

## Book Reviews

*Edited by Marc Pierce*

### Art and Architecture

#### **The Twentieth Century German Art Exhibition: Answering Degenerate Art in 1930s London.**

*By Lucy Wasensteiner. New York: Routledge, 2019. 234 pp. \$155.*

The Degenerate Art Exhibition commonly evoked as *Entartete Kunst* was an art show organized by the then president of the Prussian Academy of Arts, Adolf Ziegler, for the Nazi Party in Munich's *Haus der Kunst* on parade from 19 July to 30 November 1937. Displaying some 650 expressionist works confiscated from German artists and museums, the charade was staged to satisfy Hitler, who, during WWII, however, imprisoned Ziegler for six weeks in Dachau for doubting the cause. Paintings, sculptures and prints by 112 artists, such as Georg Grosz, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Paul Klee, Wilhelm Lehmbruck, Franz Marc, Emil Nolde, Otto Dix and others were hosted by the Munich Institute of Archaeology in a venue chosen for its particular qualities (dark, narrow rooms), many exposed without frames and partially covered by derogatory slogans. As it travelled, photographs, a film and a catalogue accompanied the large number of works lasting until 30 November 1937, attended by 2,009,899 visitors, a daily average of 20,000.

The book reviewed here portrays the Twentieth Century German Art show that opened on 7 July 1938 in London, and was assembled by lenders and organizers to make a public statement against the Nazi socialists. Amassing at least 314 works at the New Burlington Galleries, collectors and gatherers in the city of London grew the accumulation to perhaps 600 representing works held today by the world's foremost museums. An estimated 12,000 people attended the New Burlington exhibit in 1938.

The volume is structured into six chapters, with each taking a case study from the 1938 exhibition catalogue as its starting point; the first, which is Chapter Two, begins with works by Heinrich Campendonk (1889–1957) depicting the Swiss involvement. The second case study investigates émigré German collectors as lenders to the London exposition. Next comes the history of a Max Liebermann (1847–1935) oil painting, mentioned as a commercial undertaking provided by art dealers and marketers for German modernism in the 1930s. The fourth is the work of Kurt Schwitters (1887–1948), illustrating the degenerate artists as themselves contributors to the loans in London, suggesting that a riposte against the Nazis was not the only motivation for contributing to the London demonstration. Number six explores the expressionist Blauer Reiter member, August Macke (1887–1914). His watercolor mentioned in the catalogue as “Men on a Bridge” explains how it was still possible in 1938 to evacuate art from the Reich. Finally, international figures provide a case study with the “Kneeling Group” by Willi Baumeister (1889–1955), reporting the importance of the exhibit as an educational opportunity for British artists. Chapter Eight assesses the exhibition’s importance based on press responses showing an international group of individuals behind the effort especially taking us beyond the Herbert Read initial thrust to the organizers of a mainly British project that extended to the broader world post 1932. Thus, this book provides more than a detailed analysis of the London elucidation, rather it reveals how international individuals stood behind the 1938 London spectacle depicting also the relationship between Britain, Germany and Europe before 1933. Claimed to be Allegedly politically neutral, the London Exhibition of 1938 rejected suggestions to title it ‘Banned’ art as well as any references to ‘Jews or Émigrés’ thus illustrating that Britain at the time was in yet an appeasement mindset.

In addition to 23 pages of comprehensive bibliographic material, there is a detailed, working index, which makes the book worthy of study by a general as well as of a scholarly audience. Two extensive appendices follow the main text, the first a list of twentieth century German Art exhibits taking up 35 pages, the second a 27-page list of 20th century German art lenders, some being the artists themselves.

*St. Olaf College*

*LaVern Rippley*

***Constructing Imperial Berlin: Photography and the Metropolis.***

By Miriam Paeslack. Minneapolis: UMN, 2019. 194 pp. \$120.00 hardback / \$30 paperback.

In this volume, Paeslack provides a comprehensive study of an era of urban change and its recording on the new photographic medium in its development as a serious art form. Often overlooked as the end of an imperial Reich, the end of the 19th century and prewar 20th century provided images of Berlin and careful historical research of its photographers. The book includes description of what were then new photographic techniques such as the panorama, and Paeslack's perspective on architectural history provides a new view of both urban development and of the art of photography. As she writes, "Berlin's development into a world city coincided with the instrumentalization of photography's technological and aesthetic capacities" (p. xviii).

This extensive exploration of imperial Berlin begins with an introduction about Berlin and photography, how individual portraits lead the way to photography as an art form, and for architecture and for the building process. Most presentations of the city in 19th century magazines, thinking of both residents and tourists as their readers, supported the image of Berlin as an urban center of government and of Germanic culture. The urban cityscape was about "grand-style photography" (13), such as a series called 'Neu-Berlin' [New Berlin] with panoramic views of the city published in a weekly magazine: *Berliner Leben, Zeitschrift für Schönheit und Kunst* [Berlin Life, Magazine for Beauty and Art] (15). The images of wide avenues, monuments to important military heroes, palaces, shops, and places of worship impressed tourists and local readers alike. Paeslack's volume includes panoramas taken from the roof of the city hall, still called 'das Rote Rathaus,' by Albrecht Meydenbauer. Meydenbauer had invented photogrammetry, the science of gaining information about objects by measuring and interpreting photographic images. The art and technology of producing images on photosensitive surfaces was considered reproducing a 'true' image, in other words dependable, as described in an advertisement for *Berlin Life*: ". . . elevating your heart and spirits; through truthfulness and without fabrication, that is *Berlin Life*" (33).

In chapter two the author includes architectural imagery by photographers from 1870–1910, such as Leopold Ahrendts, who made a name for himself with landscape and urban views from 1859; Hermann Rückwardt, who published folios of photos of the Berlin City Palace, Museum Island, bridges and railways; and Georg Bartels' volume *Das Berlin der Jahrhundertwende. Photographien aus den Jahren 1886 bis 1907* [Berlin

at the Turn of the Century: Photography from 1886 to 1907]. Most prolific in this volume were the collaborations between Berlin's city architect Ludwig Hoffmann and photographer Ernst von Brauchitsch. Hoffmann's vision of the city as a center for the arts and classical architecture was preserved by Brauchitsch's painstaking technique, providing attractive scenes, and, for the first time, including 'protagonists' (48) or people in the photo, either staged or happening to walk by. This collaboration showcased the cityscape in Berlin by "anticipating public responses to Hoffmann's buildings . . . adding pictorial and scenographic oomph" (37). Special portfolios of city photography were created after the turn of the century, instilling an aesthetically pleasing perception of the city and its monuments (37).

The transformations of Berlin and Paris in chapter three afford a much larger discussion of architectural preservation. In Paris Baron Haussmann led the way, clearing out old narrow city neighborhoods to make room for a grander vision. In Berlin the revamping of the city was less coordinated, and was more a reaction to voices of the emperor, the city government, and the city's wealthy business owners. In chapter four, ideas of beauty were being challenged, like the architect August Endell who wrote '*Die Schönheit der großen Stadt*' [*The Beauty of the City*], suggesting observers should embrace the idea of observation as a way to be open to new ideas, an "immediate experience . . . [to] question conventional long established notions of beauty" (117).

Berlin, even more than most cities, has a history of destruction and reconstructing, convincingly represented in Paeslack's book. Photos of tearing down buildings, designated 'rubble photography,' captured the destruction of urban reconstruction. Paeslack goes so far as to call it 'ruin porn,' referring to the dynamism of spectacle, but also nostalgia for an imagined city. Paeslack uses a photo series by Albrecht Meydenbauer of the Royal Prussian Photogrammetric Institute to illustrate processes: the procedure of installing an equestrian monument to Wilhelm I, which included the razing of a castle in order to make room for the historical monument, portrays the destruction of historical artifacts to put up another. Besides historical renovation, the idea of model neighborhoods was included the magazine *Berlin Life*, which published 18 wide angle panoramas in 5 issues of individual buildings and sites titled 'New Berlin I,' through IV, with one set of two photos titled 'Panoramas of Berlin V.' (20). These celebrated new developments and neighborhoods ranging from the historic center, west to Halensee and a new subway, and Savigny Platz in Charlottenburg, suggested Berlin's dynamism, with their essential sites of both old and new areas and monuments.

Paeslack's study of historical analysis of photographic technology and its uses provides a fascinating look into Berlin's development and the technological advances of photography before the World Wars. Her

copious notes and sources for the photographs allow access to all historical photographs used in this important volume. Scholars of European history, political science, photography and its history will find this a well-researched and enjoyable read.

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Paula Hansen

**Nazi Exhibition Design and Modernism.**

By Michael Tymkiw. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018. 320 pp. \$35.00.

This fascinating study explores how some exhibition designers during the Third Reich utilized experimental, modernist techniques, most notably montage and fragmentation. Tymkiw does not offer a comprehensive survey of Nazi exhibitions, but instead chooses a handful of important examples as “limit cases” outside of the traditional fine arts or longstanding museums. He thoroughly analyzes prominent traveling exhibitions promoting Nazi ideology (such as the infamous *Der ewige Jude* or *Entartete Kunst* exhibitions) and German industry between 1933 and 1942. He seeks to add nuance to our understanding of exhibition design history by drawing our attention to Nazi roots in current practice, arguing that design and form often have multiple and contradictory ideological ancestors, thus arguing for an ambivalent assessment of modernism’s legacy. The author follows in the footsteps of scholars like Jeffrey Herf, who draw attention to strands of “reactionary modernism” present in far-right movements throughout the 1930s and 40s. Tymkiw argues against prevailing notions about modernism in historiography and design discourse, which tend to portray modernism as wholly separate from Nazi and fascist ideology—and therefore ideologically innocent. For example, the author analyzes a Nazi industrial exhibition (*Deutsches Volk—Deutsche Arbeit*) that Walter Gropius and Mies van der Rohe contributed to in 1934.

The author notes that while many of these exhibition designers worked for Goebbels’s Propaganda Ministry, their work was not wholly dictated from above, but rather self-directed. Tymkiw uses a functionalist approach and argues that the various exhibits in his study exemplify an attempt on the part of the designers at what Ian Kershaw has dubbed “working towards the Führer” (4). “Engaged spectatorship” forms a central aspect of his study. He argues that Nazi exhibits utilized experimental, modernist techniques in order to foster “engaged spectatorship,” which he defines as “modes of specta-

torship that beckoned views to become involved in forms of social or political change” (9).

The first chapter focuses on how the designers of the 1934 exhibit *Deutsches Volk-Deutsche Arbeit* used the visual principle of alignment in order to encourage visitors to “fall in line,” both figuratively and literally, complementing and visualizing the regime’s efforts at *Gleichschaltung* and cartelization. Chapter two examines the factory exhibitions (*Fabrikausstellungen*), which were early examples of mass-produced exhibitions (with standardized, customizable modular display furniture), and how the artist and designer Otto Andreas Schreiber unsuccessfully attempted to “reconfigure expressionism” for the new regime. The *Fabrikausstellungen* were traveling art exhibitions in factories across Germany to allegedly bring art out of the museums and into the workplace, making it accessible to the average German. These exhibitions often ran parallel with so-called *Laienschauen*, where laypeople exhibited their own artwork. Tymkiw shows that the stated goal of the exhibitions—to make art accessible to the masses and to encourage their creativity—belied their real purposes, which were to distract factory workers from their lost rights under National Socialism and to help conceive of themselves as participants in the growing military-industrial complex, “blurring the distinctions between worker and soldier” (115).

In chapter three, he examines photomurals and how designers responded to earlier Soviet photomural exhibitions with their exhibitions *Die Kamera* (1933) and *Gebt mir vier Jahre Zeit* (1937). He argues that these exhibitions did not seek to subjugate visitors with a top-down, authoritative voice, but instead encouraged visitors to identify with the subjects on display and participate in the Nazi system as members of the National Socialist movement, economic producers, and soldiers. These exhibits drew attention to their constructed nature and encouraged visitors to think of themselves as being part of a construction of their own: of a new Germany. The final chapter, “Fragmentation and the ‘Jewish-Bolshevist Enemy,’” analyzes denunciatory exhibits about “degenerate art,” Jews, and the Soviet Union. For Tymkiw, these exhibits use the visual principle of fragmentation (related to collage) to emphasize the chaotic nature of the regime’s enemies and to hammer home a single narrative (in contrast earlier examples fragmentation, which encouraged spectators to construct narratives themselves). This section clearly shows how Nazi designers used experimental techniques in order to demonize their enemies. This is particularly evident in his section on the 1942 exhibition *Das Sowjet-Paradies*, which, through its combination of parodying Soviet propaganda and the display of dilapidated buildings in a “realistic” ethnographic style, exhorts its visitors to defend Europe against the perceived Soviet men-

ace. He concludes with an epilogue about how traces of Nazi exhibition design reappeared in both West German and East German exhibitions.

Tymkiw utilizes an array of sources, including exhibit floor plans, meeting minutes, correspondence, diaries, design sketches, advertisements, and photographs. Many of these archival documents and photographs serve as illustrations in the book and all further the author's argument and analysis. The endnotes contain a wealth of additional content that help clarify terminology and provide background information.

*Nazi Exhibition Design and Modernism* is a worthwhile, fascinating study that adds to our knowledge about the arts in the Third Reich, museum and exhibition history, and twentieth-century modernism. Tymkiw's discussion of engaged spectatorship should encourage public historians and museum professionals to reflect on contemporary trends in the field such as "shared authority" and the "participatory museum" and acknowledge that these practices are not inherently progressive. This unsettling but necessary book complicates our understanding of Nazi aesthetics and propaganda techniques, underscoring the ambivalent legacy of modernism.

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*Nicholas K. Johnson*

## Jewish Studies

### **A Jewish Refugee in New York: Rivke Zilberg's Journal.**

*By Kadya Molodovsky, Translated by Anita Norich. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2019. 200 pp. \$24.00.*

Kadya Molodovsky's novel *A Jewish Refugee in New York* tells the story of a year in the life of Rivke Zilberg, a young Jewish refugee from Lublin living in 1940 New York City. The book is a valuable source on the immigrant and refugee experience in interwar New York City. Molodovsky (1894-1975), an accomplished figure in modernist Yiddish literature and poetry, was a Jewish refugee who left Warsaw for the United States in the 1930s. The novel began as a serial in the New York Yiddish newspaper *Morgn-zhurnal* (Morning Journal). Its original title was *Fun Lublin biz Nyu-york: Togbukh fun Rivke Zilberg* (*From Lublin to New York: Rivke Zilberg's Journal*; i).

Anita Norich's introduction provides a wealth of information on Molodovsky and the novel's context. She notes Molodovsky's socialist views as well as how she challenged prevailing notions about gender and "women's literature" in the Yiddish world. The introduction also includes images of ar-

chival material such as Molodovsky's notes from her English classes and newspaper clippings. Unfortunately, these images are at too low of a resolution in the paperback edition, making the pictured text largely indecipherable. This is especially disappointing considering how large a role learning English in Rivke's daily struggle plays in the novel.

The novel is structured like a journal, with entries lasting around two pages on average. The translation is almost flawless and is remarkably easy to read. The action it takes place over roughly nine months, from December 1939 until September 1940. It is important to note that the novel is not autobiographical, as Rivke is a twenty-year-old refugee from war-torn Lublin and Molodovsky was middle age by the time she arrived in the United States. Nevertheless, the book contains some autobiographical elements. Most notably is the use of foreign language. Because the book contained English and German words, Norich decided to maintain this illusion by transliterating the English and German words into how "Rivke would have heard or misheard [them] as she tried to learn this new language" (xvii). For example, "loafer" becomes "lowfer" and "special" becomes "speshl" (57). This feature, while original, is sometimes distracting, particularly when certain characters repeat stock English phrases every time they appear.

As a modernist experiment, the novel plays with certain literary devices. The most prominent is doubling. Many characters have doubles and the differences and similarities between them recur throughout the novel. Rivke's love interests in Lublin and New York even have the same name (Layzer), although the latter, a fully assimilated New Yorker, goes by Larry. New York itself is twinned with Lublin (a point underscored by this edition's cover, which has images of both cities). Rivke constantly compares and contrasts the Jewish communities of Lublin and New York; she marvels at the social mobility of her fellow Lubliners who have achieved success in New York. At the same time, she suffers from homesickness and worry. Rivke even splits into two versions of herself: Rivke from Lublin and Ray, the newly arrived immigrant seeking assimilation. A Jewish Refugee in New York is at its strongest when it grapples with questions of immigration and national identity. By its end, the protagonist feels that in the process of becoming American, she has become a different person: "I think that Rivke Zilberg no longer exists... [she] remained in Lublin" (172).

Molodovsky's depiction of New York City emphasizes the overarching importance of money and relationships in the hustling capitalist system. She constantly describes what she sees as an American obsession with money and status, which exemplified by Rivke's evolving attitude towards dishonesty. At the beginning of the novel, she characterizes Americans as dishonest and disloyal; but as she evolves, she begins to embrace dishonesty in order to "get

ahead.” The message here—unsurprising considering Molodovsky’s political background—is that a capitalist system encourages dishonesty and duplicity. Rivke also navigates American gender norms, initially by imitating what she sees in Hollywood movies and later by going out on dates and to dances. She also encounters the stereotypical difficulties unskilled women encountered when finding work and workplace sexism. Throughout the novel, Molodovsky addresses issues such as sexual harassment, abortion, unfaithfulness, and patriarchy.

This book will prove most valuable for scholars interested in immigration, interwar New York, and Yiddish literature. It is particularly suited to a perspective that looks at gender and the Jewish experience. Due to its readability, it is well-suited for the classroom, particularly for courses about refugees and immigration. From the German American Studies perspective, it also helps widen the picture of European refugees in the 1930s and 40s, which usually exclusively focuses on the flight of German and Austrian Jews to New York and California.

A final but noteworthy aspect of this novel is its portrait of American society before Pearl Harbor. While Molodovsky never directly addresses the Holocaust, it is constantly present in the background. Rivke constantly worries about her relatives in Lublin while her American counterparts go about their daily lives as if nothing were amiss. They continue going to their society meetings, dances, and movies while the Old World burns.

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**Von “jüdischem Optimismus” und “unausbleiblicher Enttäuschung”:  
Erwartungsmanagement deutsch-jüdischer Vereine und gesellschaftlicher Antisemitismus 1914-1938.**

*Von Anna Ullrich. De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019. 350 S. € 54.95.*

Die großen Themen dieses Buches sind Erwartung und Enttäuschung, man könnte auch sagen, wie aus Erwartung allmählich Enttäuschung wird. Gemeint ist dies im Hinblick auf die Situation der Juden in Deutschland im Zeitraum vom Beginn des ersten Weltkrieges, über die Weimarer Republik bis hin zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus unmittelbar nach dem Novemberpogrom 1938. Der im Untertitel verwendete Begriff des Erwartungsmanagements orientiert sich am sog. Gefühlsmanagement, einem Segment aus der Emotionsgeschichte. Diese leicht überarbeitete Doktorarbeit befasst sich in erster Linie damit, inwiefern jüdische Vereine—allen voran der Centralverein

deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens (CV), auf die vielfältigen Anfragen, Beschwerden, Berichte und Sorgen ihrer jüdischen Mitglieder reagierten—genauer gesagt, “welche Gefühle beim Umgang mit antisemitischen Erfahrungen seitens der Vereine gefördert, welche gedämpft wurden—und welche es unbedingt zu vermeiden galt” (5). Der CV war die größte jüdische Organisation, die sich für die Gleichberechtigung deutscher Juden engagierte, und zwar in politischer, gesellschaftlicher und wirtschaftlicher Hinsicht. Darüber hinaus setzte sie sich auch juristisch und publizistisch mit der Judenfeindlichkeit in Deutschland auseinander. Wie fast alle jüdischen Organisationen, wurde der CV am 9. November 1938 verboten, die vereinseigene Zeitung musste ihr Erscheinen einstellen.

Nach den Ausführungen über antisemitische Erfahrungen im Ersten Weltkrieg folgen viele Beispiele für alltäglichen Antisemitismus und nicht-jüdische Indifferenz in der Demokratie aus unterschiedlichen Bereichen. Hingewiesen sei hier exemplarisch auf ein eher nicht sehr bekanntes Phänomen: Seit den 1880er Jahren wurden nach dem Vorbild von Sammelbildern sog. Klebe- und Verschlussmarken auf Postsendungen angebracht, die an Adressaten mit jüdisch klingenden Namen gerichtet waren. Diese Marken verbreiteten judenfeindliche Stereotype z.B. in Form von Mini-Karikaturen, Boykottaufrufen oder auch Zitaten berühmter Persönlichkeiten. Die Empfänger hatten überwiegend antisemitische Postmitarbeiter und Briefträger in Verdacht. So ganz nebenbei wird der Leser in einer Fußnote auch mit folgendem Zitat auf einer Spruchmarke konfrontiert: “Das israelitische Volk hat niemals viel getaugt, wie es ihm seine Anführer, Richter, Vorsteher, Propheten tausendmal vorgeworfen haben; es besitzt wenig Tugenden und die meisten Fehler anderer Völker” (137). Der Verfasser dieser Worte? Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. Für den Leser wäre es interessant gewesen zu erfahren, dass es sich bei diesem Goethe-Zitat aus Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre nur um eine Einleitung handelt, die folgendermaßen weitergeht: “Aber an Selbständigkeit, Festigkeit, Tapferkeit und, wenn alles das nicht mehr gilt, an Zähheit, sucht es seinesgleichen. Es ist das beharrlichste Volk der Erde. Es ist, es war, es wird sein, um den Namen Jehova durch alle Zeiten zu verherrlichen.” Dieser Abschnitt wird selbstverständlich auf der Marke nicht erwähnt.

Solche Marken, aber auch antisemitische Postsendungen anderer Art wurden vom CV als zumutbar angesehen. Der Verein enttäuschte viele der Menschen, die sich hilfeschend an ihn wandten und aufgrund ihrer Berichterstattung Aktionen erwarteten, mit Passivität. Ob es Nachteile an Urlaubsorten oder in Vereinen betraf—gingen sie nicht von der Spitze selbst aus, wurde ein Dulden nahegelegt. Bedrückend zu lesen, dass jüdische Kinder gewissermaßen von ihren Eltern gegen antisemitische Erfahrungen abgehärtet werden und den Kopf hoch tragen sollten, da an der Einstellung der Anti-

semiten ohnehin nichts zu ändern sei (156). Trotz mancher kritischer Einstellungen zu den antisemitischen Machthabern, zeigten die meisten Nichtjuden wenig Interesse daran, für die zunehmend malträtierte jüdische Minderheit einzutreten. Dies hing natürlich auch mit entsprechenden Einschüchterungen durch nationalsozialistische Organisationen zusammen.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich festhalten, dass der CV es kaum jemandem wirklich recht machen konnte. Nahezu jeder Aspekt seiner Informationsverbreitung und Arbeit stieß bei Lesern und Mitgliedern auf Kritik. Während sich die einen eine zurückhaltendere Berichterstattung wünschten, monierten andere, dass tendenziell optimistische Beschreibungen an der Realität vorbeigingen (237).

Bei dem Buch handelt es sich um einen Band aus dem Projekt “Enttäuschung im 20. Jahrhundert. Utopieverlust—Verweigerung—Neuverhandlung”, herausgegeben vom Institut für Zeitgeschichte. Anna Ullrich ist es gelungen zu zeigen, dass sich die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Antisemitismus auf der einen, Bewahrung und Förderung jüdischen Lebens auf der anderen Seite nicht ausschlossen. Die Autorin, die am Zentrum für Holocaust Studien am Institut für Zeitgeschichte München—Berlin beschäftigt ist, hat sich in diesem Buch nicht nur durch beeindruckende Recherche hervorgetan, sondern auch durch große Gewissenhaftigkeit, die beim Lesen sowohl ein Gefühl von Anerkennung als auch weiterführendem Interesse erzeugt.

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**Antisemitismus in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Laupheimer Gespräche 2018.** Herausgegeben vom Haus der Geschichte Baden Württemberg. Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 2019. 168 pp. € 16.

Laupheim Institut, Museum und Tagungsstaette bietet jährliche Konferenzen und Forschungsmaterial für Jugendliche. Themen umfassen Rassismus und hauptsächlich Antisemitismus. Die Veröffentlichungen der vorstehenden Gespräche sind das Resultat einer dieser Tagungen. Die Autoren bringen zur Diskussion wie Antisemitismus über Jahrhunderte hinweg gespeist wurde, in Kirchen, Politik, Wirtschaft und in der Gesellschaft.

Fünf Autoren referieren. Monika Schwarz-Friesel (Berlin), bespricht alten Judenhass mit neuen Medien. Friesel deutet auf historische judeophobische Stereotypen, die im abendländischen Weltsystem verwurzelt sind und die den alten kollektiven Hass auch in der Gegenwart weiterführen. Das historische Judenbild zeigt in Deutschland sowie in den USA alt-neue Rhetorik.

Der Abtrennung des Christentums von seiner Mutterreligion folgte eine Differenzkonstruktion, "Wahre Gläubige" und "Glaubensverweigerer." Jahrhunderte von Feindseligkeit, Ausgrenzung, Verdammung speisten den Holocaust und hinterliessen tiefe Spuren. Mit heutigen Informationsmöglichkeiten intensiviert sich neuer Judenhass im Internet. Teile der Gesellschaft versuchen diesen grundlosen Judenhass ins öffentliche Bewusstsein zu bringen, und verantwortungsvolle Menschen bekämpfen ihn. Die vorwiegende Gefahr ist im Diskurs der Mainstream-Gesellschaft, in massiven Leugnungsstrategien und einer Camouflage-Technik indirekter Sprechweise sichtbar.

Wolfram Kastner (München) spricht von Schmach-Skulpturen an deutschen Kirchen. Abbildungen der "Judensau" demonstrieren historischen Hass an mehr als 25 Kirchenfassaden in Deutschland. Die Wissenschaft sollte sich mehr mit der Entstehung dieser im 14. Jahrhundert entstandenen Hohnkultur befassen. Der Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland sieht in dieser Angelegenheit grossen Handlungsbedarf. Mit Protestschildern geht Kastner auf Aktion und versucht die Öffentlichkeit auf diese "Kunst" aufmerksam zu machen. Der Autor fordert Kirchen wie Köln, Zerbst und Wittenberg, die Skulpturen mit Erklärungen zu versehen, aber oft trifft er auf Entschuldigungen.

Michael Koch (Museum für Geschichte von Christen und Juden in Laupheim) führt zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Museums der Jurist und Bankier Kilian Steiner (1833–1903) auf. Führend in der Grossdeutschen Bewegung zur Gleichstellung von Juden in Württemberg, wurde er in 1895 mit dem Adelstitel ausgezeichnet. Sein Vater erwarb das Schloss in Laupheim, wo sich heute das Museum befindet. Die erstaunliche Emanzipationsgeschichte des Kilian Steiner steht der historischen Aufschrift am Schlossportal "ein Jude und ein Schwein darf hier nicht herein" trotzend gegenüber. Gleichstellung galt nicht für alle Juden. Ein Bild des Juden Hirschfeld zeigt seine Heimkehr in Laupheim. Auf einer Geschäftsreise in Ulm wurde er 1843 als Brandstifter beschuldigt und unschuldig verhaftet. Zu Beginn des ersten Weltkriegs drückte sich Kaiser Wilhelm II folgendermassen aus: "Ich kenne keine Parteien und keine Konfessionen mehr. Wir sind alle deutsche Brüder." Als der Krieg anhielt, wurden Juden trotzdem als "Drückeberger" beschimpft. Grosse Enttäuschung für die jüdischen Soldaten war die Judenzählung, hofften sie doch auf Gleichberechtigung als deutsche Staatsbürger. Der Autor bemüht sich geschichtliche Aspekte mit der heutigen Lebenswelt junger Menschen zu verbinden. Das Museum, als Bildungsort, versucht Koexistenz mit Minoritäten zu fördern.

Guy Stern (Detroit) bespricht drei amerikanische Romane, die den potentiellen Verfall der Demokratie in Amerika prophezeien. Sinclair Lewis' Roman von 1935, *It Can't Happen Here*, skizziert die Gesellschaft einer Kleinstadt in Vermont. Ein starker Mann am Ruder wird gewünscht. Übertriebe-

ne Wahlversprechungen und Lügen werden unterstützt. Hauptgegenspieler, Redakteur der Lokalzeitung, kämpft nicht heftig genug gegen diese Tendenz. Die Relevanz zur heutigen Situation in USA ist unverkennbar. Zweites Beispiel ist *Gentleman's Agreement* von Laura Z. Hobson (1947). Ein erfolgreicher Journalist bekommt den Auftrag Antisemitismus zu legitimieren. Obwohl er Protestant ist, gibt er sich als Jude aus. Schnell findet er, dass verwurzelte Vorurteile und Beleidigungen gegen jüdische Ärzte, Verleger und Journalisten zirkulieren. Drittes Beispiel: *The Plot against America*, von Philip Roth (2004). Ein faschistischer Autokrat wird in USA gewählt und zerstört die Grundlagen der Demokratie. Der republikanische Kandidat, Charles Lindbergh, kommt an die Macht. Er gründet die "America First" Partei, unterstützt "Silver Shirts" und "Ku-Klux-Klan." Beschränkte Meinungsfreiheit, Pogrome gegen Juden und Zerstörung von Synagogen folgen. Lindbergh ist Verehrer von Hitler und geht einen Iceländischen Pakt ein, der Hitler freie Hand in Europa gewährleistet und Amerika aus dem Konflikt hält. Roth zeigt, wie Lindbergh seinen Ruf als Nationalheld geschickt benützt. Mit diesen Beispielen demonstriert Stern aktuell zunehmenden Antisemitismus, erwähnt antisemitische Ausschreitungen in Charlottesville und in Pittsburgh und weist auf notwendige Wachsamkeit. Er hofft auf Vernunft und Menschlichkeit im Sinne der literarischen Figur "Nathan der Weise" von Lessing.

Marc Grimm (Bielefeld) bespricht die junge Partei "Alternative für Deutschland," die 2014 bei den Landtagswahlen in Sachsen, Brandenburg und Thüringen erfolgreich war. Der Wahlerfolg zeigt sich als Reaktion auf die Flüchtlingspolitik der amtierenden Regierung. Eine völkisch-nationalistische Widerstandsbewegung fürchtet zunehmende Abnahme der deutschen Identität und richtet sich hauptsächlich gegen muslimische Flüchtlinge. Schwerpunkte der AfD sind Erinnerungsabwehr des Holocaust. Es wird von Heimatlosigkeit, Wurzellosigkeit, Urbanität und Kulturelite gesprochen, historisch nicht von Antisemitismus zu trennen. Der Merkel-Politik wird der Entwurf eines gross-politischen Plans angelastet; Migranten ersetzen die deutsche Bevölkerung. Die Befürchtung ist ein Auslöschung der westlichen Kultur durch Bevölkerungsaustausch. Diese Tendenz ist auch in USA sichtbar. Hier verschiebt sich der Antisemitismus als eine Schuldprojektion gegen den Islam.

Meines Erachtens bieten die Gespräche empfehlenswerten Lesestoff.

Austin, Texas

Marianne Weiss Kim

**Cities of Refuge: German Jews in London and New York, 1935–1945.**

By Lori Gemeiner Bihler. Albany: SUNY Press, 2018. 228 pp. \$85.

Lori Bihler has written a clear and concise analysis of German Jewish migration to the United Kingdom and the United States, before and during World War II. Her method is the comparative analysis of the overwhelming migration into two “cities of refuge”: London and New York. Her interest is in discovering why London refugees adopted English customs more quickly than New York City refugees who identified themselves as immigrants. She navigates conflicting quantitative measurements by explaining why she accepts the estimate of 484,000 Jews who fled the Third Reich, with eventually 330,000 ended up in London or New York City (9). Of those, there was a disparity with 80,000 in London, and 250,000 in New York City. She used two research approaches by analyzing thirty-four separate refuge archives and conducting additional personal interviews. Then she filled in the explanatory lacunae by using selective folkways, such as food, clothing and language, which were customarily chosen and unconsciously noted by the immigrants.

