his architectural plans reveal his skill as a stonemason.

It can be seen, then, that Hoerman's craftsmanship played an important role in his architectural work. It will be recalled, however, that he was trained as a craftsman before he took up architecture, and it is therefore not surprising that he continued to exercise his skills as a craftsman apart from his architectural work. For example, he always made the frames for his paintings, frames which are unobtrusive but which reveal his versatility and skill as a woodcarver and as an expert in staining and finishing wood. His skill as a woodcarver, however, is best exemplified by the carved chests and pieces of furniture which he executed for his own use rather than for sale.

In seeking to understand Hoerman's work in the context of the time and place in which it was produced, the discussion which follows will focus particular attention on three problems. I will first of all try to characterize the architectural scene in Chicago at the time Hoerman arrived there in 1904. I will secondly discuss the Arts and Crafts movement as it existed in Chicago during this period and seek to interpret its relationship both to Hoerman's work and to Chicago

architecture in general. Finally, I will attempt to draw attention to the place of Romanticism in Hoerman's work and to relate his Romanticism to his use of Gothic motifs.

At the time Carl Hoerman began his study of architecture in Chicago in 1904, local domestic architecture exhibited two dominant tendencies which coexisted and which shared a large measure of mutual compatability. On the one hand there was the work of Frank Lloyd Wright and those who shared his vision, a revolutionary architecture of open, interpenetrating spaces which was to exercise a profound influence on future building practice. On the other hand, there was a now almost forgotten group of Chicago architects who, though close to Wright in certain respects, had more in common with such contemporary British architects as C.F.A. Voysey and M. H. Baillie Scott. This group, which had its roots in the English cottage tradition, is perhaps best exemplified by the work of Robert C. Spencer, Jr. Spencer's work, like that of a number of his contemporaries, exhibits a characteristic interest in the decorative effects of such features as casement windows and half-timbering.<sup>2</sup>

If one now considers Carl Hoerman's architectural work in relation to the architectural scene which he found upon his arrival in Chicago, it should be first of all observed that Hoerman knew and greatly respected Frank Lloyd Wright. One can, in fact, observe a degree of Wright's influence on Hoermann's work. On the other hand, it was with the cottage architects that Hoerman can be seen to have had more in common. What he shared with them was not, however, a preference for specific architectural details, but rather an esthetic ideology which drew inspiration from similar sources. For Hoerman, like the cottage architects, looked to folk art and folk craftsmanship for inspiration. The difference them was that architects like Spencer immediately stimulated by the English country cottage, while Hoerman looked instead to the Alpine chalet.

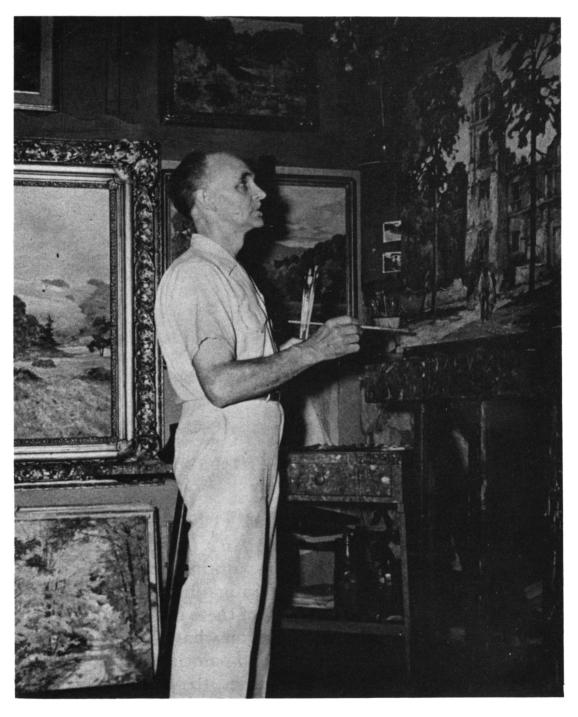
The Arts and Crafts movement was a phenomeon which had begun in late nineteenth-century England, largely as a result of the ideas and example of the designer, writer, and social critic William Morris. The movement, which began essentially as a protest against the esthetic and social evils of industrialism, put its support behind the production of hand-crafted household furnishings. In the particular style which it developed, the Arts and Crafts movement drew inspiration from both the medieval crafts tradition and from the English cottage crafts. The famous Morris chair, for example, was developed from a folk design found in rural England.

The Arts and Crafts movement had found its way to the United States by the end of the nineteenth century and within a few years American contributions had begun to significantly shape the movement. By the time Carl Hoerman arrived in Chicago in 1904, the Arts and Crafts movement was greatly in evidence there and Chicago had, in fact, become one of the centers of the movement in America.<sup>3</sup>

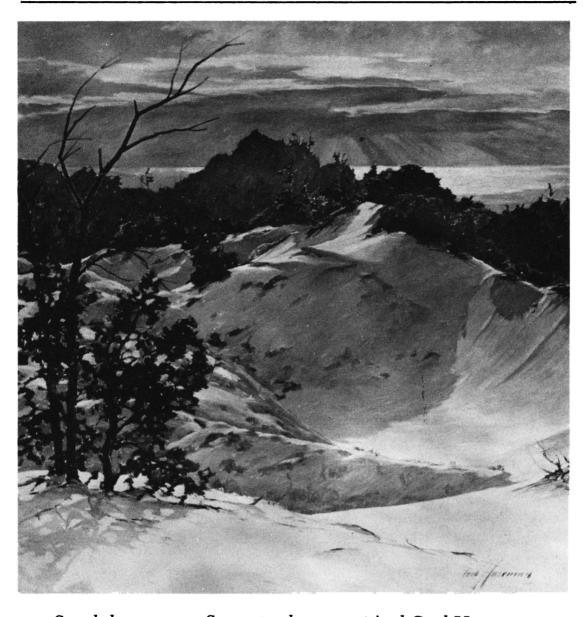
In certain of his work, such as his ornamental wall lamps with rectilinear designs in stained glass, one can probably discern a direct influence of the Arts and Crafts taste on Hoerman's work. More frequently, however, one comes upon similarities which are not so much the result of influence and imitation as they are the product of a shared purpose and basic agreement in esthetic principles. For just as Hoerman's architecture may be compared with the work of architects who, like Spencer, stood close to the Arts and Crafts movement, the same sort of comparison can be made with reference to Hoerman's decorative home furnishing. Like many of his contemporaries who were influenced by the principles of the Arts and Crafts movement, Hoerman's taste in the decorative arts embraced an appreciation for American Indian and Mexican handicrafts. Much of the unique quality of Hoerman's craftsmanship, however, can be traced to those influences which he brought with him from his native Bavaria. These influences include, first of all, the whole Bavarian tradition in woodcarving, a tradition in which Hoerman had received early training. It includes also a certain German historicism which may be seen, for example, in the medieval German street scenes which appear in his woodcarving as well as his paintings. Finally, his years as an art student in Munich had coincided with the fashion for art nouveau, a fact which left a trace, though never a conspicuous one, in his work.

