

Book Reviews

Edited by Susan M. Schürer

Immigration

Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way.

By Hasia R. Diner. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015. 280 pp. \$35.00.

Roads Taken is a “story about a mass of ordinary people who in their ordinariness made history” (ix). Hasia R. Diner, the Paul S. and Sylvia Steinberg Professor of American Jewish History at New York University, analyzes the many Jewish peddlers who left their homelands to venture to new countries. She challenges a tendency to argue that Jewish migrations can be explained by anti-Semitism and anti-Jewish violence and insists that “the beckoning of newly opened territory for commerce in widely scattered places more powerfully pulled them out of their old homes than did persecution push them out” (ix). She argues that Jewish peddlers did not choose peddling because they lacked other options but because peddling provided them with an efficient path to achieving a good life. Peddling, therefore, “served as the engine which fostered the great Jewish migration” (2). Readers of this yearbook will be interested to learn that many of the peddlers Diner studies migrated from German-speaking areas such as Bavaria, Baden, the Rhineland, Hesse, and Posen. In fact, as she observed, “there was no village in Southern Germany which was not a frequent scene of leave-taking” (31).

One of the virtues of this book is the attention to detail and compelling descriptions of peddler life. Peddling was often very hard work and peddlers faced hazards when they were on the road. Peddling had an important impact on peddlers, who “developed ideas about their customers that transcended

traditional ideas of non-Jews as ‘just *goyim*’ (85) and customers who “overcame their own parochialism, forcing themselves to think about the world in more complicated and bigger terms than before” (86). Diner highlights many instances of positive relationships between peddlers and customers. Peddlers usually ate and slept in the house of the last customer of the day and when they did so, both groups benefited from “global lessons in specific local cultures” (91). Jews and Christians learned from each other and customers rarely proselytized.

In general, Diner offers a positive and uplifting discussion of peddling. However, she also includes a chapter on the perils of peddling. While most Jewish peddlers had positive encounters with their customers, there were moments of physical violence, mockery, and merchants who attempted to gin up anti-peddler sentiment. And yet, the most frequent danger peddlers faced was not linked to their being Jewish but because they were “men on the road with money and valuable goods” (127). Governments prosecuted people who murdered and assaulted Jewish peddlers (128). Moments of anti-Jewish agitation—such as an anti-Jewish campaign instigated by an Irish priest—provide mixed lessons. While this campaign clearly illustrated that certain sectors of the population, such as merchants, opposed Jewish peddlers, sentiment was never monolithic. In fact, a boycott failed because “when offered the choice between local shopkeepers and Jewish peddlers,” women “opted for the latter” (154).

There are plenty of fascinating arguments in this study, not the least of which is the analysis of the impact of peddlers and peddling. As Diner notes, “Reform and Conservative Judaism developed only in the United States of all the new-world settings, and especially in America did peddling provide Jewish men with a path toward civic integration” (199). Peddling, therefore, gave millions of people a chance to spread to new geographic locations and shaped the great Jewish migration. Peddlers became cultural innovators and facilitated Jewish integration. In sum, peddlers “left the world a different place from the one they had found, changing themselves and making those places and Jewish history modern” (212).

Roads Taken is an impressive achievement that offers an excellent description of Jewish peddlers the world over and their impact. Diner mined a broad array of sources in archives throughout the world and the geographic scope of the book is impressive. Her lively prose, keen eye for detail, careful attention to the stories of individuals, and deft analysis of global patterns make this book both a pleasure to read and incredibly informative. It will not only prove useful in the classroom, both in undergraduate classes and graduate seminars, but will appeal to anyone interested in the subject matter.

Urban Villages and Local Identities: Germans from Russia, Omaha Indians, and Vietnamese in Lincoln, Nebraska.

By Kurt E. Kinbacher. Lubbock, Texas: Texas Tech University Press, 2015. 265 pp. \$39.95.

At first glimpse, Lincoln, Nebraska represents in many respects the quintessential middle-class star city on the Great Plains. At various times it has been described either as a large town or a small urban center, neither too small nor too large. Serving as the state capital and the home of its flagship university, Lincoln also has often been blessed with fairly low unemployment rates in more recent years, partly as a consequence of its significant public service sector. Moreover, in recent decades, the city has served as one of the federal government's major regional immigration centers. Under the relative surface calm, however, lies the ebb and flow of a network of evolving ethnic enclaves and identities that have appeared at different moments in Lincoln's roughly 160-year history.

Kurt E. Kinbacher's timely study *Urban Villages and Local Identities* compares the experiences of three immigrant migrations in Lincoln—the Volga Germans from Russia between the 1870s and 1920s, the Omaha Indians (a sovereign national tribe with its own reservation in eastern Nebraska) after the 1940s, and the Vietnamese since the mid-1970s following the Vietnam War. The common thread running through them is that immigrants have sought out and negotiated opportunities in the urban landscape. In all three cases, the traditional ethnic neighborhood, or the “urban village,” has functioned as a protective zone for ethnic newcomers within the larger, more alien, and sometimes less than receptive dominant society. In time, those identity boundaries have shifted or even dissolved. In sum, the study's historical approach demonstrates how labor demands and migrations (various push and pull factors) over the past century and a half have emerged out of global conditions, in the process reshaping local communities; these communities are local in character but global in reach (i.e., transnational). Because of the topical nature of the annual publication, this review will concentrate more on the Volga German migration experience.

Besides particular ethnic and racial considerations, Volga German descendants today stand as the most assimilated and integrated of the three groups under consideration partly because of their longer sojourn within the community. At its peak in the early decades of the twentieth century, the group constituted about a quarter of the city's population. Kinbacher rightly concludes that the ethnic heritage revival of the past several decades inside the United States has created a new German from Russia community identity that has become increasingly “symbolic” rather than “performed,” much

more so than the other two arrivals, especially the Vietnamese migration which continues to this day and is reinforced by the Internet. Thus, in this instance, the historical irony is that German-Russians revived themselves under the post-1960s and 1970s multiculturalism framework at the same time that most of their living, everyday beliefs, practices, and traditions had eroded or disappeared. With shorter durations in Lincoln, as well as other decisive social factors, the Omaha Indians and Vietnamese also now find themselves at different stages of acculturation and transition within the wider community.

On a more personal note, Kinbacher's survey of Lincoln's "urban villages" impressed this reviewer who was a nearly decade-long city resident descended from Germans from Russia (in this case, immigrants from the Black Sea region to the Dakotas). From the late 1990s to the early 2000s, I resided in the older city center neighborhoods, sometimes referred to as the "Student Ghetto." Completing a doctorate in history at the University of Nebraska, I pursued archival research on the USSR's ethnic German minority and often collaborated with the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia (AHSGR) located nearby in the city's old "South Bottoms," the neighborhood where the first Volga Germans had created their cultural safe space, residences, and institutions. As a result of assimilation and social mobility, however, most group descendants have moved out of both the "North and South Bottoms" since the 1960s and 1970s.

Kinbacher's efforts have afforded this reviewer a splendid review of the community's special civic character as well as a better appreciation and even broader and deeper understanding of its historical development. Though frequenting the bustling local Southeast Asian restaurants and grocery stores along a revitalized Twenty-Seventh Street and being aware of the local Catholic Vietnamese presence (some Buddhists and Protestants can also be found in the group there), I admittedly was generally unfamiliar with the longstanding and even expanding presence of the Omaha Tribe in Lincoln. Upon graduation but before my current academic position, I also was employed in Lincoln for almost three years by a federal contractor under the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (CIS) within the Department of Homeland Security, whereby I learned of the city's recently growing ethnic immigrant networks such as those from Iraq and the former Soviet Union, notably Russians and Ukrainians.

Regarding the transnational nature of the German from Russia community, one small quibble with the study concerns its lack of a more forceful acknowledgment of Soviet Communism's unfortunate political "taint" on the group as a whole during the Red Scare of the early 1920s and again during part of the much longer Cold War era. Perhaps it is prudent in this matter to distinguish between the several geographical and cultural subgroups of Ger-

mans from Russia, such as those from the Black Sea and Volga regions. Based on local press materials at the time, Kinbacher argues with justification that the group in Lincoln made the transition from identifying as “Volga German” to “German American” in the immediate years after learning of the abolition of the Volga German Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in 1941 and Stalin’s ordering the mass deportation and exile of its German population to the USSR’s remote eastern territories. By that point, any effective communications with family behind the Iron Curtain were severed. Certainly, many Volga Germans (and likewise Black Sea Germans) came to identify more with democratic Cold War ally West Germany than Soviet Russia as an ancestral homeland, but in the first few decades of the Cold War a deafening “silence” overcame the broader ethnic community when it concerned its full Diaspora heritage.

Whether fair or not, the potent “double taint” of National Socialism and Soviet Communism often encouraged the Germans from Russia as a whole to downplay or even omit certain pieces of their heritage until more recent decades. First of all, the two world wars against Germany already had aroused negative reactions in the country to most things “German,” even for ethnic compatriots who had once lived in Russia outside of the old Reich. It was true that the Volga Germans who had stayed behind remained beyond Hitler’s reach in the Soviet Union, but the Black Sea Germans faced greater potential backlash later on over supposed Nazi connections as a result of the Third Reich’s brutal wartime occupation of Soviet Ukraine. In some instances, such claims had validity regarding individual postwar Displaced Persons from the Black Sea who had been complicit with the Nazi occupation. Equally significant, however, were the Volga and Black Sea Germans’ ongoing, even if now tenuous, historical and familial ties with Communist Russia, producing adverse psychological effects. Any such group associations with either ideological system overseas, real or perceived, contributed in part to the acculturation process here during the middle decades of the twentieth century, though other more positive incentives in American mainstream society also played a crucial role. German-Russians have been long noted for their traditional passive-aggressive behavior, and a certain “shame” factor, mostly left unspoken, prevailed for years in many quarters of the ethnic community, perhaps sometimes accompanied by a degree of “guilt” over the fate of loved ones left behind in the old country.

In some respects, the Bolshevik Revolution had built upon the earlier American mainstream culture’s more traditional negative stereotypes and views toward so-called “inferior” East Europeans and “dumb” Russians. The Nazi legacy only further muddied the cultural waters, as the “German American” identity did not begin to revive until a generation after the conflict. To

be sure, the historiography has not yet tackled these identity issues head-on. Despite a lingering deep affection for the old country or homeland (*Heimat*) and powerful connections with kinship networks abroad, including compatriots in South America, the Germans from Russia in North America more truly embraced a re-imagined symbolic transnational community only following the broader ethnic revival phenomenon of the 1960s and 1970s, when such sentiments seemed “safer” and more acceptable for them to express within the confines of a more mature or developed sense of American or Canadian identity. The end of the Cold War and rise of the Internet only further strengthened this cultural orientation.

Thanks to Kinbacher’s theoretical approaches, additional interesting comparisons could indeed be made between immigrant Volga German views of their former Russian and German homelands and immigrant Vietnamese attitudes toward Communism in their former homeland in the Vietnam conflict’s aftermath. In addition, following in the footsteps of visionary Nez Perce anthropologist Archie Phinney (1904-1949), who examined state policies toward native populations in both the Americas and early Soviet Central Asia, comparisons on the national sovereignty rights and shifting legal status of Omaha Indians could provide scholars with further insights on the previous cultural and political autonomy rights of Volga Germans in the USSR.

On the whole, Kinbacher has produced a well-documented piece of scholarship, pulling together an extensive body of primary and secondary sources from different languages. He also conducted some oral history interviews with elders and others from the respective “urban villages.” Along with historic images, maps, tables, and a useful index, especially commendable is his utilization of available local archival materials and resources. For these and other reasons, *Urban Villages and Local Identities* helps advance comparative ethnic and migration studies on the Great Plains and is strongly recommended for inclusion at university libraries and special heritage collections. Additionally, it will help inform various social science and humanities courses held at both the undergraduate and graduate level. Above all, by combining rigorous comparative methods with engaging transnational community narratives, it sheds valuable light on the still too often neglected Volga German, Omaha Indian, and Vietnamese experiences.

In conclusion, *Urban Villages and Local Identities* is welcome at a most critical point as immigration to the United States has reached record numbers and a level of diversity not seen since before the First World War. Moreover, the larger matter of global, cross-border mass migrations increasingly has taken international center stage since the Cold War’s conclusion more than a generation ago. Kinbacher makes evident that pressing and sometimes controversial issues of acculturation, assimilation, and even native backlash

have cropped up time and again in our national narrative, but the evolving American fabric, despite its faults and fractures, has proved far more durable and flexible than imagined to weather the storms of cultural challenge and political adversity. To a certain extent, the powerful host culture and resilient immigrant communities must indeed be willing to give and take amid myriad social negotiations. Given enough time and opportunity, the American experiment can still encourage, facilitate, and normalize the integration of divergent waves of immigrants and “urban villages” arriving on the host country’s shores without necessarily washing away all traditional cultural differences and linguistic identities nor drowning out what all can share in common as citizens.

Northwestern Oklahoma State University

Eric J. Schmaltz

Common Foundations

Citizens of a Common Intellectual Homeland: The Transatlantic Origins of American Democracy and Nationhood.

By Armin Mattes. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2015. 280 pp. \$45.00.

Historian Armin Mattes takes a new approach to understanding early American political philosophies in *Citizens of a Common Intellectual Homeland*. This intellectual history argues that the development of democracy in the United States was neither uniquely American nor a sudden event. Instead, he convincingly demonstrates the concepts of American democracy, equality, and nationalism evolved through the exchange of enlightened ideas between European and American intellectuals in the context of broader popular urges to change rigid social hierarchies and government structures during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Furthermore, the French Revolution played a more crucial role than previously thought in transforming the notion of popular sovereignty into the modern concepts of democracy and individual liberties protected by law.

Mattes expertly compares the thoughts of four sets of American and European philosophers. He begins with an examination of Thomas Paine and Edmund Burke’s interpretations of equality revealing that both shared basic beliefs such as limiting the authority of a monarch and establishing a constitutionally based federal system that distributes power equally between institutions. The French Revolution, however, inspired them to further refine

underlying differences in opinion. While Burke argued in *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) that individuals are naturally unequal and therefore require a constitutional government to protect historically proven hierarchical structures and privileges, Paine insisted in his reply, *The Rights of Man* (1791, 1972), that the foundation of any government rested on the consent by its citizens as well as the equal protection of social and political rights of all individuals living in such a democratic society.

Evaluation of John Adams' thoughts and John Quincy Adams' use of Friedrich von Gentz's words to defend Federalist ideology during the 1800 presidential campaign illustrates that their arguments for a constitutional government balancing power between the privileged and common people through separate branches of government may have been radical ideals during the American Revolution but reflected reactionary beliefs in the wake of the French Revolution because they did not advocate social or individual equality. Consequently, Mattes asserts, debate over the meaning of the American Revolution by 1800 contributed to the emergence of "modern conservatism" (100).

James Madison, as well, seemed to have changed his political philosophy in the early 1790s as he transitioned from Federalist to Republican ideology. Mattes quite convincingly demonstrates through the analysis of several essays Madison published in the *National Gazette* in 1792 that as a result of the debates in the United States over the French Revolution, the future president refined his own interpretation of the concept of popular sovereignty to mean democratic republicanism. Consequently, a sovereign nation based on the rule of and by the people would be more likely to contribute to world peace than one based on aristocratic privilege. Madison thus contributed to the widening disagreements between the emerging political parties and increased public acceptance of the term democracy. Mattes' exploration of Immanuel Kant's *Perpetual Peace* (1795) illustrates that revolution and war inspired similar thoughts about democracy and peace in Europe, but the author does not clearly connect Kant's thoughts to the transatlantic theme of *Citizens of a Common Intellectual Homeland*.

Mattes' comparison of Thomas Jefferson and Destutt de Tracy's ideals serves as the final piece in the puzzle of how the United States evolved into a democratic nation. Jefferson, who had personally witnessed the early years of the French Revolution, modified the definition of America as a nation of a united people who as legally equal citizens shared power in their uniquely democratic and republican form of government and who should serve as an example to other nations. Paradoxically, this definition, mirrored by Tracy's definition of a nation in France, also excluded groups of people, such as Native Americans and African Americans, and contributed to a heightened sense

of nationalism. The epilogue explains how reformers during the 1830s expanded the definitions of equality, democracy, and nation even further to include people who had been marginalized based on class, gender, and race.

This *Begriffsgeschichte*, or analysis of how concepts change within the context of their contemporary history, thus offers new insight into the development of the United States as a democratic republic and the ever evolving debates over what it meant, or means, to be an American. This work is therefore a must read for any scholar or teacher of early, as well as contemporary, American history.

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Petra DeWitt

Revolutions without Borders: The Call to Liberty in the Atlantic World.

By Janet Polasky. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015. 392 pp. \$35.00.

Revolutions without Borders is a story of how “freed slaves, poets, and philosophers took to the roads of America, Europe, and Africa and the sea lanes of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean in search of liberty” (1). Janet Polasky, currently Presidential Professor of History at the University of New Hampshire, has spent much of her career writing about revolutions. The book focuses on the period 1776—1804, the start of the American Revolution to the end of the Haitian Revolution. It explores both well-known revolutions—American, French, and Haitian—and movements which “fizzled out and have been largely forgotten” (3). The main argument, that people did not conceive of freedom in isolation and ideas moved rapidly throughout an interconnected Atlantic world, is convincing. Not all revolutionaries subscribed to an all-encompassing vision but they saw continuities among the various movements and blended ideas. One of the strengths of this book is that it recovers the idealism of revolutionaries as well as “the uncertainty and disappointments they experienced in the search for liberty” (12). Revolutions, Polasky notes, were not bound by national borders, and to analyze them in that light is misguided. Rather, itinerants traveled on a boisterous sea of liberty, rocked and buffeted by the waves, disappointed at times, but sustained throughout by a burning idealism and a desire to create new worlds.