In recreating the London and New York experiences, she focused on reconstructing the enclaves within each city. She focused on the London experience with Hampstead in the northwestern section of the city. Her use of direct testimony and indirect behavior creates an impressive portrait. In London, accommodations were relatively acceptable, although the newcomers viewed them as second-class flats, since bathrooms were shared with other tenants. More emphatically, with the British declaration of war in 1939, they were viewed as “enemy aliens” and most men were interned. The 1940 threat of imminent invasion forced the families to fit even more closely into the stratified society of England. They were initially prohibited from working, but 9,000 men eventually enrolled in the Pioneer Corps for non-combative work. Bihler discovered that some of the London families retranslated their title to bolster their self-esteem. They felt pressure to Anglicize German-sounding names, and learned how to duplicate British accents. They had great difficulty in understanding the British tradition of understatement in conversations, and the subtleties and vagueness which involved unnecessary phrases. Since many women worked as “servants,” their uniforms drew attention to their position, but children wore school uniforms, and fathers who volunteered for the armed services wore military uniforms.

As for New York, Bihler reconstructs two New York City enclaves in Washington Heights (25,000) and the Upper West Side (18,000), but not in the Lower East Side where the *Ostjuden* dressed differently and mainly spoke Yiddish. The vast majority of German Jews were strongly affected by the symbolism of the Statue of Liberty which they first saw in the city’s harbor

(18–21). Strengthened by their larger numbers, German Jews did not hide their German heritage; they were more confident and also slower to adopt American customs and folkways than their counterparts in London. 9,500 German Jews served in the U.S. armed services, about the same number as those in London, even though there were far fewer in London.

Bihler uses other folkways to round out her sketch of the German-Jewish experience in New York City. Although rationing was in effect in both countries, American victory gardens increased the availability food choices, and German-styled food was already available in a neighborhood store in Washington Heights. American irritants seem not to be as important as the British experience. Newcomers in New York City could not understand the ubiquitous sale of flavored soda in bottles, and the incessant assumption in all restaurants and cafes that iced water had to be served. They found the casual use of first names unbelievable: “They retained the German traditions in refugee circles, but adopted the American naming process with ‘real’ Americans. First names were more likely to be Anglicized than last names . . .” (79). German was always the preferred first language, not Yiddish. In conversation they used “immigrant’ but memorists used “newcomer” and “European.” If they had permanent residency visas, they identified as Americans. As for clothing, everyone was surprised by the widespread use of cosmetics by women; they also retained their pride in the perceived superiority of European taste and durability (71). They eventually accepted the lack of smart tailoring services, since Americans bought their suits “off the rack.” In addition, they had difficulty in accepting how easily their children accepted the casual informality of American culture.

During the war years, the German Jewish émigrés in London remained inconspicuous; in New York, they fitted in more easily and gained greater acceptance. One reason is the popularity of baseball for male German Jewish immigrants during the war years. All of New York City’s German Jews, other ethnic groups, and New Yorkers came together in their enjoyment and support as baseball fans for the Dodgers, the Giants or the Yankees!

Bihler’s incisive study points to new research directions, such as examining the status of Hollywood as another center for Jewish Germans by members of the German film industry or academics. It is also curious that two locations are omitted from her analysis. In London, migrating Jews since the 1890s had been forced to settle in the East End, while in New York City, they had been excluded from the Yorkville neighborhood. This was where the American Nazi movement was headquartered, and a large number of pro-*Vaterland* Manhattanites lived. The book is lively reading and offers a number of facts of interest.

## Literature

### **Eight Stories: Tales of War and Loss.**

*Von Erich Maria Remarque, mit einer Einführung von Maria Tatar und Larry Wolff. New York University Press, 2018. 192 pp. \$13.95.*

Eine fast 50 Seiten lange Einführung zu einem insgesamt nur 192 Seiten langen Buch ist wohl eher ungewöhnlich, und doch ermöglichen Maria Tatar und Larry Wolff dem Leser durch Kenntnisreichtum und packende Darstellungskraft einen vorzüglichen Einstieg nicht nur in die acht Geschichten des Autors Erich Maria Remarque, sondern auch in sein Leben, sein literarisches Schaffen und die Zeiten, in denen diese Geschichten erschienen sind.

Der 1898 in Osnabrück als Erich Paul Remark geborene Sohn eines Buchbinders begann gleich nach Kriegsende eine Tätigkeit als Volksschullehrer und arbeitete in den nachfolgenden Jahren für verschiedene Magazine. Für immer geprägt von eigenen Kriegserlebnissen, schrieb er häufig über die Greuel des Krieges. Für seinen Roman *Im Westen nichts Neues*, der zunächst vom S. Fischer Verlag abgelehnt worden war, erhielt er 1928 vom Ullstein Verlag eine Zusage. 1930 wurde der Roman, der ihn international bekannt machte, in den Universal Studios in Hollywood verfilmt. Direktor und Produzent erhielten einen Oskar für dieses Meisterwerk. 1933 wurden seine Bücher von den Nationalsozialisten verbrannt und dem Schriftsteller selbst fünf Jahre später die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit entzogen.

1939 verließ Erich Maria Remarque gemeinsam mit seiner geschiedenen Frau von der Schweiz aus Europa und überquerte mit der Queen Mary den Atlantik, um sich ins amerikanische Exil zu begeben. Er fühlte sich wohl in Los Angeles und stürzte sich als auch in den USA anerkannter und geschätzter Autor in den Hollywoodzauber. 1947 wurde er amerikanischer Staatsbürger und lebte von da an im Wechsel in der Schweiz und in den USA, später mit seiner zweiten Ehefrau, der Schauspielerin Paulette Goddard, die zuvor mit Charlie Chaplin verheiratet gewesen war. 1970 starb er in der Schweiz.

Tatar und Wolff gehen in der Einleitung auf jede einzelne der acht Geschichten ein und veranschaulichen, dass für die traumatisierten Überlebenden des ersten Weltkrieges von den Briten der Ausdruck "shell shock" geprägt wurde, wohl, um den in Anlehnung an Freud und Breuer eher passenden und prägnanten Ausdruck "männliche Hysterie" zu vermeiden.

Sieben der acht Geschichten, die die dunkle Seite des Überlebens schildern, erschienen zwischen 1930 und 1934 in dem amerikanischen Magazine "Collier's National Weekly", die letzte 1934 im Redbook Magazin. Collier's bot seinen Lesern während der 69 Jahre seines Bestehens bis 1957 eine unterhaltsame Mischung aus Nachrichten, Humor, Werbung, Photographien,

Sensationsmeldungen und eben auch Prosa, oft in Form von Kurz-Kurzgeschichten. Als Pionier von Enthüllungsjournalismus tat sich das Magazin ebenso hervor wie als Befürworter von Sozialreformen.

Der Leser der acht hier vorliegenden Geschichten kann sich noch besser in die Handlungen hineinversetzen durch die Tatsache, dass insgesamt 15 Photographien zugefügt wurden, die von der Library of Congress bzw. einem online Photographie-Katalog ausgewählt wurden. Sie zeigen Szenen, die mit dem Krieg zusammenhängen, verwüstete Landschaften, einen Soldaten im Augenblick des Todes, Bombenkrater, eine Lazarettzene, aber auch posierende Soldaten mit ihren Freundinnen, ein Liebespaar beim Abschied. Zwei Aufnahmen zeigen Erich Maria Remarque, eine als jungen Soldaten, die andere in Zivil als attraktiven eleganten Dreißigjährigen.

Der Untertitel des Buches lautet: Geschichten von Krieg und Verlust. Und der Verlust hat hier eine breitgefächerte Bedeutung: Es geht um Soldaten, die ihr Leben verlieren, um Ehefrauen, die über sich hinauswachsen oder an ihrem Schicksal zerbrechen, um Kriegserfahrungen, die Reifeprozesse beschleunigen oder Menschlichkeit zerstören. Es geht um Verlust von Natur, von Landschaften, die bei Kriegsende ihre Farbe verloren haben und deren grau-beige Ödnis die Oberfläche für ein Metallgemisch aller Art ist—Kriegsmetall, versetzt mit Leichenteilen; Landschaften, deren Böden durchgraben und zerwühlt werden auf der Suche nach Eisen, Stahl und Kupfer—Metalle, die Geld einbringen und scheinbar das Risiko wert sind, durch unter der Erde wartende Blindgänger getötet zu werden.

Anders als in seinem Bestseller *Im Westen nichts Neues*, der auch autobiographische Elemente enthält, schildert Remarque hier nicht eigene Kriegserlebnisse, sondern Erfahrungen, von denen ihm Kriegskameraden berichtet haben. Die Mischung aus kaltem Grauen, oft gespickt mit liebevollen Naturbeschreibungen, evozieren beim Lesen Empfindungen von Fassungslosigkeit, Abscheu und Faszination. Die Sinnlosigkeit des Krieges, jedes Krieges, drängt sich bei der Lektüre so stark auf, dass ein Gefühl von bitterer resignierter Verzweiflung aufkommt ob der Realität weiterer Kriege weltweit und bis zum heutigen Tag.

Dieses Büchlein sollte Pflichtlektüre sein für alle Staatsoberhäupter, die sich—oft ohne eigene Kriegserfahrung und in Verkennung der traumatischen Folgen für alle Beteiligten—nur allzu bereitwillig und abenteuerlustig mit Gedanken tragen, Befehle zu Angriff, Kampf, ja Auslöschung zu erteilen, ohne sich auch nur für einen Moment persönlich in Gefahr zu begeben.

**Uncle Tom's Cabins: The Transnational History of America's Most Mutable Book.**

*Edited by Tracy C. Davis and Stefka Mihaylova. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 2018. 401 pp. \$35.*

Since its publication in 1851, Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has been translated into over 60 languages and has proven to be an inspiration for adaptations fitting a broad range of cultures. As the editors Davis and Mihaylova conclude: "In the novel's diverse contexts of reception, 'America,' no less than 'Uncle Tom,' becomes a complex transnational signifier for freedom, inequality, democracy, and capitalist oppression" (18).

The study begins with a comprehensive and well-written introduction. Then, drawing from a collection of 13 essays, the editors trace the novel's reception from Eastern Europe through the Middle East and on to Brazil. Each of these cultures left its own mark on the original. It would have been difficult to divine, for instance, that a version published in Rome portrayed Simon Legree as a Protestant fanatic who whipped Uncle Tom to death for failing to disavow his belief in the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception (20).

While the essays deal with a great variety of translations and adaptations of the novel, the one that will likely prove of most interest to the readers of this journal is Heike Paul's provocative piece "Schwarze Sklaven, Weisse Sklaven": The German Reception of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*" (192–222). Paul's argument is threefold: First, German readers were drawn to the novel because its themes of slavery, emancipation and humanity could be tied to the contemporary German social and political milieu, and thus it became an expression of the *Zeitgeist* of the 1850s; second, the work became a criterion for German perception of America in the eyes of travelers, immigrants, and writers just as German immigration to the United States had reached its highpoint; and finally, the work's reception in German popular culture, from the closing decades of the eighteenth century through the 1920s, inspired an impression even further removed from Stowe's intent "by displaying a disturbing romanticization of slavery and a nostalgic, even remorseful view of its 'pastness'" (193–94).

A product of the immense popularity of Stowe's novel in Germany was the development of an entirely new literary genre: *Sklavengeschichten*. Here we see a portrayal of what Sander Gilman dubbed "blackness without blacks" in which "the symbolic power of blackness drawn from Stowe's novel was expanded in ever new images, modes, and scenarios . . . often having very little to do with African Americans or the American institution of slavery" (195). In fact, Friedrich Wilhelm Hackländer's novel *Europäisches Sklavenleben* (1854), which provides a German response to Stowe's work, portrays a

broad variety of characters in various German social milieus who have all become, as it were, slaves of circumstance who have lost their freedom of action due to societal, economic, or emotional oppression, real or imagined. Stowe's success in appealing to her international audience, in Paul's view, resulted in her slaves being seen not only as "historically situated individuals but as universal types as well" (200).

Complicating matters was at least one case of life imitating art. In a widely acclaimed tale, a certain Salomé Miller had accompanied her parents in 1818 as an immigrant from Alsace to New Orleans. In novelist's George Washington Cable's account, her mother had died on the voyage to the New World, and shortly after arriving, her father died, as well. The orphaned Salomé was subsequently sold into slavery. While she was eventually freed years later after being recognized working at a wine shop by a German immigrant who knew her parents, it took two years of court proceedings to achieve her legal emancipation. German reading audiences were more than eager to accept the case as an illustration of how German immigrants were treated in a nativist America, and this *cause célèbre* was ideally situated to fan the flames of the white slavery debate (205).

While her work was heralded by the German reading public, Stowe was treated negatively, as Paul points out, "by a whole generation of [German] male translators and reviewers who opposed slavery yet questioned a woman's expertise to properly represent it." Moreover, in the view of many of these critics, Stowe merely proved that "white American men needed a movement to be freed from the tyranny of the American woman" (206).

As if to add insult to injury, many German readers chose to trivialize the African American slave experience by seeing Tom's cabin as a place of rustic *Gemütlichkeit*, "a pastoral idyll...of leisure and pleasure" (207). And this skewed vision, promoted by the rise of postcards, helped ensure the success of scores of *Onkel Toms Hütten* which can still be found today, from a housing development in Berlin born of a beer garden to a motel in Göttingen. Paul finds in this the "racist myth of the happy slave . . . a place in the German cultural imaginary—specifically as a place of good feeling—associated with food and drink, music and laughter, and pleasure rather than pain" (211).

While the entire collection of essays is a valuable contribution to scholarship, for those focused on German-American literary connections, Paul's essay alone makes this volume a worthy addition to all serious academic collections.

### **Nazi Characters in German Propaganda and Literature.**

By Dagmar C.G. Lorenz. *Studia Imagologica: Amsterdam Studies on Cultural Identity*, volume 24. Leiden: Brill, 2018. 175 pp. \$106

Dagmar Lorenz's study of fictional Nazi characters covers propaganda and literature dating from before the birth of the National Socialist movement until after the end of World War II. Moreover, she focuses not only on so-called Nazi works, but also antifascist ones "as reservoirs of ideas and character templates" (8). Lorenz begins with key works that helped establish the Nazi racial ideology and the literary tropes which described the "ideal German citizen . . . empowered by his Aryan racial identity regardless of his religion, country of citizenship, or residence" (17). This mindset is thoroughly represented in Artur Dinter's anti-Semitic novel *Die Sünde wider das Blut* (1918). The blond, blue-eyed types in the work, "physically and mentally perfect representatives of the German or Aryan race" (18), are contrasted with numerous deceptive characters of mixed race, and above all dark and physically repellent Jewish characters, depicted as crass materialists intent on destroying their idealistic German counterparts. And while males rise from the level of German subject to that of citizen by virtue of an oath of allegiance and compulsory military service, women can rise to citizenship only through marriage and child bearing. Two sources which provided pseudo-scientific underpinning for Dinter and Adolf Hitler were Hans F. K. Günther's *Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes* (1922) and Alfred Rosenberg's racialized cultural history *Der Mythus des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* (1930). Günther even argues in favor of obscure theories, like one linking pigmentation to brain structure (28), while Rosenberg posits leadership "by men of Nordic race in a state founded on racial exclusivity and gender differences" (35), a construct highlighted by Jewish stereotypes, with racial mixing and diversity constituting the major threats. Hitler's autobiographical *Mein Kampf* (1925) emphasizes a national identity based on blood lineage, and also underlines "the importance of personality and masculine determination as a leader's foremost qualifications" (30). This is perhaps unsurprising, given the physical traits of Nazi leaders, which often "deviated markedly from the German ideal" (30). As Lorenz notes, the task of German literature was seen as presenting propaganda as fact (38).

While Dinter's novel became a bestseller, it also inspired a successful parody, Hans Reimann's *Die Dinte wider das Blut* (1921). Here, Dinter's heroic character Hermann Käempfer is presented with a counter-hero, a certain Hermann Stänker, whose ignoble qualities of greed and cunning contrast with Dinter's Aryan ideal. In Reimann's work, Aryan-appearing characters turn out to be villains. Another antifascist work, Hugo Bettauer's novel *Die*

*Stadt ohne Juden* (1922), satirized Viennese anti-Semitic political figures, while Joseph Roth's novel *Das Spinnennetz* (1923) presents a typology aiming at "undermining racial anti-Semitism. He explicitly criticizes the principles of Nazi ideology, subverts the practice of contrasting German and Jewish figures as opposites, and debunks radical nationalism" (43).

Still another antifascist work, Gertrud Kolmar's novella *Die jüdische Mutter*, was not published until 1965. Inverting Nazi racial assumptions, Kolmar's Ursula, a young Jewish girl, is kidnapped in a social milieu reminiscent of Fritz Lang's classic film *M*, where the kidnapping of a blond, blue-eyed victim evoked community outrage. But due to Ursula's darker features, her disappearance evokes only indifference. At the beginning of Hitler's regime, Lion Feuchtwanger's novel *Die Geschwister Oppenheim* shows the mass following of the National Socialist movement as being less motivated by racial fanaticism than by careerism, anti-Semitism, and greed (56).

Lorenz's perceptive analysis of Leni Riefenstahl's propaganda film *Triumph des Willens* (1935) is a strong point of the study. Rather than promoting Günther's Nordic ideal of race, Riefenstahl celebrates the diversity of German typologies and "provides visual evidence of the mass approval the regime claimed to enjoy, amplified by the pomp and circumstance of parades and the apparent popularity of the exclusively male Party leadership" (79).

The thematic diversity in antifascist works such as Klaus Mann's *Mephisto* (1936) and Bertolt Brecht's *Furcht und Elend des Dritten Reiches* (1948) demonstrates that while Nazi Germany's cultural works "communicate the identical core content in varying registers . . . cultural production by exile authors reflects divergent attitudes toward the Nazi regime, and this diversity prevented them from speaking in a unified voice" (80-81).

Lorenz's analysis of the literary treatment of the horrors of the Third Reich is certainly this work's most provocative contribution to literary criticism. Carl Zuckmayer's drama *Des Teufels General* (1946), which poses the question of "whether it was possible to be part of the Nazi elite without being a real Nazi" (118), begins the discussion, which continues with Wolfgang Borchert's play *Draußen vor der Tür* (1947), which in its depiction of the returning soldier Beckmann "voices the despair after Germany's defeat without assigning blame" (124). Its popularity attested to a general feeling that "mainstream Germans were [rightly] cast as the primary victims of National Socialism" (126). Finally, Heinrich Böll's narrative *Der Zug war pünktlich* (1949) can also be criticized as placing "the German armies and their victims on the same level" (128). In Lorenz's judgment, "the protagonists of both authors conform to the paradigm of *unschuldige Täter*" (135). The final work treated is Ilse Aichinger's novel *Die größere Hoffnung* (1948). Here a child of

Jewish heritage whose father is a Nazi defends her young Jewish friends about to be deported to death camps.

As Lorenz explains in her conclusion, the stereotypes deployed in literature and propaganda of the time “did not correspond to or represent real people, . . . [but] functioned as ideological signifiers to indicate the trajectory of the given texts.” Finally, “as a cultural trope, the image of the Nazi has entered the mythical arena of the battle between good and evil that under different guises continues to play out in literature and film” (151). This monograph is a comprehensively written and carefully documented study which fills a gap in our understanding of twentieth century German literature. It is strongly recommended for academic libraries at both undergraduate and graduate levels.

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*Geoffrey Orth*

### **Queering Mennonite Literature: Archives, Activism, and the Search for Community.**

*By Daniel Shank Cruz. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019. 172 pp. \$84.95.*

Some people think of Mennonites as “queer”—in the traditional sense of odd, peculiar, or strange because of frequently held misconceptions that all Mennonites shun any form of modernity. Although this image of Mennonites does not reflect the current realities of many members of the faith community, Mennonitism appears out of step with mainstream society in radical ways. Its early Anabaptist theology was inherently politically queer due to its dissent from the doctrines of the state church. Indeed, the early Anabaptist radicalism still resonates with Mennonite ideals today, particularly the emphasis on rejecting binaries, seeking creative conflict resolution, and resisting oppression. And these socially activist messages are reproduced in Mennonite fictional writing. In *Queering Mennonite Literature*, Daniel Shank Cruz examines second-generation Mennonite writers’ work and the ways in which it captures the Mennonite spirit of activism in the twenty-first century. His analysis focuses on young Mennonite authors who write queerly, both in terms of writing about LGBTQ experiences and the need for societal transformation, thereby serving as an extension of Anabaptist/Mennonite radicalism.

In his definition of queer theory—an academic discipline that emerged from the post-structuralist theory of the 1980s aiming to expose gender binaries and heteronormative sexual attitudes as ideologies that are harmful to

people with non-heteronormative sexual and fluid gender identities—Cruz points out that the term is not tied to sexuality alone. Rather, queer theory aims to revolutionize all aspects of society: it is concerned with the marginal by fighting oppression and exploring aspects of culture that the mainstream neglects. It thereby appeals to a political agenda that pursues a radical vision for a transformed, non-oppressive, intersectional society. The author develops an analogy between “queer” and “Mennonite” centered on the advocacy for ways of life that are countercultural and promote societal transformation. Although the questioning of the normative and commitment to resisting oppression are deeply engrained in Mennonite history and identity, he also points out that Mennonite ideals of embracing the Other clash with the oppression of congregations that welcome sexually active LGBTQ people. In an effort to respond to the discrepancy between radical roots and homophobic institutional Mennonitism, Cruz investigates literature in which queer Mennonite identities are claimed and ways are sought to create communities that employ both queer and Mennonite principles.

The monograph provides a close reading of works whose authors are both “queer” and “Mennonite.” Cruz hopes that the critiquing and enlarging of this literature will bring more understanding to the lives of characters who range across a spectrum of LGBTQ identities and inspire readers to activist work toward positive social change. With his examination of this specific corpus, he envisions his book as an archiving endeavor to combat queer Mennonite writings’ marginality and to ensure that it remains visible for future use despite its marginalization by virtue of being published by small presses and in some cases already out of print. He includes the prose of nine Mennonite authors, with the earliest texts being Christina Penner’s novel *Widows of Hamilton House* and Guenther Braun’s novel *Somewhere Else*, written in 2008, and the latest being a 2017 essay by Sofia Samatar. Samatar’s writing adds racial identity to the identities queer and Mennonite and draws attention to the concept of postcolonial Mennonite writing as an orientation toward the margins of the global Mennonite experience. Other texts include: the writing of Wes Funk, particularly his autobiography *Wes Side Story* which exemplifies how queer Mennonite literature acts as an archive; Jessica Penner’s novel *Shaken in the Water* and the concern with building queer Mennonite history; Stephen Beachy’s *Boneyard* and Corey Redekop’s *Husk* that suggest a new examination of the relationship between bodily pleasure and moral code; and Casey Plett’s short story collection *A Safe Girl to Love* and Miriam Suzanne’s novel *Riding SideSaddle* that underscore the need to construct a trans Mennonite history.

Many of the stories addressed in *Queering Mennonite Literature* depict individuals who learn to accept their non-heterosexual attraction and return to more compatible versions of their Mennonite selves. The examination

of the selected texts offers a vision for queer Mennonites making space for themselves within the community. In the portrayal of alternative sexual expressions, the author suggests models of community-building and draws a connection between the sexual bondage practice of submission with the Mennonite tradition of surrendering oneself to Jesus. In his close reading of queer Mennonite prose, concerned with the teaching of ethics through story, Cruz offers an honest and personal dialogue with the texts. Following both Mennonite and queer academic traditions, he integrates reflections on his own personal identity and mixes personal stories with literary criticism. Even the citational aesthetic employed throughout the book brings his study within both Mennonite and queer scholarly discourses. With the goal of creating queer intersectionality, he is in exchange with previous writers, acknowledging their work and examining how Mennonite and queer streams of thought play off of each other.

Cruz repeatedly addresses the benefits that the Mennonite tradition offers to the queer tradition, particularly the focus on social activism, the strategy of achieving social change through pacifism and thinking globally, and the approach to responding to and rehabilitating a traumatic tradition in a hopeful way. His definitions of “queer” and “Mennonite”, however, remain open and contested. According to the tenets of queer theory, he resists to operate with strict and finite definitions. Instead, the transient nature of his terminology allows for intersections between queer theory and Mennonite thought. The queer/Mennonite analogy, central to this book, likewise becomes fluid and dynamic. It is captured in plain language, appealing to a wide readership—academics and lay readers alike—with diverse interests and research fields: Mennonite studies, literary studies, queer theory, religious studies, and theo-poetics. Through his literary analysis of the growing genre of queer Mennonite literature, Cruz calls attention to the under-researched subject matter and encourages lively discussions across research fields, encouraging conversation and overlap between queer literary criticism and Mennonite theology.

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*Berit Jany*

**Exorbitant Enlightenment: Blake, Hamann, and Anglo-German Constellations.**

*By Alexander Regier. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. 253pp. \$74.*

While reading this book, one's ears are treated again and again to the sound of German, from the many 18<sup>th</sup> century figures it is about and from the

abundant secondary sources its author takes stock of. Regier gives his quotations from German sources in English in his main text, but in their German originals in his extensive footnotes. Among these, readers might find some that are unfamiliar; many of them are certainly completely recontextualized.

Regier begins his study with a suggestive bit of literary fact from one of the 18th century's most popular English books, *Robinson Crusoe*, by Daniel Defoe: its titular hero's name, which is a piece of Anglicized German. "Crusoe," it turns out, is the English pronunciation that Robinson's father's German name received when he migrated from his home country to the north coast of England. "Kruetznaer" was the original, and Regier invests a few paragraphs at the start of his book in a complex translation: the name can mean one who crosses over, one who wears the sign of the cross, one who crosses his father (Crusoe went to sea against his father's advice), a Crusader, or even one who measures his worth in "Crusadoes," Crusoe's corruption of the Brazilian currency unit, the *cruzeiro*, in which he tallies his wealth. Crusoe's translated name, there in plain sight at the beginning of Defoe's book, and not commented on subsequently, testifies to a German-English social and literary connection in 18th century England, that was then taken for granted, one beyond the familiar figures of the Hanoverian court and their musicians - an ordinary fact for its time, overlooked in subsequent passages of history.

A larger, demotic example of this linguistic interchange is the story of German-English printing and language-sharing in 18th century London that Regier documents here. But most of the book is about the thinking of figures Regier describes as "exorbitant." By this he means people who made advances in philosophy and the arts that cannot be properly plotted within the "orbits" of Enlightenment and Romantic thought, figures of great originality and personal feeling these schools of thought could not have regularized in their particular ways.

Foremost among these, in this book's treatment, are the English poet William Blake and the German philosopher Johann Georg Hamann. They had in common their sensitive exposure to the "exorbitant" religious expression of the Moravian Brethren, with their church in London's Fetter Lane, where Blake's mother was a devout parishioner and where Hamann, when he came to England from Germany, became a fervent convert. The Moravians at this time practiced their faith in hymns sung in German and English, sometimes simultaneously (and elsewhere in their missionary communities taking up the languages of any others who would join them, all singing the same songs in their own ways, together). The Biblical story of Babel was their model. God speaks to human beings, they believed, in the plural languages they have learned from Nature. Blake would take this up as poet,

polemicist, and engraver, devising his idiosyncratic art and thinking in ways that expressed his intensely personal incorporation of the possibility of divine expression through human means. Hamann would do the same in philosophy. Their philosophical and artistic achievements belong only partially to the great movements of their time, Regier insists, and he goes on to explain how they might be more astutely read as expressions of this unique feeling for the divine, which accepts the body and human language down to their most particular aspects—sexuality and breath—as the sources of spiritual and philosophical insight. Thus Hamann could write the not entirely facetious “Apology for the Letter *H*,” defending a silent letter as an implicit and necessary sign in human speech of the working of God (as in *Jehovah*, the Biblical name of God); and in the same spirit, Blake would make the poetics of the hymn and the symbolism of the eroticized body of Christ, learned from his mother’s commitment to the Moravian liturgy, thematically important in his poetry and art. Their “exorbitance,” Regier believes, shares a common impulse with the Moravian’s abundance of hymn-composing in this period, which he also documents in early Methodist churches—in all, producing staggering numbers of hymns in various language.

Regier’s study, deeply invested in finding new leads in the maze of recent scholarship, also turns up suggestive narrative interests we might wish to know more about, for instance, the popular curiosity for physiognomy and aphorism in books by the philosopher Johann Caspar Lavater; and in the 20th century, the biography of German literary critic Helene Richter, whom we are told in a footnote perished after her deportation to Theresienstadt in 1942.

*Independent Scholar*

*William Cabill*

## Music

### **The Jazz Republic: Music, Race, and American Culture in Weimar Germany.**

*By Jonathan O. Wipplinger. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017. 324 pp. \$ 39.95.*

Weimar Germany’s well-known ambivalent fascination with African American popular culture in general, and with jazz in particular, is usually addressed within the context of the overall *Amerikanismus* discourses of the period. In his admirably researched and engagingly written book, Jonathan

Wipplinger broadens the focus and rejects the idea that Weimar Germans hardly ever encountered “real” jazz and thus were prone to misapprehensions and misappropriations. Wipplinger seeks to avoid the impasse generated by what he calls the normative “jazz tradition” narrative (11), a way of thinking that upholds the work of a string of acknowledged masters (from Louis Armstrong to Miles Davis and beyond), to which Weimar Germans had only limited exposure, as the standard of authenticity. Instead, Wipplinger develops the notion of “jazz effects,” which he defines as “moments of intersection and interpenetration of discourses of music, race, and American culture” that are “the result of interaction and engagement with cultural products originating from America” (14), often through direct personal contact with Black creators and performers.

In seven deftly presented chapters, Wipplinger takes the reader on a journey that goes way beyond familiar topics such as Josephine Baker’s 1926 Berlin debut or Ernst Krenek’s popular “jazz opera,” *Jonny spielt auf* (1927). It is impossible in a short review such as this to give either a sense of the book’s theoretical and methodological sophistication, or an adequate impression of the broad range of “jazz effects” addressed in each chapter of the book. In brief, these include the following: (1) The impact of the presence of performers, often of African American, African, or Caribbean descent, who came to the Rhineland with the American, French, and British occupying forces after 1919; (2) The American backstory of the celebrated appearances of Sam Wooding and the *Chocolate Kiddies* revue in Berlin in 1925 and the ensuing debates about national identity, culture, race, and modernity; (3) An analysis of three jazz-inspired novels, by Hans Janowitz (of *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* fame), René Schickele, and Gustav Renker, within the context of the “symphonic jazz” made popular by Paul Whiteman’s Berlin concerts of 1926; (4) The connection between the fascination with African American popular culture and *Girlkultur*, as one variant of the sexualized and racialized anxieties surrounding the “New Woman”; (5) The debates over the effort, in 1927, at Frankfurt’s Hoch’s Conservatorium, to include jazz instruction in the training of professional musicians; (6) The considerable interest in, and interaction with, the Harlem Renaissance, as evidenced, for instance, through the dozens of translations of Langston Hughes’ poetry into German, culminating in Anna Nussbaum’s anthology of Harlem poets, *Afrika singt* (1929), selections of which were set to music by at least eight different composers; (7) Theodor W. Adorno’s incomplete project of a “Singspiel,” *Der Schatz des Indianer Joe* (1933), based on Mark Twain’s novel, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, read here as an “anti-*Zeitoper*” in response to the rise of the Third Reich. The concluding chapter zeroes in on the African American “Jonny” figure that permeated

German popular media, as a kind of holdover of Weimar German culture, until around 1939.