The Romantic taste and the nineteenth-century revival of medieval architecture and decoration exercised a profound influence on Carl Hoerman's life and work. Oddly enough, this side of his sensibility does not reveal itself as clearly in his paintings as it does in his architectural and craft work. One of the hallmarks of his architectural style, for example, is his recurrent use of a certain low Gothic arch over windows. Although this type of arch is by no means characteristic of either Alpine folk architecture or of the adobe style of the American southwest, Hoerman did not hesitate to use arches of this type as a decorative feature in both the Chalet at Saugatuck and in his adobe-style house at Riverside, California. The Chalet also incorporates a Gothic-arched stained glass church window and the theme is repeated in the leaded glass ornamentation on other windows in the same room. The Gothic arch motif can also be found in his woodcarving. For example, on one of the remarkable carved chests which Hoerman fashioned, a tracery of Gothic arches is superimposed upon each of the views depicted on the sides of the chest. On one side of this piece, the arches stand in front of a panorama of the Grand Canyon in such a way as to create the novel effect that the scene is being viewed from within a glass cathedral. The same chest has a carved depiction of Neuschwanstein Castle on the cover. Neuschwanstein also appears in a carved table which Hoerman made for the living room of his Saugatuck home. This castle, built between 1869 and 1886 by Ludwig II of Bavaria, is a fully Romantic architectural work, and Hoerman's admiration for the castle is consistent with the Romantic side of his taste. In the summer of 1927, Carl and Christiana Hoerman spent part of a European vacation near Neuschwanstein Castle, and it is possible that he was influenced by the way the murals at Neuschwanstein are fitted into the gabled recesses of the building. Similar painted panels were placed by Hoerman in two of his homes.

Another Romantic motif in Hoerman's work is the depiction of rustic street scenes with peasant buildings. Such scenes form part of the decoration on two of his carved chests and similar scenes are found in a number of his European paintings.



Carl Hoerman in his Saugatuck studio



Sand dunes near Saugatuck — a typical Carl Hoerman painting

Although most of Carl Hoerman's paintings show little trace of Romanticism, three of his paintings which he chose to display in the living room of his Saugatuck home are wholly Romantic in conception. The first of these is a moonlight scene depicting a young couple in a boat on what appears to be one of the Bavarian lakes. The other two paintings are allegorical, one depicting the death of Beethoven, the other representing an allegorical vision of war. The painting which represents the death of Beethoven brings to mind the fact that Hoerman was

an enthusiast for classical music, Beethoven and Berlioz being his favorite composers. I think it was the Romantic rather than the classic side of Beethoven which Hoerman most admired. It was Carl Hoerman's wish that the funeral march from Beethoven's Eroica Symphony be played at his funeral, and this wish was carried out.

At the outset of this paper I characterized Carl Hoerman as a many-sided genius and expressed the hope that his work might become better known. In paying tribute to Carl Hoerman, however, one must consider the whole man, not just the artist. It is not an exaggeration to say that to have known him was to have had one's life in some measure changed, for although driven by a restless and seemingly boundless capacity for work, he was a man who found time for a number of intellectual pursuits and who possessed a wide circle of interesting and devoted friends. Dynamic and animated in manner, he was an arresting conversationalist whose presence charmed and entertained everyone around him. In short, he was a man that destiny had singled out for greatness.

#### NOTES

- 1. For a number of biographical details, I am indebted to the sketch of Hoerman's life which appears in **The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography** (1967), vol. 43, p. 116.
- 2. Domestic architecture in Chicago before the First World War is surveyed in the works by H. A. Brooks cited in the bibliography. Some of Spencer's work is shown in Brooks (1975), though a fuller appreciation of Spencer's architectural ideas may be gained from a perusal of the articles which he contributed to the magazine **House Beautiful** around 1905. **House Beautiful** was at that time published in Chicago and played an important role in disseminating the ideas of both the Arts and Crafts movement and the cottage architects.
- 3. See particularly the article by David H. Hanks, "Chicago and the Midwest" (pp. 58-59 in Clark, 1972) as well as Adams (1901).

#### **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Adams, Mary, "The Chicago Arts and Crafts Society," House Beautiful, 9:96-101 (January 1901).

American Art Annual, vol. 30 (1933).

- Brooks, Harold Allen, "Chicago Architecture: Its Debt to the Arts and Crafts," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, 30:312-317 (December 1971).
- ————, Prairie School Architecture: Studies from "The Western Architect".

  Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1975.
- ———, The Prairie School: Frank Lloyd Wright and his Midwest Contemporaries.

  Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1972.
- Clark, Robert Judson (ed.), The Arts and Crafts Movement in America 1876-1916. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1972.
- "Chalet Studio A Lifetime of Art," The Commercial Record (Saugatuck, Michigan), July 7, 1970.
- "In Saugatuck, a Home Where Art is Supreme," Grand Rapids Herald, July 6, 1958. The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography. Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1967.
- Priestman, Mabel T., "History of the Arts and Crafts Movement in America," House Beautiful, 20/5:15-16 (October 1906) and 20/6:14-16 (November 1906).
- Vollmer, Hans, Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler des XX. Jahrhunderts. Leipzig, E. A. Seeman Verlag, 1953-.
- Who's Who in American Art. Washington, D.C., The American Federation of Arts, vol. 1 (1936-37).

## GERMAN ANCESTOR HUNT

Dr. Robert E. Ward (21010 Mastick Road, Cleveland, OH 44126) wishes to trade information with persons who have researched the following ancestral surnames: Böcker (Neuenstein and Heilbronn); Dill (Durlach); Eccard, (Söllingen, and Grötzingen); Frauendorf (Klein-Zeisgendorf near Dirschau); Freinz (West Prussia); Fults, Pfoltz, Pfultz, Folts, Fultz (USA); Fleischer (West Prussia); Hasin (Neckargartach near Heilbronn); Hohenstadt (Obereisesheim near Heilbronn); Hasenmüller (Pforzheim); Jaszinska, Jaszinski (West Prussia); Janson (Obereisesheim near Heilbronn); Kurz (Grötzingen); Leyerle (anywhere in the world); Lang (Durlach); Mausinger (Söllingen); Pfisterer (Heilbronn); Rössel (Neckargartach near Heilbronn); Röger, Roeger (Heilbronn); Ruf (Grötzingen); Schäfer (Durlach); Scheidt (Grötzingen); Schneider (Altschweier); Schmelcher (Eppingen and Obereisesheim); Tannemann, Dannemann, Dannemännin (Pforzheim); Ukal (Mosbach); Wolf (Heilbronn); Ziegler (Altschweier).