Each chapter in this book examines different types of documents and Polasky highlights both traditional and nontraditional sources. She begins with pamphlets, because they, not muskets, ignited and linked revolutions. She examines the dissemination and reception of Thomas Paine’s *Common Sense* and analyzes how many Europeans came to understand the American Revo-

lution “not as exceptional, but as a beacon foreshadowing what was to come in Europe” (26). Just as pamphlets crossed the Atlantic, so did revolutionary travelers and journals. Travelers published narratives to promote causes and foster transatlantic connections and their ideas often influenced politics in other countries. Polasky also analyzes black narratives, noting that black people moved along the margins of revolutions but their narratives “forced their readers on both sides of the Atlantic to confront the experience of human bondage” (76). During this period, newspapers circulation exploded and newspaper clubs offered alternative public spaces and helped promote a revolutionary public sociability. Many white officials feared the “vast network of clubs” because they saw them as “agents carrying the revolutionary contagion to the colonies from the metropole” (138). Rumors and intrigues, some real, some imagined, testified to white fears. Polasky also investigates the recasting of families in novels and argues that writing novels was a revolutionary act because it made the domestic political.

In chapter seven, a particularly compelling discussion, Polasky surveys several sets of letter writers: Louis Otto and Nancy Shippen, Ruth and Joel Barlow, Thomas Short and the duchesse de la Rochefoucauld, and Louis Otto and América Francès de Crèvecoeur, to good effect. These men and women, she sensibly contends, “were negotiating their places not only within their families but in the revolutionary community in formation for more than a decade” and “letters exchanged between revolutionary partners reveal the contested possibilities of that transformation in progress” (231). Chapter eight, a discussion of revolutionary diplomacy, or armed cosmopolitanism, explores how French policy became “a bellicose universalism anchored in patriotic nationalism” (236). When the French attempted to impose their ideas and beliefs throughout Europe, many people wondered whether the cosmopolitan French Revolution, “embraced and energized by revolutionaries from every corner of the Atlantic for a decade, had finally been overwhelmed by calculations of French national interest” (253).

Polasky is fully attentive to the positive and negative elements of this story. By 1804, the end of the period she studies, many Europeans, particularly the Germans whose lands had been invaded by French armies, grew alienated by the armed cosmopolitanism of the French. In addition, revolutionaries in other parts of the world “found themselves out of step with national politics” (270). Nationalism, Polasky asserts, marginalized itinerants with a cosmopolitan worldview. However, she observes, cosmopolitanism co-existed, even if uneasily, with emerging national citizenship and that “the roots of internationalism are as old as the nation-states” (275). Polasky concludes by reinforcing the impermanent nature of borders.

There is much to appreciate about *Revolutions without Borders*. Polasky consulted an impressive number of sources in archives across the Atlantic world and to call the geographic scope of her book sweeping would be an understatement. In addition, she focuses on revolutionaries who “could not make a convincing claim for their lasting fame” (13) and by so doing demonstrates that their words and actions were no less important than their more famous contemporaries. In sum, this book will appeal to an academic audience and will work well in undergraduate and graduate seminars dealing with the Age of Revolutions, the Atlantic World, and transnational history. It will also interest general readers.

The Pennsylvania State University

Evan C. Rothera

Canadian Connections

The Little Third Reich on Lake Superior: A History of Canadian Internment Camp R.

By Ernest Robert Zimmermann. Eds. Michel S. Beaulieu and David K. Ratz. Edmonton, Alberta: The University of Alberta Press, 2015. 384 pp. C\$29.95.

The first months of 1940 had not gone well for Britain's First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill. The UK had been in a state of war with Nazi Germany since the previous September, when the German *Blitzkrieg* had overwhelmed Poland. However, the conflict had often been referred to as the “Phoney War” due to a lack of actual combat, save for the Soviet invasion of Finland and German attacks on the high seas. Then, in the early days of April, the Axis powers seemed to catch the British flat-footed with a sudden invasion of Denmark and Norway, followed in early May by a rapid escalation of hostilities on the Western Front. The German invasion of France and the Low Countries left the British no recourse but to effect an evacuation of its troops at Dunkirk.

Clearly, someone had to bear the blame, and as early as April, British newspapers had begun to point a collective finger toward a Nazi fifth column within Britain. The chain of military disasters had led to the resignation of Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain on May 10th. His successor, Churchill, as a high-profile defense minister, may also have felt especially vulnerable to charges of culpability. Thus, it seems hardly surprising that Churchill eagerly jumped on this journalistic bandwagon, as the fifth column charge was an opportunity to shift the blame and buy time for his administration. As the late

historian Ernest Zimmermann points out, the British authorities were not deflected from their goal by an adherence to truth: "Instead of clarifying the murky situation, [the government's own information service] merely recycled rumors and half-true, exaggerated tales of murder, sabotage, deception and mayhem perpetrated allegedly by enemy alien refugees in the fifth column" (28). Thus there was little public protest when British authorities began to round up hundreds of purported German conspirators, including merchant seamen, captured soldiers, genuine German agents, active anti-Nazi immigrants, alien students and apprentices, and Jewish refugees from Nazi terror. Although government tribunals were appointed to sort out questionable cases, many of the final classifications of Category A (active conspirators), Category B (doubtful cases), and Category C (blameless refugees), were clearly made in error.

While the atmosphere in London was approaching hysteria, and British soldiers were tied up running domestic concentration camps for over 9000 aliens, Churchill's regime desperately needed to find a more distant dumping ground for the internees. Why not Canada? Unfortunately for Whitehall, the Canadian government in far-off Ottawa was initially not at all amenable to taking on the responsibility for such a large number of internees. In the end, an enormous amount of British pressure on the Canadian government resulted in the transfer of the bulk of the accused to hastily built Canadian internment facilities in such outlying locations as Red Rock, Ontario, sixty-some miles north of Thunder Bay. The most interesting history of what became known as Camp R is the subject of Zimmermann's study.

As there proved to be a dearth of previous research on Camp R, Zimmermann focused on original sources, such as reports, diaries and letters, and archival material to complete his study. One of his first findings was that on the Canadian side, Mackenzie King's Liberal government remained skeptical of Britain's explanations of the need for a mass deportation. Nonetheless, by the end of June the first contingent of the deportees had arrived and the rapidly constructed Camp R was made ready to receive them. Within a few weeks, it had become the largest of the 15 internment camps in Canada. Zimmermann concludes that of the camp's 1150 prisoners of war, 770 were civilian mariners, of whom 40 or more were merchant marine ship officers, while many others were apprentices aboard not only merchant ships, but also luxury liners. Of the remaining 400, about a quarter were professed Nazis and their sympathizers, while most of the rest were anti-Nazi and Jewish refugees or previous immigrants from German-speaking countries who had made the mistake of failing to become naturalized. Further analysis by Kenneth Kirkness, the camp's staff intelligence officer, revealed that the anti-Nazis alone could be divided into as many as 15 separate subgroups, differing in

ethnicity, creed, profession, social class and religion, from near-Communists, to adventurers, members of the Socialist International Seaman's Union, Jewish and non-Jewish refugees, and even currency smugglers. But to the military authorities in and beyond the camp, they were initially thought to be "all POW's" (182).

The work of the camp guards would have been much easier if the internees had indeed been all POW's. The guards were of necessity charged with mediating between the pro- and anti-Nazi factions among the prisoners, without having the advantage of any previous knowledge of their background. Initially, prisoners were housed with no regard to their ideologies, and conflicts were rife, especially bullying and harassment on the part of the pro-Nazis. The guards found it especially difficult to sympathize with the lot of the Jewish refugees: if they had been so maltreated in their homeland, why would they be willing to form a fifth column in the land which had become their refuge?

One of the primary bones of contention arose over the rights of prisoners to decorate their living space with Nazi symbols and even portraits of Hitler. Unsurprisingly, these were banned. In these and other matters, ship's captain F. Oskar Scharf, who had been recognized by camp commandant Raymond Berry as the prisoners' "camp leader," presented their petitions to the authorities. Eventually, this dispute was resolved on the basis of reciprocity, in that Camp R's prisoners were given equivalent privileges to those granted to British POW's in Nazi-run internment camps. Perhaps Scharf's most signal accomplishment was to persuade the camp authorities to allow him to move the warring factions into separate quarters, an action which undoubtedly reduced the potential for conflict.

Prisoners were generally well treated and well fed, and allowed not only to participate in sports activities, but also to pursue language learning and enroll in camp classes in such practical subjects as navigation, mechanics, and engineering. Meanwhile, it was only a matter of weeks before those in authority began to realize that the nature of their prisoners was quite different from the "crack Nazi parachutists" they had been expecting. By the end of the summer of 1940, even before the British were prevailed upon to send former prison commissioner Alexander Paterson to sort out the inequities, the prison directorate had taken the initiative to send Camp R's true refugees to newly constructed camps in eastern Canada, designated for blameless internees. The Paterson Mission had completed that task well before finishing its work in June of 1941, and as the threat of invasion had passed, the British government was willing to admit that its initial response had been an overreaction. By the fall of 1941, Camp R, which had been intended only as temporary

quarters, was permanently closed and its prisoners reassigned to other compatible camps.

In his conclusion, Zimmermann notes the evidence that the camp's *Little Third Reich* epithet was not fully deserved, as it stemmed from a spate of anti-Semitic violence in the early days of its existence. The majority of the imprisoned seamen involved in these incidents were young, impressionable, and vulnerable in their naïveté and general docility to bend to the will of the small group of hardcore Nazis among them. All in all, however, Camp R proved, in Zimmermann's words, to be "one of the least troublesome" of the Canadian internment camps.

As for the fate of the prisoners, while most of these seamen were not released until after the war's end to repatriate to a ruined homeland, a number of them eventually immigrated to Canada to start a new life. On the other hand, many of the political refugees returned to Britain to help in the Allied war effort, while others opted to remain in Canada. Even though this case study is fascinating in itself, the lessons of Camp R apply as well to the broader history of wartime civilian internments, especially of Japanese-Americans in the same war.

Readers will find this work to be clearly organized, lucidly written, well edited and thoroughly documented. Additionally, the use of archival photographs throughout the work is a noteworthy feature. It is highly recommended as a valuable addition to any collection covering the history of World War II.

Longwood University

Geoffrey Orth

More than Just Games: Canada and the 1936 Olympics.

By Richard Menkins & Harold Troper. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015. 281pp. \$20.96.

In conjunction with the 80th anniversary of the Olympic games in Berlin, a wave of new publications address aspects of this propaganda spectacle, which the Nazis hosted from February 6 to 16 and August 1 to 16, 1936. While the games were awarded to Berlin in 1931, the ascent to power by the National Socialists in January of 1933 led immediately to questions in some countries (United Kingdom, USA, Canada, France, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Netherlands) as to whether participation in the games might abet the political rulers in Berlin and their racial policies. As it turned out, very few nations (Spain, Soviet Union) actually boycotted the games, although indi-

vidual athletes from several states refused to participate. Menkins and Troper provide a well-researched account of this discourse in the Canadian context. Through a mostly chronological approach, they piece together information from newspapers, archives, minutes of the committees involved, as well as printed eyewitness accounts from travelers to Germany. The detailed retelling of the flurries of private meetings and public sermons (Rabbi Eisendraht, as the backbone of the Jewish boycott movement), alliances, and denouncements is fascinating.

Outlining the main boycott proponents, first, the political left, mostly under communist influence, and, second, the Jewish organizations, Menkins and Troper investigate their respective motivations and follow their struggles to unify into one organization each. In the end, the two resulting groups, the Canadian League against War and Fascism (CLAWF) and the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) fought their battle for a boycott of the Berlin Olympics separately and suspiciously of each other. The authors also take a critical look at the members and the operations of the Canadian Olympic Committee (COC) from the late 1920s to 1936 and also touch on Canadian immigration policies as further evidence that Canadian society of the 1930s was rife with anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism. The authors note the absence of Jews, Catholics, and Aborigines from sports clubs and their leadership organizations. They argue that the lack of support for the boycott of the games is, partly, rooted in the dominance of the white, conservative, Protestant, Anglophone ruling class in Canada. Calls for the boycott from other parts of society were blatantly ignored (108, 208). The authors also contrast the Canadian boycott movement with that of the neighboring United States and, to a lesser extent, that of Great Britain. For the latter, Menkins and Troper could have provided more detail, especially since Canada, or at least, some of its influential sports writers, did not want to “be influenced by American opinion” (87) and followed the British decision to go to Berlin. In the aftermath of the failed boycott, so the conclusion by Menkins and Troper, only a few of its proponents asked themselves why they failed. The communists went on to recruit volunteers for the Spanish Civil War, and the CJC was now more concerned about the boycott of German goods in Canada, in general. The volume closes with a quote by Canadian Press correspondent Elmer Dulmage: “A boycott would have been better.”

The book could probably have benefitted from more precise research on non-Canadian events. When, for example, the authors write about the 1931 IOC meeting in Barcelona “. . . Rome had no chance of being selected” as host city for the 1936 Olympics, the reader might have liked a short explanation as to why this city didn’t have a chance. The same can be said of the economic situation. Germany not only experienced the economic crisis in

1929 (as did the rest of the world), but had had to fight hyperinflation since in 1922/23, spurred on by government war loans. Yet, significantly, Germany did not have food rations during the preparation for the Olympics (“The state made available . . . extra food rations in a country suffering food shortages.” 19). Due to a fat shortage, Nazis propaganda did encourage the frugal use of fats and had declared a monthly *Eintopfsonntag* (Soup Sunday) as early as 1933, but food rationing and food stamps did not go into effect until four days before the start of World War II. Another aspect of the book that would have benefited the reader is a less flippant language. Sentences such as “Enter Hitler and the Nazis” (11) or “Jews, the most urban of all immigrant groups to Canada, stood out like a sore thumb” (19) are not only unsuitable for academic writing but also for the subject matter at hand, in general. Unfortunately, the book is riddled with such colloquialisms.

These issues aside, *More than Just Games* is a valuable contribution to the research on the 1936 Olympics.

University of Mary Washington

Marcel P. Rotter

Religion and Theology

After Identity: Mennonite Writing in North America.

Edited by Robert Zacharias. State College, PA: Pennsylvania University Press/ Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 2015. 244 pp. PB \$31.95

After six conferences on “Mennonite/s Writing,” Robert Zacharias (University of Waterloo) and fellow Mennonite writer, Julia Spicher Kasdorf (Penn State University), organized a symposium at Penn State University to explore the role of identity in Mennonite literature. The symposium brought together twelve Canadian and American writers, who met over four days to read and critique each other’s work. The result, ambivalently titled *After Identity: Mennonite Writing in North America*, edited by Robert Zacharias, is a provocative collection of twelve essays that claims a distinctive “Mennonite literature,” while, at the same time, asserting that Mennonite literature transcends ethnic or religious identity. Questioning “Mennonite/s writing,” this collection recognizes both the influence of history and established “Mennonite” narrative on literature produced by Mennonites and the possibility of moving beyond ethnoreligious identity to celebrate a literature produced by writers who in some way are linked to a Mennonite world, albeit one that is fluid, diverse, and unstandardized.

Capturing this ambivalence, Robert Zacharias' excellent introduction to this work, "After Identity: Mennonite/s Writing in North America," divides the essays that follow into two groups. The first group, entitled "Reframing Identity," includes six essays that explore the role of Mennonite identity in Mennonite literature to date. For example, in her essay, "The Autoethnographic Announcement and the Story," Julia Spicher Kasdorf notes that the "declaration of [Mennonite]identity" is ubiquitous in Mennonite writing, erupting "as an instance of apparent nonfiction, even in fictional works" (25), an announcement of sorts that the writer is authentic (and different from the audience), even as these short pieces often oversimplify Mennonite history, culture, and religion. As Kasdorf points out, the autoethnographic announcement is often less about dispensing information and more about providing the author's viewpoint of his/her culture and background. In "A Mennonite *Fin de Siècle*," Royden Loewen explores Mennonite identity at the beginning of the twenty-first century, a time when the traditional agrarian lifestyle of racially, if not culturally homogeneous Mennonite farmers has given way to a diverse, urban and suburban Mennonite population. Suggesting that "the last decades of the twentieth century and the first years of the twenty-first represented a vast redrawing of the Mennonite world" (37), Loewen argues that twenty-first century Mennonite writing critiques Mennonite modernity while romanticizing the agrarian lifestyle of the early Anabaptists. It's Mennonite acculturation and assimilation that is challenged, not Mennonite faith or history. Ervin Beck's "Mennonite Transgressive Literature" looks at seven particular works to explore the tradition in Mennonite writing of giving offense to many Mennonite readers and suggests the need to pay closer attention to the reception of literary works by different audiences. "The reception of literary works," Beck argues, "is part of their accumulated meaning, and the transgressive aspect of Mennonite literature sometimes has social consequences" (66). Paul Tiessen's essay, "Double Identity. Covering the *Peace Shall Destroy Many* Project," explores how the cover of the first edition of this work was at odds with the work itself and suggests that Mennonite literary works are often influenced by non-Mennonite forces.

