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Wenn dich auf neuen Pfad wir bilden,
Der auf des Sternenbanner Bild,
So hast das Herz oft gold'ne Zeichen
Stärker in die alte Welt.

IN THIS ISSUE:

- Christopher L. Dolmetsche, *Studies in Shenandoah Valley
German: A Critical Survey* 25
Ilse Pracht-Fitzell, *In der Nacht* 33
Gerhard K. Friesen, *A Letter From M.F. Anneke: A Forgotten
German-American Pioneer In Women's Rights* 34
Notes on German-American Genealogy 46
*Notes on German-American Studies at Southwest Texas
State University* 47
Glen E. Lich, *The Wends of Texas* 48
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STUDIES IN SHENANDOAH VALLEY GERMAN; A CRITICAL SURVEY

BY

CHRISTOPHER L. DOLMETSCH

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Inconceivable as it may seem today, at one time not long after the Revolutionary War over five percent of the population of the State of Virginia was comprised of Germans, that is to say, people who either considered the German language to be their mother tongue, or who grew up in homes where German had once been commonly spoken.¹ Although a goodly number of these Germans were then living on the eastern side of the Blue Ridge Mountains in what are now the counties of Faquier, Culpepper and Spotsylvania, by far the vast majority of them were to be found in that narrow, fertile strip of land between the Blue Ridge and Allegheny mountains known as the Shenandoah Valley. Indeed, from the time Adam Miller and his small party first staked out their claims in the sparsely-settled Indian lands around 1727, until the last new wave of immigrants arrived from neighboring Pennsylvania and Maryland around 1800, literally thousands of Germans moved up the Valley, some in wagons, others on horseback and still others, if we are to believe the few surviving accounts from those days, even on foot.

Since then, numerous books, articles and pamphlets have appeared dealing with many aspects of the colorful history and folklore of the Shenandoah Valley Germans, from Samuel Kercheval's anecdotal account based on boyhood years spent in Clarke County, *A History of the Valley of Virginia* (Woodstock, 1833), to Klaus Wust's meticulously documented and definitive history, *The Virginia Germans* (Charlottesville, 1969). Still, conspicuously lacking in even the most comprehensive of such studies has been a thorough and authoritative account of the highly unusual linguistic situation created by the presence of so many non-English speaking settlers in this one particular region. For here were settlers representing not only various regional German dialects in their speech, but with a common, universally understood High German Language as well, in direct contact with a society where English had already been the standard of communication for well over a hundred years.

To be sure, studies have appeared during the course of this century discussing various, individual aspects of the spoken dialects themselves. Thus far, however, not one single article has even remotely considered the broader implications of the overall language situation in the Valley, let alone dealt with the use of High German there. Furthermore, too often overlooked in most of the previous historical as well as linguistic studies has been the fact that those

Germans who chose to immigrate to western Virginia came from diverse regions within Germany and were, therefore, not all speakers of the same local dialects.

From the flat, coastal northlands near Bremen, to the Alps south of Bern in Switzerland, they had arrived at the docks, Swabians, Alsatians and Rhinelanders alike, all eager to set out for America at the first opportunity. Of those who subsequently came to Virginia, as the late Professor John W. Wayland pointed out in his book *The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley* (Dayton, Va., 1907), the overwhelming majority of them proceeded directly south from the ports of Philadelphia and Baltimore, spending but little time in places along the way.² What should have already been apparent from this fact, is that since most of these settlers had experienced such limited contact, if any, with older "established" German communities in the north, they most certainly had not had their speech *corrupted* by those dialects of German which were becoming prevalent there and so arrived in the hinterlands of Virginia with their regional dialects very much intact.

Similarly, those early settlers like Jost Hite or Jacob Funk, who already represented second or third generations of immigrant families by the time they arrived in Virginia, often - although by no means *always* - left close-knit communities in Pennsylvania or Maryland where their original homeland dialects had been carefully preserved. Thus, while it may be undeniably true, as most historians and linguists have maintained, that this odd mixture of "older" immigrant stock and "new" did eventually enable a *leveling effect* in the German dialects spoken in the Shenandoah Valley to occur, the consequences were never as radical as previously alleged. It should, in fact, be pointed out that there never was, nor is to this day, a single spoken variant which may be called Shenandoah Valley German.

The lack of a singular, mutually-intelligible spoken dialect of German scarcely seems to have mattered in those early years, however. What linked those Valley settlers together was rather their use of the High German Language of the standard Protestant or Lutheran *Bible*. As Klaus Wust, among others, has already clearly shown, even if those God-fearing Germans could provide little else of substance with which to furnish their new Valley homes, they at least owned a prayerbook, hymnal or *Bible* from which their own edification as well as the highly-regimented education of their children could be derived.³ This reliance on standard High German for widespread and more formal communication proved of even greater significance later on, for it provided the basis on which a local German-language press could be established in the early part of the 19th century.

Still, it was not just the presence of these German-speaking settlers in the Shenandoah Valley that allows this language environment to be termed "highly unusual". In large parts of Pennsylvania and Maryland, Germans, Swiss, and even a handful of Austrians had already settled and built large, thriving communities for themselves long before this time. What was different in the Valley of Virginia was, rather, the simultaneous large-scale immigration of English and Scotch-Irish into this same region and the relatively large number of so-called

"mixed" communities which subsequently arose there.

With the English language, as stated before, already so well-entrenched in Virginia, unlike Pennsylvania and Maryland where German was still preferred in some circles, the Valley Germans were extraordinarily hard-pressed to either conform to English or fight any change. Perhaps owing to their sheer numerical strength in some parts of the area, resistance became the first course that they chose. Thus there arose in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, unlike in Pennsylvania or Maryland, where English and German were generally segregated from one another, the peculiar linguistic environment known as a *diglossia* (see: Heinz Kloss, "German-American Language Maintenance Efforts," in: *Language Loyalty in the United States*, The Hague, 1966, pp. 206-52), in which essentially three distinct types of language, English, standard High German and the numerous, regional spoken German dialects existed side-by-side, each one fulfilling a specific social need.

While it is not the aim of this article to provide that long-overdue linguistic analysis into the relationship and use of these three language types, it is designed to provide a logical first step in that direction. By surveying, in brief, chronological fashion, those studies that have thus far appeared in print on the subject of the language of the Shenandoah Valley Germans, the way should be clear for such future research.

Probably one of the earliest preserved observations on the use of the German language in the Shenandoah Valley comes from no less noteworthy a source than a 1748 journal of the young George Washington. Washington, whose job it then was to survey Lord Thomas Fairfax's westernmost lands, commented on one occasion: "Our work was attended by a great Company of People Men Women and Children that attended us through ye Woods as we went showing their Anticks tricks I really think they seemed to be as Ignorant a Set of People as the Indians they would never speak English but when spoken to they speak all Dutch."⁴

Unfortunately, Mr. Washington's disparaging remark has often been attributed to a supposed early disdain for foreigners and their ways. Yet, lest one forget that George Washington was, after all, a reasonably well-educated man for his day, with a knowledge of and respect for foreign cultures and customs, a more logical explanation should be found. One need not investigate the matter very far, in fact, to discover a much more plausible reason for young Washington's retort. It so happened that his surveying at that time was necessitated by a major legal dispute between his employer and a number of prominent Valley Germans, who felt that their claims to land they had already settled should take precedence over Lord Fairfax's absentee rights. It seems, therefore, quite reasonable to assume that those Germans who "attended" Washington and his crew were, in fact, actually doing little more than looking after their own interests by insuring, to Washington's apparent annoyance, that his measurements were entirely accurate and fair.⁵

A considerable period of time elapsed between Washington's brief and uncomplimentary remark and the first study to actually discuss Valley German

speech. Although both Samuel Kercheval (1833) and Hermann Schuricht (1898-9) had referred, in passing, to the existence and use of spoken German dialects in the Valley, it wasn't until Professor Heber M. Hays' ground-breaking article "On the Dialects Spoken in the Valley of Virginia" appeared in *Dialect Notes* in 1908, that substantial progress can be said to have been made in the field.

Hays was, as he quite readily admitted, a member of that first generation of Valley inhabitants for whom the spoken dialects of German were already passing phenomena. They were, he explained, no longer widely accepted or used by younger people in the German community and had, for that reason, almost died out in even the remotest of places. While obviously an exaggeration in light of what is now known to have been the case in Hays' day, the number of dialect speakers had, nevertheless, declined markedly from what it had been only a decade-or-so before.⁶ Professor Hays felt, therefore, compelled to "... give a general idea of the language once in common use throughout the northern part of the Valley..." (p. 263), by providing a comprehensive summary of the structure, grammar and vocabulary of the particular dialect spoken by his mother in the Forestville area. The result of his effort, as witnessed in this one succinct study, remains, to this day, one of the most authoritative and precise linguistic guides in the study of a Valley German dialect.

