

Book Reviews

Edited by Susan Schürer

Jewish American Culture

The American Jewish Story Through Cinema.

By Eric A. Goldman. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 2013. 246 pp. \$25.00.

Within the last twenty years, interest in Jewish film history has reached new heights. Books on Judaic practices in film, character portrayals of American Jews in film, the relationship of Jews and the entertainment industry, and the success and misfortunes of Jewish actors have received much attention from scholars and film enthusiasts alike. Among those publications are Lester D. Friedman's *The Jewish Image in American Film* (2000), David Desser and Friedman's *American Jewish Filmmakers* (2003), Elliot B. Gertel's *Over the Top Judaism: Precedents and Trends in the Depictions of Jewish Beliefs and Observances in Film and Television* (2003), Omar Bartov's *The "Jew" in Cinema: From the Golem to Don't Touch My Holocaust* (2005), Henry Bial's *Acting Jewish: Negotiating Ethnicity on the American Stage and Screen* (2005), Daniel Bernardi's *Hollywood's Chosen People* (2012) just to mention a few.

Eric A. Goldman's publication on Jewishness in America as told through the cinematic lens is a fine addition to the field. From the start, Goldman argues that the medium of film is "a powerful vehicle for the study of twentieth-century life and our times," and in the words of D. W. Griffith "is capable of conveying a given image in many ways enormously more effectively than any mode of expression in the world . . ." (xi). While Goldman analyzes six mainstream Jewish films in chronological order, he has no intention of providing the reader with a theoretical framework on film per se. Instead, his focus is on "cinema as text that requires deciphering" (xiii). Goldman sees film as part of

a cultural and historical narrative, a *Haggadah* of sorts of what has transpired for Jews in America. Similarly as the Jewish liberation from Egyptian oppression is retold at Passover so are the narratives of six Jewish films in Goldman's book (ix).

In chronological order, Goldman traces six mainstream movies from the early years of cinema to Liev Schreiber's 2005 film *Everything is Illuminated*. He begins his filmic journey in the early twenties in the chapter "The Jazz Singer: Out of the Jewish Ghetto." There he uncovers silent movies and the first talkie as a path of Jewish assimilation, which is halted when Hitler rises to power. Skipping the "dearth" of the 1930s, the author examines anti-Semitism in films of the forties, such as in *Gentleman's Agreement* (1947), based on Laura Z. Hobson's novel and produced by Elia Kazan and *Crossfire* (1947) directed by Edward Dmytryk. As his journey continues in the fifties, Goldman introduces *The Young Lions* (1958) as a filmic example of Jewish acceptance in America. In this context, Goldman defines the fifties as a decade of sensibility in the portrayal of Jewish characters. However, according to Goldman it is the sixties and the continuing decades, where a shift from the Jewish outsider to the insider takes place.

Goldman's focus on fiction may very well be the reason for his decision not to include a chapter on Holocaust documentaries and mini-series of the seventies, Holocaust mega-movies, including *Schindler's List* and Woody Allen films. They are only briefly discussed in the introductory chapter. As an alternative, Goldman concentrates on the feminist movement of the late sixties, seventies and eighties with films such as *The Way we Were* (1973) and *Prince of Tides* (1991) to illustrate the evolution of the Jewish American woman. In chapter six, his attention is directed towards films of the nineties that highlight Jewish assimilation in America and the assertion of Jewish power. Goldman's last chapter, subtitled "A New Direction in Film – Searching for a Usable Past," traces the complicated genesis of Jonathan Safran Foer's biography, his short story "A Very Rigid Search," his novel *Everything is Illuminated* and Liev Schreiber's 2005 film version of the latter. This chapter beautifully navigates the biographical, literary, and filmic paths of Jewish identity in the twenty-first century. The protagonist's global search becomes a cathartic celebration of Jewish diversity but as an American.

Adding to a vibrant narrative, Goldman incorporates unique features such as transcribed interviews with "creative [film] participants" to the book (xii). For example, in chapter four entitled "Guaranteeing Acceptance," the author includes a heated conversation between Irwin Shaw and Marlon Brando, the lead actor in the film *Young Lions* that took place during the filming in Paris. On the film set, Shaw and Brando who plays Christian Diestl, a young Nazi, argue about changes that Brando has made to Shaw's original

character. Brando's initial changes to a more sympathetic Diestl lead Goldman to further explore the actor's relationship to Jews, Revisionist Zionism, the symbolism of language, and the final film adaptation that turns Diestl's character into "an innocent casualty of war" (123). In the end, Goldman's short but concise descriptions of Shaw's, Brando's, Dmytryk's, and Anhalt's opposing views of the central characters provide a highly nuanced picture into the evil nature of man and the acceptance of Jews in American society in the late 1950s.

Finally, the pedagogical merits of this book cannot be over-emphasized. Goldman's film selections, primary sources, and pedagogical tools may very well provide the impetus to stir students' interest in the American Jewish experience. If all fails, Goldman and his team have added six mini-videos with short introductions and post-screening segments into the actual film screenings to the book.

There is no doubt, that Goldman's reader-friendly book offers thoughtful insights and unique teaching strategies into Jewish history in the United States. While Goldman highlights the exceptional path of Jewish culture in America, he never ceases to draw parallels to other American cultural narratives. In this book the Jewish *Haggadah* becomes synonymous with Americans' struggle for identity, assimilation, and belonging.

University of Southern Indiana

Silvia Rode

In the Shadow of Hitler: Alabama's Jews, the Second World War, and the Holocaust.

By Dan J. Puckett Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press 2014. 326pp. \$44.95.

This well-written and scrupulously researched account chronicles the response of Alabama's Jews to the rise of Hitler, World War II, and the Holocaust, and analyzes the impact of the Holocaust on Jewish life. Dan Puckett begins by dismantling the view that the experiences of southern Jews, who numbered some 214,000, simply mirrored those of their counterparts in New York, who numbered over two million. Although Alabama housed a population of only 12,000 Jews, Puckett believes that Jews in Alabama and other parts of the south "have been, and continue to be, shaped by the region's history and culture, creating a distinctive southern Jewish identity" (5). Part of this southern Jewish identity meant "accepting, or at least abiding by, the Jim Crow system" (6). Because they were white, southern Jews adopted the "same or similar attitudes on race as white Gentiles." Furthermore, "like

the southern white gentile majority, Alabama's Jews also failed to recognize the similarities between the persecution of Jews in Germany prior to the war and the situation of African Americans in the Jim Crow South" (7). At the same time, however, southern Gentiles did not regard Jews as their equals. As Puckett puts it, "Their inescapable 'otherness' created a fine, if sometimes illusory, distinction between the Jewish minority and the white Gentile majority . . . that certainly limited Jews' social opportunities" (9). But while southern attitudes towards Jews mirrored those of the Nazis in many respects, the "treatment of Jews in the United States could hardly be considered similar to the treatment of Jews in Nazi Germany" (10).

Puckett's narrative shows how Alabama's Jews addressed the crises affecting their brethren in Europe after Hitler's assumption of power. They worked with national refugee organizations to resettle Jews who had fled from Nazi persecution, and publicized the tragedy of persecution in the press. Alabama Jews also served in the army. For those Jews who were recent refugees from Germany, joining the army was a special vocation. One observed that he "went from being a 'Hitler victim to American soldier in the cause of freedom,' and had 'a very personal stake' in the war as his 'father and mother died in . . . Hitler's concentration camps'" (161). Another observed, "I hope I'll have a chance to send some of the Nazi louses to Valhalla" (161). Ironically, as Jews worked to help victims of Hitler's anti-Semitic wrath abroad, during the war they also witnessed "anti-Semitism and racism that increased throughout the state, and indeed the nation, during the war" (17). But, generally speaking, this anti-Semitism abated at the end of the war, thanks in part to returning veterans, "who played a large role in combatting anti-Semitism" (205). It is also possible that the revelation of Hitler's atrocities at war's end made "Christian Americans . . . more cautious in expressing negative reactions to Jews" (205).

But while Alabama's Jews were united against Hitler, they were not united for the possible creation of Palestine. This rift was only healed with the revelation of the Holocaust—clearly a Jewish homeland was needed in the wake of Europe's attempt to exterminate its Jewish population. As Puckett observes, "With the revelation of the Holocaust . . . Alabama's Jews began to coalesce, creating the decisive turning point when Alabama's Jewish community began to conceive of themselves as part of a much larger Judaic culture" (224).

The final pages of the book are devoted to the debate over Jewish silence about the Holocaust in the years after the war. Many scholars believe that the Holocaust "remained on the fringes of American and American Jewish consciousness until the late 1960s or early 1970s . . . due to conscious choices American Jews made not to talk about the Holocaust" (226). As Puckett notes, "while American Jews had internally and informally discussed the

death of 'the Six Million' in the years after World War II, this discourse did not make the Holocaust a central part of the American Jewish experience or identity" (227). The turning point came with the Eichmann trial, which linked the word "Holocaust" inextricably with the slaughter of Jewry during the war.

The idea of Jewish silence or "deliberate forgetting" was seriously challenged by Hasia Diner's recent book, *We Remember with Reverence and Love*, which insists that Jews were anything but silent in the years after the war. Indeed, Jews "told and retold details of the catastrophe in multiple forms" (229). Puckett acknowledges Diner's work as "groundbreaking" and "revisionist," but cautions that since many of her conclusions are drawn from records of national organizations and records from the Northeast and Midwest, they may not be applicable to the response of southern Jews to the Holocaust. He notes that the topic of southern Jewish silence about the Holocaust prior to the 1960s has not been adequately researched. But several passages in the book appear to support Diner's conclusions. For example, many of Alabama's Jewish veterans were profoundly affected by the war; their experiences "affected not only their outlook towards Judaism, but also their participation in Jewish life in the postwar years" (17). Many also "assumed leadership roles in their respective communities in the following years" (223). More tellingly, he notes that "given the profound changes within Alabama's Jewish community wrought by Nazism, the war and the Holocaust . . . it is difficult to believe that they remained silent" (230). One might hope that the issue of "southern silence" or probable lack thereof—might be the subject of a follow-up work to this fine monograph. Given the richness of this account about the small Jewish population of Alabama of 12,000, Puckett and other scholars of the American south will hopefully turn their attention to the approximately 200,000 other Jews living in the south.

Florida Atlantic University

Patricia Kollander

Anabaptists and Other Religious Groups

Pacifists in Chains: The Persecution of Hutterites during the Great War.

By Duane C.S. Stoltzfus. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013. 268 pp. \$29.95.

When the Hutterites, German-speaking Anabaptists who embrace a communal, pacifist lifestyle, emigrated from Russia in the nineteenth centu-

ry, the U.S. government had promised them exemption from military service and guaranteed them religious freedom. In 1918, four Hutterites from South Dakota (brothers David, Michael, and Joseph Hofer, and relative Joseph Wipf), were drafted to fight in World War I. Upon arriving at Army training camp, they refused to follow orders and were subsequently court-martialed. Sentenced to twenty years' hard labor, they served time in Alcatraz and Fort Leavenworth. Two of the Hutterites died in prison, and two were later discharged and released.

Duane Stoltzfus, Professor and Chair of the Department of Communication at Goshen College, presents a well-written and moving case study of the Hutterites' imprisonment, as well as a more extensive examination of violations of American religious and political dissenters' civil rights during the Great War. Stoltzfus foregrounds his story by describing contemporary attitudes toward German Americans in general and, specifically, religious minorities like the German-speaking Anabaptist Hutterites, against whom Americans harbored suspicions because of their isolated, communal lifestyle, their successful farming, and their pacifism. The latter particularly enraged a secular America enflamed by "hyperpatriotism" that tolerated, and even supported, the violation of conscientious objectors' human and civil rights by authorities who sought to use them as examples to deter other dissenters (viii).

The Wilson administration made some provision for conscientious objectors, establishing a Board of Inquiry that determined the sincerity of their objections on religious grounds. Sincere conscientious objectors were assigned noncombatant duties, usually farm furloughs. Unfortunately, the Hutterites had been court-martialed before they could be interviewed by the Board, which then simply validated their sentence. Because they persisted in their disobedience in the Alcatraz Disciplinary Barracks, the Hutterites underwent solitary confinement, suffering both physical torture and denial of nutrition. For the communal Hutterites, the imposition of solitary confinement certainly also amounted to psychological torture (135). By the time the men were transferred to Leavenworth, after the Armistice, their condition had so deteriorated that three were hospitalized with serious illnesses, and two of the Hofers died of influenza shortly after their arrival. The surviving Hofer brother was released to accompany the corpses home; Wipf was finally released in April 1919.

Stoltzfus provides a nuanced discussion of the Hutterites' religious and cultural motivations, explaining their behavior using the "Anabaptist religious mantle" (18). The combined effect of religious teachings, martyrs' stories extending into modern times, belief in the inevitability of persecution for one's faith, and an outlook according to which the world is starkly divided between God and Satan, strengthened the men's resolve as they refused to follow

military orders and persisted in the face of imprisonment, torture, malnourishment, illness, and finally death (18). The author locates U.S. authorities' justification for their actions in their idealistic desire to win the "war to end all wars," a project that demanded a common sacrifice and denied the validity of individual religious beliefs, especially those outside the mainstream (219). Additionally, Wilson saw the draft as serving the "crusade for Americanization," creating both a homogenous middle class and a tightly knit nation out of diverse groups (57). That the authorities' actions both flew in the face of promises made to the Hutterites when they were recruited as Americans and violated constitutional rights to freedom of religion and from cruel and unusual punishment demonstrates the extent to which guarantees from victims' own government can be casualties of war.

Stoltzfus has consulted a wealth of sources, including letters from the imprisoned Hutterites, interviews, government documents, and scholarly books and articles. To expand the limited information available on the Hofers' and Wipf's incarceration, especially in Alcatraz, the author has incorporated sources on other conscientious objectors, particularly Mennonites and socialists. While this provides important contextual information about the conditions of the Hutterites' imprisonment, Stoltzfus' story often digresses beyond the bounds of his subtitle and becomes the story not only of the Hofers and Wipf, but of non-Hutterite conscientious objectors as well.

The centennial of World War I invites us to re-examine that war and its effects, and Stoltzfus makes a valuable contribution to a reassessment. His final chapter discusses domestic "casualties" of the Great War: civil and human rights, constitutional guarantees of freedom, and the United States' (self-)image as a land that shuns torture. Engaging with history in works like this one reminds us of the richness of our immigrant history, the fragility of the rights that immigrants come to this country to enjoy, and the obligation to defend those rights, even under exigent circumstances. As Stoltzfus points out, "the United States [can] only be as free as the Hutterites, the Mennonites, the Amish, . . . and the socialists among us" (227).

The University of South Dakota

Carol A. Leibiger

Records of the Moravians among the Cherokees, Volume 5: The Anna Rosina Years, Part 3: Farewell to Sister Gambold. Volume 5. 1817-1821.

Edited by C. Daniel Crews and Richard W. Starbuck. Tablequah, OK: Cherokee Heritage Press, 2014. 648 pp. \$50.00.

The series, *Records of the Moravians among the Cherokee*, consists of translations of letters, diaries, and reports that tell the story of the Springplace mission, located in present day northwestern Georgia, designed to educate Cherokee children, and supported by the Moravians in Salem, North Carolina. In this fifth volume, *Farewell to Sister Gambold*, the editors announce that they plan to complete two more sets of volumes. The next four volumes will document the removal of the Cherokee and their experience on the Trail of Tears. Then “if health and funding hold out,” an additional set of volumes will cover the time up to the Civil War. Editors Crews and Starbuck responded to requests for greater annotation of the volumes by expanding the index into a more detailed and helpful glossary. The real objective of this effort to translate these Cherokee and Moravian records remains “giving others ample material for several Ph.D. projects” (xx).

The central issue in this volume is that Cherokee lands continue to be desired for white settlement. The Cherokee Nation divides over the Treaty of September 1816, with some members planning to remove across the Mississippi River along the Arkansas and White Rivers, and the remainder planning to appeal the Treaty to Washington for redress. Those Cherokees wanting to stay either live in towns, or on their own plantations operated with Negro slaves, a divide that represents the shift toward white farming practices on the land and the continuation of older patterns in the towns.

In the 1817 Reports to the 1818 Synod, Abraham Steiner discusses the changes seen in the lifestyles of the Cherokees. The towns mostly housed poor people especially in the locales where work was accomplished communally. These communities were enclosed by fences with the houses or cabins scattered about. While every family had a field, all work was done together working from one side of town to the other planting corn, hoeing, and harvesting. In every town there stood a townhouse where the men “gather and spend whole days together. While they smoke pipes there and cultivate idleness, they let their wives work, and often they form a dissolute ruffraff” (2183).

Steiner saw the Cherokees living on the land as living like white people. Living on the land yielded good dwelling houses framed by cultivated fields worked by Negro slaves that grew a diversity of crops and livestock. Cotton was cultivated, spun, dyed with indigo, and woven into textiles by the Negroes, who were “treated rather mildly,” and allowed to grow tobacco for their own use and to sell. To Steiner’s way of thinking, “this part of the Cherokees

is more or less well off; for they have money and know the value of it and are more civilized than others" (2184).

White men marrying into the Cherokees became agents of change within the Nation. Leading the effort to relocate beyond the Mississippi River were some white men raised in the Cherokee nation since their youth. Their offspring, in the words of Abraham Steiner, "produced a new species, that of the half-breeds, which now constitutes a sizable part of the Nation," although all were considered as belonging completely to the Nation. This first mixed ancestry generation focused on improving livestock herds, but because town life made herding problematic, they began to relocate at some distance from town. Some whites and half-Indians acquired Negro slaves and they set up plantations at their dispersed dwellings with the Negroes working the fields and tending the cattle. Those living at separate plantations became wealthy and bought more slaves. Pure Cherokees followed this example and set up their own plantations (2425–26). Other changes indicating assimilation included (1) forbidding future Polygamous marriages, (2) English becoming the standard language already used (by 1819) in the Council of the Cherokee transactions, (3) the Cherokees preferring to have their children learn English, and in Steiner's view (4) these Cherokees wanting "to become English" (2456).

Village life was more communal but less profitable than solitary plantations and in the Treaty of 1817 Cherokees wishing to remain were to be granted land reserves of 640 acres. The Cherokee women issued an address appealing to the chiefs and warriors to hold out with the Federal Government in the support of their common rights (2251). The Federal Government appears to have backed down in the passage of the Treaty of 1819, although Federal Cherokee Policy would clearly lead the tribe toward education, English, and assimilation in terms of pursuing agriculture and the domestic arts. Meanwhile, the State of Georgia remained unsatisfied and issued complaints to the Federal Government that their claims to Cherokee lands had not been fulfilled (2635). The Cherokees, on their ancestral lands, would be safe for only a little while longer.

Thrill of the Chaste: The Allure of Amish Romance Novels.

By Valerie Weaver-Zercher. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013. 315 pp. \$50.00.

As Valerie Weaver-Zercher notes in the preface to *Thrill of the Chaste: The Allure of Amish Romance Novels*, writing an Amish romance novel would probably have been more lucrative than writing about them. Certainly, as a Mennonite woman living in “Amish Country,” descended from Amish roots, and raised reading Christian fiction, Weaver-Zercher would have been well-positioned to turn out a good fictional Amish story. We are very fortunate that she chose instead to explore “inspirational Amish romance novels” (xvi) and, more importantly, to write about their popularity and what they mean to both writers and readers. *Thrill of the Chaste* is a well-written, well-researched, and very readable study of this fast growing fictional subgenre, and Weaver-Zercher sheds much light on the importance of these texts for understanding contemporary American culture.

Throughout this book Weaver-Zercher blends first person narrative with theoretical analysis, a style critic Scott Slovic calls “narrative scholarship” (xiii). This approach, Weaver-Zercher argues, allows her to explore in an integrated way the text, subject, producer and consumer, and cultural contexts of these works, and she enriches both the narration and the analysis by letting informants—writer, publishers, agents, and, perhaps most importantly, readers—speak for themselves. Chapter one, “Slap a Bonnet on the Cover,” lays the groundwork by charting the rise of publication and sales of Amish romance fiction and then suggests that both the origin and phenomenal success of this subgenre are linked to two features of contemporary American life, “hypersexuality,” the pervasiveness of sex and sexual discourse in everyday life, and “hypermodernity,” the rapid pace of technological and social change. The Amish, she suggests, are presented as the antithesis: chaste and resistant to modernity.

Finding meaning “in the interaction between the text and the reader and the culture in which both were created” (23), Weaver-Zercher asks how Amish romance novels function for their readers, who are largely evangelical Christian women. As she points out in chapter two, “The DNA of Amish Romance Novels,” these works did not appear out of nowhere, and she cites such precursors as Helen Reimensnyder Martin’s 1905 novel *Sabina: A Story of the Amish*, and Clara Bernice Miller’s 1966 novel, *Katie* (1966). Yet, she notes, only with Beverly Lewis’ 1997 novel *The Shunning*, did the mix of pastoralism, romance, and evangelism become commercially successful. Linking the subsequent success of Amish romance fiction to several factors, including the shooting of Amish schoolgirls at Nickel Mines school and the recession of

2008-9, Weaver-Zercher also points out that the Amish of these later works were no longer the ignorant, rule-bound, and unsaved people of earlier novels but had become, instead, folks whose chaste religious lifestyle offered much to be admired.

And just as the Amish of these more recent works have changed, so too have the authors' goals and the assumptions they make about their readers. Whereas Martin's early twentieth century novel privileged the modern world and derided the Amish as backwards, and Miller's was an attempt to convert her Amish relatives, the Amish fiction of Lewis and other contemporary writers addresses, in particular, an evangelical discourse community. In chapter three, "An Evangelical and an Amishman Walk into a Barn," Weaver-Zercher explores characteristics key to understanding the role Amish romance fiction plays for the evangelical reader: the centrality of family and holiness, a focus on faith and the atonement offered by Christ, and the desire to be separate from the (fast-paced, hypermodern) world. This last, Weaver-Zercher argues, leads evangelical readers to identify with the Amish in these narratives. Nevertheless, she also notes that the "Amishness" of these works pays scant attention to the discourse of the Amish themselves, with its history of persecution, yieldedness, and nonresistance. Interestingly, Weaver-Zercher points out, the discourse of another Anabaptist group, the Mennonites, which is often presented in these works as "less authoritarian and more warmhearted in spiritual expression" (65), seems equally vague, but appears to function within this genre as "an ideal fusion of evangelical and Amish: appropriately converted to Christ, sufficiently plain" (66).