The interaction of non-Mennonite influences and Mennonite identity is further explored in the last two essays of this first part. In "After Ethnicity. Gender, Voice, and an Ethic of Care in the of Di Brandt and Julia Spicher Kasdorf," Ann Hostetler looks at how each of these two is influenced, but hardly constrained, by their Mennonite identity. Rather, in unique ways, she argues that they have drawn from their ethnic-religious heritage to engage the broader world. In the final essay in this first part, editor Zacharias asserts an *essentialized* Mennonite identity, "the Mennonite thing," that Mennonite writers evoke even as they question it. Moreover, he argues, "many authors

now are willing to engage with elements of it as a primary mode of identity rather than strictly as a falsification of a 'true' identity in need of defense (or, as the case might be, as a stable identity in need of critique)" (110). Citing the poetry of Julia Kasdorf, Jeff Gundy, and David Wright, Zacharias suggests that Mennonite writers evoke not some specific Mennonite identity but an amalgamation of stereotyped elements (e.g. dress and language, quilts, behaviors), further perpetuating an identity that must be disavowed, evoking Mennonite identity even as they repudiate it.

While the first part highlights and interrogates the influence of Mennonite identity, essays in the second part of this collection, "Expanding Identity," suggest a literature that has moved beyond it. In "In Praise of Hybridity: Reflections from Southwestern Manitoba," Di Brandt asserts that the time has come to stop evoking the Mennonite past and to relinquish a narrow "martyr identity." Reflecting on the influences that have shaped her own life and writing, Brandt claims a "cultural hybridity" and urges an inclusive identity that recognizes a variety of cultural, gendered, and historical influences. In "Queering Mennonite Literature," Daniel Shank Cruz reimagines Mennonite identity in suggesting that Mennonite writing is a critique of society in general. Stripping the work of its Mennonite elements, he argues, does not alter its political importance. Jeff Gundy reflects on his own writing process in "Toward a Poetics of Identity." Such a poetics, he suggests, "might be constructed of many small pieces, not one grand narrative; might be built of multiple realizations and epiphanies and minor encounters rather than sweeping generalizations" (166). No narrative, Gundy argues, is final, and so writers must simply tell their own stories. In "Question, Answer," Jesse Nathan suggests that a Mennonite identity emerges in the persistent questioning, the jettisoning of predetermined answers, and the refusal to embrace closure. Magdalene Redekop argues the need to focus on the work rather than the author in "'Is Menno in There?' The Case of 'The Man Who Invented Himself'." In a close reading of Patrick Friesen's "the man who invented himself," she questions whether the poem has a Mennonite accent and then whether or not that matters. Ultimately, she suggests, "Non-Mennonite readers will be on different 'traveling frequencies' and have different associations, but a good poem will resonate just as deeply with them" (207). The final essay of this collection, "After Identity. Liberating the Mennonite Literary Text," Hildi Froese Tiessen reflects on both the diversity of Mennonite identities and the rich diversity of Mennonite/s writing, pointing out the paradox that much of the body of writing hardly addresses the diverse ways of being Mennonite. The challenge, Tiessen suggests, is for Mennonite/s writing to "identify, describe, or represent the Mennonite in the twenty-first century in North America" (216).

This is a worthy collection and important reading for those interested in literature and literary criticism, but it's not a collection for a general audience. These essays come out of an academic context, were revised in a university symposium, and treat the range of Mennonite writing writ small. Although, Zacharias asserts in his introduction, the term "Mennonite/s Writing" reflects "a desire to mark an interest in a wide variety of texts (hence *writing* rather than *literature*)" (8), in broadening the scope of work to be considered, it becomes clear how much is left out. The works treated in these essays are, for the most part, the literature produced by university-educated poets and novelists. But how has this literary canon of Mennonite writing evolved? Where does one put a work like Sara Stambaugh's *I Hear the Reaper's Song* or Pamela Klasen's *Going by the Moon and the Stars*? How are we to consider the writings of Plain Mennonites, the short stories that appear in conservative Mennonite publications, the novels that are produced by authors who in the end remain faithful to their conservative, and unassimilated, church communities, and who cannot, as Tiessen urges, "refuse to give [Mennonite identity] the front seat" (223). While Mennonite/s writing can include the works of authors who no longer identify as Mennonite (e.g. Rhoda Janzen, now a practicing Pentecostal), is there a place for writers such as Becky McGurrin, author of works popular among conservative Mennonites? Does Mennonite publishing help to define Mennonite/s writing?

After Identity. Mennonite Writing in North America is an intriguing collection. It will certainly fuel much more discussion of Mennonite/s writing.

SUNY Potsdam

Karen M. Johnson-Weiner

The German Roots of Nineteenth-Century American Theology.

By Annette G. Aubert. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013. 402 pp. \$78.00.

In *The German Roots of Nineteenth-Century American Theology*, Annette G. Aubert examines the contributions of Continental theology and intellectual forces that influenced Reformed theologians in nineteenth-century America. The Reformed theological landscape in the United States experienced significant changes that, according to Aubert, ought to be assessed by considering the broader intellectual context. Scholars like E. Brooks Holifield, Leonard C. Allen, and David Hoeveler Jr, to name but a few, have acknowledged a transatlantic exchange that occurred in the field of theology and intellectual endeavor; however, research on this theological cross-fertilization has been limited to the influence of Scottish Common Sense Realism and Baconian

science on American Reformed theology. In her present work, Aubert argues that Reformed theologians in America also borrowed from and expanded on “imported theology” from Germany and that the understanding about such borrowings is an important step toward comprehending how American Reformed clergy contextualized their own theology in the antebellum age of Enlightenment thinking.

Aubert investigates the influence of German theology and intellectual development on nineteenth-century American Reformed theologians by examining the ways in which Emanuel Vogel Gerhart of Mercersburg Theological Seminary and Charles Hodge of Princeton Theological Seminary interacted with and selected from theological ideas from their German contemporaries. In particular, she brings to sharp focus the engagement of these two American theologians with the liberal theology of Friedrich D. E. Schleiermacher, the confessional orthodoxy of E. Wilhelm T. Hengstenberg, and the various formulations of *Vermittlungstheologie* (mediating theology) offered by German theology scholars like Carl Ullmann, Friedrich Tholuck, Karl Hagenbach, and Isaak Dorner. Although Hodges and Gerhart lived and worked in a different social, political, and historical context than that of European theologians, as Aubert points out in the introduction of her book, they faced comparable theological challenges prompted by a “Zeitgeist similar to that taking place in Europe in terms of modern sciences and the Industrial Revolution” (7). For her analysis, Aubert traces specific theological methods and conceptions of the atonement to illustrate how the Reformed theologians at Mercersburg and Princeton integrated German theology into their thinking and writing.

In the first three chapters of the book that comprise Part One, Annette Aubert discusses the formative impact diverse theological and intellectual directions had on the European and American contexts of the nineteenth century; for instance, in the first chapter, she elucidates the influences of Scottish Common Sense Realism, the inductive scientific methods of modern thinkers like Francis Bacon and Alexander von Humboldt, Romanticism, and Hegelianism. She also outlines the means by which these European philosophies and methods were transmitted to America, including American students studying in Germany, transatlantic book trade networks, and translation projects. In the second and third chapters, she further describes how Schleiermacher’s subjective and progressive theology as well as the theological characteristics and interpretations of mediating theology were received in America.

In Part Two of her monograph, Aubert then explores the role these influences played in the development of the theological methods that were advanced by Gerhart and Hodge. Chapters four and five give an account of how Emanuel Vogel Gerhart overcame the traditional theological approach

by drawing from sources of continental mediating theology. Gerhart, a largely understudied figure who was chosen by Aubert for his production of a systematic theology of Mercersburg doctrine in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1894), expressed his alliance with mediating theologians when claiming that “each new age of the church must change ‘the universal truth in a mould of its own’” (101). Furthermore, the author demonstrates that Gerhart distanced his theology from the prevailing American views of the atonement by his adaptation of Schleiermacher’s notion that the redeeming act of Christ is in his incarnation rather than in his death or resurrection and acknowledging that incarnation is a means of achieving a union between humanity and the divine.

In the last two chapters of the book, Aubert describes Charles Hodge’s efforts to establish a theological method in the context of modern science, Schleiermacher, and mediating theology. Unlike Gerhart, Hodge actually condemned mediating theology as “Christian only by name” (159). Instead, he was interested in the ideas of the conservative German theologian Hengstenberg whose lectures he attended while studying in Berlin. With Hengstenberg, Hodge shared the initiative to “vindicate orthodox theology” and the approval of the “satisfaction theory about atonement” (162). Aubert shows that while Hodge formulated a scientific theology, he employed a method that related to his exegetical theology based on the inductive approach to theology inspired by the German mediating theologian Tholuck.

Annette Aubert’s painstakingly researched and carefully written study on German influences on American theology sheds much needed light on the debate about formative impact upon the Reformed theological landscape of nineteenth-century America and thus makes a significant contribution to the understanding of vital issues in American intellectual and religious history. Aubert should be commended for both illuminating the neglected but important figure of Emanuel Vogel Gerhart and also meticulously researching Charles Hodge’s theology and challenging the traditional historiography of North American evangelicalism by concluding that “it cannot be argued that Hodge based his theology primarily on Scottish philosophy or rationalism [. . .]. Instead his theological views on anthropology are in agreement with Calvinism and Reformed orthodoxy [inspired by Hengstenberg and Turretin]” (224-25). Her well-argued revisionist study demonstrates in-depth knowledge about the religious history within the transatlantic context and should be particularly welcomed by modern historians of religion who entertain an interest in the development of Reformed theology in the United States.

Peace, Progress and the Professor: The Mennonite History of C. Henry Smith.

By Perry Bush. Harrisonburg, VA: Herald Press, 2015. 456 pp. \$29.99.

What does it mean to be a Mennonite in the modern world? How can one unify the Mennonite Church, whose history is marked by divisions? And what contributions can Mennonites make if engaging with American society? These questions were carefully considered by the historian C. Henry Smith, whose life story is vividly narrated by Perry Bush in *Peace, Progress and the Professor*. As a member of a faith community that constructed socioeconomic and theological walls to the outside world after having suffered much persecution and death caused by the reigning church-states in early modern Europe, Smith reconsidered Mennonite determination in North America to enforce physical and cultural separation from the outside world. His questions concerning Mennonite identity and the benefits of crossing the boundaries of isolated church communities to advance the peace witness are crucial in understanding the Mennonite experience in twentieth-century North America. The account of Smith's life and work provides insight into the biography of one of the foremost, progress-minded Mennonite intellectuals while simultaneously examining the contentious era of late nineteenth-/early twentieth-century *Mennonitism* that brings to mind the struggles and turmoil present in the twenty-first-century church.

Starting his account of C. Henry Smith's life with a quotation from the historian's own childhood memoir, posthumously published in *Mennonite Country Boy*: "I am a thoroughbred Mennonite," Bush chronicles Smith's development as a "young Amish Mennonite boy whose thirst for education would lead him to untold heights of academic accomplishment while never losing touch with his humble heritage" (23). In the first four chapters of the book, the biographer traces Smith's emergence as a young scholar who makes his own way as an educational pioneer "in the exciting intellectual milieu of progressivism" (24). After graduating from the county high school near his home, he taught elementary school for three years before continuing his education at Illinois State Normal University and the University of Illinois where he received a M.A. in 1903. In 1907, he earned a doctorate at the University of Chicago as the first known American Mennonite to secure the Ph.D. degree and continue in the church. In his doctoral dissertation, *Mennonites of America*, he investigated the history of his faith and its people. He continued exploring Anabaptist-Mennonite history with much academic rigor throughout his career as history professor at Goshen College (1908-1913) and Bluffton College (1913-1948). His most outstanding work, *The Story of the Men-*

nonites (1941) offers a comprehensive historical survey of *Mennonitism* that served as the standard work on the subject for the past decades.

According to Bush, Smith made the commitment during his doctoral study to pursue objective historiography “on behalf of his Mennonite people and in the service of a usable past” (101). This commitment included a progressive reading of Mennonite ethnicity. In comparison to his confessionalist colleagues John Horsch and Harold S. Bender who espoused a faith and historiography that excluded more controversial early Anabaptist figures such as Hans Denck and Bathasar Hubmaier, Smith departed from the idealized concept of the Anabaptist story and moved toward a more complex depiction of the early movement’s roots. Bush analyzes the differences between Smith and his critics in the second half of the biography by examining arguments made on both sides, the progressive and the fundamentalist, on important issues of the nature of the church, authority, and core tenets of faith.

The author’s description of C. Henry Smith’s approach to dealing with academic adversaries provides a lesson on conflict resolution. Although the Bluffton historian had been accused of “religious anarchy” by his Goshen counterparts, he commonly responded to such accusations with patience and professionalism, and was even able to maintain fellowship with his critics (264). Throughout the book, Bush’s analysis of the disagreements between Smith (along with other progressives) and more conservative church scholars regarding acceptable phrasing of Mennonite history and theology reveals deep lines of fracture in the church deriving from the question of what it means to be Mennonite in a time of profound socio-cultural change. While conservatives within the early twentieth-century Mennonite church insisted on protecting their faith from outside influences, Smith, as a progressive intellectual, proposed an active engagement of Mennonites with American society by which they share their rich heritage of democratic individualism, religious toleration, and peacemaking with the community around them. Ultimately, however, as Bush concludes, Smith was concerned about the unity of the church as is clear from the historian’s 1925 union movement speech: “what the Mennonite church needs today is that its broken body should be healed and made whole” (231).

The parallels between the divisions in pre-World War II Mennonitism and the fractured body of believers in today’s Mennonite church are unmistakable. Bush addresses the current conflict-ridden climate of the church by writing about its struggles and fragmentations in the first decades of the 1900s. As the author portrays Smith’s leadership in the Mennonite union movement, he invites the reader to follow Smith’s example to seek healing of church divisions so that Christian unity, as elusive and difficult as it might be, remains an essential objective of today’s church body. Bush’s account of

Smith's commitment to church unity as well as his engagement with his people's history, the progressive cause, and peace witness is deeply informed and beautifully written. Bush combines historical, social, and theological background information with anecdotes and insightful discussions of historiographical approaches and church politics. *Peace, Progress and the Professor* is an engaging biography of the so-called "godfather" of Anabaptist-Mennonite history and thus a great addition to any Mennonite reading list.

University of Colorado—Boulder

Berit Jany

A Time of Sifting: Mystical Marriage and the Crisis of Moravian Piety in the Eighteenth Century.

By Paul Peucker. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015. 248 pp. \$84.95.

This is the first comprehensive study of the religious excesses that emanated from the Moravian community of Herrnhag near Frankfurt am Main during the decade of the 1740s and that confronted Zinzendorf and church leaders with a major scandal. This embarrassing episode of abuses came to be known as the "Sifting Time" (*Sichtungszeit*), a term derived from Luke 22:31. The author's thesis is that this crisis was the culmination of a number of aspects of Moravian theology and practice: bridal mysticism as reflected in Zinzendorf's theology of marriage, which taught that husband and wife during intercourse could experience true union with Christ; the excessive devotion to Christ's blood and wounds, especially the fixation on the side-wound; the austerity of Pietism, which led Zinzendorf and other church leaders to maintain that true believers should show their joy in being saved by assuming a playful and childlike behavior; and the Lutheran emphasis on *sola fide* that eventually led to antinomianism and perfectionism. The hostile reaction of Protestant theologians, especially Lutherans, persuaded Moravian leaders ultimately to disassociate themselves from these radical ideas and steer the Church in the direction of a more theologically accepted form of Protestantism.

The author's goal in this study is to move beyond the cursory explanations of the Sifting Period of past Moravian historians, who either passed over it as an embarrassing aberration or who lacked the necessary archival sources to explain it adequately. A study of the Sifting Time requires knowledge of religious attitudes toward marriage, sexuality, and gender in the eighteenth century and especially of Zinzendorf's theological views of marriage and how

these views relate to other pietistic groups of the time. The author has written on many of the topics touched on here, especially in the *Journal of Moravian History*.

Chapter one provides a brief account of the founding of Herrnhut and contends that the renewal of the Moravian Church on Zinzendorf's estate is really the establishment of a new religious group in the guise of the *Unitas Fratrum*. The last half of the chapter deals with Herrnhag, the first congregational town built according to Moravian architectural principles, and offers an overview of life in this community with its system of choirs and religious practices. The focus of chapter two is the genesis of the historical term Sifting Time, a topic discussed further at the end of chapter three, and a survey of how early Moravian historians as well as subsequent generations of historians have dealt with this period. Chapters three and four outline the events that led up to the crisis, Zinzendorf's recognition of the seriousness of the problem and his letter of reprimand of 1749, the recall of Zinzendorf's son, Christian Renuus, from Herrnhag, and the settlement's ensuing closure. Chapter five considers the hymnody of the 1740s with its imagery of bridal mysticism, in which Christ as the bridegroom is joined to believers, both male and female. Chapter six then describes how this religious metaphor was interpreted literally in Herrnhag and culminated in Christian Renuus's gender changing ceremony of December 6, 1748, in which he proclaimed all single men in Herrnhag to be virginal "sisters." The childlike playfulness Zinzendorf had proposed to express the joy of salvation in their hearts had degenerated into childish and foolish behavior, with contempt for the Bible as unnecessary for those who were saved and a morbid and erotic veneration of Christ's side wound and corpse in sermons, hymns, and celebrations.