#### GERMAN-AMERICAN GENEALOGICAL NOTE

The special 1977 issue (Sonderheft) of Südwestdeutsche Blatter für Familien und Wappenkunde contains an important article by Karl Ekmann on "The Emigration to the New England States from Places in the Vicinity of the Enz in the 18th Century" ("Die Auswanderung in die Neuengland-Staaten aus Orten des Enzkreises im 18. Jahrhundert").

## THE ELUSIVE PHILIPP VON HUTTEN: COLONIZER IN VENEZUELA

Bv

### ALBERT R. SCHMITT Brown University

One of the earliest and most illustrious — at least by family background—"travelers" in the Americas was Philipp von Hutten (b. Germany ca. 1511, d. by assassination Venezuela, Holy Week 1546). Knight, Imperial Colonel and Councilor, one of the leaders of the Welser family's colonizing efforts in Venezuela and since 1541 Spanish Captain-General in that province, he left us significant accounts in diary and letter form of his ocean crossing from Spain (Oct. 1534), where he had been a page to Charles V, by way of the Canary Islands, to Venezuela and there of his participation in various exploratory and colonizing expeditions (1535-1541).

The main part of Hutten's accounts was first published anonymously in 1550 as the first of two appendices to the narrations of Ferdinand Cortés to Charles V of the conquest of Mexico. This first publication of Hutten's papers fell into almost total oblivion and has remained virtually unknown to this day although at least two references to it are extant, one by Karl Klunzinger of 1857 and one by Konrad Haebler of 1903. In 1785 a second version of the Hutten papers appeared, published by Joh. Georg Meusel who had no knowledge of the 1550 printing. Meusel's edition contains Hutten's reports from Venezuela as well as letters to members of his family in Germany, which are not included in the 1550 printing, but it does not contain Hutten's account of the voyage from Spain to Venezuela and his first impressions of that country, its Indian population and some of their living habits. We thus gain a complete picture of Hutten's adventures only by viewing the two editions side by side.

The purpose of this paper then is to give a concise publication history of Hutten's papers as most likely the first published German report on America by a visitor, as well as an evaluation of its contents and form.

The fact that German interest in the Americas is as old as Columbus's discovery is a commonplace.1 One thinks of Sebastion Brant's Narrenschiff of 1494 and its first reference in the German language to Portuguese and Spanish explorers who have "vberall / Golt/inslen funden / vnd nacket lüt / Von den man vor wust sagen nüt/." One also remembers the German translations of the first accounts of the New World given by Columbus, Vespucci, Pizzaro and Cortés, as well as the many maps, atlas-like nautical charts and globes produced by German artisans during the first half of the 16th century. And mention should be made. of course. of Martin Waldseemüller's famous Cosmographia of 1507 where the name America is used for the first time, albeit in somewhat tongue-in-cheek fashion as we gather from the English translation of the passage in question by Harold Jantz: "... I do not see why anyone should rightly forbid naming it Amerige, land of Americus as it were, after its discoverer Americus (Vespucci), a man of acute genius, or America, inasmuch as both Europe and Asia have received their names from women."2

Although Germans were involved in the very early colonization efforts, the first eye witness reports by Germans who had been to America were not published in their homeland and in their native tongue until the 1550's. The three most outstanding known accounts are those of Nicolaus Federmann, Hans Staden and Ulrich Schmidel. Federmann's *Indianische Historia* of 1557 describes his first voyage through parts of Venezuela for the Welser family of Augsburg in 1529-30. Schmidel, in his *Neuwe Welt* of 1567, gives an account of his twenty years in Brazil commencing in 1534, and Staden, in his *Warhafftig Historia* of 1557, relates his American adventures between the years 1547 and 1554, the last of which he spent as a prisoner of cannibalistic Indians.<sup>3</sup>

A fascinating fact which has escaped most historians, however, is the publication in 1550 of some of the letters of Philipp von Hutten describing his voyage to and first adventurous expedition in Venezuela between October 18, 1534, and January 16, 1540. It may be safely assumed that this is actually the first printed account by a German of his experiences in the New World.

Biographical information on the first 23 years of the life of Philipp von Hutten is rather scant. It is provided by Friedrich Ratzel<sup>4</sup> who tells us that Philipp, a cousin-sometimes also called a nephew-of the more famous Ulrich, was born ca. 1511 in Birkenfeld, near Marktheidenfeld am Main, became a page at the court of Charles V and there was educated by Count Heinrich of Nassau-Saarbrücken. He attained the ranks of "kaiserlicher Oberst und Rath," as well as that of a "General-Kapitan von Venezuela." His ambition to become governor of that province was never realized. On August 17, 1534, he took his leave of Count Heinrich, and on the 22nd of the Emperor. Two months later he left Spain in the company of Georg Hohermuth von Speyer, 4th Governor of Venezuela in the service of Augsburg's famous Welser Family. Being heavily indebted to the Welsers, Charles V granted the Augsburg bankers and merchants the right to settle in the New World. As early as 1526 the Welsers established themselves in Santo Domingo, capital of Hispaniola (now the Dominican Republic and Haiti), and were represented there by Ambrosius Alfinger from Ulm who was the founder of the cities of Coro and Maracaibo and became Venezuela's first governor, after the Welsers had signed a contract with the Spanish Crown on March 27, 1528, giving them the right to conquer extensive areas of Venezuela.5

In addition to the names of German colonizers in Venezuela already mentioned there are many others attesting amply to the extent of the Welsers's interest and influence in that area. Some of the more important ones named by Hutten and elsewhere, are the brothers Georg and Heinrich Ehinger, Sebastian Rentz and Franz Lebzelter—like Alfinger and Federmann all from Ulm—, Hieronymus, Heinrich and Ulrich Sailer, Andreas Gundelfinger, Johann Seissenhofer and Bartholomäus Welser the Younger who, in the Holy Week of 1546, met a violent death by order of Juan de Carvajal on the

same day as Philipp von Hutten and two Spaniards who also opposed the power hungry Carvajal. It should not be forgotten that some 35-50 German miners from Joachimsthal in the Erzgebirge had been hired by the Welsers and shipped to Santo Domingo to aid in the attempts to mine silver and gold (see Hantzsch, fn. 5, pp. 24-27 and Haebler, ibid., 60 ff.) and to supervise and train Indians and black slaves, the latter having been brought over from Africa as early as 1510 (s. Haebler, pp. 70 ff.).