In the following four chapters, Weaver-Zercher views the production and consumption of Amish fiction through four metaphoric lenses. Chapter four, "Taking the Amish to Market," considers Amish fiction as a commodity that is both a response to and the product of the hypermodern marketplace. Produced and marketed at surprising speed, these books about simple Amish life appeal to readers seeking respite from a frenetic world. At the same time, Weaver-Zercher notes, Amish fiction also blurs the lines between producers and consumers, for authors engage their readers on websites that offer commentary, conversation, friendship, and advertising. In chapter five, "Is Amishness next to Godliness," Weaver-Zercher explores Amish novels as religious icons that invite readers to make personal connections between the texts and their own lives. These works thus become a means through which readers connect with each other and their faith. Further, she asserts, like Orthodox Christian icons, the texts "inspire reader-viewers to greater devotion to God and instruct them in the faith" (112). In short, the dilemmas faced by the fictional Amish protagonists offer readers a means through which they can maintain and develop a particular evangelical Christian identity. In chapter

six, "An Amish Country Getaway," Weaver-Zercher explores Amish fiction as a literary escape from the frenzied modern world. Yet while describing these works as "textual carriages that transport readers away for their actual worlds to imagined ones" (132), she argues that they are not escapist literature, for readers are changed by time spent in the fictive Amish world and are, perhaps, better able, after considering the dilemmas of fictional Amish life, to deal with the dilemmas of their own lives. Finally, in chapter seven, "Virgin mothers," Weaver-Zercher suggests that these novels serve a "curators of chaste womanhood" (157), reinforcing traditional evangelical notions about gender and affirming the importance of family and the value of a woman's character. Yet, while presenting "Motherhood" as a high calling, these novels also emphasize the need for women to be fulfilled emotionally. Weaver-Zercher makes it clear that these works can't simply be dismissed as "anti-feminist," for, in fact, they present a world in which the heroine (and the reader) are able to resist patriarchal structures.

In chapter eight, "Amish Reading Amish," Weaver-Zercher explores the responses of Amish readers to this fiction that purports to be about them and their lives. She notes that, while the novels are popular in Amish communities, particularly among younger female readers, many Amish dismiss them or even find them harmful. Most interesting is Weaver-Zercher's discussion of Linda Byler, an Amish woman writing Amish fiction. As Weaver-Zercher notes, Byler's novels often violate the conventions of Amish romance literature. For Weaver-Zercher, the contrast between Byler's works and those by non-Amish writers raises important questions about authenticity, accuracy, and readers' expectations. These she explores in more depth in chapter nine, "Something Borrowed, Something True," beginning with a discussion of the accuracy of Amish fiction, and then examining the extent to which it is factually appropriate. Most importantly, Weaver-Zercher questions the extent to which this fiction appropriates Amish culture and, in the process, both exoticizes the Amish and domesticates them by "whittling them down to a charming size" (223).

But does Amish fiction have staying power? This is the question the Weaver-Zercher ends with, in "Happily Ever After." There are numerous possibilities for future Amish novels, such as backlash or exposé Amish fiction, in which the Amish are exposed as a cult; Amishesque fiction that focuses on one or another ethnoreligious community, and even Amish fiction with broader appeal. Moreover, there are also new media, including digital publishing and memoirs. These, Weaver-Zercher suggests, mean that Amish-themed publishing will continue to grow. She hints at consequences, for Amish readers as well as non-Amish ones, for rarely, she notes, has so much fiction "about one culture been produced by members of another" (245).

Thoughtful and thought-provoking, *Thrill of the Chaste* offers important insights into cultural appropriation, evangelical outreach, and the interaction between text, reader, culture, production, marketing, and consumption. A major contribution to literary analysis, this book will fascinate all who have wondered about the Amish and why so many people want to read about them.

SUNY Potsdam

Karen M. Johnson-Weiner

Unter Zions Panier: Mormonism and its Interaction with Germany and its People, 1840-1990.

By Kurt Widmer. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013. *Missionsgeschichtliches Archiv*. Vol. 21. 404 pp. €64.00.

"The Mormons of Utah have done an excellent job of controlling their history and the way in which this history is presented," (18) says Kurt Widmer regarding the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Germany. Unlike authors from an American Mormon background, this recent Ph.D. graduate of Berlin's Humboldt University approaches 150 years of Mormon history in Germany from a secular, scholarly, and exclusively German viewpoint. While religiously motivated Latter-day Saint writers correctly contend that hard-working German immigrants constituted the third-largest linguistic group to arrive in Brigham Young's American frontier theocracy, Widmer uses other benchmarks to conclude that the Mormon effort to establish a foothold in Germany was "less than successful" (14) and "never met the original expectation" (367).

Widmer documents critical Mormon failures in Germany by citing two benchmark comparisons: the relative success of other Anglo-American sects that dispatched missionaries of German extraction back to their home country to establish congregations, and the Mormons' own paltry proselytizing success in Germany in comparison with their more successful conversion efforts in the British Isles and Scandinavia. In support of the first contention, he says the number of German Baptists increased from 29,000 to 54,000 between 1890 and 1910. During the same period, more than 100,000 Germans joined non-conforming confessions. By comparison, membership in German Latter-day Saint congregations never numbered more than two thousand until the first decade of the twentieth century, although some 4,500 German-speaking Mormons had immigrated to Utah by 1905. Decades earlier, the Latter-day Saints enjoyed much greater success in convincing Britons and

Scandinavians (mostly Danish), to convert to a strange American religion and abandon their homelands. By 1854, only twenty-four years after Joseph Smith founded the Latter-day Saints in western New York, there were 29,441 Mormons in England—most of whom eventually emigrated. During the same year, there were 2,028 Danish Mormons compared to 56 adherents in Germany.

The overriding reason for the Mormons' lack of appeal in Germany, from the early missionary efforts in 1840 until reunification in 1990, was the parent church's insistence on American ecclesiastical control—which never allowed the development of a uniquely German variation of Mormonism. Widmer contends that the two most successful periods of Mormon growth in Germany, in terms of conversions and financial support collected from members, occurred during the two world wars of the twentieth century—when American missionaries relinquished control and evacuated the country, allowing native German members to lead the congregations. Otherwise, Mormonism represented an exotic, foreign religion to which most Germans could not relate. "What Mormons offered," Widmer contends, "was a radical alternative society, which in the end did not aid their cause" (360). The author says Germans "were fully aware of what the Mormons taught and believed . . . and there were no misconceptions of what Mormonism was. It was simply a case of the people not wanting to buy what the Mormons were selling" (254).

Why were the Mormons less successful in making German converts? Mormon authors often attribute difficulties to a particularly virulent intensity of German government persecution, but Widmer sees the Mormons' difficulties as being rooted in two alternate realities. The first was conflict, because of their practice of polygamy, with the government of the United States. "Generally speaking," the author states, "the Mormons' reputation preceded their entrance into Germany" (48). German authorities believed that a foreign sect that could not get along with its own government could not be expected to obey the law as guests in a foreign country. Secondly, the Mormons' own behavior in Germany, especially in the nineteenth century, validated these fears. When a Mormon missionary was expelled from a German state, rather than leave the country, he would exchange places with another missionary recently barred from another part of Germany and then engage in the same objectionable behavior. Although the Mormons never practiced polygamy in Germany, authorities substantiated that many young American missionaries married German girls in polygamous relationships after their emigration. Furthermore, Mormon missionaries were "less than honest" (362) with German officials. During periods in which Mormons were banned from various German states, missionaries would enter the country "claiming to be stu-

dents, English teachers, or tradesmen in various occupations" (52).

Although Widmer devotes most of his work to the Mormons' difficulties in Germany during the nineteenth century, his commentary regarding the National Socialist, post-World War II, and contemporary periods offers valuable insight that often conflicts with histories written by Mormon scholars. Under the Nazi threat of banning, Mormons finally decided to obey the law and were treated like other ordinary Germans. Widmer also argues with Mormon scholars who contend that the government of the German Democratic Republic favored the Latter-day Saints because it wished to court favor with the United States government. GDR officials did indeed show the Mormons favorable treatment, such as allowing a temple to be constructed in Freiberg, Saxony in the 1980s. However, the East Germany government's real intention was to cause a rift among the established churches in the GDR, which they hoped to eliminate en route to a totally atheist state.

Finally, Widmer describes how post-Second World War membership growth, to a level in excess of 38,000, was stunted by the withdrawal of American military forces after the end of the Cold War. As a result, several Mormon "stakes" (dioceses) consolidated—indicating that modern German Mormonism was rooted more in the presence of Americans than in the desire of Germans to adopt this North American faith. Furthermore, the author notes, Mormons in Germany today have an "activity rate" of only thirty percent, which means that there are only eleven thousand participating adherents—which portends no better prospects for Mormonism's future in Germany, and the rest of secularized Europe, than the faith enjoyed during its checkered past.

College Station, Texas

David Conley Nelson

Why Cows Need Names, and More Secrets of Amish Farms.

By Randy James. Kent, Ohio: Black Squirrel Books, 2013. 234 pp. \$28.95.

On the surface this is a description of agriculture as practiced in the Amish settlement in Geauga County of northeastern Ohio. For more than thirty years James, professor *emeritus* at the Ohio State University College of Food, Agricultural and Environmental Sciences, served as the agricultural agent for Geauga County. The Amish there constitute the fourth largest of the some 300 Amish communities scattered across the United States and Canada. The narrative focuses on his efforts to advise a young Amish man, Eli Gingerich, who wishes to start a family dairy farm with 20 cows, a large

farm by Amish standards. It begins simply with the two men sitting at a kitchen table listing the probable needs and costs of such an enterprise, and leads us in 21 brief chapters through the practices, problems and patience of building a small farm. This book is interesting, well written and enjoyable reading crafted by a knowledgeable and respectful observer. The Afterword is eye-opening and reveals much of the author's expertise and his attitudes on government policy for commercial agriculture.

James acknowledges his status as a "Yankee," a non-Amish guest of the Geauga settlement. (Other Amish communities refer to outsiders as "English.") After a brief recap of Amish history in Europe, James says little about the German component of their modern life. Nevertheless, he records and respects the traditional rules of the local churches which determine the levels of technology and agricultural practices of their members. Even within the settlement these vary from church to church; so some Amish farmers may use gasoline generators to help power their barns while others may not. As his narrative introduces us to other farmers he is careful to point out these differences. They define and frame the way these farmers must contend with other significant influences on their lives: weather, market conditions, animal and plant health and state and local requirements. We "Yankees" may question this religious constraint, but the Amish farmers do not: it is their cherished heritage.

As our understanding and appreciation of the Amish grow, James also reveals his frustration at dealing with a world that disparages the family farm. Modern agricultural practice favors large dairy farms, where hugely expensive equipment, costly fertilizer and chemicals as well as invasive government regulations encourage mass production of dairy products. His colleagues tell him to deal with these enterprises, despite the fact that small farms are the fastest growing sector of agriculture. Yet when the price of milk dips thirty per cent in one year, these big businesses slaughter cattle and ask for subsidies, while the Amish tighten their belts, diversify and come through the crisis by milking three times a day instead of two.

The Afterword (227-34) sums up the differences between Amish practices and those of current commercial dairying. It presents cow #3076, day and night crammed inhumanely with hundreds of other cows on the concrete floor of a commercial dairy shed, no stalls or place to lie down, walking in the slime of manure and so lame she can barely stand. An ear tag identifies her to her to the company's computer. When the computerized results of her milking indicate she is no longer profitable, she will be packed in a truck and sent for slaughter along with the dairy's other defective and aged animals to be used for hamburger. Amish cows live in pastures and clean barns with own-

ers who respect and care for them. And, of course, Amish cows have names.

Indiana University East

Eleanor L. Turk

Other Social and Political Groups

Kindred by Choice: Germans and American Indians since 1800.

By H. Glenn Penny. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013. 363 pp. \$45.00.

Anyone familiar with German culture is likely acquainted with the widespread German fascination with Native Americans. Karl May is one of the best-selling German authors of all time and his character, the Apache chief Winnetou, is a household name. "Indianer Klubs," "tipi" encampments, and long lines in front of movie theaters playing films that portray highly romanticized tales of the American West give ample testimony to the deeply-felt passion with which many Germans live out their dreams of life among the aboriginal peoples of North America. The subtitle of Penny's monograph conjures up all these well-known facts, but the title itself is perplexing. The three words are peculiar, a very strange turn of phrase. It takes a while—at least for this reviewer—but then it hits you. "Kindred by Choice" is a variant translation of the title of Goethe's novel *Wahlverwandschaften*, more usually rendered as "Elective Affinities."

Although the title betrays Penny's agenda only obliquely, the strong psychological links between individuals in Goethe's tale are as compelling as the forces that bind the components of a chemical element, and these links provide the central metaphor for the volume. Penny looks back to the early nineteenth century to identify patterns of thought about freedom, spirituality, nature, and national identity that persist from Herder and Humboldt to Rudolf Cronau and Thomas Mann. Trained as an historian, Penny masterfully brings literary, philosophical, and sociological insights to bear on some thorny questions in German political and cultural history, particularly the Nazi era. His sources are both broad and deep. He cites periodicals as diverse as the *Belleviller Zeitung* (Belleville, IL) and the *Kölner Zeitung*, consults material in American, German, German American, and Native American archives, and makes his case in clear, straightforward prose.

The discussion is divided into four parts: a relatively lengthy twenty-five-page introduction; two sections of a little more than one-hundred pages each that detail first the nineteenth-century background of the German love affair

with the American Indian, then the manner in which that obsession played itself out in twentieth-century politics; and finally a short conclusion of less than ten pages. The structure alone reveals something of the nature of the argument. Although Penny engages provocative topics like German ideas on race, national character, and masculinity, he is finally making a very modest case for the degree to which “persistent dispositions” (xiii) within a given culture can drive “consistent, repetitive actions” (xiii) which, in turn, influence the flow of history in subtle ways often overshadowed by the larger narratives that nations tell about themselves or that politicians and statesmen weave to explain present or past actions.

Despite what might be deemed unpretentious and unassuming goals, Penny tells a very compelling story. He provides new insights about German culture and thought on both sides of the Atlantic, from Hitler’s view of the American Indian to a lengthy analysis of Rudolf Cronau’s work on the Sioux and the “Wilden Westen” generally. Although it’s difficult to imagine that German immigrants to the American heartland were thinking about Goethe and Karl May or influenced by romanticized visions of the Germanic warriors of the *Nibelungenlied* reborn on the American prairie as they settled, Penny slowly and painstakingly builds a strong case for the degree to which German affinities for the American Indian moved the course of history in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in subtle and hitherto unarticulated ways which extend well beyond the fact that millions of German emigrants packed a copy of James Fenimore Cooper’s *Leatherstocking Tales* or one of Karl May’s *Winnetou* novels in the trunk for the voyage to America.

Loyola University Maryland

Randall P. Donaldson

Aufbruch in die Utopie—Auf den Spuren einer deutschen Republik in den USA/ Utopia—Revisiting a German State in America.

Edited by Traveling Summer Republic and City Archives of Giessen. Bremen: Edition Falkenberg, 2013. 350 pp. \$27.50.

This is a brave and ambitious book that tells the story (written and translated fully in both German and English in a manner accessible to the common reader) of a likewise brave and ambitious group of German immigrants. The Giessen Emigration Society, initially several hundred strong, was founded in 1833 by a group of political dissenters in order to escape the oppression and inequality inherent in the governmental system employed by the autocratic and disunited German Confederation at that time. Its ultimate goal was to

create a new German state in America founded on Democratic principles. *Utopia—Revisiting a German State in America* is the companion volume to the currently running traveling exhibit of the same name. While it chronicles the eventual failure of the Giessen Emigration Society, this excellent book is itself nothing short of a grand success.

One major strength is the way the authors (a group including professional historians and others of varied backgrounds) uncover the interrelationship between the key characters of the Giessen Society with historical events and the future legacies of their emigration effort. Vital background information provides context that makes the circumstances in which the emigration took place come alive. The book traces the development of Democratic thought and the corresponding government crackdown, and shows the direct effects of these events on Friedrich Muench and Paul Follenius, the cofounders of the Giessen emigration effort. The factors influencing their decision to flee to America to create a new, perfected German state based on Democratic ideals are traced through the years leading up to their departure, from Gottfried Duden's glowing report of the Midwest, published only four years earlier, to the collapse of the Hessian economy, to the increased persecution against reform-minded intellectuals in the wake of the Carlsbad Decrees that followed the assassination of August von Kotzebue.

Although it is made clear from the beginning that the conflicting goals of the Society made its success unlikely, namely, that it wanted to create a new German state that would somehow remain unaffected by the culture of the host country, while at the same time seeking full integration into that country. On the other hand, its failure is not treated as an inescapable eventuality. Rather, a number of reasons for the breakup of the Society are explored individually and then woven together, with particular emphasis on an unforeseen string of financial and logistical disasters that destroyed the trust and morale necessary for the group's cohesion upon reaching the United States. While the group's initial goal to create a utopian German state ultimately came to naught, a large portion of the Giessen Society remained in America, leaving a legacy in the areas where they settled, particularly in the state of Missouri. The political and religious beliefs of the Giessen immigrants impacted their new country in the crucial years before, during, and shortly after the Civil War. One of the most personal and poignant portions of the book can be found in Walter Kamphoefner's recollections of coming of age in an area where the long term influence of the Giessen descendants lived on in a chapter entitled "Growing Up in the Footsteps of the Giesseners."

The greatest strength of *Utopia* is its use of imagery to arrest the reader's attention. Photographs, paintings, letters, maps, and images of other primary source materials are incorporated superbly throughout the book. Aside from

providing useful background information, these blend perfectly with the chosen color scheme. The end result is that the whole volume is not only much more interesting to read but also very appealing to the eye.

Despite these strengths, there are also a few weaknesses in the book. The text is at times hard to follow for readers using a single language. The German and English texts do not always closely align with each other, and the organizational scheme for text placement seems at times a bit haphazard. For example, sometimes the text for each language is in different colors, and sometimes the same color is used. Sometimes the languages appear side by side, and sometimes they appear on opposite pages. Also, at times the chapter title pages are solely in one language or the other, while the corresponding text from the other language is in plain text on the back of the page, missing the visual punch provided by the graphics paired with the title page. In addition, some of the special insert sections have long stretches of text written solely in one language or the other, leading to confusion as to when the other picks up again. For instance, because of a special insert, the mid-sentence break in text on page thirty-one is not continued until page thirty-seven. Perhaps it would be easier to follow if leading phrases were included, such as "Continued on page. . . ."

However, in the end the drawbacks are minor, and are far outweighed by the book's many strengths. *Utopia* is highly recommended to those interested in immigration, Germany history, or American history, or to anyone just wanting to enjoy a handsome, well-written book.

University of Missouri

Todd Barnett

Academic Life

Traditions and Transitions: Curricula for German Studies.

Edited by John L. Plews and Barbara Schmenk. German WCG Studies Series. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2013. 406pp. \$34.39.

The volume under review unites papers from Canadian and international experts who participated in the 2010 conference *Traditions and Transitions: Curricula for German Studies* at the University of Waterloo, ON. It aims to "start a dialogue between critical curriculum studies and German as a foreign language and to turn our intellectual consideration and activity to a reconceptualization and consequent opening up of our curriculum" (7). In doing so, the collection exams critically statements and guidelines by the American

Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), the Common European Frame of Reference (CEFR), and the Modern Language Association (MLA). It questions the traditional divide between language and literature classes and even the status of literature as the core of *Auslands-Germanistik*.

The approaches of the chapters differ widely: some are taking theoretical texts and concepts as point of departure (ex. Kramtsch, Plews, Cattell) others examine course materials (Schmenk, Even, Schulze) or report on the implementation of curricular changes (Ryshina-Pankova, Dueck and Jaeger). There are also examples for the integration of study abroad courses (Fordham Misfeldt), transformation of extracurricular into curricular activities (Andersen and O'Rourke Magee), and chapters on technology in the curriculum (Schulze, Levine).

All papers are united by the motivation to change the status quo of the German curriculum in the institutions of higher education outside of the German-speaking countries. In doing so, even long-established holy grails such as the ACTFL postulate of 90+ percent of target language use, authenticity of materials, and the communicative approach are being scrutinized. Dietmar Rösler, for example, revisits the origins of these principles going back to the Communicative Turn and finds that these, too, have become somewhat rusty, especially when they become a façade. In discussing *Alltagsorientierung*, Rösler questions quite rightly "wessen Alltag für wen wann relevant ist" (96). Does a north-American Germanistik student, so Rösler, have to practice the body parts in the context of a potential doctor's visit, or would a discussion of aesthetics in the visual arts not be more *alltagsorientiert* (96ff)? His proposed solution are differentiated learning paths (*Lernpfade*) that prepare students for their future German speaking environments (German scholar, tourist, . . .).

Mareike Müller approaches the "native-speaker model" of pronunciation also critically and suggests that "the ultimate goal should be to integrate pronunciation systematically into all segments of the GFL (German as a Foreign Language) curriculum . . ." (120). Susanne Even similarly questions the need for single language texts and argues that "[b]ilingual texts can clear a path to comprehension, especially for intermediate students whose linguistic competence is not always great enough to process longer texts in the L2 . . ." (154).

New approaches to teaching literature, for many the core of *Germanistik*, is the topic of a number of chapters. Morgan Koerner argues "that creative writing exercises in general and parody specifically are effective ways to demonstrate and promote the playful and imaginative aspects of literary texts and thereby turn student resistance to literature into active appreciation of literature" (188). While Kim Fordham Misfeldt uses literary readings in a study abroad context and breaks down the students' affective anti-literature filters through drama pedagogy, Marianna Ryshina-Pankova develops "a genre-

based curricular progression for the development of advanced [GFA] literacy abilities" (16). After establishing her impressive theoretical framework, she exemplifies it with a curricular sequence on the German unification. Unfortunately, the blurry reproductions of her graphs do not allow for reading of the smaller labels.

We can find curricular reform from a traditional *Germanistik* to a cultural studies program with an emphasis on intercultural learning documented in Cheryl Dueck and Stephan Jaeger's chapter. The authors assess the heritage demographics and motivation of their students and provide an exemplary syllabus of a course on German Representations of War. Unfortunately, the course does not offer a single female perspective such as Käthe Kollwitz's visual works after World War I or Anonyma's "A Woman in Berlin" after World War II. Curricular reform could have gone a bit farther in this respect.

In the two chapters on technology, Glenn S. Levine advocates that "digital participatory cultures" should be thoroughly integrated "into language curricula, rather than remain perpetual ancillaries" (311). Gillian Martin's detailed analysis of a blended course between German students of English and Irish students of German will help instructors of online and blended courses assess their student/student and student/teacher interaction in classes when the framework seems to be right but the course still seems to "not work."

The pressure from many university administrations of German programs to put accounting over pedagogy and to get "heads in the room" has led to the creation of courses that are more vocational in character. Business German classes can be found at most large programs, but also in middle and even small-sized programs, they are not unheard of. Deirdre Byrnes presents the example of a legal course in Ireland that aims not only to fulfill the administrative mandate but to equip the students with necessary skills to compete in the European job market.

An additional task that many programs have undertaken to justify their existence to administrations is the recruitment of future college students through outreach activities in high schools. Elisabeth A. Andersen and Ruth O'Rourke Magee's chapter shows how the creation of "student ambassadors" in Great Britain has developed from an extracurricular into a curricular activity and has become a worthwhile part of the language learning experience for the students.

The nineteen chapters of the volume cover a wide array of approaches to and suggestions for curricular change of German programs outside of the German-speaking countries. While they seem, at times, disconnected, even contradictory, the authors as a group represent the variation of possible answers to the curricular challenges our programs face. Professors seeking to reform their programs will find interesting ideas from the theoretical frame-

work to the concrete course syllabi. I wholeheartedly recommend this book.

University of Mary Washington

Marcel P. Rotter

The Transatlantic World of Higher Education: Americans at German Universities, 1776-1914.