As the author suggests, this may have led to scandalous sexual behavior, especially among the single brothers and sisters in Herrnhag, but it is uncertain whether any of these sexual practices spread to other Moravian communities in Europe and abroad. Chapters seven and eight focus on the aftermath of the crisis of the Sifting Time and how the Moravians changed course and leadership style after the death of Zinzendorf in 1760 and evolved into a mainline Protestant denomination that differed only in organization, liturgy, and customs from the Lutheran Church. Chapter nine summarizes the author's central premise regarding the causes of the excesses during the Sifting Time that resulted in extramarital sexual activity based on antinomian beliefs. The last chapter covers the establishment of the first Unity Archive in Zeist in 1764 and the collection and selective preservation of some documents and the systematic destruction of other records to downplay any connection with radical Pietism and to erase all references to the embarrassing events of the Sifting Time. The chapter concludes with an overview of the limited

extant source materials used for this study: personal and communal diaries, discourses and addresses, synodical records, and anti-Moravian writings.

The original German of most translated quotations in the text can be found in the endnotes. The format of these endnotes, however, is unconventional in that they provide only full documentation for less frequently cited sources. For important primary sources the reader is forced to consult the bibliography for the complete citation, and the list of abbreviations for these sources is at the front of the book.

This first major study of the Sifting Time, one of the most enigmatic and controversial periods in Moravian history, is well written and informative, and it demonstrates the author's extensive knowledge of the sources and secondary literature.

Stanford University

William E. Petig

The Arts

Audre Lorde's Transnational Legacies.

Edited by Stella Bolaki and Sabine Broeck. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2015. 250 pp. \$28.95.

Caribbean American poet, essayist, novelist, and activist Audre Lorde played a pivotal role in uniting black diasporic women throughout the world, both across cultural lines and within individual cultures. Lorde's international engagement is the focus of *Audre Lorde's Transnational Legacies*, a 2015 collection of essays and archival material edited by Stella Bolaki and Sabine Broeck. This text, the first to document this significant aspect of Lorde's work, is comprised of eighteen entries broken into three sections written by academic scholars from literature, culture studies, and history: filmmakers, writers, activists, educators, publishers, and translators. Part I, "Archives," consists of historical eye-witness accounts of Lorde's transnational work, as well as a speech and interviews given by Lorde from the 1980's. Part II, "Connections," is comprised of essays describing the way Lorde's work shaped and connected black diasporic women's groups. Part III, "Work," contains essays describing the ways in which Lorde's work has influenced or shaped fields such as literature, teaching, activism, thought, and theory. Nine of the essays concentrate primarily on Lorde's connections to Germany, while the remaining essays cover her interactions with a multitude of cultures. This review will focus on the essays concerning her German interactions.

From 1984 until her death in 1992, Lorde traveled yearly to West Germany, and then a reunified Germany, seeking treatment for breast cancer. She also spent a semester in 1984 as a visiting professor at the John F. Kennedy Institute of North American Studies at the Free University of Berlin and visited East Berlin that year to give a talk. Germany is thus the European country with which she had the most first-hand experience, and her effect on black German women is quite apparent from the entries in this work.

The first entry is the text of Lorde's extemporaneous remarks at the 1988 conference in Berlin "Der Traum von Europa: Schriftsteller laden Schriftsteller ein," with an introduction by Bolaki and Broeck. Here, Lorde took Europe to task for its colonial past, participation in the slave trade, and the Holocaust, then expressly noting the lack of black Europeans represented at the conference. This is followed by Dagmar Schultz' history of friendship with Lorde, concentrating on the genesis and development of Schultz' 2012 documentary film *Audre Lorde: The Berlin Years 1984 to 1992*. Schultz emphasizes Lorde's role in creating connections with and among black German women, and in catalyzing the 1986 anthology *Farbe bekennen: Afro-deutsche Frauen auf den Spuren ihrer Geschichte*, a work that played a key role in establishing a black German movement as well as research into Afro-Germans (a term coined by Lorde).

The third entry is Marion Kraft's 1986 interview with Lorde, the fourth is Cassandra Ellerbe-Dueck and Gloria Wekker's dialogue about Lorde's time in Europe, and the fifth is Patibha Parmar and Jackie Kay's taped interview with Lorde (no year given). One prominent theme among these are Lorde's insistence on the use of language to express emotion in order to create understanding among and within groups, particularly black minorities, bringing their perceptions and experience to the consciousness of the dominant group. Another commonality is the importance of the solidarity of black women in advocating for themselves, particularly in cultures such as West Germany where there had been little contact between them. Her support and nurturing of these women is palpable, and her effect on their futures and on the futures of black women in Germany and in Europe in general is evident.

Essay ten, by Katharina Gerund, focuses on Lorde and West German women, while essay eleven is Tiffany Florvil's examination of Lorde's interactions with black German women, and the eighteenth essay, by Peggy Piesche, discusses Lorde and the black women's movement in Germany. Each of these entries contributes a slightly different historical perspective on Lorde's effects on Germany, but with the continued themes of solidarity, advocacy, and attempts at understanding difference. Paul Farber offers a reading of Lorde's Berlin poetry in entry twelve, delving into the revisions she made in order to

convey the experience of being a black American in the divided city before and during reunification.

The wide-ranging backgrounds and fields of this text's contributors underscore the enduring importance of Audre Lorde's work as an author and an activist for a multitude of people with varying interests, cultural identities, and career interests. Reading this collection in its entirety, one does notice repetition among the essays, of Part II in particular, with certain works and events discussed similarly in several essays, albeit within differing contexts. Yet, their repetition contributes, ultimately, to clarity. Bolaki and Broeck close this work with a listing of the many aspects of Lorde's work left to be investigated, but their collection will doubtless serve as an enduring resource for those interested in Lorde, in transnational and transatlantic black diasporic women's history, or in American cultural studies.

Doane University

Kristen M. Herrick

Friedelind Wagner: Richard Wagner's Rebellious Granddaughter.

By Eva Rieger. Translated by Chris Walton. Rochester: Boydell Press, 2013. 352 pp. \$50.00.

Eva Rieger's scholarly yet accessible biography of Richard Wagner's granddaughter, which first appeared in Germany in 2012 and has been ably translated by Chris Walton, recounts the turbulent life of Siegfried and Winifred Wagner's daughter in the context of the family's legacy and the political situation into which she was born in 1918. What justifies writing the biography of a woman who neither played a role in the Bayreuth festival nor achieved a significant musical career of her own? Rieger writes to rehabilitate Friedelind, vilified in postwar Germany for having abandoned her family and her country during the Third Reich. The biographer sees this "rebellious granddaughter" as a legitimate heir to the Wagnerian musical legacy, who had the courage to stand up to her family's political opportunism. Far from the irritating "black sheep" that her immediate family and their friends sometimes saw in her, Friedelind appears here to have been victimized by the family dynamics, especially the relationship between her conniving mother and her two brothers. Throughout its sixteen chapters, the book echoes its epigraph, taken from Wieland's daughter Nike, that describes the Wagner family as a "diffusely expanding hydra . . . a selfish, pretentious mass," the various heads in constant discord. Rieger tries to show that Friedelind centered her entire life around her grandfather's music and that her family and its complicity

with the Nazi state thwarted her ambitions of becoming an opera director. The narrative extends from the nineteenth-century history of the Festspiele to Friedelind's death in 1991 at age seventy-three, always with a view to significant political events, especially those with implications for musical culture. A family tree, twenty-eight photographs, twenty pages of endnotes, and a bibliography enhance the text.

A feminist musicologist who has written a study of Wagner's women figures and co-edited volumes of women pianists' and women singers' autobiographical writings, Rieger emphasizes the Wagner family's masculinist culture and Friedelind's lifelong struggles with her two brothers for recognition as a musician and for a role in the Festspiele. Family friction colors much of the biography, not least the tension between the daughter and her mother Winifred, and Winifred's ruthless manipulation of her sons Wieland and Wolfgang to relegate Friedelind and her sister Verena to subordinate roles. Although untangling these relationships is made more difficult by the unreliability of Friedelind's own memoirs, Rieger, has created a credible narrative using extensive archival materials from Friedelind's own comprehensive archive, the Wagner family correspondence, and documents of others who knew them.

Almost a third of the book is taken up with Friedelind's decision to reject her family's allegiance to Hitler and in 1937 at the age of nineteen to flee Germany with Toscanini's assistance, seeking refuge first in England, then in Buenos Aires, and finally in the United States. There she eked out a living as waitress, telephone operator, receptionist, payroll clerk and bookkeeper, all the while writing articles, giving lectures on opera, and making anti-Nazi radio broadcasts. It was in the U.S. during the war that, assisted by a co-author, she wrote her autobiographical work, *Heritage of Fire*, published in the U.S. in 1945, then shortly thereafter, to the dismay of her family and their allies, in a German-language edition in Switzerland. Readers in the U.S. will learn about the British policy of interning suspicious alien Germans under which Friedelind Wagner was detained for three months on the Isle of Man, then another five in London before finally being allowed to leave for Buenos Aires. Indeed, in "an odd intersection of fate" (6), the author's own mother, wife of a German pastor, was detained on the Isle of Man on the same day as Friedelind Wagner, two months before the author's birth.

The book provides insight into the lives of German refugee artists and intellectuals in New York, for example, through Friedelind's interactions with Monika, Erika and Klaus Mann. Although she viewed New York's musical culture, especially the Metropolitan Opera, as vastly inferior to Germany's, she attended concerts constantly and knew numerous performing artists. Rieger mentions, without providing much detail, Friedelind's having directed

both ballet and an opera at Jacob's Pillow in the Berkshires in 1946, but her plans to tour the U.S. for two or three months in 1948 with a production of *Tristan* foundered on her lack of experience and tendency toward impractical, grandiose goals. In Germany her expectations of being included in the management of the *Festspiele* came to naught, largely because of the machinations of Winifred and her two sons, who exploited the resentment of other Germans toward the woman who had so emphatically turned her back on her country during the Third Reich. Rieger unsparingly depicts the cozy institutional relationship between the Nazis and Bayreuth and the personal relationship between Hitler and the Wagner family. She shares Friedelind's anger that none of the family ever expressed shame or remorse over their political past. At the same time, her depiction of Friedelind's character, for example, her proclivity to grand schemes without an accompanying sense of resources and their management, coupled with her lack of experience, and her tendency to speak rashly, suggests that involving her directly in management of the *Festspiele* would have been problematic. It is not clear just how much talent she would have brought to directing opera, and Rieger leaves open the question whether her failures derived from her own limitations or her biographical circumstances.

The book recounts the rich life of a gifted woman caught up in tumultuous times and family intrigue. Readers familiar with the historical period will learn details of the Bayreuth *Festspiele* and German musical culture while Wagnerian opera aficionados will gain insight into the insalubrious relationships behind the *Festspiele*. The book is recommended for those with particular interests in women's history, music history, emigration studies, and Wagnerian opera. The general reader will find it a lively and highly readable biography of a woman finding her way in a troubled and complex era.

Franklin & Marshall College

Cecile Cazort Zorach

Kuno Raeber.

Edited by Heinrich Detering. TEXT + KRITIK. Zeitschrift für Literatur. Heft 209. Januar 2016. Munich: Richard Boorberg Verlag. 106 pp. € 24.

It seems that almost a quarter of a century after the death of Swiss author Kuno Raeber (originally Kuno Eduard Zehnder), his work is receiving the recognition the literary world had withheld for a long time. Among the most recent publications are two volumes of Raeber's poetry translated into English by Stuart Friebert: *Be Quiet* (Rochester, New York: Tiger Bark Press, 2015)

and *Watch out* (Sandpoint, Idaho: Lost Horse Press, 2016), in addition to selected translations published by Friebert in magazines like *Solstice*, *FIELD*, *World Literature Today*, *Great River Review*, *Prairie Schooner*, and many others. Of course, there is also the *Gesamtausgabe*, a publication success for any established author, the indisputable proof that one has arrived: in the case of Kuno Raeber, this philological enterprise was completed by Christiane Wyrwa and her husband Matthias Klein in seven volumes: volume one to five (Munich: Nagel & Kimche / Hanser) and volume six (diaries and correspondence) together with volume seven (poetry, prose, essays) at scaneg Verlag, Munich. A project directed by Walter Morgenthaler and Thomas Binder is scheduled to be completed in 2017; it presents Raeber's unpublished poetry (collected drafts) in digital format only (online edition: www.kunoraeber.ch). Apart from this: various text materials and extensive research information are already accessible at *Schweizerisches Literaturarchiv* in Berne (arch.lit@nb.admin.ch).

Issue number 209 of the German literary magazine *TEXT + KRITIK* presents under the guest editorship of Heinrich Detering a collection of essays by various contributors focusing on the main aspects of Raeber's oeuvre. Although the magazine issue comes to not much more than 100 pages, it covers all the reader needs to know about the life and works of this sometimes difficult and often fascinating author. Among the contributors is Christiane Wyrwa with a general introduction and an evaluation of Raeber's posthumously published works. Of special interest for this reviewer were Raeber's excursions into the dialect of his hometown Lucerne (contributions by Peter von Matt and Christina Viragh) and, of course, Raeber's encounters with the New World, i.e. New York City and Oberlin, Ohio. Raeber was the first Max Kade German Writer-in-Residence at Oberlin College (1967/68). The financial means for this instructional project were made available by the Max Kade Foundation in New York. Raeber filled in for Stuart Friebert, who at that time was on sabbatical leave in Zurich. Friebert later became head of the Creative Writing Program at Oberlin. He had been in touch with Raeber since 1965 for the edition of a German poetry anthology.

Sigrid Bauschinger, who during those years also taught at Oberlin and knew Raeber personally, interprets his mythological *Alexius* novel under special consideration of the author's experience of New York, which was for him mainly Manhattan, in particular Greenwich Village with the *Our Lady of Pompeii Church* at the intersection of Bleecker and Carmine Streets (Little Italy). The complete title of this novel about the legendary character—for Raeber a symbolic representation of the poet—is *Alexius unter der Treppe oder Geständnisse vor einer Katze* and was first published in 1973 (Darmstadt: Luchterhand Verlag).

Raeber stayed several times at the house of Hugo von Hofmannsthal's daughter Christiane Zimmer on Commerce Street and also accepted her hospitality after his contract with Oberlin had expired. One of his New York poems is dedicated to his former hostess. While in the neighborhood, he used to stop by the Café Figaro in the Village at the corner of Bleecker and MacDougal Streets, an environment favorable to him for creative writing. His New York poems are part of the volume *Abgewandt, zugewandt. Neue Gedichte. Hochdeutsch und Luzerner Alemannisch*. (Zurich: Ammann, 1985), which also happens to be his last poetry collection.

His *Landsmann* Christoph Geiser, who came to Oberlin within the same visiting program in 1980, talks about two meetings with Raeber which took place in Switzerland. Geiser worked his impressions of Oberlin and the American way of life into his novel *Wüstenfahrt* (Munich: Nagel & Kimche / Hanser, 1984).

This collection of essays on various aspects of Swiss author Kuno Raeber's work is a most valuable source of information for both beginning and advanced readers. It was published at a time when for German-language readers the complete works had become available, while the English-speaking audience has had more access via translation and secondary literature.

Point Pleasant, New Jersey

Gert Niers

The Legacy of Ferdinand A. Brader

Edited by Kathleen Wieschaus-Voss. Canton, Ohio: Center for the Study of Art in Rural America, 2014. 239 pp. \$48.00.

Ferdinand A. Brader (1833-1901) spent less than twenty years in Pennsylvania and Ohio before returning to his native Switzerland in 1896. During his time in the United States, he earned his living as an itinerant artist, creating 980 large scale pencil drawings of farms and residences. The drawings give us a glimpse of daily life over a hundred years ago, and are highly prized by descendants of the owners and collectors alike.

This volume is the catalog of three simultaneous exhibits in Canton and New Canton, Ohio, held in 2014-2015. Three years of detective work preceding the exhibits expanded the number of Brader's works extant from 122 to over 200. Seventy-eight of these were exhibited and are pictured in this catalog, along with their provenance, detailed commentary, and related photos. The original drawings are generally very large, often 30 by 50 inches, but easy to view in the fine photos in the catalog.

As impressive as the drawings are, the catalog is much more than a picture album. Nine excellent essays and a chronology complement the photos and detail various aspects of Brader's life and work. Two essays, one on Brader's use of perspective and one on farmstead views found in county atlases, set forth the context for his work. A detailed genealogy, a chronology of Brader's life, and the facts known of his times and his career form the second section of the essays. As part of his work as a baker in Switzerland, he had worked as a *Modelstecher*, a mold carver, and this craft most likely influenced his later artistic work. The third set of essays deal first with Brader's materials, his tools and his methods. The Pennsylvania German features in his landscapes—fences, gardens, and various buildings—as well as barn-star decorations, so-called hex signs, receive special treatment.

Perhaps the most compelling essay is the concluding piece by the Reverend Dr. Daniel Jay Griminger, who summarizes many aspects of the artist's work as he writes of the importance of a Brader drawing belonging to his own family and to its place in broader U.S. history. As he notes, "Ferdinand Brader's farm drawings represent, in numerous ways, Pennsylvania Dutch culture in microcosm." This book exemplifies perfectly the concept of preserving history through art.

Caledonia, Michigan

Mary A. Seeger

The Material Culture of German Texans.

By Kenneth Hafertepe. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2016. 516 pp. \$50.00.