Philipp von Hutten arrived near Coro, Venezuela, on February 6, 1535, after a voyage that began in Sanlúcar de Barrameda in the Gulf of Cadiz on October 18, 1534. Four times their ships had to return to port because of adverse weather conditions, until, on December 8, they had a successful departure, this time from Cadiz. Ten days later they sighted Lanzarote, the northernmost of the seven Canary Islands, and on December 20 they landed on Gran Canaria. They left the islands on the 27th, having taken on fresh supplies and an additional 100 men. They must have had smooth sailing, for Martinique in the Windward Isl. was sighted on the 20th of January. They passed the islands of Dominica, Guadeloupe, Montserrat in the Leeward Isl., and St. Croix in the Virgin Islands, and on January 26 they landed in San Germán on San Juan Bautista, now Puerto Rico. After a stay of four days sails were set again and on February 7, 1535, Georg Hohermuth and his party, including Philipp, arrived at Coro, "ain Stat da sich die Christen halten" and there "kamen ... dem Gubernator entgege / die Obersten vnd Justitia / mitsampt dem gmainen volck / ward mit grossen freüden empfangen / vnnd nach dem selbigen tag von allem volck dem Gubernator geschworn."6

There follows in Ch. 3, "Von Caro (sic) / vnd jren Innwonern . . . /" this noteworthy description:

ES ist hie herumb ain arm Land / ain bloss / nackend / Bestialisch volck / aber in aller bosshait fast listig / gehn gantz nackent / bårfuss / vnd barhaupt / Bedecken die Weiber jr scham mit ainem thuch / hinden vn fornen fast / wie ain Badmaid bedeckt.

Die männer haben ain aussgehilerten Kirbsen / wie ain horen / da sy jr scham einthun / . . . . / Hie wechst weder wein noch brot / auch kain flaisch dann Hirschen / vnd dero vil / aber nit so gross als in vnsern Landen / es hat auch Tiger vnd Leoparden / vnnd villerlay gefigels / es hat kain gelt / sy handlen vnder ainander mit klainen subtilen Paternusterlen / die sy von Meer schupen / oder muschlen machen / das ist jr gelt / . . . / sy machen brot von weissen körnern / das sy Mayz nennen / wechst an stenglen / vnd in Ehern schier wie das koren / vnd schneidens vnd säens wider zu seiner zeyt / gibt ain wolgeschmach krefftig brot / allain das sy es nit saltzen / . . . / sy haben hie kain Winter / so ist der tag durch das Jar fast gleich / das er vmb ain stund nit ab oder zu nimbt.

.... est ist ain bloss volck / haben kaine weer / dann lang Spiess auss balmen gemacht / vn Flitschenboge / damit sy fast gewiss sein / haben vornen spitzen / wie ain eysen von Vischbainen gemacht / sehr scharff / ... / darumb ob sy schon kain eysen haben / sein darumb nit zuuerachten / Es ist zuuerwundern / vnd nit wol zuglaube / was rainer oder subtiler hüpscher arbait / sy von Gold an werckzeug allain mit herten stainen machen. (1f. 52r)

The reason for giving this rather detailed account of Hutten's voyage and description is the fact that it is contained in the first printing of his travels which has escaped almost entirely the attention of historical research and has never been reprinted in this form. Philipp's report appeared anonymously in 1550 on lvs. 51<sup>r</sup>-57 v as the first of two appendices to the first—and most likely only—German translation of Fernando Cortés' narrations to Charles V of 1520 and 1522. The second appendix, it may be mentioned here, although it has no bearing on this paper, is the first printing as well as translation of a long letter dated Santo Domingo January 20, 1543, by the famous historian and "Schlosshauptmann zu Santo Domingo" Consalvo Hernando de Oviedo (1478-1557) to Pietro Cardinal Bembo (1470-1547) of Venice.

There is every indication as far as I could determine that only two scholars out of many who have dealt with Philipp von Hutten as well as with the colonization of Venezuela have been aware of the existence of this first printing. These were Karl Klunzinger and Konrad Haebler (s. fn. 5). The author of the Welser article in the Allg. deutsche Biographie (sub nomine, p. 686) states that the historian Franz Wieser was of the opinion that "der Bericht des Schlosshauptmannes in San

Domingo..., abgedruckt in [den] Geschichten Fernandi Cortesii von dem Neven [sic] Hispanien (Augsburg 1550, S. 58 ff.)" had come to Germany through the good offices of the Welsers. Wieser does not mention the Hutten text, however, which immediately precedes that of Oviedo. Even Juan Friede in his definitive study Los Welser en la conquista de Venezuela (1961) has no knowledge of it although he does refer to the Wolfenbüttel Klunzinger and Haebler, nor does Catalogue, The New World in the Treasures of an Old European Library, ed. Harold Jantz (Braunschweig: Waisenhausdruckerei, June 1976), where we read that Philipp von Hutten's "letters were published for the first time in 1785." (p. 80)

That date refers to the second printing under the title "Zeitung aus Indian Junckher Philipps von Hutten. Aus seiner zum Theil unleserlich gewordenen Hanschrift," edited by Johann Georg Meusel in his Historisch-litterarisches Magazin, Erster Theil (Bayreuth und Leipzig: Verlag Lübecks Erben, 1785), pp. 51-117. This is the version that has served as the primary source to all subsequent studies on Hutten's involvement in Venezuela. Meusel tells us in his preface that Freiherr Karl Friedrich von Gemmingen found Hutten's letters "unter den Papieren des vor zwey Jahren verstorbenen letzten mannlichen Spösslings des uralten . . . Huttenschen Stammes, lies sie aus der hin und wieder unleserlich gewordenen Originalhandschrift so genau als möglich abkopiren, und theilte die Kopie dem Herausgeber grossmüthig mit."

This raises, of course, the question regarding the whereabouts of the MS mentioned by Meusel. It was apparently seen as recently as the beginning of this century by Konrad Haebler who states: "Die Handschrift, die [Meusel] als Vorlage gedient hat, befindet sich im Familienarchive der Herren von Gemmingen, durch deren Güte ich sie benutzen durfte. Sie ist nicht das Originaltagebuch des Philipp von Hutten, wohl aber eine gleichzeitige Abschrift" (Haebler, p. 243, fn. 1). In June of 1977, members of the Gemmingen family on the castles of Guttenberg and Hornberg on the Neckar were kind enough to let me look through their respective archives and libraries.