Alas, despite the careful attention paid to detail, however, Hays' study did fail to convey the sense of linguistic variation still very much in evidence among the several dialects practiced in other parts of the Valley - an omission since perpetuated by many of his successors. Furthermore, while Hays did correctly ascribe to this dialect a distinctly South German origin, he ambiguously implied a kinship between so-called *Pennsylvania Dutch* (the designation for the spoken German dialects of eastern and south-central Pennsylvania) and Valley German speech, thereby laying the ground-work for the all-too-prevalent myth that the "Valley German dialect" [sic] was merely an extension in the south of *Pennsylvania Dutch*. Excusable perhaps in the early years of such dialect study, this particular misconception should have long since been laid to rest in light of irrefutable evidence now suggesting a wholly different derivation.⁷

With the exception of a very few scattered articles on such distant concerns as Valley family or place names (eg. Hermann Schuricht's posthumously published "Anglicized and Corrupted German Names in Virginia," *The Pennsylvania German*, XII, 1911), relatively little was said about the Valley German language until close to the end of the 1930s. To be sure, the historian Oren F. Morton had written one of his most scathing indictments on the persistent use of German dialects among older Valley residents in an article suggestively entitled "The Transition from German to English" (in: Abraham Funkhouser's *History of the United Brethren in Christ, Virginia Conference*; Dayton, Va., 1921, pp 89-93). Even so, his remarks, which were most likely inspired by the same sort of *Germanophobia* which haunted German-Americans during and immediately after the First World War, were of little, if any, consequence considering the dialects were already in the process of their own natural extinction at the time.

It was rather Ernest Gehman, Professor of German at Eastern Mennonite College in Harrisonburg, Virginia, who deserves recognition as Hays' successor. Through a series of short articles for the *Harrisonburg Daily News Record* composed in his own Berks County dialect of *Pennsylvania Dutch*, Gehman hoped, among other things, to attract responses from area residents to determine the approximate number of German dialect-speakers still living in the southernmost part of the Shenandoah Valley. His "Schwetz Deitsch" column of 1938 seems to have met with only limited success, however, as it was discontinued after a fairly short run. It could be, perhaps, convincingly argued that the few elderly German-speaking residents left in the vicinity either found Gehman's own dialect hard to understand, or were put-off by his expressed desire to "up date" a culture which to many of them had all but died out more than fifty years before. Still, despite the apparent reluctance of the more skeptical dialect-speakers to come forth, Gehman did manage to locate more than 1000 such persons and thus could report his findings in one of the last of his columns.

While not fully appreciated when they first appeared, during the succeeding "generation" of Valley German studies, Gehman's "Schwetz Deitsch" columns were reprinted in part in the 1963 "*Pennsylvanisch Deitsch Eck*" [abbr. *ECK*.] series of the *Allentown (Pennsylvania) Morning Call*.⁸ Unfortunately for those with a genuine interest in the Valley dialects themselves, these articles offered little insight into their structure or use, concentrating on relating tidbits of folklore and humorous anecdotes instead.

Such criticism notwithstanding, however, the actual impact of Gehman's articles was, in all likelihood, even greater than he himself had originally expected. For only months after the "Schwetz Deitsch" reprints appeared, Professor M. Ellsworth Kyger of Bridgewater College published, in the same *ECK*. series, his own original piece in a Valley German dialect, which he hoped would similarly generate interest in local German speech.⁹ This article, in apparent imitation of Gehman's approach, was also little more than an assortment of traditional anecdotes and tales from which very little, if anything, could be derived about the language itself.

Still, Professor Kyger did follow this article up with a thorough and highly authoritative chapter on the spoken German dialects of the Shenandoah Valley ("Variants in the Pennsylvania German Dialect Spoken in the Valley of Virginia and Nearby Sections"), which he included in *The Pennsylvania Germans of the Shenandoah Valley* (Allentown, 1964)- a book coauthored with Professors Elmer L. Smith and John Stewart, both of Madison College. This book, the first major treatise to deal with the entire scope of Valley German history and culture since Wayland's aforementioned opus of 1907, as well as the chapter on the language itself, seems to owe its curious title as much to the "*Pennsylvania Dutch-myth*" of Heber M. Hays' day, as to the eagerness of its authors to be published in the prestigious Pennsylvania German Folklore Society's yearbook series. This notion is supported all the more by Smith & Stewart's own previous account of "The Survival of German Dialects and Customs in the Shenandoah Valley/ A

Preliminary Survey" (in: *The Report (of) The Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, 1963*) in which they maintained that "... these [Valley] people used the German language and spoken the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect" (p. 66).

While Kyger's chapter on the dialects was meant to expand upon the contributions of Hays, it, in fact, repeated much of the same basic ground-work as its predecessor and offered only very modest additions. Citing Albert F. Buffington's preeminent research in the field of *Pennsylvania Dutch* as his model, Kyger did attempt to include and account for numerous variants in the spoken dialects themselves, thereby providing the first positive evidence of the existence of *regional variations* in Shenandoah Valley German speech. Where Kyger's study fell short, however, was in his failure to grasp and explain the true nature and cause of these structural differences. Rather than attribute the discrepancies in vocabulary, syntax and grammar to characteristics found in the original home dialects of the earliest Valley settlers, he maintained that they were merely the result of "some Swiss influences in greater degree than elsewhere" in the *Pennsylvania Dutch* language community (p.276)

In light of the invaluable linguistic data compiled by Professors Kyger, Smith and Stewart, however, it is not difficult to understand how new arguments and theories on the spoken German dialects of the Shenandoah Valley could have subsequently emerged. A break with the "Hays-tradition" was, in fact, long-overdue when Professors William J. Pulte, Jr., formerly at the University of Texas, Austin, now at Southern Methodist University; and Kurt Kehr, previously of Mary Baldwin College, and currently at the *Marburger Sprach-Institut*, published their respective articles in 1971.

In a chapter included in the book *The German Language in America* (University of Texas Press, Austin; 1971) entitled "The German in Virginia and West Virginia", Professor Pulte offered a very radical departure from most previous study of the spoken Valley dialects. Through careful linguistic argumentation, he totally contradicted the theories of Kyger, Smith and Stewart, among others, by explaining that while these German dialects could indeed be considered "distant cousins" of *Pennsylvania Dutch*, the similarity was more the result of historical coincidence than of any actual kinship. Pulte maintained that the underlying process of *language leveling* had been basically the same for both the Virginia and Pennsylvania dialects of German, owing largely to similarities in geographical and historical conditions in the two localities. But whereas *Pennsylvania Dutch* reflects strictly Rhenish origins, the Virginia dialects show great affinity with Swabian and Swiss speech, a fact which could be traced back to the earliest Valley-German settlers.

Unfortunately, despite the fine choice of linguistic examples used to illustrate this point, Pulte's study betrayed an extremely limited scope of research, which, linguistically-speaking, regressed almost back to Professor Hays' time. For by studying only *one* Valley family in only *one* Valley community, Pulte left himself wide open to a major methodological attack by those in disagreement with his particular view. It must be added in all fairness, however, that further investi-

gation of the dialects themselves would, in all likelihood, only serve to substantiate what has already been clearly shown, since Pulte, unlike most of his predecessors in this field, chose to base *his* theory upon the evidence available, and not the other way around.

Professor Kehr, on the other hand, was by far the more cautious of the two in his approach to the delicate historical question and so included his views buried in a footnote at the end of his study on Valley German hunting methods and terms, "*Jagdmethoden und Jagdwortschatz der 'Pennsylvania Germans' im Shenandoah Valley/ Virginia*" (in: *Et Multum et Multa. Beiträge zur Literatur, Geschichte and Kultur der Jagd. Festgabe für Kurt Lindner zum 27. November 1971*, New York, 1971). While not denying a direct historical link with those dialects of *Pennsylvania Dutch* found to the north, Kehr did state that "...in the 200-year isolation of the remote back valleys on the western edge of the Shenandoah Valley,...in Shenandoah and Rockingham County, Virginia, characteristics of family dialects are detectable just as they existed at the time of emigration and before the *language leveling*."¹⁰

Despite this most recent change in attitude regarding the possible origin and structure of the spoken Valley German dialects, the fact remains that this is but one relatively minor point in the much larger, more complex realm of Shenandoah Valley German study. For while scholars have continued to content themselves with chipping away at such highly selective aspects of the spoken language, the broader linguistic picture of Shenandoah Valley German continues to be woefully ignored. If it is indeed already impossible today to speak of the High German Language in the Valley as anything but a past phenomenon - which was certainly *not* yet the case in Heber M. Hays' day — then the time is also fast-approaching when the same will be said of the spoken variants as well.¹¹ Thus, the longer such a comprehensive linguistic study is put off, the more difficult the task will surely become.