From a Missouri native who spent many scarce graduate student dollars to purchase a signed first edition of Charles van Ravenswaay's *Arts and Architecture of German Settlements in Missouri* (1977), it is high praise indeed to call Kenneth Hafertepe the van Ravenswaay of Texas. Moreover, in some respects one could almost call van Ravenswaay the Hafertepe of Missouri. Their respective volumes each present a broad and rich survey of their state's German material culture and the people who produced it, in large format with lavish color illustrations. In some respects, van Ravenswaay was more ambitious, going beyond architecture and furniture to cover an entire array of artisanal products including even musical instruments, firearms, and pottery. But while not ranging quite as broadly (though of similar size, a whopping 500-plus pages in 8.5 x 11 format), Hafertepe's work is more ambitious in

the way that it meticulously tracks the cultural borrowing and blending that is exemplified in many of the objects he displays.

Hafertepe's previous work, *A Guide to the Historic Buildings of Fredericksburg* (2015), profiled more than 200 structures in this most German of Texas towns. His current work is selective, but much more ambitious in scope, covering the whole Lone Star State, or at least all the areas where Germans left a cultural footprint. After an introductory exploration of the organization of space, and chapters on log, fachwerk, and rock houses respectively, Hafertepe examines the large and small of Texas German buildings: Victorian Mansions and Sunday Houses, peeks inside at the furniture and cabinetmaking of immigrant craftsmen, and then ventures out into the public arena to analyze buildings of a civic or social purpose, houses of worship, and final resting places.

The greatest strength of the work is encapsulated in an illustration of an 1899 ad in a Texas German newspaper supplement, touting "Ein Koziges Heim." Not only was the adjective borrowed from the English "cozy"; the featured design "could have been built in any town in the United States and it would have blended in" (195, 197). Soon thereafter the builder moved his contracting business to Houston, serving a largely Anglo-American market. Throughout the book, Hafertepe shows a sharp eye for such cultural borrowings and syncretism. His text characterizes not only the original owner of a house, but also the building process and the craftsmen involved, and the changes a structure underwent over time, documented by forty-five pages worth of notes.

Van Ravenswaay subtitled his work, "A Survey of a Vanishing Culture"; appearing nearly a half-century later, Hafertepe's work would deserve this characterization even more, as his text indicates. His afterword stresses the endangerment of this heritage, mentioning several structures whose ethnic character have been compromised by severe remodeling since he completed his research.

The book is graced with an astounding 420 illustrations, a large majority of them color photographs, often by the author himself, making the purchase price look like a bargain. For anyone the least bit interested in either Texas Germans or material culture, this volume is a treat, indeed a treasure, in both its visual and its textual aspects. One can only hope that this monumental work also helps to safeguard the various cultural monuments it features from the ravages of time and "progress."

Science and Technology

Alfred Wegener: Science Exploration, and the Theory of Continental Drift.

By Mott T. Greene. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015. 675 pp. \$44.95.

Most of us have heard of continental drift: the idea that the continents drift across the earth. The presence of the same fossils in widely distant continents, e.g., South America and southern Africa, supports the idea. In my mind, and I suspect in the minds of many laymen, it is identified visually with the fitting together of continents on a global map, i.e., South America fits neatly into Africa. The theory of continental drift is the precursor to modern-day plate tectonics. But who among us has heard of Alfred Wegener (1880-1930), the German who proposed the idea? In Germany, he is still remembered, but in the United States, according to the press announcement of the book, he is “the greatest scientist you’ve never heard of.” I hadn’t. In point of fact, Wegener’s significance in American scientific history lies in the now legendary failure of American scientists to take an interest in his work or to join him in his efforts.

Professor Greene has spent twenty years immersing himself in all aspects of the life of Alfred Wegener. He has traveled everywhere that Wegener traveled, including the Greenland ice cap, and he has read everything available. The result is a detailed biography that compares, in my experience, only to some detailed political biographies. Yet, Greene sets for himself standards that political biographers do not have to meet. Professor Greene is himself an earth scientist. He gives due attention to Wegener’s ideas on continental drift, but is intrigued that Wegener was not himself a geologist. Wegener was trained as an astronomer and followed a career in atmospheric physics and meteorology. Accord to Greene, Wegener’s work on continental drift was largely a sideline to atmospheric-physic geophysics and paleo-climatology, which Greene details as well.

Greene has written a scientific biography, which he defines to be a biography that explains how a scientist’s own inner experience comes to be the outer experience of the world. Greene offers his book as the first such biography of Wegener and it is sure to be ranked with the those of such names as Nicolaus Copernicus and Charles Darwin. It considers meticulously Wegener the scientist in all his fields. Greene could have presented his book as an adventure story of Wegener’s polar exploration, though Wegener was not a polar adventurer. But he was a polar scientist and met his death in Greenland in 1930 in an ill-fated expedition.

Greene had readers such as members of this Society in mind, too, when he wrote his book. Although Wegener seems only once to have visited the United States, and then only briefly, his career parallels the downfall of American interest in German science. Greene recalls how instruction in German in the United States was suppressed in World War I. He notes that the proportion of German language earth science publications cited in the United States fell from about 50 per cent to about 5 percent. Finally, Society Members interested in the German academic world in the first third of the twentieth century will find much of interest in Greene's recounting of Wegener's trials and tribulations in Germany's academic world.

Baltimore, Maryland

James R. Maxeiner

The Inventor's Dilemma: The Remarkable Life of H. Joseph Gerber.

David J. Gerber. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015. 424 pp. \$38.00.

David Gerber is the son of H(einz). His first 60 of 300 pages give one of the best and most moving descriptions of the life of a Jewish family in Austria before and after World War I, the takeover of Nazi Germany of Austria in 1938, the desperate attempts of Jews to leave Austria, and the deportation to concentration camps. The largest part of the book is devoted to Joe Gerber's new life in the United States after his family emigrated and to Gerber Scientific Instrument Company, the company he founded while in college. In so doing, the book provides much insight into manufacturing in the United States from the 1950s on.

The revered head of the family was grandfather Dr. Philipp Spielmann, a physician, who was born in 1866 on a prosperous cattle farm outside Budapest in Hungary that he left at age 20 to study medicine at the famous Vienna Medical School. Later in life Philipp raised his grandson Heinz whose mother Bertha and her husband Jacques Berger had talked about emigration to America but never did. The chapters concerning emigration, mostly to the United States as countries bordering Austria refused to accept Jewish refugees, are enlightening. Before issuing a passport to a Jew, the Nazi Regime confiscated all Jewish property, called the Reich Escape Tax, and in addition Jews were dependent on obtaining "affidavits of support" from friends or relatives to assure the U.S. government that immigrants would not need public assistance. Bertha and son Heinz eventually managed to sail out of Genoa harbor on the *SS Washington*, headed for New York and to a new life. Heinz would now be known as Joe, the typical American. Many years later, Bertha and Joe

learned that Philipp was deported to the concentration camp Theresienstadt in June of 1942 where he died that October; they were unable to find out about Jacques' final days.

After very difficult beginnings in the United States, Joe studied engineering at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. He paid for his tuition by working several jobs and his break came when the owner of one businesses took a liking to him. Eventually, the two became partners in the Gerber Scientific Instrument Company in Hartford, Connecticut. From a very young age on, Joe exhibited a talent for innovation, of solving technical problems and he became known for remarkable improvements and an amazing number of inventions like the Variable Scale elastic ruler, the automated cloth-cutting machine, and numerically controlled machines to automate drafting and design in the aerospace, automotive, electronics, printing and apparel industries just to name a few. Some of the minute technical details may be difficult to understand for the average reader, but they are clarified with illustrations, and the author provides a fascinating view into the world of American manufacturing.

Joe Gerber died in 1996 and when the company was transferred from him to new professional management, the company culture changed, and it was at that point that David Gerber decided to write this truly outstanding book that will appeal to readers interested in history and technical developments.

Covington, Louisiana

Brigitta L. Malm

War and Anti-Fascism

Distance from the Belsen Heap: Allied Forces and the Liberation of a Nazi Concentration Camp.

By Mark Celinscak. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015. 306 pp. \$23.96.

This important book looks at relief efforts at the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp at the end of World War II, paying particular attention to the responses of British and Canadian military personnel, and zeroes in on the "language, metaphors and narratives" offered by service personnel. It is the first large scale study of Canadian involvement, which has been heretofore overlooked by historians. The book begins by dispelling previously held assumptions about the liberation of the camp and it points out that not hundreds, but thousands of British and Canadian troops participated in libera-

tion and relief efforts. Since so many were involved, the process should be considered not as a singular event, but “as part of both British and Canadian history” (xvii) as it had a life-changing impact on the lives of the liberators.

The first two chapters detail the military advances that precipitated the liberation of the camp. Two succeeding chapters focus on the reactions of the liberators to the horrors they encountered, the next chapters discuss how journalists recorded and interpreted what they saw for posterity, and the final chapter outlines the medical treatment of camp victims.

When the liberators walked into Bergen-Belsen, they encountered a hell for which they were unprepared. As one officer commented, “We were in the army to fight a war and to beat the enemy. What we were suddenly thrust into was beyond anyone’s comprehension, let alone a situation we could have organized and effectively planned for” (141). In the first few weeks at the camp, they were incapable of liberating many of the survivors; rather they watched many die as they were either beyond hope or because allied troops were not adequately equipped to save them. After the immediate danger had passed, liberators had a difficult time relating to survivors. One liberator noted that survivors had been “reduced to hideous apparitions bearing no resemblance to man, but only witnessing to man’s inhumanity” (65). Canadian and British troops made similar observations about what they saw; as Celinscak notes, “the utter dreadfulness of the camp appears to have cut across nations, cultures, religions and rank” (65). This experience, naturally, had an incredible emotional impact on the liberators. Responses varied. Some held their feelings to themselves, some took them out on remaining camp guards to avenge the victims. Still, nothing could erase the memories of what they had seen and experienced. Inevitably, “they felt something change in them . . . the world looked different now, and not for the better” (115).

British and Canadian forces were not only responsible for saving those who could be saved, but also for recording what had happened through use of photography, painting, drawing and sketching. Celinscak recounts the experiences of British and Canadian war artists and photographers and details the trials they went through in order to record the horrors of the camp. What they saw and recorded not only shook them, but it also “forced them to reassess how they went about their work” (159). Some even observed that as hard as they tried to be accurate about what had drawn, their depiction could not do justice to the horrors they had actually seen with their own eyes. The book includes many of the disturbing images recorded by the artists and photographers. As hard as they are to view today with the benefit of hindsight, it is difficult to imagine how much more difficult it must have been for photographers and artists to not only see but dwell on them for the first time. One cannot help but think that perhaps this task of recording these images was

more difficult for sketch artists, as they had to gaze on their subjects for a long time in order to draw them, as opposed to photographers who snapped images and then moved on. Interestingly, while art served as means by which to record the horrors inflicted upon camp victims, it also came to the aid of those victims who were able to survive the immediate aftermath of liberation. By the fall of 1945, the dead had been buried, the main camp had been burned down, and life overall was re-emerging. The victims turned to art as means by which they could “get the nightmare out of their system” (189).

The book ends on a surprising note. Though the experiences of British and Canadian forces who liberated the camp were very similar, the way in which each country memorialized its encounter with the camp was not. In 2000, the Imperial War Museum in London opened a permanent Holocaust exhibit. But when the Canadian War Museum opened in 2005, it did so without a Holocaust gallery. Therefore, while “the Holocaust and the liberation of Nazi concentration camps have become a part of Britain’s remembrance of the war” (191)—the same thing has not transpired in Canada, where argument was made that a war museum was not an appropriate place to house a Holocaust exhibit. The conclusion of the book goes on to reiterate many of the main points raised by the study. The Canadians’ hesitancy to memorialize the Holocaust in its war museum emerges as a subject worthy study on its own.

The book is meticulously researched and well written. It is a necessary read for anyone who wishes to truly grasp the trauma that concentration camp victims—and their liberators—had to endure. Perhaps it might have done without subheadings within chapters along with final chapter paragraphs that repeatedly state, “in conclusion, this chapter has shown that”—these are hallmarks of presentation of a doctoral dissertation as opposed to a meritorious study of a neglected subject.

Florida Atlantic University

Patricia Kollander

German Historians and the Bombing of German Cities: The Contested Air War.

Bas von Benda-Beckmann. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015. 300 pp. \$99.00.

Strategic bombing was a common practice in World War II by all sides; in the West, the German *Luftwaffe* started the practice in Warsaw, Rotterdam and London; the Royal Air Force and the U.S. Army Air Forces paid the

Germans back several fold. At first, civilian casualties in those raids were “unfortunates” who were just in the way. Gradually leaders began to ignore the legal and moral distinctions between “strategic” targets such as munitions factories, rail networks and ports, and began to bomb entire urban populations. The bombing of Dresden in February 1945 became an infamous symbol of bombing purposefully designed to destroy whole cities and their populations. After the war ended, British and American historians and popular authors began to question both the morality and the efficacy of the strategic bombing campaign; the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey after the war did not find that it led to a collapse of German morale as had been hoped, though its impact in industrial terms did show some successes. Later historians and authors have questioned the practice morally, though for American historians the question is often linked to the atomic bombings in Japan.

But what of the Germans? The conventional wisdom has been that Germans accepted the idea that the cost of strategic bombing was their price for starting the war and bombing in the first place; they focused on rebuilding their shattered cities and reviving their broken factories. Feeling like a victim of World War II was not something one talked about, for there were far worse sins Germans had committed. This volume by Bas von Benda-Beckmann challenges this conventional wisdom: German historians at least did debate the bombing war (*Bombenkrieg*). Benda-Beckmann seeks to understand the German memory of the bombing war, of academic historians, popular historians, journalists, general authors, and other sources of national memory. He also looks at the divide between East and West German historians and the ways in which the history of the bombing war has been used for political purposes during the Cold War.

The volume begins with the early Federal Republic (1945-70) and the ways in which the bombing war was, in fact, discussed, often in light of the question of German war guilt. Chapter two then introduces the Cold War context, for the Soviet-allied German Democratic Republic (GDR), the bombing war and in particular the fire-bombing of Dresden (located in what became East Germany) was a piece of evidence that the British and American ‘imperialists’ had committed an act that was not only “. . . militarily insignificant, but also wicked and morally unjustifiable” (83-84). Some West German historians countered in a variety of ways that laid blame on Stalin, the GDR, and the USSR. Chapters three and four deal with the period after 1970 when both East and West German historians became much more professional in their debates over the bombing campaign. Chapter five is aptly named “Breaking Taboos” since it looks at the new history of the bombing war, and in particular at Jörg Friedrich’s popular history *Der Brand* (2002, published in English as *The Fire* by Columbia University Press in 2006). The

work, though highly praised for its raw emotional impact, was also criticized for what some regarded as the implied moral equivalency of the bombing war and the Holocaust. It nevertheless led to greater public discussion of the bombing war, and an outpouring of historical literature on the subject.

Readers should be aware that this is a narrow book; it was written by a historian for historians and examines the *historiography* of the bombing war, not the history of the bombing war. If sentences such as “It is only through materialization, institutionalization, and the conveying through symbols and media that a version of the past gains social and political influence . . .” (15) do not excite you, this is probably not the book for you. If you teach a college- or graduate-level course on modern German history or World War II history, it is a significant contribution to the field.

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Steven F. Jackson

German Propaganda and U.S. Neutrality in World War I.

By Chad R. Fulwider. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2016. 274 pp. \$60.00.

Perhaps this book would have been less ambiguously entitled “Efforts by the German Government and by German Americans to Maintain U.S. Neutrality in World War I.” Many readers will remember that war broke out in Europe in August 1914, but not that America did not declare war until April, 1917. The interim supposedly was a period of American neutrality, but, in fact, neutrality was badly compromised. First, even before the British ultimatum to Germany had expired, the British sent a naval expedition to cut the trans-Atlantic cables from the continent to America. Afterward, the vast bulk of news about the war that was available in America had been censored by the British. Second, although American manufactured arms and raw materials were legally for sale to any party, the British Navy prevented these supplies from being transported to Germany, while at the same time large quantities were being transported to Britain, France, and Russia, all allied against Germany and Austria-Hungary. The author rightly maintains that as early as October, 1914, the United States was no longer economically neutral when it extended “credits” to Britain for war materials. As President Wilson allowed the British more and more credit, it became ever more essential to America that the Allies win the war.

Yet, until early 1917, German officials in the United States such as Ambassador Count von Bernstorff in Washington and Bernhard Dernberg at the

German Information Service in New York City did all they could to explain Germany's view of the war and to keep America neutral. The German Foreign Office went so far as to buy the *New York Evening Mail* in 1915 for more than a million dollars and to advance \$550,000 to the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* to strengthen its operation. The German Government bought machine tools and raw materials in the U.S. Neither the tools nor armaments made from them could be shipped to Europe, but German ownership prevented them from being used to make armaments for the Allies. The German Government also supported a ring which had some success in sabotaging American armaments factories during the neutrality period. Some German Americans, such as Professor Hugo Münsterberg at Harvard, worked independently for the German cause.

The German government overestimated what German American efforts could accomplish in this country. Moreover, official German propaganda was not well tuned to the nuances of American culture. Efforts by the German government in America consisted largely in trying to use logic and reason to justify Germany's course of action to the American people and officials. But the German Foreign Office failed to understand the American tendency to distrust official sources and the importance of public opinion in forming American official policy. The British disguised their propaganda as coming from private individuals and appealed more to emotion than to fact and reason.