They also informed members of other branches of their family of the search. Inspite of all efforts to date neither the original nor the copy mentioned by Meusel and Haebler have been seen again.

This cannot be the place even to attempt a comparison of the two printings of Hutten's letters. That could accomplished only by way of a parallel edition which is, in fact, in the planning stages. Suffice it to say that there are enough differences in details, although not in substance, to allow making the assumption that the two versions cannot have been based on the same MS. Variants are found primarily in the spelling of place and proper names and in slightly altered or omitted numerical references and parts of sentences in the 1785 printing. The bulk of the 1550 ed. contains Philipp's description of his travels between leaving Spain and returning to Coro at the end of his first expedition undertaken in the company of Georg Hohermuth. This report, according to information given in the second printing only, was sent to his father, Bernhard v. Hutten, and is dated, in both eds., October 20, 1538. The remainder of the first printing, almost one and one half leaves, consists of information also to be found, mostly verbatim, in Philipp's letter of January 16, 1540, to his brother Moritz, Bishop of Eichstätt, but in a sequence different from that in the second printing. Style, tone and an increasing adherence to details as the narrative progresses suggest that Philipp probably took notes, perhaps in diary fashion, during his first expedition, and then rewrote these notes after his return to Coro, remembering more and more details as he began reporting the not so distant past.

The Meusel printing of 1785 contains additional letters by Philipp to his family (father, mother, brothers Moritz and Wilhelm) and one to a friend, a certain Georg Geuder in Nürnberg. The remaining 16 pages of Meusel's edition contain letters by Moritz and others after the family got word of the death by murder of Philipp, the younger Bartholomäus Welser and two Spaniards. In these letters Moritz appeals to the Bishop of Würzburg, King Ferdinand and even the Emperor himself that justice be done to all guilty parties as it had

already been done through the execution of Juan de Carvajal, and that restitution to the heirs be made of the property and possessions of Philipp and the young Welser. All of which was to no avail.

In conclusion it should be said that Philipp's accounts of his adventures and tribulations are as fascinating as any from that time and place. He always captivates the reader whether he is describing dealings with and treatment—often cruel and murderous-of the Indians, dreaming of reaching the fabulous El Dorado, relating the legend of Amazones, or telling the horrors of cannibalism among Christians. And finally there is the as yet unexplained remark in his letter to Moritz of January 16, 1540, regarding the most famous of all German magicians. While complaining about all kinds of hardships he makes one of the earliest references—and certainly the first one from the New World—concerning this well known master of necromancy when he says, "dass ich bekennen muss, dass es der Philosophus Faustus schier troffen het, dann wir ein fast bösses Jahr antroffen haben, aber Gott hab Lob ist uns fast unter allen andern am besten gangen" (Meusel, p. 93).8

#### **NOTES**

- 1 Paper presented at the 1977 MLA Convention in Chicago during Special Session 291: Continental Travelers in the Americas.
- 2 Harold Jantz, "Images of America in the German Renaissance," in: First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old, ed. Fredi Chiapelli (University of California Press, 1976), p. 98.
- 3 For a detailed analysis of these three works see Duncan Smith, "... beschreibung eyner Landtschafft der Wilden / Nacketen / Grimmigen Menschfresser Leuthen': The German Image of America in the Sixteenth Century," in: The German Contribution to the Building of the Americans: Studies in Honor of Karl J. R. Arndt, ed. Gerhard K. Friesen and Walter Schatzberg (Worchester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1977), pp. 1-19. It should be noted that Federmann's and Standen's accounts were reprinted by Karl Klüpfel in Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, Vol. 47 (1859).
- 4 Friedrich Ratzel in Allg. deutsche Biographie, sub nomine, and in Jahresbericht der geographischen Gesellschaft in München, Vol. 6 (1877-79), pp. 153-156, this text being identical almost verbatim with the one in AdB except for the complete Latin text of the inscription by Hutten's brother Moritz, Bishop of Eichstätt, on the monument erected in Philipp's memory in the church of Maria-Sondheim near Arn-

stein an der Wern, not far from Schweinfurt. The German translation of this text is provided by Viktor Hantzsch (s. footnote 5), p. 46.

- 5 Some of the best and most reliable accounts of the settlement of Venezuela by Germans are found in
- a) Karl Klunzinger, Antheil der Deutschen an der Entdeckung von Südamerika... (Stuttgart: Sonnewald, 1857),
- b) Viktor Hantzsch, Deutsche Reisende des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, Leipziger Studien aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1895),
- c) Konrad Haebler, Die überseeischen Unternehmungen der Welser und ihrer Gesellschafter (Leipzig: Hirschfeld, 1903),
- d) Germán Arciniegas, Los Alemanes en la conquista de America (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1941); English transl. by Angel Flores, Germans in the Conquest of America... (New York: MacMillan, 1943),
- e) Juan Friede, Los Welser en la conquista de Venezuela... (Caracas-Madrid: Ediciones Edime, 1961).
- 6 (Philipp v. Hutten), "Ain andere Histori / von newlich erfundnen Inseln / der Landtschafft Indie," in: Ferdinandi Cortesii. Von dem Newen Hispanien / so im Meer gegem Nidergang / Zwo gantz lustige vnnd fruchtreiche Historien / an den grossmächtigisten vnüberwindtlichisten Herren / CAROLVM V. Römischen Kaiser &c. Künig in Hispanien &c... (Augsburg: Philipp Vlhart, 1550), 1f. 52<sup>T</sup>.
- 7 See also J. G. Meusel, "Nachtrag zu der Abhandlung über El Dorado..." in: Allgemeine Geographische Ephemeriden, 25 (April 1808), No. 4, pp. 483-489; this is in reply to an article by T. E. Ehrmann, "El Dorado...," in: Allg. Geogr. Eph., 25 (February 1808), No. 2, pp. 136-165.
- 8 On this early reference to the historical Faust see Siegfried Szamatólski, "Der historische Faust," in: VjLG 2 (1889), pp. 156-159, Alexander Tille, Die Faustsplitter in der Literatur des sechzehnten bis achtzehnten Jahrhunderts nach den ältesten Quellen herausgegeben... (Berlin: Felber, 1900), pp. 10-11, No. 7, as well az Hans Hennig, Faust-Bibliographie, Teil I: Allgemeines. Grundlagen. Gesamtdarstellungen. Das Faust-Thema vom 16. Jahrhundert bis 1790 (Berlin-Weimar: Aufbau-Verlag, 1966), p. 80, No. 717.