Each reader will find their own favorite moment, intriguing anecdote, or surprising new insight in Wipplinger's book. I was particularly impressed with the discussion of a little-known film, *Die große Attraktion* (*The Great Attraction*, dir. Max Reichmann, 1931), in which a young chorus girl, who initially appears in blackface holding a saxophone, relinquishes both her racialized disguise and her jazz instrument to win the heart of a celebrated operatic tenor (played by Richard Tauber). Here, the nexus of gender, race, white (European) high culture versus Black (American) low culture is read as evidence how, during the final years of the Weimar Republic, "Black jazz and its popularity as an historical moment [were] to be relegated to the background" (131).

It is to the author's credit that he broadens the focus from Berlin (as the epicenter of Weimar German culture) to diverse, marginal locations. Equally important is the repeated recognition that it was to a large extent authors, composers, impresarios, and academics of Jewish descent, such as Hans Ernst, Hans Goslar, Werner Richard Heymann, Friedrich Hollaender, Hans Janowitz, Anna Nussbaum, Leonid Leonidoff, Alfred Lion, Karol Rathaus, Max Reichmann, Bernhard Sekles, or Kurt Weill, who engaged with jazz and sought to integrate it into German cultural practices. Wipplinger speculates that this interest in the new and openness to the foreign may be related to their in-between, contested status within German culture, quoting Nils Roemer's observation about their "profound sense of not feeling at home at home" (171).

I suspect that not all readers will be completely won over by the author's noble effort to rehabilitate Adorno from the charge of racialized, elitist disdain for African American popular music, as voiced in the essay "Abschied vom Jazz" (1936), which seemingly endorses the Nazi boycott of jazz music. Juxtaposing the essay with Adorno's aborted "Singspiel" project, Wipplinger argues that here, "Adorno's intention is not to celebrate jazz's silence but to make it heard" (220). Be that as it may, Wipplinger's book makes a compelling case for the notion that "the German encounter, engagement, and theorization of jazz was in many ways elemental, rather than accidental to Weimar culture . . . [J]azz produced an aural world of its own, both impressive and expansive. It is a world without which the culture of the Weimar Republic simply cannot be understood" (239).

**Making Music American: 1917 and the Transformation of Culture.**

By E. Douglas Bomberger. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018. 268 pp. \$29.

E. Douglas Bomberger's new book provides an important discussion of how musical controversy informs the anti-German policies of the U. S. government in 1917–1918. By focusing on four famous classical musicians (and including some information on four popular musician), Bomberger chronologically follows the resulting ad hoc policy decisions in admirable fashion. Bomberger emphasizes the political gyrations of 1917 which meant that “musicians with little in common were thrown together into uneasy alliances. Events that are famous in jazz circles happened simultaneously with events that are infamous in classical music circles” (xi). In eleven chapters, he analyzes each month in 1917 (July–August is treated as a summer unit, although September was also part of the season).

For classical music, Bomberger chose a group consisting of two Austrians, a Swiss national, and a German. Fritz Kreisler (1875–1962), from Austria, was the world's greatest violinist, and the only one remembered today. Karl Muck (1859–1940), a Swiss citizen, was the world's leading conductor with the Boston Symphony. Walter Damrosch (1862–1950) was born in Breslau, but had lived in the U. S. for almost forty years and was conductor of the New York Symphony. Ernestine Schurman-Heink (1861–1936), born in Austria, was one of the world's leading contraltos and the most patriotic of the four, having received her citizenship in 1908. These musicians enjoyed the pinnacle of success just before the American entrance into World War I. Live music and audience interaction were the key to success, while each of them was experimenting with the latest technology of the Victor Talking Machine Company: live recordings.

With the rising cultural crisis of anti-German hysteria, assumptions and traditions disappeared. “Politically astute musicians who thought they could control their circumstances through strategic diplomacy saw their good intentions swept away in the flood of national passion” (xii). Here Bomberger underscores the significance of their personalities and experiences.

Fritz Kreisler had the most adventurous wartime experiences of the classical quartet. Since he had served in the Austrian army as a young man, he was called up for duty, fought briefly, and was wounded in the Battle of L'viv (now in western Ukraine). He was honorably discharged and wrote a brief, but fascinating, account, *Four Weeks in the Trenches* (1914). His outgoing personality made him a favorite of newspaper men looking for good conversation, to be transformed into a popular news article. As he was drawn into the crisis of November 1917 “he wrote a thoughtful and detailed answer to critics that

countered the false rumors about him. . . . [and eventually] withdrew with dignity from the stage . . ." (179–180).

Karl Muck had the most tragic wartime experience of the foursome. He went on with all of his scheduled concerts, despite dwindling ticket sales, and remained silent and sealed off from his many supporters, perhaps because of his failure to improve his English. At the same time, Kreisler responded to the public outcry while Muck did not. The result was a tidal wave of indignation at Muck's supposed slighting of the Star Spangled Banner at his Providence, Rhode Island performance on 1 November 1917 (pp. 164–171, 176–180). He continued to ignore American music and on 25 March 1918, he was arrested in Boston, and then interned at Ft. Oglethorpe, Georgia while being pilloried by cartoonists throughout the country. He served 510 days in in federal prison, from 6 April 1918 to 21 August 1919.

Schumann-Heink had the most difficult time of them all. The harsh reality she faced was that of her seven living children, five were boys who enlisted in the war effort—but on both sides of the conflict. She remained emotionally upset throughout the war as her oldest, August, joined the Kriegsmarine in the German Empire, while her four American sons later joined the U. S. Army and Navy. But her supportive audiences sympathized with her plight, and accepted her. She has become the focus of recently increased research efforts (including a session at the 2016 SGAS Symposium in San Antonio).

The four representing popular music were all born in America. Olga Samaroff (1880–1948) was a Texan pianist who changed her name from Lucy Mary Agnes Hickenlooper, and received career assistance from Leopold Stokowski (1882–1977). Dominic ("Nick") La Rocca (1889–1961) was born in New Orleans, the son of Sicilian immigrants. He was the cornetist of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band which recorded the first jazz record "Livery Stable Blues," on 15 April 1917. Freddie Keppard was also from New Orleans and played the cornet for the all-Black Creole Ragtime Band, which evolved into a vaudeville act, popular in the Midwest. Reese Europe (1881–1919) organized society orchestras in New York City with Black musicians, enlisted in 1917 and joined the 15th Regiment (Colored) of the New York National Guard. He successfully organized army concerts while enduring widespread racism.

On balance, there are some surprising issues with the book. First, why did Bomberger omit opera as a popular American musical form in 1916? Moreover, the curious reader will ask why these four German-language musicians were selected? What changed in allowing a successful attack on previously popular German language music and musicians? Bomberger's careful selection of newspaper reporting throughout the turning point year is admirable, but leaves these issues unresolved.

Meanwhile, Bomberger devotes equal time to following the development of early jazz, without connecting to trends in classical music. Throughout the chapters, he follows the successful path of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band, and the role played by Nick La Rocca. But his description of Freddie Keppard and the Creole Band is puzzling. It was named a “ragtime band,” but that strand of popular American music is not considered. Also, why is this band more significant than another New Orleans cornetist who never recorded, Buddy Bolden (1877–1931)? Perhaps greater attention to Lawrence Gushie’s *Pioneers of Jazz* (2005) would have clarified his discussion. Such minor questions aside, the book belongs in the personal library of SGAS members.

Scott Community College

William Roba

**“Was Deutsch und Echt . . .”: Richard Wagner and the Articulation of a German Opera, 1798–1876.**

By Kasper van Kooten. Leiden: Brill, 2019. 310 pp. \$132.00.

In constructing a unified German national identity, German-speaking writers and thinkers often turned to culture for support. Of all these offerings, music quickly emerged as one of the most powerful tools, particularly the instrumental works of Bach, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. Vocal music, however, was largely ignored, especially if it originated in the opera house, which was so closely aligned with the Italians that it did not seem to provide a viable means by which to assert German national identity. Kasper van Kooten’s work is part of a spate of recent scholarship that attempts to rectify this neglect by examining how German opera came to be discussed and articulated in the nineteenth century.

Van Kooten places Wagner at the center of his study, yet spends the majority of his work building up to Wagner’s entrance. Of the five chapters, the first four deal with the period prior to Wagner’s music. While he does offer insightful and engaging analyses and commentary, van Kooten does not necessarily invent the wheel, so much as bring together numerous discourses on the wheel into one useful and constructive text. This can be seen by his first chapter, which begins with the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, the *Urtext* for German language views on music in the nineteenth century. He uses the paper as a means of exploring how attitudes towards German opera developed in the first part of the century, as the genre was beginning to take root. Coming to the table later than its Italian and French counterparts, German opera had to contend with these established traditions. While Italian and French

operas had conventions and customs, it was the youthfulness of German opera, as van Kooten notes, that gave the music its special character. Although the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* may not be new terrain, van Kooten's use of it here is vital in laying the groundwork for his later chapters and he does well to highlight passages and texts that are less well known.

The importance of van Kooten's work truly begins to emerge as he tackles what he calls the "German Opera Problem," namely the idea that the development of a German operatic identity was complicated by a national musical identity that stood in direct opposition to opera itself. The problem became how to reconcile the two. To this end, van Kooten turns to the usual suspects of nineteenth century German opera: Beethoven, Weber, Hoffman, and Spohr. Van Kooten uses these composers to demonstrate changing attitudes towards the genre, particularly how opera related to the serious, intellectual, and high-minded instrumental works that were frequently used to construct a German musical identity. The issue of opera's seriousness became a major concern of German composers, who battled over the role of Romanticism and the need to elevate the form from its comedic antecedent, the *Singspiel*. In places, van Kooten's work perhaps suffers a bit from having to cover too much ground. The analyses of the operas are intelligent and to the point yet are occasionally a bit concise. As a case in point, without knowing much about Spohr's *Faust*, one would be left to wonder how exactly it differed from Goethe's more famous version and why this would have caused it to be so poorly received in Germany. As a starting point, however, van Kooten's work does lay forth a field of opportunities for further exploration.

In his final chapter, van Kooten turns to what the book—and what Wagner might have argued all of German musical history—was building to: Wagner's music dramas. At a moment of stagnation, Wagner, whom van Kooten examines from his early years in Paris to the creation of Bayreuth, stirs everything up. Both in his music and in his writing Wagner participated in the process of constructing a German operatic tradition. One of van Kooten's early discussions of Wagner centers on his rejection of Meyerbeer, who clearly inspired him as a composer, yet earned his ire for his "French" compositions. As van Kooten notes, it was Wagner's success with *Rienzi*, a work deeply influenced by Meyerbeer and French Grand Opera, that inspired his turn towards explicitly cultivating his own German identity. For van Kooten, Wagner never truly abandoned this furthering of a German operatic canon. Even in the period recognized as Wagner's turn towards the universal—seen in his *Zürich Writings* and *Der Ring des Nibelungen*—van Kooten argues that this should be understood as an outgrowth of an increasingly common belief in the universality of German culture, which in itself is a chauvinistic view of the importance of German cultural offerings for all mankind.

As an overall text, van Kooten's work delivers an engaging, thoughtful, and relatively comprehensive overview of the early years in the fostering of a German operatic tradition. His arguments are not always entirely new, but he brings together a number of valuable sources and examples in his effort to demonstrate the importance of viewing German opera as a tool in the process of constructing a German national identity. In a field dominated by discussions of instrumental music, it is a welcome addition.

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**Jazz in Europe: New Music on the Old Continent.**

*By Igor Wasserberger, Antonín Matzner, and Peter Motyčka. Bern: Peter Lang, 2018. 510 pp. \$102.85.*

Though originating in North American metropolises like New Orleans, New York, and Chicago in the early twentieth century, African American jazz music almost instantaneously attained global significance. In consequence of the rapid expansion of recording technology and industries in Europe and North America, the massive migration of peoples during and following the First World War, and the ascent of the United States as a military and cultural hegemon from around 1917 onward, jazz—through its practitioners, acolytes, as well as recordings and discourses—has entered and transformed innumerable national cultures across the world. In this new collection, Wasserberger, Matzner, and Motyčka offer an overview of the impact and import of jazz on Europe in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries via a series of portraits of jazz's influence on individual European countries and geographical regions.

After a foreword, the work sketches the history of jazz across fifteen individual chapters. The national and regional histories covered in this volume are: Great Britain, Austria, Germany, the Soviet Union, Switzerland, Italy, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, with combined entries on France and the Francophone countries, the Scandinavian countries, the Iberian peninsula, Yugoslavia and succession countries, as well as the Czech lands. Individual chapters are generally written by either Wasserberg or Matzner, with two (those on Slovakia and Poland) co-authored by Wasserberger and Motyčka. The purpose and overall value of the contribution is to allow side-by-side comparison with and contrast of the development of jazz in these respective national contexts, to put national jazz histories into dialogue, and thereby engender greater understanding of supra-national tendencies and individual

particularities of the music's history in Europe. The chapters themselves are largely organized around key musicians, often accompanied by a photograph. Individual biographies of these major figures in each national context are, further, situated within their specific political and cultural framework. The work's coverage is strongest for the Cold War era from the late 1940s through the 1990s and the European-wide net cast by the authors allows the chapters to speak in interesting ways to each other, an inevitable outcome of jazz musicians interacting and collaborating across national (and continental in the case of European-American collaborations) boundaries.

At the same time, there exist a number of substantive deficits. For one, the foreword offers no explicit justification for the selection and organization of the chapters. So, while the volume features a lengthy and welcome discussion of jazz in Slovakia, there is no chapter treating jazz in Greece, Romania, Bulgaria or a number of other European nations. Given that the chapters are not uniform in length (Swiss jazz receives a mere seven pages, while jazz in the Soviet Union gets 52 pages), it is unclear why a more complete coverage of jazz in a greater variety of European histories was not pursued. At the very least, a rationale as to why certain histories were (not) included should have been provided. Second, the lack of attention paid to the pre-1945 history of jazz in Europe is unfortunate. Though the authors do state in the foreword that volume's focus is on the post-1945 era, more consistency and depth in the coverage of the interwar period would have strengthened the volume and allowed further points of comparison and differentiation. Instead, the pre-1945 exists in a nebulous state of significance and insignificance for the question of Europe's jazz history. While in some chapters, this era is seen as a fertile ground of experimentation and contact with the music, in others the 1920s and 1930s receive scant attention. For example, chapters on Austria and the Czech lands each begin with a lengthy consideration of the pre-1914 influx of American popular music, before endeavoring to discuss interwar developments, while in the entry on the history of jazz in interwar Italy, this period receives but a single paragraph. In this particular case, the authors thereby miss an opportunity to engage with Adriano Mazzeletti's well-documented discussion of this era in his 2004 work *Il jazz in Italia: dalle origini alle grandi orchestre*, through which parallels between developments in Italy, Austria, and the Czech lands (as well as to other countries) could have emerged. Part of the reason for these lacunae is surely to have been the inevitable limitations in expertise possessed by the two primary authors. Other, similar projects, recognizing this issue at the outset, counteract this potential problem by seeking out a multitude of contributors. The 2014 project *Black Europe* (Bear Family Records), headed by Rainer Lotz and documenting recordings of performers of the African diaspora in the European context in the pre-1927 era, is

one such example. The comparably framed *The History of European Jazz: The Music, Musicians and Audience in Context* (Equinox, 2018) is another. This project, led by Francesco Martinelli and Alyn Shipton, includes 40 entries authored by 45 contributors. Returning to the present volume then, a more clearly focused and delineated scope, say of jazz in Europe during the Cold War, would have gone far in ameliorating much of the unevenness that currently detracts from the overall effectiveness of the volume.

With these significant limitations in mind, the work nonetheless provides a valuable overview of select individual national histories of jazz in Europe, providing biographical and discographical discussion of jazz musicians and their works within both national and European contexts. In particular, *Jazz in Europe* is noteworthy for the depth of its coverage of Slovakian and Czech jazz history in the English language.

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Jonathan Wipplinger

### **Speaking to Body and Soul: Instructions for the Moravian Choir Helpers 1785–1786.**

By Katherine M. Faull, ed. and trans. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017. 185 pp. \$84.95.

In *Speaking to Body and Soul* Katherine M. Faull provides an annotated English translation of 214 pages of German manuscripts that comprise “The Instructions for the Moravian Choir Helpers” for the years 1785–86, held by the Moravian Archives, in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The original copies of these guidelines for caring for the body and soul are preserved in the Unity Archives in Herrnhut, Germany. The instructions for the single brethren, the married persons, and the widows are in the handwriting of the author, August Gottlieb Spangenberg, but the handwriting of the instructions of the single sister’s is unknown. When first written down, the instructions were deemed too sensitive to be published for fear that opponents would use them to mount critical attacks against the Moravians.

Over a ten-year period, beginning in 1728 with the single young brethren, a system of bands (Banden) developed that grouped Moravians in Herrnhut according to age, sex, and social standing, e.g., single, married, widowed, for the specific purpose of promoting the spiritual life of each member. Over time these groups came to be known as “choirs” (*Chöre*) that not only worshipped together several times a day, but that lived and worked together, and some choirs were even able to support themselves financially. As the

choirs evolved, they took on social and economic roles that contributed to the success of Moravian communities and became one of their most distinctive features. Within each band or choir, elders or helpers met privately on a regular basis, often monthly, to evaluate the religious well-being of each member and to foster further spiritual growth. These meetings or “speaking” (*Sprechen*) were confessional in nature and were used initially to assess whether a member was ready and worthy to partake of Holy Communion. As the social function of the choirs expanded, so did the need for guidelines that the helpers could use when counseling members not only on spiritual matters, but how to deal with puberty, attraction to the opposite sex, marriage and the frequency of intercourse, child rearing, and the loss of a spouse or family member. While the instructions varied depending on the age and social position of the member, the central thesis of all the principles was the role of Christ in the life of the individual choir member. As the author points out, the guidelines took on a holistic approach to pastoral care of body and soul and help to explain how members reached sufficient self-awareness and introspection to write their own spiritual memoirs or *Lebensläufe*.

According to Faull, the need to codify the pastoral instructions was based on a number of factors that ranged from increased disciplinary problems, the distance of the American Moravians from Germany, the end of the General Economy in Bethlehem in 1762, which led to the disbandment of choirs for married men and women in favor of family households in which parents assumed responsibility for education of their children, and disruptions caused by the Revolutionary War. After the death of Zinzendorf, his successor, Spangenberg, devoted five years to developing detailed, theologically based instructions to assist choir helpers in Moravian communities around the world address both the physical and spiritual needs of their respective choirs. For their time Spangenberg’s guidelines demonstrate remarkable psychological insight.

After a general introduction dealing with the origin and purpose of the instructions, the translations of the guidelines are arranged by choir: single sisters, single brethren, married couples, and widows. There are no instructions for children or widowers, and the instructions for older boys and girls are included with those for the single brethren and single sisters who had left the children’s choir and who had been admitted to Holy Communion. To assist the reader with terminology used in the Moravian Church in the eighteenth century the author provides a glossary in the appendix. Three of the translations on the older girls’ choir, the married choir, and on widows appeared previously in the *Journal of Moravian History*.

The instructions to the choir helpers when caring for the single sisters consist of 50 sections and are the longest of the four sets of guidelines in this

volume. Not only are the helpers to care for the souls of the young women, but they are asked to address the most sensitive and intimate issues, such as the physical changes that take place during puberty, the onset of menstruation, and sexual attraction. In all these matters the girls are always instructed to look to the crucified Jesus for healing and sanctification.

As Faull points out, the instructions for the single brethren differ considerably in overall spirit from those for the single sisters because of disciplinary problems that could arise among young men living together. Central to the instructions for the single brethren are Spangenberg's thirty-eight articles of faith that outline the single brother's relationship to God, the relationship between his body and soul, and the consequences if these guidelines are not adhered to. With the assistance of the choir helper the single brother is to receive a biblical basis for marriage, and at the appropriate time a single sister may be selected for him, often by lot. The choir helper must insist on complete openness of the single brother, who has admitted that he spilled his seed unintentionally or committed the sin of Onan, since he will be barred from Holy Communion until he has shown a change of heart. When correcting the single brethren, the choir helper must distinguish between mistakes and misdeeds and help his charges to avoid curiosity, frivolity, and free thinking, all of which can lead the brother stray.

The instructions for the married persons provide insight into Moravian theology of marriage, which was heavily influenced by Zinzendorf's positive valuation of sexuality, and as such are important in the history of sexuality in the eighteenth century. They offer advice on marital relations, how to nurse babies and raise children, and how to manage married life. Moravians viewed marriage as a blessing ordained by God and that reflected Christ's relationship with his church. Although Moravians did not allow for divorce, they did recognize that married couples might not get along and allowed them to live separately but in different congregations. Due to the intimate nature of these instructions, it is understandable that they were to be kept confidential and only handed down from one choir helper to the next.

The instructions for widows are the shortest and consist of only eighteen sections. Widows were well cared for, and the Widow's Society of Bethlehem, is one of the oldest benevolent societies in the U.S. The principles for widows are preceded by a set of rules for widowers, but there are no guidelines for the choir helpers for widowers. Included among the guidelines for widows is an unusual section on unwed mothers, who were taken into the widows' house and counseled in a non-judgmental manner.

In *Speaking to Body and Soul*, Katherine M. Faull has produced a well-documented and annotated translation of the once highly confidential instructions for the Moravian choir helpers. This volume will be welcomed as a

valuable resource for scholars researching religious beliefs and sexuality in the eighteenth century.

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*William E. Petig*

## **Biography**

### **Preserving German Texan Identity: Reminiscences of William A. Trenckmann, 1859–1935.**

*Edited by Walter L. Buenger and Walter D. Kamphoefner. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2019. 204 pp. \$42.*

In a time and age that estimates influence by followers in the millions, meet German Texan opinion maker William A. Trenckmann, who had about 1200 readers in the year 1895 and 2851 subscribers at the end of his life forty years later. Although this may not sound impressive, the early readership of Trenckmann's weekly *Bellville Wochenblatt* made up nearly 5 percent of the 25,000 German speakers in Austin County, Texas. By 1935, he had expanded operations to thirty-two Texan counties, circulating at a rate over 4 percent among the roughly 70,000 German-speaking Texans of all generations. Using his political ties, he survived the pressures on the German language press during World War I. He also stayed afloat during the Great Depression. Trenckmann's influence on his community increased in the 20th century, almost unfazed by economic and political turbulences, English and German competition, and forces of assimilation. A comparison to leading ethnic weeklies in Texas in the year 2005 is instructive: at the sunset of newspaper publishing, *La Voz* and *El Rumbo* each circulated at subscription rates of around 2 percent in Spanish-reading Texas.

The contextualized and annotated publication of Trenckmann's translated memoir is an invaluable resource for understanding the mindset of this political "influencer", and the experience of being German in Texas. Buenger and Kamphoefner's introduction is critical for orientation. Nearly half of the memoir dedicated to Trenckmann's life before becoming the "Wochenblattmann": raised as the youngest son of a freethinking family in Millheim, a community of highly educated *Lateiners*, he became a stellar and strong-willed student in the first class of A&M. Later he taught at several German schools and advanced to principal of the public schools of Bellville. He successfully advocated German instruction, and emphasized the importance of language maintenance for German identity. In 1889, Trenckmann founded

his weekly paper, “caught the wave of carving out a place for Germans in Texas and rode that wave the rest of his life” (18). The editors dissect the political significance of the moment and of subsequent decades: the political shift towards the Democratic Party following Reconstruction, the culture wars over prohibition, the assaults on the German language in World War I and during the revival of the Ku Klux Klan. Trenckmann’s life and activity spanned all these formative events for German-speaking Texans.

Possibly the most important aspect of this contribution lies in its insights into the process of German political assimilation. As mentioned above, Trenckmann’s background was that of a *Lateiner*. His father and the Millheim neighbors shared the democratic outlook of the 1848 revolutions. Religious zealotry was foreign to the community, as were the religious divisions that plagued neighboring German communities. However, Trenckmann was fully aware that “progressives” were divided over other issues. His sequel novel, *Die Lateiner am Possum Creek*, illustrates the disagreements over Secession, slavery and race. Texan-born of the second generation as he was, it appears Trenckmann made up his mind early on: if German Texans were not to remain political outsiders, they had to conform to the views of their surroundings and enter arrangements with the Anglo majority. As the influence of the Republican Party was waning, Democrats were pushing for an increased role of government in Texas—white government, to be sure. Trenckmann saw the opportunity and ran as a Democratic Representative for Austin County in 1906. He centered his campaign on the introduction of the Terrell laws and successfully convinced many German Texans to help exclude African Americans from the political process. As the editors describe, Trenckmann’s positions were perhaps more symptomatic than instrumental because German-led counties in Texas generally supported the election reform in high numbers. But Trenckmann’s writing offers a case study. Even as Germans took their seats in the vehicle of white supremacy, World War I turned them into suspicious passengers. Perhaps it was the repeated outsider experiences that made German leaders such as Harry Wurzbach, a politically isolated champion for African American civil rights in Texas, more likely again in the 1920s—also a time of violence against Germans by the second KKK. The memoir suggests that the quandary of identity kept Trenckmann restless until the very end of his life. Although Buenger and Kamphoefner’s title *Preserving Texan German Identity* is descriptive, “clinging to” or “negotiating” Texan German identity would have been just as accurate.

**Von Heidelberg nach Harvard: Erinnerungen eines Literaturwissenschaftlers an die Goldenen Jahre der Migration nach Nordamerika.**

By Karl S. Guthke. Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, 2018. 172 pp. € 19.80.

It has been the wont of retiring professors of English and French to turn to memoirs, often to explain how they found literature and what it has meant in structuring their lives. The equivalents from within German studies are different: whether by German or Austrian scholars, by intellectuals of Jewish or non-Jewish heritage, such memore have often stressed forced exile, displacement, and finding refuge in the nations where they eventually made their careers. The most familiar of these are probably those by Ruth (Angress) Klüger (*weiter leben* [1992]/*Still Alive* [2001]) and Jost Hermand (*A Hitler Youth in Poland* [1998] / *Als Pimpf in Polen* [1993]).

Karl Guthke, now emeritus professor (b. 1933), offers a very different take on his own odyssey from the Federal Republic of German in what he calls the “Golden Age of Migration”: he speaks for the wave of German intellectuals who children during the Nazi era, but then left the FRG because of the limited and limiting circumstances there in the immediate postwar years. Guthke charts his own course away into his eventual role as a world-traveler and renowned scholar of German, English, and Comparative Literature who, after his *Promotion* (PhD) in Göttingen (1956), served as professor in Berkeley (1958-1965), Toronto (1965-1968), and Harvard (1968, with other appointments and visiting stints at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge/England, the Institute of Advanced Studies in the Humanities Edinburgh, the Humanities Research Centre Canberra, and the research center at Wolfenbüttel.

The memoir’s first chapter charts the random chance (*Zufall* [11]) that started his odyssey: he discovered the option of studying abroad in the US as part of an exchange program that was part of post-World-War-II attempts by the occupying forces at normalizing German life (and, of course, reeducating German youth into the West). He passed a 1952 interview, he notes, because he had read Steinbeck’s *Grapes of Wrath* as part of his reading frenzy for both English and German works that had pulled him toward literary studies for his *Abitur*. He left a Germany that had begun to insist on America as a commercial, uncultivated society, as part of the generation of now just grownup children who still felt that the US was a promised land after the deprivations of the war.

Guthke ended up first in Beaumont and then in Port Arthur, Texas, as the guests of a family and communities who welcomed him with all the trappings of postwar middle America, from barbecues through visits with local organization. After this brief period of acculturation, Guthke spent a year

(1952–53) at the University of Texas at Austin, where he found the “El Dorado” (49) of the UT English Department and earned a master’s degree, thanks to bureaucratic interventions about graduate admissions examinations by no less than the Harry Ransom after whom the University’s special collections library is named, eight courses and a thesis of one hundred pages or so. After his exchange year, he worked for the summer at a German-language newspaper in New Braunfels, Texas, experiencing one of the last large generations of German-Texas culture. Ultimately, he went back to Göttingen for his PhD (1953–56).

Such stories set the tone for the rest of the memoir. As he recounts the various later stages of his academic wandering, Guthke emphasizes not only those moments where US universities excel, but also the degree to which German émigrés created intellectual and social lifeboats that preserved European culture while mixing (not always blending) into the US landscape. We meet, in brief anecdotes and long lists, the major names in German literary studies, linguistics, and history (sometimes embodied by individuals who had changed specializations); we read about their projects and their teaching, and, most importantly, we see how seriously they took their engagement with their undergraduate and graduate students. When he visits in the UK, Australia, and Germany, we get astute comparisons of the way professors lived and worked in those years of academic growth internationally.

Guthke’s memoir should be required reading for those involved in the various fields of German studies. His “golden age of migration” created diasporic communities of intellectuals who would have been unlikely to form the groups they did, had they remained in Europe, under its very different academic conditions. At the same time, we also are given an opportunity to reflect on the nostalgia we still hold for those three or four generations, starting with the First World War, who created what today in the US we consider the “normal” study of the humanities. They brought with them the cultures and expertise of their respective disciplines, salvaging for the West some of what would be damaged in Europe’s twentieth century. At the same time, Guthke’s elegant, well-paced, and readable prose shows how their devotion to that cause insulated their work from many of the changing realities of the professions. These scholars enjoyed a privilege earned by dint of hard work and the will to overcome personal dislocation, in an environment fueled by massive public investment in the world. Guthke’s story fleshes out what that environment offered in exemplary ways, while providing much food for thought for today’s academics; his story is as much about us as it is about his own exemplary life as a professor and scholar.

**The Ältester: Herman D. W. Friesen, A Mennonite Leader in Changing Times.**

By Bruce L. Guenther. Regina, Saskatchewan: University of Regina Press, 2018. 308 pp. \$34.95.

Old Colony Mennonites, a group of Low-German speaking Anabaptists who migrated from southern Russia (present-day Ukraine) to North America during the 1870s, have frequently received negative coverage and unfair treatment from the media and some scholars, often because of their emphasis on separation from the world and their traditional religious beliefs and way of life. In *The Ältester*, a biographical account of the Old Colony Mennonite bishop (*Ältester*) Herman D. W. Friesen—a religious and community leader in the Hague-Osler area north of Saskatoon—Bruce Guenther makes an effort to provide a fuller picture and analysis of the ethnoreligious group in western Canada. With his portrayal of the church leader and his way of dealing with the challenges of changing times, Guenther attempts to rectify the group's negative image drawn by former historians, press, and television alike.

Guenther's motivation to write this biography arose from both personal relationship and academic interest. As one of the fifty-four grandchildren of Herman and his wife Margaretha, he welcomed the opportunity to explore his grandfather's story. As a professional historian with specialization in both Mennonite history and religion in Canada, Guenther also has a keen interest in examining his grandfather's sermon collection and understanding his influence and legacy within the Old Colony Mennonite Church. His research is guided by social-cultural methodologies and includes an examination of specific theological convictions that have impacted the internal ethos of the faith group. With his focus on the life story of his grandfather and the ways in which the community in Saskatchewan dealt with pressures from the government and calls to modernization, Guenther provides a critical account of a chapter of Old Colony Mennonite history in Canada that has often been neglected after a large part of the group migrated to Mexico during the 1920s. He observes the history of the church from a unique perspective, documenting how Herman's life and his family mirrored the transitions taking place within the larger church community in the Canadian prairie.

*The Ältester* is divided into four chapters, each addressing everyday details of Herman's life and connecting them with larger events in the church and provincial world. The first chapter traces the pioneer homesteading origins of Herman's and his wife's families who arrived in the Hague-Osler Reserve during the 1890s. Herman's school-age years coincided with the growing conflict between Old Colony Mennonites and the local government over mandatory attendance at English-language public schools. Intense pressure was endured

as the government penalized these German-speaking conscientious objectors in the aftermath of World War I for sending their children to private schools as an attempt to avoid administrative efforts to Canadianize their youth. Chapter two deals with the result of that conflict. As local government continued pressuring Mennonite communities, many of them migrated to Mexico in the 1920s. Herman's family was among a smaller group who remained in the area of the Northwest Territories. Guenther describes how the leadership of three bishops, Jacob Wiens, Johann Loeppky, and Abram J. Loewen, shaped the experience of Herman and the life of the church during that time. The author explores how these bishops' different approaches to preserving the faith and religious practices of the Old Colony Mennonites impacted Herman's decision to refrain from relocating his family and how the church narrative of migration is employed as a means of safeguarding distinct piety, traditions, and practices.