When a German submarine sunk the ocean liner *Lusitania* in May, 1915, with considerable loss of life, the American public was outraged and the Germans suspended unrestricted submarine warfare. Sympathy for Germany among Americans reached a high point in Autumn, 1916 when the Germans reacted positively to Woodrow Wilson's call for peace talks. But at the end of that year, the Germans decided to resume unrestricted use of submarines which led to America's declaration of war on Germany in April, 1917. Nearly all German Americans abandoned efforts to help Germany.

This book is well researched, although not organized in an especially clear manner. It can seem repetitive despite having only 159 pages of text. Although the information about German Americans is derived from secondary sources, the author has made good use of the Political Archive of the Foreign Office in Berlin and drawn judicious conclusions from the archival material. Therein lies the value of this book.

Hitler's Basement: My Search for Truth, Light, and the Forgotten Executions of Ukraine's Kingdom of Death.

By Ron Vossler. Oakbrook Terrace, Illinois: Green Ivy Publishing, 2016. 386 pp. \$19.00.

Ron Vossler remains a widely recognized scholar, writer, and storyteller among North America's German from Russia community. For over four decades, he has undertaken numerous challenges and responsibilities as freelance writer, translator, award-winning humanities scholar, and associate poet laureate of North Dakota, as well as former university English lecturer and Fulbright fellowship recipient. More than a decade ago, he became immersed as editor and translator of hundreds of German famine letters sent from Soviet Ukraine to the Dakotas between the First World War and the late 1930s Stalinist Terror. For efforts in bringing these letters before the public, he was named a member of the International Committee of the Ukrainian World Congress which documents the Ukrainian Famine of 1932–1933, better known as the *Holodomor*.

Vossler's most recent book, *Hitler's Basement*, tackles head-on the controversial issue of ethnic German complicity in the Nazi Holocaust inside of Ukraine. In a sense, it stands as the flip side of his earlier research forays into the Soviet mass repressions and famines. The travails of the 1920s and 1930s led to his in-depth investigations into the early 1940s Nazi occupation of this troubled region surrounding the great Black Sea port city of Odessa, which held one of the largest Jewish populations in Europe at the start of the Second World War. In his findings, Vossler discovered a wide tangle of guilt, memory, and denial that extended from Ukraine's killing fields outside of Odessa and in surrounding German villages to the seeming prairie tranquility of small-town North Dakota inhabited by the friends and relatives of German villagers in Ukraine. The tragedy remains that many Soviet citizens and their transnational networks abroad at the time had come to blame all Jews for Communism's many crimes. Vossler observed that "in some *Volksdeutsche* colonies, the Jews were perceived as the public face of the regime, even if, in reality, they were far from wielding the power attributed to them" (237).

In addition to his academic credentials in English literature, Vossler has a background in anthropology. It is here that he puts to full use his investigative tools in forensics field work and storytelling to weave a powerful yet vulnerable personal narrative. *Hitler's Basement* represents a factually based history, but the author has intentionally designed it as a memoir. Conceivable criticism, on the one hand, might be leveled at Vossler's work that more detailed attention could have been given to the documentation of names, villages, consulted archives, and other sources to help lay bare the cold hard facts of

what transpired across Ukraine. This sort of approach could have built up an even stronger scholarly case for Vossler in the face of anticipated criticisms or even outright denials both within and outside the ethnic community. On the other hand, it is questionable whether such intimate, meticulous, and sensitive information related to ethnic German conduct in Ukraine during the Holocaust could ever have been collected, presented, and published in any other way than as a literary piece or personal narrative. Indeed, Vossler had to change or conceal the names and identities of some of the story's personalities who shared their insights.

Vossler grew up in postwar North Dakota as part of a transitional generation of Germans from Russia who still remembered the old ways and the imagined homelands abroad but also had one foot in mainstream American society. They were the children and grandchildren of the immigrants. Over the years, Vossler pursued personal contacts across two continents, finding himself able in his own lifetime to uncover this mostly hidden past via field research and available archival records following the Cold War. Perhaps Vossler appeared at the right place and the right time to shed more light on a shrouded, painful chapter of the German Diaspora that could have been forever lost. To date, nothing in the vast transnational historiographical landscape of Germans from Russia quite compares to this compilation confronting the Nazi past.

Vossler's riveting story is as much about the prairie life of Germans in mid-twentieth-century North Dakota as it is an unabashed look at the Holocaust's mass graves on the Ukrainian steppes. As a result, no single book review can do full justice to as complex and detailed a narrative as *Hitler's Basement*. Countless precious stories are found therein, interspersed with interviews, oral histories, personal reflections, and archival documents located in Germany and the former Soviet Union. The book presents an arresting array of real-life characters and sudden plot twists and turns with a string of surprises and true-life coincidences and ironies, all tied together by the author's ever tenacious endeavors to connect the historical dots. Even Vossler's extended family circle in North Dakota cannot escape from the far-reaching implications of murder and revenge in the old country. The old saying that reality is stranger than fiction holds true in this powerful narrative, nearly creating that literary glow of "magic realism" of the Eastern European variety.

The book includes a useful map of western Ukraine under Nazi rule, showing the important communities and various Nazi murder sites. *Ein-satzgruppe D* under SS General Otto Ohlendorf carried out more than 70,000 brutal executions of unarmed Jewish civilians, primarily by mass shootings, in this blood-soaked region between the latter part of 1941 and early 1943.

With considerable tenacity Vossler assembled the map data during various extended trips to Ukraine in the 1990s and 2000s.

Vossler himself experienced conflicting emotions ranging from denial to guilt in this personal quest for truth and justice. He admitted at one point that he is “a prairie Judas about to betray his own people,” though in a way his quandary also serves as an act of “redemption” by setting things right and trying to connect the ethnic community’s Soviet and Nazi pasts (113). The truth behind the grim course of events in the Ukrainian *Heimat* somewhat later diminished the aura of the old country as imagined by Vossler when as a child he listened to his immigrant grandfather’s emotionally charged and nostalgic recollections. Yet here readers perhaps have arrived at the heart of Vossler’s quest, when he wrote that “if the *Volksdeutsche* admitted their police units were involved in the Holocaust, even if forced, and that members of this group are beneficiaries of genocide, if unwittingly, then historians will more readily accept the ways the *Volksdeutsche* were brutalized not only by the Soviets, who murdered about one million, but also by the Nazis” (303).

Traditional Holocaust literature, including works by Daniel Goldhagen and Eric Steinart, both cited in Vossler’s brief bibliography, often has failed to account for the powerful “revenge” factor among ethnic Germans and neighboring nationalities who survived the era of Soviet Communist persecution and repression between 1917 and 1941. Specifically, Goldhagen’s now mostly discredited thesis nearly a generation ago assigned anti-Semitism as the fundamental worldview of all Germans, almost to the extent of making this crude ideology an essential biological or psychological trait within the worldwide German population. Though anti-Semitism remains a crucial factor in understanding what led to mass slaughter in the Nazi-occupied east, the Holocaust’s birthplace, the historical context and development behind these horrible, murderous wartime actions against Jewish civilians must be taken into account. In this respect, Holocaust scholars could benefit from becoming more familiarized with comparative genocide studies and the history of Soviet nationality groups.

More latent forms of traditional anti-Semitism certainly permeated these ethnic German communities in occupied Ukraine, something which the brutal Nazi authorities clearly exploited to their advantage for a number of years, and Vossler has made a proper acknowledgement of it. However, Vossler rightly has sought to avoid placing any form of collective guilt on this group or any other. As a point of comparison, it could even be argued in certain instances that old divisions between Protestants (especially Lutheran) and Roman Catholics extending back to the Reformation and wars of religion could generate a degree of latent hostility between Ukraine’s ethnic German villages. These villages were more radically separated along Christian denom-

inational lines than anything else, much like Russia's "Pale of Settlement" which quarantined Jewish shtetls from outsiders. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, small numbers of Jews, Romany (Gypsies), and Orthodox Slavs could indeed be found living in relative peace inside some of ethnic German enclaves still segregated between Catholics and Protestants.

The ongoing scholarly tendency to dismiss or ignore the often violent Soviet experience before 1941 as one of the driving motivations in wartime Ukraine's Holocaust is largely based on ideological biases, overgeneralizations, and speculations resulting from unfamiliarity with local and regional histories. Partly because of the Soviet Union's enormous sacrifices made against Nazi Germany between 1941 and 1945, certain Western intellectual and political circles have also sometimes tended to downplay Communism's crimes against humanity worldwide over the past century.

Hitler's Basement is published amid continuing stereotypes about Germans in today's general literature and media outlets, as well as in some of academia's ivory towers. Germans coming from various social milieus have long been cast historically as "perpetrators," but seldom as legitimate victims in other instances. An honest and scrupulous examination would suggest the multifaceted features of group identity which scholarship and popular culture have sometimes either overlooked or exaggerated. All too often mainstream culture still portrays Germans worldwide in broad brushstrokes and wooden generalizations, in an oversimplified or skewed manner as a result of the two terrible world wars, especially in wake of the nihilistic and racist debacle of Nazism which tainted nearly everything within its aggressive reach, not least of all the ethnic German communities in the east.

Still making it sometimes difficult for scholars to establish a more balanced view of this group's history is the fact that two powerful rival ideologies, the Black Swastika and the Red Star, in the early 1940s simultaneously claimed the Soviet Union's ethnic Germans as their own. Many ordinary Soviet citizens, including ethnic Germans, were at times complicit with the Soviet regime. It held true that this ethnic group like other categories of people in Soviet society could be callously targeted for class (economic), religious, and national reasons during the Lenin-Stalin period, though individual members had their own rationales for cooperating with Communist officials. Personal motivations varied, whether the result of state threats, intimidation, and blackmail, or even originating out of personal vendettas as well as blatant opportunism and prospects for career promotion. Stalinism indeed encouraged a pervasive political atmosphere of paranoia and struggle for self-preservation that motivated neighbors, friends, and colleagues to turn on one another. Notably during Stalin's time in power, not only real or perceived political opponents, but even Soviet citizens who had been either quiet bystanders or

enthusiastic fellow travelers also often later found themselves caught in the ideological and political crosshairs, condemned now as enemies of the all-powerful state, and declared guilty on fabricated charges to face either exile in the Gulag or the executioner. At its worst, Stalinism functioned in a perverted sense as an equal opportunity oppressor, as yesterday's apparent stalwarts of Soviet power could just as easily and quickly be counted among the regime's next quota of political victims.

Much as during the early years of Soviet power under Lenin and Stalin, ethnic German motivations under Nazi rule in occupied Soviet Ukraine ran the spectrum. Traditional anti-Semitism was sometimes magnified by the newfound desire after the summer of 1941 to exact revenge against Jews who supposedly had been leading the Communist regime. This already toxic political atmosphere worsened as a result of the peer pressure of local neighbors and armed local defense units, the greed to collect Jewish clothing and property in a time of material want, the moral void after the recent trauma of Stalinism that viewed human life as without value and meaningless, or some combination of the above. By contrast, as Vossler described, extraordinary cases also arose where individual ethnic Germans sought to protect their Jewish neighbors from the SS-led execution squads. Nazism's worldview, however, could at times obscure distinctions between ethnic Germans and other groups in the occupied Soviet territories during the war. For example, *Hitler's Basement* discusses how some ethnic Germans in Ukraine died at the hands of Nazi execution squads for questionable political affiliations and marriage to Jews.

On the necessity of balancing scholarship comparing Nazi and Soviet repressions, Vossler in this story has also taken aim at so-called "Rococo Marxists" in academia (to borrow author Tom Wolfe's characterization), including some of his associates teaching at reputable universities on the Great Plains. Wolfe's term "Rococo Marxists" refers to American Marxists, especially since the end of the Cold War, who have imitated their more refined radical European counterparts, adopting a more fashionable political approach to social issues and avoiding the "vulgar Marxism" exhibited during much of the Soviet era. Not mincing his words, Vossler related the following after returning home to the northern plains from one of his somber research trips to Ukraine (this reviewer is also generally familiar with the department in question):

. . . After the collapse of the Soviet Union, some of these same academics—Rococo Marxists, as the author Tom Wolfe called them once—pejoratively called me a "triumphalist," because I thought that collapse a good thing. My own experience at the university—which has included one professor telling me how much he admired Stalin,

another posting Lenin's image on her door, and a third telling me he was in sympathy with Stalin's deportations of the kulaks, which resulted in twelve million deaths—has only confirmed Wolfe's view that Marxist historians would never render an honest reckoning of communism's destructive effects, not to mention the pervasive suffering of the *Volksdeutsche* under the Soviets (289).

During another of his Ukrainian visits, Vossler described a friendly encounter with several former KGB agents who reminisced about the old days, noting that one of them "repeated nearly verbatim what the history department chairman at my American university told me: 'Stalin got things done. He pointed to a map and said 'I want a canal here,' and that canal got built. Sure, he killed people. Every leader does. You can't help but admire such a man'" (133). Vossler's protracted Don Quixote-like battles with the windmills of the American academy is the subject of his forthcoming book, *Communist East Dakota: How Twenty Years Teaching at a Midwest University Turned Me into a Republican*.

Though Vossler's search for an honest appraisal of the ethnic German role in the Nazi Holocaust in Ukraine has created consternation even among some in the German from Russia community, serious interest in this historical episode also has grown within the group both in North America and Germany.

Northwestern Oklahoma State University

Eric J. Schmaltz

The Liberation of the Camps: The End of the Holocaust and its Aftermath.

By Dan Stone. New Haven: Yale, 2015. 288 pp. \$32.50.

Dan Stone, Professor of Modern History and Director of the Holocaust Research Centre at Royal Holloway, University of London, contends that the "standard narrative of the 'Holocaust experience'" ends with "survivors being liberated amid joyous scenes at a camp" (64). Stone contests this understanding in his examination of Jewish prisoners' liberation, long accommodation in displaced persons' (DP) camps, and slow release to new homes. He focuses on Jewish survivors' experience of the "sorrows of liberation" and "[t]he ways in which the DPs and the Allies [interacted] and learned to understand each other" (22).

When the Red Army liberated Auschwitz, Majdanek, and other eastern death camps in 1944-1945, they found few inmates (32). Fearing the dis-

covery of the death camps, the SS had death-marched the more or less able-bodied prisoners westward (14-16). Allied troops who liberated Dachau, Buchenwald, and other western (labor) camps in April 1945 encountered a chaos of survivors from both labor and death camps. Since Jews amounted to fewer than a third of all camp survivors, the Allies did not immediately realize that Jews had been the focus of the death camps. However, Jews “soon became hard to overlook . . . [because] most . . . had nowhere to go” (18). The Allies eventually recognized the Jews’ special status among camp survivors. Because they had endured different experiences during and after the war, they were more deeply traumatized than other DPs. Often they had no family or home to return to and thus were stateless, with little hope for the future. Understandably, Jews refused to be integrated into West Germany (151). Sadly, many liberators “regarded [Jews] suspiciously . . . not understand[ing] their experience and consider[ing] them primitive, unhygienic and demanding” (22).

The Allies subjected Jews, both the 45,000 camp survivors and tens of thousands of Eastern European Jews who refused to remain in, or return to, their now-Communist homelands (129-30), to a long, postwar incarceration in DP camps, and larger global issues intervened to complicate Jewish immigration to Palestine. The Soviets upheld Jewish claims to a homeland in order to support anti-Semitic satellite states and to subvert British imperialism (218-19). Great Britain encouraged European integration of Jews (while severely limiting Jewish immigration) and restricted migration to Palestine for fear of antagonizing Arab states. Stone attributes British actions to a “pseudo-liberalism” claiming to treat Jews like other DPs while serving anti-Semitic ends (181, 188-89). The United States, despite supporting Jews’ right to immigrate to Palestine, was “less than entirely altruistic,” simultaneously seeking to appease both American Jews and anti-immigration forces, while espousing a moral cause and countering British imperialism (191-92). Unable to stop travel to Palestine by incarcerating Jews on Cyprus (187-88), Britain finally acquiesced in the partition of Palestine, and Israel eventually absorbed half of all Jewish DPs (192-93).

The Cold War also affected the disposition of Jewish DPs. As West Germans transitioned from foes to anti-Communist partners, the presence of (and some continuing hostility toward) Jewish DPs became an obstacle to German rehabilitation (198). When the last camp was closed in 1957, Jews moved into German communities and, by 1959, were declared “well integrated” into German society (195). Stone decries the superpowers’ “cynical exploitation of Holocaust survivors for Cold War gains” throughout the post-war period, as their fate was used to justify both anti-Fascist and anti-Communist rhetoric and actions (213-14).

Using survivor testimony, official reports, journalistic accounts, statements by liberating soldiers and relief workers, and documents from relief organizations, along with photographs taken by the DPs themselves (27), Stone argues convincingly that the Allies' actions amounted to a betrayal of Jewish DPs, given the "utter tragedy" they had endured in the Nazi camps (175-76). The long accommodation in DP camps in Germany represented a continuation of imprisonment, "breeding a sense of abandonment, despair, bitterness, depression, and resentment" (121-22). This important, critical study examines a previously overlooked part of the history of the Holocaust. Stone situates his analysis within a wider geopolitical context, noting that the Jewish DPs represent a link between the Holocaust and the founding of Israel (172). Arguing that "the long-term effects of the geopolitics of liberation are still felt in the Middle East and in the politics of Holocaust memory across the globe," he envisages that "the Holocaust's after-effects will be with us for some time yet" (219).

The University of South Dakota

Carol A. Leibiger

A Young General and the Fall of Richmond: The Life and Career of Godfrey Weitzel.

By G. William Quatman. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2015. 336 pp. \$28.95.