This paper was made possible through the exact bibliographical identification of the 1550 printing of Philipp von Hutten's report by John Alden, senior bibliographer, and the knowledgable and kind support of Ilse Kramer, bibliographer, both of the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, RI. Under John Alden's direction work is in progress with the aid of a NEH grant to prepare the first definitive bibliography of European Americana between 1492 and 1800.

## DICTIONARY OF GERMAN-AMERICAN CREATIVE WRITERS

by **Robert E. Ward**BIBLIOGRAPHICAL HANDBOOK

Vol. I: BIBLIOGRAPHICAL HANDBOOK
Price: \$10.00

Order from: German-American Publishing Co.

21010 Mastick Rd., Cleveland, Ohio 44126

# AMERICAN DESCENDANTS OF HESSIANS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

By
KARL J. R. ARNDT
Clark University

Linguistic change is a force that seems to defy rational regulation. Within the past decade the word "gay" has acquired a new and special meaning which makes it necessary to be cautious about its use. The simple word "gift," in English, may mean a present or a special talent, while in German the same word means poison, unless it is used with the prefix "Mit", and then it means "dowery." "Hessian" to Americans may mean a native of the German state of Hessen, but more frequently it stands for "A mercenary or venal person," alluding to the Hessians who served with the British in the Revolutionary War. It also means "A coarse sacking of hemp and jute," "Andirons having uprights shaped to represent Hessians," "A kind of high boots introduced into England by the Hessians," and "A small two-winged fly, very destructive to wheat in America." Although many German states sent mercenaries to America who served the British in the American Revolution, the term "Hessian" has come to stand for all such German mercenaries, regardless of the German state from which they came. For the purpose of this communication we shall use the term in that general sense.

Of the some 30,000 German mercenaries who came to America to serve under British command, 6,000 or more deserted to the Americans and were then often found listed in the official records as "deserters". Because of this situation, descendants of such "deserters" became eager to escape the opprobrium attached to such records, even though the term was entirely out of place in the record. Instead of "deserter" the record should have stated "immigrant to America at the invitation of the American Government," because it was an

official policy of the American Government to encourage German mercenaries to lay down their arms and join the Americans. German broadsides were printed for that very purpose and distributed widely among the Germans, many of whom really should never be called "mercenaries" because they served under compulsion. The term "mercenary" should be limited to those who served as soldiers for mercenary purposes by their own free choice. It should not be applied to those who were forced into the Army by their government and then sold to the British by their sovereigns for the mercenary purposes of that sovereign. When German soldiers in the British Army read the German-American broadsides issued by the Americans, they, for the first time, had an opportunity to make a free choice, and the thousands who did were neither real mercenaries nor deserters, but individuals who were making use of their human rights.

What genealogical potential existed in each of the thousands of Hessian deserters, has been documented and illustrated by the book Johannes Schwalm, The Hessian, researched and published by the Johannes Schwalm Historical Association. This volume shows what a great progeny of fine Americans came from the seed of this one German "mercenary" who settled in America. It also points to the fact that here lies a vast, almost untouched field of genealogical research in America. The volume has attracted much attention here and in Germany and should provide a great incentive for Americans of German ancestry to search out their roots. To encourage such research, it has been proposed that an association of Descendants of Hessians of the American Revolution be formed to bring together such descendants and thus encourage the study of their own genealogical roots. The Johannes Schwalm Historical Association has shown the way, and the following letter from one of its members to a fellow member explores the plan of the A D H A R further. Persons interested are encouraged to communicate either with Mr. Mark A. Schwalm or Mr. Kenneth Schwalm Jones at the addresses shown in the letter below.

\* \* \*

Mr. Kenneth Schwalm Jones 71-73 Chandler Street Worchester, Massachusetts 01623

Dear Ken: October 3, 1977

I believe that the formation of a society of "Descendants of Hessians of the American Revolution" would be a worthwhile project. Aside from my own insatiable interest in the subject of Hessian soldiers who remained in America there is an increasing awareness with the average American that he has had ancestors and that he has a heritage. He has begun to ask questions about his family's history and genealogy. More of our citizens realize that they have not always been Americans—that somewhere in history an ancestor or two came to America—most likely from Europe.

During the American Revolution there came to our shores some 30,000 German officers and soldiers commonly called Hessians. Of the 6,000 or more who did not return to Germany after hostilities ceased, many married local women and raised families — to wit: Johannes Schwalm, Andreas Schwalm, Andreas Schmeltz, Nicholas Bahnert (Bohner), Justus Groh (Gray), and others. Judging from the descendants of these men, the 6,000 who remained were a tremendous force at the grass roots level of our agricultural development, the local political scene and the rural economy in general. This was true in just about all of the original 13 states. It then spilled over into Ohio and West Virginia, and to a lesser degree to Kentucky and Tennessee. In more recent generations, the descendants have permeated all 50 states and numerous professions. This same pattern of early development happened also in the eastern half of Canada, where large numbers of so-called Hessians settled. In subsequent years. descendants of those German officers and soldiers who had returned to their native land in 1783, migrated to America, forming a new and broader base of Hessian descendants.

An organization or society of Descendants of Hessians of the American Revolution would serve:

- 1. To function as a rallying point for descendants of Hessians living not only in America, but in Canada and Germany, or in any part of the world.
- 2. To provide a conduit through which people who believe they are descendants of Hessians can learn how to authenticate the claims or beliefs.
- 3. To provide the initiative and structure needed to identify the 6,000 Hessians (Germans) who remained after the War, where they settled and their contributions to the development of early America.
- 4. As a focal point where members and others can have their research evaluated and further disseminated.
- 5. By including Canadians and Germans, it will open doors to documents, records and other resources which might otherwise remain hidden or even might ultimately be destroyed. (As an example, the writer personally was able to secure a microfilm copy of the original diary of Jeremias Kappes, a soldier in the von Knyphausen Regiment who returned to his native Germany. This diary was still in the hands of the Kappes family in Hessen.)
- 6. As a result of the work that the Johannes Schwalm Historical Association has done over the years it is evident that in Germany there is a very real desire by the "average man on the street" to find a tie with Americans — something to which he can personally relate. Feature articles have been written in the Schwalmer Jahrbuch about the part played by Hessians in the American Revolution. Our Association President, Dr. Leslie Schwalm, has made annual trips to Die Schwalm and has established close ties with distant cousins who, until our research came along, never realized they had distant relatives in America. Both Dr. Schwalm and I have been given newspaper interviews in Germany and our Association received considerable publicity. On my own visit this past summer I was given an audience by Helgar Börner, Minister President of Hessen, Herrn Regierungsdirektor Ochs and Bürgermeisters of three municipalities. Our Association has received an invitation from Willi Croll, Bürgermeister of

Hofgeismar, host to the 1978 Hessentage, to participate in the huge parade and in other spots in the State Fair.