By Anja Werner. New York: Berghahn Books, 2013. 348 pp. \$120.00.

Historians of Atlantic migrations usually follow the movement of Europeans to the American continent. Anja Werner, however, takes a different approach in *The Transatlantic World of Higher Education*, the fourth volume in the *European Studies in American History* series. She studies the nineteenth-century migrations of Americans enrolled in German universities, their lives as students in a foreign country, their establishment of academic networks, and the perceptions of America and Germany they bring back to the United States. Werner argues that although Americans studying abroad learned to appreciate German traits and educational concepts, the experience of living as Americans in Germany also encouraged them to take a new look at American traditions and practices, inspired them to envision an improved America and to reform its educational system, and in the process turned them into more patriotic individuals.

The author begins by evaluating the political, social, and education reform contexts in both the United States and German states that contributed to Americans studying at German universities during five distinguishable periods between 1776 and 1914. Werner's extensive statistical and biographical analysis of students attending universities in Göttingen, Heidelberg, Halle, and Leipzig reveals not just differences in subjects studied, ages, and future usage of education, but also uncovers increasingly diverse student bodies of various genders, regional origins, ethnicities, races, sexual orientations, and physical abilities. Chapters on academic networks evaluate relationships between German professors and their American disciples, the attraction of particularly innovative subjects and instructors, the reasons why students often attended two or more universities, the interactions between alumni that would last for years after their return to their home country, and their impact on educational reform efforts in the United States.

Of particular interest are Werner's examinations of daily life. Biographical essays and expressions by students enliven this part of the study and demonstrate that Americans did not necessarily immerse themselves in German culture but instead relied on fellow Americans in existing or newly established

American colonies for comfort, intellectual exchange, and entertainment. The formation of the American Church and several student groups created opportunity for companionship and the ability to be American in a foreign country, offered access to practical information such as university regulations or assistance with housing, and served as foundations for lifelong professional connections. American students living in Germany likewise began to envision a better America as the perspective of distance made them more aware of problems at home. For example, African American students developed more self confidence in a less discriminatory Germany and returned with a determination to create opportunities and equality in the United States. Female students could also envision and experience bright futures in academic careers.

Analysis of American perceptions of German culture and academic life revealed to Werner that American students viewed and interpreted their surroundings primarily for the purpose of discovering what would benefit them academically and what would help advance the United States. Language proficiency, for example, was necessary to understand lectures, but although students often had difficulties with local dialects, they chose universities based on subjects offered and selected professors who practiced clear pronunciations. Americans attended German universities because the academic and scientific prestige associated with these educational institutions made graduates highly desirable candidates for employment in private business and academia in the United States. Idealistic students, who intended to reform the American educational system and expand American research facilities, returned with not just knowledge but books, devices for usage in existing or newly established university laboratories, and ideas for new scientific journals. Consequently, American universities used the German model to develop uniquely American doctoral programs and to transition American higher education into an internationally recognized system that was not the same yet inspired by the German academic system.

Werner effectively utilizes a wide range of primary documents, including university records, previously untapped student lists, travel journals, and correspondences by students, professors, and diplomats. The thematic approach offers good flow and the clear focus succeeds in accomplishing the primary goal for this monograph, the broadening of the existing historiography of Americans studying abroad and their impact on American higher education. *The Transatlantic World of Higher Education* should be a must read for advanced historiography students but will also be of interest to any historian of transatlantic ethnic studies or the American education system.

Transatlantische Germanistik: Kontakt, Transfer, Dialogik.

By Paul Michael Lützeler. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013. 307 pp. \$56.00.

Ausgehend von seinen persönlichen Erfahrungen als deutscher Germanist in den USA, als Institutsleiter und Kulturdiplomate beschreibt Paul Michael Lützeler den Wandel der Situation der Germanistik und ihrer Lehre in den USA, in Deutschland und weltweit. Zudem geht er auf das Leseverhalten an den Universitäten auf beiden Seiten des Atlantiks ein und berichtet von seinen Forschungsprojekten an der Universität von St. Louis. Besonders anschaulich zeigt Lützeler aber, wie der transatlantische germanistische Diskurs in Zusammenarbeit mit verschiedensten Organisationen, wie der Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung, der American Association of Teachers of German (AATG) oder der Zeitschrift *Gegenwartsliteratur*, gefördert werden kann.

Nicht nur dem jungen weltoffenen Germanisten bietet sich hier die Chance, von Lützeler's Rückblicken zu profitieren, zu staunen wie wissenschaftliche Kontakte zustande kommen können oder zu lernen wie fruchtbare Transfers und Dialoge dauerhaft aufrechterhalten werden können. Denn die Transatlantische Germanistik ist auch eine Einladung zum Gespräch über vermeintliche nationale oder disziplinäre Grenzen hinweg. Der Horizont der wissenschaftlichen Zusammenarbeit dürfe nicht an den traditionellen Grenzen wie zwischen Germanistik und Sozialwissenschaft enden. Internationale Germanisten, Historiker, Theologen, ja alle neuen Kulturwissenschaften stehen vor den Herausforderungen unserer multikulturellen Gegenwart und diesen könne man nur im gemeinsamen, anerkennenden Dialog begegnen. Die Antwort auf das *Wie* findet der aufgeschlossene Leser bei Lützeler nicht nur zwischen den Zeilen.

Universität Regensburg

Milena Scheidler

War, Post-War and Military

Berlin on the Brink: The Blockade, the Airlift and the Early Cold War.

Daniel F. Harrington. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2012. 414 pp. \$40.00.

While no historical moment, in all of its *sui generis* splendor is boring, some moments nevertheless capture the popular and scholarly imagination far more than do others. Thus Luther's stand against the Catholic Church, Napoleon meeting his Waterloo, and the falling of the Berlin Wall attract at-

tion far more than the conclusion of the Council of Trent, the slow grind of the British naval blockade of Europe, or Günter Schabowski's declaration of "ab sofort" before his inattentive, drowsy press corps. The Cold War in general and the Berlin Airlift are two such moments that animate the public and researchers in equal measure. Contributing to the continuing fascination with the role of Berlin in the Cold War is Daniel Harrington's *Berlin on the Brink*, a study of the very earliest origins of the blockade and the subsequent airlift that rescued the city.

Addressing a topic as well known and as broadly understood by so many as the blockade of Berlin requires the researcher to ask carefully considered questions and to present nuanced, thoughtful conclusions. Most importantly, the historian must reward the reader with a new understanding of the subject. Daniel Harrington's contribution succeeds on both regards. He investigates two sets of interrelated questions about the Berlin Blockade and the western Allies' celebrated response to it. The first set of questions was left seemingly unasked even by contemporaries, and regards the origins of the western sectors of Berlin and of Allied access to them. The second set of Harrington's questions explores the development of the western Allies' policy of airlifting supplies to the beleaguered city, a *Deus ex machina* if there ever was one.

Harrington locates the Berlin Blockade in the gray area inadvertently created when the wartime Grand Alliance began planning for the post Hitler world. Following a British plan, Germany became separated into zones of occupation, with each victorious power and France also occupying a sector of Berlin. Apparently left unspecified (and indeed unasked) by the wartime planners was the question of American and British (and later French) access to their occupation zones in the German capital. Faulting the British and Americans for not clarifying future access routes to their zones in Berlin, as Harrington does, begs a foresight wartime planners simply could not have possessed. While western and Soviet relations may never have been seamless, there was simply no way to anticipate in 1943, 1944 or 1945 the rapid breakdown in cooperation among the erstwhile Allies in 1946 and beyond. Nevertheless, as Harrington rightly points out, access routes sit at the heart of the Soviets' blockade of Berlin and its resolution.

Harrington's real contribution to Cold War studies and the Berlin Blockade can be found in his excellent chapters on the airlift itself. Whereas Harrington is too impatient with wartime planners for their failure to clarify Allied access corridors to Berlin, his understanding of the inability to comprehend the Soviet blockade as a historical moment with a beginning and, crucially, an end, is both profound and key to his thesis about the airlift. Not sure what they were up against or how long it would last, everyone from commanders on the ground to the statesmen above groped for a policy solution

to the Soviet blockade. Of the options available, (eventual withdrawal from the city, giving in to Soviet demands to scale back western currency initiatives in their zones, and breaking the blockade by armored column), the first two were tantamount to surrendering to the Soviets and the third realistically might have provoked a war. None were palatable.

In the beginning of the crisis with acceptable options limited, President Truman decided to face the crisis in Berlin as it unfolded day by day; in effect not to decide. Truman's wait and see attitude was only made possible by the existence of about a month's worth of food and fuel for the Berliners. In the end, as Harrington stresses, no decision on Berlin and the Soviet blockade was ever reached, but the city continued to be resupplied, and resupplied in an ever-expanding, Herculean effort that eventually outlasted the Soviet blockade. Far from the result of a formal decision, what we think of as the Berlin Airlift was the by-product of an attempt to play for time in order to find a real solution—that was never found.

Harrington moves deftly back and forth from the world of high politics to the street level of events. He confesses that his is a diplomatic history, but in this he sells himself short. Certainly plenty of focus is placed on high politics and diplomatic discussion, however, these are themselves limited by the author's near universal use of English language sources. A diplomatic history using Russian archives, or even French and German would deliver new insight. The book's most interesting and most important chapters bring to light the actions of the hundreds of pilots, mechanics, and operators who made the flights possible day in and day out for so many months, and especially the development of the logistics involved in the airlift. *Berlin on the Brink* is an important contribution to Cold War history.

East Carolina University

Chad Ross

Canada and the Second World War: Essays in Honour of Terry Copp.
Edited by Geoffrey Hayes, Mike Bechthold, and Matt Symes. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012. 500 pp. C\$42.95.

This past summer, when North Americans traveling to France were able to immerse themselves simultaneously in the 70th anniversary celebrations of D-Day and the Centennial of the outbreak of World War I, some might have been struck by the difference in commemorative focus in the United States and Canada. While in the United States, D-Day and the "Greatest Generation" of World War II are habitually referenced in popular culture, in Canada,

as historian Jonathan Vance points out, "the dead of the First World War have dominated Canada's collective memory of war in the twentieth century."

This surprising insight might be one of the reasons why an American reader will want to pick up *Canada and the Second World War: Essays in Honour of Terry Copp*. The collection of original essays, written to honor the more than half a century of contributions to historical scholarship and teaching of one of Canada's foremost military historians, asks familiar questions but provides new answers. What exactly was Canada's role in, and experience of the war that, for Canadians, lasted from 1939 to 1945? In what ways did the legacy of World War I cast a long shadow over tactical thinking? What were the new factors in military decision-making, for example through the emergence of operational sciences? What accounts for successes and failures in specific battles? While many of the essays take a traditional military history approach and come to new insights through a careful reinterpretation of the sources, other sections also deal with the social and political history of the home front and the cultural impact of the war and its aftermath. For the general reader, these might be the most illuminating.

The section on the home front does not, as some might expect, provide research on the internment of Japanese, German and Italian Canadians and the establishment of POW camps on Canadian soil, but explores instead the role of aboriginal Canadians and their own civil rights struggle. Another fascinating chapter by Cynthia Comacchio explores the complex generational experiences of Canada's youth while Mark Bourrie writes on the close relationship between media and the government during wartime, and attempts to show that self-censorship was an effective way to balance national security and the public's right to know. Other chapters in this book also pick up on the synergy between civil society and the war effort, and especially on the contribution of scientific research to the conduct of war.

The core of the book is provided by two sections detailing the conduct of the war "on the ground." The first campaign, chronologically first but often downplayed in histories of the war, was the Mediterranean theater. The contributors to this section agree that Canadian soldiers fighting in these enormously difficult and dangerous battles provided a vital yet underappreciated contribution to defeating Nazi Germany. For the American reader, the chapter on the Devil's Brigade, a Canadian-American commando unit that had been trained for mountain battles in Montana, makes this point in stark terms. The sacrifices of this international special service force made the capture of Rome possible, yet at the expense of one third of its men. Other chapters in a section on the Northwest European theater of war provide insight into the continuing influence of the British Army on Canadian tactics and leadership and re-evaluate the reasons for Allied success in Normandy from a

Canadian perspective: Rather than representing superiority in numbers and material, several authors conclude, Canadians fought skillfully against a less than impressive German adversary. The 12th SS Panzer division, in particular, has obtained infamy in Canadian history not for their superior fighting skills but for their brutality when executing fifty prisoners in an act of frustration and revenge.

Overall, this volume provides much that is new and interesting about Canada's war effort, embracing different historical approaches but emphasizing the importance of evidence-based historical interpretation. Terry Copp has taught his students well, and this book is a fitting *Festschrift* honoring his distinguished career.

Texas Lutheran University

Angelika Sauer

A Generous and Merciful Enemy: Life for German Prisoners of War during the American Revolution.

By Daniel Krebs. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013. 376 pp. \$34.95.

The title of Daniel Krebs's book promises information on "Life for German Prisoners of War during the American Revolution". Neatly divided into three parts with an epilogue and an appendix, the book more than fulfills this promise. Part I, entitled "German Soldiers in British Service," provides a detailed historical overview of subsidy treaties, recruitment patterns, and the social background of the German auxiliaries in British service. As such it constitutes a complementary tome to Don Hagist's recent "British Soldiers, American War." In the process it (hopefully) destroys once and for all the chimera of the Hessian, Ansbach-Bayreuth, Braunschweig, Waldeck and Anhalt-Zerbst "mercenary" who had sold himself to the highest bidder. Like most soldiers in the Age of Absolutism, these men too "were not generally oppressed subjects of princely tyranny" but members of the lower classes, many of whom had joined the armies years prior to their deployment to America (45).

Part II discusses in great detail the historical context of what it meant, or means, to be a prisoner of war and the differences between capture and surrender. The comparative analysis of the surrender conditions and ceremonies at Saratoga and Yorktown sheds a much-needed and rare light not only on the importance of rituals but on their long-term importance and continuity in the collective memories of participants.

These two parts covering about one-third of the book lay the foundation for the encounter with the “The First Prisoners of War in Revolutionary Hands,” the opening chapter in Part III. This, the longest section of Krebs’s book, tries to answer the pivotal question that contemporaries, without much success, had already asked themselves: what was to be done with the prisoners? The nascent United States lacked the facilities and funds to house and feed large numbers of prisoners; and, for a variety of reasons, the British Crown showed little interest in exchanging prisoners or paying for their upkeep. In the eyes of the British, Hessian prisoners still served a function in the war, namely, to subdue the Americans by increasing the financial burden of housing and feeding them.

American (and British) policy, therefore, almost unavoidably was determined by the number of prisoners held and the relative successes in battle. As the war dragged on, prisoners became tools in the hands of British politicians who saw them as a drag on the American economy; Americans came to see them as free labor for the communities that had been forced to accept them or as fresh soldiers for the Continental and French Armies. Releasing prisoners to work, which by the end of the war forcibly turned some of them into redemptioners, benefitted prisoners and the local economy as well. The section detailing the difficult relationship between the Hessian prisoners and the Moravian community in Hebron constitutes one of the most enlightening chapters of this very readable book.

Krebs scoured a primary sources in Europe on these men. He supports his findings with a multitude of figures and statistics—many of these educated guesses—explaining losses due to death and desertion, and how many returned to Europe. He illustrates his findings with brief individual biographies. The chapter “Release and Return” is in many ways unique as Krebs follows the now released prisoners back to Germany, to their waiting parents and relatives who were either overjoyed to see them. Many, of course, were saddened to learn that their son or brother had been killed or had decided to stay behind in the New World.

Mistakes are few and far between (for example, the Prince-Bishoprics of Bamberg and Würzburg are two separate legal entities that happened to be ruled by Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim from 1755 to 1779) and detract in no way from the value of the book. If there is one question that could be raised it is why the thousands of pension claims filled out by American veterans of the War of Independence were not used to illustrate the relationship between captors and prisoners especially during the crucial first days and weeks after capture. From them we learn how Johann Conrad Döhla looks at the American militia guarding him on the way to the northward in November 1781, but read next to nothing from the American side, the “Generous

and Merciful Enemy.” The 17-year-old Robert Snead of the Hanover County Militia deposed in his pension application (R9891) that on the march “nothing material occurred except that the whole of the Hanover militia deserted at Fredericksburg, except a dozen, so that there was no officer to draw provisions” for prisoners and militia alike. And Thomas Powers of Loudon County (Application W9235) in 1832 “recollect[ed] the Sabbath the prisoners were in the neighborhood (3 November 1781) from the fact also, that one of the women in the neighborhood who had had several bastard children went up to see the prisoners, also, and one of them a Dutchman asked her if he might get on behind her & she said yes & done so. And the officers said he might go & discharged him (at least this was the general understanding). I know that they were married and lived in the neighborhood until I left that Country . . .] And I have heard that Dutchman sing many a song and never shall forget him when & where he got his wife.”

Such criticism aside, Krebs’s highly readable and thoroughly researched book provides a wealth of new and important information on a frequently neglected aspect of the American War of Independence and is well worth the time spent reading it.

Holland, Michigan

Robert A. Selig

Going for Broke: Japanese American Soldiers in the War Against Nazi Germany. By James M. McCaffrey. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013. 408 pp. \$34.95.

Going for Broke has little to do with Nazi Germany or Germans. Rather, the book is a detailed examination of the formation, training, and wartime battle participation, activities, and experiences of the Nisei (second generation Americans of Japanese ancestry) in the highly decorated 100th/442nd Infantry Regiment during World War II. Nazi Germany and the Germans provide the backdrop to an account that places the Japanese American soldiers in the ironic context of having to prove their loyalty as Americans due to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Given the book’s purpose as well as current U.S. concerns with immigration, citizenship, loyalty, and security, the book best serves as a call to research and to provide fresh views of German American and other groups’ loyalties, activities, and actions during U.S. wars, particularly World Wars I and II.

Largely writing a military history, McCaffrey incorporates the words of Carl K. Morita and others to personalize their experiences as they trained

and prepared to go to war in Europe. McCaffrey also details the thoughts and decisions of U.S. military leaders in pulling together Japanese Americans from disparate backgrounds and experiences into a single segregated regiment. There were Nisei who were already in the U.S. Army, those who joined or were drafted from Hawaii (where they were a majority population), those who lived away from the west coast (like Carl Morita who was from Colorado), and those who volunteered from the Japanese American internment camps (whose experiences were those of minorities). Here, McCaffrey misses an opportunity to examine how their collective wartime experiences may have forged a camaraderie that overcame their uniquely different prewar cultural, ethnic, and racial experiences. Moreover, due to the overwhelming details regarding the different companies, their battles, and the strategies involved, maps would have been helpful.

The book is also hampered by some occasional observations that need further explanation. For instance, McCaffrey discusses German prisoners from the North African campaign who were taken to Camp Shelby, Mississippi (where members of the 442nd were trained) and then sent to Alabama to work on peanut farms. Members of the 442nd guarded them, often unloading their rifles, reflecting for the most part, that the Germans and Nisei got along. However, McCaffrey concludes, "Although some of the prisoners were extremely dedicated Nazis, most of them got along fairly well with their Japanese American guards" (96). No previous explanation was given about the political views of the German prisoners, leaving one to wonder how "extremely dedicated Nazis" felt about the Japanese Americans or their plight. In another instance, McCaffrey states that that by the time the Japanese American soldiers from the 100th Battalion had landed in North Africa, "over four hundred of them had proven themselves worthy of promotion. When the time came to award the additional stripes, however, the regiment's officers seemed to go out of their way to give the majority of them to men from the islands" (101). Because he has not provided the numbers of men drawn from the disparate backgrounds, one wonders if this was due to the Nisei from Hawaii being in the majority and not a conscious decision by the officers.

Given McCaffrey's attention to detail, he might have also taken the opportunity to go further. In the book, the liberation of Bruyeres, France, was part of a larger campaign. Not noted is that both the people of Bruyeres and surviving members of the 442nd forged a special bond that led to naming one street Rue du 442eme Regiment Americain d'Infanterie. (See, for example, <http://articles.latimes.com/2005/sep/04/travel/tr-spano4>.) Another missed opportunity involves Young Kim, a Korean American intelligence officer who served with the 442nd. McCaffrey does not explain why he served with the 442nd. Was this due to Koreans in the U.S. having an uncertain status

because, at that time, Korea was considered part of Japan and, therefore, this was the only way that Kim could serve? Did he volunteer, or was he drafted?

Despite its flaws, this book raises substantive issues that German American scholars might wish to tackle anew. The scholarship examining the loyalties and behaviors of German Americans during war is dated. Given recent discussions regarding the loyalty of contemporary Americans and potential soldiers, a serious examination of the thoughts, loyalties, and concerns of German American soldiers would be fruitful. Because German Americans did not fight in segregated units or specially marked groups (as some did during the U.S. Civil War), such an undertaking might be difficult. However, such a study would contribute to the growing literature comparing the treatment of white ethnic groups and visible racial minorities in the context of U.S. history as a whole.

Santa Monica College

Lesley Kawaguchi

Nazis on the Run: How Hitler's Henchmen Fled Justice.

By Gerald Steinacher. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. 382 pages. \$19.95.

Though historians have paid a great deal of attention to wartime activities of Holocaust perpetrators, very little work has been done on perpetrators who evaded prosecution by escaping overseas after the war. Gerald Steinacher's work fills this void superbly. He begins by explaining the dearth of literature on this important subject. Much of this had to do with a shift in emphasis away from the prosecution of war criminals to the war against communism after World War II; this shift served to protect war criminals from prosecution. The end of the Cold War led to the opening of international archives and to the re-opening of cases that had laid dormant for decades. Steinacher has mined most of these sources to uncover a fascinating, if somewhat disheartening account that sheds significant light on the experiences of the escapees as well as their abettors.

Steinacher points the finger of blame squarely at the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), which not only failed to speak out against the Holocaust during the war, but also actually helped refugees escape. In the years after the war, the ICRC issued over one hundred thousand travel documents; many recipients of these documents were known war criminals. The ICRC claimed that only a few so-called "bad apples" had escaped, and insisted that it was the Vatican and Allied authorities who were more responsible for ferreting out war criminals (xxi).

But the truth of the matter, as Steinacher points out, was that the Vatican was more interested in fighting a resurgent post-war communist movement than capturing war criminals and bringing them to justice. Indeed, before the end of the war, Pope Pius XII wanted Croatian priests who were suspected involvement in genocide of Serbs and Jews identified and ordered to “face up to their responsibilities” but the communist takeover of Yugoslavia under Tito changed all of that. As Steinacher puts it, for Pius XII, this was no longer the time to deal with fascism, but to take energetic action against communism” (130). Steinacher’s research also shows that “some priests on occasion went so far as to offer ‘re-baptism’ to non-Catholic Germans who sought the clergy’s assistance in their flight from likely retribution” (xxiii). He believes that many church leaders were misguided concerning the culpability of many of the men that they assisted; “they believed that responsibility for the crimes only [rested] with a handful of leaders . . . all others, including SS men, were not responsible, and were, perhaps, victims, too” (296).

At the same time, members of U.S. intelligence services, seeking experts on the Soviet Union at the dawn of the Cold War, also “smuggled former SS men . . . out of Soviet-occupied areas” to safe havens abroad (xxiv). The Americans also recruited Werner von Braun, who became director of the NASA Marshall Space Flight Center, and successfully kept under wraps von Braun’s past directorship of the V-2 rocket program, which was supported by the work of slave laborers, thousands of whom perished due to harsh factory conditions (278).