Surprisingly enough, however, the spoken German dialects have defied most earlier predictions and have not completely died out in the Shenandoah Valley even today. While not as widespread or apparent as they were a generation ago, the most recent fieldwork by Professors Kyger, Smith and Stewart, a decade ago, turned up more than half dozen communities in Virginia, and even more in neighboring West Virginia, where local dialects of German can still be heard spoken.¹² According to several estimates, there are anywhere from 750 to 1000 persons living in the Valley of Virginia today who could, if they so desire, readily speak a regional variant of German. It is believed, however, that only a very small proportion of them choose to do so regularly, most of them purportedly being among the older Valley residents.

That the spoken German dialects *will* eventually die out, already seems a foregone conclusion. Whether it comes in this generation, or the next, is of relatively little consequence. Its usefulness has already run its course, and its persistence is mainly due to certain diehard traditions among some of the older Valley Germans. Still, it is to be hoped that before such a day finally comes when Shenandoah Valley German is entirely relegated to history, the comprehensive

study of the German language there will have at long last begun.¹³

NOTES

1 According to *The First Census of Population for the United States of America, Taken in the Year 1790*, the population of the Commonwealth of Virginia was officially given as 692,000 [*Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Pt. I* (Washington: United States Bureau of the Census, 1975), p.36] Estimates of the German population of the State at that time suggest a figure of around 35,000 people [Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans* (Charlottesville, Va.: The University Press of Virginia, 1969), pp. 186-7].

2 See: John W. Wayland, *The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley* (Dayton , Va., 1907), pp. 27-31; see also: I.D. Rupp, *A Collection of Upwards of Thirty Thousand Names of German, Swiss, Dutch, French and other Immigrants in Pennsylvania from 1727 to 1776*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Leary, Stuart & Co., 1898).

3 See: Klaus Wust, "The Books of the German Immigrants of the 18th Century," *Rockingham Recorder II* (1958), pp. 24-9.

4 Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans*, pp. 51-2.

5 A number of Shenandoah Valley histories have already dealt with this topic, cf.: Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans*, pp. 34-5 & John W. Wayland, *The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley*, p. 52.

6 Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans*, pp. 188-9.

7 In addition to the information included in this article regarding the study of Professor William J. Pulte, Jr. ["The German in Virginia and West Virginia," in: *The German Language in America* (University of Texas Press, Austin, 1971)]; see: Ralph Charles Wood, "Pennsilfaanisch (Pennsylvania-deutsch)," in: *Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss, I*, ed. W. Stammler, 2nd. ed. (Berlin, 1957), esp. p. 1932.

8 Earnest G. Gehman, "Pennsylvania German in the Shenandoah Valley," *ECK*. March 16, 23, 30, 1963.

9 M. Ellsworth Kyger, "The Pennsylvania-German Dialect in the Shenandoah Valley," *ECK*. December 7, 1963.

10 Kurt Kehr, "Jagdmethode und Jagdwortschatz der 'Pennsylvania Germans' im Shenandoah Valley/ Virginia," in: *Et Multum et Multa. Beiträge zur Literatur, Geschichte und Kultur der Jagd. Festgabe für Kurt Lindner zum 27. November*

1971 (New York & Berlin, 1971), p. 161 [as translated by the author from the German].

11 The High German Language is said to have ceased playing a major role in Valley German Affairs with the last regular German-language church services around the year 1890. There are, however, those who would argue that High German was no longer important after the cessation of regular German-language printing in the Valley in 1841.

12 Virginia Valley communities where German dialects can still be heard include: Dayton, Brocks Gap, Palos & Bergton-Criders (in Rockingham County); and Jerome, Broadway-Timberville & Orkney Grade (in Shenandoah County).

13 The author wishes to thank Professors M. Ellsworth Kyger (Bridgewater College), John Stewart (Madison College), William J. Pulte, Jr. (Southern Methodist University), Kurt Kehr (*Marburger Sprach-Institut*) as well as Klaus Wust for their kind encouragement and personal assistance in the completion of this study. Special thanks also to Professor Jürgen Eichhoff (University of Wisconsin-Madison) for guidance during the initial stages of this project.

In der Nacht

Bei meinem
ganz geheimen Flüstern
wird die Nacht mit hohlen Augen
an gehauchten Worten saugen,
und ich bin mit dir allein...

Bei deinem
ganz geheimen Ahnen
wird die Nacht mit ihrem Atem
mein gehauchtes Wort verraten,
und du bist mit mir allein...

Ilse Pracht-Fitzell
Jamesburg, New Jersey

**A LETTER FROM M. F. ANNEKE:
A FORGOTTEN GERMAN-AMERICAN
PIONEER IN WOMEN'S RIGHTS**

BY

GERHARD K. FRIESEN
Wilfred Laurier University

*Der Erde ganzes Weh füllt' ihre Seele,
Sie strebte nach der Menschheit Glück;
Ihr Kummer war, dass es so lang uns fehle,
In ferne Zeiten drang ihr Blick.¹*

Aside from a number of brief biographical sketches,² little information is currently available about Mathilde Franziska Anneke (1817-84). Evidently her flamboyant role in the 1848 revolution³ has overshadowed her literary and journalistic⁴ contributions. These as well as her important activities in the women's movement of the United States remain to be investigated. Relevant details are found in a hitherto unpublished self-appraisal by Mrs. Anneke written in response to this inquiry by Alexander Jonas.⁵

The Cosmopolitan Mutual Aid Society
New York, March 23d, 1877.

Alex. Jonas,⁶ Supt.
R.M. Vreeland, Secretary.

Hochverehrte Frau!

Im Auftrage von Gesinnungsgenossen deutscher und englischer Zunge erbitte ich mir Auskunft zum Zwecke einer Geschichte der Frauenrechtsbewegung unter den Deutschen in den Vereinigten Staaten.

In dieser Beziehung würden Sie uns verbinden and zugleich einen sehr werthvollen Beitrag zu der beabsichtigten Arbeit liefern, wenn Sie uns über die nachfolgenden Punkte möglichst ausführliche Auskunft geben würden.

- 1. Genaue Verlegung Ihrer Thätigkeit in der Frauenrechtsbewegung vor 20 oder 25 Jahren. Angabe der Zeitung in welcher Sie wirkten und Auskunft über die Persönlichkeiten welche mit Ihnen zusammen arbeiteten, natürlich in derselben Richtung. Möglichst genaue Daten in dieser Beziehung.*
- 2. Gab es vor Ihnen, Ihres Wissens, deutsche Frauenrechtler in den Vereinigten Staaten, die öffentlich für die Sache eintraten?*
- 3. Eröffnete Heizen seine Thätigkeit im 'Pionier' oder sonstwo für die Frauenfrage vor oder nach Ihnen?*

4. Gab es, bis etwa hinauf zum Jahre 1866 im Westen deutsche männliche oder weibliche Frauenrechtler die öffentlich wirkten and welche waren es?
5. Wie gestaltet sich jetzt die Bewegung unter den Deutschen im Westen und welche Persönlichkeiten kann man als die leitenden bezeichnen?

Durch recht baldige Beantwortung dieser Fragen würden Sie verpflichten
Ihren ergebensten

Alexander Jonas.

Since Jonas' book on the progress of women's emancipation among the German-Americans was, probably, never written and certainly never published, Mrs. Anneke's reply to the above letter is here rendered in its entirety and with brief explanatory notes.

Milwaukee den 26 April, 1877

Sehr geehrter Herr Jonas!

Während ich Ihnen meine Freude nicht verhehle dass die Abfassung der Geschichte unserer Frauenrechtsbewegung in so guten Händen liegt, beeile ich mich so viel es mir möglich ist Ihre mir vorgelegten Fragen zu beantworten. Ich muss nur voraussenden dass es mir an schriftlichen Notizen gänzlich fehlt und leider auch meine deutsche Frauenzeitung in ihrer vollständigen Sammlung bis auf wenige Überreste zerstört ist.