7. It is evident that other families with Hessian descendants doing research similar to ours could also establish German-American relations. An association of Descendants of Hessians of the American Revolution — hopefully working low-key — would promote ties on a person-to-person basis, providing for a rich exchange in culture and social events and ideas.

Before a formal organization is attempted, it is necessary that the idea be publicized to generate interest in the project.

Sincerely,

M. A. SCHWALM Secretary

Johannes Schwalm Historical Association 4983 S. Sedgewick Road Lyndhurst, Ohio 44124

## GERMAN TRANSLATION OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER

By Eduard Leyh (1840-1901)

O sprich, kannst du seh'n bei der schwindenden Nacht, Was wir freudig noch grüssten im Abendrotglanze: Unsre Streifen und Sterne, die während der Schlacht Im Winde geflattert, dort hoch auf der Schanze? Der Raketen Gesaus und der Bomben Gebraus, Verkünden durchs Dunkel: die Flagge hält aus! O sprich, weht das Banner im Morgenlichtschein Noch über den Helden, im Lande der Frei'n?

#### SURNAMES IN GRAMM'S HISTORY OF THE GERMANS IN NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY

COMPILED BY LA VERN J. RIPPLEY, ST. OLAF COLLEGE

See THE GERMANS IN NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY. THE RECORD OF FIVE HUNDRED AND FORTY MALE IMMIGRANTS FROM GERMANY TO NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J., AND VICINITY DURING A FIFTY-YEAR PERIOD FROM 1838 TO 1888. THE CONTRIBUTION THEY AND THEIR DESCENDANTS HAVE MADE TO THEIR COMMUNITY. By Rev. Carl H. Gramm (Cleveland: Central Publishing House, 1938).

THEIR PESCHWAMTS MAVE MOBE TO THEIR COMMUNITY, By Rev. Carl H. Gramm [Cleveland: Centaal Publishing House, 1938].

ABECKER, Ludwig. Palatinate; ACKER, Andrew. Baden; ACKER, Henry. Baden; AHRENS, Carl. Mecklenburg; ALBERT, Frederick. Saxony; ALBECHT, William. Pomerania Pruszin; ANDRES, George. Baden; BABEL George. Bavaria; BAECKER, Henry. Frusaia; BAECKER, Henry. Hanover; BANKER, Petan. Bavaria; BAKER, Peter. Bavaria; BAMK, Rev. Carl. D.D. Oldenburg; BANKER, Frank. Hanover; BANKER, Henry. Hanover; BANKER, Mugust. East Prussia; BARTENFELT. G. Switzerland; BAUER, Mortis. Maker, Marker, Marker,

Palatinate; HODES, Ignaz. Prussia; HOELZER, Henry. Oberzell, Nesse; HOELZER, John. Oberzell, Nesse; HOFPMAN, Adam. Saxony; HOEPFANN, George. Saxony; HOEPFANN, Rathiss. Saxony; HOEBFANN, Nicholas. Hesse; ITZSGHLAN, William. Hanover; JAE, George. Hanover; JAE, John. Hanover; JAHSEN, Radolph. Mest Frussia; JONAS, Saxon; Hoepfann, JAHSEN, Radolph. Mest Frussia; JONAS, Saxon; Hoepfann, JONAS, Charl. North Frussia; JONAS, Charles, Cha

SASS, Louis. Berlin, SAUER, Ludwig. Bavaria: SAUER, William. Bavaria: SCHAAF, Peter. Baden; SCHAEFPER, Agust. Prussia; SCHAEFPER, K. H. Hasse; SCHEIDIG, Peter. Baden; SCHAEFPER, Agust. Prussia; SCHAEFPER, K. H. Hasse; SCHEIDIG, SCHLEE, John. Muerttemberg; SCHLEE, John. Paterian, John. Muerttemberg; SCHLEE, John. John. Bavaria; SCHMIDT, Caspar, Jr. Oberzell, Kurhessen; SCHMIDT, Caspar, Jr. Oberzell, Kurhessen; SCHMIDT, Cantales. Werttemberg; SCHMIDT, Conrad. Oberzell, Kurhessen; SCHMIDT, Edward. Palatinate; SCHMIDT, George. Palatinate; SCHMIDT, Henry: Oberzell, Kurhessen; SCHMIDT, John. Bavaria; SCHMIDT, John. Merttemberg; SCHULTE, Henry. Muerttemberg; SCHULTE, John. Bavaria; SCHMEN, John. Bavaria; Muerttemberg; SCHMEN, John. Bavaria; Muerttemberg; SCHMEN, John

#### \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

----Editor's Note: A copy of Gramm's book is at the Library of the University of Minnesota. The complete names, places of origin, occupation, and other information on the persons bearing the above surnames have been recorded by Prof. Rippley on 3x5-inch file cards. These cards are available at the Western Reserve Historical Society (Ward Collection of Americana Germanica) in Cleveland, Ohio. Each of the above entries gives the following information: (1) surname, (2) first name, (3) town and/or state of origin. In some cases, the person's middle name is also given.

#### REVIEW

Curt E. Schmidt, Oma and Opa, German-Texan Pioneers. New Braunfels: Folkways Publishing Company, 1975. 129 pp.

Die Alten (the Old Ones) was a term affectionately applied to the hearty pioneers who forsook their Nineteenth Century Germany to establish a new home for themselves and their families in Texas. Today, Texas having an estimated 400,000 people in 1960 with at least one-half German ancestry, the descendants of these stalwart Omas and Opas constitute the fourth largest ethnic group in the State, outnumbered only by Texans of Anglo-American, Black and Mexican descent.

Curt E. Schmidt in his Oma and Opa, German-Texan Pioneers has provided what might well be termed a handbook for German-Texans. After a short but concise historical accounting of the German immigration and settlement and the German language in Texas, Oma and Opa concentrates on the life of the pioneers, delving into such diverse subjects as the role of religion among Die Alten, Sprichwörter used by them, their arcane practices, their organizations and their social life. In short, Oma and Opa provides the reader with a look at both his ethnic and cultural heritage, the writing accomplished in such a manner to entertain as well as to inform. An important part of the book is also the inclusion of fifty-two German songs, many as popular today as they were over a century ago. In addition, the reader will appreciate the author's skill with a pen to draw as well as to write, all the many illustrations in Oma and Opa done by Mr. Schmidt himself.