The second part of the account follows Herman's leadership as he navigated a gradual process of accommodation to social and technological changes taking place in the province. Guenther outlines the family's economic struggles in the 1930s and their increased prosperity after the expansion of the local network of roads and electricity together with Herman's openness to utilize new technology to support the development of a modern dairy operation. The residential, occupational, and denominational choices of his 12 children in the 1960s illustrate the options available to young adults in the Old Colony Mennonite Church and the gradual diversification and fragmentation of its communitarian way of life. The final chapter focuses on Herman's community and church leadership experience. He was elected as a public-school trustee and municipal councilor. Both community services increased his network of relationships within the region, and—as the author assumes—inclined him toward accepting more modernization and Canadianization. After having been elected as a minister in 1962 and a year later ordained as bishop, Herman faced the challenge of moderating the pace of change in the church and seeking strategies of gradual cultural accommodation.

With only 141 pages of narrative—visually enriched by pictures, maps, and tables—Guenther provides a rather brief but vivid account of his grandfather's life and the Old Colony Mennonite community in Saskatchewan. The larger part of the book consists of an appendix of Herman's ministerial activities and an appendix of seven of his sermons translated from German; particularly these supplemental materials serve as a rich resource for scholars of religious studies and church history. Apart from the sermon collection, the author had no diaries or personal letters from which to draw for the literary portrait, and some relatives were reluctant to share their memories of Herman. The lack of personal information about the bishop results in a some-

what speculative and schematic character profile in which Guenther debates the question of whether his grandfather was the maker or the recipient of history. Nonetheless, the biography recognizes the relevance of the specific location and circumstances in which Herman appeared as a leading figure of the community. The narrative deepens an understanding of the history and culture of Old Colony Mennonites in the Canadian prairie and raises important questions: how to deal with cultural engagement in places where there is no overt persecution or the possibility of geographical isolation; whether to link the doctrine of salvation to communal orientation; and what are the implications for associating change with worldliness and seeking accommodation with a modernizing surrounding. With these broader discussion points, *The Ältester* contributes to the discourse on ethnoreligious communities and their quest for maintaining traditional values in times of assimilationist attitudes and appeals for modernization.

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Berit Jany

**Witness to the Storm: A Jewish Journey from Nazi Berlin to the 82nd Airborne, 1920–45.**

By Werner Angress. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019. 358 pp. \$65.

Werner Angress (1920-2010) was a professor who specialized in the history of the Weimar Republic. He taught at the University of California at Berkeley before moving on to the State University of New York at Stony Brook, and received consistently high praise for his scholarship and teaching throughout his academic career. He was also one of thousands of Jews who fled Hitler as a teenager in 1930s and later joined the U.S. army. His first memoir, *Between Fear and Hope*, recounted the difficulties that young German Jews suffered during the 1930s. *Witness to the Storm* provides a broader account of his experiences during the entire the Nazi era. Angress recounts indignities that Jews suffered that are not generally known. For example, because his family owned a radio and piano, these items now became open for use by their non-Jewish neighbors whenever they wished. Though he did not suffer the brutal treatment that many other Jewish children received, he was hurt when most of his classmates treated him as if he did not exist (57).

In 1937, Angress' father made the decision to leave Germany. As he explained to his son, "Hitler and his Nazis weren't letting us be Germans...and humiliated and degraded us to second class citizens. For that reason, Germany [is] no longer our homeland" (170). To prepare Werner for emigration, his

parents sent him to the Gross Breesen agricultural training farm in Silesia. After failing to obtain asylum in England and South America, the Angress family settled in Holland. In October 1939, Werner finally received permission to emigrate to the U.S.; his parents and brothers remained in Amsterdam. He settled on a farm in Virginia populated by other émigrés from the Gross Breesen farm and applied for his first citizenship papers. Though he enjoyed a comfortable life on the farm, he was dismayed to discover the depth of racial prejudice against African Americans in his new homeland. (226). When the farm was sold after failing to turn a profit, he had a choice between working for another farmer, or joining the army; he chose the latter because he would could learn more English, which he needed since he wanted to go to college.

His adjustment to army life was difficult, as his English was poor, and he knew nothing about how the army operated. He was also stunned when one of his fellow recruits, upon learning that Angress was a German Jew, asked, “without moving an eyebrow, whether Hitler might not have good reasons to force the Jews to leave the country” (229). Though he settled into military life and improved his English, he still felt unsettled. He recalled, “for the duration of the war, I lived in two worlds. On the one hand, I was an American soldier, one of millions being trained for battles in Europe and Asia . . . on the other, I was no typical American G.I. I had no real home in the United States . . . my home was with my family, and I worried constantly about them” (235).

In 1943, Angress was encouraged to apply for admission to the Military Intelligence Training Center at Camp Ritchie in Maryland, which trained him to become an interrogator of prisoners of war. After training, he was shipped overseas and was joined a prisoner of war interrogation team attached to the 82nd Airborne Division. He parachuted into France on D-Day. Dropped to the wrong location, he was subsequently wounded and captured by the Germans. He found his way back to his unit after his captors surrendered to U.S. officials. After his recovery, he rejoined his division; he interrogated and obtained information from dozens of German soldiers, and assisted in helping victims of the Wöbbelin concentration camp. After the war, he learned that his mother and brothers had survived the war in Amsterdam, but his father had been sent to Auschwitz. Angress hence regarded his last job in the army—the ferreting of members of the SS from a prisoner of war camp for prosecution as war criminals—as “a symbolic triumph” (322).

While many German émigrés who fled Hitler and served in the U.S. Army published their memoirs, Angress’ work is arguably more engagingly written, and more informative about the problematic nature of the Jews’ existence in Nazi Germany, along with their difficulties adjusting life in the U.S. His account also elucidates more clearly how he and others like him found themselves living in a state of limbo during the war as they had been rejected by

the Nazi state, but were not yet accepted by their adopted homeland. Angress' memoir is an important addition to the history of World War II, as it sheds light on the complex problems and issues that its victims were forced to face.

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*Patricia Kollander*

**Hans Menasse: The Austrian Boy. Ein Leben zwischen Wien, London und Hollywood.**

*Von Alexander Juraske, Agnes Meisinger und Peter Menasse, mit einem Nachwort von Robert, Eva und Tina Menasse. Böhlau. 2019. 180 S. € 24.*

Es gab österreichische Juden, die nach dem "Anschluss" ihr Land verließen und Exilanten blieben, so etwa Benno Weiser Varon oder Egon Schwarz. Es gab wiederum andere, die wie Hilde Spiel oder Hans Weigel den Weg nach Österreich zurückfanden. In die letztere Kategorie gehört auch Hans Menasse, Vater der Schriftsteller-Geschwister Robert und Eva Menasse, wobei diese ihrer Familie mit ihrem Roman *Vienna* (2005) bereits ein Denkmal gesetzt hat. Hinzu kommt nun die hier rezensierte Biographie, eine Gemeinschaftsarbeit mehrerer Autoren und Familienmitglieder, die sich zwar auf Hans Menasse konzentriert, jedoch auch den größeren Familienkontext zu umfassen versucht. Zu einem großen Teil beruht der Text auf Interviews mit Hans Menasse, gewissermaßen Oral History-Material, aus dem für die Biographie geschöpft wurde. Der Text ist auch reichlich mit Bildmaterial und Dokumenten versehen.

Hans Menasse (1930 geb.) kann auf ein durchaus spannendes Leben mit vielfältigen Rollen zurückblicken, wie es eingangs heißt: "ein Wiener, ein Kosmopolit, ein Vertriebener, ein Rückkehrer, ein Einzelkämpfer, ein Teamplayer, ein Netzwerker, ein Familienmensch, ein Mann mit einer ungewöhnlichen Lebensgeschichte" (7). Mit einem "Kindertransport" konnten er und sein Bruder Kurt 1938 dem nationalsozialistischen Terror nach England entkommen, wo sie gut bei Familien unterkamen und ihre schulische bzw. berufliche Ausbildung fortsetzten und abschlossen. Dadurch, dass Hans' jüdischer Vater Robert mit der Arierin Dolly verheiratet war, die auch zu ihm hielt, konnten die Eltern die Kriegszeit in Wien überleben. Deshalb entschloss sich dann Hans, 1947 nach Wien zurückzukehren, wo er seine große Liebe für Fußball als erfolgreicher Nationalspieler umsetzen konnte und beruflich in der Filmbranche tätig wurde. Er scheint ein sehr angenehmer Zeitgenosse zu sein. In der Biographie lesen wir gegen Ende: "Die Mischung aus britischer Lebensart, Wiener Schmääh, Kreativität und 'Zug zum Tor' nicht nur im Fußball,

sondern auch im Beruf, hat Hans Menasse zu einer allseits geachteten und beliebten Person werden lassen“ (146-147).

Insgesamt haben sechs Autoren beim Schreiben der Biographie mitgewirkt, was in diesem Fall leider das Sprichwort von zu vielen Köchen, die den Brei verderben, z.T. bewahrheitet. Der Text hat im Wesentlichen drei Hauptteile, wahrscheinlich jeweils von einem anderen Autor geschrieben, hinzu kommt ein Essay von Kurt Menasses Sohn Peter allgemein zur Familie, dann noch das Nachwort der drei Kinder von Hans. Der erste und zusammenhängendste Abschnitt widmet sich Menasse's Kindheit mit einem Erzählstrang, der chronologisch vorgeht und die Situation der beiden Brüder umsichtig erfasst, auch Hans' Verlust der deutschen Sprache, die er sich bei seiner Rückkehr nach Wien erst wieder aneignen musste. Beim zweiten Teil, der die Rückkehr nach Österreich abdeckt, wird es dann problematisch, zumal sich der Text über vierzig Seiten hinweg dermaßen in die Fußballgeschichte und—interna der österreichischen Nachkriegszeit vertieft, dass die Lektüre etwas mühsam wird, wenn man nicht gerade ein großer Fußballfan ist. Der dritte Teil geht dann getrennt auf Menasses berufliche Entwicklung in der Filmbranche ein. Hier gerät der Text zu einem ziemlich langen "name dropping" von etwa Danny Kaye über Sophia Loren und Alfred Hitchcock bis hin zu Arnold Schwarzenegger. Dabei fehlt zwischen dem zweiten und dritten Teil die chronologische Integration, und es kommt zu inhaltlichen Wiederholungen und Überschneidungen. Das erwähnte Essay wirkt dem Text aufgepfropft, denn auch hier hätte der Inhalt zu den Familienmitgliedern in die Lebensgeschichte in einem Guss integriert werden können. Gewünscht hätte sich dieser Rezensent auch tiefere Reflexionen zur Nachkriegszeit in Österreich, der Situation der jüdischen Rückkehrer und zur schleppenden Auseinandersetzung des Landes mit seiner nationalsozialistischen Vergangenheit.

Hans Menasse verdient durchaus eine Biographie. Inhaltlich kann man sich in *The Austrian Boy* allgemein über dieses sehr lesenswerte Leben informieren. Die vor allem formellen Schwierigkeiten der Biographie lassen aber zu wünschen übrig.

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Reinhard Andress

### **Julius Rosenwald: Repairing the World.**

By Hasia R. Diner. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017. 256 pp. \$26.00

Hasia R. Diner, currently Paul and Sylvia Steinberg Professor of American Jewish History and Director of the Goldstein-Goren Center for Ameri-

can Jewish History at New York University, has written many important volumes about the history of Jewish people in the Americas. The current volume, a recent addition to Yale University Press's Jewish Lives series, brings to bear Diner's decades of research in archives on the life of Julius Rosenwald.

Anyone familiar with the history of the post-Reconstruction U.S. should know that Julius Rosenwald was a multimillionaire and a dedicated philanthropist. Rosenwald made his fortune through a prescient decision to invest in Sears, Roebuck, and Company and his subsequent efforts to restructure the company's business model. He poured immense sums of money into domestic and foreign philanthropic efforts, but is best known for the Rosenwald schools. Rosenwald's money, combined with matchings funds and the work of African American communities, built over 5,000 schools across the southern states. The Rosenwald schools gave African Americans access to education that they were largely denied under Jim Crow. Although this is the most famous example of Rosenwald's philanthropy, he was a generous giver to many different causes and organizations. His life, as Diner illustrates, has much to say about Jewishness and philanthropy during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era.

Diner's biography is not comprehensive, as she fully admits. Readers interested in a more detailed account of Rosenwald's work with Sears, for instance, should consult Peter Ascoli's *Julius Rosenwald* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006). Diner is principally concerned with Rosenwald's "story as an American Jew, a man who devoted much of his life and fortune to Jewish causes, which for him also revolved around the project of improving the lives and circumstances of the nation's African American population" (2). In contrast to a traditional cradle-to-grave biography, she explores how Rosenwald developed his views about philanthropy, which, she contends, "had their roots in his Jewish upbringing and worldview" (3). One of Rosenwald's guiding principles, according to Diner, was to "reinforce the unity of America" and nudge "the nation closer to fulfilling the promise of its founding" (54). This desire explains many of his philanthropic efforts, specifically his work on behalf of African Americans and Jewish people.

One of the strengths of this volume is Diner's skill in illuminating Rosenwald's world and embedding him in the community of American Jews. Although Rosenwald considered his success more a matter of luck than anything else, he was a skilled businessman and, moreover, proved adept at using family connections to fuel his advancement. Thus, "his personal, family, and communal heritage shaped his American success story, and his achievement owed as much to historical contingency as to his own endeavors or the luck he often credited" (50). Although he rejected Zionism, Rosenwald gave tacit, albeit lukewarm, support to "limited Zionist political ventures" (130) and "even

donated to projects that were clearly Zionist in origin” (132). This tendency was characteristic of the man—he gave generously and often donated money to causes he did not fully support. Unlike other philanthropists, Rosenwald tried to make sure the causes he supported had a broad donor base and were not solely reliant on his money. He did not approve of perpetual endowments and refused to attach his name to cultural institutions or universities.

Diner does not shy away from Rosenwald’s flaws. He was very much a product of his time and place. He abhorred unions and trade unionism and used sweatshop labor. Rosenwald did not seem particularly bothered by the impact of his anti-union stance and his use of sweatshop labor on his coreligionists. Indeed, he did not have the love of many Jewish people; garment workers saw him as a traitor to Jewish workers and many Zionists also considered him a traitor. Furthermore, many of his projects accepted the reality of segregation. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he worked to make the “equal” part of “separate but equal” a reality rather than fighting to overturn segregation. Diner hypothesizes that, despite these attitudes, he still had an important impact and that institutions like the Rosenwald schools, not to mention other forms of philanthropy, began a quiet revolution by undermining some elements of Jim Crow. Like all the best biographers, Diner is attentive to her subject’s virtues as well as his vices.

*Julius Rosenwald* makes a compelling case for Rosenwald’s importance for understanding Jewish history and U.S. history during a tumultuous period. Due to lively writing and insightful analysis, this book will appeal to anyone interested in the subject.

*University of Arkansas—Fort Smith*

*Evan C. Rothera*

**Walter Kaufmann: Philosopher, Humanist, Heretic.**

*By Stanley Corngold. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2019. xiv + 744 pp. \$39.95.*

Many undergraduates of my generation with aspirations or interest in the humanities, used Walter Kaufmann’s 1956 book *Existentialism: from Dostoevsky to Sartre* as their initial introduction to its subject. But Kaufmann, who spent his career in the Philosophy Department at Princeton, gave the scholarly world much more than his widely-read book on existentialism. This intellectual biography makes clear just how much.

Kaufmann left no diaries or collections of letters, and this biography provides little information about his personal life. There is certainly less informa-

tion about the man than the reader might like to know. One wonders if interviews with those who knew him might have provided more. This biography is an account of his intellectual accomplishments.

Kaufmann was born in Freiburg im Breisgau in 1921 to parents of Jewish heritage. His father was a lawyer who had converted to Protestantism. At the age of twelve in 1933, Kaufmann chose Judaism and was bar mitzvahed in Berlin that year. After completing *Gymnasium* in Berlin, he began studies aimed at becoming a rabbi, the only higher education available to Jews in Germany at the time. We are not told how he was able to emigrate to the United States in 1939, but we learn that he entered Williams College that fall. He became fluent in English and graduated in only two years. After a year at Harvard, he joined the Army as a translator in the Military Intelligence Service. In Berlin, he bought a copy of Nietzsche's collected works as was fascinated. Back at Harvard, he completed a dissertation on Nietzsche and was awarded the Ph.D. in 1947. He began teaching at Princeton where he remained until his death at the relatively early age of fifty-nine in 1980.

If Kaufmann was known among undergraduates for his *Existentialism*, he was best known among scholars and his fellow philosophers for his first book, *Nietzsche: Philosopher, Psychologist, Antichrist* (1950). In it, Kaufmann "rehabilitated" or "sanitized" Nietzsche from the distortions and the uses made of him by the Nazis as aided by his sister, Elizabeth Förster-Nietzsche. For instance, Kaufmann interprets the will to power as primarily aimed as control of the self rather than control of others and the *Übermensch* as someone who can exercise such control. In this "intellectual biography" Corngold attempts to present each of Kaufmann's major books in with a chapter. But in addition to devoting Chapter 1 to Kaufmann's book on Nietzsche, Corngold provides an "Epilogue" attempting to defend Kaufmann against the many critics of his interpretation of Nietzsche.

Kaufmann published two books on Hegel and translations of major German philosophers. He wrote a great deal on religion, on tragedy, and on the state of modern philosophy. Although a humanist, he deemed religion a matter of great importance since religion represents mankind's effort to transcend itself. He most admired the Hebrew Bible's prophet Micah, and he rejected Christianity due to the lack of concern among Christians for those who fail to attain salvation. Toward the end of his career, he wrote three volumes with the series title "Discovering the Mind." Each volume dealt with three important thinkers, one of whom the author praised and two of whom he criticized. He praised Goethe, Nietzsche, and Freud while finding fault with Kant, Hegel, Heidegger, Buber, Adler, and Jung.

Thus, Kaufman displayed broad intellectual interests and great erudition. To appreciate Corngold's account of Kaufmann's book *Tragedy and Philosophy*

properly, the reader will need to be familiar with Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Shakespeare, and Sartre. Kaufmann commented unfavorably on the French theorists of the 1960s and 70s including Barthes, Foucault, and Derrida. Corngold asserts that Kaufmann accomplished the destruction of Heidegger's *Being and Time*, although Kaufmann's disdain for Paul de Man was nearly as great. As the years advanced, other philosophers gave Kaufmann less and less notice.

Corngold is Professor of German and Comparative Literature Emeritus at Princeton, perhaps best-known for his scholarship of Franz Kafka. He admires Kaufmann but does not hesitate to bring forth blunt criticism when he thinks such is merited. Corngold enlists hundreds of scholars, critics, and commentators in elucidating, defending, and refuting Kaufmann. Indeed, at times the reader seems to be immersed in 600 pages of literary criticism. Corngold's own broad learning is much in evidence.

But as a historian, the reviewer must object to Corngold's characterization of the United States (in 1820) "with half its population consisting of slaveholders" (266). Slavery was legal in half the states, but even within slave states at slavery's zenith in 1860, only 24.9 percent of households owned slaves. Nationwide, according to Politifact, only 7.4 percent of households owned slaves.

Corngold gives us a detailed and astonishingly learned account of the more than 4,000 pages published by a much read and appreciated emigré scholar. Those of us who have appreciated any of Kaufmann's works are in Corngold's debt.

*Fort Smith, Arkansas*

*Robert W. Frizzell*

### **My Father's Closet.**

*By Karen A. McClintock. Columbus: Trillium: The Ohio State University Press, 2017. 242 pp. \$29.95.*

*My Father's Closet* is Karen McClintock's reconstruction of the life story of her father, Charles "Mac" McClintock, told with the knowledge confirmed after his death that he had been a closeted gay man. McClintock uses her father's journals in order to recount his adolescence and adulthood. In addition to this primary narrative, McClintock addresses how her father's hidden homosexuality affected her parents' marriage, her childhood, and his long-term extramarital relationship with the German American Walther Michael.

Mac was born in 1923 in Columbus, Ohio, the son of a pharmacist, Chester, and his German-born wife, Clara. Mac met his future wife, Alice, at North High School. They began dating in earnest as seniors, frequently indulging in their shared love of dancing, a pastime they would continue for decades.

McClintock discovers through Mac's journals, however, that he had had a sexual relationship during college with a male acquaintance. Alice remained unaware of Mac's infidelity, and the two were genuinely distraught at their separation due to Mac's service in World War II. He served stateside, and proposed to Alice during a brief leave from his post. McClintock speculates that her father consciously chose marriage to this woman with whom he truly had a connection in order to buffer himself from the stigma of being homosexual. They soon had two daughters and a home they built in the suburbs of Columbus. Alice later confessed to McClintock, though, that physical intimacy between the two had never been satisfying for either, and ended with her conception. Their lives were otherwise essentially happy for a time, with Alice working as a part-time librarian and Mac eventually becoming part of the registrar's office at Ohio State. It was during new faculty orientation one year that his path crossed Walther Michael's.

Michael was a bank employee in Hamburg in 1933 when his parents revealed that his maternal grandparents had converted to Christianity as adults, but had been born Jewish. Michael's parents left for safety abroad that year, but Michael remained until 1939, when he set out for Belgium and then made his way to the United States. He became a U.S. citizen in 1945 and served in World War II. McClintock touches only briefly on conditions in Germany during this time, noting the persecution of homosexual people, but does not go into further detail.

Mac and Michael, an economics instructor, were officially introduced by a friend in 1963, and Mac was immediately drawn to Michael. They would subsequently meet for lunch on campus or to see new art exhibits, always careful to mask their mutual attraction. In 1975, the two took the first of many week-long trips to New York City, ostensibly to see the latest museum exhibits and shows, but also to have one week to be openly together. While McClintock did not know of Michael until 2005, upon finding his obituary, she was able to reconstruct the effect he had had on her father and on her parents' relationship, noting details from the past that then made sense, such as the increasing distance between her parents and Mac's sudden hobby of reading economics journals.

As Mac's relationship with Michael deepened into commitment, he distanced himself from any romance with Alice. Mac's moods lightened during this time, but Alice's darkened as she sensed their increasing emotional separation, despite both working to keep up appearances with their common

friends. Mac and Alice did travel together to Europe, but Alice later confessed to McClintock that it had been a disaster, with Mac going out at night to engage in the gay culture in the cities they visited, while she was left alone in the hotel. McClintock felt increasing pressure to be her mother's companion as her father explored this new aspect of his life

Things changed drastically when Michael died in a plane crash in 1986, resulting in a deep, lasting depression for Mac. A few years later, he developed terminal multiple myeloma, and while Alice was initially committed to his care, she was soon diagnosed with terminal lung cancer, so Mac had to live out his days in a nursing home. During this illness, Mac revealed he was gay to McClintock's sister, though never to McClintock herself. As his life concluded, though, McClintock forgave him for the distance between them created by his closeted life.

Years later, McClintock, then an ordained minister, shared with her congregation's board of directors that her father had been gay, leading to an open discussion of the gay relatives several had. When she agreed to officiate a wedding for two women, however, the backlash by the congregation led to the loss of her position. She subsequently found a career in psychology, writing a doctoral dissertation on children of closeted parents. She continues to work to lessen the shame felt by children like herself.

The narrative structure of this work bounces among years and contexts, incorporating McClintock's adult life experiences into the telling of her father's life. This allows her to comment on topics such as the effect her childhood home full of secrets had on her own first marriage and her professional life. This is a compelling account of the damage wrought by one not being able to live as openly gay, not only to that person, but also to those close to him or her. However, there is relatively little discussion of how being German American affected either Mac or Michael.

*Doane University*

*Kristen M. Hetrick*

## **Education**

### **The Transatlantic Kindergarten: Education and Women's Movements in Germany and the United States.**

*By Ann Taylor Allen. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. 292 pp. \$78.00.*

*The Transatlantic Kindergarten* is a comparative study of the evolving status and interests of the kindergarten in Germany and the United States, from

its founding in the early decades of the nineteenth century to the 1920s. Especially rich in German sources, the book documents what its author Ann Taylor Allen calls the “entangled history” of the kindergarten movement and women’s movements in this period, with revealing differences in the two countries. The story turns strongly on the two societies’ contrasting relations of the state and education.

Using archival and published sources, Allen gives us the stories of German kindergartners Henriette Breymann-Schrader, Berthe von Marenholtz, Emma Marwedel, Nelly Wolfheim, and others who helped shape the kindergarten movement in its home country. Kept out of the public school system, and sometimes mistrusted by the German government as a dangerous Socialist invention, the German kindergarten, formally committed to the Idealist program of its founder Friedrich Froebel (1782–1852), came to be regarded in Germany more as a locus of social welfare than education. German kindergartners were mainly women working outside the state-controlled school system. The maternal ideal of the kindergarten, exalted by its founder, seemed to the male-dominated German teaching profession incompatible with their academic values.

In the United States, the kindergarten began as the pursuit of enterprising women seeking professional work outside the home or marriage. The movement in America also often found common cause with 19th century “seminaries” of higher learning for women, many of them founded as teacher-preparation institutions. Eventually, too, American kindergartners formed professional associations of their own. Another important factor was the American kindergarten’s earlier acceptance as an elementary school “grade” with a pedagogical function beyond the custodial and social welfare purposes to which it was limited in Germany. This is not to say there were not restrictions and compromises to be made. American women working on their own, some of them living in communal housing while they received their training, were sometimes criticized for their independence, which was more limited than the life choices men with similar aspirations had.

In the course of her study, Allen gives two very different examples of the American kindergarten’s response to pressing educational debates, one about the role of psychology in the evolution of modern pedagogy and the other about the aims of education in African American life. These are key themes in the history of American education. In the late nineteenth century American psychologist and education theorist G. Stanley Hall published a sharp criticism of the kindergarten, portraying it as unscientific. Hall derided the kindergarten for being too faithful to its Froebelian model’s reliance on intuitive contemplation of abstract, symbolic objects. Young children, Hall argued, responded more readily to recognizable playthings, which could

prompt pedagogical as well as naturally engaging activities. Hall, who had observed Henriette Breymann-Schrader's Froebelian kindergarten in Berlin (Breymann-Schrader was Froebel's niece), advised adding more rest time to the kindergarten, better food, more energetic outdoor play activities, and the use of learning toys children could handle more deftly and curiously. Conservative kindergartners, including Susan Blow of Teachers College in New York, resisted, but leading revisionists such as Anna Bryan and Patti Smith Hill, who would later replace Blow at Teachers College, accepted Hall's criticisms and worked to develop the methods he outlined.

Allen has included in her study two archival photographs of late 19th century African-American kindergartens that illustrate the divide in thinking between advocates of occupational and academic schooling among intellectuals of the period. One of these photos shows a kindergarten following the Froebelian model. The children are seated at long tables with cubes and spheres on them, and there is a portrait of Friedrich Froebel on the wall (just above the wainscoting, over the children's shoulders). The cubes and spheres on the tables are the symbolic materials of Froebel's Idealist object lessons. That this kindergarten was likely meant to prepare children for academic study is suggested by the picture's source; it is from the Haines Normal and Industrial Institute in Augusta, Georgia, which incorporated its kindergarten in a curriculum running all the way up to the junior college level. In the other picture, from the Whittier Primary School in Hampton, Virginia, a smaller group of children is seated at a single schoolroom table with wash bowls and ironing things in front of them, which it appears they are learning to use—an example of occupational learning in a kindergarten.

Using the papers and publications of American kindergartners Kate Douglas Smith, Susan Blow, Patti Hill Smith, Lucy Wheelock, and others, Allen fills out a story too often told with only Elizabeth Peabody as its American protagonist. Her many German sources enhance our understanding of the kindergarten in the often-troubled political reality in German society, a view obscured by the usual spotlight shone on its Idealist founder, Friedrich Froebel.

Allen is effective in telling this history without relying on the exclusive perspective of one or another leading concern of feminism, which she says has been her aim. Her concern here is that feminists with different critical themes, for instance those who see feminism as being foremost about women's rights and those who see it being more about the unique contributions made by women to modern society, can read Allen's history with equal interest. *The Transatlantic Kindergarten's* characters, sources and texts provide a complex and deeply suggestive story.

**Humboldt and the Modern German University: An Intellectual History.**

By Johan Östling. Lund: Lund University Press, 2018. Translated by Lisa Olsson. 292 pp. \$45.95

Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) was, in the history told here by Johan Östling, a kind of godfather of university reform in modern Germany, a figure to whom German intellectuals have turned in moments of crisis prompting debates about reform. To this end many have written urging revitalization of the university in ways they thought would be true to its original spirit, credited to Humboldt. Others have responded to the same crises by refuting the Humboldtian idea, taking down its key themes as anachronistic and unsuited for emerging social and civic conditions.

Humboldt's conceptions of academic freedom, the integrity of teaching and research, putting philosophy forward as a unique unifying subject, and *Bildung*, the ideal of personal growth through scholarship that was at once good for the individual and necessary to the fulfillment of society's potential, were treated by most of these thinkers at least as the essential starting point for German thinking about higher education. This though Humboldt's vision was itself a reforming idea held up against the lingering medieval curriculum of the German universities in his time. This figure who was taken by so many as the source of the meaning of the German university was himself just one figure in a lineage of reformers. (Even in Humboldt's time, there were other innovative educational foundings in German universities—such as the very different vision of Franke in the Orphanage and University at Halle).

Wilhelm von Humboldt was a student of philosophy and friend of philosophers and his idea of the university was philosophical, but only sketchily so. Its texts were just a few draft pages he never published, several brief essays, and a letter he wrote to King Frederick William III in 1809, when he was given a cabinet position in the government and asked for his opinion about reforming the German universities. Action was taken quickly on his advice and the new Berlin University opened in 1810, when Humboldt was still composing these papers that would be taken a century later as the “manifesto” of the quintessential German university.

But, Östling explains, Humboldt was all but forgotten as an educational thinker during the remainder of the century, his memory only to be revived with the centenary of Berlin University university in 1910. The *crisis* moments Östling focuses on have happened in the twentieth and twenty first centuries, particularly in the period of the Weimar Republic; the return of democracy in the aftermath of the Nazi debacle; the rebuilding of the German economy; German unification; and the late twentieth century's emphasis on global economic competition and mobile employability as aims to be met by

higher education. Östling's book is a history of the relevance of Humboldt's idea to these crises, a story he has found to be understudied.

Among the many intellectual writers in Östling's story are the "mandarins," scholars born during the Weimar Republic and committed to ideals of democracy. These figures argued for "revitalization" of the university, recapturing the energy implicit in the model of *Bildung*, with academic freedom as its guarantor. The quintessential "mandarin" in Östling's presentation is Karl Jaspers, who argued for the unity of academic subjects, research and teaching, by which students could understand the knowledge process itself. *Bildung* would engender a *worldview*, as Jaspers theorized it. Renewal of university education, for Jaspers, meant unity with its past, extending its mission to include all subjects, including new ones. Two other key figures here are Gerhard Ritter, who saw *Bildung* as a check on the power of the state, and Werner Richter, who criticized Humboldt's idea of the university as a wistful fiction. Richter argued for reform aimed more practically at the improvement of social life, as he saw it in British and American universities.