Nach dem Ausgang eines unglücklichen Scheidungsprozesses meiner ersten Ehe,⁷ worin ich ein Opfer der preussischen Justiz wurde, war ich zum Bewusstsein gekommen und zur Erkenntniss, dass die Lage der Frauen eine absurde und der Entwürdigung der Menschheit gleich bedeutende sei, begann ich früh durch Wort und Schrift für die geistige und sittliche Erhebung des Weibes so viel ich vermochten zu wirken. Mein Verhängniss war in engeren und weiteren Kreisen durch Journalartikel, namentlich Feuilletons in der Kölnischen Zeitung bekannt geworden und hatten zu Anfang der vierziger Jahre eine gewisse Aufmerksamkeit auf mich gelenkt. Anliegend als ein kleines Beweisstück ein lyrischer Erguss aus der Feder einer jungen Dichterin.⁸

Eine kleine Schrift "Das Weib im Konflikt mit den sozialen Verhältnissen", erschien theilweise in der von mir redigirten Frauenzeitung, die 1848 in Köln an Stelle der unterdrückten Neuen Kölnischen Zeitung nach einem kurzen Dasein dem Belagerungszustande ebenfalls zum Opfer fiel. Ich hatte die Schrift im Jahre 1846-47 verfasst und mit einem Gedicht meinem eben geheirateten Gatten Fritz Anneke⁹ gewidmet. Fast zur selben Zeit war mir das goldene Buch vom alten Hippel über die Rechte und Stellung des Weibes¹⁰ in die Hände geraten. Dies brachte mich zur vollständigen Klarheit und regte zur Thatkraft an wo und wie es möglich war für die Befreiung des Weibes zu kämpfen und zu arbeiten.

Im Jahre 1849 mit meinem Gatten nach hier geflohen, wurde mir das Streben vieler amerikanischer Frauen bekannt; ich las die vortrefflichen Artikel von Elizabeth Oakes Smith,¹¹ übersetzte ihre Schriften so wohl wie die zuendenden Beweisstücke der Elizabeth Cady Stanton¹² und Susan B. Anthony¹³ gegen gewisse

Gesetze des Common Law vor der Legislatur in Albany für mir früher befreundete deutsche Journale, fand aber nirgendwo Aufnahme. Ich lernte das ernste Streben von Fanny Wright d'Arusmont,¹⁴ Lucretia Mott,¹⁵ Ernestine L. Rose,¹⁶ Pauline Davis¹⁷ und anderer hochschätzen und mich selbst daran kräftigen. Ich schrieb die erste Nummer meiner Deutschen Frauenzeitung hier im fernen Westen allein und unbekümmert um irgendwelchen Erfolg. Dieselbe erschien jedoch am ersten März, 1852 (nicht 1858 wie in Schem's Encyclopaedie¹⁸ steht).

Anneke war damals auf einer Mission in Cincinnati. Ich hatte keine Mittel und war ohne jegliche Unterstützung durch Mitarbeiter, fand aber in der Bereitwilligkeit des braven, längst verstorbenen Fratny,¹⁹ damaliger Herausgeber des "Volksfreundes" den Druck des damals monatlich erscheinenden Journals, die erste Hülfe zur Realisirung meines Plans.

Im Juni desselben Jahres²⁰ trat ich meine Agitationsreise durch einen Theil der Vereinigten Staaten an, sprach in öffentlichen Versammlungen über die Erhebung des Weibes, verlangte die soziale Verbesserung ihrer Stellung, Recht auf Arbeit, und vor Allem das politische Stimmrecht.

Ich versuchte eine Organisation unter den deutschen Frauen herzustellen, gründete Vereine die mit einander in steter Verbindung stehen sollten, und bot meine Zeitung als deren Organ an. Während meiner siebenmonatlichen Abwesenheit unterstützte Anneke mich bei der Redaktion des Blattes. Ich sprach in folgenden Städten, vor meist zahlreichen Auditorien, gewöhnlich zwei, drei oder auch öftere Male. In Chicago unterstützten mich neben einigen begeisterten Frauen, lebhaft Hillgärtner²¹ und auch Georg Schneider²² (Ill. St. Ztg.). In Cleveland war es der Redakteur des "Wächter" Herr Thieme;²³ in Buffalo Redakteur de Haas,²⁴ in New York fanden zwei Vorträge in Pythagoras Halle statt. Ich glaube mich nicht zu irren Karl Heizen²⁵ und seine Gattin als Zuhörer in meinen Vorträgen bemerkt zu haben.

Gewiss weiss ich dass Heizen in seinem Organ (glaube jedoch dass es der Pionier noch nicht war) lobend meinen durchaus freireligiösen Standpunkt hervor hob, den ich im Vortrag verkündet hatte.

Von Boston bekam ich per Telegraph vermittelt Domschke²⁶ der dort ein deutsches Blatt redigirte dringende Einladungen. Von den Familien der Doktoren Wesselhöfft²⁷ und Geist²⁸ aufgenommen, hielt ich Vorträge vor gefüllten Sälen. In Newark war es Alexander Loos²⁹ der mir zur Seite stand; in Philadelphia wurde ich von den Freunden und Genossen aus dem badisch-pfälzischen Kriege Reichart³⁰ und Eckhart,³¹ ferner von Wesendonck,³² Tiedemann³³ und den Leitern der damaligen Arbeiterpartei lebhaft begrüsst, mit Serenaden beehrt und zu 4 oder 5 Vorträgen ermuntert. Die Abonnentenzahl meiner Zeitung wuchs und meine Agitation fand lebhaften Anklang. Die Theorie erschien [illegible] wahrscheinlich in ewiger Ferne nur glaubte. In Baltimore unterstützt von Dr. Weiss³⁴ und dessen thätiger Gattin und den Familienmitgliedern des würdigen Lehrers (ich habe seinen Namen vergessen) hielt ich mehrere Vorträge und namentlich einen stark besuchten vor den Arbeitern und ihren Frauen.

Nach einer gefahrvollen Reise mehrerer Tage und Nächte durch die Alleghanies erreichte ich Cincinnati, woselbst eben Gottfried Kinke³⁵ das

deutsche Element angeregt hatte. Hier in der Turnhalle empfing mich ein ungemein zahlreiches Auditorium, und ich errang lebhaften Beifall für meine immer entschieden ausgesprochenen Forderungen. Ich hielt hier mehrere Vorträge und wendete mich darauf nach Louisville, wo ich als Gast vieler mir bekannten und unbekanntem Freunde meine Agitation weiter führte und von Frauen insbesondere Zeichen der Aufmunterung und Zustimmung erhielt, wie sie mir bisher nicht zuteil geworden waren. Man hatte vernommen dass es mein Wunsch sei eine kleine Druckerei zu besitzen. Die zu einer Ehrenmünze bestimmten Goldstücke wurden nicht umgeprägt, mir vielmehr in natura zum dem Zweck überreicht. Meine Tour erstreckte sich aufwärts über Dayton, Pittsburg etc. etc.

Inzwischen war meine Zeitung und mein häuslicher Herd nach dem Osten verlegt, wohin ich im Dezember desselben Jahres zurückkehrte. Eine kleine Druckerei war angeschafft und schien die Herausgabe anfangs zu erleichtern. Ich hoffte nach und nach mit Frauenhänden den Satz herzustellen, ein Plan der mir in Wisconsin durchaus mislang. In der Druckerei in Milwaukee hatten sich auf meine Veranlassung Frauen mit dem Setzen meiner Zeitung beschäftigt. Darunter war auch meine älteste Tochter. Wir stiessen dabei auf eine heftige Opposition der Herrn Setzer. Dieselben legten ihre Arbeit augenblicklich nieder und brachten den Besitzer der Druckerei, Herrn Schoeffler³⁶ in grosse Verlegenheit. Es blieb den weiblichen Setzern einstweilen nichts übrig als den Rückzug anzutreten.