Thanks to shoddy ferreting practices, or outright willingness not to prosecute Nazis for reasons of political expediency, anywhere between 180 to 800 high-level Nazis escaped, along with Nazi collaborators from all over Europe. Contrary to popular belief, most escapees did not end up in Argentina. Rather, Steinacher shows that the United States, France, Great Britain and the Soviet Union also recruited fugitives. Argentina also sought out German scientists and to modernize the country, particularly its army (211).

Steinacher also reveals the extent to which local populations aided and abetted war criminals. Josef Mengele lived undisturbed and incognito as a farmhand in Bavaria until 1948, when his escape from Europe was engineered by Tyrolean smugglers and the mayor of a tiny village near the Brenner Pass (26). Worse still, the mayor bragged about his “heroic deed” for years until a 1985 exposé about Mengele’s escape that highlighted the mayor’s role ultimately persuaded him to backpedal on his involvement in the affair (26).

More than anything, this fascinating account brings to light just how quickly postwar priorities shifted from destruction of Nazism and de-Nazification—to using war criminals as unlikely allies either in order to preserve the Church and or to strengthen capitalism’s war against communism. As

Steinacher puts it, "Simon Wiesenthal's demand for justice for the victims and judgment for the perpetrators . . . didn't fit the *zeitgeist* of the Cold War" (271). But although western democracies protected war criminals during the Cold War, Steinacher holds that its collapse has precipitated a trend in the opposite direction. As Steinacher explains, in Europe after 1989 "a new generation born after the war . . . began to question its secrets" (274). This questioning has led to a more careful re-examination of the past, which in turn has not only led to capture and prosecution of remaining accused war criminals, but also to a "new globalized morality—the discovery of historical injustice" (288). The optimistic conclusion of this important work is that while the Cold War world was willing to mask the crimes of perpetrators, today's world is far more willing to openly examine "its moral responsibility for historical crimes" (289). If this hopeful trend continues, learning the lessons of the past may guide us to a better future.

Florida Atlantic University

Patricia Kollander

Social Democracy After the Cold War.

Bryan Evans and Ingo Schmidt, eds. Edmonton, AB: Athabasca Press, 2012. 332 pp. \$29.95.

The decline and demise of the social democratic left wing parties in advanced industrial democracies since the 1990s is the focus of this volume edited by two professors at Canadian universities. Divided into nine chapters, most of which are country case studies, the volume seeks to understand why many of the social democratic parties in industrial societies have seemed to have lost their ideology, their policy coherence, their share of votes, or both since the 1990s.

Two of the most prominent case studies are in Germanic-speaking states, Germany and Sweden, which have had two of the most prominent social democratic party movements in the 20th century, the SPD in Germany (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands) and the SAP in Sweden (Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Arbetareparti). The former is the oldest party in Germany, and in the post-war period held the Chancellorship 1969–82, and again 1998–2005, and was at the time of publication in a "grand coalition" with the center-right Christian Democratic Union (CDU), as it was in 2005–9. Yet the party has seen its share of votes decline since its peak in the early 1970s at 45% of the vote, and in the 2013 election (not covered in this volume) it declined to only about 25%. Author Ingo Schmidt would hardly be surprised;

his chapter does an excellent job of describing the long decline of the SPD. The cause of that decline is two-fold: disenchantment of working-class voters with the neoliberal policies pursued by the Schröder government which curtailed much of the welfare and labor policies previously championed by the SPD, and the draw of the Left party (Die Linke), which represents both eastern Germans and leftist western Germans formerly part of the SPD.

The decline of the SAP in Sweden is described by Kjell Östberg. What had been previously the model of social democracy in Europe has also seen much of its influence wane in the twenty-first century. The author describes the dramatic decline in the organizational aspects of the SAP since the 1990s: the women's organization, youth organization, links with labor federations have all been diminished; and though the SAP remains the largest single party in Sweden, its share of the vote has declined from over 50% in 1968 to 30% in the 2010 election, which the author covers in a post-script. Here, too, the policies of both Liberal- and SAP-led coalitions in the 1990s increasingly favored the interests of corporations, privatization, EU membership, and fiscal prudence at the expense of welfare programs, equality, and the interests of working-class Swedes.

Other chapters examine the problems of social democratic parties in the English-speaking world. Many analysts credit (or blame) Tony Blair's "New Labour" policies for the electoral success of that party in the UK at the expense of a firm ideological and policy mooring. The Australian Labor Party has similarly had electoral success at the expense of a coherent social democratic platform. Canada receives two chapters, one on the national-level politics and another on a relatively small Quebecois socialist party.

The volume as a whole makes for sad reading for anyone looking for a revival of social democracy as an ideologically coherent and electorally successful movement in advanced industrial democracies. Schmidt's introductory chapter places this general failure of social democratic parties to continue to pursue their original agendas squarely at the feet of the economy: ". . . contrary to the suggestion of social democratic discourse, neither globalization nor demographic change is key to social democratic success or failure; rather, the key factor is economic growth" (16).

The volume is the work of political analysis and advocacy, but the questions it asks begs for more empirical political science answers. Only one table graces the pages of this volume and it would seem to deserve a more statistical analysis: has the decline of social democratic parties been, as Schmidt contends, the result of working-class voters deserting those parties and either voting for other parties or not voting at all, or the result of economic changes in advanced industrial democracies that have promoted trade union membership, what Schmidt calls the "globalization thesis" (16). This is an empirical

question yet there is no statistical analysis to explore the issue in different countries. Furthermore, the selection of country case studies misses one obvious exception to the theory of socialist decline: France.

Stepping back from the social democratic perspective of the book, moreover, one must point out that all political parties have exhibited cycles of expansion and decline. Liberal and conservative parties in Europe are likely to see their vote share eaten away by the rise of Euroskeptical parties.

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Steven F. Jackson

Visualizing Atrocity: Arendt, Evil, and the Optics of Thoughtlessness.

By Valerie Hartouni. New York: New York University Press, 2012. 199 pp, \$23.00.

Visualizing Atrocity addresses a series of issues that revolve around Hannah Arendt's 1961 essays on the Eichmann Trial (published in 1963 in book form under the title *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*). Hartouni examines the *Report* from several perspectives. First, it discusses the heated debate that followed the publication of Arendt's essays. Second, it copes with Arendt's theses regarding the question of evil and thoughtlessness as exemplified in the case of Adolf Eichmann. Third, Hartouni reflects on questions of visual representation and truth in contemporary public discourse, and presents Arendt's thought as a useful tool for critically inquiring into common "ways of seeing" and the relationship between images and the production of knowledge and truth, especially as regards genocide and violence.

The first chapter seeks to contextualize the debate around Arendt's essays. According to Hartouni, the objections raised against Arendt centered on her controversial presenting of Eichmann as a rather shallow bureaucrat who did not fit into the idea of Nazi monstrosity, thus shattering conventional perceptions of the Third Reich. Hartouni suggests that Arendt's thesis on Eichmann's "inability to think" as the explanation of his conduct shifted the focus from Nazi racial anti-Semitism and was, therefore, rejected by contemporaries in Israel and the U.S. Other objections concerned Arendt's remarks regarding the allegedly political and pedagogical use of the trial by Israeli Prime Minister David Ben Gurion and chief prosecutor Gideon Hausner, and her remarks on the "Jewish Councils" (*Judenräte*) and their part in the implementation of the "Final Solution." While emphasizing the political sensitivity of Arendt's thesis as well as gender aspects in the rhetoric of the criti-

cisms, Hartouni overlooks important contextual frameworks. For instance, Arendt wrote extensively on Zionism and Jewish politics during and after the war. Her interventions made her a controversial figure in the Jewish world long before the trial. Arendt's sarcasm and acerbic style (culminating in her calling German rabbi Leo Baeck "The Jewish Führer," words which were then omitted from the 1963 book) likewise fueled extensive criticism.

Reading the overview of the debate, one may have the impression that the criticisms against Arendt were by and large psychologically and politically motivated. According to this version, Arendt's thesis on Eichmann, her accusations against the Israeli government, and her (rather brief) remarks on the *Judenräte* build up a set of allegedly uncomfortable truths that faced a wall of rejection. Yet the debate also dealt with serious historical and moral questions that were brought up by Arendt during the trial and afterwards. While her theses on the nature of totalitarianism have become an essential part of any discussion on Nazism, Arendt's historical evaluation of the *Judenrat* did not stand up to historical evidence. As various historical studies have shown, most of the *Judenräte* were at a position of complete powerlessness against the Nazi authorities. What is more, virtually no member of the Jewish Councils knew—or could know—the extent of the German genocidal plan. The gravity and complexity of these matters do not receive adequate attention in Hartouni's description of Arendt's theses and the ensuing debate.

The second chapter addresses several key questions as regards the emergence and implementation of the Nazi genocide of the Jews, and draws chiefly on Götz Aly and Susanne Heim's work on economic and demographic factors that fuelled the Nazi genocide. Against the trajectory that places anti-Semitism at the heart of the Holocaust, Aly and Heim's work serves Hartouni as a vehicle for affirming and developing Arendt's focus on the bureaucratic, technocratic, and more 'rational' aspects of the Nazi genocide policies. In her overview of the historiography on the "political economy of the Final Solution" (Aly) and its critiques, Hartouni lays emphasis on the systems that "organize, administer, and sustain the lifeworld," and which is of "absolute centrality to Auschwitz" (63.) This is also where Arendt's critique is of relevance to contemporary discourse, since these systems of knowledge, classification, and administration are, as Hartouni emphasizes, part and parcel of modern societies in general. Indeed, it is a well-known and well-studied fact that the "Final Solution" drew on a highly advanced, technological, and bureaucratic apparatus. This element is crucial for understanding how the Holocaust took place, but explains little of why Jews were perceived by the German regime as the main threat to Nazi existence, or why they had to be killed. Hannah Arendt herself laid out a profound analysis of anti-Semitism in her study of

Nazism and totalitarianism. Hartouni, however, singles out the mechanical apparatus as the main perspective that is instructive for today's readers. The question of anti-Judaism and racism is marginalized, as if it could not be integrated into narratives that depict the modern nature of Nazi genocide and totalitarianism.

The third chapter interprets Arendt's thesis on Eichmann and the intricate nature of his involvement in the genocide. Hartouni addresses a prevalent (and, according to her, mistaken) understanding of Arendt's thesis regarding Eichmann's thoughtlessness—his potentially destructive inability to think from the standpoint of another person. According to this misinterpretation, at the basis of Eichmann's thoughtlessness lies a fundamental absence of empathy, a missing moral capacity to see the presence and suffering of the other. Hartouni suggests that Arendt does not analyze Eichmann's "evil" in moral terms, but in political ones; Eichmann's thoughtlessness presents thus a case of lack of solidarity, not merely lack of moral empathy. The importance of this shift of focus in Hartouni's discussion concerns the fact that narratives that depict Eichmann as a heartless, monstrous officer often slip into a moralistic critique of his deeds, whereas a politically minded evaluation of his conduct makes Eichmann more illustrative of structural elements of modern society and its dangers.

The fourth chapter examines the Nuremberg Trials and the prosecutors' extensive use of film footage and images. This, Hartouni argues, had a major influence on how the trial was to be remembered and captured in popular memory. The effort that the prosecutors put in "visualizing" the criminality of the Nazi regime was instrumental not only for the appearance of justice-making during the Nuremberg Trials (and later in the Eichmann trial), but also conveyed ideas of moral rupture and criminal pathology that were attributed to Nazism. These photos and footage, consisting of Nazi propaganda as well as of images taken by the Allies during and after the liberation of the camps, remained a major element in the popular imagery associated with genocide. It served the political and pedagogic goals in the context of the immediate postwar, but it has also shaped part of the shocking and dramatic representations of genocide in the longer run. This point is further developed in the final chapter, drawing again on Arendt's study of evil. As Hartouni argues, the visual rhetoric that accompanies contemporary debates on genocide and mass violence, however important for raising political awareness, also has the potential of limiting the realm of inquiry into the mechanism of genocide and its underpinnings.

Yankee Dutchmen under Fire: Civil War Letters from the 82nd Illinois Infantry.

Translated and edited by Joseph R. Reinhart. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2013. 262 pp. \$45.00.

The 82nd Illinois Infantry Regiment of the Union Army was a volunteer unit consisting largely of native Germans and organized in Chicago in 1862 by veterans of the Revolution of 1848. Reinhart presents the history of the regiment through soldiers' letters to German language newspapers, as well as to individuals. Most of the private letters, 21 of the 29 in the volume, were written by Lt. Rudolph Müller to Lt. Col. Friedrich Hecker, who had organized the regiment and served as its commander until he resigned in 1864, likely due to his disappointment in not being promoted to lead a brigade. Reinhart's volume is all the more welcome because until recent years much of what is known of the primarily German regiments of the Union Army has been told by outside observers rather than the regiment's own members. Reinhart maintains balance and accuracy by filling in gaps in the historical framework and meticulously noting errors of fact in the letters, whether products of false reporting or inaccurate estimates of troop strength or body counts. His efforts to reach a true and fluent translation of the letters are enhanced by his noting of illegible words in handwritten copies.

As one of the thirty or so primarily German ethnic regiments in the Union Army, the 82nd had one of the two Jewish companies in the federal army and also a Swedish company, whose officers and enlisted men were ethnic Scandinavians and operated in a Swedish language environment. Unlike, say, the Pennsylvania German regiments in the war, the 82nd Illinois had a leadership composed primarily of native German 48ers and Turners, and their free-thinking orientation and anti-slavery views are clearly seen in the letters Reinhart presents. The initial training and organization of the 82nd takes place in Camp Butler, Illinois. We follow the regiment's progress from there to Northern Virginia, through the battles of Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, then through the long months in East Tennessee and northern Georgia which opened the gateway to Atlanta, and then through Sherman's march to the sea, followed by weeks of slogging northward through the Carolinas for the final engagements with Johnston's army as Lee's forces wind their way toward surrender at Appomattox.

While the 82nd Illinois fought in many of the key battles of the long war, their experience, as indicated in the letters, was by no means typical. In the description of the initial days in camp, we learn through letters to the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung* of the German soldiers' pride in their training, marching ability and battle readiness, compared to what in their view is the less orga-

nized and professional performance of their Anglo-American counterparts. The letters also give evidence of antagonism to a German regiment within the Union Army's hierarchy. The foreign nature of a line unit composed of and led by native Germans that did not conduct military affairs in English created a gap difficult to bridge. That the "Dutchmen" were blamed for running at the Union disaster at Chancellorsville is not surprising, as the regiment made an easy scapegoat. In this instance, they probably did the best that could be expected considering how their numbers in the Union line were simply overwhelmed by a far superior force. Here, as elsewhere, Reinhart enlists the more objective judgment of modern historians to question the contemporary accounts of German cowardice. The charges of cowardice in the regiment's orderly retreat on the first day of the battle of Gettysburg are more easily refuted by their steadfast defense of the Union line later in the battle. Above all, the letters often speak for themselves, as the soaring pride of the first months in Camp Butler is tempered by the reality of war. Here, an account of action from an unsigned letter dated May 11, 1863: "The time for standing had now passed; all those who could flee did so. Our wounded and dying fell to the ground left and right. The bullets, canisters, and shells rained without stop; they flew around our ears with a dreadful hiss, seeking victims" (72).

As in any review of the events of the Civil War, the filter through which we receive our information is a very important element. In this case, Lt. Müller, a native of Soest in the Rhineland, proves to be a problematic narrator. Since he authored 21 of the 29 private letters which make up more than half of the total correspondence in the text, his is the most dominant voice in the collection. Müller's highly subjective interpretation of events, inevitably colored by his prejudices and predilections, rapidly begins to try his readers' patience. His carping criticism to Hecker concerning all elements of command, both within and above his own regiment, explain his request to Hecker not to publish the letters. He seems to hope that Hecker will return to command the regiment and set things right, as he clearly can't abide the leadership of Edward Salomon, the Jewish officer who succeeds Hecker as battalion commander. His gratuitous anti-Semitic comments and negative judgment of Salomon's performance are especially troubling considering his own admission that Salomon's courage and conduct on the battlefield is above reproach.

Meanwhile, the letters depict the nature of a long war when units form in initial enthusiasm, then break up as enlistment contracts come to an end, while officers are given command for political reasons rather than battlefield experience and are quick to take long furloughs to recover from war weariness as well as grievous wounds, or in the case of division commander Carl Schurz, to campaign for Lincoln's re-election. An especially noteworthy contribution to our knowledge are letters describing the final months of the war. One of

the best letters gives a fascinating description of the German community in Savannah, a largely pro-Union group of merchants and professionals who even boasted a local Turner society that felt very welcoming to the many Illinois Turners in the 82nd. Later, in commentary on the scorched earth policy of the Union Army in their march through the Carolinas, Miller's easy acceptance of its effects on the native population is contrasted with the views expressed in the letter of another young soldier to his wife: "On the march we have live[d] pretty much off of the country; there is not enough in the country to support the women and the children. This is a wicked, damnable, accursed war; if you could see and hear the poor women and innocent children crying and begging that they leave them a little meal or something to eat; yet the last morsel would be taken and they left to suffer" (177).

In the conclusion, Reinhart hints at the often unasked question: considering the problematic nature of ethnic regiments, would it have been better to integrate those units into the Anglo-American units of the Union Army? Would such action have enhanced not only assimilation, but also unity of command and singleness of purpose? One can't help but compare the hard road of the 82nd Illinois with the more ready ascent of a German American like George Armstrong Custer, the fifth great-grandson of Palatine immigrants to Pennsylvania, a West Point graduate who three days before Gettysburg was promoted to the rank of brigadier general at the age of 23.

Reinhart's edition, which includes copious notes and a valuable bibliographical essay, is most competently done and helps fill a gap in both Civil War scholarship and the study of immigration and Americanization in the nineteenth century. It is highly recommended for academic and public libraries, especially those with strong Civil War collections.

Longwood University

Geoffrey C. Orth

Biographies, Diaries, and Letters

The Life of Rev. Michael Schlatter: With a full Account of His Travels and Labors among the Germans in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia.

By Henry Harbaugh. A Metalmark Book. Reprint of 1857 Edition. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012. 375 pp. \$32.95.

Michael Schlatter von St. Gallen (1716–1790): Eine biographische Untersuchung zur schweizerischen Amerika-Auswanderung des 18. Jahrhunderts.

By Marthi Pritzker-Ehrlich. Universität Zürich, Dissertation. Zürich: ADAG, 1981. 343 pp. \$33.60.

Henry Harbaugh's biography and Marti-Pritzker Ehrlich's biographical study deal with Michael Schlatter who is remembered as the Pennsylvania Swiss who gave the German Evangelical Reformed Church of Pennsylvania and neighboring colonies its organizational structure. He was born on July 14, 1716—in the city of St. Gallen, pursued a career in the ministry, first being educated in his home city, then moving to Holland where he had relatives; he briefly attended a Dutch, then also a German university. In 1744 Schlatter accepted a position as an assistant pastor in Wigoltingen, Ct. Thurgau, and from mid-August 1745 to early January 1746 the post of evening preacher at Linzebühl, a suburb of St. Gallen. He left for Holland where the South Holland Coetus of the Reformed Church appointed him as *visitor ecclesiae* with the task of organizing the Pennsylvanian Reformed parishes according to the accustomed hierarchical pattern. After some nine years of labor that included two visits to Europe in 1751–52 and in 1753–54, Schlatter accepted the position of superintendent of the so-called Charity Schools established by Pennsylvania's British elite to teach and anglicize the Pennsylvania German youth. In 1757 he took the position of military chaplain in the British forces and joined the campaigns against the French Fort Duquesne at the entrance to the Ohio Valley and against the fortress Louisbourg in Nova Scotia, Canada. In 1777 he went secretly to New York to join Howe's forces, but resigned his commission in September and was imprisoned for some months. He then retired to his farm in Chestnut Hill some ten miles west from Philadelphia where he died on October 31, 1790.

Both of these works about Michael Schlatter's life are solidly grounded in primary sources. The reprint of Harbaugh's book is especially welcome because it offers a valuable set of primary sources in full that fill some 160 of the book's 375 pages while many shorter quotations are interspersed in the text. Full texts include an "Introduction by the Commissioners of the Classis of Amsterdam" (95–117), "The Journal of the Reverend Michael Schlatter" (118–97), "The Religious Destitutions in Pennsylvania and Neighboring Provinces" (198–208), "An Earnest Plea for Relief" (208–19), and "An Appeal on Behalf of the Indians" (219–24). Also the public attack of Christopher Sauer (1695–1758), the first German-language printer in Philadelphia, on the Charity Schools scheme is given in full (293–95).

Pritzker-Ehrlich's study too is based on a large set of archival sources that

she consulted in the City Archives of St. Gallen, the Public Record Office of Zurich, the Archives of the Dutch Reformed Church in The Hague, the Central Archives of the Lancaster Theological Seminary, the City Archives and Register of Wills of Philadelphia, and the Germantown Historical Society. Among the printed primary sources she used are the editions of William J. Hinke, James Good, and Hugh Hastings. (Her primary and secondary sources are detailed in her summary article "Michael Schlatter: A Man in Between." *Swiss American Historical Society Newsletter* 19.2 [June 1983]: 20–25.)

The two works offer contrasting images of Michael Schlatter. Harbaugh's approach is hagiographic. Some comments may indicate his stance: "Young Schlatter's early powers of mind and heart were nurtured and unfolded, not only in the bosom of a christian family, but also in the society of a circle of intelligent and pious relatives" (29). During his years in Holland "intelligence concerning the religious destitutions among Germans in America was constantly received" and this "sighing of the prisoners' . . . inclined the heart of young Schlatter toward a foreign field" (33). He "could always command the highest testimonials" (365), was "friendly and easy-going", of "a very catholic spirit" (366) although wholly dedicated to the Reformed persuasion. Harbaugh had not "discovered a single instance in which he betrayed bigotry," being "constituted, in taste and talent, for a public man" and endowed with "a very inquisitive mind" (367). Although not a gifted preacher, "he was solid and instructive" and, while only "medium in intellectual abilities" he was "extraordinary . . . in energy, industry, and perseverance" (372).

Marthi Pritzker-Ehrlich acknowledges Michael Schlatter's achievements. He gave the German Evangelical Reformed Church of Pennsylvania a durable organizational structure, provided an important link between the Pennsylvania congregations and the Dutch Reformed Church, organized some 18 parishes by traveling some 8000 miles on horseback, and gave some 635 sermons. On his first trip to Europe in 1751–52 he gained several clergyman for service in Pennsylvania, received some 800 Bibles for distribution, and amassed significant sums of money from private and public sources.