G. William Quatman presents a reader friendly "you are there" biography of Godfrey Weitzel highlighting his exploits and military career during the American Civil War. Born in Winzeln, Germany, on November 1, 1835, Weitzel emigrated with his family to Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1837 from where he gained appointment to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point at the under-minimum admission age of 14. Chapters one and two provide an informative description of the West Point experience at that time for military officers. Graduating second in his class of thirty-four, Weitzel, in less than ten years, would be serving as a major general in the Union Volunteer Army and commanding the all-black 25th Army Corps. In this capacity he would capture the Confederacy's capital at Richmond, Virginia, and be privy to President Lincoln's plan for the Confederacy's ultimate surrender.

After graduation from West Point, Weitzel's first posting was a fortuitous one. As a lieutenant in the Corps of Engineers, he was in charge of fortifying federal facilities protecting New Orleans from naval attack. The knowledge he gained about the area and its bayous, swamps, tides and water flows would subsequently prove invaluable for the Union cause. Both the Union and

Confederacy recognized the importance of controlling the Mississippi River and its surrounding territories and armed forts for maintaining commerce, military movements of troops, supplies and armaments as well as denying the same for enemy forces. A second strategic imperative, particularly for the North, was to pin down Confederate forces in the western theater and thus prevent those forces from reinforcing General Lee's army in the eastern front.

By the time of Lincoln's inauguration in March 1861, seven Southern states had seceded over the issue of slavery and were taking control of federal forts and facilities within their boundaries. In addition, political and military leaders who were born in those states left the Union and swore allegiance to the Confederacy and its President Jefferson Davis. The attack on Fort Sumter, April 13, 1861, triggered the start of the war between the North and South. In late 1861, the War Department was planning a southern blockade strategy for Mobile and New Orleans. General Ben Butler and naval Captain David G. Farragut planned a joint army and navy assault upon the forts and facilities protecting New Orleans. Weitzel's knowledge of the area and its fortifications assured a successful outcome. While the joint land and sea assault proved successful in the New Orleans campaigns, subsequent similar undertakings in other campaigns were less so and, in fact, such assaults at Sabine Pass and Cape Fear constituted major failures as a result of poor planning, timing, equipment breakdowns, changing weather and even ineptitude.

By April 1862, Weitzel was a brigadier general of the Volunteer Army with command of a brigade as a result of the success at New Orleans. He and his troops took part in several subsequent battles during 1862 and 1863 to rout remaining rebel pockets and silence rebel forts and gunboats in and around the lower Mississippi River segments. These include fighting at such locations as: Lafourche, Donaldsonville, Georgia Landing, Bayou Teche, and Fort Hudson, Louisiana. Some of the fighting was the result of Southern forces recapturing towns and forts after Union forces had moved to other problem areas. Not all were successful. However, Union victories in the sugar and cotton plantation areas of the south presented the growing problem of increasing numbers of slaves who were attaching to and following the victorious Union armies. Neither the Washington administration nor military leadership seemed to have an answer beyond providing food and supplies.

By the spring of 1864, General Ben Butler had assumed command of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina. General Grant's military objectives were to enter the James River, Virginia, approach, and attack Petersburg and ultimately the Confederate capital, Richmond. Now promoted to full major general and commanding an all-black Army Corps, Weitzel was part of the Army of the James and poised to capture Richmond. Weitzel and his Corps had several battles as part of the initial thrust toward Richmond. At

Drewry's Bluff, a bend in the James River, Weitzel faced his mentor from his New Orleans posting—General P.G.T. Beauregard. In another action at Fort Harrison, he repulsed a counter-attack by General Robert E. Lee's ten thousand troops. And, at Fair Oaks, near Richmond, he was bested by General James Longstreet.

In late March, 1865, Grant was ready to assault Lee's smaller force in Petersburg after a long siege of that city. General Edward Ord's Army of the James, consisting of the Twenty-Fourth and Weitzel's Twenty-Fifth Army Corps was facing the heavily fortified defenses of Richmond under the command of General Longstreet. Were Longstreet to remain in Richmond, Weitzel's assault would have been a suicide mission but Grant was hoping that Longstreet would abandon Richmond to assist General Lee at Petersburg and that is what happened as Union forces hammered Lee's troops at Petersburg. In fact, Richmond was being abandoned and set ablaze by departing rebels to destroy cotton, tobacco, munitions, and facilities in order to prevent their use by the Union Army. It now became a race to enter and assume control of Richmond as the city's mayor surrendered. On April 3, Weitzel found a chaotic scene of army prisoners, deserters, thousands of wounded and 20,000 citizens and slaves engulfed in smoke and flames. Appointed mayor by General Grant, Weitzel assumed the responsibility for creating order and providing basic city services. One day later, President Lincoln and his son arrived by boat and walked into town.

While there, Lincoln met with Weitzel and Judge John A. Campbell, a former justice of the U.S. Supreme Court and now a representative of the Confederacy. The topic was restoration of the peace and the calling of the Virginia legislature to repeal their ordinance of secession and to submit to federal control. Very quickly the agreement unraveled over the role and powers of that legislative body, secrecy surrounding each participant's understanding, and the ascendancy of Washington's political radicals aiming for a sterner treatment of the rebellious south. Chapters twenty-two and twenty-three explain these events. In quick order, Weitzel became a target of the Washington radicals for his role and supposed misinterpretation of Lincoln's plan, Lee surrendered at Appomattox on April 9, Weitzel was relieved of his command by Grant on April 13, and Lincoln was assassinated on April 14. Weitzel spent the next sixteen years as a major in the Corps of Engineers using his engineering skills on structures in rivers and Great Lakes port areas.

Quatman's narrative derives first from his extensive research in texts, records, correspondence and documents found in a number of personal, private, governmental, and military collections and archives. Second, his ability to utilize his findings to bring history to life represents his special talent. Noteworthy is Quatman's intent to maintain a focus on the character and

actions of Godfrey Weitzel throughout the text and thereby avoid diversions into discussions of the many social, cultural, and political issues that buffeted the nation during those war years. Even Weitzel's personal life receives only limited mention. As a result, this emphasis on the military aspects of his life serves to highlight the strength and impact of his character. Yet this focus on Weitzel does not prevent Quatman from introducing the reader to the major characters that interacted with, influenced, and were influenced by Weitzel. Additional maps and battlefield drawings could have enhanced the reader's understanding of the battle locations and tactics. Quatman's research and his storytelling create a valuable addition to the scholarship describing the Union's war in the West and the specific contributions of Major General Godfrey Weitzel.

Claremont Lincoln University

Stephani Richards-Wilson

When Europe was a Prison Camp: Father and Son Memories 1940-1941.

By Otto Schrag and Peter Schrag. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015. 290 pp. \$30.00.

Otto and Peter Schrag's father/son memoir of flight from Nazi-occupied Europe occupies a curious genre, a book formed from two separate but interwoven texts, one in the form of a third-person fictionalized narrative, the other as first-person autobiographical writing. In the Introduction Peter Schrag, a journalist who has previously published ten books on aspects of American culture, recounts the remarkable origin of this memoir in an unpublished book length narrative written in German by his father in 1941, shortly after his arrival in the U.S. with his wife and young son, about a German named "Hans Licht." Written with fictional names for places and persons and tentatively titled *Heroes without Courage*, Otto Schrag's typewritten manuscript lay around "in one drawer or another through . . . seventy-plus years" (xii) before his son, urged by relatives and friends, decided to translate and publish it. Peter Schrag himself, however, had also written a memoir for his children in the 1980s, based on his recollections as an eight or nine-year-old boy. The book under review, in which Peter Schrag intersperses annotations, commentary, and his own childhood memories with the story of "Hans Licht" yields an odd, but nonetheless satisfying book.

In his considerable research in various archives and historical studies and through personal interviews, the younger Schrag found his father's "novel" or "fictionalized memoir" well corroborated by the historical record, which he

cites in footnotes. He further expands the account with references to literary works set in some of the same places and addressing some of the same difficulties that his family experiences, for example, Anna Segher's *Transit*, Erich Maria Remarque's *The Night in Lisbon*, Arthur Koestler's *Scum of the Earth*, Lion Feuchtwanger's *The Devil in France*, and Hannah Arendt's essay, "We Refugees". Among the more than twenty illustrations one finds historical photos, documents, and graphics by the artists Felix Nussbaum and Karl Schwesig from their internment at the French camp Saint-Cyprien. A three-page chronology of the historical background gives readers a context for the personal experiences. The book contains numerous footnotes but no bibliography.

The full import of the title, which alludes to Feuchtwanger's assertion that France itself was a prison camp (*The Devil in France*, 184, cited in the text), emerges as the story unfolds of this German Jewish family's bold and desperate attempts to flee the Nazis. The account begins in May, 1940, with the German invasion of Belgium, to which the educated, assimilated, upper-middle class family has fled from Germany after first moving to Luxembourg in 1935. Otto, the father, is detained as an enemy alien and deported with other Germans to the notorious internment camp Saint-Cyprien in France, while Peter, his mother, and his maternal grandmother depart for the coast, hoping for a boat to England. When that goal proves elusive, the three make their way to France, where they survive the four-day bombardment of the coastal city of Boulogne, then, with no other immediate options, return to Brussels. Much of the book recounts the father's miserable life at Saint-Cyprien and the inmates' various schemes for escape, then parallel this story to his wife's attempts to find and communicate with him, and the subsequent efforts of the two to devise an escape from Europe, the grandmother having chosen to stay behind in Brussels.

Eventually aided by sympathetic French citizens and the lax handling of identity papers by some French officials, Otto ("Hans" in the book) and a few of his friends are able to get out of the camp and take refuge in a dilapidated and remote farmhouse. In the meantime his wife and a friend, travelling through occupied France, then past the dreaded Line of Demarcation into Vichy France, disguised as nurses with a Catholic relief organization, reach their husbands and contemplate how to get through Spain to Lisbon and from there to the U.S. Here, finally, Otto Schrag's U.S. connections, through brothers who have emigrated, prove helpful. But Peter's and his mother's travel becomes fraught with dangers, some passages reading like a spy novel. Because Peter was never able to discuss these events with his parents and as a child was not privy to all the plans, he confesses to uncertainty about many of the details and speculates that even his mother did not fully understand how the network of smugglers who helped them get from Brussels to Lisbon

actually worked. After a harrowing journey from Brussels, via Paris and Madrid, he and his mother meet up with the father in Lisbon. They learn much later that the grandmother, who always sat out air raids in the apartment, was killed by Allied bombs.

The book paints a compelling picture, even before the mass deportations of Jews began in Europe, of the elaborate lengths required of desperate people to cut through complex bureaucracies, amass financial resources, and dupe border guards, in order to flee the ever-tightening grip of the Nazis. Peter Schrag does not shy away from criticizing the failure of the U.S. government to acknowledge the situation and relax its immigration policies nor the French anti-Semitism and the "callousness, indifference, and brutality of the French and Belgian authorities" (277). The "Epilogue" poses numerous questions about the German occupation of France and Belgium, many of which continue to occupy historians. In the "Acknowledgements" Schrag recapitulates a theme running through the text, e.g., the increasing courage and self-reliance of his mother, whose world of women at the beginning of their tribulations he had dismissed as a realm of "fussiness and vulnerability" (41) but who repeatedly proves her mettle. She illegally crosses the Demarcation Line into France three times, makes connections, forges plans, and bolsters the spirits of her husband, who as "Hans Licht" appears despairing, indecisive and even paranoid. Her breakdown upon reaching the U.S. and her final years in England, in severe depression and divorced from the husband she had fought so hard to save, prompt Peter Schrag to ask, "Who is to say she wasn't a Holocaust victim, like countless other 'survivors'" (268)? Of his ten books, this is the only one dedicated to her.

The many problems of memoirs as historical documents are compounded in this one by the youth of Peter Schrag when he experiences the events and the many years between his childhood experiences and his writing of them and by Otto Schrag's decision to formulate his own recollections in a fictional form, making it hard to verify them. Nevertheless, the son is able to trace a character named "Löwe" to a real man named "Baer" ("one zoo animal for another" (xiv)) and the father's fictional business partner "Cerf" to the real "Hirsch," words for the same animal in different languages. Another friend named "Lefo" becomes "Lofe." Thus Peter Schrag is able to glean some further information on these figures from historical documents. He anticipates questions about the objective veracity of details, asking, "How much is imagined, misremembered, sheer fiction? How much has been forgotten? . . . How much was lost with the language[?] How much simply passed over the head of a young boy? How much has been repressed? . . . And how much of 'memory' is built subconsciously from what we get from others" (xvi)? But one does not read a book like this for absolute accuracy about specific histori-

cal occurrences. Instead one reads it to understand the human experience of people confronting arbitrary regulations, indifferent or sadistic officials, and questionable or unreliable smugglers and forgers, in the desperate quest for escape. From that standpoint the Schrags' memoir makes a worthwhile contribution to other autobiographical writings from the same period. It is to be recommended for those interested in twentieth century European history, the history of exile and emigration, and autobiography.

Franklin & Marshall College

Cecile Cazort Zorach

Miscellaneous

Beer of Broadway Fame: The Piel Family and Their Brooklyn Brewery.

By Alfred W. McCoy. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2016. 538 pp. \$29.95.

Alfred W. McCoy, currently the Harrington Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, is a distinguished historian of Southeast Asia and U.S. foreign policy. McCoy's *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia* (1972) and *Policing America's Empire* (2009) are widely admired. *Colonial Crucible*, which McCoy edited with his colleague Francisco Scarano, is often assigned in graduate seminars. Given McCoy's background, his decision to write a book about the Piel Family and their brewery may strike some as puzzling. However, as McCoy reveals, he is a member of the Piel family and *Beer of Broadway Fame* is a history of his family. Family history, McCoy correctly cautions, "is not just some genteel diversion for elderly retirees. Asking questions runs the risk of unexpected, even unsettling answers" (6).

Methodologically, this is a thought-provoking book. McCoy explains that, rather than "the historian's usual self-effacing stance," he chose to inject himself into the narrative (19). Thus, at various points throughout the book, McCoy discusses the process of research and writing as well as the impact of his findings on both himself and his family. Whether it is possible for historians to be objective has been debated at length. Writing family history, a very intimate subject, would challenge anyone who desired to be objective. McCoy notes as much when he explains that writing this book forced him to "set aside the ingrained loyalties and antipathies found in any family" (19).

One cannot help but be struck by the disillusion and difficulty—as well as the excitement—wrapped up in the process of writing family history. "During my decade of research into this family history" McCoy observes, "the

fables faded, replaced by some uncomfortable truths. The titans of family legend touched earth. The outlandish, often amusing characters of my mother's childhood stories became a bit too real, as I learned the details of their complex, compromised lives" (5). During his research, McCoy discovered that one of his relatives had served as a spy for the U.S. during World War I and that the information she provided might have harmed other members of the family. When he first presented this story at a family gathering, McCoy wryly observes that "the response was more muted than expected" (113) and the descendants of this relative "wanted to make sure that I told her full story, that I wasn't going to damage her reputation" (113). Clearly, McCoy notes, this was dangerous ground. To his credit, McCoy overlooks neither the negative elements nor the positive elements of his family's history. Thus, he discusses the crippling and bitter sibling rivalries between William Piel and his brothers Rudolf and Henry over the management of the company, William's successful ouster of his rivals, and his constant battles with siblings who, as stockholders, wanted the company to pay larger dividends. However, McCoy also highlights the significant role Gerard Piel played in launching a "landmark venture," the magazine *Scientific American* (318).

Although a study of one family, McCoy has very broad aims and uses his family as a lens through which to view U.S. history. Exploration of the Piel family permits readers to explore "the economic forces that erased over 2,000 family-owned regional breweries from cities across America and ended all brewing in New York City for several decades" (8). Furthermore, as a prominent family of German Americans, several members of the Piel clan were suspected of disloyalty during World War I, although the charges, McCoy argues, were baseless. Still, this suspicion left deep and lasting scars on the family and they are "exemplars of the war's wrenching, coerced assimilation" (143). In sum, the story of the Piel family is a fascinating one not just because they built a successful brewery but because it engages with important themes critical to the history of the modern U.S.: the forced assimilation of German Americans during World War I and the legacies of this assimilation, the rise and fall of Prohibition, and the creation of the national security state.

In sum, *Beer of Broadway Fame* is an unfailingly interesting book that will appeal to a wide audience. General readers interested in the history of brewing, the use of advertising by corporations during the twentieth century, or Prohibition will find much to enjoy about this book. It is also well suited for an academic audience and will find a place in undergraduate and graduate seminars dealing with transnational history, the nineteenth and twentieth century United States, and historical methods.

Dorothy V. Eberly Fry: Pennsylvania German Teacher and Storyteller.

Edited by C. Richard Beam and Jennifer L. Trout. Center for Pennsylvania German Studies at Millersville University, 2014. 415 pp. \$45.00.

Dorothy V. Eberly Fry (1914-2012) was a teacher and librarian, Girl Scout and 4-H leader, and established the Ephrata Elementary Library System. Raised by her grandparents, she grew up speaking Pennsylvania German and was a major contributor to Richard Beam's Pennsylvania German Words in Context. In 2005, Beam interviewed Fry for his radio program *Alde Kummraade*. Transcripts of his Pennsylvania German interviews with her and translations of them comprise 358 pages of this volume.

This large corpus of Pennsylvania German will be of value to scholars and students alike. Fry's reflections on her life and career are a tribute to a remarkable woman and a resource for local historians. Included as well are several short tributes to Fry in English and numerous photographs. Beam has made yet another addition to his lifelong work on Pennsylvania German language and culture.