Fortan erschien meine Zeitung wöchentlich und zwar nach einigen Irrfahrten in New York und Jersey City von Newark aus. Ich hatte bis dahin anregende Stoffe in derselben veröffentlicht, Auszüge aus Hippel gebracht, Übersetzungen von Mary Wollstonecraft,³⁷ Margaret Fuller³⁸ und anderen. Ich hatte meine eigenen Anschauungen in meinen Vorträgen niedergelegt und "Das Weib im Konflikt mit den Sozialen Verhältnissen" wiederum erscheinen lassen. (Bruchstücke davon sind auch später in der Kriminalzeitung, jetzigen Belletristen³⁹ aufgenommen). Ich hielt treulich Wacht über alle Vorgänge in der Bewegung die durch die amerikanischen Streiterinnen hervorgerufen und berichtete über die sozialen Bestrebungen der damaligen Arbeitervereine in New York, Williamsburg und Newark, woselbst ich ebenfalls Vorträge hielt. Ich vertrat darin meine Absicht dass mit der Befreiung des Weibes erst die soziale Frage gelöst werden könne. Wenn mich mein Gedächtniss nicht trägt so fand die Convention im Tabernakel unter dem Vorsitz von Lucretia Mott, nicht wie Schem's Lexikon erwähnt 1852, vielmehr 53 statt. Zu dieser wurde ich durch eine Delegation berufen. Man empfing mich von Seite der amerikanischen Frauen mit grosser Aufmerksamkeit und forderte mich zur Darlegung meiner Prinzipien auf. Lucretia Mott führte mich vor, und Ernestine L. Rose erbat sich meine kleine Rede,⁴⁰ die ich in deutscher Sprache hielt ihrem Wortlaut nach so viel als möglich sei in Englisch wiederzugeben. Meine Erscheinung rief einen Sturm von Unwillen und Beleidigungen von den Galerien hervor. Ich war entschlossen auf das Recht der freien Rede nicht zu verzichten und meinen Platz muthig zu behaupten. Lucretia Mott, Susan Anthony und andere Frauen bestrebten sich uns gebührend

Recht zu schaffen, indess gelang es erst den Bemühungen Wendell Phillips⁴¹ den Sturm zu beschwichtigen. Er erklärte die Herrn Beherrscher der Galerien möchten nicht glauben dass ich mich fürchte vor den Geschossen ihrer Rohheit denn ich habe jügst für Freiheit Kanonenschlünden ins Auge geschaut. Diese Worte sowie die volltönende Kraft meiner Stimme geboten Einhalt dem tobenden Lärm. Ich sprach zu einer geringen deutschen Zuhörerschaft, aber mit der Macht der Überzeugung dass dem ehernden Gange der Geschichte nichts sich entgegenstücken könne und die Notwendigkeit sich erfüllen müsse. Ich sah den Zeitpunkt erscheinen wo mindestens unserem öffentlichen Wirken keine rohe Macht mehr entgegengestellt werden würde. Ernestine L. Rose übersetzte was ich sagte und geführt von Horace Greeley⁴² trat ich ab um mit der mutigen Schaar meiner Mitkämpferinnen bald darauf den Tabernakel zu verlassen, immer noch in Gefahr von der drohenden Menge auf der Strasse insultirt zu werden, bis wir das gastliche Haus von Mrs. Fowler⁴³ erreichten, woselbst wir einquartirt waren. Bei der Herausgabe der Zeitung hatten sich immer Schwierigkeiten aufgetürmt. Nach ihrem kurzen Bestehen von circa 2½ Jahr zwangen mich Familiensorgen und Kränklichkeit dieselbe aufzugeben, jedoch nicht ohne Hoffnung das so mühsam aufgebaute Werk nach kurzem Stillstand wieder aufnehmen zu können. Allein eine Kette von Ungemäch behindert mich hinfort daran. Ausser einigen Correspondenten hatte ich mich keiner stehenden Mitarbeiter zu erfreuen, während die Zahl der Abonnenten eben hinreichend war das Blatt zu stützen.

Im Mai 1869 ging ich zur Convention nach New York und sprach bei dieser Gelegenheit im Cooper Institute.⁴⁴ Dieselbe ist in englischer Sprache übersetzt in der "Revolution"⁴⁵ erschienen. Heinzen erwähnte freundlich mein Erscheinen daselbst im Pionier. Im Januar 1869⁴⁶ wurde ich als Delegat von der Wisconsin Frauenstimmrechts Ass. nach Washington zur Convention gesandt, mit einer Petition von vielen hundert Unterschriften für die Durchführung des 16ten Amendments.⁴⁷ Ich sprach in der Convention in englischer Sprache und legte vor dem Senatskomitee im Capitol⁴⁸ vereint mit den amerikanischen Leiterinnen der Bewegung unsere Forderungen aufs kräftigste dar. Grace Greenwood⁴⁹ spricht sich in einer Korrespondenz aus Washington sehr anerkennend in der "Revolution" aus.

In einer Convention in hiesiger Stadt⁵⁰ vereint mit Susan Anthony,⁵¹ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Mrs. Livermore,⁵² Dr. Laura Ross,⁵³ der jetzt verewigten Lilly Peckham,⁵⁴ einer jugendlichen viel begabten Streiterin, sprach in mich um unwunden für politische Befreiung des Weibes aus und gefährdete dadurch meine Stellung als Vorsteherin eines hiesigen Töchterinstituts.

Bei der Gründung des Freidenkerbundes⁵⁵ im folgenden Jahre stellte ich als Komiteemitglied bei Abfassung des Programmes den Antrag auf Einschlebung eines Paragraphen die Sache der Frauen zur Bundessache zu machen, fiel jedoch mit meinem Antrage durch. In einer gleich darauf folgenden grossen Versammlung hatte ich die Genugthuung dass in Folge meines Antrags eine Resolution von Herrn Doerflinger⁵⁶ eingebracht wurde dahinzielend, die mit einer grossen Majorität durchging, und der Sache nunmehr eine freie Discussion

in allen Kreisen vorbereitet wurde.

Im weiter darauffolgenden Jahre erhielt ich eine Aufforderung zu einer Debatte von dem hiesigen Turnverein. Unter den obwaltenden schwierigen Umständen ergab dieselbe am ersten Abend scheinbar eine Niederlage für unsere Sache, errang aber am zweiten Abend in der Fortsetzung vor einem grossen Auditorium einen Vorschub wenn nicht gar einen indirekten Sieg. Die Agitation wurde fortan eine lebhaftere und unbehinderte.

Von diesem Augenblicke an stand ich nicht mehr so isolirt und angefeindet im öffentlichen Streben für meine Sache.

Ob vor mir ausser Ernestine Rose, die zwar eine Polin aber in deutscher Sprache hin und wieder agitirte jemand für unsere Sache öffentlich eingetreten ist kann ich nicht sagen; ich weiss niemand. Dass Karl Heinzen unsere Richtung mit so entschiedener Konsequenz vertreten hat, habe ich erst bei meiner Zurückkunft von Europa, wo ich von 60-65 verweilte erfahren. Seine Ansichten die er mit dem Pseudonym Julia vom Berg⁵⁷ vertrat und späterhin in einer fingirten Convention im Pionier Ausdruck verlieh sind mir erst nachdem bekannt geworden. Ich habe von Frau Tittman⁵⁸ in St. Louis gehört und höchst aner kennenswerthe Beiträge für Frauenrechte kennen gelernt, insbesondere Entgegnungen gelesen auf lächerliche Insinuationen von Seiten gewisser Frauen. Ich erinnere mich sonst keiner Vertreter noch Vertreterinnen es sei denn eine eifrige Beführwortung unserer Sache in der täglichen Zeitung, der "Neuen Welt",⁵⁹ welche in St. Louis erschien und ausgezeichnete Aufsätze ins Feld führte.

Alle Sprecher der Freien Gemeinden so weit ich dieselben habe kennen gelernt treten für die Bewegung in die Schranken, obwohl unter den Mitgliedern oft heftige Opposition zu Tage tritt.

Die Agitatoren wie sie in diesem Augenblick namentlich in der radikalen Partei arbeiten sind mehr oder minder auch für unsere Sache thätig. In dem Klub des radikalen Bundes wie derselbe hier seit vier Jahren besteht, wurde die Frage unermüdlich in den Vordergrund gedrängt und fand lebhaftere Unterstützung durch Karl Doerflinger, Heinrich Ende,⁶⁰ und andere radikalen Mitglieder des Bundes.

Auf meine Anregung übersendeten wir nicht nur in geschlossenen Massen Denkschriften an verschiedene Conventionen der N[ational] W[oman] S[uffrage] A[ssociation] einen Lorbeerkranz an L. Mott an ihrem Jubiläumstage als kundgebendes Zeichen unserer Sympathien mit ihren Prinzipien, sondern steuerten auch in ansehnlichen Beiträgen eine Beihülfe für Susan Anthony's Prozesskosten. In meiner Eigenschaft als Vice Präs. der Nat. Wom. Ass. erliess ich im Verein mit den Frauen der Wis. Ass. einen Protest gegen die Centennial-Feier.⁶¹ (Zur Wis. Wom. Ass. gehörten früher einige deutschen Frauen, unter anderen die verstorbene, eifrig thätige Johanna Weisskirch⁶² und Frau Doktor Neumann,⁶³ ferner Frau Maria Geissberg).⁶⁴ Die deutschen Frauenrechtlerinnen stehen augenblicklich in keiner geschlossenen Phalanx.