From Pritzker-Ehrlich's perspective, however, there were also significant failures unknown to, or suppressed, by Harbaugh and later scholars such as James Good, William J. Hinke, Sidney Ahlstorm, and Charles H. Glatfelder who based their work more or less on Harbaugh's biography (see *SAHS Newsletter* above, 5). His parents complained that as a young man he was quickly depleting his inheritance. His clerical career in Europe was cut short by his having a child with Anna Bürkli-Beyel, the married daughter of Dean Beyel, a mother of seven children. This misfortune, not missionary zeal was the reason for his flight from St. Gallen to Holland in order to avoid prosecution by the

ecclesiastical court. He had supposedly suggested in vain to Anna Bürkli that she claim under oath of having been raped by soldiers passing through. When the Dutch ecclesiastical authorities discovered the truth in 1754, Schlatter was dismissed, although in good standing, from their service despite his plea, and they pledged to bury the issue for good.

Also Schlatter's service as pastor of the Philadelphia congregation was according to Pritzker-Ehrlich's study not unclouded. He was viewed as being elitist and catering to the English Philadelphia elite. Church elders accused him of being arrogant, claiming ownership of church property for the clergy, demanding a permanent appointment to the Philadelphia parish, being constantly dissatisfied with his salary, neglectful of the poor and the sick, and inept in teaching the young—complaints that the Dutch authorities had earlier dismissed out of hand as mere expressions of subordination. Also Schlatter's career as school superintendent ended in failure. He was seen as a tool of the British elite, and his widespread depiction of the Pennsylvania Germans as "miserable, deserted, leader-less and crying for help" was taken as slander. It is not clear what led him to abandon his appointment as military chaplain. When General Howe landed in New York, Schlatter secretly left Philadelphia to join the British troops, but before the battle of Brandywine Creek on September 11, 1777, he refused further service, possibly because two of his sons had joined the insurgency. Although authors did not view him as an American patriot fighting for independence, he at least had ceased active support of the British by his own decision and therefore could be viewed as somewhat redeemed.

In a review of Charles H. Glatfelter, *Pastors and People*, Vol. I (1980) Pritzker-Ehrlich concluded: Michael Schlatter "did not fail because 'many of those with whom he had to work were contentious people, jealous to do as they pleased in religious affairs' but because he had lacked the integrity necessary to serve as an exemplary pioneer of the church" (see *SAHS Newsletter*, above, 19). F. Ernst Stoeffler, in turn, in reviewing Pritzker-Ehrlich's study expresses the hope that "a future biographer may succeed in correcting the present correction," yet not without "taking into account the painstaking spade work" (*Church History* 32,4 (1987): 510).

University of Illinois at Chicago

Leo Schelbert

Arrived At Last: An Immigrant Narrative.

By Gert Niers. Bloomington, IN.: Author House, 2014. 274 pp. \$24.48.

After the publication of *In Abwesenheit: Lyrik und Prosa* in 2009, Gert Niers has published an autobiography, *Arrived at Last: An Immigrant Narrative* in 2014. Both books depict the struggle to make a home in America as a German immigrant of the post-WWII generation. For many generations of German immigrants, coming to America had generally been motivated by the search for a better life, but the struggle of this particular generation to integrate into American life has been unique, and Niers has to be commended for taking on the task of coming to terms with this process in his autobiography. During his lifetime, the *Heimat* that he left for America, transformed from the worst to the best of times. Niers was born and lived in the worst of times in 1943 in Dresden, a situation that represented a complex issue of place and time in duress for him. His own memories and the stories told to him became the narrative of his early life, which began with the bombing of Dresden, a horror that he observed from a distance in 1945 as well as the Russian invasion. The ruins that marked most of the cities of Germany at that time also became his first memories as the family moved to Oberhausen in the Ruhr district. How Niers lived through this time of unsettlement as a member of the working class in Germany and ended up in an academic career in America, is the story told in this autobiography. It is a unique story of a generation of German immigrants since they came to America to settle down to lives with new possibilities, but who also never quite severed the relationship to their homeland. Many landed in academic careers teaching German Studies and others worked as *Facharbeiter* in American industry and business. Some became disenchanted with America and went back to Germany. And then there are those who established a commuting relationship between the two countries.

The writing of this particular story as autobiography may very well be a breakthrough for this generation of Germans for whom the coming-to-America is often experienced as a kind of self-imposed exile and a struggle for self-knowledge laced with uncertainty. We get a hint of this in the "Introduction" and other passages, when Niers offers an apology for his lack of writing experience and personal investment in the task at hand. Of course, consciously or unconsciously, this is a well-worn rhetorical device in literary circles that can also suggest irony and complexity, and supersedes a too facile explication about *Dichtung* or *Wahrheit* in this autobiography. What the reader senses is the uncertainty of a history that yearns for certainty of identity in the New World. It is the kind of autobiographical reflection that Marguerite Yourcenar speaks of in her reconstruction of the memoirs of the

Roman emperor Hadrian: "When I consider my life, I am appalled to find it a shapeless mass...My life has contours less firm . . . tricks of perspective in the memory . . ." And this uncertainty, born in the circumstances of Germany's history has structural and stylistic consequences.

Unlike the poetic reflections of a more emotional, inner struggle in his book *Abwesenheit*, Niers' autobiography, *Arrived at Last*, is written in English and offers a thoroughly researched, more objective attitude towards the process of growing up in Germany and the ensuing assimilation into America. One may notice that the author obtains a different ontological posture and a new linguistic authenticity in order to define his commitment to the New World of America. In general, cultural separation and new re-orientations occur on very personal levels as a phenomenon of language, since the use and the level of competence in the foreign language determines the success or failure of assimilation into the "alien" cultural space. There is a linguistic logic at work here, be it conscious or unconscious.

Niers structures his story in three parts: Europe, the Old World; Living in the New World; and German-American Literature. Except for the last part, which features a section of helpful notes, the first two parts have several chapters that explore the author's contacts and interaction with a great number of people throughout his life in Germany and America. There are reflections and extensive accounts about situations, travels, work, anecdotes, flashbacks, diary entries and relationships, which make up past and present experiences on both continents, America and Europe, during war and peace. There are remarkable details of the lives of others which, however, do not distract from the main drift of the story, the emergence of a self that is the object and subject of this autobiography. These detailed accounts consist mainly of interpretations, characterizations and judgments on a wide selection of topics such as comparisons of the German and American educational systems and cultural mores, which may tempt the reader to agree or disagree. And there is a tone of sincerity and clarity of conviction that is refreshing and engaging. For example, there is a particularly touching episode, presented stylistically in the form of diary entries written during the death of the author's parents. Of course, this is a common experience of children who live far away from their aging parents, but it is particularly painful and emotional for immigrants, because it tends to become a potentially traumatic part of the separation from the homeland.

A collection of articles about the lives of German-Americans who represent German-American Literature and culture in America make up the final part of the book, and although it may seem like an anticlimactic appendix that might distract from the task of an autobiography, it is an important part of Niers' network of support. It was the world that Niers worked in for

a while, and offers an interesting look at the history of German-American relationships and how exiled writers and others have contributed to the intellectual exchange between Germany and America. It is also a tribute to German-Americans who came here in the twentieth century and found their home, particularly in the New York area. This part is a serious enrichment of a literary history of German-Americans, and one might hope that students of German literature and culture would be interested in reading these reflections as a look at a perspective on American Germanistik.

One is tempted to regard the becoming of an American, as Niers depicts his life in the New World, as positive in spite of his stated reservations about the flaws of the American way of life. His final word on his commitment to America is the chapter of "My New Family" at the end of the second part of his book. He calls his insights that have emerged over some time his commitment to life in America, and he is now ready to answer the question that is often asked of immigrants: "Are you happy in America?" Without hesitation he answers in the affirmative with the explanation that happiness is basically an emotional journey that is dynamic and constantly changing in the possibility of a good life in America. But he makes sure to distance himself from a stereotypical American dream, the dream of immense wealth and success. However, what seems reality and possibility for him does not seem to be the America that is under critical attack today. The good life is more and more out of reach for many Americans, and the poet Adrienne Rich even says that America "has suffered from the destabilizing national fantasy . . . implicit in our history," characterized by an extraordinary "cruelty, greed, and willful obliteration on which the land of the free was founded." But contrary to this mood, Niers maintains the hope for his family for "a fulfilling life without stress and abuse in a world that is not doomed due to war, environmental disaster, and exploitation."

When we think about autobiography, we cannot help considering the process of judging a human life that is at the core of this quest. C. G. Jung, in his autobiography, states that there is fallibility in all of human judgment when it comes to depicting a human life. Yet, it seems to his credit, that Niers has presented a text that offers a journey to self-knowledge without self-deception and self-delusion. As a member of his special generation, he survived in both worlds, Germany and America, and that is, in itself, an accomplishment. Autobiography, after all, is foremost a story, and this one is worth reading.

The Baron in the Grand Canyon: Friedrich Wilhelm von Egloffstein in the West.

By Steven Rowan. Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 2012. 208 pp. \$45.00.

Steven Rowan's *Baron in the Grand Canyon* is the first thorough biography of Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Egloffstein (1824-85), a German-American mapmaker, artist, western explorer, and inventor, who settled in St. Louis in the 1840s. Through extensive archival research both in the U.S. and in Germany and the discovery of new sources, Rowan is able to shed light on many of the mysteries surrounding the life and work of one of the most important cartographers of the American West.

In the first two chapters of the biography, Rowan traces the ancestry of the Egloffstein family back to the imperial nobility of Franconia, where Friedrich Wilhelm was born on May 18, 1824, at the family castle as the fifth son of Baron Wilhelm von Egloffstein, a Bavarian forestry official, and his second wife, Karoline. Friedrich served in the *Jägerbataillon* of the Prussian army, where he presumably was trained as a surveyor, mapmaker, and sketcher. In 1846 he sailed from Bremen to Baltimore with the goal of going to Texas, but he ended up in New Orleans, where he supported himself by drawing and painting posters of buildings for sale. During the 1848 Revolution in Germany, Egloffstein was in St. Louis, where he worked as surveyor and mapmaker in addition to painting signs of the facades and floor plans of buildings that were for sale. He returned to Germany briefly in the middle of that year to marry Irmgard von Kiesenwetter, but returned immediately to St. Louis, where he and his family were reported on the 1850 census. Although he was to spend the next 30 years in America before retiring to a home near Dresden, he never became an U.S. citizen.

The major focus of the biography is on the five years from 1853 to 1858, when Egloffstein was involved in the exploration of the American West. Chapters Three and Four cover Egloffstein's work as surveyor and cartographer, which led to his participation in John Charles Frémont's last expedition across the Rocky Mountains in 1853-54 to find a railroad link from St. Louis to San Francisco along the thirty-eighth parallel. He and Solomon Carvalho, the daguerreotypist of the expedition, left Frémont at Parowan, Utah, and travelled together to Salt Lake City. Here Egloffstein signed on as topographer with Lieutenant E. G. Beckwith to continue Gunnison's expedition to California after the latter's death. From his drawings and sketches on this mission Egloffstein produced fifteen of his best panoramic view engravings, which were published in the *Pacific Railway Reports*.

Chapter Five begins with Egloffstein's move with his family in Septem-

ber 1854 to Washington, DC, where he had taken a position in the Topographical Office to prepare maps and engravings for publication in the *Pacific Railroad Reports*. Egloffstein introduced a number of innovations that revolutionized traditional mapmaking. To the skeleton maps that he had made out in the field he would later add gradations of shading or hachures to show elevations, and to demonstrate these relative elevations with greater precision he eventually moved from a perpendicular view to a three-dimensional side view. In a letter of 1855 to his friend Dr. Engelmann in St. Louis, Egloffstein explained the innovative technique that he had developed to view the physical world, namely the topographical painting, in which "a map becomes a painting and the painting can be used as a map" (79). It was not until 1861 that he succeeded in creating such a map by making a heliographic etching on a steel plate from a photograph of a plaster model and then adding an imaginary landscape.

Chapter Six chronicles Captain Joseph Christmas Ives's expedition up the Colorado River in 1857-58 with Egloffstein serving as topographical engineer and as one of the two artists. Most of the woodcut views of Ives' expedition were the work of the second artist, the German Balduin Möllhausen, who came highly recommended by Alexander von Humboldt. On the return trip to Fort Defiance, Ives selected Egloffstein and Möllhausen to be part of his overland party that would revisit the "Big Cañon" and Hopi villages. Egloffstein's two large maps in Ives's *Report*, published in 1861, are considered masterpieces of topography as art. The last chapter recounts Egloffstein's service in the Civil War as the colonel of a unit made up entirely of Germans in the 103rd New York State Infantry, his move to New York City, where he established his Heliographic Engraving and Printing Company, and his return to Germany with his family in 1878 to spend the last seven years of his life.

Rowan's fascinating and well-written account of the life of Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Egloffstein not only fills in many of the gaps in the life of this major cartographer of the American West and of the 19th century, but his narrative often reads like a Wild West adventure story. The author has assembled an outstanding collection of over seventy images to accompany this biography, including photographs of Egloffstein, some of his contemporaries, the ancestral castle in Bavaria as well as reproductions of many of his topographical maps, engravings, and panoramas.

Stanford University

William E. Petig

The Constructed Mennonite: History, Memory and the Second World War.

By Hans Werner. Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press, 2013. 205 pp. C\$27.95

For nearly a decade, Canadian historian, Hans Werner, has tackled issues of Soviet German diaspora narratives and transnationalism. His most recent work, *The Constructed Mennonite*, falls into this vein of examination, a riveting family saga both personal and sweeping in scope and which has more or less consumed his life as a child of immigrants. His own family's odyssey of hope and loss spanned half the globe during key moments of the twentieth century.

Werner is a first generation born Canadian whose Russian Mennonite parents sought new beginnings in the west in the Second World War's aftermath, first in postwar occupied Germany and then as sponsored immigrants to Manitoba, Canada. In particular, his father "John" Werner's (1917-2003) reminiscences and stories planted future seeds of inquiry in him during his formative years. Years later Werner undertook a thorough historical investigation of his family's complex narrative, in the process touching upon issues of transnationalism and the problems of historical memory in relation to oral history transmission. This study opens doors to new avenues of research into the broader ethnic German diaspora from the former Russian and Soviet empires.

The timing of Werner's reconstruction of his family history could not have been more fortuitous. He admits that "Until the 1990s, it seemed that the inaccessibility of the Soviet Union and its records and the seeming impossibility of connecting with family that remained there meant that any further Werner history would never be recovered. . . . The collapse of communism in the early 1990s and the emigration of ethnic Germans in its wake raised new possibilities for the competing narratives to emerge" (49). He discerns a clear international dimension to the Mennonites' story, incorporating different family members' and family friends' experiences in Russia, Germany and Canada, with sometimes tenuous threads of personal continuities tying parts of the memory puzzle together.

Werner maintains that there are definite limits to, but also compelling uses for, oral histories and personal recollections. In recent years, academic scholarship has indeed witnessed a "democratization" of historical understanding via oral history approaches (recall scholar Orlando Figes); and oral histories defy simple categorization. On this matter of memory, he also distinguishes Mennonite, Soviet and gender perspectives in this story. Different personal accounts indeed require a multi-layered approach in historical

methodology and sources, as the intersection of individuals, groups, places, and events possesses a global reach and local impact. Accordingly, he often attempts to back up or cross-reference his father's and other relatives' and friends' memories with available primary sources and documents from the periods in question.

As was the case with the Werner family in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, new political and geographical circumstances arose with the rise of the Soviet Communist and Nazi regimes. The changing fortunes of war and peace thus forged new personal identities, not least of all for ethnic Germans, including traditional Mennonites, in Soviet Russia. Werner notes that the social context of memory must always be taken into account for a more balanced rendering of such historical reconstructions. For example, he emphasizes how individuals' given names could change often, depending under which regime or national banner people would suddenly find themselves. Shifting loyalties and, therefore, shifting identities came with the territory in this era of dramatic political and social metamorphoses. Werner's own father underwent several personal transformations in a matter of just several years. During his early Mennonite years, his father was called "Hans," shifting to "Ivan" as part of the larger Russo-Soviet society, then claiming "Johann" while fighting for wartime Germany, and finally settling down as "John" in postwar Canada.

In addition, Werner observes that moral dilemmas and tensions are discernable in those who recall or delete certain memories, especially the more compromising episodes of everyday life. The storyteller often fashions a narrative that depends on the audience's identity; that is, social and cultural context matters in relating personal stories to others. For instance, Werner's father and mother each had been married to other people before the war, something that Werner only realized years afterwards. Moreover, religious fidelity among Mennonites eroded among younger generations who came of age after Soviet power was firmly established in the 1920s and 1930s. Werner's father often related a version of his wartime experiences. During the Second World War, "Ivan" or "Johann" had little choice but to serve at different times in the Soviet and Nazi German armed forces, something which his fellow pacifist Mennonites in Canada tended to frown upon, at least more so than their brethren in Europe who had to adjust to the new, harsh realities of 1930s and 1940s war-torn Europe.

Indeed, a crucial, underlying theme of the book is that personal and political sensitivities color memories. To illustrate, Werner's parents shared different recollections of similar episodes during Stalinism, the Second World War, and the postwar period. They also later began to recall the past from the perspective of immigrants in Canada during the Cold War, becoming staunch anti-communists and expressing a degree of moral ambivalence

about wartime Nazi Germany, part of which had become West Germany now also standing opposed to the Soviet Bloc. For Werner, people under such conditions are selective in how much or what they relate to particular audiences, whether family, friends or outsiders, thereby distinguishing private versus public memories.

While Werner's parents had come to view their former Soviet homeland more negatively in light of their own relocation to wartime Nazi Germany and eventually to Cold War Canada, those Mennonites who stayed behind in the USSR also started to regard Germany as their "historical homeland." Meanwhile, relocated Mennonites in postwar West Germany began to perceive their own fortunes in the "ancestral homeland" as different from those either in the Soviet Union or Canada. New loyalties and attachments thus emerged from different fates suffered by Mennonite communities dispersed across two continents.

According to Werner, those who relate the Soviet German "diasporic narrative" have generally viewed the years before the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 as "good," while the series of events after 1917 typically are considered "bad." Nostalgia and sorrow have cast a long shadow over such recollections. As a result of these experiences, many Mennonites and other ethnic Germans in the Soviet Union during the interwar and war periods began to imagine Germany as their ancient birthright, an idealized notion that most only realized after receiving legal permission to emigrate at the end of the Cold War in the 1990s. A few were fortunate enough to reconstruct their identities after making their way westward during or after the Second World War, whether to West Germany as ethnic settlers from abroad or as "Displaced Persons" in the Western Hemisphere. This profound sense of "personal loss" or making simultaneous emotional attachments to more than one homeland or place remains significant in Werner's careful analysis of the Soviet German "diasporic narrative," or the "diasporic imagination."

Other interesting, sometimes overlooked, themes deserve mention in this study as well. For instance, Werner briefly discusses Mennonite passive resistance during early Soviet power, including organized last-ditch efforts for groups to emigrate out of the USSR in the period of 1929-1930. Werner's father's family proved unable to make the final cut to leave the country at that time, however. In addition, women, including Mennonites, sometimes felt compelled to get involved in grass-roots protests against early Soviet collectivization efforts, notably as part of the "Women's Revolt" of March 1930 that erupted through parts of the countryside, not to mention popular opposition to communist anti-religious education policies. These efforts by both Mennonite men and women dispel a simple victim narrative, or always clear gender roles, for that matter, suggesting a wide spectrum of possible responses and

adaptations to changing sets of conditions under and outside of Soviet rule.

Regarding gender and constructed memories, Werner also distinguishes an interesting general dichotomy within the Soviet German "diasporic narrative." Citing Tina (Werner) Hinz's memoir, he makes a strong case that "[women] cannot depart too far from 'accepted stereotypes which affirm the man of action and the suffering or redemptive female'" (59). In other words, men of action often do what it takes to survive and even succeed, while women of abiding faith stand as long-suffering souls, tested by God's will, an enduring spiritual or moral example to others.

There is much to praise in Werner's study. *The Constructed Mennonite* makes for an engaging, smooth reading, but also comes across as a thoughtful and balanced work with scholarly and personal touches in writing style and academic approach. It also shows the great potential of expanding upon sometimes narrow family and genealogical data to make them more relevant to others as part of a broader historical narrative. Werner again makes an important contribution to the growing field of German diaspora studies and transnational topics in general.

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Eric J. Schmaltz

Eugene Braunwald and the Rise of Modern Medicine.

By Thomas H. Lee. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013. 383 pp. \$35.00.

Eugene Braunwald is a distinguished Austrian American physician whose career in medical research, patient care, teaching, and administration has spanned over sixty years. His contributions to the fields of medicine and medical education are remarkable and significant, though largely unknown to a lay person outside of the medical sphere. Thomas H. Lee's biography of Braunwald, *Eugene Braunwald and the Rise of Modern Medicine* (2013), interweaves Braunwald's own story with that of both the development of medicine within the United States and the general historical backdrop of the times.

Eugene Braunwald was born on August 15, 1929 in Vienna, Austria to Wilhelm and Klara Braunwald. Both were Jewish, and Wilhelm owned a successful textile business. While Eugene Braunwald's childhood was initially idyllic, after the 1938 annexation of Austria, Wilhelm's business was given to an SS officer and Wilhelm was briefly arrested. Following his release, the family left for London and then moved on to New York City, arriving there on November 24, 1939. The family settled in Brooklyn and Braunwald entered school, where he excelled, gaining acceptance into the prestigious Brooklyn

Technical High School. He graduated from high school at 16 and entered New York University. Braunwald's pristine grades allowed him to be admitted to the New York University School of Medicine in 1948 despite admissions policies limiting the number of Jewish students.

Braunwald's ultimate goal was to become an internist who could take care of any sick patient, but his time working in a cardiac catheterization laboratory convinced him that he wanted to be a clinical heart specialist. This decision took place during a time when the focus in medical research was shifting to integrating science into the practice of medicine, a focus that would come to define Braunwald's career. After graduation, Braunwald completed two fellowships in cardiology before securing a coveted position in 1955 at the National Institutes of Health, where he could fulfill his military obligation while learning to become a physician-researcher. There Braunwald cultivated his ability to combine knowledge from varying avenues of research in order to further his own investigations. During this time, the concept of the "Triple Threat" physician, who is an excellent clinician, researcher, and teacher, was beginning to emerge, and Braunwald would become an exemplary one. After being named the chief of cardiology at the National Heart Institute, Braunwald and his colleagues would make significant and lasting contributions over the next decade in four areas: valvular heart disease, hypertrophic cardiopathy, heart failure, and myocardial infarction.

Braunwald left the NIH in 1967 to become the chair of the new Department of Medicine at the University of California-San Diego. More research funding was being awarded to medical schools by then, and Braunwald wanted to create a program in which his students would also become Triple Threats who were comfortable both at the laboratory bench and the patient bedside. His research there on the efficacy of beta blockers during myocardial infarction would become his most widely quoted paper. When it became apparent that UCSD would not be building its promised hospital, Braunwald left in 1972 to become Peter Bent Brigham Hospital's physician-in-chief. Braunwald would remain at Brigham for the next 24 years, and he reshaped academic medical education there into a premier program. He added one of the first primary care residencies as well as a residency for students primarily interested in research. Braunwald's ability to integrate the interests and abilities of groups of individuals and to anticipate the future course of academic medicine allowed the hospital's programs to survive and thrive during an era when many hospitals were being closed.