Östling deftly includes key moments in philosophical thinking in his history, not only with his summaries of Humboldt's forerunners and contemporaries—Schilling, Fichte, the Schlegel brothers, etc.—but also the twentieth century philosophers Martin Heidegger, Hans Georg Gadamer, and Jürgen Habermas. Heidegger appears tragically enough in a passage on his Nazi preemption, with an astute account of his philosophical premise that philosophy had a role in advising powerful rulers. Habermas and Gadamer, each in his own way, addressed the crisis of the late-twentieth century university—mass enrollment with pressures from vocationalism, credentialing, and a view of teaching as giving information and skills without intimate relation to theory or research. Gadamer insisted that questions of education should be addressed to the deeper philosophical quest, reinstating the sense of study and life mission he saw in Humboldt's concept of *Bildung*. *Bildung*, with its unity of teaching and research, Gadamer argued, had the potential to bring all knowledge together to present the horizon of reality itself to human study, but this was threatened by the new prestige of vocational training and practical skills. Subjects had a philosophical interest, Gadamer argued, opposing the utilitarian limitations of the present. Habermas, in contrast, saw reliance on the concept of *Bildung* as a deception separating education from the life-world. Opposing the Idealism of Humboldt's vision, Habermas argued in defense of specialization, even for a harmony of learning with working life—through which reconnection with the life-world was possible.

Citing Tzvetan Todorov, Östling asserts the importance of genre in intellectual history. Intellectual writing, Östling explains, is "prescriptive and changeable," like a grammar, employing "a more or less consistent vocabu-

lary,” but with sharply differentiated, polemical meaning. But Östling’s study lacks demonstration of the workings of genre in this sense, instead relying mainly on old-fashioned intellectual history, in quotations and summations of arguments from published sources. He gives some complex historiographic accounting of theories he has relied on, but these, coming mostly in the beginning and the end of his book (like bookends displaying the heroic devices of contemporary academic protocols), are not much integrated into his presentations of the texts he takes as the primary materials of his study. This is not to say the book is not richly revealing as intellectual history, but rather to suggest its content could be studied further with analytical tools allowing *generic* or rhetorical criticism of their meanings.

*Independent Scholar*

*William Cahill*

## **History and Anthropology**

### **Report on a Journey to the Western States of North America and a Stay of Several Years Along the Missouri (During the Years 1824, '25, '26, 1827).**

*By Gottfried Duden. Edited by James W. Goodrich. Translated by Elsa Nagel et al. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2017. (Originally published 1980.) 400 pp. \$39.95.*

This book is a paperback re-release form of the first complete translation of Gottfried Duden’s famous emigrant guide, *Report on a Journey to the Western States of North America and a Stay of Several Years Along the Missouri*, which was originally printed in 1829 with a subsequent edition in 1832. Duden had travelled to the lower Missouri River Valley from Germany in 1826 shortly after the area opened up to settlement. Together with two traveling companions, he set up a farm near present-day Washington, Missouri. In 1828 he returned to Germany to self-publish and promote the book he had penned while in Missouri, which was organized as a series of letters ostensibly written to a friend in Germany. The letters praise the Missouri River Valley in glowing terms, comparing the area to the Rhine River Valley in Germany. Duden, sympathetic to the common man in both Germany and North America, also wove political and social commentary into his narrative in a way that apparently struck a chord with many of his countrymen. His work, in a word, created a sensation, inspiring many thousands of Germans to emigrate and to make Missouri their destination. The book was not with-

out controversy. Although most emigrants successfully made the transition to new home and community, creating a strong German presence that persists to the present, many were initially disillusioned, and some bitterly accused Duden of misrepresenting the severity of the climate, the fertility of the soils, and the scourge of mosquitos and endemic fevers, among other things. His most famous critic, Gustav Körner, even penned a rebuttal in 1834 entitled “Don’t Believe Everything You Read about Missouri.”

Nevertheless, Duden’s influence on German immigration to North America can hardly be overestimated and his book is generally recognized as the most influential among the many hundreds of emigrant guides for North America published in Germany in the nineteenth century. It is surprising, therefore, to read that a complete annotated translation of the original book(s) did not exist until 1980. Recognizing the need, the State Historical Society of Missouri assembled a team of editors and translators in 1965. The project, a collective effort, took an astounding fifteen years to complete, but the persistence paid off, resulting in a book of great scholarly merit. The original is now a rare (and expensive) book, hence the need for the reprint. The reprint is faithful to the original with no additional annotations or commentary. The one drawback is that it contains no maps or illustrations. Still, it is a *sine qua non* for any serious student of German emigration to North America in the nineteenth century.

*University of Texas at Austin*

*James C. Kearney*

### **From Home Guards to Heroes: The 87th Pennsylvania and Its Civil War Community.**

*By Dennis W. Brandt. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2018. (Originally published 2007.). 274 pp. \$24.95.*

At the request of its veterans, George R. Prowell released the first historical report on the 87th Pennsylvania regiment in 1903, aptly titled *History of the 87th Regiment Volunteers*. On top of his “lifeless” writing and “shallow” research, however, Dennis W. Brandt argues that Prowell made traditional regimental history faux pas, namely passing over matters he deemed less relevant (xii). Instead, he gave more emphasis to official records than lived experience and omitted discussion of some topics altogether. Brandt not only tries to amend Prowell’s flaws in *From Home Guards to Heroes*, but he also aims to expand on the broader political and social influences, ranging from attitudes

on secession to race relations, that affected the war experience of those he affectionately refers to as “the boys from York” (xi).

*From Home Guards to Heroes* is structured both chronologically and thematically over thirteen chapters. Focused on the election of Lincoln and the secession crisis, Brandt starts by analyzing the political arguments circulating pre-war in the local newspaper coverage of south-central Pennsylvania. Residence in the North after all did not necessarily imply all Pennsylvanians agreed with Republican values. Years later, as Brandt discovered, some of the regiment’s men found that these same convictions forced them to question their service after the Emancipation Proclamation passage and the adoption of Black soldiers into the military, a topic he explores in a later chapter. Brandt next examines the recruitment efforts first employed to organize a smaller state militia unit and then to encourage the regiment’s formation. The bulk of his research for these and the book’s following chapters comes primarily from shifting through over three thousand compiled service records and pension files as well as data on over eight hundred other locals who served in different regiments from the area. Official accounts, though, do not speak to the ideology and motivations of those who served. In an attempt to gain the purest perspective of their experience, Brandt relies on quotes pulled directly from the personal correspondence and diaries of the men from the newest recruit to the highest-ranking officer. When discussing the discipline and desertion problems the regiment faced, for instance, he turns to the words of the men to adequately convey the conditions soldiers faced that made them rebel or flee. Brandt likewise relies on descriptions like the one written by David Gilbert Myers to his parents to express the emotions of battle. Myers, in this case, wrote during the battle of the Wilderness, but the regiment also participated during Mine Run, Spotsylvania, and several others, all which Brandt provides ample attention. Wilderness, but the regiment also participated in Mine Run, Spotsylvania, and several others, each of which receives ample attention from Brandt. The war for many did “more than interrupt their lives,” he argues, “it had changed them forever” (227). While some assimilated back into society easily, even participating in politics, those less fortunate continued to suffer from the agonizing mental and physical consequences of warfare. On January 27, 1940, the final member of the 87th Pennsylvania, Henry Shultz, died, but with Brandt’s *From Home Guards to Heroes*, the memory of Shultz and all those he fought alongside endures.

Brandt’s analysis and research are not necessarily without faults, especially at times when his assumptions betray the book’s absences. One issue arises, for example, when Brandt discusses the desertion rates for foreign-born recruits, many of which were German. He claims the reasons behind their higher numbers “no doubt included immigrants’ generally lower stan-

dard of living and the fact that the political and social causes that led to war affected them less" (118). While Brandt references this claim to Ella Lonn's first book *Desertion During the Civil War* (1928), he fails to draw into conversation one of her later works, *Foreigners in the Union Army* (1951), the first comprehensive study of ethnic involvement in the North demonstrating that immigrants not only felt inclined to participate in the war, but they did so in numbers large enough to encourage entire ethnic regiments. Brandt also disregards the inclusion of another important work when discussing the foreign war contribution, William L. Burton's *Melting Pot Soldiers: The Union's Ethnic Regiments* (1998), wherein Burton argues that foreign and native soldiers generally shared similar motivations. Brandt makes a point to observe when individual soldiers are foreigners and even to remark that many others are descendants of immigrants, why he chooses to generalize their experience without consulting any existing historiography on their service therefore remains perplexing.

Ultimately, the main hindrance facing *From Home Guards to Heroes* is that it lacks the benefits of several publications which followed its release capable of providing more on subjects where Brandt's analysis seems to fall short. Newer works on Union veterans, manhood, and the contributions of ethnic soldiers would add to its value, including those from Brian Matthew Jordan, Lorie Foote, and Christian B. Keller as well as several others. As a source, however, for those yearning to learn more about the 87th Pennsylvania, indeed the conditions faced by thousands of similar regiments, this book delivers as expected.

*The University of Alabama*

Briana Weaver

**A Nation of Immigrants Reconsidered: US Society in an Age of Restriction, 1924-1965.**

*Edited by Maddalena Marinari, Madeline Y. Hsu and Maria Cristina Garcia. Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2019. 308 pp. \$110.00.*

This anthology, edited by three of the most active scholars in the Immigration and Ethnic History Society, examines various aspects of immigration policy in the most draconically restrictive era in US history. It focuses primarily on bureaucratic infighting and public initiatives that challenged or undermined various aspects of restriction and helped to pave the way for the wholesale reform legislation that became law in 1965: "not a dramatic departure from the status quo but rather the product of longstanding politi-

cal struggles and debates of the preceding four decades” (3). An even dozen essays plus an afterword are grouped into three sections. The first is titled “Policy and Law”; the second is on “Labor”; the third explores “Who is a Citizen? Who Belongs.”

The only essay much relevant to German American studies is titled “Setting the Stage to Bring in the ‘Highly Skilled’: Project Paperclip and the Recruitment of German Specialists after World War II.” Its author, Monique Laney, has treated this group more broadly in her award-winning book, *German Rocketeers in the Heart of Dixie: Making Sense of the Nazi Past during the Civil Rights Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

More than just a military story of technology transfer, this chapter shows that the program had wider implications, as its title indicates. The Project was competing with Russia, and also Britain and France, for access to German scientists and technicians. Ironically, the State Department was more concerned than the War Department about security issues involved, and drew criticism for “beating a dead Nazi horse” (149). Paperclip recruiters gave German technical specialists every benefit of the doubt, and credited Nazi memberships to opportunism rather than ideology. Even honors conveyed by the Nazi Party were not considered disqualifying because they were for technical achievements. Rather than sending these technicians working on temporary visas back to Europe, American authorities developed the procedure of sending Paperclip specialists across the Mexican or Canadian border at places like Niagara Falls to obtain permanent visas, under which they could also sponsor the immigration of dependents. It appears that some six hundred specialists were recruited under this program. These preferences for specialized skills were incorporated into US policy with the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act, which reserved 50 percent of immigration quotas for persons (or their dependents) “whose services are determined by the Attorney General to be needed urgently” because of specialized skills. US immigration regulations ever since have included a quota for the highly skilled.

The rest of this anthology encompasses a wide range of topics, with only a few points relating to German American studies. One essay devoted to “remote control,” i.e. “mechanisms to enforce migration policy beyond the nation’s borders” (26), includes US pressure on thirteen Latin American countries to turn over their “enemy aliens” for US internment, among them some Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany. A chapter on the Cuban connection explains how the 1939 St. Louis affair came about that sent a shipload of Jewish refugees back to Europe after being turned away by Cuba and the United States. An essay on Japanese war brides peripherally mentions one featured in a *Life* magazine article who married GI Frank Pfeiffer. His German name piqued my curiosity to consult Ancestry.com, which revealed that

his father was an Austrian immigrant. A chapter on shifting attitudes leading up to the 1965 reforms showed that, next to Communists, Germans and Japanese were the groups Americans were most resistant to admitting, though the percentage rejecting any of them was relatively small. Nonetheless, this is an insightful exploration of various policy developments during these four decades that had implications for the new era of US immigration since 1965.

Texas A&M University

Walter D. Kamphoefner

**Vergangenheit. Bewältigung. Vergangenheitsbewältigung. : Zur Geschichte und Theorie eines scheinbar erforschten Themas.**

By Jürgen Reifenger. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2019. 443 pp. \$67.99.

Jürgen Reifenger's book presents a thoroughly researched and richly annotated tour de force on the ontology of a violent human history and associated attempts of societies to come to terms with their past. Perhaps no other country is better known for its efforts at *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* than Germany and particularly since the 1990s, as a reunified nation was in search of a new identity and needed to, again, reexamine itself. However, to avoid a selective and thereby limiting approach, Reifenger's text does not just focus on the Third Reich and the lessons of the Holocaust. Instead, he employs a broader and more international perspective, to analyze and dissect global successes and failures of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, and to put them into their respective historical, ideological, and geopolitical contexts

At its core, the book asks if a complete *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* can truly be achieved and what kinds of obstacles modern societies, governments, and supranational organizations encounter, as they assess the lessons of history, to minimize if not avoid a repetition of its most violent expressions. Reifenger sets the stage by taking a closer look at the epistemology of *Vergangenheit* and *Bewältigung* and by carefully analyzing how societies have wrestled with their past, their self-image, and their identity throughout history, from the era of Cyrus the Great to the Peace of Westphalia and beyond. Although first attempts at *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* can already be seen in pre-modern times, the cultural and political transformations, which form the basis of today's international laws and institutions, only started to emerge in the eighteenth century.

As Reifenger points out, until the nineteenth century it was still standard procedure for opposing nations to agree to a general amnesty at the conclusion of each violent conflict. Moreover, governments and societies did

not yet engage in an honest self-reflection, and questions like war guilt, war crimes, and human rights were largely ignored. All that changed with the carnage of two world wars. At the conclusion of World War I, the Treaty of Versailles (1919), inspired by Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, realized the idea of a League of Nations (1920), it no longer ignored uncomfortable questions of the past, including the issue of reparations, and it set into motion the creation of international tribunals.

Already during World War II, the Atlantic Charter (1941) was signed and the United Nations Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes (1943) was created. At the end of World War II, these efforts led to the formation of entities like the International Court of Justice in The Hague (1945) and documents like the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). Unlike the League of Nations, though, the United Nations understood that the maintenance of international peace and security had to take into consideration the post-war economic and social developments of defeated nations.

Despite improvements in *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* within the last century, Reifenberger shows that obstacles remain. Time and again, geopolitical and geoeconomic factors interfere and members of local elites, which benefitted from civil wars and international conflicts, often remain in power, even if their vilest leaders stood trial. Thus, the denazification process in West Germany, for instance, was never completed, because attention was directed to an emerging Cold War, so that parts of the old elite were integrated into a new one. Likewise, the effectiveness of today's United Nations and the protection of human rights too often fall victim to geoeconomic considerations, as neoliberal agendas, rooted in Hayek's economic theory, undermine the humanitarian goals set forth by an international community after World War II.

Reifenberger's book on the historical development and political theory of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* is exquisitely written. It outlines patterns and processes of a coming to terms with the past by societies and governments worldwide. It illustrates that we do not yet have a clear understanding of its basic principles, and that these theorems have to be renegotiated periodically. Most importantly, it places these renegotiations into the context of contemporary challenges, as rising nationalism and isolationism are undermining the progress that has been made in recent decades.

*Valdosta State University*

*Michael G. Noll*

**Comanches and Germans on the Texas Frontier: The Ethnology of Heinrich Berghaus.**

By Daniel J. Gelo and Christopher J. Wickham. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2018. 272 pp. \$35.

Several themes in Texas history have preoccupied amateurs and professional historians alike over the years: the Alamo, Texas Rangers, and the Cattle Kingdom come immediately to mind. But to this list we can also confidently add Comanche Indians. Of all the Native American tribes that once inhabited Texas, the Comanches have stirred the keenest interest and roused the most heated controversy. This attention can be bracketed starting with the earliest known Texas painting—the destruction of the San Saba Mission by the Comanches in 1759—to the recent extraordinarily successful book by S.C. Gwynne, *Empire of the Summer Moon* (New York: Scribner, 2010). The Comanche story, however, also intersected with another theme in Texas history that has been the subject of considerable scholarly interest, namely the *Society for the Protection of German Emigrants* in Texas, the *Adelsverein* for short, and its efforts to introduce thousands of German immigrants into Texas in the mid 1840s into what was essentially the heart of the Southern *Comanchería*. It was, to quote the English historian John Hawgood's *The Tragedy of German America*, “The greatest tragedy of German immigration in the New World in the nineteenth century, but ultimately the greatest triumph” (New York: Putnam, 1940, 142). In this intersection of Comanches and Germans, historians have stumbled on a doubly engaging tale that has also seen its fair share of controversy.

The group of German noblemen who constituted the *Adelsverein* had formed their company in 1842 with an eye toward obtaining a land grant contract with the Republic of Texas. In 1844 they bought into the Fisher-Miller Land Grant and immediately began advertising for prospective emigrants in Germany. A promise of free land led to an enthusiastic response and by 1847 scores of ships were on their way to Texas with hundreds of immigrants. The *Adelsverein* leadership, however, had launched this ambitious project with neither the financial resources nor the business and political expertise to see it through and they quickly ran into serious problems. Their scheme, in fact, threatened to collapse into a human catastrophe of the first order. This was the “tragedy” alluded to by the historian Hawgood. The “triumph” resulted from the emigrants eventually overcoming —usually due to their own resourcefulness —the many challenges that confronted them, and ultimately successfully making the transition to new home and community on the Texas frontier. One of the chief challenges, an absolute prerequisite in point of fact, was some sort of accommodation with the Penetaka, or

Southern Comanches, who called the lands of the Fisher-Miller Land Grant their winter home and who had not been informed that their lands had been handed over to a company of German noblemen.

Consequently, Baron von Meusebach, Commissioner-General of the company, mounted an expedition to contact the Comanches and to offer peace. The resulting private peace treaty between the Germans and the Comanches, signed in Fredericksburg in 1847, has been hailed as one of the most successful in the history of North America—a claim that has not gone unchallenged, resulting in heated and at times passionate disagreements. However, one thing is clear: the treaty was fundamentally different since it was free of the underlining racism and notions of cultural superiority that had characterized all previous Texas treaties: here was a treaty of integration, not separation; a treaty that even called for intermarriage and cultural assimilation to the benefit of both. And in light of what eventually happened in Texas—the largest and most complete ethnic cleansing in North America—the treaty stands as if to say, this did not have to happen; there was another way.

Professors Gelo and Wickham have offered an important contribution to this story. Their collaboration was fortuitous: Professor Wickham has enjoyed a long and distinguished career as a professor of German literature while Professor Gelo has completed an equally successful career as a student of Plains Indian culture, and is the author of several books on the same. The two scholars thus complement each other wonderfully with their respective fields of expertise. Their book concentrates on one aspect of the treaty, but it offers much more than that, as we will see. As part of the treaty, Emil von Kriewitz, a German settler, agreed to live among the Comanches. During his stay of several months, von Kriewitz compiled a rudimentary German/Comanche glossary and made extensive notes concerning customs and artifacts. Eventually these notes came to the attention of a noted German cartographer, Heinrich Berghaus, who published his linguistic observations in 1851 in the *Geographisches Jahrbuch* [Geographic Yearbook]. On the basis of von Kriewitz' observations, Berghaus deduced (correctly) that the Comanche language was related to the larger Shoshone linguistic and cultural grouping, which also included the Apaches. Berghaus' article, which also included the glossary compiled by von Kriewitz, was the first substantial scholarly work along these lines of its kind to be published, and thus we can say with confidence that the German/Comanche Treaty of 1847 not only had political and social significance, but an important ethnographic and linguistic contour as well.

The von Kriewitz/Berghaus connection is explored in depth in and meticulously documented. Moreover, the book offers much more than this story. The long opening essay (thirty one pages) offers a marvelous overview of the

*Adelsverein* in Texas. It also includes the most thorough and complete discussion of the literature concerning the *Adelsverein* from both German and English sources to yet appear in print. The book also places the von Kriewitz/Berhaus contribution in the larger context of the extensive and valuable German ethnographic scholarship into the culture and languages of North American Indians. The book is thus valuable on several levels. I recommend it highly.

*University of Texas at Austin*

*James C. Kearney*

### **Germans in Illinois.**

*By Miranda E. Wilkerson and Heather Richmond. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2019. Pp. 218. \$24.50*

Wilkerson and Richmond's volume on the history of Germans in Illinois focuses on the second half of the nineteenth century. By the end of the nineteenth century approximately 9 percent of the population of Illinois was comprised of German-born immigrants (and the number of their offspring and grandchildren make the number of direct German ancestry exponentially larger this figure). The strength of this volume can be found in its succinct, encyclopedic treatment of a number of pertinent inter-related topics that touch upon highly relevant cultural, historical, linguistic, and socio-political issues that German-Americans throughout Illinois faced between 1850-1900 and beyond. This 8-chapter volume address the following topics: Immigration and settlement of Germans during this time period, the selection of and journey to Illinois as a settlement destination, the contrast between urban and rural living, the politics surrounding the Civil War and German-American identity, the contrast between cultural and institutional life and its long-term effects on language use and transmission, the effects of World War I and its immediate aftermath on these communities, and an overview of the heritage and linguistic landscape of modern day Illinois.

One of the primary strengths of this volume is the highly approachable writing style employed by the authors. This stylistic choice has a two-fold advantage: First, given the diverse topics covered in the individual chapters, those with intermediate or novice background on a given topic can easily grasp the core arguments delivered in each chapter. Second, and related to the first point, this writing style effectively ties together tangentially connected topics and themes in a natural way, resulting in a cohesive narrative throughout the volume. Another notable strength of this volume is the concise introduction of these topics that is accompanied by a plethora of detailed notes

and an annotated bibliography that make up roughly a third of the book. The structure of this book and its principally encyclopedic approach to these various elements that contribute to the larger German-American experience in Illinois since 1850 give the impression that there still remains much important research to be done on this topic. The easily accessible prose in combination with the richly detailed notes that accompany these chapters make this volume an excellent choice as a helpful starting point for research on the German-American experience in Illinois.

*Pennsylvania State University*

*Michael T. Putnam*

**Taking Nazi Technology: Allied Exploitation of German Science After the Second World War.**

*By Douglas M. O'Reagan. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019. 281 pp. \$54.95.*

A comparative history of the American, British, French and Soviet Union efforts to transfer German science and technology to their own research capacities, *Taking Technology* represents the pursuit of intellectual reparations that outstrip in value anything the Soviets achieved by their wholesale extortion of German factories and equipment, proving that know-how crosses borders, far in advance of physical objects or political control. Swarms of plunderers from intelligence agencies, military branches, research institutions and corporate looters seized hardware, documents, patent applications, science journals, machine tools, chemicals, and carpentry, not only bagging paper, but also kidnapping scientists, engineers and technical personnel. Blueprints and prototypes however could never substitute for hands-on familiarity; thus German scientists and technicians had to be cajoled, hired or even acquired by force, e.g. Manfred von Ardenne, who was lured into a two week visit to the Soviet Union that turned into a ten year stay to father their atomic bomb, the electronic microscope, the cathode ray tube, while holding 500 separate patents.

Best known in America was the transfer of the Wernher von Braun team from Peenemünde and Nordhausen (known by the code name of Paperclip) that eventually completed the Kennedy project to land a man on the moon. Already during the war these teams had deployed innovative technologies including the jet engine Messerschmitt fighter, high quality tiger and Panther tanks, the Mark XXI U-boat and especially the V-1 flying bomb and the V-2 missile (*Vergeltungswaffe*—‘revenge weapon’), fanning fears of the won-

der weapon that would still turn the tide in favor of a Hitler victory. Much of German science, however, had already been lost before the war in the form of individuals such as Albert Einstein, Max Born, Hans Bethe, and Karl Popper, at least 15 of whom would garner Nobel Prizes in science. Scientists today acknowledge the superb technical capability of von Braun but owe an equal debt to others, e.g. in the advanced aeronautic outcomes of the 60 German wind tunnels (there were only three in the U.S. at the time), which companies like Boeing were eager to import.

The British exploitation of German scientific advances focused on industry and economic value. French efforts were oriented toward rebuilding after German occupation ended. As a result, some American and British agencies felt aggrieved by stories that French teams were “stealing” promising personnel. Conditions of course were different—German scientists were within the borders of France, and hundreds, or even thousands of German scientists, were thus recruited to stay in France for armaments and industrial rebuilding. Civilian technology and its personnel transferred easily and willingly, and thus their significance remains inexact.

By contrast Soviet reparations and the seizure of science and technology, including German scientists, terrorized the Soviet occupied zone which became East Germany. “Intellectual Reparations” was a Western term, while industrial reaping and harvesting of German plants amounted to outright plundering of the country rather than just its know-how. Extortionist Soviet policy called for the transfer of factories, labor (both manual and skilled), military equipment, scientific expertise, food, basic goods like clothing, and everything in between. Due to the heavy price the Russians paid for the Nazi invasion and its destructive scorched-earth policy, the West more or less closed its eyes to the exploitation, seizure, and looting as war booty. Even before the Potsdam conference in late July 1945, the Soviets had dismantled over 460 factories in Berlin alone, seemingly because they thought the conference might restrict their chance to expatriate the materiel hastily. Soon thereafter they concentrated on the V-2 experts at the Mittelwerk near Nordhausen, aiming to master Nazi military rocketry; the scientists captured included Helmut Göttrup from Peenemünde, who from 1946 to 1953 headed a group of 170 German scientists who grudgingly worked for the Soviet rocketry program under Sergei Korolev.

The final chapter of *Taking Technology* deals with Germany’s documentation and information technology from the First World War to the present, exploring the use of know-how in a global economy, the issue of nuclear expansion during the Cold War, and its know-how acquisition by smaller nations today. Such topics as atoms for peace and the sharing of nuclear technology confront all modern societies. In spite of the exploitation of Nazi Germany

after the war, that nation rebounded nicely, creating within barely a decade the now famous *Wirtschaftswunder*. O'Reagan puts no dollar amount on the acquisitions of German know-how by the allies and asserts that the presumed economic impact enjoyed by the four allies is probably exaggerated. France, he concludes, came out ahead. The United Kingdom gained substantial advantages, while the United States profited least in economic terms from the scientific transfer. The Soviet Union's capture of German material and scientists never really materialized probably because their German scientists never felt secure enough to advance their technology for the benefit of the Communist state.

Impeccably resourced and documented, *Taking Technology* contains over 30 pages of endnotes and a 15-page bibliography followed by an adequate (if limited) index. Throughout, a minor tedium arises due to over-documentation so that the full titles and some direct quotes are printed in the text as well as footnoted. Likewise, repeated phrasing provokes monotony e.g., "By late 1946, the first major wave of dismantling and seizure of industrial and academic research facilities was dying down. By this point, diplomatic relations between the 'Soviet Union and the Western Allies had broken down'" (109). Ascribing this to inattentive editors, we welcome this fine summary of today's perspective on the transfer of know-how from Nazi and post-industrial-revolution Germany.

*St. Olaf College*

*LaVern Rippley*

### **Age of Fear: Othering and American Identity during World War I.**

*By Zachary Smith. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019. 233 pp. \$59.95*

Zachary Smith's *Age of Fear: Othering and American Identity during World War I* weaves together several themes in U.S. history to explain the portrayal, vilification, and hostility directed against German Americans, European Germans, and German culture and religion during the war. He begins with the historiography regarding Germans and German Americans during the war (though he did not include John Hawgood's *Tragedy of German America*). The issues of masculinity, Anglo-Saxon identity, Teutonic identity, scientific racism, and religious millennialism, when interwoven, build a strong case as to why Germans and German Americans were "Othered" and targets during the war. Smith also analyzes why the Othering of German Americans declined rapidly after the war with the war's abrupt end, the abdication of

the Kaiser, the creation of a democratic republic, and the Treaty of Versailles, along with the rise of anti-Bolshevism, the first Red Scare, the new Ku Klux Klan, and the focus on European immigrants from southern, central, and eastern Europe.

Smith takes a thematic approach to his subject. He develops the concerns Anglo-Saxon Americans had regarding their masculine identity, which they saw as a result of modern society with its scientific, technological, and civic advances that had made men too comfortable and soft. This perceived decline in masculinity dovetailed with growing concerns over U.S. military preparedness as war broke out in 1914 and growing fears that the U.S. was vulnerable to potential foreign conquest. This vulnerability prompted Anglo-Saxons to look inside the U.S. for possible threats to the country and its identity, transforming their views of German Americans. As the U.S. entered the war in 1917, Anglo-Saxon Americans began to fear that the U.S. would be "Germanized," a danger that had not been apparent earlier. American politicians, propagandists, and racial theorists posited that Prussian militarism and autocracy had led to the regression of the Teutonic race into a primitive state. Wartime images of Germans as wild, bestial, and evil bent on world domination and destruction of civilization racialized the Germans and were used in wartime propaganda as intending to undermine the Anglo-Saxon identity. He addresses the religious and millennial views of European Germans' degeneration, Anglo-Saxon identity, and the American spiritual mission during the war as a struggle between good and evil, progress and regression. Finally, he concludes by examining how these issues regarding American identity and foreign Others continued after the war to the present.

This book is meticulously researched, using a variety of sources, including records of governmental and civilian agencies, newspapers and journals, and memoirs. Although the book contains 233 pages, the actual text is 179 pages, with 33 pages of footnotes and 10 pages for the bibliography. Smith used these sources to shape a nuanced and complex argument regarding American fears of declining Anglo-Saxon masculinity, the need for American military, physical, and mental strength, and the racial construction of European Germans and by extension German Americans and German culture as "Other," along with the religious pre- and postmillennialist underpinnings of these attitudes. While he does a good job of showing how these attitudes led to the 1924 National Origins Act, the reforms for the white working class in the Depression, the muted response to German and Italian Americans in World War II compared to the Japanese and Japanese Americans, American identity anxiety during the Cold War, and othering Muslims in the wake of 9/11 and the War on Terror, one is reminded of how early in U.S. history the othering of Germans and notions regarding Anglo-Saxons began. As Benja-

min Franklin feared in "Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, &c." in 1755, "Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a colony of Aliens, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us instead of our Anglifying them, and will never adopt our language or customs, any more than they can acquire our complexion?" And then Franklin proceeded to define the only white people in the world as the English (Anglos) and the Saxons.

Importantly, German Americans themselves are hardly mentioned. Once is Victor Berger's (a German-born socialist politician and editor of the *Milwaukee Leader*) response to the idea that the Espionage Act made the U.S. safer. However, Robert Prager's lynching, German American responses to cultural attacks, and the disbanding of the National German American Alliance show the German Americans responding as victims. While it is important to examine how the Germans got "othered," it is also critical to examine whether German Americans tried to resist. What about the German Americans who were willing to join the U.S. military to fight their often not too distant cousins? What about the regional distinctions among German Americans? If the image of the German enemy was the Teuton or Prussian, how did German Americans from the southern regions react? Did the more recently arrived German immigrants differ from those who had been here a couple of generations? Perhaps these issues could be the focus of a future work.

*Santa Monica College*

*Lesley Kawaguchi*

### **Culture in Nazi Germany.**

*By Michael Kater. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019. xviii + 453 pp. 30 Ills. \$35.*

Michael Kater's newest book consists of six chapters that treat five aspects of culture, two on the prewar era, followed by one on Jews in Nazi Germany and one on cultural propaganda during the war. It concludes with analyses first of émigrés and then of the postwar German cultural scene, followed by brief musings on culture under three tyrannies: Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union. The chapters delve into culture as literature, music, stage and film, visual art and architecture, press and radio, with somewhat different levels of emphasis. The text is very clear, but sometimes a bit wordy.

Chapter One, "Deconstructing Modernism," argues that the Law for the Reconstruction of the Civil Service, passed April 7, 1933, was the "singularly most flexible and potentially most lethal piece of legislation for the new cen-

sors.” Kater concludes that this led to an “admixture of multiple executive orders and private judgment by State and Party grandees” (11). For the next twelve years cultural work would depend on the whim of a self-appointed censor, and on a micro-managing Hitler.