Caledonia, Michigan

Mary A. Seeger

Down and Out in Los Angeles and Berlin: The Sociospatial Exclusion of Homeless People.

By Jürgen von Mahs. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015. 191 pp. \$29.95.

Embracing ideas and employing concepts from political science, geography, ethnography, sociology, and urban studies in a book originally published in 2012, Jürgen von Mahs compares the situation of homeless people in Los Angeles and Berlin. His main research question is why the numbers of homeless people able to exit from homelessness is the same in both places even though the U.S. pursues neoliberal policies and Germany uses a social welfare approach. In the end, he doesn't really answer his own question, but presents instead a cogent analysis of how the homeless are excluded from various aspects of society.

Von Mahs investigates his question in six concise chapters. First, he offers a literature review, surveys internal and external determinants for homelessness, and describes different theories for how individuals exit homelessness. He concludes that "although we may possess a reasonable understanding of exit barriers in the United States and Los Angeles to serve as a reference point,

we lack a nuanced understanding of such factors in Germany and its new capital, Berlin” (23). In the second chapter, von Mahs elaborates on his ethnographic methodology, which combines a top-down approach of looking at secondary sources with a bottom-up approach of working in depth with 28 individuals from a transitional housing project, a day center, and a homeless newspaper agency. (His interviews all take place in Berlin; Los Angeles mostly serves as a foil—so the book’s title, a reference to George Orwell’s 1933 memoir *Down and Out in Paris and London*, is somewhat misleading.) With this approach, von Mahs identifies five categories of homeless: older homeless people with ‘regular’ life courses; younger homeless people with ‘regular’ life courses; homeless people with ‘transient’ life courses; homeless people with ‘deviant’ life courses; and homeless people with disabilities.

In the next three chapters, von Mahs explains and explores three forms of exclusion that homeless people experience. Legal exclusion focuses on how homeless people earn money and on what legal challenges they face. Some use social networks to find employment, but others can only find informal wage labor (where they are the first ones to lose their jobs) or shadow work such as shoplifting and panhandling (where they are likely to run afoul of the law). While in the U.S. there are many anti-homeless ordinances, in Berlin the police has significant leeway in banning, arresting, or deporting individuals. Overall, homeless people with transient and deviant life courses are more likely to resort to illegal practices or make enough nuisances of themselves that the Berlin police intervene.

Service exclusion designates the fact that most services for homeless people—such as shelters and government agencies—are concentrated outside the center of the city, i.e., far away from areas where the homeless might find jobs and remain integrated in society. Evidence shows that “homeless people’s life circumstances deteriorate in emergency and low-quality accommodations; mid-level shelters with in-house social workers are more effective at enhancing exit chances and saving money as well” (69). On the one hand, von Mahs demonstrates, the situation in Berlin is similar to LA; but on the other hand in Berlin the location of shelters is determined by the cost of housing rather than by specifically exclusionary policies (so it could be improved more easily), the agglomeration of services is not as egregious, and the excellent public transportation system makes it easier for the homeless to get around.

Next, von Mahs uses the term market exclusion to describe how the homeless are excluded from jobs and housing. In his one-year study with homeless people in Berlin, only four subjects (of the 28) managed to optimize their situations, i.e., find both employment and accommodation. At least twelve found some stability through housing, while another dozen sadly became entrenched in their homelessness. Interestingly, van Mahs identifies

the welfare state as an obstacle to exit from homelessness (at least partly) and points out that all individuals in his study who found housing managed to do so through their own initiative, combined with assistance from social workers.

Finally, these three forms of exclusion are combined into what van Mahs calls ‘socio-spatial exclusion.’ He demonstrates that legal and service exclusions are worse in Los Angeles, while market exclusion is more prevalent in Berlin. It is easier for homeless people to find employment in Los Angeles—but this employment is often in low-wage and short-term jobs that do not actually help individuals exit homelessness. The German welfare state works well in terms of cash assistance, shelters, and services, but German labor laws are also accidentally complicit in keeping homeless out of the market because of the high entry barriers. To address these issues, von Mahs (after rejecting neoliberal reforms along the U.S. model) suggests that “it is imperative to be proactive and use, within given constraints, existing resources more effectively, with particular emphasis on case management, communication, and coordination and their potential to break down the barriers inherent in socio-spatial exclusion” (139).

Thus, von Mahs shows conclusively, and with many well-laid-out charts, that conditions for the homeless are better in Berlin than they are in Los Angeles (though they could still be improved). However, his argument is hampered by the fact that his case studies were conducted in 1998/99, while the German welfare system changed dramatically with the reforms of 2005 known as Hartz IV. This was a neoliberal program in the sense that it lowered unemployment benefits, forced recipients to accept work with astonishingly low salaries (forcing down other salaries as well), and ultimately increased inequality and poverty—and thus moved German welfare much closer to the system in the U.S. Similarly, von Mahs does not sufficiently disentangle fluctuations in the numbers of homeless from fluctuations in the economy at large, so there may be more or different factors determining the three exclusions he explores. In addition, some of his claims seem rather obvious, for instance that homeless with regular life courses, i.e., previous experience of holding a job, will be more likely to find employment again. Still, *Down and Out in Los Angeles and Berlin* offers interesting insights into how the homeless are excluded from society by in legal terms, through location of services, and through barriers to finding jobs and homes, and it presents an important call not simply to blame the homeless but to recognize them as agents in their own fate.

Training Citizenship: Ethnizität und Breitensport in Chicago, 1920-1950.

By Melanie Henne. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2015. 378 pp. €62.00.

Henne analyzes the publications and internal documents of the *Jewish People's Institute* (JPI) and the *American Sokol Union* (ASU), a Czech American organization, in order to identify concepts of 'good American citizenship' (11) and how they are created in discourse. The focus of the study is on the role of sports in the process of defining and creating 'good American citizenship' because Henne sees identity closely connected to the human body (through race, gender, etc.); thus, concepts of a healthy body and desirable physical activity are closely connected to the development of 'good American citizenship.' Henne does not address German-speaking immigrant organizations but her findings can be of interest to everyone interested in identity formation in immigrants.

In *Training Citizenship*, Henne uses well-established concepts of discourse analysis: identities and concepts of 'good citizenship' are described as socially constructed, flexible enough for hybrid forms or contradictions, and determined by intersectionality, i.e., the interplay of several factors like race, gender, and social status. Henne spends most time on race and gender, emphasizes the significance of notions of whiteness, and applies Foucault's concept of biopower (understood as power through regulating the norms of physical health and fitness, 27). Henne describes her study as a merger of sports and immigration history and emphasizes that the historical perspective on immigration helps to overcome the narrow understanding of integration as a natural and always desirable goal of migration (341).

The book has six chapters with the first two introducing the main concepts and sources of the study, the history of sports in Chicago, and immigration laws since the late eighteenth century. Chapter six presents conclusions. The core of the study are three analytical chapters that analyze body ideals/norms ("Körperideale-Körpernormen," 93), practical physical experiences/exercises ("Körperpraktiken," 185), and physical spaces/bodies ("Körperräume," 273). The chapter on body norms analyzes the tension between self-control of bodies versus control by others, and between improving the body for the benefit of the individual versus the society. The analysis of physical experiences in the second analytical chapter interprets the goal of sports programs as forming bodies that fulfill American norms and ideals (185). The chapter on body spaces describes JPI summer camps as an opportunity to practice discipline and develop concepts of nature while participating in a typical American activity. For the ASU, Henne focuses on the transnational character of their Sokol meetings.

Henne's analysis shows that both JPI and ASU use sports to foster Americanization while maintaining a Jewish or Czech identity. The ASU maintained networks to gymnasts in Czechoslovakia while it promoted mass drills in the Czech Sokol tradition as a superior way of teaching American virtues. The JPI focused on competitive team sports and boxing in combination with a secular Jewish education. It saw regional, national, and international success of their athletes as evidence of successful Americanization, and fostered sports as a way to fulfill the assumed American expectations of health and fitness. Henne describes this emphasis on healthy bodies as reaction to anti-Semitic stereotypes of inferior Jewish bodies and points out that this reaction reinforced the stereotypes. The JPI went against the mainstream when introducing women's teams for sports like basketball. Nevertheless, Henne concludes that both JPI and ASU promoted traditional gender roles and reinforced the American racial hierarchies by aspiring to fulfill the existing ideals of physical characteristics.

Training Citizenship focusses on the years between 1920 and 1950 when war, nativism, and stricter immigration laws posed challenges to immigrant organizations. Both JPI and ASU saw the wars as opportunities to show loyalty to the USA. Sports were seen as a tool to create citizens that are useful not only for war but also for the economy.

To readers familiar with research on identity construction and immigration, *Training Citizenship* presents a familiar theoretical approach but also detailed insights into the role of sports for the integration and self-understanding of immigrants. Henne provides two thorough case studies illustrating how immigrants define themselves as Americans through balancing contradictions, negotiating conflicts, and creating hybrid identities. Henne points out that the attempts of immigrants to fulfill American norms and ideals can reinforce stereotypes and hierarchies that work against the acceptance of immigrants; for example, when Czech and Jewish immigrants aspire to norms of whiteness that categorize Jewish and Slavic immigrants as not fully white (34). The study is limited to sources accessible in English but nevertheless covers many aspects of the organizations studied and the historic context is well described. *Training Citizenship* was Henne's dissertation project and this is evident in the use of academic language but the book is accessible to a general audience.

Walter Lippmann: Public Economist.

By Craufurd D. Goodwin. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014. 414 pp. \$35.00.

Walter Lippmann (1889-1974) was perhaps best known for the columns of commentary on public affairs that he wrote several times per week for the *New York Herald Tribune* and then for the *Washington Post* between 1931 and 1967. In his day, he may have been America's most respected and most influential columnist. During the Depression and the Second World War, he primarily addressed economic matters, and it is to this period that Goodman devotes more than half of the book. After the war, Lippmann began to pay more attention to foreign affairs and "defense" issues.

Lippmann was a German American in the sense that all four of his grandparents were Jews who came to New York City from Germany in the middle of the nineteenth century. But he was thoroughly assimilated into the (primarily Gentile) culture of the American upper stratum. His family attended Temple Emanu-El, a center of Reform Judaism where the young Lippmann was "confirmed", not bar mitzvahed. He attended a New York City prep school that served wealthy Catholics as well as Jews. In 1910, he graduated from Harvard. Goodman cites no instances of Lippmann being influenced directly or indirectly by his family's German past or the German language.

Lippmann began his career as a Progressive with socialistic leanings. After earning a reputation as one of the brightest of all recent Harvard graduates, he worked for the Muckraker Lincoln Steffens. There he did an exposé of J. P. Morgan's influence on the entire American banking industry. Both Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt read and commended his first book, *A Preface to Politics*. He worked for Herbert Croly at *The New Republic* and then in 1917, became an assistant to Secretary of War Newton Baker. He was sent to Europe with an Army Captain's commission to investigate economic conditions as a prelude to the end of World War I. He went to the Paris Peace Conference as an aide to President Wilson. He did not approve of what happened there. Back home at *The New Republic*, he obtained John Maynard Keynes' *Economic Consequences of the Peace* as a serial for the magazine before Keynes' critique was published in book form. Lippmann believed that the modern world is so complex that a democracy requires thoughtful and independent journalism to explain policy options and their anticipated consequences to a public which will then decide. He saw this as especially true of economic matters, or so Goodman maintains. In contrast, Chris Hedges in *Death of the Liberal Class* (Nation Books, 2010) sees the young Lippmann as a major developer of governmental (and later corporate) abilities to manufacture the

public opinion desired by the powerful. Hedges views Lippmann “as perhaps the darkest figure of the period” (69).

Lippmann began the depression touting the economic orthodoxy of his time—that a balanced federal budget was needed in order to give investors the confidence required for new business ventures. He was a free trader and a free marketer, but he realized that sometimes the market failed after which the public had to intervene. By 1938, Franklin Roosevelt had been won over to the demand-centered economic theory of Keynes, but Lippmann had come around four years earlier in 1934. Yet, at the same time, Lippmann saw national labor unions as monopolies of labor and he hated all monopolies. The modern reader is a bit surprised to read of how widespread among economists was the fear of inflation when the whole decade of the Depression was an exercise in deflation.

As war approached again in Europe and Asia, Lippmann began to concentrate on ways to maximize war production, and how leaders needed to ignore selfish public wants in such dangerous times. Lippmann, remembering the disappointing and dangerous results of the First World War, agreed that America in 1945 had to rebuild Germany to make it both prosperous and democratic. He firmly supported post-war European integration. His last great cause, in 1967, was to warn that Lyndon Johnson’s efforts to build the Great Society at home while fighting the Vietnam War would lead to massive inflation as, indeed, soon happened.

True to his Progressive roots, Lippmann always looked toward the advice of the experts. He spent his life trying to convey this expert advice to ordinary people in language that was accurate but understandable by everyone. Goodman has produced an informative, if not always exciting work on an important American of German heritage.

University of Arkansas—Fort Smith

Robert W. Frizzell

Theses and Dissertations in German-American Studies, 2016

We have used the *ProQuest* database to glean doctoral dissertations and master's theses which seem pertinent to German-American Studies published during the calendar year 2016. In some instances the connection to German-American Studies may not be indicated in the title, but the subject matter includes groups associated with the German-American element such as the Amish, Mennonites, Volga Germans and the like.

The dissertations and theses in this compilation are listed alphabetically by author's last name, followed by the title of the dissertation/thesis and the name of the degree-granting university. If not otherwise indicated, the entry is for a doctoral dissertation (Ph.D.).

Please contact the editor, if you have additional items that should be included for the year 2016 or any previous year since 2000. In the subsequent issue of the *Yearbook* we will include any additional items through 2016 as well as new dissertations and theses for the calendar year 2017.

2016

Burns, Roslyn Cherie. "New World Mennonite Low German: An Investigating of Changes in Progress." University of California, Berkeley.

Cassie, Ron. "How Baltimore Became the New York of the South: European Immigration Between 1867-1914 and the Development of Ethnic Neighborhoods Around the Port of Baltimore." Georgetown University.

Coulson, Joshua Andrew. "Why We Hate: Changes in American Propaganda Posters in World War I and World War II." Oklahoma State University.

D'Amico, Gwen. "Die Meistersinger, New York City, and The Metropolitan Opera: The Intersection of Art and Politics During Two World Wars." City University of New York.

Engstler, Manuela. "Creating Germanness: German Civilian Internment during WWII at Crystal City, Texas." M.A., Saint Louis University.

Fields, John Kyle. "Neutral with Compliments: Frederick the Great and the American Revolution." Oklahoma State University.

Flynn, Jane. "The Quiet in the Land: The Mennonites of Southern Illinois." Southern Illinois University at Carbondale.

Fransen, Sharon L. "Mennonite Identity and Literate Practices in High School Students: A Social Practice Multiple Case Study." Temple University.

Frawley, Gabrielle Katherine. "The Legality of Existence in Exile from National Socialism: The Legal Delineation of Identity and Its Implications for Individuation and Migration as Manifest in German Exile Literature of the Period 1933-1945." University of Kansas.

Goldin, Yevgeny. "Settlement House Scenes: Migrants and the Performing Arts in Transatlantic Perspective." The University of Texas at Arlington.

Gollner, Philipp. "Good White Christians: How Religion Created Race and Ethnic Privilege for Immigrants in America." University of Notre Dame.

Gozdz, Justyna. "Environmental Mechanisms of Asthma Protection: Studies on Amish and Hutterite Farm Dust." The University of Arizona.

Hansen, Nancy Sue. "World War I Home Front in Washington County, Nebraska: Disloyalty Neighbor against Neighbor." University of Nebraska at Kearney.

Jaima, Felicitas R. "Adopting Diaspora: African American Military Women in Cold War West Germany." New York University.

Kettunen, Christine. "Evaluation of Low Immunization Coverage Among the Amish Population in Rural Ohio." Walden University.

Koch, Philippa Rose. "Persistent Providence: Healing the Body and Soul in Early America." The University of Chicago.

Krause, Scott H. "Outpost of Freedom: A German-American Network's Campaign to bring Cold War Democracy to West Berlin, 1933-66." The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Luckenbill, Rachel. "Conflict and Reconciliation: Representations of Christianity in Contemporary Native American Literature by Women." Duquesne University.

Malebranche, Mark R., II. "The Galloping Hessian of the Hollow: The Search for Early American Identity Through Foreign Mercenaries." California State University, Fullerton.

Meadvin, Joanna. "Making America/Makhn Amerike/Haciendo la América: Jewish Immigrants Write the Americas (1880-1990)." University of California, Santa Cruz.

Perry, Christina Gayle. "A Macro View of a Micronutrient: Revealing the Genetics and Elucidating the Impact of Serum Sulfate on Human Health in the Old Order Amish." University of Maryland, Baltimore.

Schaeffer Hansen, Brenda. "'God is listening only to the English tongue': Anti-German Sentiment in Davenport and Scott County, Iowa, 1848-1919." M.A., University of Nebraska at Kearney.

Shore, Alan M. "Arena of Protest: The Staging of Jewish-Christian Discourse at Madison Square Garden in the Nazi Era." Graduate Theological Union.

Surmiller, Jason M. "The Conflicted Relationships of the American Catholic Church with European Fascism." The University of Texas at Dallas.

Sturgeon, Crystal. "An Analysis of the Great Melting Pot in American World War II Propaganda: Germans, Japanese, and Italians Need Not Apply." Northern Illinois University.