Throughout his time as an administrator, Braunwald maintained his involvement in research. In his groundbreaking work on mitigating the effects of heart attacks, he deftly navigated the transition to large-scale, multi-site investigations by organizing research groups of prominent cardiologists. This

work produced enduring changes to patient care, and Braunwald was also involved in setting national standards for researcher-industry relationships that are still in place. Braunwald gained notoriety as a textbook editor and author as well. Here again, he has been able to adjust to the times, developing online companions for the more extensive textbook versions of the works to which he contributed. He continues to be an active author and researcher.

Lee does a convincing job of explaining Braunwald's crucial role in cardiological research and academic medicine. The work is well-researched and the writing style engaging. Lee adroitly elucidates the general historical background as well as that of academic medicine in a manner that enriches the reader's understanding of Braunwald's life and career. While the extended excursions into specific people or situations can sometimes feel extraneous, they are interesting side notes to the primary subject. The work does not focus on Braunwald's experience as an immigrant after the opening two chapters, but this is nonetheless a compelling read for anyone interested in the history of medicine and medical education in the United States.

Doane College

Kristen M. Hetrick

The Last of the Blacksmiths.

By Claire Gebben. Seattle, Washington: Coffeetown Press, 2014. 335pp. \$16.99.

Many of us have an ancestor with an interesting story. Some also set about to write that story for publication, and most fail to realize that the story is not enough: a full context is what produces verisimilitude and brings the characters to life—in fact or fiction. Claire Gebben has mastered both the story and the context in this work. While acknowledging in her introductory “Dear Reader” note [n.p.] that her work is based on fact, supported by letters and other documents, she states “it is one hundred percent historical fiction.” She freely used her considerable skills as an author and researcher to write of the experiences of Michael Harm, her blacksmith ancestor. He is so clearly a product of his times and society that the novel has the ring of historical authenticity.

In 1848 Michael Harm was seven years old, the second son of a farmer in Freinsheim, the Bavarian Palatinate. He witnessed the revolutions of that year and the disappointments that led so many to emigrate to “freedom” in the United States. Their letters home were shared in the small farm village. Michael hoped that his father would take them to America, but the farmer refused to leave his land. As a boy Michael wanted to become a blacksmith,

a goal which his father rejected. By the time he was 16 his choices led him to leave Freinsheim to accept the invitation of his uncle in Cleveland, Ohio. Uncle John crafted wagons and carriages, and there Michael would learn the trade.

Without ever mentioning them, Gebben clearly portrays the “push/pull” and “chain migration” factors so prominent in nineteenth century German emigration. Michael was not a glorified “48er.” He made the journey in 1857 to escape farming and seek his future as a blacksmith. The author vividly describes the horrors of the Atlantic crossing, the shock of arrival in a new society, and Michael’s frustrations at being subjugated to his uncle’s bad temper and tyrannical control. The characters are full personalities with lively conversations. As Michael adjusts to his new life, the author effectively portrays his work and social environments. He stayed within the strong German immigrant community, enjoying the evenings at the tavern, joining the singing society, debating the politics of the Civil War, and wedding the daughter of his German landlord. A skilled and proud artisan, he was able to start and sustain a business building carriages. He was even able to return to Freinsheim in his later years to visit the family and places he had so missed in the interim. At the end he seems still more German than American, contrasting himself with his English speaking children and their modern ideas.

The story carries Michael through to his death in 1910. He was not an exceptional man, though his obituary suggests that he was well liked and respected. Yet there is much to learn about the immigrant experiences in this well-crafted novel. And prospective family authors should take heed of the “Author’s Note” (329–34) which discusses the extensive research and travel needed to bring this story to life.

This is a thoroughly enjoyable piece of historical fiction. It includes the Harm/Handrich Family Tree and two maps of contemporaneous Cleveland. The publishers have given it a sturdy binding with the blacksmith himself on the cover. Kudos to Claire Gebben for making genealogy and fiction work so well together!

Indiana University East

Eleanor L. Turk

Millionäre & Mäzene: Ferdinand Thun und Heinrich Janssen aus Barmen—Gustav Oberländer aus Düren.

By Horst Heidermann and Klaus Vollmer. Wuppertal: Edition Köndgen, 2014. 166 pp. €18.95.

In *Millionäre & Mäzene* (Millionaires and Patrons), Horst Heidermann and Klaus Vollmer present (in German with a short English summary) the connected biographies of three men who emigrated from Germany in the late nineteenth century and established large and successful businesses and charities in the US. The first half of the book traces the three biographies separately and then tells the story of their common businesses; the second half describes their charities in the US and Germany in great detail and lists their many accomplishments.

Ferdinand Thun (1866-1949) and Heinrich Janssen (1866-1948), both from Barmen (now part of Wuppertal) near Düsseldorf, arrived on the American continent in 1886 and 1888 respectively; Gustav Oberländer (1867-1936), who hailed from Düren (near Cologne), first came in 1888 as well and returned again in 1890 after completing his military service in Germany. Thun was an accountant, Janssen an engine fitter, and Oberländer a merchant. Together, the three built a business empire in Wyomissing near Reading, Pennsylvania, where they produced braiding and knitting machines and founded Berkshire Knitting Mills, “the world’s largest knitting facility for ladies [*sic*] stockings” (158). As late as the 1950s, the company was “one of the four largest producers of seamless stockings in the US” (73—my translation). As Heidermann and Vollmer present it, Thun, Janssen, and Oberländer subsequently used their immense wealth to support their community as well as charities in the US and in Germany, particularly charities promoting exchange between the two countries.

Perhaps the most intriguing part of this group biography is how the three individuals negotiated the treacherous waters of US-German relations in and after the First and Second World Wars. During World War I, Wyomissing Industries were searched for contraband even though all three owners were US citizens, and agents went through their private residences. In response, Heidermann and Vollmer write, the three “emphasized their US citizenship and their absolute loyalty to their new home country, but at the same time confidently stressed their German heritage” (44—my translation). Ten years after the war, they established the Carl Schurz Foundation and the Oberländer Trust, which “supported the teaching of German; created visitor and scholar exchange programs; founded a library of donated books and artwork; and fostered an exchange of experience and training in education, forestry, health care, and municipal administration” (159). The Carl Schurz Founda-

tion ran into trouble in the 1930s because there was a similar organization in Germany, the Vereinigung Carl Schurz, that had been taken over by Nazis.

Thun, Janssen and Oberländer's (as long as he was alive) responses to the Nazis were complicated. On the one hand, they did not mind being fettered by Nazi functionaries on visits to Germany, and occasionally they made thoughtless statements: Responding to a strike at the factories in 1934, Janssen—who had recently had a half-hour conversation with Hitler—asserted, "Germany has no strikes nor prospects of any strike today. When radicals try to start trouble of that sort, there the government gets after them right away and they are taken care of" (63). On the other hand, it appears that once the extent of Nazi atrocities started to become known in the late 1930s, all three objected to Hitler's policies. More practically, they supported refugees (including at one point Albert Einstein) and sent CARE packages to Germany after the war.

The problem with this story is that the authors of *Millionäre & Mäzene* seem a bit too eager to explain and excuse everything the three did and said, rather than letting the facts speak, and the readers decide, for themselves. This is true for Thun, Janssen and Oberländer's treatment of the labor force in their factories as well, where the book implies that the workers were happy with their bosses' brand of paternalistic capitalism—even though there were repeated strikes, some even violent, and a long drawn-out disagreement between labor and management that the National Labor Relations Board decided in the workers' favor.

This willingness to take their subjects' side is compounded by the fact that the authors' identity and agenda remains somewhat unclear: As far as I could tell, neither the book itself nor the publisher's web site (www.edition-koendgen.de) offer any clues as to who the authors are. Klaus Vollmer seems to be connected somehow to the city of Wuppertal (he is pictured on p.149 with Thun's grandson on a visit to Germany)—perhaps as a member of the board of the Barmen neighborhood association—and, if I identified him correctly, Horst Heidermann is a Wuppertal native who worked for the Social Democratic Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung until his retirement in 1989 and is now a free-lance writer. This matters because the book often reads like hagiography or celebration (especially of the charitable organizations) rather than critical biography.

In the same vein, there is very little critical framework to *Millionäre & Mäzene*. In other words, while the story is quite interesting, it is not quite clear what larger question it answers or to what historical narrative it contributes, i.e., why this story is important and worth the reader's attention. Obviously, there is a larger story about German emigrants to the US, but the authors only allude to that context, without sufficiently sketching details

or critical questions. There is no historiography (for instance, the relation between the present book and the 2006 volume *Wyomissing. An American Dream: Enterprise Shaping Community*, whose author George Edmonds provides a foreword here, is never explained), no context for how other industrialists with German heritage behaved during this time, no examination of how the impact of the industries and charities described here compares to other, similar organizations, and no explanation even of how the group biography is organized.

Perhaps I am being too critical here, and all the authors are striving for local recognition for their subjects (the publisher specializes in books about Wuppertal)—they even admit at the outset that finishing the book will require “Durchhaltevermögen” (15—stamina). Still, that unfortunately means that the significance of the biographies here, while certainly of interest to local historians, sadly remains unclear.

The University of California, Long Beach

Norbert Schürer

Truth, Grace, and Security.

By Bruno Corduan. Eugene, OR: Resource Publications, 2012. 212 pp. \$21.60.

Bruno Corduan's autobiography *Vom Tagelöhnersohn zum Diplomaten: Mein Leben unter der Führung Gottes* was translated by his son Wolfgang and given the not very descriptive title *Truth, Grace and Security*. The book is divided into two very different sections: the first 70 pages are autobiographical while the remaining 138 pages are a “Presentation of Basic Concepts Derived from the Bible” and reflect the Christian belief of the author.

We follow Bruno Corduan who was born in 1926 in Pomerania and who submitted his life to the will of God after the early death of his mother, through his growing up during the Hitler years and his mandatory membership in the “Jungvolk,” the Nazi youth organization, while adhering to his religious beliefs. In 1943 after eight years of school, he trained to become a public servant only to be drafted into military service. He was assigned to the German navy. After the war he made his way from the Customs Department of the Port of Hamburg to a training class for civil servants in Bonn in 1953, to the German Federal Ministry of Finance, and eventually to the Department of Defense for a special assignment in Washington, D.C. After eight years the family returned to Germany where he, now with diplomatic status, was stationed with an international NATO task force in Munich. In addition to his work in international contracts, he and his family became members of

the Baptist church where he took responsibilities in various congregations as elder and pastor.

Since all three sons are living in the United States, Mr. Corduan and his wife Ursula retired to the Pilgerheim Weltersbach community in Northrhine-Westphalia. He continues with his active participation in the Baptist church even in his advanced age.

Mr. Corduan's experiences during the Hitler years, his perilous service in the German navy, his international assignments would be of much interest to a wider circle of readers, although I found the constant emphasis on his being the most dedicated and capable, the repeated references to God's guidance somewhat tiresome. The second part of the book would appeal to a special audience.

Covington, Louisiana

Brigitta L. Malm

The Unwritten Diary of Israel Unger.

By Carolyn Gammon and Israel Unger. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2013. 240 pp. \$18.74.

Israel Unger's book joins the increasing number of exile memoirs by childhood Holocaust survivors who emigrated after the war. Like many other such works, his reflects on many years' experiences following a difficult childhood. The seemingly oxymoronic title of this work in WLU Press's "Life Writing" series alludes obliquely to Anne Frank's diary, which Israel Unger discovered in his early teens. At the time, he was struck by both the similarities and the differences between the Dutch girl's story and his own: like the Franks, his family had gone into hiding, but in considerably more primitive circumstances, cramped into a crawl space carved out of a flour mill's attic. But unlike the Franks, all eight of those hiding with Unger survived, even though several people in the small Galician city of Tarnow knew about them. Israel Unger, however, who was only seven years old when the war ended, had no written record of his experiences and later remembered few details of everyday life at this time. This memoir is thus not a diary but rather a chronological reconstruction of his life, extending to his immigration to Canada and successful career as a Professor of Chemistry and later as Dean of Sciences at the University of New Brunswick. In writing this memoir Unger was assisted by Carolyn Gammon, a native of Fredericton who, during a fifteen-year residence in Berlin, had become closely involved in Holocaust awareness. Gammon helped with the research and took many of the book's photos.

Because, like many other childhood survivors of wartime trauma, Unger never discusses with his parents their time in hiding, between early 1944 and the end of the war, and himself cannot provide many details, his account of this period takes up only 27 of the book's over 200 pages. Equal space covers the difficult years between the end of the war and emigration to the New World, as the two Unger children are separated from their parents in a French orphanage, placed with childless relatives in the UK, then reunited with their parents in Paris; finally, in 1951 the family can sail for Canada, the quota on Poles having closed the preferred destination of the US to them.

Thus the Holocaust memoir takes second place to the narrative of immigration, which shows many themes common to other immigration stories: settling among others with similar background, working hard to become established and eventually prosper, navigating the new language and culture to achieve assimilation, and, in Unger's case, facing recurrent instances of anti-Semitism. The writer candidly discusses the problematic relationship with his brother and the tension between himself as a young non-religious Jewish Canadian and his orthodox parents. He spends considerable time describing his hard-won education and successful academic career in Canada, and repeatedly emphasizes his affection and appreciation for the adopted country with its rich opportunities, especially for education. He also expresses devotion to Israel, as the country that gives him a sense of roots.

The pages on Unger's satisfying academic career at the University of New Brunswick and his happy family life provide insight into the life of European Jewish exiles in Canada and more broadly into Canadian academic life, where his own history as an outsider helped define his profile. Unger recounts brushing up on his childhood French in order to promote collegiality at professional gatherings involving faculty from francophone universities. At the height of Québécois separatism, he negotiated for the Quebec Faculty Association to be integrated into the Canadian Association of University Teachers and annoyed the federal government with concessions to the Quebec group. The space given to his academic career, which he claims to have "very much enjoyed . . . [even though] it was not what I thought it would be," places Unger's book within the genre of "academic memoir" although it focuses more on biographical facts than on questions of intellectual development. The book's final section sets it apart from many other memoirs in detailing the extensive research undertaken by Unger and Gammon, greatly facilitated by the internet, to reconstruct the circumstances of his Holocaust childhood: the hiding place, the Polish citizens who helped the nine Jews, others who knew about their refuge but did not denounce them, and even the fates of the five others who hid with the Unger family. Correspondence and personal encounters with various helpful and unhelpful Polish authorities enliven this

account. A high point is Unger's meeting with the mill owner's son, who had known about the hidden Jews, and the discovery of and visits with two women from the group, sisters living in Israel. Another strength of the book is its rich photographic documentation, again largely the result of careful research. Thus one sees photographs and documents of several generations of the Unger family, images from Unger's life in Canada, and pictures from his and Gammon's research.

Gammon and Unger have produced a readable, unpretentious, straightforward book that will be of interest to those studying immigration and exile, Holocaust memoir, and Canadian university life. Closing the account, the reader is inclined to agree with Unger's assertion that "every survivor story . . . is unique and extraordinary" and to concur with his own self-assessment: "I have had a very good life."

Franklin & Marshall College

Cecile Zorach

Worldly Philosopher: The Odyssey of Albert O. Hirschman.

By Jeremy Adelman. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013. 740 pp. \$39.95.

The Essential Hirschman.

By Albert O. Hirschman. Edited with an introduction by Jeremy Adelman. Afterward by Emma Rothschild & Amartya Sen. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013. 384pp. \$29.95.

The developmental economist Albert O. Hirschman was one of the lesser-known of Hitler's many intellectual and cultural gifts to the United States. He was born in Berlin in 1915, the son of a successful surgeon. Both of Albert's parents, although ethnically Jewish, were so assimilated into German society that Albert and his sisters were baptized as Lutherans. He earned his *Abitur* from Berlin's Französisches Gymnasium where French was the language of instruction, but students learned to read both Latin and Greek. In 1931, Albert and his sister Ursula became active in the *Sozialistische Arbeiterjugend*, the youth organization of the Social Democratic Party.

On the last day of March 1933, Albert's father died of cancer. On April 2nd, the young Jewish man, suddenly unable to return to the study of law at the University of Berlin, and in some danger due to his SAJ activities, fled to Paris. Albert was a brilliant student with a remarkable facility for languages. Having had a French tutor as a child, he spoke the language (and only that

language) without a German accent and thus had no difficulty with two years at the *École des Hautes études Commerciales de Paris*. In 1935-36, on a scholarship at the London School of Economics, he familiarized himself with English and the furor over the unorthodox theories of John Maynard Keynes. When the Spanish Civil War broke out in July 1936, Hirschman immediately left for Barcelona, with other German and Italian exiles as anti-fascist volunteers. Three months later, after receiving a combat wound he would never discuss, and becoming greatly disillusioned with Communist tactics in Spain, he fled to Trieste to join his sister and her husband, an anti-fascist Italian. He studied more economics at the local university and published his first paper in his newest language—Italian. With Mussolini's growing persecution of Jews, Albert returned to Paris and joined the French army. When the Germans invaded and France fell in June 1940, Hirschman escaped to Marseilles where soon, with his linguistic skills, charm, and know-how, he became the trusted deputy of Varian Fry in the latter's efforts to rescue important Jewish cultural figures and send them to New York. He proved "to be a font of devious ingenuity and seasoned wisdom" (177).

As Hirschman came under suspicion in Marseilles, he obtained a two-year fellowship from the Rockefeller Foundation for study at Berkeley. In California, he met and married a Russian Jewish woman who had grown up in Paris. The marriage resulted in two children, and despite many family relocations, lasted more than 70 years until Sarah Hirschman's death a few months before her husband's in 2012. At Berkeley, Albert wrote his first book—a soon forgotten study of pre-war international trade and political power. He joined the American Army in 1943. Assigned to the OSS, he was used as a translator but not in the sophisticated data analysis work he desired.

After the war, Hirschman found work in Washington with the Federal Reserve as an analyst of the economies of France and Italy. When the Marshall Plan came into being, Hirschman, on loan from the Federal Reserve, provided background economic analysis to American officials. Late in 1951, he was caught in the McCarthy fiasco due to his activities as an adolescent for the German Social Democrats. After difficult interrogation, in 1952 he and his family left Washington to work on World Bank development projects for the nation of Columbia in South America. Albert soon developed fluency in Spanish and later, as a Latin American expert, picked up some Portuguese. The Hirschmans returned in 1956 where Albert spent two years as a research professor at Yale. There, the Hirschmans switched their household language from French to English in part to benefit their adolescent daughters and in part to facilitate Albert's lecturing in English. Albert went on to Columbia University in New York City and to Harvard; but he never liked teaching and was an undistinguished teacher. At last he found a home at the Institute for

Advanced Study at Princeton which has no teaching requirement. He knew and interacted with other exiles, but never became a part of an exile community in the United States. From time to time, he returned to Latin America to evaluate projects for the World Bank.

Jeremy Adelman in this quite detailed biography tries to convey the flavor of Hirschman as an intellectual without seeking to explain in detail his actual economic arguments. Albert's "skill with words always eclipsed his dexterity with numbers" (4) which put him increasingly out of sync with the progression of the discipline of economics during his lifetime. Instead of developing equations, Hirschman read and re-read the classics from Homer to Kafka. He especially loved Machiavelli and Montaigne. He questioned grand economic theories and in particular that of the necessity for "balanced growth" in the economic development of the third world. In place of grand theory, Hirschman specialized in "petit ideas" and observations on the ground that often seem to lead to peripheral conclusions.

The book of Hirschman's articles as selected by Adelman is an attempt to let the economist speak for himself. The articles were originally published between 1968 and 1994. Perhaps readers steeped in the controversies within developmental economics of the 1950s and 1960s will grasp the importance of Hirschman's views in their original context. For laymen such as myself, many of the essays and especially "Rival Views of Market Society" are of some interest but do not seem of astounding import.

Adelman's lengthy life of Hirschman is intrinsically interesting to anyone concerned with the twentieth century in Europe and the Americas. But as biographers often do, Adelman seems to oversell his subject when he calls Hirschman "one of the twentieth century's most remarkable intellectuals" (3), assuming that this means something more than the man's uncanny ability to get out of one jam after another and to retain an amazing degree of optimism about the future of economic development. The volume of articles is probably best left to readers with a desire to study the history of developmental economics.

University of Arkansas—Fort Smith

Robert W. Frizzell

Zwischen Deutschland und Amerika: Mein Lebensweg.

By Dieter Sevin. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2012. 200 pp. € 19.80.

Contented authors, who are satisfied with their lives, write the best and most objective autobiographies and histories. Dieter Sevin falls into this cat-

egory. In spite of suffering a terminal ailment, he is proud of his life and at ease; and he managed, during long suffering and treatment, to write his "Lebensweg."

Truth resides in comparison and Sevin, in compliance with the title, does a superb job detailing his life between Germany and the United States. Born in 1938 and growing up during the turbulent war and post-war years, he emigrates from Hildesheim to America in 1958. Relatives in Kansas facilitate the process and seem to have signed the affidavit of support. But their help wanes quickly, forcing Dieter to become self-supporting. He works on a farm, which he characterizes as a low point in his life and "eine Schinderei unter schweren Bedingungen." Practicing German frugality enables him to save 1800 dollars within eight months, almost 15,000 in 2014 dollars! Now he can follow the call of a friend to go to California, a trip which he enthusiastically entitles "California, here I come!"

After acquiring the absolute American necessity of having transportation and after holding down various jobs, Dieter enrolls in Foothill College in 1959. Being self-supporting and working part-time while studying diligently is another low point, in fact, the most intense and strenuous part of his life. It is compensated by the "promised land" of climate, citrus, and people. Here he meets the family of his future wife. Transferring to San Jose State College, he studies German history, marries his wife Ingrid and, with help from the in-laws, has a wonderful wedding trip.

While recollecting his life, Sevin, intersperses, in italicized form, the burden and treatment of pancreatic cancer. He does so without self-pity but with philosophical reflections. His humane quality, mixed with a disarming innocence and sincerity, deeply touches the reader.

Eventually, he earns a Ph.D. in German literature from Seattle's University of Washington, obtained with the recognized support of his wife, who herself was finishing an M.A. degree. Thereafter, he embarks upon his impressive university teaching, research and publishing career. His foci are DDR literature and exile literature. At Vanderbilt University he teaches, writes and publishes, creates an exchange program with Regensburg, becomes a father twice, and invests successfully in real estate. Global travels follow, more interaction with German academic circles and more intense activities of being the "Vermittler zwischen den Kulturen," i.e. the informer/mediator between German and American cultures. In time, his achievements are rewarded with the *Bundesverdienstkreuz* in 2007.

The last quarter of his autobiography is devoted to recollections of friends, family members and U.S. Presidents. He adulates Kennedy, views Nixon positively and even more so Reagan. Near the end of his "Lebensweg,"

he returns to "the Bible of his youth" and embraces, understandably so, an endearing belief in God.

Indian Hills Community College

Siegfried H. Sutterlin

Linguistics

Speaking Amish: A Beginner's Introduction to Pennsylvania German for Ages 10 to 100.

By Lillian Stoltzfus. NP: Eckschank Publishing, 2013. 127 pages + CD. \$19.95.

Introduction to Pennsylvania Dutch.

By Elizabeth Wengerd. Edited by C. Richard Beam. 15th Printing. Millersville, PA: C. Richard Beam, 2014. 59 pages.