Chapter Two, “Pre-War Nazi Culture,” begins the layout of the control of culture by the Propaganda Ministry (called Promi in the book), under the direction of Joseph Goebbels. First, however, Kater discusses various approaches to treatment of German history during the Nazi era. Here Kater also begins his evaluation of the various forms of culture during the Nazi era, e.g. theater was to show the communal “struggle for the great questions of German existence” (64) and so on. The chapter concludes with Kater’s very personal Interim Accounting: “. . . a correlation existed between Hitler’s decision-making in cultural affairs and his personal identification with the subject: the more he was concerned about it, the more he became involved in its administration . . . no matter what policy his underlings were favoring” (125).

Chapter 3, “Jews in the Nazi Cultural Establishment,” suggests that a new breed of German anti-Semites objected to Jews based on race, not religion, and cites Saul Friedländer as the one who called to attention that “the cultural domain was the first from which Jews were massively expelled” (134). A quasi coverup was the establishment of the Jewish Culture League, which was designed to contain the sudden and severe economic displacement of Jews; outside Germany the League would claim generosity, not oppression, as the guiding principle of Jewish policy; and Jewish artists, upon rejection from the Reich Culture Chamber, were routinely told to seek possible employment by the Culture League. Kater suggests that the “cultural ghettoization of Jews anticipated their physical ghettoization” (140–141). The result was a constant rejection of Jewish artists’ works. The chapter concludes by citing a number of individual Human Tragedies, and by seeing the League as nothing more than an instrument of chicanery (171).

Chapter 4, “War and Public Opinion, Propaganda and Culture,” shows what happened to German culture under war conditions, and how propaganda was employed to manipulate public opinion. For instance, after the 1943 defeat of the *Wehrmacht* at Stalingrad, a “Myth of Stalingrad” that replaced replacing martyrology with heroism was created, holding that “each soldier in that endeavor had died a hero’s death, as a gift to the German people who were invited to emulate their sacrifice” (179).

Chapter 5, “Artist Émigrés,” describes the largest departure of Germans from their home country since the revolutions of 1848–49. Among these were 278,000 Jews; the United States accepted 48 percent of all exiles, 7 percent of whom were academic intellectuals, artists and renowned writers,

including Thomas Mann and Bertold Brecht. There were also hundreds of journalists, musicians and visual artists, many of whom had significant problems in the US, and some of whom returned, also to the newly established German Democratic Republic. Most intriguing are the final eighteen pages of the chapter devoted to the Nobel laureate Thomas Mann. Kater points out that both Hitler and Mann saw themselves as artists and that Mann even felt a “symbiotic relationship” to Hitler, whom he ironically called “my brother.” They were Cain and Abel, with Hitler representing intolerance and the domination of humankind, while Mann represented democracy and freedom.

Chapter 6, “Transfer Beyond Zero Hour, May 1945,” has particular meaning for those of us who knew Germany in the first postwar years. Here one finds a swirling array of writers and artists we all studied in postwar German and American university language and literature departments: Leni Riefenstahl, Ernst Barlach, Ricarda Huch, and scores more. Familiar terms, organizations and names run through the chapter: zero hour, Gruppe 47, Gerhard Hauptmann. As a result of the years of Nazi control, Kanzler Konrad Adenauer called for a quieting tone with his famous admonition “keine Experimente,” but as Kater points out, it became a period of a conjured victimhood (317), a martyrological subculture arose (318), individuals claimed to be “inner emigrants” (321–323), and finally there were “make-believe resisters” (324–329).

The Conclusion, “Culture in Three Tyrannies,” reads like Michael Kater musing on culture under three tyrannies: Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union. He ponders and offers his own well-reasoned answer in his final pages, clearly troubled by having to determine which might indeed be the worst.

The book’s “Apparat” consists of a nearly overwhelming 1480 endnotes, 38 pages of bibliography, 2 pages of Archival Sources, 21 pages of index, and 30 illustrations. The structure is also very impressive: certain important dates reappear like a substructure throughout the text, e.g. April 7, 1933 (six times), July 19, 1937 (sixteen times), and February 2, 1943 (sixteen times). Also sprinkled through the text are near Hollywood-like tabloid descriptions of historical facts that make one chuckle, e.g. “Alma Mahler-Werfel was Gustav Mahler’s widow, Walter Gropius’s ex-wife, Oskar Kokoschka’s former mistress, and now married to Franz Werfel” (265); while others are laugh-out-loud documents and popular expressions, e.g. a beekeepers’ journal printed on its first page after the Anschluss of Austria to Germany in March 1938: “a watershed event also in the history of German beekeeping” (80).

Some words occur more than one would like to believe, e.g., suicide (18 times), killed (17 times), murdered (12 times), not surprising but still! Most impressive about the book is the number of themes which could easily be taken on by graduate students and faculty for more detailed study, all under

the broader concept of culture in tyrannical societies. Historians, folklorists, individuals in mass communications, art, music, film, all will find well documented basic study and bibliographical backup in his new work. This represents one more book in Kater's long and distinguished list of publications on a horrible subject: Nazism.

Iowa State University

James R. Dow

**All the Nations Under Heaven: Immigrants, Migrants, and the Making of New York.**

By Frederik M. Binder, David M. Reimers, Robert W. Snyder. New York: Columbia University Press, 2019. Revised Edition. 314 pp. \$ 35.00.

A popular line in the much-acclaimed musical *Hamilton* (2015) about the life of founding father Alexander Hamilton, a New Yorker immigrant from the British West Indies, runs "Immigrants: we get the job done." The musical is both a historical account and a product of its own time with a mainly African American and Latino cast. Likewise, the revised edition of a classic text, originally published in 1995 by the late Frederick M. Binder and David M. Reimers, is a most welcomed update on recent developments. For the revised edition Robert W. Snyder joined the team.

Then as now, the book presents a nuanced synthesis of the seemingly endless body of secondary literature on New York's nearly 400-year ethnic history. Since the colonial era immigrants have shaped New York's history as successive waves of Dutch, Irish, German, Jewish, Italian, African, Asian, and Latin American immigrants settled in the city. Overall, the authors present a dynamic story of (un)fulfilled dreams, of (in)tolerance, of inclusion and exclusion. "Economic dynamism and human diversity", the authors argue in the preface, "have long made it a city of ceaseless change" (ix).

Since the 1995 edition has been widely reviewed, I focus here on its revisions and additions. First, the authors adjusted the chronological ordering: rather than taking 1970 as the turning point, the authors now divide the post-World War II era into two distinct, but overlapping time periods (1945–1997 and 1980–present). As the Immigration Act of 1965 abolished the quota system it significantly changed the composition of the population. These post-1965 immigrants did not primarily come from European but "new" nations such as the Dominican Republic, Mexico, and Jamaica. By the 1980s New York had become more multicultural than ever before. In particular, the updated edition takes into account that by 2001 the city's three largest

immigrant groups were Dominican, Chinese, and Mexican (221). This, in turn, has redefined the meaning of “minority” and diversified the categories of “Latino” (no longer synonymous with Puerto Rican), “Black” (besides African Americans also including e.g. West Indians and Black Latinos), and “Asian” (in addition to Chinese also encompassing e.g. Indians and Koreans) (209-223).

Moreover, the authors have consulted “new” sources such as oral history interviews taken from the *Bronx African American History Project* (179–181, 207–208). Accordingly, the authors have masterfully framed Chapter 7, “City of Hope, City of Fear: 1945–1997”, by using the memories of Andrea Ramsey, an African American woman growing up in Morrisania, Bronx as a framework for the gradual transformations of the city: from a mostly white to a growing Black and Hispanic population between 1940 and 1980 as well as from an optimistic outlook by African Americans in the immediate post-World War II era to shaken hopes by the 1980s (181–206). Eventually, due to economic decay and enduring racism New York was no longer viewed as a “city of opportunity” (180) but had turned into a “place of trial and turmoil” (203).

Furthermore (and closely related), the authors have revised previous short-comings such as a more thorough inclusion of the role of women in the city’s history. For instance, by including a (rather short) paragraph on the *Society for the Relief o Poor Widows with Small Children*, an aid society founded in 1797 and headed by Isabelle Graham, the authors acknowledge that (apart from boycotting English goods before the American Revolution) women entered the public sphere of the city early on (23). In a similar vein, the authors have now included a (again much too short) discussion of the ambiguous stance of women toward integration at public schools during the 1950s and 1960s (192). After all, the voice of women (at that time still primarily conceived as homemakers) had a major influence on the subjects of family and schooling.

The overall message of the 1995 edition was cautiously optimistic: most immigrants and their offspring had eventually achieved success, though the progress of people of color was not as straight-forward. In light of recent developments, this optimism seems to have waned. While closing their book rather conciliatory by pointing out “that it is indeed possible for all the nations under heaven to live together in one great city” (241), the overall tone has changed. For instance, the displacement of Black residents in historically African American communities such as Harlem or Williamsburg and subsequent white gentrification has increased inequality—an old theme, but given the “new urban crisis” it remains a pressing problem as the gap between the rich and the poor continues to widen. Since 9/11 poverty and unem-

ployment rates for non-whites remain high (228). The “enduring racism in the city illuminates New York’s inability to overcome America’s national sin” (237) that will not automatically disappear. In turn, the authors offer a more differentiated assessment of the immigration process, not just for European immigrants (by looking beyond the monolithic, romanticized accounts of ethnic enclaves) but especially for people of color, who neither had the same choices nor opportunities.

Unfortunately, the endnotes to the preface are missing. Moreover, apart from a very general map of selected neighborhoods on page 55, the book still features no maps that could highlight the dynamism of the historically shifting ethnic presence in these neighborhoods. Likewise, maps displaying the correlation between, for example, “typical” Black and Hispanic neighborhoods and prosperity levels would have further enhanced the authors’ argument. Harlem, the South Bronx, and Bedford-Stuyvesant were “places of declining or low gains in incomes” and these changes, as the authors actually themselves note but do not translate, “could be plotted on a map” (204). These issues aside, the authors have produced a thoroughly updated and lucidly written book that is a necessary read for students and scholars of migration, ethnicity, racism, and urban history alike.

Since its earliest times, New York has been a multiethnic and multiracial city that embodies the hopes and dreams of millions of immigrants. Today’s Jackson Heights, Queens is home of over 160 languages and one of the most polyethnic neighborhoods in the U.S. However, enduring problems remain well into the twenty first century. “Once again, the drama of immigration” is not just being played out on Broadway but also in real life “on the streets of New York” (238).

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*Jana Weiß*

**Hardship to Homeland: Pacific Northwest Volga Germans.**

*By Richard D. Scheuerman & Clifford E. Trafzer. Washington State University Press, 2018. 282 pp. \$24.95.*

This book is the newest version of the *The Volga Germans: Pioneers of the Northwest*, originally published by the University Press of Idaho in 1980. It covers the history of Volga Germans from the time before their departure from Germany, to their journey to Russia at the invitation of Empress Catherine II (the Great), to the establishment of Volga German colonies on the steppes of the Volga, and up through their trek to the Pacific Northwest.

Since the publication of the first edition in 1980 the Soviet Union fell, which then allowed Scheuerman unprecedented access to historical materials pertaining to Volga German history. In addition to this, in 1986 Scheuerman found a cache of sixteen letters from the 1870s and 1880s in a cabinet in a farm home near Endicott, WA (xiv). These letters provide a glimpse into the lives of early Volga German pioneers in Eastern Washington. With both of these new sources, Scheuerman has revised and expanded his and Trafzer's original history of Volga Germans in the Pacific Northwest, and also added a second section to the book containing stories told to Scheuerman by Volga German elders about various periods in Volga German history. Encompassing perspectives on the political, cultural, religious, and economic contributions of Volga Germans to the region, *Hardship to Homeland* serves as a welcome addition to the literature on the Volga Germans themselves, as well as on the settlement of the Pacific Northwest as a whole.

The first section of the book contains the revised version of the original work, with illustrations by Jim Gerlitz and photographs by John Clement. The first chapter of this section begins with Catherine the Great's immigration program beginning in 1763, which enticed Germans to immigrate from war-torn regions affected by the Seven Years' War (1756–63) to settle on both banks of the Volga river near present-day Saratov, Russia (2). The second chapter continues with a portrayal of the struggles and successes of settlement from the 1760s to the 1870s on the Volga. Of primary interest here are the growing pressures that the Russian administration exerted upon the Volga Germans beginning in the 1840s to assimilate into Russian society and culture. The third chapter tells of the long journey from the colonies on the Volga to the American Midwest (especially Kansas), which Volga Germans saw as "the land where milk and honey flows" (93). The fourth concerns the Volga German's discontent with the extreme weather in the Midwest and their desire to move farther west to the inland Northwest, where the land and climate were particularly well suited to the varieties of wheat that Volga Germans brought with them from Russia (e.g. Saxonka and Turkey Red) (xi-xii).

Chapter 5 recounts the expansion of Volga German agriculture and industry in the Palouse region of the Pacific Northwest (modern southeastern Washington and north central Idaho), in cities and towns such as Walla Walla, Endicott, Colfax, and Ritzville in Washington. Chapter 6 deals with the religious missions that Volga Germans undertook once they settled in the Pacific Northwest. Of great interest to the religious studies scholar throughout the book is Scheuerman's and Trafzer's history of the *Brüderschaft* ('The Brotherhood'), a pietist revival movement that originated among Volga German Lutherans discontented with official Lutheran practice and organization during their time on the Russian steppes. This movement gained followers in

Russia (although Lutherans and Catholics still made up the majority of Volga Germans), and came with the Volga Germans to the United States. The new second section of the book contains stories from Volga German elders retold by Scheuerman set in different periods in Volga German history. These stories provide the reader with colorful and exciting perspectives into Volga German storytelling traditions, as well as the Braucher 'folk healer' traditions that the Volga Germans brought with them.

The inclusion of small texts (songs, parable, prayers, etc.) in the Volga German dialect is welcome also for the German dialectologist. However, the Standard German that is also in the book is not always written in a uniform manner. For example, the word *Rüben* 'beets' is written with an umlaut on page 184, but is spelled *Rueben* on page 203. Similarly, the saying "In Gottes Sagen ist Alles gelegen" appears more than once in the book (183, 202), yet it seems that this should be the German saying "In Gottes *Segen* ist Alles gelegen," meaning 'God's blessing gained, all is obtained' (my emphasis), as Gottes Sagen would be translated something like 'God's saying,' instead of 'God's blessing.' Likewise, the phrase "Brüder, bleibt bei der Kirche" is translated as 'brother, stay with the church,' when it should be 'brothers, stay with the church' (my emphasis).

However, these are minor issues and do not detract from the wealth of cultural and historical information on the Volga Germans that Scheuerman and Trafzer provide. Readers interested in learning more about this crucial group in the history of the Pacific Northwest, as well as the German-American experience as a whole, will do well to invest time in this interesting and well-written read.

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**The World of Aufbau: Hitler's Refugees in America.**

*By Peter Schrag. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2019. 272 pp. \$39.95.*

Immigrants' perennial dilemma of navigating the twin streams of assimilation and cultural continuity is a well-known American story. But it has never played out so dramatically as for those fleeing anti-Semitism and Fascism from the end of World War I through the aftermath of World War II. And that was especially true for German Jews. The author shared that experience, barely escaping Europe with his parents in June 1941, though he admits to having grown up embarrassed by his parents' German culture.

Peter Schrag explores the German-Jewish experience through *Aufbau*, a bi-weekly (later weekly) newspaper founded in 1934 and published as a New York publication until 2004 when it was sold to a Swiss publisher. Schrag ends his story in 2004 as the resulting glossy monthly has ceased to be a voice of the American German-Jewish community. The paper was initially in German, but English was increasingly employed, especially for headlines and articles designed to have a broader political impact. And *Denglisch* crept in; the German Jewish Club offered kindergarteners ‘milch und crackers’, and the expressions and ‘fussball’ and soccer were interchangeable.

The stories of famous escapees from Fascism, and the list is incredibly impressive, has often been told, particularly in terms of the arts and science. It is hard to imagine American culture without Einstein, Mies van der Rohe, Thomas Mann, Arthur Rubenstein, Salvador Dali, Paul Tillich, and Hannah Arendt to name just some. And émigrés, mostly Jewish, such as John von Neumann, Leo Szilard, Edward Teller, Enrico Fermi, were critical to the Manhattan Project. But Schrag tells a different story, detailing *Aufbau* as a journal that carried articles by such famous émigrés, but that primarily reflected daily bourgeois German-Jewish life, especially in New York City.

Beginning as a newsletter of the New York German-Jewish Club newsletter, *Aufbau*'s early issues focused on Club activities and parochial concerns with little sense of the impending international crisis. But its circulation grew, its perspective broadened, and its purpose became more serious as Nazi repression grew. As German-Jewish Clubs (some later renamed New World Club to be more cosmopolitan) sprung up around the world and émigrés sought fellowship, *Aufbau* also became a vehicle for those beyond New York and even published a West Coast edition. Schrag characterizes it as ‘a sort of *global* hometown paper’ (p. 107) that continued its original purpose addressing New York's émigré Jewish community while increasingly taking on international issues and engaging broader audiences.

From its beginning *Aufbau* championed Americanization by smoothing recent émigrés' entry into American society while trying to avoid igniting anti-Semitism. Its efforts were exemplified by the 1941 publication of the 192-page *Aufbau Almanac: The Immigrant's Handbook* with an introduction by Einstein which covered topics such as the political system (including the American Constitution in German), proper etiquette during the ‘Star Spangled Banner’, sports, the education system, the citizenship test, and American lingo.

With the outbreak of war in Europe, *Aufbau* became an early and leading voice publicizing Nazi atrocities. Reports arrived from Germany and then from conquered countries allied to or appeasing Hitler such as Italy and Vichy France. *Aufbau* continually pushed to expand America's shamefully lim-

ited access to those fleeing Fascism and published supportive articles by non-German allies such as Eleanor Roosevelt. But the editors hesitated to push too hard for American entry into the war for fear it would be seen as a Jewish war and, thus, an easy target for anti-Semitic isolationists.

With Pearl Harbor such reticence ended and *Aufbau* enthusiastically supported all-out patriotism. It encouraged émigrés to turn their talents to war production and young men to join the armed forces. German-Jews' achievements and heroism and sometimes ultimate sacrifices fighting Fascism were chronicled.

After the war *Aufbau's* attention shifted to new issues, particularly the fate of Displaced Persons, many of whom wound up in camps only marginally better than those from which they had been liberated. President Truman sympathetically supported increased quotas as he did the creation of a Jewish state in the Middle East. *Aufbau* also assiduously covered the pursuit of German war criminals and its limits as the Cold War shifted American priorities. Yet, surprisingly, within just a few years after hostilities, *Aufbau* was advertising trips to Germany. About 35,000 former émigrés and now American citizens took advantage of the German government's visitor program, encouraged by *Aufbau's* editor. In its latter years *Aufbau* increasingly published articles on Jewish life in Germany and courted German subscribers.

Schrag views the demise of the New York based *Aufbau* as an indication of its success. As a journal that had touted and smoothed Americanization, the fluency and comfort in America of the later generations "testified to *Aufbau's* success." (207). The book offers neither sentimental longing for nor romantic idolization of bygone German-Jewish culture. Instead, Schrag celebrates the remarkably rapid assimilation of the émigrés' children and grand-children and their contributions to making American culture more cosmopolitan. And coming full circle, *Aufbau* became an enthusiastic fan of European integration. For Schrag, *Aufbau's* role in promoting German-Jewish contributions to cosmopolitanism on both sides of the Atlantic rather than preservation of ethnic distinctiveness made it a success.

Schrag has added a very useful and well-written book to our understanding of the lives of the German and other émigrés who fled Fascism and wound up in the United States. Although Schrag gives considerable attention to the well-known émigrés, his unique contribution is providing a sense of life and beliefs of in the middle class who settled into less noticed roles. As such, it chronicles one more variation on the continuing saga of Americanization and cultural pluralism.

**Bringing Cold War Democracy to West Berlin: A Shared German-American Project, 1940-1972.**

By Scott H. Krause. London and New York: Routledge, 2019. 284 pp. GBP 105.00

**Westemigranten: Deutsche Kommunisten zwischen USA-Exil und DDR.**

By Mario Kessler. Wien etc.: Böhlau Verlag, 2019. 576 pp. € 65.00

Krause porträtiert West-Berlin als Leuchtturm der Freiheit, der nicht allein Konsequenz des Kalten Krieges, sondern das politische Projekt eines transnationalen Netzwerks linksliberaler Akteure war, das bereits im Exil während des Zweiten Weltkriegs Gestalt angenommen hatte. Vertreter dieses Netzwerks aus Remigranten, das die politische Herkunft aus der *Sozialistischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands* (SAP) und der *Gruppe Neu Beginnen* verriet, verbündeten sich erneut im Prozeß der Übernahme von West-Berliner Schlüsselfunktionen in der Nachkriegszeit mit amerikanischen Gesinnungsgenossen gegen eine kommunistische Vereinnahmung. Auf der deutschen Seite spielten dabei Ernst Reuter, Willy Brandt, Paul Hertz und Hans Hirschfeld in Kooperation mit amerikanischen Partnern wie Shepard Stone oder Melvin J. Lasky die Hauptrollen. Insbesondere bei den Emigranten Hirschfeld und Hertz determinierte ihre politische Sozialisation die Rückkehr nach Deutschland. Die Wertschätzung einer erlebten liberalen Demokratie bei gleichzeitiger Zurückweisung eines kommunistischen Regimes sowjetischer Prägung transformierte die anfängliche antifaschistische Einstellung zum anti-totalitären Konsens.

Innerhalb des Bündnisses der bereits während der Exilzeit eingegangenen Vernetzungen erfüllte die SPD gemeinsam mit dem amerikanisch initiierten Rundfunksender RIAS mehrere Funktionen: Zum einen konnten die amerikanischen Dienststellen mittels der West-Berliner Verwaltung massiven Widerstand gegen kommunistische Übernahmestrategien aufbauen. Darüber hinaus kanalisierte das Bündnis die antikommunistische Einstellung in der Bevölkerung unter dem Freiheitsbegriff. Drittens legitimierten die Interaktionen des Netzwerkes die Remigration als *conditio sine qua non* unter den gegebenen politischen Bedingungen, und schließlich lieferte das Netzwerk ein Gerüst für die Demokratisierung im Sinne sozialdemokratischer Ideale und Wertvorstellungen auf der Basis anti-totalitärer Zielsetzung.

Im Wandel der politischen Kultur von der unmittelbaren Nachkriegszeit zu den frühen 1950er Jahren stilisierte das Netzwerk die Luftbrücke von 1948/49 zum gemeinsamen Projekt von Besatzern und Besetzten mit weltweiter Symbolwirkung und fundierte West-Berlins Selbstverständnis als Schaufenster einer Demokratie im Kalten Krieg unter liberal-demokrati-

schen Prämissen. 1949 ernannte der amerikanische Hochkommissar John J. McCloy den Journalisten der New York Times, Shepard Stone, zum Direktor der *Public Affairs Division*, verbunden mit einem stetig steigenden Budget. Stone unterhielt seit jeher enge Kontakte zu dem Leiter des *Office of Strategic Services* (OSS) und späteren Direktor der CIA, Allen W. Dulles sowie zu dessen Bruder, dem seit 1953 amtierenden Außenminister John Foster Dulles. Unter Stones Führung entwickelte die *Public Affairs Division* beträchtliche Energie wie das von Melvin Lasky ins Leben gerufene und an die akademische Jugend adressierte, teilweise von der Ford Foundation finanzierte Magazin *Der Monat*. Von weitreichender Bedeutung war der *Congress for Cultural Freedom*, der als Plattform für den kulturellen Austausch zwischen Amerikanern und Deutschen diente und illustre Persönlichkeiten wie Waldemar von Knoeringen, Gerd Bucerius, Max Horkheimer und Eugen Kogon in den Focus rückte. Darüber hinaus mobilisierte der Kongress Intellektuelle wie John Dewey, Arthur Koestler, Arthur M. Schlesing Jr., Theodor W. Adorno, Karl Jaspers, Richard Löwenthal, Raymond Aron, Clement Attlee oder Arnold J. Toynbee. Eine andere Initiative zielte auf die Verbindung zwischen amerikanischer Öffentlichkeit und der Bevölkerung West-Berlins mit der symbolischen Spende der 1950 vor 400.000 Zuschauern eingeweihten Freiheitsglocke auf dem Rathaus Schöneberg. Das Geläute der Freiheitsglocke, deren Widmung Lincolns *Gettysburg Address* replizierte, übertrug RIAS jeden Sonntag zur Mittagszeit und unterstrich zugleich den sakralen Charakter des Geschehens als vom Netzwerk intendierten Freiheitskult.

Die Remigranten betrachteten West-Berlin als zentrales Exempel, um die SPD angesichts des Kalten Krieges zur Volkspartei zu formen, basierend auf dem Integrationsgedanken einer westlichen, eng an die US-amerikanische Außenpolitik angelehnte Werteunion. Die daraus entstehenden Flügelkämpfe zwischen den Traditionalisten um Kurt Schumacher und Franz Neumann, im Parteijargon *Keulenriege* genannt, sowie Reuter und Brandt andererseits, gipfelten in der strittigen Thematik der Wiederbewaffnung und des Beitritts zur westeuropäischen Verteidigungsgemeinschaft. Mit dem *Marshall Plan* und der clandestinen finanziellen Förderung durch amerikanische Dienststellen behielt die Remigrantenfraktion die Oberhand.

Die folgenden Jahre, gekennzeichnet durch die Einschnitte der gewaltsamen Niederschlagung des Aufstands vom 17. Juni 1953 und der Berlin Krise 1958/59, prägten die weiteren Entwicklungen, kulminierend in der Wahl Brandts zum Regierenden Bürgermeister im Oktober 1957. Paul Hertz koordinierte die amerikanischen Zuwendungen für West-Berlin, die bis 1960 annähernd 4 Milliarden DM betragen. Nach dem Bau der Berliner Mauer 1961 und dem für die moralische Unterstützung der West-Berliner eminenten Besuch John F. Kennedys 1963 bahnte sich spätestens unter dem Außen-

minister Brandt die von Egon Bahr vorgedachte neue Ostpolitik ihren Weg. Im Oktober 1969 fungierte Brandt als erster Kanzler einer SPD geführten Regierung seit der Weimarer Republik und die eingeleitete Politik des Wandels durch Annäherung avancierte zum gestalterischen Merkmal einer neuen Ära, manifestiert im Viermächteabkommen und dem Grundlagenvertrag zwischen der DDR und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1971/72.

Resümierend läßt sich festhalten, daß die Nachkriegsgeschichte (West-) Berlins alternative Demokratisierungsprozesse aufzeigte und elementare Entwicklungen in West-Deutschland vorbereitete, indem die Remigranten in der Berliner SPD das *Godesberger Programm* von 1959, das die marxistischen Verkrustungen zugunsten der Nato-Mitgliedschaft entfernte, antizipierten und gleichzeitig die ambitionierte nationale und internationale politische Karriere Brands ebneten. Zum anderen riefen die Exilerfahrungen auf der Folie der Stalinistischen Diktatur anti-totalitäre und amerikafreundliche Einstellungen unter West-Berlins Bevölkerung hervor, die in den westlichen Besatzungszonen in diesem Umfang nicht anzutreffen waren.

Kesslers Studie grenzt den Personenkreis deutschsprachiger Kommunisten aus den USA auf Rückkehrer in die SBZ/DDR ein, ohne ausschließlich Mitglieder der KPD zu behandeln. Schon hier wird die Problematik ersichtlich, daß keine eindeutigen Kriterien für die Zugehörigkeit zur ausgewählten Prosopografie ausgewiesen sind. Die Untersuchung mäandert zwischen Gesamtdarstellungen und den jeweils personalisierten Fluchten, wobei aus den knapp 50 Biographien behandelten Personenkreis Jürgen Kuczynski, Ernst Bloch, Alfred Kantorowicz, die Brüder Hanns und Gerhart Eisler, Hermann Budzislawski, Bertholt Brecht und Stefan Heym besonders hervorstechen.

Im Mai 1944 erfolgte in den USA die Gründung des *Council for a Democratic Germany*, der sich als überparteilicher Zusammenschluß antifaschistischer Kräfte des Exils verstand, unter dem Vorsitz des Theologen Paul Tillichs. In ihm tummelten sich neben den Sozialdemokraten Paul Hertz und Hans Hirschfeld auch zahlreiche kommunistischen Ideen nahestehende Aktivisten, die sich zwar an den Aufrufen des Council beteiligten, politisch aber nur eine marginale Rolle einnahmen. Die Tätigkeit des Council wurde vom FBI beargwöhnt, spätestens seitdem die frühere KPD-Vorsitzende Ruth Fischer die vermeintliche Untergrundtätigkeit der Mitglieder denunzierte. Die Frage der zukünftigen Gestalt Deutschlands führte zu unüberbrückbaren Konflikten zwischen den politischen Lagern und zur Auflösung des Council nach der Potsdamer Konferenz.

Die amerikanischen Verhältnisse blieben Brecht während der Emigration fremd, obwohl er (vergeblich) die Staatsbürgerschaft beantragt hatte. Seine mäßige künstlerische Produktivität offenbarte sich sowohl im intriganten Beziehungsgeflecht intimer Affären als auch in seinem egozentrischen Cha-

rakter, indem er etwa Thomas Manns literarische Erfolge neidete. Die Überarbeitung seines wohl umstrittensten Werkes, *Die Maßnahme*, änderte nichts am begründeten Verdacht, dem Mythos des totalen Terrors im Sinne eiserner Parteidisziplin erlegen zu sein. Im Unterschied zu Brecht präsentierte Stefan Heym seine literarischen Produkte in englischer Sprache und hatte auch deshalb keine finanziellen Sorgen. 1943 naturalisiert, absovierte er im *Camp Ritchie* die Vorbereitung für den Kriegsdienst und landete 1944 in der Normandie. Die Tätigkeit für die psychologische Kriegsführung geriet schnell in Konflikt mit seiner sowjetfreundlichen Einstellung unter dem Vorgesetzten Hans Habe, weshalb er bereits Ende 1945 den Dienst quittierte.

Die Rückkehr nach Ost-Deutschland gestaltete sich wegen des Viermächtestatus in den meisten Fällen außerordentlich schwierig. Wie im Fall der Familie Albert Nordens gelangte die erste Reisegruppe aus den USA mit einem sowjetischen Visum über Odessa und Moskau im September 1946 nach Berlin. Ein besonderes Kapitel schlägt in diesem Zusammenhang der Bruder Ruth Fischers, Gerhart Eisler, auf, der schon im Juni 1933 im *Komintern*-Auftrag in die USA entsandt wurde, um die KP der USA auf Parteilinie zu bringen. Unter falscher Identität in der Untergrund- und wahrscheinlich auch Spionagetätigkeit stand Eisler seit 1943 unter Beobachtung des FBI. Mehrfach verhaftet und vor dem *Ausschuß für Unamerikanische Umtriebe* verhört, wurde Eisler 1949 zu einer langjährigen Gefängnisstrafe verurteilt. Durch eine Kautionsleistung zeitweise auf freien Fuß gesetzt, gelang ihm im Mai 1949 eine spektakuläre Flucht über England und die Tschechoslowakei nach Dresden.