Seit Juli vorigen Jahres habe ich durch einen schweren Unglücksfall den Gebrauch meiner rechten Hand verloren. Diese Hülflosigkeit und übriges Un-

gemach hindert mich für den Augenblick Ihnen aus dem Wust meiner Papiere alle seine Belege herauszufinden die wichtig und von Interesse sein würden. Das Wenige was ich Ihnen in diesem Augenblick senden kann sind die kaum lesbaren Überreste meiner Zeitung die während ich in Europa hier in mehreren Exemplaren in Verwahrsam waren durch Wasserfluth zerstört wurden. Ich ersuche Sie diese Fragmente, die lediglich die einstige Existenz bewahrheiten sollen baldigst zurücksenden zu wollen. Alle meine Bemühungen irgend ein Exemplar aufzufinden waren vergebens. Die übrigen Belege sind von geringem Belang.

Mein letztes Schicksal traf mich in Mitten einer vollen Thätigkeit als Lehrerin. Da ich mich dieser Wirksamkeit vielleicht von nun an gänzlich entschlagen muss so habe ich den Wunsch mich noch einmal für meine Prinzipien mit lebendigem Interesse auftraffen zu können und sollten die Kräfte mir wiedergegeben werden so würde es mir vielleicht vergönnt sein noch einmal nach dem Osten zu kommen um dort Vorträge zu halten. Ich würde mich bei dieser Gelegenheit freuen, Ihnen, werther Herr, die Hand und sei es auch die Linke nur, als Ihre Mitkämpferin für eine neue Ära der Menschheit zu reichen.

Schliesslich ersuche ich Sie noch meinen theueren Freunden und Gesinnungsgenossen deren Theilnahme Sie mir in Ihrem Briefe an meine jüngste Tochter⁶⁵ kundgegeben haben meinen Dank auszusprechen. Mit der Versicherung vollkommener Hochachtung, zeichne ich

Mathilde Franziska Anneke

NOTES

1 Ernst A. Zündt,, "Mathilde Franziska Anneke (1885)," in *Ebbe und Fluth* (Milwaukee, 1894), 327.

2 Wilhelm Hense-Jensen, *Wisconsin's Deutsch-Amerikaner bis zum Schluss des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2 (Milwaukee, 1902), 14-18. George Harvey Genzmer in the *Dictionary of American Biography [DAB]*, vol. 7 (New York, 1931), 262-263, where she is listed under her maiden name Giesler. A.E. Zucker, *The Forty-Eighters, Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York, 1950), pp. 272-273. Eitel Wolf Dobert, *Deutsche Demokraten in Amerika, Die Achtundvierziger und ihre Schriften* (Göttingen, 1958), pp. 24-25. Carl Wittke in *Notable American Women 1607-1950* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), 50-51. The information in *History of Woman Suffrage* by Elisabeth Cady Stanton et al. (New York, 1886), pp. 646-647, is inadequate and incorrect.

3 Cf. Albert Bernardt Faust, "Mathilde Franziska Giesler-Anneke: 'Memoiren einer Frau aus dem badisch-pfälzischen Feldzug,' and a Sketch of Her Carrer," *German-American Annals*, N.S., vol. 16 (1918), 73-140.

4 For a list of her works, cf. Franz Brümmer, *Lexikon der deutschen Dichter und Prosaisten des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1913), vol. 1,

65-66, and Goedeke's *Grundriss*, N.F., vol. 1 (Berlin, 1962), 249-250.

Dobert (p. 26) erroneously states that her novel *Das Geisterhaus in New York* (Jena and Leipzig, 1864) is lost. Copies are, however, owned by the Pennsylvania German Society and the University of Cincinnati. Far more readable than this potboiler, incidentally, is a work by her paternal grandfather: *Tagebuch einer Reise nach den vereinigten Staaten und der Nordwestküste von Amerika*. Von Ignatz Hülswitt, ehemaligem Lieutenant der Artillerie. Münster, 1828. Verlag der Copenrathschen Buch- und Kunsthandlung. "Dire scenes of horror on a savage shore/In which, a witness sad, a part I bore," is its title-page motto which does not promise too much.

5 Both are part of the Anneke papers at the Wisconsin Historical Society in Madison, Wisconsin. For a brief inventory, cf. Alice E. Schmidt, *Guide to the Manuscripts of the Wisconsin Historical Society* (Madison, 1944), pp. 8-9.

6 William Frederic Kamman, *Socialism in German American Literature*. Americana, vol. 24 (Philadelphia, 1917), pp. 45-46: "Alexander Jonas, a Berlin Social Democrat, contributed much to establish the prestige of the *Volkszeitung* [published in New York] through his remarkable business ability and journalistic talents. He also wrote occasional poems and in 1884, published a pamphlet, *Reporter and Sozialist, Ein Gespräch über Ziele und Wege des Sozialismus*, a propaganda treatise, which found wide circulation." Cf. also John R. Commons *et al.*, *History of Labour in the United States* (New York, 1918-35), vol. 2, 278; Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1955. History and Bibliography*. Second, revised ed. (New York and London, 1965), pp. 341 and 406; Donald Drew Egbert and Stow Persons, eds., *Socialism and American Life*, vol. 2 (Princeton, N.J., 1972), p. 143.

7 The nineteen-year old M. F. Giesler was married to the far older Alfred von Tabouillot, a wine merchant. After less than two years this marriage was dissolved, and lengthy litigation finally resulted in her gaining custody of her daughter Fanny.

8 It is unclear which poem she enclosed. A sample of her fine lyrical talent may be found in Ernst Steiger's *Dornrosen. Erstlingsblüthen deutscher Lyrik in Amerika*. Dritte Auflage (New York, 1872), p. 17.

9 A lieutenant in the Prussian artillery, Fritz Anneke (1817-72, not 1870, as erroneously reported by Zucker and Dobert) was discharged in 1845 for subversive activities. He was a member of the *Arbeiterverein* of Cologne and continued to work for his *Neue Kölnische Zeitung* even after being imprisoned for sedition in 1848. During the Baden uprising of 1849 he served as lieutenant colonel of the revolutionary Palatine army, with Karl Schurz as his adjutant. Indicative of historians' neglect of Fritz Anneke is the fact that Jacques Droz' otherwise commendable study *Le libéralisme rhénan 1815-1848* (diss. Paris, 1940) does not even mention him.

10 Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel, *Ueber die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Weiber*.

Berlin, 1792.

11 Author (under the pseudonym Ernest Helfenstein), lecturer, and reformer (1806-93). *DAB*, vol. 17, 260-261.

12 1815-1902. Reformer and leader in the women's rights movement, whose first convention was held at her home in Seneca Falls, N.Y. (July 19-20, 1848). Cf. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 5, 650.

13 Co-editor (with Susan B. Anthony and Parker Pillsbury) of the *Revolution*.

14 1795-1852. British born abolitionist and crusader for the equality of women, who accompanied Lafayette to America to establish a utopian colony in Tennessee and also collaborated with Robert Owen in New Harmony, Indiana. Cf. *Appleton's*, vol. 6, 622.

15 1793-1880. Quaker and abolitionist, she was one of the four conveners of the 1848 Seneca Falls meeting. Cf. *Appleton's*, vol. 4, 441.

16 1810-92. Born in Poland, she became a disciple of Robert Owen in England and emigrated to America in 1836, where she was active in the struggle for women's civil rights. Cf. *Appleton's*, vol. 5, 322.

17 1813-76. Agitator on behalf of women's rights, who established the first women's suffrage paper in 1853. Cf. *Appleton's*, vol. 2, 106.

18 *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Conversations-Lexicon* [etc.,] in eleven vols. (New York, 1869-74), ed. Alexander Jakob Schem (1826-81).

19 Friedrich Fratny, a political refugee from Austria, edited *Der Volksfreund* of Milwaukee 1847-55. Cf. Arndt-Olson, p. 694-695.

20 Faust (p. 80) misdates this seven-month lecture tour as having taken place in 1853.

21 Georg Hillgärtner (1824-65), a 48er who came to America with Gottfried Kinkel in 1852 to engage in the practice of law and later journalism. Cf. Zucker, p. 305.

22 1823-1905. Sentenced to death for his part in the 1848 Revolution, he escaped to the U.S. in 1849 and edited the *Illinois Staatszeitung* of Chicago. As a politician he was second in influence among the 48ers to Carl Schurz. Cf. Zucker, p. 339.