For those interested in a basic introduction to the variety of German commonly known as Pennsylvania Dutch or Pennsylvania German, two books with a step-by-step approach to learning the basic vocabulary and grammar of the language have recently been published and are readily available. For those familiar with some of the controversies among the various schools of writing Pennsylvania German in published form, both of these texts utilize the orthographic system known as "Buffington-Barba-Beam" which is based on the spelling system of Modern Standard German and has been refined in *The Comprehensive Pennsylvania German Dictionary* (ed. C. Richard Beam et al., 11 vols. [Millersville, PA: Center for Pennsylvania German Studies, 2004-7]).

Wengerd's guide, now in its fifteenth printing by C. Richard Beam of the Center for Pennsylvania German Studies in Millersville, Pennsylvania, is based on a series of lessons compiled in the Old Order Amish community near Aylmer, Ontario, where Elizabeth Wengerd, an experienced teacher, produced lessons primarily to teach those entering the Pennsylvania Dutch culture from the outside. In reproducing Wengerd's lessons, Beam has substituted some dialect expressions from his native Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, variety of Pennsylvania Dutch, especially where the usage in Ontario had adopted English vocabulary. In eight chapters, Wengerd introduces nouns (gender and plural forms), verbs (present tense), household vocabulary, terms for persons and parts of the body, clothing, food items, farmyard vocabulary and finally, adverbs. Chapters four and eight also include reviews of material presented in previous chapters.

One weakness in this otherwise basic and straightforward introduction by Wengerd is the confusing treatment of the past tense of verbs. The student is presented with the structure “Der Mark hot die Geil gfiedert” (Mark fed the horses) on page 13 with the comment “The past participle is GFIEDERT and is used with the helpin [*sic*] verb HAWWE.” With no additional information one must assume that the student is well versed in English grammar rules and would automatically understand how a past tense in Pennsylvania German parallels the English present perfect tense. But that is quite an assumption—especially if this text is also appropriate for “self-instruction” (60). The reader finally finds some limited information on forming the past tense on page 38 as well as on page 42. There is also no mention of the use of *sei* “to be” as a helping verb for the past tense of certain verbs. The reader is, however, expected to read and understand such practice sentences as “Es Becky is der Weg nunner gange mit em Buggy” (Becky went down the street with the buggy, 40), which require the helping verb “to be” with the appropriate past participle.

On the other hand, Stoltzfus limits her entire twenty-five lesson text to present-tense usage. But since she does not include a single statement about or in the past tense, the reader/student cannot be confused—perhaps only disappointed by being limited to the present time. Stoltzfus specifically states that the variety presented in her introduction is that spoken in Lancaster County, where she still has relatives among the Amish. She does admit to including vocabulary that her grandmother might have used that have become obsolete in a few instances. She intends her book to be descriptive rather than prescriptive.

Stoltzfus’s colorfully illustrated short lessons focus on the usage of only one verb per lesson—in the present tense—with appropriate nouns and adjectives. Lesson 25 actually introduces a second verb at the very end, *schwetze* “to speak,” with the last sample sentence being *Ich schwetze en Bissel Pennsylvania Deit[s]ch* “I speak a little Pennsylvania German” (110). Each lesson has a simple dialog followed by tips for pronunciation and grammar as well as a short section entitled “Culture Tip” with insights into the everyday life of the Amish, such as how insulting it is to be called lazy (84). Following the main set of lessons is a section containing a pronunciation guide, verb charts for the 26 verbs introduced and answers to exercises. More importantly, the book includes a CD with all of the material in the text so that learners may even download the material onto an MP3 player and listen to it while doing chores or on the road (7). Aside from a few blemishes including typographical errors such as “helpin” (13) and “*Deitch*” (110) above and instructing the student to

conjugate the verb “bin” instead of “sei” (11), *Speaking Amish* is a very engaging textbook for the beginner learning Pennsylvania German.

University of Kansas

William D. Keel

The Arts: Fine, Decorative, and Criticism

Edgar G. Ulmer: A Filmmaker at the Margins.

By Noah Isenberg. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014. 384pp. \$34.95.

Noah Isenberg's thoughtful biography of Edgar G. Ulmer (1904–72) manages the difficult balancing act of positioning this “filmmaker at the margins” closer to the center of migration studies without sacrificing his outsider appeal. As Isenberg shows, Ulmer's unique career trajectory complicates the typical rags-to-riches story of émigré filmmakers in Hollywood, and his filmic output repeatedly defies the categories of style, genre, market, and national cinema.

Given the outlandish claims Ulmer made about his own career, the aim of Isenberg's biography is “to sort through the persisting myths and balance them with a more judicious, more precise understanding of the filmmaker as he came into his own” (23). Through insightful close readings of Ulmer's films and attentive treatment of biographical sources, Isenberg sorts fact from fiction, and perhaps even more significantly, considers the reasons for Ulmer's exaggeration or distortion of some accounts. For example, Isenberg suggests that Ulmer often gave his birthdate as 1900 rather than 1904 “presumably as a means of lending greater credence to his assertions of having worked on various films when he would have barely been a teenager” (3–4). Similarly, after tracing Ulmer's birthplace not to Vienna but to the Moravian town of Olmütz, Isenberg suggests that the up-and-coming director claimed the Habsburg capital as his birthplace as a means of distancing himself from his provinciality and associating himself with cosmopolitanism and high culture (14).

Like his fellow Viennese émigré filmmakers, Erich von Stroheim, Otto Preminger, Fritz Lang, and Billy Wilder, Ulmer was skilled at re-fashioning his past in the creation of his public persona, often in an attempt to secure new employment (15). As Ulmer began to seek work in the early 1920s, he cultivated a cosmopolitan image of himself as a new Hollywood émigré with lingering ties to Europe, shuttling between Hollywood and Berlin to assist

on small-scale westerns for Universal Studios and co-directing the uniquely independent *Menschen am Sonntag* (People on Sunday, 1929) (21). Insightfully, Isenberg reads the next film Ulmer made, an educational US-Canadian co-production about syphilis called *Damaged Lives* (1933), as an allegory for social ostracism and the experience of exile, which would become recurring motifs in Ulmer's oeuvre (52). Still, Isenberg is careful not to reduce the condition of exile to one of despair. Eventually Ulmer's cosmopolitan image helped him secure a brief contract with Universal Studios, though he would ultimately be blackballed by studio head Carl Laemmle Sr., ostensibly for taking too many creative liberties in the use of classical music for *The Black Cat* (1934), though more likely for having an affair with screenwriter Shirley Kassler, the wife of Laemmle's beloved nephew, the woman Ulmer would soon marry and go on to collaborate with on many pictures (75-77).

Of particular interest to scholars of migration studies should be the fourth chapter, "Songs of Exile," covering the even lesser-known films Ulmer directed in the late 1930s that earned him the title "the director of minorities" (85). These included *Natalka Poltavka* (The Girl from Poltava, 1937), a Ukrainian-language operetta master-minded by dancer Vasyl Avramenko that exceeded all expectations and led to another collaboration on *Zaporozhets za Dunayem* (Cossacks in Exile, 1939); the Yiddish films *Grine Felder* (Green Fields, 1937), *Yankel der Schmid* (The Singing Blacksmith, 1938), *Fishke der Krumer* (The Light Ahead, 1939), and *Amerikaner Shadkhn* (American Matchmaker, 1940); *Moon Over Harlem* (1939), one of the first all-black features with a white director; and a series of health shorts on *Diagnostic Procedures in Tuberculosis* (1938) targeted at African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Native Americans. Many of these films found Ulmer serving as a "professional outsider" in collaboration with a "cultural insider" (95). Pursuing ethnic subjects, "in a roundabout way, helped him to become more deeply assimilated into the fabric of America" (119).

The remainder of Isenberg's book is dedicated to analysis of Ulmer's low-budget productions for the Producers Releasing Corporation (PRC), a smaller studio on "Poverty Row"; his best-known film noirs, *Detour* (1945), *Ruthless* (1948), and *Murder Is My Beat* (1955); and the eclectic work produced at the end of his career. Throughout these analyses, Isenberg deepens our appreciation of Ulmer's work without overstating the case for their aesthetic value. With characteristic wit, Isenberg sums up the change in Ulmer's career: "If the first years of his career often forced him to the margins, both formally and financially, these final years were filled with a kind of marginal cinema *in extremis*, an unusually colorful string of ragtag productions—some of them surprisingly lovely, others eminently forgettable—that are long neither on coherence nor on consistency" (205).

Though relatively marginal, Ulmer has long been idolized in some avant-garde circles as an anti-establishment figure who chose to make low-budget films for the greater creative freedom they would allow him, an image that can be traced back to his mid-1950s reception in the *Cahiers du Cinéma*. However, Isenberg's biography reveals that Ulmer also desired commercial success, and sensibly points out that the aims of independent filmmaking and commercial success are not necessary mutually exclusive (xiii). For Isenberg, many of Ulmer's films "are not merely *transnational* but are also *transitional*, made en route to the next project—or, in some cases, with the hope of reaching that next project, aiming for the next level or quite often merely to earn a much-needed paycheck—and completed, by and large, on the fly" (53; emphasis added). Ultimately, Ulmer's transnational and transitional career should serve not only as inspiration for a new generation of DIY filmmakers (274) but also as an impetus for further studies of self-fashioning and self-invention among émigré filmmakers.

University of California, Berkeley

Erik Born

Fritz Lang: The Nature of the Beast.

By Patrick McGilligan. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013. 560 pp. \$24.95.

Patrick McGilligan's problematic biography of Fritz Lang (1890–1976) presents a sweeping narrative of the apparently sinful director's redemption through film art. For McGilligan, the extent of Fritz Lang's genius as a filmmaker is beyond question—evident not only in such Weimar films as *Dr. Mabuse der Spieler* (1922), *Die Nibelungen* (1924), *Metropolis* (1927), and *M* (1931), but also in his less-appreciated Hollywood productions, including *Fury* (1936), *You Only Live Once* (1937), *Man Hunt* (1941), *The Woman in the Window* (1944), *Scarlet Street* (1945), and *The Big Heat* (1953). However, McGilligan ultimately leaves the Roman Catholic director on his deathbed, reflects on his life of reprehensible behavior, and wonders: "Wouldn't such work, lasting long beyond his mortal time, redeem Fritz Lang" (476)?

McGilligan's book, originally published by St. Martin's Griffin Press in 1997, is presented as a corrective to Lotte Eisner's 1976 treatment of the director. If Eisner's portrait of Lang erred on the side of hagiography, then McGilligan's verges on demonography—the "nature of the beast" in the book's subtitle referring not only to the director's essential characteristics, but particularly to his deplorable behavior and his seemingly inhuman nature.

The contrast between the two approaches is evident in their reaction to one key line from Lang's autobiographical statement, originally a justification for breaking off his autobiography before writing an additional chapter on his father and grandmother: "A chapter like this would delve deep down into one's private life. And I have always insisted that my private life has nothing to do with me or with my films. If my films do not add up to an image of myself, then I do not deserve the book you are writing about me" (Eisner, *Fritz Lang*, 15). In McGilligan's book, the statement is distilled to the epigraph, "My private life has nothing to do with my films," and later used to make it seem as though Lang was involved in a conspiracy to cover-up his past (6). In the remainder of McGilligan's biography, this author of award-winning biographies of Clint Eastwood and Alfred Hitchcock gleefully takes up the task of exposing every possible aspect of Lang's personal biography, from his alleged mistreatment of coworkers to his complex religiosity, political affiliations, and sexual preferences.

In McGilligan's psychological portrait of Lang, the duality of the director's personality comes across in terms of the contrast between the cultivated persona of a sophisticated, though tyrannical, Prussian authority figure, always seen sporting a monocle, and his more beastly private demeanor. Putting Lang's reputation through the ring, McGilligan does not hesitate to pass judgment on Lang's megalomania, careerism, and perhaps above all, sadomasochism. The litany of the biographer's accusations includes Lang's reckless endangerment of actors in pursuit of a perfect shot (119, 128, 137, 166, 231); his demanding work ethic that spilled over into deliberate ignorance of unions and labor regulations (96, 197, 221, 233); his numerous love affairs (92, 140, 236, 270, 284, 355, 392, 444) and "perverse" sexual behavior (140, 237, 456, 474); his "dubious racial humor" (227); his flirtation with Nazism (157, 171, 287); his lack of sincerity both as an "activist-celebrity" (257) and in recanting his affiliation with Communism (396); his blind eye to his brother's pleas for financial help (455); his failure to acknowledge his stepmother's death in a concentration camp (261); his opportunistic religiosity (475), alternately suppressing his Jewish heritage (288), showing an "interest in restitution" (329), exploiting his staff's Jewishness (350); and his attempt to remedy a number of these rumors through publicity statements (5, 254, 287, 345, 402).

Ultimately, such disparagement may have been necessary for McGilligan's narrative of Lang's redemption through his art. Yet many of the accusations rest on questionable evidence, as McGilligan does indicate *en passant* in the narrative or more forcefully in the endnotes. In one note, for example, McGilligan emphasizes that "there is no proof positive of the death, marriage to Fritz Lang, or even existence of the director's first wife" (516), even though

McGilligan tenuously equates a woman named "L." in Lang's World War I journal (41) with a woman named "Lisa Rosenthal" in the archives of Vienna's Rathaus (56). The admission of this woman's possible non-existence gets lost in McGilligan's dramatic account of her death (76–78), and his insinuation that Lang may have even murdered her, an accusation based, in part, on a catalogue of murders and suicides in Lang's films (79–80). As McGilligan admits, "Lisa Rosenthal's death was reconstructed from numerous second-hand and even third-hand sources" and at least one film historian suspects that "it was all a clever fiction Lang had managed to concoct to dramatize his otherwise humdrum life" (516).

Unfortunately, these sensational aspects of the narrative detract from McGilligan's original research (505–6), including his comparative analysis of a 1914 letter that helps fill in Lang's pre-War activities; his examination of Thea von Harbou's Allied interrogation records; and his discovery of Lang's American home movies; not to mention the numerous interviews McGilligan conducted while preparing the biography. Further analysis of such documents might help create a more balanced portrait of so complex a figure as Fritz Lang, and careful use of the biographical details that McGilligan presents will hopefully generate more productive readings of Lang's films.

University of California, Berkeley

Erik Born

Karl Bodmer's America Revisited: Landscape Views Across Time.

By W. Raymond Wood and Robert M. Lindholm, eds., Introduction and Annotations. Vol. 9 in the Charles Russell Center on Art and Photography for the American West. Norman Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013. 240 pp. \$45.00.

Johann Carl Bodmer (11 February 1809–30 October 1893) printmaker, etcher, lithographer, zinc engraver, draftsman, painter, illustrator and hunter known as Karl Bodmer in literature and paintings, was a Swiss and French citizen, his name listed as Johann Karl Bodmer and Jean-Charles Bodmer respectively. Distinguished in Germany for his watercolors, drawings and aquatints of cities and landscapes of the Rhine, Mosel, and Lahn rivers, Karl Bodmer became a member of the Barbizon School, a French landscape painting group from the mid-nineteenth century, creating oil paintings with animal motifs as well as wood engravings, drawings, and book illustrations.

Best appreciated in the United States as a painter who captured the American West of the nineteenth century with accurate depictions of its in-

habitants, he accompanied German explorer Prince Maximilian zu Wied-Neuwied from 1832 through 1834 on his Ohio-Missouri River expedition. Hired as an artist by Maximilian with the specific intent of traveling through the American West, Bodmer recorded images of the cities, rivers, towns and people they saw along the way, including images of Native Americans around the Missouri River. Much of Bodmer's work was chronicled in Prince Maximilian's book entitled *Maximilian Prince of Wied's Travels in the Interior of North America*. In service to Maximilian for a pictorial documentary of his travels in North America, Bodmer sought to approximate reality, his vision often transcending his view—his landscapes appreciated today more for their aesthetic than their documentary value alone. The book *Revisited* takes us on this journey using two methods to describe the same object: water colors from the nineteenth alongside photographs from the twenty-first century.

After their landfall in Boston from the sailing vessel *Janus* in 1832, Maximilian and Bodmer, just thirty years after Lewis and Clark had returned from the West, steam boated to the westernmost point in Montana and back to New York acquiring a remarkable register of Indians and fur trade on the upper Missouri river, a wealth of detail about contemporary culture, society, and natural history from the eastern United States, praised by naturalists and scholars then and now. Although Bodmer and Maximilian did see the works of two previous artists, George Catlin (1796-1872) and Peter Rindisbacher (1806-34), they made no reference to them in their own creations. The Bodmer-Maximilian route departed from New York to Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville wintering at New Harmony, during which months Bodmer on his own behalf made an excursion to New Orleans. In 1833 Bodmer and Maximilian headed for the Mississippi, then the Missouri to Sioux City, Bismarck, and on to the Yellowstone River to Fort McKenzie near Great Falls, Montana. On the return down the Missouri, they stopped at Fort Union on the Montana border and spent the winter at Fort Clark upstream from Bismarck. Setting forth on April 18, 1834, they reached Portsmouth Ohio whence they proceeded by canal to Cleveland and over the Erie from Buffalo to Albany and thence New York City. Boarding the *Havre* a few days later they dropped anchor at Le Havre, France on August 8, 1834.

Maximilian's German text was published in 1839-1841 in two volumes and translated into French while an English version was whittled down to one volume, which was reprinted in 1906 by Reuben Gold Thwaites for his 32 volume set, *Early Western Travels*. The entire Bodmer collection was not available until the Joselyn Art Museum in Omaha acquired the sketches and joined with the University of Oklahoma Press to offer three volumes in the 1960s, *The North American Journals of Prince Maximilian of Neuwied, 1832-1834*. Subsequently the University of Nebraska Press with the Joselyn Art Museum

produced its extraordinary volume, *Karl Bodmer's America*. In addition, the Baltimore Museum of Art preserved artwork from the American period left at Bodmer's estate and more recently Nebraska and Joslyn produced Brandon K. Ruud, *Karl Bodmer's North American Prints*, an encyclopedic summary of the artist. Dead in Paris at the age of eighty-four Bodmer had gone blind, deaf, and penniless, as recorded in the best of his biographies, by William J. Orr and included in the Joselyn publication, *Karl Bodmer's America*.

Beautifully executed with high historical acumen the Bodmer sketches vs. current photographs appear with a left page-right page comparable in color, a great success to the viewer and the serious researcher alike. The photographers even found animals, boats and objects from our century to replicate the originals (e.g., Buffalo, 147), which Bodmer included in his sketches. It was of course not possible to inject into modern photographic scenes an Indian camp flush with horse caravans and stockade forts, e.g., Fort Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone in North Dakota or the Mandan Village near Bismarck (148). Likewise the photographers could not readily duplicate a Buffalo skull on "body" rocks but seem to have located the tumbled-down stones on a hilltop at Fort Union Historic Site. By the same token, the White Castles on the Missouri in Montana, which reminded Bodmer of the Rhine, are as prominent today as then except for the water level raised by the Army Corps of Engineers. Same goes for Bodmer's "Chinese Wall" on the Missouri in Montana, ditto for the Seven Sisters, Chapel Rock, and Citadel Rock. Niagara Falls is beautiful with any method of depiction, the last site included in the volume. Excellent endnotes, bibliography and index. Recommended for media centers across America and homes nationwide.

St. Olaf College

LaVern J. Rippley

Weill's Musical Theater: Stages of Reform.

By Stephen Hinton. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2012. 560 pp. \$49.95.

Kurt Weill has a secure place among composers in the twentieth century, his position being enhanced by the publication of this book by Stephen Hinton, an authority on the life and work of Weill. The composer was born on March 2, 1900, in Dessau, Germany, the son of a cantor, and showed musical ability at an early age. He studied under Ferruccio Busoni, the "advocate of all ideas that aimed seriously at creating something new" (40). Weill left Germany abruptly after Hitler's accession to power in 1933. He spent about two

years in Paris, leaving for London in 1935, and later immigrating to United States with Lotte Lenya, his wife and favorite vocalist.

It was during his years studying under Busoni that he formed his ideas, opinions and methods of composing. He felt that the work as a whole was his idea and his responsibility, and ". . . he emphasized the importance of the 'sonic image' (the Klangbild) of his music, something conceived as a part of the compositional process, not merely part of an 'arrangement'" (61). But it was in Bertolt Brecht that Weill found a librettist who listened to his ideas, and the story he was attempting to tell with his music and opera became a reality. *Die Dreigroschenoper*, based on "*The Beggar's Opera*" by John Gay, was one of first operas staged in Berlin. According to Hinton the success of the "Three Penny Opera" convinced Kurt Weill that a "play with music" was a viable medium. Immediately, Weill and Brecht began work on "Happy End," a story of good versus evil, using the Salvation Army and a gangster bar as the background. "Happy End" opened in Berlin in 1929 and ran for about a month.

Der Lindberghflug, first performed on December 5, 1929, at a concert given by the Berlin Staatskapelle, was first assigned to Weill and Hindemith, but Weill credited himself with it. The text is by Bertolt Brecht. *Mahagonny: Ein Songspiel nach Texten von Bert Brecht* appeared as a "Songspiel" in Baden-Baden on July 17, 1927. The full-length opera followed three years later. Weill's collaboration with Brecht continued for several years, but there appears to be no contact after Weill went to America. He had many Broadway successes, including *Knickerbocker Holiday*, *Lady in the Dark*, *One Touch of Venus* and *Down in the Valley*, a folk opera. Those who wrote the book and provided the lyrics for his music were well-known writers such as Moss Hart, Maxwell Anderson, S. J. Perelman and many others.

Hinton discusses each of the musical plays by Weill, including information about the collaborator, location of the production, and its success. There is also an in depth study of the music which will appeal to musicians as they read and study this presentation of Weill. Hinton includes several bars of music from a number of works as he is discussing Weill's music, sometimes in relation to other works and others to display the sociological implications in the words enhanced by the music. Hinton has provided the reading public with an in depth study of a man and his music that will inform many succeeding generations.

Cincinnati, Ohio

Clara H. Harsh

Miscellaneous

Amerikanismus: Kulturelle Abgrenzung von Europa und US-Nationalismus im frühen 20. Jahrhundert.

By Adelheid von Saldern. Vol. 49 of *Transatlantische Historische Studien*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013. 428 pp. €44.00.

In the last decades, a considerable number of studies have examined phenomena related to the perception of America and her influence on other cultures, using concepts like *Americanization* and *Anti-Americanism*. Adelheid von Saldern's study focuses on *Americanism* ("Amerikanismus"), understood as the process of identifying and reinforcing cultural traits that are typical for America, in order to define America as a nation (14). However, the term Americanism is repeatedly used interchangeably with the term Americanization. Saldern's premise is that the process of defining America as a nation can only be understood when analyzing how Americans see themselves as different from or similar to Europe (41). The focus of Saldern's study is on American perceptions of Western Europe but it briefly addresses perceptions of Eastern Europe and China.

Saldern examines Americanism in discourses of a specific time and specific protagonists: quality magazines like *Harper's*, *The Nation*, or *Atlantic Monthly* in the 1920s. The time constitutes a transitional phase after World War I in which discourses on American national identity intensify (389-90). The individual concepts to describe America or Europe that Saldern identifies are probably not new to readers familiar with this field of study but the strength of the book lies in its deep and comprehensive analysis, its focus on connecting different arguments, and its emphasis on the interconnectedness of American and European viewpoints.