At present a practicing attorney in New Braunfels, Texas, Curt E. Schmidt is a former New Braunfels Independent School District superindentent and Comal County Attorney. He was born November 5, 1903 in thickly German-Texan populated Gillespie County and developed an early interest and appreciation of his ethnic heritage. Growing up, he enjoyed an especially close relationship with his maternal grandfather, Johannes Wilhelm Heimann, born May 5, 1838 in Manderbach, Dillkreis, Hessen and died in Gillespie County February 17, 1924, who had arrived in Texas with his parents and other relatives as a youth of seven in 1845. It was from the tales of Fadder Heimann and others of Die Alten that Curt Schmidt's imagination and interest was captured and which is reflected in his knowledge of the subjects about which he writes in his book. In addition to Oma and Opa, Mr. Schmidt has written several genealogies, Schmidt, History of a Family (1958) and Heimann, History of Family (1976), as well as other historical works. At present, he is completing the Manuscript for Die Manderbacher, a work covering the background and history of nine families which traveled to Texas in 1845 under the auspices of the Verein zum Schutze deutscher Einwanderer in Texas.

ROBERT R. ROBINSON-ZWAHR

#### **GERMAN-AMERICAN GENEALOGICAL NOTES**

Hans Arnold Plöhn, Sammlung der Hochzeitsgedichte und Leichenpredigten in der Commerzbibliothek Hamburg. Namen und Daten aus vier Jahrhunderten. Veröffentlichungen der Zentralstelle für Niedersächsische Familienkunde e.V. Hamburg. Band 4 (Hamburg, 1960), 103 pp.

Contains names, dates, etc. of persons whose marriages were embellished by special poetry readings and of persons whose funerals were attended by the reading of prayers by the clergy. Plöhn compiled this information from the collections of wedding poems and eulogies at the Commerce Library in Hamburg. A copy of this volume is at the Western Reserve Historical Society (Ward Collection of Americana Germanica) in Cleveland.

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

Hans Arnold Plöhn, comp., Festschrift zum 50 jährigen Bestehen der Genealogischen Gesellschaft, Sitz Hamburg, e.V. am 25. Mai 1968 (Stade, 1968), 95 pp.

Contains several genealogical articles, in commemoration of the Genealogical Society's founding. Pages 93-95 list all of the surnames in this volume. A copy of it is at the Western Reserve Historical Society (Ward Collection of Americana Germanica) in Cleveland.

Merksche Familien-Zeitschrift, Band XXV (1975). Published and edited by Peter Merck and Friedrich W. Euler (Address: Am Löwentor 24, 6100 Darmstadt, West Germany).

This family genealogical group (Merck) has again begun publishing its periodical which it ceased four years ago. Some of the families treated therein are: Merck, Hoffmann, Moller, Gerber, von Castermur, Partz, Hille, Günste, Follenius, and Hessemer.

Gerd Möhlmann, Geschlechter der Hansestadt Rostock im 13.-18. Jahrhundert. Band 25 of Genealogie und Landesgeschichte, Publikationen der Zentralstelle für Personen- und Familiengeschichte, ed. Heinz F. Friedrichs (Verlag Degener and Co.: Neustadt/Aisch, 1975), 194 pp. Price: 80 West German Marks. Contains genealogical information on persons from Rostock and includes an index of surnames.

Elisabeth Korn, Quellen zur Duisburger Geschichte im Hauptstaatsarchiv Düsseldorf, Bestände des 19./20. Jahrhunderts: Grossherzogtum Berg, Regierung Kleve, Regierung Düsseldorf, Band 6 of Quellen zur Duisburger Geschichte im Hauptstaatsarchiv Düsseldorf (Verlag Degener and Co.: Neustadt/Aisch, 1975). Price: 48 West German Marks.

Treats genealogical materials in the Main State Archive at Düsseldorf which deal with persons from the Grand Duchy of Berg, and the areas surrounding Kleve and Düsseldorf. Especially valuable is the 73-page register of names.

Rolf Miller and W. Gauweiler, eds. and comps., Handbuch der Städte, Gemeinden und Kreise von Niedersachsen (Verlag Werbung und Graphik: Heidelberg, 1975).

\*

This is an excellent handbook of cities and towns in Lower Saxony.

Gemeindelexikon für das Königreich Preussens, 15 vols.

Various areas of Prussia are treated in this encyclopedia. Hannover, which was incorporated into Prussia in 1866, is the subject of Volume 9. Especially helpful when researching areas which became part of Prussia.

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

W. Ubbelohde, Statistische Repertorium über das Königreich Hannover (Hannover, 1823).

Although this handbook is over a century and a half old, it is still invaluable for research on areas of the Kingdom of Hannover.

\*

F. W. Harsheim and C. Schlüter, Statistisches Handbuch für das Königreich Hannover (Hannover, 1848). This old handbook remains an important tool for research on areas in the old Kingdom of Hannover.

Martin Reissmann, Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft des 17. Jahrhunderts in sozialgeschtlicher Sicht, Band 4 of Beiträge zur Geschichte Hamburgs (Hans Christians Verlag: Hamburg, 1975), 447 pp.

This is an expanded version of Reissmann's doctoral dissertation which treats Hamburg's merchants in the 17th century. It includes a name index and the names of firms which imported and exported goods, etc.

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

The Ostfriesische Landschaft Arbeitsgruppe Familienkunde und Heraldik in Aurich, West Germany has published a special issue of its periodical dealing with the funeral sermons in the archives of the Reformed Church in Emden and in the libraries of that town. The funeral sermons are loaded with names and other genealogical data. This genealogical society has also published Geschichte des Emsigerlandes vom Frühen 13. Bis zum Späten 15. Jahrhundert. Teil II, by Hajo von Lengen. Price is 45 West German Marks.

\*

The Bayerische Landesverein für Familienkunde (Bavarian State Society for Family Research), 8 München, Winzererstrasse 68 (Stadtarchiv), West Germany publishes the genealogical periodical, Blätter des Bayerischen Landesvereins für Familienkunde and the ancestral pedigree series known as Bayerische Geschlechtertafel. The periodical is free to members. Annual membership dues are 29 West German Marks. Members have access to the society's card file and library. The society's major interest in genealogical research covers the areas of Oberbayern, Niederbayern, Schwaben and Oberpfalz.

Joachim Dollwet's article, "Die Einwohner des Bietzerherges im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," (Saarländische Familienkunde, Band 3, Jahrgang XI, Heft 41 (1978), lists names and dates of persons living in Bietzen, Harlingen and Menningen.

The Pfälzisch-Rheinische Familienkunde, XXVII. Jahrgang, Band 9 Heft 1 (April 1978) has an article on the early settlers of Host Church Berks County, Pa. and their origins in Hochstadt in the Palatinate.

\*