23 August Thieme (1822-79) before coming to the U.S. in 1849 had been a radical left-wing member of the Frankfurt Parliament as successor to Robert Blum. He was editor of the Cleveland *Wächter und Anzeiger* 1852-79. Cf. Zucker, p. 348, and Arndt-Olson, p. 470.

24 Carl de Haas edited *Der Buffalo Demokrat* (1850-53) and the radical *Buffalo Journal* (1863-64). Cf. Arndt-Olson, pp. 322, 325. He was the author of the two-volume work *Nordamerika, Wisconsin, Calumet. Winke für Auswanderer*

(Iserlohn 1848-49).

25 1809-80. One of the most radical 48ers, he owned and edited the weekly *Der Pionier* successively in Louisville, Cincinnati, New York, and Boston (1854-79). In his paper and numerous other writings, he was one of the leading German-American voices for rational religion and women's emancipation.

26 Bernhard Domschke (died in 1869), a revolutionary from Dresden, worked for the *New-England Zeitung*, a radical socialist weekly supported by the *Freie Gemeinde* of Boston, and remained a close associate of Karl Heinzen. Cf. Zucker, p. 287.

27 According to Robert Wesselhöft's letter to Georg Seidensticker of April 21, 1846 (in *Nachlass Seidensticker*, Niedersächsische Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen), his brother Wilhelm lived at 6 Rowe Street in Boston.

28 No further identification could be found.

29 1821-1877. Served as *Sprecher* for the *Freie Gemeinde* of Philadelphia and on July 4, 1876 co-signed (with Heinzen and Eduard Schroeter) the proclamation issued by the *Konvention der Radikalen* in Philadelphia. He also translated Ludwig Büchner's works into English. Cf. C[arl] F[riedrich] Huch, "Die Konvention der Freigesinnten im Jahre 1876," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins von Philadelphia*, Heft 23 (1911), p. 8.

30 Joseph Martin Riechart (1803-72) fled to the U.S. after serving as a member of the provisional government during the Baden revolution and became active in the *Freie Gemeinde* and the German Society of Philadelphia. Cf. Zucker, p. 329, and *Die Deutsche Revolution 1848/49 in Augenzeugenberichten*, ed. Hans Jessen (München, 1973), p. 383.

31 No further identification was possible.

32 Hugo Wesendonck (1817-?) was sentenced to death for his participation in the South German uprisings and arrived 1849 in the U.S., where he later founded the Germania Life Insurance Company. Cf. Zucker, p. 354, and Jessen, p. 394.

33 Heinrich Tiedemann (dates of birth and death unknown) had emigrated to the U.S. in the 1830's and returned to Germany in 1841 where he married a sister of Hecker. After his involvement in the Baden Revolution he fled to the U.S. in 1848 and settled in Philadelphia as a physician. He was a close friend and supporter of Carl Schurz. Cf. Zucker, p. 348.

34 Dr. Georg Edward Wiss, a native of Bavaria, was a physician in Baltimore since 1852, as well as a prominent member of the *Turnverein* and, 1859-61, co-editor of the *Turnzeitung*. Cf. Dieter Cunz, *Maryland Germans. A History* (Princeton, N.J., 1948), p. 274.

35 Soon after his famous liberation from Spandau prison (masterminded by his former student Carl Schurz), Gottfried Kinkel (1815-82) left England for a speak-

ing tour of the U.S. (1851-53), where he was received with great enthusiasm by the major German-American communities. Cf. Zucker, p. 311.

36 Moritz Schoeffler (1813-75), a freethinker who had settled in Milwaukee before 1848, where he founded the *Wisconsin Banner* in 1844. Cf. Zucker, p. 54.

37 1759-97. British "Bluestocking" and pioneer for women's rights, who died at the birth of her daughter Mary Godwin (who in 1814 eloped with Shelley). Significantly, the Annekes named one of their sons (born in Milwaukee, Aug. 20, 1850) Percy Shelley.

38 1810, erudite authoress associated with the New England Transcendentalists and the movement for women's rights.

39 The *New Yorker Kriminalzeitung* appeared under this name March 1851-March 1853. After several name changes it was entitled *New Yorker Belletristisches Journal* (1864-88). Cf. Arndt-Olson, p. 345.

40 September 8, 1853. Mrs. Anneke, who was not naturalized until July 1860, spoke as a representative of Germany. Cf. *History of Woman Suffrage (HWS)*, ed. Elizabeth Cady Stanton *et al.* (New York, 1881-1902), vol. 3, 548. For Ernestine Rose's translation of this speech, *ibid*, 571-573.

41 Popular American orator and abolitionist (1811-84). At this occasion, he erroneously praised Mrs. Anneke as a supporter of Kossuth "in the battlefields of Hungary; one who has faced the cannon of Francis Joseph of Austria, for the rights of people." *HWS*, vol. 3, 572.

42 Founder of the *New York Tribune* (1841), prominent figure in American journalism, and champion of liberal causes (1811-72).

43 Lydia Folger Fowler (1823-79), medical doctor and wife of the prenologist Lorenzo N. Fowler.

44 For the English translation of this speech on the evening of May 14, 1869, cf. *HWS*, vol. 2, 392-394.

45 Published by Susan Anthony and edited by Elizabeth Cady Stanton Jan. 1, 1868 to mid 1870, when it merged with the *Christian Enquirer*.

46. The first national convention of the women's suffrage movement was held in Washington in January 1869, but *HWS* does not record any participation in it by Mrs. Anneke. The events she describes took place a year later, January 19-21, 1870. A Mrs. Hooker gave the following account of her performance on the morning of Jan. 19:

"But Madame Anneke, the German patriot who fought with her husband and slept beside her horse in the field, carried the day over everyone else. It was fairly overwhelming to hear her English, so surcharged with feeling, yet so exact in the choice of words, and the burden of it all was that the trials of the battle-field were as naught compared to this inward struggle of her soul

toward liberty for woman. Her presence, gestures, oratory were simply magnificent." *HWS*, vol. 2, 425.

47 The 16th Amendment was proposed by the women's movement after the 15th had been passed in 1870, giving negroes the right to vote. Women in the U.S. were ultimately granted this right in the 19th Amendment of 1919.

48 On the morning of Jan. 21, 1870. Cf. *HWS*, vol. 2, 417, 432.

49 Pen name for Sara Jane Lippincott (1823-1904), who championed the role of women as writers. Cf. *Appleton's* vol. 3, 735.

50 In February of 1869. *HWS* vol. 2, 373-374.

51 Susan Brownell Anthony (1820-1906), abolitionist and temperance proponent, dedicated herself to the aims of the women's movement. Cf. *Appleton's* vol. 1, 82.

52 Mary Ashton Livermore (1821-1905) was active in the women's suffrage and temperance movements and edited *The Agitator*. Cf. *Appleton's*, vol. 3, 740.

53 Laura Ross Wolcott was one of the first women to practice medicine in the American west. In Milwaukee she became one of the leaders in the Wisconsin Women's suffrage movement.

54 An obituary without dates is found in *HWS*, vol. 3, 642.

55 A national *Freidenkerbund* had been founded in 1866 in New York. Its *second* convention took place April 13-14, 1871, in Milwaukee. Cf. C. F. Huch, "Die freireligiöse Bewegung unter den Deutschamerikanern," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins von Philadelphia*, Heft 11 (1909), pp. 21-22.

56 Carl Doerflinger was a Milwaukee publisher active in the local and national *Freidenker* associations. Cf. Huch, Heft 23, p. 14. Also *HWS*, vol. 2, 533.

57 The reverse of what many 19th-century women authors did! Heinzen also employed the pseudonym Luise Meyen in propagating women's rights. His main work on this subject, *Über die Rechte und Stellung der Frau* (New York, 1952) appeared, however, under his real name.

58 Klara F. Tittmann (1826-?), daughter of the Baden liberal Theodor Hilgard, who settled with his family in Belville, Illinois in 1836. The widow of Karl Tittmann of Dresden, Klara lived in the U.S. and Switzerland as a novelist. Cf. Brümmer, Vol. 7, 198-199.

59 Edited by Heinrich Binder and Karl Röser, later by C. von Rotteck and R. Rombauer (1868-ca. 1871). Cf. Arndt-Olson, p. 265.

60 Georg Geinrich von Ende (1847-79) was in charge of Heinzen's *Pionier* during the latter's 1874 European sojourn. Cf. Brümmer, vol. 2, 141 and Arndt-Olson, p. 296.