Als erste Anlaufstelle boten sich die ab 1947 nach sowjetischem Vorbild neu geschaffenen *Gesellschaftswissenschaftlichen Fakultäten* an ostdeutschen Universitäten an mit dem Ziel, eine sozialistische Intelligenz heranzubilden. Für die Remigranten aus den USA stach besonders die Universität Leipzig hervor. Der später zum Rektor der Universität gewählte, bald darauf jedoch verstorbene Ethnologe Julius Lips mit seiner Frau Eva sowie Ernst Bloch und Hermann Budzislawski, der zuvor unter dem Pseudonym Donald Bell als Ghostwriter für die prominente amerikanische Journalistin Dorothy Thompson tätig war, gehörten neben anderen zu den Erstberufenen. Mit den seit Ende 1948 erfolgenden Säuberungen verschärfte die SED ihren Kurs gegen vermeintliche Systemgegner. Obwohl mit Paul Merker im Gefolge des Prager Slansky-Schauprozesses ein West-Emigrant in Ungnade fiel, kamen die Rückkehrer aus den USA weitgehend glimpflich davon. Den parteiinternen Auseinandersetzungen konnte sich, wenn auch unter Mühen, Gerhart Eisler entziehen, der zunächst als Regierungssprecher, dann als Vorsitzender des Staatlichen Rundfunkkomitees und schließlich als Mitglied des ZK der SED reüssierte. Insgesamt stellte sich die Mehrzahl der USA-Remigranten wie

Albert Norden, der als Politbüro-Mitglied zum innersten Zirkel der SED-Funktionäre und Entscheidungsträger zählte, uneingeschränkt dem Kampf gegen den unterstellten US-Imperialismus zur Verfügung. Zu den späten Remigranten gehörte Stefan Heym, der 1952 über die Tschechoslowakei in die DDR einreiste und sich anfangs zum entschiedenen Befürworter stalinistischer Methoden gerierte, später aber zum leisen Systemkritiker wandelte und im Urteil des Autors die Position des Dissidenten wider Willen einnahm.

Anders verlief die Biographie von Alfred Kantorowicz, der 1957 in den Westen flüchtete. Von der Ost-Propaganda als Renegat verunglimpft, fristete er auch im Westen ein politisches Außenseiterdasein. Ähnlich verlief die Entwicklung Ernst Blochs, der 1961 desillusioniert der DDR den Rücken kehrte, weil seine in dem Hauptwerk *Das Prinzip Hoffnung* niedergelegte Philosophie unvereinbar mit dem doktrinär-kanonisierten Marxismus war. Schon 1957 hatte die Universität Leipzig den Philosophen, stets im Visier der Staatssicherheit und DDR-Obrigkeits, mit einem Hausverbot belegt.

Ein abschließendes Fazit fällt zwiespältig aus, weil ein klares Urteil zu den biographischen Brüchen, Einschnitten und Verschiedenartigkeiten aufgrund der Untersuchungsanlage nicht gelingt. Teilweise Femdkörper in einem und Außenseiter im anderen Land. Antiamerikanisten, Opportunisten, Stalinisten, Dissidenten und Kommunisten mit gebrochenem Rückgrat auf der anderen Seite. Vielleicht wäre ein vielversprechender Ansatz die Behandlung der Frage gewesen, inwieweit eine kommunistische Diktatur sich erfolgreich mit bürgerlichen Intellektuellen und Akademikern als Anlaufstelle von Emigranten ausweisen kann, um einen antifaschistischen Neubeginn zu legitimieren. Trotz dieser Defizite erfüllt die Studie ihren Zweck zumindest als Steinbruch für weiterführende Forschung.

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### **The Proletarian Dream: Socialism, Culture, and Emotion in Germany, 1863–1933.**

*By Sabine Hake. Interdisciplinary German Cultural Studies 23. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017. 370 pp. \$103.99*

Sabine Hake's study is above all a work of literary archeology. She delves deep into the archives and recovers a lost and largely forgotten history of socialist emotions from the middle of the nineteenth century to the collapse of the Weimar Republic in 1933. In recovering the lost aesthetic discourse of the proletariat, she places the category of class at the center of her project

in contradistinction to other currently popular identity categories such as race and gender. In her view, contemporary identity discourse tends to replicate and reinforce traditional bourgeois notions of individualism, whereas the proletarian dream challenges and ultimately negates such widespread and persistent fantasies of individualism. The archeological project is necessary, Hake believes, because “mass revolts, populist uprisings, and socialist revolutions remain inaccessible to conventional forms of inquiry that assume the autonomous bourgeois individual as the normative model for political convictions and behaviors” (6). It is impossible to understand genuine revolutionary action on the part of the masses without consulting the emotional and aesthetic underpinnings that underwrote and supported such action. Currently popular identity categories, Hake suggests, militate against revolutionary solidarity and rely on a hidden and unacknowledged but nevertheless pervasive individualist approach; while using “constructivist arguments,” they “often conceal essentialist assumptions” (15). The proletarian dream, by contrast, aims at solidarity and “the elimination of class differences.” It seeks to demolish “the ideology of bourgeois individualism and western liberalism that, in modified terms, continues in contemporary identity discourse” (15).

This is an astute and timely critique, and Hake does not hesitate to apply it to the current political moment, in which, she believes, even supposedly progressive cultural analysis has “so far failed to adequately address the widespread anger, anxiety, and despair produced by growing social and economic inequality and, furthermore, been surprisingly uninterested in the culture of resentment fueling various populist, nativist, and fundamentalist movements worldwide” (5). In such a moment, Hake suggests, the archeological project of recovering the proletarian dream of solidarity and fraternity becomes more important than ever as an implicit critique of “the failure of educated elites in North America, Europe, and elsewhere to imagine valid alternatives to global capitalism and the neoliberal world order” (25). I may not be the only reader to ponder these words and recall Hillary Clinton’s 2016 condemnation of a “basket of deplorables” or large groups of angry white people wearing red hats and shouting “Lock her up!”

Hake’s project is triumphantly antiquarian in that it is based on extensive archival research and the consultation of texts that have been complacently ignored as unimportant and negligible for years, decades, or even more than a century. As Hake puts it, “precisely because the proletarian archives have been forgotten and ignored, a surprising number of books have survived, some of them unopened and unread for almost one hundred and fifty years” (28). In Hake’s study, therefore, one senses the love of rediscovery and recognition that underpins first-rate archival work. And while her overarching theoretical approach guarantees the contemporary relevance of this work, Hake is also at

pains to acknowledge “the seemingly unbridgeable divide that separates the contemporary conjuncture from the proletarian dream” (27). In other words, the emotional and aesthetic dream of proletarian solidarity is passing strange in the context of the present-day world. It is fundamentally old-fashioned and outdated fantasy. However precisely the radical strangeness of the proletarian dream makes it all the more important for scholars who wish to understand a central political and aesthetic challenge of the present day: that it completely lacks an aesthetic or dream world akin in power to the now long-lost dream of working-class solidarity.

Central to Hake’s project, of course, is the proposition that aesthetics and emotions matter. Hers is not a study of the history of Communism or of the Social Democratic Party in Germany—although she does touch on both of these issues. In fact, this is not a study of any kind of movement or class structure at all. The proletariat, for Hake, is nothing more than a fantasy, a dream—just as capitalism has its own utterly different, anything-but-proletarian dream world. But the proletariat is a fantasy and a dream that has, for better or worse, had a profound impact on the real world, generating political action and emotional identifications throughout much of the nineteenth century and twentieth centuries. Some historians may take issue with Hake’s insistence on the study of discourse and fantasy as vital in and of themselves and will instead insist on the need for grounded study of political and historical reality, including parties and programs. Such studies, however, as Hake points out, already exist. What did not exist until the publication of Hake’s extraordinary book, however, was a documentation and analysis of the emotional dream world associated with the German proletariat. Contemporary scholars of socialist history may have studied Karl Marx, for instance, but they hardly considered his rival Ferdinand Lassalle, who was equally famous and important for many proletarians and socialists in the nineteenth century (“the first socialist celebrity,” as Hake calls him in chapter six). Hence this book is a major achievement, and one can only hope that it will have a profound impact on future studies of working-class discourse, emotions, and aesthetics. The second volume of the study will address what Hake calls the “Workers’ States” (i.e. Nazi Germany and the post-Second World War German Democratic Republic), and anyone interested in twentieth-century German culture and emotions will look forward to this second volume with eager anticipation.

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***The Drink that Made Wisconsin Famous: Beer and Brewing in the Badger State.***

By Doug Hoverson. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2019. 741 pp. \$49.95

This beautifully illustrated tome is overflowing with colored and black-white photographs, double-column narration, a text that is historical and contemporary, all stamped on paper worth its weight in density and volume. An appendix includes a brief history of all beer production sites in the alphabetically listed Wisconsin towns, wherever there was once a brewery. Thoroughly documented, the first segments cover the early Wisconsin that attracted Germans like no other state and in their wakes a love of beer and the masters to brew it. Chapter One, "From Barley to Barstool," summarizes the ingredients—grain, water, hops, yeast—concluded by tips for suitably enjoying beer. Chapter Two offers "Pioneer Brewing 1835-1860," introducing the first lager beer to the United States and thus the need for cooling caves required for bottom-fermenting yeast. Early Wisconsin brewing centers lay in Milwaukee and its vicinity, but soon spread north and west to Manitowoc, Madison, Monroe, La Crosse and more.

Chapter Three teaches us about "Encouraging Home Industry 1855–1915," demonstrating how beer brewing, like local cheese factories and creameries, among other small businesses, built the economy of Wisconsin: farmers supplied barley, which was returned as spent malt for animal feed. Jobs in the brew houses also fermented fledgling labor unions, inaugurated saloons for socializing, established centers for community, summoned empowerment in political life, while generating income for the state through taxation and licensing. In short, beer became the soul of Wisconsin. Chapter Four portrays "The Leading Industry 1860–1920," needing huge icehouses, four-horse delivery teams, steam-powered mechanized breweries, machine bottling, attention to the danger of fires, and the emerging need for insurance. Chapter Five illustrates how "Milwaukee: Queen of Lager 1865–1915," housed the handsome brewery buildings and the most beautiful houses via this celebrated beverage. Names like Pabst, Blatz, Best, Miller, Schlitz and others became everyday national household verbiage.

When competition increased, marketing demanded more than local outdoor signage as brewers sought exposure in big time promotional demonstrations e.g. at the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, and the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exhibition at St. Louis. Equally extravagant, if more subtle, displays of sales power were the show-off three-story mansions of the opulent brewer barons—Pabst on Grand (now Wisconsin) Avenue, the Schlitz family residence on Uihlein Hill north and west of the brewery, even as Val Blatz and Fred Miller likewise were

“signing” their success stories through stately manor houses—not to mention their green commons and botanical gardens, e.g. Schlitz Park being able to accommodate 20,000 guests at a time.

In the glare of beer’s opulence, though, clouds gathered in the form of recessions (1893), increased efficiencies at the bigger breweries that offered lower prices, national as well as local tax increases, and worst of all a growing anxiety about the “evil” saloon. Threatening the industry were the growing powers of the anti-saloon leagues, temperance parleys, and imitations of the 1851 Maine laws (the first state to enact prohibition). Out of this threat grows Chapter Six, “Oasis in the Dry Years 1840–1932,” with its concentration on religious remonstrations led by Protestants especially the Quakers, Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists who besmirched libation as ungodly, resulting in national abstinence organizations, the first in 1826. The appeal of German lager beer made it the target of new teetotaling advocates who were further mystified by the breweries’ use of German, “a foreign tongue for an alien product” they said. Moreover, Germans made Sunday secular, not a day of rest with prayer, but a noisy date for revelry with noisy song and inebriating drink.

Eventually the likes of Carry Nation attacked and destroyed the beverages while lesser aggressors favored the moral forces of societies like the Sons of Temperance who took pledges of no alcohol, no tobacco and no swearing. The brewing of temperance might have continued forever had it not culminated during World War I with Germany and the contemporaneous growth of woman’s suffrage. As the ex-lieutenant governor of Wisconsin, John Strange, wrote in 1918, “We have German enemies across the water. We have German enemies in this country, too. And the worst of all our German enemies, the most treacherous, the most menacing, are Pabst, Schlitz, Blatz and Miller.” Long before the Volstead Act passed bringing national prohibition in 1919, however, agencies like the Food Administration had started issuing orders prohibiting the manufacture of malt liquor, meaning that if decreed the beer supply would dry up in less than two months—well before Prohibition became official. Allowed by a loophole in the Act, home brewing continued, even thrived, and a few local breweries clung to life by making supplies and ingredients for the home brewer.

Chapter Seven, “Back to Work, Off to War 1932–1955,” demarcates the Franklin Roosevelt campaign with its democratic plank in the party platform for a repeal of Prohibition. With Chapter Eight comes an era of emphasis on family called “The American Way of Beer 1945–1975,” which was enabled by technology. E.g. every household now had a refrigerator from which a “cool” beer became available in the home reducing the need for the neighborhood tavern or saloon. Beer advertising changed dramatically with a new

emphasis on social and party drinks, after and at sports engagements, and the at-home television consumption. Migration, the civil rights movement, outdoors sportsmen's consumption, and industrial consolidation further shifted consumption from bottles to cans of beer.

Finally, Chapter Nine, "One Lite On, Other Lights Out 1970–2015," takes the industry through the campaigns for lite beer designed for the battle by the "weight-conscious" diet market, probably the most important marketing adaptation since prohibition. Its leader, Schlitz, harvested nearly instant financial success. Another high impact in the industry was the can-collecting craze, which introduced the product to youth clubs if not for the contents then for the containers. Mixed in the marketing push were such labels as dry, cold-filtered, malt, clear, special, export, and others. Chapter 10, "Return of the Local 1965–2018," takes beer brewing from the national to the local micro-brewing scene in the community. Brewpubs with their identities have become as different as their locales and proprietors, the outcome of Prohibition's slip up with permission to home-brew. Where the craze for the local microbrewery will take the industry is a chapter in search of a future.

The book ends with a long list of all the Wisconsin breweries that existed, no matter how small or how undocumented. Like the author's similar book on the breweries of Minnesota, *Land of Amber Waters* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), the profuse endnotes and a fine index render this Wisconsin rendition worth more than its heavy weight in gold. It is recommended for all beer enthusiasts, libraries and cultural collectors.

*St. Olaf College*

*LaVern Rippley*

### **Indigenous Visions: Rediscovering the World of Franz Boas.**

*Edited by Ned Blackhawk and Isaiah Lorado Wilner. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018. 416 pp. \$35.*

Within the corpus of Franz Boas studies—from Douglas Cole to George Stocking, Ludger Müller-Wille and Regna Darnell—the collected volume *Indigenous Visions* brings a powerful decolonizing perspective to the scholarship and influence of the man known as the founder of modern anthropology, the German American scholar Franz Boas. The result of a 2011 conference convened on the 100th anniversary of the publication of Boas' seminal treatise, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, the fifteen assembled essays foreground diversity, equality, anti-racism, and indigeneity. But rather than framing these concerns as part of Franz Boas' ongoing legacy, the contributions aim to situ-

ate Boas as just one node within a global network of knowledge circulation. The essays themselves collect a diversity of national, disciplinary and critical perspectives that together yield a broad, elegantly coherent critical examination on the Boasian tradition.

The volume begins by introducing its organizing concept, the “Boasian Circle,” which captures the “assemblage of individuals and communities who influenced the production and dissemination of modern concepts of diversity, identity, and belonging” (xii) based not on hierarchical models of identity but rather on “fluid understandings of reciprocity and entanglement” (xiii). This network is explicitly not restricted to Boas’ students or to his Indigenous collaborators, but consists in a much larger constellation of contributors to global cultural studies, including Indigenous intellectuals, African-American and pan-African scholars, German and Jewish scientists, and Latin American writers and thinkers.

The book is divided into four parts that trace different paths of knowledge circulation and nodes of epistemic flourishing and transformation within the Boasian Circle. In Part One, “Origins and Erasures,” Isaiah Lorado Wilner, Lewis R. Gordon, Ryan Carr, and Harry Liebersohn probe the emergence of the Boasian Circle as a global crossroads by examining how concepts of enlightenment from Indigenous, Africana and European perspectives grounded Boas’ thinking about the modern subject. The essays create this narrative to a great extent by centering the interventions and contributions of Indigenous and colonized collaborators and scholars, not as marginal assistants but as drivers of cultural understandings and theorization. The essays of Part Two, “Worlds of Enlightenment,” then trace how the foundational notions of transformation, freedom, expression and evolution manifested in Boas’ thought on violence and democracy (James Tully), and language and ideology (Michael Silverstein). This section concludes with a critical intervention by Audra Simpson that makes explicit the settler colonialism—that is, the erasure of indigeneity—implicit in Boasian anthropology despite Boas’ work to disrupt earlier theories of cultural hierarchy.

The essays of Part Three, “Routes of Race: The Transnational Networks of Ethnicity,” recover histories of struggles, failures and absences surrounding Boas’ attempts to theorize race. The section’s narrative trajectory moves from the scientific erasure to the agentive resistance of racialized anthropologists. To begin, Martha Hodes takes us to the scene of the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition to examine Franz Boas’ attempts to engage with the project of racial typology via anthropometric field data, revealing how, ironically, Boas’ pursuit contradicts his own intuition about the invalidity of racial categories. The other three essays center the experiences and contributions of

Black and Indigenous anthropologists who studied with Boas. Kiara Vigil's account of the life and death of William Jones, the first Native American to earn a doctorate in anthropology, lays bare the potentially deadly contradictions inherent to pursuing science as subject of imperialist oppression. Eve Dunbar examines communications between two of Boas' best-known students, Zora Neale Hurston and Ruth Benedict, concerning the culture concept. Her intersectional analysis reveals the creative strategies through which Hurston challenged the White supremacy inherent in Benedict's understanding of Boasian relativism. Lastly, Benjamin Balthaser's presents the legacy of Native American anthropologist Archie Phinney, cofounder of the National Congress of American Indians, as a lesson in how anthropology and indigeneity together can affect anti-racist consciousness.

The book's final section, "Boasiana: The Global Flow of the Culture Concept," turns to the core of Boasian anthropology, the culture concept, with essays that reverse and multiply our understanding of anthropological knowledge flows in order to interrogate claims and attributions of origin and ownership of scientific knowledge. The essays themselves enact a kind of decolonizing mission to repatriate concepts of culture as they reveal the tangible effects of culture concepts as such for colonialism, nation-building, and disciplinary ethics. The intellectual histories told here by Sean Hanretta, Mari Lúcia Pallares-Burke, and Christopher Heaney reiterate the challenges and opportunities navigated by Black, Indigenous, and other racialized scholars in global knowledge flows as they assumed, or were ascribed layered roles of scientific expert, cultural authority, colonized collaborator, and objects of a White, Boasian anthropological gaze.

*Indigenous Visions* is a much-needed intervention. The authors collude to decolonize Boasian anthropology, revealing that the discipline's roots are in fact a globally reaching rhizome. Inadvertently, the shape of the heuristic Boasian Circle might seem to imply a center point with a symmetry that would bespeak equity, when in fact the intention and ultimate impression of the collected works is quite the opposite. The essays do not build a narrative of the subaltern speaking back to empire, but of diverse and equal regimes of knowledge transacting in multidirectional flows across a common plane, building upon or drawing from each other in a system of unequal power relations. The conditions of colonization with its attendant specter of racism never disappear from view, yet this narratively constructed Boasian Circle is skillfully deprived of any center. As intradisciplinary debates continue today over how to decolonize anthropology, readers within the field will recognize in this volume that such self-critical work cannot progress without decentered disciplinary histories. For intellectual historians, the individual essays and

their organization in this collection offer engaging and sophisticated models for how to pursue and present intellectual history research in a globalized, decolonizing framework.

*St. Olaf College*

*Amanda Z. Randall*

**Love at Last Sight: Dating, Intimacy, and Risk in Turn-of-the-Century Berlin.**

*By Tyler Carrington. New York: Oxford University Press, 2019. 248 pp. \$35.00.*

At the time of Frieda Kliem's murder in June, 1914, she was a thirty-nine-year-old single woman searching the personal ads of Berlin to find love and marriage. Her story serves as the case study and framework for Tyler Carrington's 2019 *Love at Last Sight: Dating, Intimacy, and Risk in Turn-of-the Century Berlin*. Berlin at this time offered unprecedented opportunities for the modern person, but for those in the middle class and those hoping to be, the new focus on individualism stood in tension with the traditional mores and tenets of respectability for middle-class people, especially when it came to finding a spouse. Even as Berlin offered myriad possibilities, it also required one to choose among them, rather than follow established patterns. Carrington's assertion is that how Berliners went about finding love at this time is a prime example of the traditional and the modern coming into conflict during this time. In elucidating this point, he uses newspapers, particularly the *Berliner Morgenpost* and *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*; literature; personal diaries; and the trial records of Frieda Kliem's case.

Kliem faced typical challenges for a single woman when she arrived in Berlin at age 27. She held a job as a seamstress that provided little income, and her lifestyle fell below that of her upbringing. The obvious solution to returning to middle-class life and finding stability was marrying a suitable man. However, a lack of money and family connections in the city made opportunities to meet a spouse in a traditionally acceptable way difficult for many single women like Kliem. Middle-class people were still expected to meet through personal connections, but the modern metropolis was typified by one constantly being surrounded by people, yet not knowing them, and seeking distance from the masses.

New chances to mingle were arising around this time. These included dancing, bicycling, or other sports as well as meeting potential partners in one's apartment building or at one's workplace. In Kliem's case, she became an avid biker, and through this met her three most significant romantic interests.

Her first boyfriend, a widowed banker, would propose, but Kliem found herself interested in another man who ultimately did not return her affections. Her next long-term relationship, with a man named Otto Mewes, followed an untraditional, modern trajectory. Dating without the express goal of marriage gained in popularity during this time, and Mewes and Kliem had were engaged in an example of this casual but intimate relationship. The rise in birth control options and professional abortion providers enabled a middle-class woman, or one striving to become a middle-class woman, to engage in such a relationship with less risk of pregnancy and subsequent abandonment.

Kliem's relationship with Mewes was the closest she came to marriage, but he eventually moved out of Germany permanently. Entering her thirties still unmarried, Kliem began to wear a wedding ring and refer to herself as Frau Kliem, perhaps because widows were more desirable to men than older women who had never married. Further complicating things for single Berliners was the fact that many men and women did not want to marry until they had attained a certain amount of financial security. For women like Kliem, who, despite their independence, were eager to find a suitable mate, there were simply fewer men looking to marry before they had enough money to ensure a comfortable middle-class family lifestyle. Personal ads and professional matchmakers rose in popularity during this time despite their questionable propriety because they offered a way to find those others who were open to a serious relationship and marriage. Personal ads in particular were a pragmatic attempt to use the number of people in the city to one's advantage, allowing one to anonymously seek out and vet potential partners. Therefore, Kliem's use of personal ads to find a husband was not unusual. A married father named Paul Kuhnt responded to Kliem's ad using an alias, and the two planned to meet. Kliem went to that rendezvous expecting to soon be engaged to Kuhnt, but instead her body was found a week later. The police first became suspicious of Kuhnt when he sent a woman to pose as Kliem to withdraw money from her bank account, and he was later arrested for her murder.

The strategy of Kuhnt's defense attorney was to contrast Kuhnt's alleged established respectability with Kliem's questionable decency. He attempted to portray Kliem as promiscuous and dishonest, citing her relationship with Mewes, and thereby making it plausible that she was killed by one of her disreputable associates. Ultimately, the second state attorney assigned to the case asked the jury to find Kuhnt guilty only of theft of her possessions, not murder, which they did. In Carrington's estimation, the jury was not as willing to forgive Kliem her transgression of traditional middle-class behavior as they were Kuhnt his as a married man answering personal ads.

Carrington convincingly ties Kliem's compelling story to the new challenges and opportunities faced by the modern Berliner searching for middle-class marriage. This investigation is a necessary and well-researched addition to the body of literature about Berlin at the turn of the century. Though Carrington only makes brief connections to other cities or to contemporary dating practices, those extensions of this work are easy to see, if not discussed at length. Overall, this is a fascinating text for anyone interested in this topic.

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*Kristen M. Hetrick*

## **Linguistics and Applied Linguistics**

### **A History of German: What the Past Reveals about Today's Language.**

*By Joseph Salmons. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2nd edition, 2018. xxvi + 441 pp. \$29.99.*

If the book under review is any indication of the scholarly discussions on the development of the German language in Joseph Salmons' linguistic seminars, I would love to be a student in his class! In his book, which constitutes a revised and expanded version of the 2012 edition, Salmons takes his readers on a *tour de force* through the history of German from its roots in the Indo-European language family to present-day German. Along the way, true to the subtitle of his work ("What the past reveals about today's language"), the author demonstrates how phenomena found in modern German are in fact already engrained in earlier stages of the language.

After a brief introduction detailing the goals and scope of the volume (chapter 1), Salmons presents the development of German in six main chapters. In each chapter, he addresses issues of phonology, morphology, syntax, and, increasingly in the later chapters, pragmatics and dialectology. Chapter 2 takes the reader into prehistoric times, ending with a detailed positioning of German in the Indo-European language family. All discussions in chapter 3, which concerns itself with Germanic up to the first direct attestations of the language, are still based on conclusions reached from structures present in later stages of German. Topics discussed include such well-known staples as Grimm's Law and Verner's Law, both of which describe the relationship of Germanic to other Indo-European languages based on the consonant system (45ff). The chapter ends with a first look at actual texts, namely Runic inscriptions on a variety of artifacts, such as spearheads, pendants, and horns. Based upon the scarcity of textual evidence, Salmons reiterates the specula-

tive nature of all conjectures about the development of Germanic. A section entitled “A note on early Germanic syntax” (102ff) is a good example of Salmons’ careful explanation of basic linguistic topics (such as language typology), while at the same time presenting quite complex examples of current research and scholarly debate.

Chapter 4 examines the transition from Germanic to Old High German (OHG), thus including more extensive textual evidence (here, as throughout the volume, good use is made of illustrations showing some of the early manuscripts along with other figures, tables, and maps). As before, the discussion focuses on phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical developments. However, for the first time, readers also learn about dialectal differences within OHG (145ff) and sociolinguistic factors that influenced the OHG writing culture (178ff). Chapter 5 on Middle High German (MHG) begins with a helpful discussion of periodization (190ff), which is placed at a logical place in the book, as a further increase of textual and historical evidence in this period allows scholars to go beyond the realm of speculation. Salmons’ subtitle in the section on MHG morphology (“It’s beginning to look a lot like German”) reflects the general trend during this period. One example is the rise of the so-called *Satzklammer* (verbal or sentence frame), which is at the root of the New High German rule of the verb being in second position (225ff). As a Latinist, I was particularly interested in Salmons’ skepticism vis-a-vis the theory that German syntax was influenced by Latin, based upon the fact that relatively few speakers actually knew Latin.

In chapter 6, the discussion turns to Early New High German (ENHG). As Salmons points out in the chapter subtitle, both the structural evidence and the socio-historical context continue to become richer during this period, thus allowing more refined and well-founded scholarly conclusions. One subsection in this chapter discusses “[t]he establishment of a (more) unified language” (285ff), especially in the wake of the rise of chanceries at royal courts and the printing press. In the same breath, Salmons debunks the widespread cliché (found in the older scholarly literature and among non-linguists) of Martin Luther being “the father of the Modern German language” (290). Instead, Salmons focuses on the role of prescriptivism, standardization, purism, and even an increased influence of French in the rise of the contemporary German standard. Chapter 7 on New High German (NHG) puts much emphasis on the fact that many of the recent changes in German are actually still ongoing. Examples include the so-called *Auslautverhärtung* (devoicing of obstruents at the ends of words) and other sound changes as well as changes in case and plural marking and gender assignment. In addition to these morphological changes, Salmons discusses a plethora of syntactic changes. For me, the most enlightening section was the one on the sociolinguistics of con-

temporary German, which discussed the presence of a dialect-standard continuum in most of the German speech area. In addition to such diverse topics as *Kiezdeutsch* (a variety of German used by younger speakers, especially those with a migration background), the role of the media, and the influence of English on German vocabulary, Salmons also utilizes his expertise on dialect mixing in contemporary Wisconsin German (358f) to illustrate his points on developmental patterns in German, before rounding off his volume with a conclusion (Chapter 8).

Altogether, this book will prove to be informative and, in many ways, eye-opening, not only to undergraduate and graduate students of German, but to anyone interested in the German language, including this reviewer and native speaker. Salmons' style is fresh and unpretentious, and his enthusiasm for his subject is palpable throughout the work. He never fails to give credit to his fellow researchers, and, by reporting on their work, manages to give his reader a good idea of the current state of German historical linguistics, particularly in North America. Together with the additional materials and exercises on the companion website (<http://www.historyofgerman.net/>), this volume remains the standard textbook in English on the history of German.

*Mercer University*

*Achim Kopp*

### **A Contrastive Grammar of Brazilian Pomeranian.**

*By Geritjan Postma. Linguistik Aktuell/ Linguistics Today 248. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2019. xxxi, 312 pp. \$158.*

This book analyzes the synchronic structures of Brazilian Pomeranian (BP) and the diachronic development of the variety. The author takes a comparative approach and presents variation within the BP community, across different types of Pomeranian, and across other West Germanic languages (especially Frisian and Dutch). The unifying force behind the book is the goal to counter the conventional view that Pomeranian is a form of Low German and to establish Pomeranian as an independent West Germanic language that is a sister of English, Frisian, Dutch, and Low German.

Chapter 1 familiarizes the reader with the social aspects of the language by providing information about the speech-community and their extraordinary journey across Europe and Brazil (with supporting documents provided in Chapter 10). Chapter 2 provides information about the language's phonology and the difference between synchronic vs diachronic phonological properties. One of the main topics addressed in this chapter is the role of prosody in

restructuring word-final segments. The restructuring of word-final segments results in catalexis, a phonological property related to liaison and elision.

Chapter 3 presents the inflectional morphology of different lexical classes. The author introduces BP's subtractive morphology which developed due to the same innovations which gave rise to catalexis. Other interesting morphological properties of BP include the lack of a productive diminutive suffix (BP instead employs an analytic construction using a form of *klai(n)* 'small' which has quasi-determiner status) and the presence of two distinct infinitival affixes (a trait which the author links to Frisian that is absent in other varieties of West Germanic). Chapter 4 examines a wide range of syntactic properties such as verb placement, semantic restrictions of the different infinitive types, valence changing operations, the expression of expletive subjects, control constructions, and do-support.

Chapters 5 and 6 focus on topics related to semantics in the lexicon. Chapter 5 shows that BP has a range of derivational affixes commonly found in West Germanic, but lacks a prefix cognate to Standard German *zer-*, using instead a form cognate with Standard German *ver-*. Chapter 6 shows that while BP has similar kinship concepts as other West Germanic languages, there are similar gaps which tend to be filled with vocabulary from the nearest major contact language (e.g. terms for *cousin* and *niecel/nephew*).

Chapter 7 provides texts from different types of Pomeranian (Brazilian, Wisconsin, and European). Chapter 8 offers an exclusively diachronic supplement to Chapter 2. Chapter 9 introduces the reader to the two types of historical European Pomeranian described in the literature. The author proposes that one type of Pomeranian is closer to Low German from the west, but the other type of Pomeranian, the ancestor to BP, is a separate language.

Overall, the book provides many interesting new data points and insights to West Germanic linguistics. The author's in-depth knowledge of Frisian and Dutch are key to some of the more interesting observations which he makes regarding the position of BP in comparison to other West Germanic languages.

In spite of the positive aspects of the book, there are some issues which should be addressed in the next edition. Because the author is trying to cater to a wide audience, it would significantly help the reader if there were more definitions of specialized terms and more explicit discussion of theoretical positions prior to providing examples. It would also be helpful if the author dedicated more time to explaining examples in the languages compared with BP. Often, there is brief mention of how a structure in English, Dutch, Frisian, or Standard German compares to BP, but an example of the relevant structure is only provided in BP. Also, the phonology chapters could be strengthened with clarification of the author's position on topics like the genetic affiliation

of BP, assumptions about rule ordering, the source of vowel fronting in BP, and some of the terminology used.

Finally, given that the book seeks to counter the accepted view that Pomeranian is a type of Low German, I expected to see more frequent references to Low German forms and constructions. Without these comparisons, the differences between BP and Low German are unclear to readers lacking familiarity with Low German. By not providing these comparisons, the author misses the opportunity to discuss the consequences of how he restructures the family tree. Additionally, if Pomeranian is a sister language to English, Low German, Frisian, and Dutch, there needs to be a clear discussion of when front rounded vowels developed because the immediate ancestor to those languages lacked front rounded vowels. Towards the end of the book, there is a table of West Germanic vowel reflexes in BP with no intermediate stages of development. This leaves the reader wondering if BP developed front rounded vowels independent of other West Germanic languages.