61 Cf. *HWS*, vol. 31-34, 39.

62 Nee Giesler, Mathilda's younger sister.

63-64 No further details ascertainable.

65 Hertha Anneke, born Dec. 5, 1855 in Newark, N.J.

NOTES ON GERMAN-AMERICAN GENEALOGY

The Bayerischer Landesverein für Familienkunde (Winzererstrasse 68 (Stadtarchiv), 8000 Muenchen 40, West Germany) has an extensive card file on emigrants who registered for emigration papers and whose names appeared in government documents and newspapers as having declared their intention to leave the country. Missing from this file, however, are the names of emigrants who left secretly without governmental permission, or who departed for another German state from Bavaria, and subsequently came to America. Inquiries to this genealogical society must give the town of birth. Inquiries that are not accompanied by at least three International Reply Coupons (for postage) will not be answered.

The Niedersächsischer Landesverein für Familienkunde (Hannover) has published the second part of its Braunschweiger Leichenpredigten (Brunswick Funeral Sermons). When completed this work will consist of some 5000 pages. Only 550 copies are being printed. The genealogical data given therein are extensive. A copy of each part of this important genealogical work will be donated to the Ward Collection at the Western Reserve Historical Society.

**NOTES ON GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES AT
SOUTHWEST TEXAS STATE UNIVERSITY**

With hope of creating interest in Texas-German cultural research, the German faculty of Southwest Texas State University organized a new course called "Multicultures of America: German,"¹ an advanced elective course taught by Professor Dona Reeves. As a partial requirement for the course, a semester project was undertaken by the students, and the variety of topics researched included family notes and photographs, a study of German architecture, and the life and work of artists, poets, teachers, and politicians. Because the major research preference focused on family history, students were encouraged to examine museum and other primary collections, church and county records, federal census microfilms, and cemeteries, as well as to collect local and oral history. The instructor also provided topics from the area of verbal and non-verbal folklore to be investigated among the students' families and acquaintances or within a community. This list has subsequently been expanded to serve as a guide for classroom, genealogical, and historical projects:

- dances, music, games (Sängervereine, Turnvereine)
- handicrafts, decorative arts, toys, stencils, furniture, pottery
- buildings, fences, farm equipment
- education, German schools, German in schools
- foods and nutrition
- superstitions, folk medicine
- birth celebrations, courtship and marriage, funeral customs
- life histories, family letters, photographs

Such research can bring to light many unevaluated materials. In this manner, Southwest Texas State University acquired what is apparently the largest private research collection (5000 items) of German-Americana in the Southwest. The Brinkmann-Ransleben library is the lifework of three generations of bibliophiles. The first was Mrs. Otto Brinkmann (nee Marie Ochse) who opened her family collection in 1896 as a revolving library in Comfort, Texas. She influenced her son Alex Brinkmann (1868-1947) to continue collecting German-language newspapers, rare documents, maps, historical photographs, and books during his extensive travels. After the collection was closed to the public in 1947, it was maintained by Brinkmann's son-in-law, Texas-German historian Guido Ernst Ransleben, who added extensive holdings on life and literature of the American Southwest.

With its rich holdings in German and German-American literature of the nineteenth century, this private library reflects the reading preferences of a class of Texas-Germans aspiring to a level of education commensurate with its new living standard in this country. The collecting includes numerous *Konversationslexika*, books on art, history, and travel, and representative works of writers from Lessing to Rilke. Of special interest are the works of German-American and Texas writers like Balduin Möllhausen, Friedrich Gerstäcker, Ferdinand Lindheimer, Adolf Douai, August Siemering, Ludwig Vogel, Fritz Goldbeck, Johannes Romberg, Heinrich Ochs, Ferdinand Lohmann, Julius Dresel, Hulda Walter, and Selma Metzenthin-Raunick.

Because recent issues of journals like *Monatshefte*, *The Modern Language Journal*, and *Die Unterrichtspraxis* have focused interest on the German literature of America, Dona Reeves and Glen Lich of Southwest Texas are sponsoring a special German-Americana meeting to be hosted jointly by the South Central

Modern Language Association and the Arkansas Chapter of AATG. The session will convene at the Arlington Hotel in Hot Springs on 28 October 1977.

1 Dona Reeves and Glen E. Lich, "Germans Along the Guadalupe: An Approach to the Study of Cultural Diversity," *Die Unterrichtspraxis*, 10 (Spring 1977).

THE WENDS OF TEXAS

The Institute of Texan Cultures is preparing a new monograph in its series, *The Texians and the Texans*, which will give an account of the Wendish element in the state of Texas. Al Lowman, a research associate at the institute, is tasked with the project which will draw on several published accounts, as well as a forthcoming book, but for the most part, sources for the monograph will be provided by individuals of Wendish extraction, like Robert Robinson-Zwahr, from across the state whose interest has led them to collect primary research materials.

When the Institute of Texan Cultures opened in 1968, the Wends were one of the 26 ethnic groups recognized during the Hemisfair. This Slavic nationality settled initially in Lee County in 1853-1854. Like the Germans, Alsacians, Swiss, Austrians, Tyrolese, Bohemians, and Poles -- the Wends originated within the political and cultural confines of German-speaking Europe, but unlike all these other nationalities, the Wends did not leave Europe in response to the prevailing mood of economic depression. It was not poverty but dissatisfaction with the union of Old Saxon Lutherans with the Prussian Reformed Church in 1830, which prompted Pastor Johann Kilian of Dahlen (Saxony) to organize the migration to Texas of over 500 Wendish Lutherans.

Although the majority of the Wends and their descendants remained around the mother church at Serbin and in the nearby town of Giddings, a number of filial churches were established in other parts of the state. The diffusion by now has been extensive, yet, while assimilation is complete, the Wends have retained not only their ethnic identity, but also their unique heritage of trilingualism. Significant historical and cultural examinations of the Wends have been George Charles Marius Engerrand's *The So-Called Wends of Germany and Their Colonies in Texas and in Australia* (1934) and Anne Blasig's *The Wends of Texas* (1954).

The monograph of the Wends continues *The Texians and the Texans* series published by the Institute of Texan Cultures at the University of Texas at San Antonio. Other titles in the collection include *The Afro-American Texans* (1975), *The Anglo American Texans* (1975), *The Belgian Texans* (1975), *The Czech Texans* (1972), *The French Texans* (1973), *The German Texans* (1970), *The Greek Texans* (1974), *The Indian Texans* (1970), *The Italian Texans* (1973), *The Jewish Texans* (1974), *The Mexican Texans* (1975), *The Norwegian Texans* (1970), *The Polish Texans* (1972), *The Spanish Texans* (1972), and *The Syrian and Lebanese Texans* (1974).

Southest Texas State University — Glen E. Lich

1 "Berricht über Leben and Wirken des sel. Joh. Kilian, weiland Pastors in Serbin, Texas," *Der Lutheraner*, 15 November 1884, pp. 171-172.

GERMAN-AMERICAN NOTES

Mark Krug, *The Melting of the Ethnics, 1880-1914*. Phi Delta Kappa Education Foundation, 1976. 123 pp.

[Study of the failure of the mystical melting pot.]

Felix Bornemann, *America's Sudeten Germans*. München: Sudetendeutsche Landesmannschaft, 1976. 20 pp.

[Covers German-Americans of Sudetenland descent.]

Wend von Kalnein, *The Hudson and the Rhine*. Düsseldorf: Kunstmuseum, 1976.

[Illustrated catalog on German- American artists and their works.]

Friedemann Spicker, *Deutsche Wanderer-, Vagabundenleben und Vagantenlyrik...Wege zum Heil - Strassen der Flucht*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1976. 345 pp.

[Covers lyric poetry of German "wanderers" in the 1910-33 period. Only one German-American author is considered: Martin Drescher.]

Juergen Gebhardt, *Die Krise des Amerikanismus*. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1976. 337 pp.

[Deals with American-born interpretations of American society from the 18th century to the present.]

Frederick Weiser, *Sources and Documents of the Pennsylvania Germans*. Breinigsville, Pa., The Pennsylvania German Society, 1975-.

[Of particular interest to genealogists is the article, "New Holland Lutheran Church Records." This covers the period 1730-99 and includes records of baptisms, marriages and burials.

Schleswig - Holsteinische Gesellschaft für Familienforschung und Wappenkunde e.V. Kiel, *Familienkundliches Jahrbuch Schleswig-Holstein*. Jahrgang 15 (1976).

[Contains genealogical articles, a name index, and bibliographies. Copy in Ward Collection of Americana Germanica at the Western Reserve Historical Society.]

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