Developing a comparative grammar of Pomeranian is an ambitious endeavor. The author has provided many new data points in the book that will help expand our understanding of the linguistic properties of West Germanic speech islands that set them apart from the mainland varieties.

*Yale University*

*Roslyn Burns*

**Constructions in Contact: Constructional Perspectives on Contact Phenomena in Germanic languages.**

*Edited by Hans C. Boas and Steffen Höder. Constructional Approaches to Language* 24. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 2018. Pp. 316. \$158.00.

The structural tendencies and developmental trajectories of varieties of German in steady contact with other languages has long been the object of intense research. Research on these contact varieties of German has been carried out within various formal and functional frameworks, with an eye towards not only advancing our understanding of German in contact, but also pursuing the mission of better understanding natural language through the axioms and principles of these aforementioned models. Hans C. Boas and Steffen Höder have assembled a volume dedicated to advancing our understanding of the structural properties of contact from the perspective of Construction Grammar (CxG). The contributions found in this volume originated from a special session of the 8th International Conference on Construction Grammar, held at the University of Osnabrück in September 2014.

The contributions to this volume are organized into four parts; Part I (Constructions in contact: A theoretical overview) focuses primarily on core

theoretical aspects of CxG. Hans C. Boas and Steffen Höder supply chapters that provide sufficient background for those less familiar with the desiderata of CxG. Boas' chapter sets the stage for the volume, discussing how CxG and studies of language contact mutually reinforce one another. Höder introduces the basic concepts found in Diasystematic Construction Grammar, building on the notion that grammar is regarded here as a community-specific phenomenon. The focus of the contributions found in Part II (Constructional variation and change in contact) shifts towards individual studies that document and analyze elements of grammar that display gradience and variation. Margret Blevins provides a constructional analysis of progressive aspect in Texas German (TxG), arguing that there exists a range of different constructions available in contemporary TxG capable of expressing progressive aspect. Kathrin Weber investigates synchronic variation of perfect auxiliary constructions with the verb *anfangen* 'to begin / to start' in High and Low German varieties in the Westphalian and Emslandic areas. Timothy Coleman extends the notion of distributional assimilation in constructional semantics to account for variation observed in three-argument (ditransitive) constructions in Afrikaans. Part III (Item-based patterns and constructional generalizations in contact), consists of two contributions. Jan-Ola Östman advances the proposal that constructions are not language specific phenomena in her investigation of contact elements found in Finnish and Swedish. Ryan Dux's study of word order in TxG takes a closer look at instances in this contact variety that sometimes display German, English, or nuanced representations. Dux argues that these data make a strong case for Höder's Diasystematic) CxG-approach. The fourth and final section, Part IV (Semantic frames in contact), ends with contributions by Hans C. Boas, who investigates the modal particle *ja* in TxG and David Hünlich, who explores frame changes in language contact environments pertaining to the verbs *schleichen* 'to sneak' and *kommen* 'to come'.

This volume as a whole is a welcome addition to studies on contact varieties of German from a theoretical perspective that has garnered serious interest of scholars throughout the world, namely CxG. It is a collection of primarily theoretical studies, but the data in the individual chapters is organized and presented in such a way that satisfies readers who may not be as familiar with CxG or who may work in alternative frameworks.

**Räume, Grenzen, Übergänge: Akten des 5. Kongresses der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Dialektologie des Deutschen (IGDD) (*Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik*, Beihefte, Band 171).**

*Edited by Helen Christen, Peter Gilles, and Christoph Purschke. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2017. 408 pp. € 64.*

This anthology contains 16 articles originally presented at the 5th Congress of the Internationale Gesellschaft für Dialektologie des Deutschen (IGDD) in September 2015 at the University of Luxemburg and is part of the well-known supplemental series of the *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik*. The articles discuss a wide variety of topics related to German dialects from traditional questions about morphology, phonology, and syntax; to sociolinguistic aspects regarding dialect and language boundaries; and theoretical discussions of research methods and tools. Here I discuss several of the papers in order to give an idea of the contents of the volume, as a full discussion of each paper is impossible due to length constraints.

The first article, “Linguistische Distanz einschätzen: der Fall von Walserdeutsch im Licht von lexikalischen Daten und soziolinguistischen Parametern,” by Marco Angster and Silvia Dal Negro, promises a discussion of the internal differentiation of Walser German through lexical and extralinguistic factors based on the small corpus PAL WaM (9). However, the authors mostly outline their usage of a Splits-Tree analysis (15ff) for a qualitative comparison of several extralinguistic factors that influence this internal differentiation in order to graphically demonstrate the differences, and the necessity of this tool for the small data set discussed unfortunately remains unclear. In “Zum Nutzen der Complex Dynamics Systems Theory CDST) für die Erforschung von Sprachvariation und Sprachwandel,” Lars Bülow, Kees de Bot, and Nanna Hilton introduce another new method for the discussion of language variation in their article, one which is much more convincing. Their general argument involves the departure from a traditional view of dialects as relatively homogenous systems and a turn to a more complex and dynamic view of language systems (45). They propose the use of Complex Dynamic Systems Theory for new analyses, a theoretical framework used so far in physics, mathematics, and investigations. The emphasis lies on language change with a special focus on time, but the main benefit of the framework is its capacity for dealing with non-linear and relatively chaotic language development (47).

As mentioned above, many articles in this volume analyze dialect boundaries. The article “Neuere Entwicklungen des Alemannischen an der französisch-deutschen Sprachgrenze im Oberrheingebiet,” by Peter Auer, Julia Breuninger, and Martin Pfeiffer, focuses on the impact of the political border between France and Germany on developments within the dialect con-

tinuum of Alemannic. They present the diachronic change of three dialect features that show that the political border and the dialect boundary overlap more and more. Additionally, a general tendency towards a reduction of dialect features in favor of the two national languages was observed. Another article discussing dialect boundaries, Simon Pickl's "Wann ist eine Grenze eine Grenze? Zur theoretischen Fundierung von Dialektgrenzen und ihrer statistischen Validierung," asks more overarching questions about the theoretical validity of linguistic borders and isoglosses and their correlation with extra- or intralinguistic obstacles such as rivers, political borders, or larger phonetic relations). Through statistical methods, the author is able to determine a statistically significant correlation between certain rivers and dialect borders, but also cautions that in other instances, there might not be a direct causality.

Articles regarding traditional language change mainly focus on organizational aspects of German dialects, e.g., "Syntax und Arealität: Methoden und Resultate eines syntaktischen Wenker-Atlas," by Jürg Fleischer, which discusses syntactic features within the Wenker-Atlas, or address sociolinguistic questions such as "Dekreolisierung und Variation in Unserdeutsch," by Peter Maitz, in which the author describes Unserdeutsch, the only German-based creole. Maitz evaluates data collected since 2014 and connects it to the history and function of the language as well as earlier language contact with the substrate variety Tok Pisin and current language contact with English. The only article written in English, "Inventing Limburg (The Netherlands): Territory, history, language, and identity," by Leonie Cornips and Ad Knotter, gives an overview of the region Dutch Limburg in the southeast of the Netherlands. This article is not solely linguistic in nature but also presents general information about regional identity and history. Using findings from older folk-linguistic studies, the authors describe the strong identification of the people with the region and the language. Unfortunately, due to the lack of a clear research question, it is hard to pin down which new insights the authors provide beyond a general introduction to the region and the dialect.

Most articles in this volume offer useful new insights into the development of various German dialects. In line with recent trends in dialectology, many articles question established notions of homogenous dialect systems, rigid dialect boundaries, and linear linguistic developments. A stronger focus on extralinguistic factors and a laudable willingness to discuss seemingly ill-fitting data can be found in all of the articles. Most suggested tools and methods further enhance the understanding of dialects as complex and dynamic systems and provide new avenues to analyze issues that were previously ignored.

**German Abroad: Perspektiven der Variationslinguistik, Sprachkontakt- und Mehrsprachigkeitsforschung.**

*Edited by Alexandra N. Lenz. Wiener Arbeiten zur Linguistik 4. Vienna: Vienna University Press, 2016. 267 pp. €50.*

This volume contains ten contributions drawn from the first “German Abroad” conference, which took place in Vienna in 2014. Three contributions focus on German spoken in North America, five on Brazil, and two on Australia and the Pacific. The title “German Abroad” is an intentional effort to avoid usage of *Spachinsel* as the metaphor is no longer descriptive of the situation of the linguistic communities in which the German speakers who are the subject of these studies currently live. As Alexandra Lenz, the editor, points out in the useful introduction, the term minority language is more apt. In this review, I will concentrate on the three studies of German in North America, as they will presumably be of the most interest to readers of this journal.

In “Variation im Texasdeutschen: Implikationen für eine vergleichende Sprachinselforschung,” Hans C. Boas describes the Texas German Dialect Project and examines data from the 1930s, 1960s, and 2000s to describe the development of Texas German in and around New Braunfels, Texas, with a focus on lexis, morphosyntax, and phonology. One of the interesting factors in the development of Texas German in New Braunfels is the variation found in the donor dialects on which it is based. In trying to determine whether the high frequency of unrounded front vowels where rounded front vowels would be expected in standard varieties of German is due to contact with English, Boas shows that there is great variation in the realization of these vowels in the eight different communities in Hesse-Nassau from which many German immigrants to Comal County. In some of the communities in Hesse-Nassau, front rounded variants are preferred; in others, front unrounded variants. Boas also describes case syncretism and the loss of overt case marking for the dative in comparison to the data collected by Glenn Gilbert in the 1960s, which show that the accusative-dative distinction was at one time relatively intact in Texas German. Once again, in the donor dialects show variation—in this case with regard to the choice of dative versus accusative case with two-way prepositions. It is also clear that the loss of the dative case is common among German dialects in general and among German minority languages in particular. Thus, Boas concludes that the morphosyntactic and phonological changes that can be observed in Texas German are the result of convergence and variation among the donor dialects, and not the result of contact with English. Boas ends his contribution with an argument for the use of research methods that will elicit data that can be compared across German varieties

in different contact situations, and that is made freely available to other researchers. His own work on Texas German, which builds on the methodologies used in studies by earlier researchers of the dialect, show the productivity of such an approach, and the digital archive of Texas German ([www.tgdp.org](http://www.tgdp.org)) provides an excellent example of dialect data that has been made freely available to other researchers.

The other two contributions on German spoken in North America investigate Bavarian varieties. “Bairische Siedlungen in den USA und in Brasilien—Aktuelle Lage, Sprechertypologie und mehrsprachige Konstellationen,” by Nicole Eller-Wildfeuer, compares the maintenance of German in settlements in Washington, Kansas, and Minnesota in the United States, and in Saõ Brento and Saint Cathrine in Brazil. In a qualitative study based on fieldwork conducted between 2007 and 2013, Eller-Wildfeuer found considerable variation in patterns of language maintenance across the different settlements, which were established in the nineteenth century. Thus, in Washington the German-speaking settlement shifted to English very quickly—in approximately one generation—and there are currently no active German speakers in the area. In comparison, German speakers can still be found in the other communities though their language proficiency varies greatly, from rudimentary to high. In none of the settlements is German still spoken by younger generations. On the basis of her fieldwork, Eller-Wildfeuer develops a tripartite typology of speakers: full speaker, semi-speaker, rememberer.

In “Komplexität und Simplifizierungen im Sprachkontakt am Beispiel bairischer Siedlungen in Neuseeland und in den USA,” Alfred Wildfeuer investigates whether 150 years of contact with English has led to syntactic simplification in varieties of North Bavarian spoken in New Ulm, Minnesota, and Puhoi, New Zealand. Wildfeuer lists the following four factors as indicative of morphosyntactic complexity in North Bavarian: (1) the existence of morphosyntactic irregularities, e.g., strong versus weak verb classes; (2) low morphological transparency, e.g., infinitive allomorphy with five different infinitive endings; (3) morphosyntactic redundancies, e.g., subject-verb agreement; and (4) the existence of several categories in inflectional morphology, e.g., multiple inflectional endings for the declination of person and number in the verbal system. In all of the linguistic phenomena examined, Wildfeuer finds that the North Bavarian varieties spoken in New Ulm and Puhoi have retained their complexity, presumably because they are what he calls low-contact varieties.

Scholars interested in investigating German as a minority language will find a number of parallels in these studies but also important differences. For example, whereas morphosyntax is relatively stable with regard to word order and verbal inflection, distinctive case marking for the dative is often

lost. Perhaps such changes are due to tendencies for simplification of certain morphosyntactic patterns that existed in the language prior to contact, and to variation already present in the donor dialects, as argued by Boas in his study. In other words, when morphosyntactic change does occur, the motivation appears to be internal, at least in part, and not solely due to contact with English or some other language. In sum, *German Abroad* rewards its readers with different theological perspectives and methodological approaches applied to data drawn from German in diverse contact situations.

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**Accent and Identity in Learner Varieties of English: A Study with German and French University Students in an English as a Lingua Franca Setting.**  
*By Stefanie Rottschäfer. Inquiries in Language Learning 22. Bern: Peter Lang, 2018. 368 pp. \$82.90*

Rottschäfer's book chronicles the experiences of two groups of students (native German and native French speakers) studying in Aarhus, Denmark. She selected Aarhus because it is a location "where students choose to study and do everyday business in English, without English being an official language" (138). She compares the participants' actual pronunciation with their perceived pronunciation in order to show their opinions toward native/non-native like English accents, specifically General American (GA) and Received Pronunciation (RP). The guiding research question for this study is: "do the German learner English (GLE) or French learner English (FLE) speakers alter or keep their accents in order to express identity in an E[nglish as a] L[ingua] F[ranca] setting?" (25). Rottschäfer corroborates biographical data with interviews to explain the various participants' behavior and attitudes. This study suggests that the assumed influence of "General American" on English language learners and their subsequent pronunciation is not as drastic as many believe.

Rottschäfer provides a robust review of the literature in part one, citing mostly US-American scholars and their work with language identity, attitudes and dialects. She then briefly outlines the current study and methodology before dedicating part three to the results and discussion. Rottschäfer investigates German and French nationalities in this book because "they were assumed to have rather opposing views and performances concerning an accent in English" and thus represent the "diversity of ELF speakers" (139). There are 22 participants, 11 French (five male and six female)—aged 21-28,

and 11 German (five male and six female), aged 22-29. The participants all completed different degrees in various programs and none of them studied English (Rottschäfer argues that it might have impacted the data if the students were English majors).

For this study, Rottschäfer uses a mixed methods approach in the form of interviews, speech data and questionnaires, because her two areas of focus, accent and identity, are in two different fields and thus require a mixed approach (137). For each data take, she provides a different set of research questions. Rottschäfer collected “22 semi-structured, episodic interviews,” 11 in German and 11 in French, depending on the native language of the participant. None of the participants could speak Danish “on a level that would allow them to hold a lengthy conversation” (139). This was an important factor, because it implies that the participants mainly communicated in the Lingua Franca of the area: English.

Rottschäfer used a qualitative content analysis (typologization) for the interviews, namely MAXQDA. The research questions guiding these interviews were: (1) how do GIE and FIE speakers in an ELF setting perceive their accents? and (2) what do GIE and FIE speakers in an ELF setting identify with/distance themselves from, and why? For the speech data, she collected 22 recordings from the same participants reading *The North and South Wind* (144). She analyzed this data quantitatively by looking at eight different phonemes (e.g. intervocalic /t/, /ɾ/, and the BATH vowel) and administering (R) statistical tests. The research questions for this test were: (1) what do the accents of GIE and FIE speakers in an ELF setting sound like? How can they be described? and (2) are GIE and FIE speakers aware of their accents?

For the final part of this study, Rottschäfer administered a questionnaire to all 22 informants, which documented their personal and learner biography—thus checking that they met the basic prerequisites for participation in the study. This questionnaire also provided a broader picture of each participant’s identity and functioned as supplemental material for the speech data and interviews. The research question underpinning the questionnaire was: do the subjects’ accents and reports on identity and attitudes correlate with their (learner) biographies?

Rottschäfer’s study confirms the results of earlier studies, specifically, that the learner varieties spoken by the German and French participants are two separate varieties. The data also indicates that neither learner variety shows a tendency toward RP or GA (241). Rottschäfer divided her participants into three groups based on the results of her data take (252–257). These groups varied in levels of identification with the L1, with the majority of the participants (13) accepting their L1 accent, e.g., they neither actively identified with it nor fought against, but were not necessarily aware of their pronuncia-

tion tendencies. Rottschäfer cites this result as one of the biggest take-aways from the study, namely, that it is “striking that the subjects have a rather low self-awareness of the accent they are speaking” (270). In other words, some participants rated their pronunciation as favoring GA or RP when in reality it did not.

Rottschäfer closes her study by proposing ideas for future research and revisiting her research questions. She argues that the data indicates that yes, “identity and accent are indeed linked together” and that generally, the FLE speakers “express more positive attitudes towards their L1 accent than GLE speakers” (268), because most nonnative German and French speakers find the French accent (when speaking English) more pleasing and attractive than the German accent (268–269). Rottschäfer suggests that future studies collect more data from a larger participant pool as well as more “authentic” data, e.g., “real encounters” in the form of free speech and discussion clips from participants (267). She ends by stating that English speakers in ELF settings are not homogenous in language use or in attitudes toward their perceived pronunciation, and care should thus be taken in future studies to acknowledge the various factors influencing speech production and group association.

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***Sprachdiagnostik Deutsch als Zweitsprache: Ein Handbuch.***

*Edited by Stefan Jeuk and Julia Settinieri. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2019. 634 pp. \$229.99/ €119,95.*

In a well researched and thoughtfully compiled volume that brings together scholars from all corners of the field of *Sprachdiagnostik*, or language diagnostics, Stefan Jeuk and Julia Settinieri have compiled an up-to-date handbook on a topic that for the language community in both the US and Germany has recently gained more attention due to the high influx of immigrants into the German speaking countries. With its breadth of experts and straightforward style, this collection makes an important contribution to our understanding of an issue that affects language policies and practices in (primarily) German speaking places.

Language professionals, teachers included, must often assess various aspects of learner language, including syntax, morphology, phonology, and pragmatics, for different learner populations and within different institutional contexts. Teachers must evaluate learner language in order to know whether their students met the course learning objectives, for example. Knowing

how to describe students' language use might also play a role in determining whether a learner has satisfied a language requirement, such as for admission to a university or a job. In any case, this Handbuch serves as a valuable resource for language practitioners, particularly those working in a German-speaking (DaF/DaZ) context. Interest in this field is on the rise due to a more learner-centered focus in teaching, and more concern with understanding how learner backgrounds influence language development.

In their effort to establish the current foundational knowledge in the field and present a look at emerging research in language diagnostics, Jeuk and Settineri bring a number of scholars together from the fields of *Germanistik*, German as a second or foreign language (DaZ/DaF), language didactics, and second language acquisition, as well as psychology, to present cutting-edge, current research on and give a bird's-eye view of the state of language diagnostics. It is important to note here that diagnostics are not assessments; they are simply an objective statement of what a learner can and cannot do with a language at a given point in time. These diagnostics may or may not be used as part of language assessments in an educational setting.

This easy to navigate volume is divided into four sections. The first covers the foundations of language diagnostics for DaF/DaZ contexts, and defines terms, addresses current developments in the field, procedures for conducting diagnostic tests, and establishing boundaries around language diagnostics, distinguishing it from other disciplines like language assessment, discussing it in relation to proficiency frameworks like the CEFR, and addressing foundational problems in language diagnostics research. The second section examines language diagnostics in specific contexts, such as primary and secondary schools, careers, and within the context of migration. As a whole, this section connects quite well to the disciplinary problems laid out in Settineri and Jeuk's contribution to the first section, namely that language diagnostics can be largely individual and based on a number of intersecting biological, cognitive, and socio-affective factors. This section also addresses developments in evaluating older learners, a relatively new research area, but one that has become quite relevant for Germany as it has welcomed large populations of immigrants and refugees who may choose to learn German upon their arrival. In the third section, each article addresses an aspect of language development, including areas of language use such as phonetics, orthography, lexicography, syntax, and pragmatics, as well as the four modalities and language for specific purposes. Each of these sections gives a brief overview of relevant research in the field so far, establishes definitions of important terminology, and presents procedures for evaluating learner proficiency in a certain area of language use. In the volume's final section, each expert addresses a specific strategy for observing language use and measuring proficiency, such as testing, in profile

analysis, observation, C-tests, and language portfolios. This section serves as a practical application of many of the ideas presented in previous sections of the book; we can see the theories of language diagnostics in action.

While this comprehensive volume targets those who work and live in a German-speaking context, it could be useful to a US German teaching context as well. It may also interest those who do diagnostic testing for languages other than German, as many of the ideas presented in this volume could be extrapolated to other languages and contexts. *Handbücher* usually intend to provide a cohesive overview of a field, and this one provides a solid, accessible, and up-to-date introduction to the breadth of research on both the theory and practice of language diagnostics.

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*Karin Maxey*

### **Sprache und Selbstverständnis der Deutschchilenen: Eine sprachbiographische Analyse.**

*By Patrick Wolf-Farré. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2017. 194 pp. € 29.*

Wolf-Farré investigates the language and ethnic self-image held by German immigrants in Chile, who like many similar groups in other parts of the world, brought not only their language, but also their cultural practices to their new home. The monograph is divided into five main sections in addition to the Bibliography and an Appendix: 1. Introduction; 2. The German Chileans; 3. Research Approach and Research Questions; 4. Language Biographies; 5. Conclusion.

In Chapter 1 (1–24), the author defines his target group of *Deutschchilenen* ‘German Chileans’ generally as persons who have German ancestors and identify themselves as such (e.g., Mennonite colonies are excluded from his study, as they remained isolated and were primarily “German-speaking”, p.1). Wolf-Farré presents three research questions as his focus: 1) The role the native language plays in the individual’s self-perception as a German Chilean, 2) other characteristics perceived as important to the German Chilean identity; and 3) the tendential development of former German Chilean speech islands in contact with Spanish, i.e., language shift, language death. The remainder of the chapter situates this inquiry within the larger context of research on speech islands by providing a review of theoretical approaches.

Chapter 2 (pp. 25–71) provides sociohistorical information on German immigration to Chile in three phases: 1845–1875, 1882–1914, post 1914, and identifies the main settlements established in central and southern Chile.

Wolf-Farré dedicates the rest of the chapter to an exemplary comprehensive account and critique of previous linguistic works on the German language in Chile, which he divides into four phases: Before 1950, 1960–1979, 1980–1999, and 2000–Today (this also includes Senior and Master’s theses from 1998–2009). An interesting mention of a disputed koiné from several German dialects in southern Chile, “Launa German,” completes his literature review.

Wolf-Farré returns briefly to his research approach and questions in Chapter 3 (pp. 73–81), where he describes his qualitative methods of data collection, transcription, and analysis. His main instrument of data collection is the open-ended sociolinguistic interview, or what he terms “language biographies” which reveal the relationship between the speaker’s experiences and the speaker’s language acquisition and language use (p. 75). Wolf-Farré begins his interviews by posing the question, “Where would you begin your language biography?” His corpus consists of interviews with 51 self-declared German Chileans (28 women, 23 men), ages 16–88, who represent areas stretching from Santiago in the north to Puyuhuapi in the south (about 1200 miles).

Chapter 4 (pp. 83–153) is dedicated to 100 pages of transcribed interview segments grouped according to six categories that Wolf-Farré identifies as important to answering his research questions: Ancestry, Rebellion, German Chilean (self-image), Group Membership, Language, Behavior. Each of these topics is followed by a commentary and analysis.

Wolf-Farré summarizes his conclusions in a brief final chapter (pp. 155–158). He ascertains that the German language still remains connected to the definition of the German Chilean identity along with other markers, but that it is not primarily transmitted within the family unit. Instead the German School system, universities, and language institutes play a crucial role in making German instruction available to everyone. He determines that no single factor accounts for its tenuous preservation, but instead a combination of different factors which vary according to the individual experience and location, a conclusion which is not surprising nor unusual in the study of German speech islands. Wolf-Farré establishes that the German Chilean culture and the German language are developing independently and moving away from each other. What is surprising is that Wolf-Farré refuses to speculate on whether the German language will disappear despite its decline and opines that the German Chilean culture will not die out but will continue to co-exist with the European-German culture due to such factors as the internet, the strong economic position of Germany, export goods from Germany, and the educational institutions.

This study is an interesting and informative read and contributes a welcome qualitative perspective to research on speech islands abroad. A table listing the 51 participants and their designations with a few biographic details such as age, dominant language, and location would be helpful to the reader. The literature review on linguistic studies of the German immigrant language in Chile and the sheer wealth of quantitative data are an important contribution to the field of sociolinguistics.

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## **Pennsylvania German Studies**

### **Pennsylvania Germans: An Interpretive Encyclopedia.**

*Edited by Simon J. Bronner and Joshua R. Brown. Young Center Books in Anabaptist and Pietist Studies. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017. 554 pp. \$80.*

This satisfyingly heavy volume is an outstanding addition to the scholarly literature. Edited by two prominent scholars of Pennsylvania German and related topics, it contains 19 thematic chapters, all written by acknowledged experts in the field, and divided into two parts (Part 1, “History and Geography”; Part 2, “Culture and Society”). There is also a short preface by the editors, which outlines the goals and contents of the work; an introductory essay on Pennsylvania German studies by the two editors; as well as a number of color illustrations, an extensive list of references, a list of contributors, and a detailed index. A full assessment of each article is impossible, due to the limits of this forum, and I therefore only discuss a few of the chapters, in order to give an illustrative snapshot of the work.

The introductory essay gives a clear, concise (17 pp.) overview of some aspects of the field, briefly covering topics like the early history of the Pennsylvania Germans, the role of language in Pennsylvania German identity, and the emergence of Pennsylvania German studies. It sets the stage for the rest of the book very nicely.

Part 1 contains three papers. The first, by Mark Häberlein on “The Old World Background,” focuses on “the Old World background of German-speaking migrants to eighteenth-century Pennsylvania as well as on patterns of transatlantic exchange” (21). It does a good job of covering factors contributing to immigration, e.g. religious, social, and informational (Häberlein argues convincingly that the relative wealth of information on Pennsylvania

available at the time, e.g. informational tracts and emigration agents, contributed significantly to immigration). The two other papers in this section, "To the New World: Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," by John B. Frantz; and "Communities and Identities: Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Centuries," by Diane Wenger and Simon J. Bronner, provide similarly solid discussions of the relevant time periods.

Part 2 makes up the majority of the book, containing 16 papers. Mark Loudén's chapter, "The Pennsylvania German Language," is quite simply a delight: a clear, well-organized discussion of the topic, covering questions like if Pennsylvania German is a language or a dialect of German (Louden views it as a language in its own right, rather than as a dialect of German), some of the structural features of Pennsylvania German (e.g. the relative dearth of English loan words), and the current status of Pennsylvania German. Another chapter, "Language Use among Anabaptist Groups," by Donald B. Kraybill, Steven Nolt, and Edsel Burdge, Jr., also focuses on language. It looks at the use of Pennsylvania German in communities outside Pennsylvania, in places like Manitoba and Ohio; there are approximately 325,000 such speakers (this is most likely a conservative estimate) in ten major groups (with the two largest being the Amish and the Old Order Wenger Mennonites, although the Amish far outnumber the Old Order Wenger Mennonites). Other chapters cover topics like "Literature" (by Sheila Rohrer), "Architecture and Cultural Landscapes" (by Gabrielle Lanier), and "Heritage and Tourism" (by William W. Donner).

As noted above, this is a valuable addition to the scholarly literature. It provides concise, snappy discussions of a number of topics. The chapters are also generally accessible to the non-specialist as well as to the specialist; I have used both of the chapters on language mentioned above in an undergraduate course on the history of the German language with considerable success, and am convinced that the other chapters could all be used in both undergraduate and graduate courses on a number of topics as well. The volume itself is printed on good paper and is sturdily bound; the photographs and other illustrations are also of high quality. It is a trifle expensive, but \$80 is not an exorbitant price for a book like this. It belongs on the shelf of all those interested in German-American studies.

**“Doh wil ich awer!”: The Radio Adventures of Asseba and Sabina.**

*Translated by Gregory J. Hanson. Illustrated by Rachel Yoder. Foreword by Ruth C. (Rahn) Schaefer. Volume VII of the Annual Publication Series. Kutztown, PA: Pennsylvania German Cultural Center, 2019. 219 pp. \$30.*

Every Sunday from January 1944 to June 1954, the radio station WSAN in Allentown, PA, broadcast a 30-minute program in Pennsylvania German called *Asseba un Sabina Mumbauer in Eihledaabl* (*Asseba and Sabina Mumbauer of Owl Valley*). The program was about “the exploits of a Pennsylvania Dutch-speaking farmer, Asseba, and his quick-witted wife, Sabina” (19), and enjoyed considerable popularity during its run. It was in fact sufficiently popular that the cast made numerous personal appearances and did numerous live performances of the program. It was a very important part of Pennsylvania German culture during its run and beyond, addressing numerous themes and topics of importance to the community, ranging from farm life to community events.

The program was sponsored by Hummel’s Furniture Warehouse in Allentown, Pennsylvania, and was the brainchild of Arthur Mickley, the store’s advertising manager. Mickley hired Lloyd Moll, a Pennsylvania German writer, to write the scripts and to play the role of Asseba; Paul Wieand, another local writer and actor, was then asked by Moll to play the role of Sabina (Wieand is described as having a “very convincing falsetto” [18], which enabled him to play a female role). Lloyd Moll died in February 1944, very early in the show’s run; Harry Hess Reichard, who was a professor of German at Muehlenberg College replaced him as Asseba, while Reverend Clarence R. Rahn replaced him as scriptwriter. The trio of Rahn, Reichard, and Wieand remained in these positions for the remainder of the show’s run. They also reinforced the program’s connection to the community, as they were all important community members. The program’s run ended perhaps somewhat prematurely, as it was still popular, but events in his personal life made it impossible for Paul Wieand to continue with the program, which led to its cancellation.

*Asseba un Sabina* has been the subject of several scholarly works up to this time, most prominently a 1989 article in Pennsylvania Folklife by William Fettermann, a 2010 MA thesis at Pennsylvania State-Harrisburg by Zach Langley, and two articles by the translator of the work reviewed here (one of which appeared in this journal in 2008). The work reviewed here takes a slightly different tack, as it presents English translations of 24 episodes of the program, two for each month of the year. “One . . . is meant to depict an activity that would have typically taken place during that month on a Pennsylvania farmstead . . . [like] picking potatoes in October” while the other is used “to illustrate a particularly humorous situation” (25). For instance, the

episodes chosen for March are “Drei Gleene Sei” (“Three Little Pigs”) and “Der Aerscht Blofogel” (“The First Bluebird”). In the first episode, Asseba and Sabina buy three small pigs from a neighbor and encounter various difficulties while bringing them home; while the second episode focuses on the day on which Asseba and Sabina see the first bluebird of the spring. In addition to the translations, the volume includes a biographical essay on Reverend Rahn, written by his daughter Ruth C. (Rahn) Schaefer, and an introduction by the translator. The volume is also lavishly illustrated by Rachel Yoder.

There is a great deal of value in this work. The translations are very readable and the texts themselves are very enjoyable. The accompanying materials are also useful: the biographical essay on Reverend Rahn does a good job of bringing Reverend Rahn’s numerous achievements to light, while Hanson’s introduction gives a useful concise overview of the program’s history and places it nicely within its social, historical, and cultural context. The illustrations further enhance the value of the work. The book will also potentially be of considerable use for both scholarship and pedagogy; scholars will appreciate the material it makes available, while it could also be employed profitably in courses on a number of topics in German-American studies. The translator is to be applauded for his work in bringing this material to light and making it more widely available.

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