The book is divided in three parts, with the first part introducing the examined magazines and then analyzing how liberal authors perceived European images of America. Saldern describes the magazines as translating European positions and pursuing the establishment of a transatlantic elite (119). The second part turns toward conservative voices that emphasize contrasts to Europe, the particular strengths of America, and also perceived divisions within the United States regarding race and gender. Saldern shows how even the latter became connected with perceptions of Europe. The third part analyzes definitions of what is typical for America in space and time, morals and religion, art, and international politics. The section illustrates how complex and interconnected the discourses are, for example, defining a specifically American concept of space touches the frontier experience, the colonial past, modernization, and the tension between regionalism and nationalism.

Saldern documents in great detail various arguments related to familiar themes, some of them representing specifically American concepts (e.g., western civilization, frontier, exceptionalism, manifest destiny), others also relating to Europe (e.g., criticism of various aspects of modernization). Saldern's main analytical framework is *intersectionality*, i.e., the interconnectedness of categories like race, gender, and class. This framework produces some of the study's most interesting findings, especially when concepts change or clash. The study shows how class conflicts were reinterpreted as ethnic conflicts (181), how the concept of *whiteness* changed, how immigrants were moved up or down in the racial hierarchy (chapters 3 and 4, for Germans 130–32), and how religion become a factor of the immigrant hierarchy. Furthermore, the study describes some cases where perceived differences between groups dominate over commonalities, e.g., race differences block gender solidarity, or class solidarity does not extend to women or non-whites (chapter 4). One concept can also make another obsolete, such as newly established race hierarchies undermining the perception of Europe as one entity (159).

The analysis of the discourse on American art is especially interesting because it highlights some of the contradictions inherent in Americanism. Saldern shows how American artists and art experts faced two dilemmas. First, they admired European art but also wanted to set themselves apart from it. Second, they recognized African American art, especially music, as uniquely American, but this appreciation clashed with racial prejudices. Saldern dedicates only parts of a chapter on the perception of African Americans in the discourses on American identity and mentions only briefly that Native Americans were mostly ignored. An additional segment on the role of non-Europeans in the discourses would enhance the study.

In summary, Saldern provides a very detailed impression of the complexity and diversity of magazine discourses on American identity. At times, the amount of detail presented and the interconnectedness of arguments makes it difficult to connect back to the topic of individual chapters, but this is partially owed to the complexity of the subject matter. Overall, the book delivers a clear and comprehensive overview of the discourses about American identity and transatlantic relations in a crucial time for America's development into a world power. Saldern makes a good case that the self-understanding of Americans in the early twentieth century was inseparable from America's perception of Europe.

Jacobs's Choice: Return to Northkill, Book 1.

By Ervin R. Stutzman. Harrisonburg, VA: Herald Press, 2014. 303 pp. \$29.99.

Although this is a novel, it is one based on known fact. Jacob Hochstetler, an Amish emigrant from Switzerland, moved with his wife and family to the Northkill Creek settlement in Berks County, Pennsylvania, the first Amish community in America, founded in 1740 on the frontier with Indian lands. This area lies just east of Lancaster and Lebanon counties, identified as the "Pennsylvania Dutch" region today. In 1757, during the French and Indian War, Jacob and his family were attacked by a pro-French Indian war party. They burned his farm, killing and scalping his wife and two youngest children but taking him and his other two sons' prisoner. The event became known as the Hochstetler Massacre and is the subject of this novel, the first in a projected trilogy. Ervin Stutzman is one of the roughly 15,500 known descendants who trace their family to Jacob's oldest daughter, Barbara Stutzman. She was not taken in the raid, and eventually married and had a family of her own. Through subsequent years the family has maintained its genealogy and written the story of Jacob's capture, return, and later life. The Jacob Hochstetler Family Association, founded in 1988, holds the family records and publishes a quarterly newsletter. There was thus ample material upon which to build this narrative.

The novel, mainly a series of vignettes, is written in three parts. In the first we learn that the family immigrated to Pennsylvania because it offered religious freedom and that they devoutly believed that God would see them through the perils of frontier life. Jacob refused to move to a safer location for that reason and, as a resolute pacifist, would not fight the warriors, even as he watched some of his family die. The second part describes Jacob's hardships as a prisoner as well as his anguish that his sons might lose their Amish beliefs and practices in captivity. His escape and dangerous trek home are the bridge to the third part. It presents his return to his burnt out homestead and the difficulties of recovering from this ordeal. The author's poetic license allows us to peek into his thoughts as he seeks to find a new wife. The writing is straightforward, focusing more on action than character development.

This work stands at an intersection of fact and fiction. The abundance of resources for this novel poses something of a dilemma for both the author and the reader. Adherence to the history and genealogy appear to constrict the author's creativity, and the writing is sometimes wooden. Yet, because Stutzman does not identify his sources, it is impossible for the reader to determine whether he is using family lore or his own imagination in bringing these historical figures to life. For example, the names of Jacob's wife and children killed by the Indians are unknown, so he provides them. It is unclear whether

the many conversations among family members are based on diaries, letters and journals or whether they are pure fiction. Nonetheless, they serve to fill out the characters and to provide details of frontier life. They also stress the strength of the family's religious beliefs and pacifism.

The "Massacre" story is told from Jacob's perspective in this novel. The author promises to explore the Native American perspective in the next volumes. As it stands, this work should serve well as a supplemental reading to instruction about the colonial frontier and about the origins of the Amish community in America. In addition to the paperback version, reviewed here, there is a hardcover edition expanded with maps and illustrations, and electronic versions in two formats. The publisher also provides a free study guide on its website.

Indiana University East

Eleanor L. Turk

Medical Caregiving and Identity in Pennsylvania's Anthracite Region, 1880-2000.

By Karol K. Weaver. State College: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011. 187 pp. \$56.90.

Immigrants from Italy, Germany, England, Ireland and Wales populated the anthracite coal region of northeastern Pennsylvania during the period of Weaver's innovative and carefully researched study. New immigrants customarily settled in areas where they found people from the same area and who spoke the same language. They had the same food preferences, religion and life style. All worked in the mines and had the same physical and economic disadvantages.

Economically, the miners were poorly paid and had frequent days when there was no work. In addition, the work itself was physically very hard and debilitating. Inhaling the coal dust day after day caused severe lung problems that ultimately resulted in disability and death. The miners had a spirit of collegiality where they looked after each other, and watched out for the problems that occurred in the mine.

Actual health care was another problem. There was a "Company Doctor" who was paid by the mine owners to care for the miners, and would include the wives and families for a fee. The mine owners operated a hospital that treated the miners at no cost, but required payment for wives and children.

Since wages were low and money was tight, the women and children rarely used the company services. All members of the community tried to avoid going to the hospital, for they felt that the odds of leaving a hospital alive were against them. The women avoided hospitalization both because of the distrust of the facility and the cost that they could not afford. Both men and women used non-traditional methods of medical care, consulting non-traditional caregivers such as herbalists, midwives, passers, and powwowers. The first choice was self-medicating with homemade remedies or with store-bought patent remedies.

Adding to the suspicion of treatment by a licensed physician was the language barrier. Although the miners and their families made an attempt to learn English, they were segregated in their ethnic communities, and opportunities for learning the new language were few. In addition the doctors were from a different part of the country, usually young, and viewed with suspicion by the miners and their families. Frequently they made use of the German healers and powwowers, since these German practices reminded them of the religious traditions in their old countries; also it was without cost. The women of the community used their skills and mothering techniques to care for each other. These were people they trusted.

Men designed their own methods of dealing with the problems associated with working in the mines. The escalating lung problems and rheumatism from working in the mines were common to all. They treated them with alcohol, tobacco and patent medicine, since self-sufficiency was the hallmark of a strong man. It took years for the "Black Lung Disease" to be recognized as a result of their work in the mine as the lung function decreased and asthma developed. Priests, families, and public health workers tried to lessen their use of alcohol and tobacco, but without avail. Their use and patent medicines were the way they made it through another day in the mines.

This is a careful study of the life in the anthracite mining communities of Pennsylvania. It is a sympathetic picture of the lives of the miners and their families, showing in detail how they used mutual support to cope in a strange environment and a physically destructive workplace. Karol K. Weaver used multiple primary sources to depict the lives of the immigrant miners and their families, showing their slow transition to modern, or biomedicine, and understanding the basis for their lung disease.

Elisabeth.

By Peter P. Klassen. *Asunción, Paraguay: Editora Litocolor (published by the Verein für Geschichte und Kultur der Mennoniten in Paraguay), 2009. 382 pp. \$22.00.*

Elisabeth, by Peter P. Klassen, tells the story of a young girl's journey from early puberty to adulthood. Born in the Ukraine, she and her Mennonite family experience the horrors of Stalinism, then emigrate via Germany to Paraguay to settle in a small village in the Chaco. Here they live through the Bolivian war and World War II, events that polarize the village and the family. Klassen chooses to narrate the story, primarily of Elisabeth's life in South America, through isolated entries in a diary, as in *The Diary of Anne Frank*, and intersperses it with short narrative commentary by a first person commentator, probably the recipient of the diary, Luise, to add historical or moral background.

Whether one reads this novel or one of Klassen's other works, *Die schwarzen Reiter* or *Frauenschicksale*, one must immediately wonder to what extent the fictional characters are drawn from reality and, conversely, how much of the historical characters is drawn from the writer's imagination? *Elisabeth* is unabashedly designated a novel, "keine der hier gestellten Personen hat es wirklich gegeben...auch das Dorf ist fingiert." However, Klassen uses the story to explore many of the literary, philosophical, religious and cultural notions that have informed Western civilization.

One notices immediately that the story reflects Aristotelian principles of tragic narrative. The novel is informed by what one scholar has called Aristotle's quantitative sections of a tragic narrative structure. *Elisabeth* divides very neatly into the Aristotelian sequence of incidents common to most ancient Greek tragedies: prologue and parodos: 11–16; episode one: *Königen der Nacht*; choral-like statement: 151–55; episode two: *Maranatha*; choral-like statement: 228–31; episode three: *Sturmvogel*; choral-like statement: 315–20; epilogue: *Denk es, O Seele*; exodos: 376–79. This structure is surely meant to echo the tragic form and to increase the dramatic impact of the story inherent in this arrangement.

The plot revolves around three pivotal amorous attachments (with Heinrich, Peter and a German soldier, Erwin) that all leave Elisabeth unsatisfied, disillusioned and emotionally isolated. This recognition of her emotional plight results from a reversal of her life style brought about by the end of World War II, the death of her mother, and the search for the cleansing of her soul through the traditional Mennonite rituals of confession, judgment, and restoration to the congregation. As with most tragic heroines, she discovers that, as the aphorism goes, one can't go back. Though driven throughout

much of the story by idealistic notions of noble and moral intent, she ultimately finds herself in a situation where she is damned to a terrible isolation, cut off from her own family, friends, and acquaintances if she keeps her wartime life a secret. In embracing the age old Mennonite village tradition to find restoration in the church and social community of her childhood and youth, she experiences another isolation that leaves her unsatisfied and leads to her early death.

True to Aristotelian theory, the story abounds with irony. Elisabeth is seen as too pure for her first love because he is not a believer (49, 54), she herself is rejected in favour of another girl by the second, and, finally, far from her village home in the Chaco, she consummates a relationship with a married German soldier that ignores Mennonite teachings about pacifism and, of course, the sacredness of the marriage bond. There is further irony in the zealous support found for Hitler and the German nation among the Mennonites of the Chaco (46, 51, 249, 329, 339, 365), and that inspires our central character to embrace her task of helping the Germans as a grand and noble undertaking, only to have her idealism crumble when some of the terrible truths of the Hitler agenda are revealed after the defeat of Germany (353-359).

Foreshadowing emerges in the letter written to her friend Luise at the very beginning of the book that bequeaths to her Elisabeth's journal. The letter speaks of Elisabeth's deep sense of isolation and of the journal as a window into her soul. This *Einsamkeit* is recognized immediately by Luise for what it really is, *Todesahnung*. Thus from the very beginning to the end of the novel the reader is confronted with the shadow of death in Elisabeth's search for meaning and fulfilment. This preoccupation with death reaches its climax after she returns to her childhood home and visits her childhood friend. Liese is by now a somewhat grizzled, disappointed young woman who speaks obsessively about her own death and then says to Elisabeth, ". . . du kommst auch noch so weit, dass du dich vor dem Tod nicht mehr fürchten wirst" (336). Indeed, after having undergone the ritual cleansing of confession and forgiveness in front of her village congregation, she is soon humming songs such as ". . . ich möchte Heim . . ." (361). Within two years she is dead. But the novel is far more than a mechanistic construct of Aristotelian principles.

Klassen has set the story in a historical, cultural and natural landscape (55) that reflects much of Mennonite experience of the twentieth century. The power of the elder, church board or congregation in a Mennonite and the traumatic impact of such discipline on Elisabeth, or her impressionable young friends no matter how lovingly and empathetically exercised; and the sense of hopelessness that sometimes overwhelms the inhabitants of Fernheim in the face of one natural disaster after another.

Even the contradictory feelings of fascination and fear engendered by the appearance of soldiers of the Paraguayan-Bolivian war in the village are reflected in the juxtaposed reactions of Elisabeth's brothers. Jasch is fascinated by the military events and sees them as a means of adventure and critically questions Mennonite teachings. David, conversely, holds the Mennonite pacifist position that any support for or participation in any military activity must be rejected.

By the use of regular font for Elisabeth's journal entries and *italic font* for the words of the commentator Klassen indicates the careful thought he has given to the style and language he employs. Klassen has an inordinate ability to find just the right German word, where an English translation requires many. For instance (138,139), elder brother Abe contrasts Heinrich's (Elisabeth's first love's) travel experience as that of a *Schiffbrüchiger*, *Einzelgänger* to his own in that *die Zugkraft, die mich wieder zurückzieht ist bei mir starker als die Kraft die mich wegschleudert*. To translate this into English literally leaves one either frustrated or laughing at the inadequacy of the result. *Shipbreaker*, *singlewalker*, *pullpower*, *flung away* are simply inadequate to convey the nuances in the German. One must resort to many English words for each German word: *one who would jump overboard or start a mutiny*, *one who would walk in isolation* (but one must also add the nuance of *the courageous forerunner*, *the one who has gone where no man has dared to go before*). Klassen's proficient use of just the right word, as when Elisabeth finds herself *abgemauert*, *in der stillen Ablagerung* (14), gives an indescribable and rewarding richness to the text.

Some of this rich language is found in the words of the commentator, the chorus-like observer. Moreover, imagery and poetry are frequently introduced in Elisabeth's journal entries to expand the scope and emotional appeal of the work. Many of the poems are from leading German poets and writers like Schiller, Goethe, Mörike, Hesse, Löns and Ricarda Huch (259). The use of the diary as a narrative allows us to see her personal appreciation for a literary world that far surpasses what she had been exposed to in her childhood village. Her response to a love poem by Huch (260) reflects the respect that Klassen engenders for poetic work and simultaneously demonstrates his ability to create similes and metaphors. A reference to Hesse's *Steppenwolfe* evokes one of the most devastating and startling images of the work when Elisabeth and the German soldier, Erwin, recognize themselves working on the plains of Patagonia (351). Elisabeth's own journal entries display a significant growth in the expression of her thoughts as she passes through some fourteen or fifteen tumultuous years on the path to adulthood. For instance, the images of *Wasser*, *Strom* and *Wellen* become more frequent and intense toward the end of the diary, as the commentator notes. Such language reflects

the experience of life and the growth in awareness that comes with time. In the end, this very recognition of a life unfulfilled because of forces beyond her control leads to her early death.

This isolation of the protagonist, Elisabeth, as in Greek tragedy, places her in a tragic dilemma that demands a choice. Either way, suffering and/or death are sure to follow. But Elisabeth's dilemma is more than an Aristotelian paradox. Klassen has placed her in a situation that raises questions of an existential nature. Though a full discussion of this matter is beyond the scope of this review it is important to note that Klassen begins another of his books, *Die schwarzen Reiter*, with a quotation from Jean-Paul Sartre. Given that Sartre wrote a French version of Sophocles' *Antigone* with a very distinct Existentialist emphasis, it would not be surprising if that play provided Klassen with something of an artistic prototype. In the prologue of this novel, supposedly the last words of Elisabeth, she raises the existential question of whether she is what her public persona seems to be, or is she the secret person revealed in the words of her diary. "Die andere Seite ist mir genau so eigen und vielleicht bin ich das was diese Seite zeigt, wirklich." (13) The last word, *wirklich*, emphasizes her search for self-authenticity. Elisabeth's alienation, both from her village and *Gemeinde*, who see only her public persona and create her struggle as an autonomous being responsible for herself.

In another instance early in her working career, while attending a celebration of Hitler's birthday in Asunción, Jasch exhorts Elisabeth "Tu nichts gegen deine Erkenntnis . . . Sei das was du sein kannst und sein willst." (247) Jasch has recognized what drives her and encourages her in her freedom to be her real self. Even near the end of the story as she recounts Jasch's departure from home and contrasts it with her own actions, she confirms her life long quest for freedom to establish her own authenticity and the regret that she has never quite found it.

Virtually every page of this novel teems with provocative themes that arise out of a specific context but are of universal concern; themes such non-resistance/ pacifism (134-36, 365, 366), individual isolation (14, 138), death as the great equalizer (131), the search for fulfilment and/or redemption (359, 372), disillusionment as ideals and hopes come crashing to an end (358) and many more. Little is superfluous; almost all is in some way significant to previous or later action and thought.

Perhaps the most significant question for the reader is the fate of Elisabeth herself. Near the end of her journal entries, she confronts the reality of the life she has lived, something that we must all ponder in one way or another at some point. Not surprisingly given her upbringing, she decides to follow the traditional Mennonite teaching of public confession and to ask for forgiveness for her sins of the flesh. And how she does confess! Six times she

retells her story; to her friend, her father, her brother, her church elder, her Church board, and finally her church congregation. And all with one question in her mind! "Fände ich so die völlige Befreiung?" In the course of this process she quotes Hesse's famous poem that betrays her mind-set and emphasizes the great irony of living in a village surrounded by supposedly kind, well-meaning people but still being utterly alone.

Seltsam im Nebel zu wandern!
Einsam ist jeder Busch und Stein,
Kein Baum sieht den anderen.
Jeder ist allein. (370)

After the public confession as the congregation extends the hand of forgiveness, does she finally find closure? Once again her words create a sense of doubt. She describes the end of the process (374) as, "Es war alles sehr herzlich." The ladies of the congregation hug and kiss her. But then her next comment belies this. "Verloren und wiedergefunden, so heißt es, so wird es gesehen, obwohl ich dem Glauben nie näher gestanden bin als in dieser schweren, öden Zeit." Klassen in these responses is surely pointing out the difficulty for any person or group to analyse accurately what proceeds within another person's soul. Shortly thereafter, while listening to Mozart's *Eine kleine Nachtmusik*, Elisabeth hears the music as ". . . ein Sehnsuchtsschrei, eine einzige Sehnsucht in der Nacht" (375). Her life remains unfulfilled. Her last journal entry reads, "Das Feuer brennt nicht mehr, es ist verglüht . . ." (376).

According to the commentator, Elisabeth dies two years later. Once again Klassen gives us pause to think. Does this process of public confession really work? Can one remain in personal isolation and find fulfilment? Can one ever really escape from past decisions and actions? To what extent is the community responsible for the outcomes of individual lives? This is a very powerful novel written by a very insightful author. There is a risk in reading this book. Virtually every page teems with ideas or observations, written in curt, direct and impeccable German, that leave the reader thrilled, emotionally moved, and intellectually challenged. For the reader, particularly of Mennonite background, confronting what one has been taught or held dear for much of one's life will require sober second thoughts. Conversely for one who has simply taken the path of least resistance throughout life, or for one unfamiliar with the Mennonite background, reading this story will not provide a comfortable pew.

German(ic) Toponyms in the American Midwest: A Study of Place, Identity and Heritage.

By Stephan Fuchs. Erlangen: Selbstverlag der Fränkischen Geographischen Gesellschaft, 2013. 186 pages. €29.00.

In his recently published doctoral dissertation, Stephan Fuchs explores the socio-cultural and spatial-statistical significance of toponyms—place names. He traces the paths of German-speaking immigrants in the American Midwest who inscribed their cultural heritage in the place names of their newly established settlements and thus made visible a pattern of German identity on American soil. While focusing on case studies of two such communities, New Ulm in Minnesota and Eudora in Kansas, Fuchs presents a broad overview of German patterns of settlement as well as spatial and cultural significance in all the states north of Kentucky, from Ohio to the Great Plains. Richly illustrated with 34 maps, numerous photographs, tables and charts—some in full color—this study is a valuable addition to the personal library of any serious scholar in the field of German-American Studies.

Fuchs finds that Germanic place names represent a valuable indicator of historic ethnic settlement as well as modern-day ancestral patterns which together with census data offer a broader view of sociocultural phenomena. His focus is on twelve Midwestern states—an eastern group including Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin and a western group with Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Nebraska, Minnesota, North and South Dakota. For these states he compiled an extensive database of the historic and current place names for settlements known to have a Germanic origin. Using the mapping imagery of Kernel Density Estimation, Fuchs finds a very profound German cartographic imprint in three adjacent areas of high density in western Illinois and eastern Missouri surrounding the metropolitan St. Louis region. Additional relatively high concentrations of German place names can be found in southern Indiana, east-central Iowa and northeastern Nebraska. Fuchs believes his Kernel Density maps also attest the influential cultural standing of German-related (immigrants not directly from Germany) in Kansas, Nebraska and the Dakotas—as we might expect given the large numbers of Germans from Russia who settled there in the late-nineteenth century. Fuchs also discusses the challenges to his method to the loss of German place names in this region due to political pressure during the era of the First World War which triggered a wave of place name changes. Such widespread switches in toponyms in themselves provide insights into significant socio-demographic or sociopolitical developments.

Using two case studies—one in New Ulm, Minnesota, and the other in Eudora, Kansas—Fuchs assesses the population's place-based and ethnic

identification as well as local patterns of heritage construction. He claims that the process of naming these two towns provides unique access to the towns' past and present and especially to the local expressions and performances of ethnic identity and heritage. Both towns were founded by Germans from Chicago—New Ulm in 1854 by the Chicago *Landverein* being named for the home in Germany of several of the early settlers; Eudora in 1857 by the *Neuer Ansiedlungsverein* of Chicago and named after the daughter of the Shawnee Indian chief who sold the Germans the land for their new town. The simple example of the choosing the name of the new community demonstrates the broad continuum of possibilities that underlie the naming process. While New Ulm suggests the geographical and ethnic origin of the settlement, it masks at the same time the regional heterogeneity of its pioneer settlers. Eudora proclaims the Native American connection and even real estate dealings behind the town's name but obscures the role of the German settlement society and the ethnicity of its early settlers. Over the years New Ulm has managed to maintain and develop its identity as a German community. Eudora on the other hand, while acknowledgments of its German origin occur, is largely a farming community—and to some degree a bedroom community of Kansas City—with no particular ethnic connection to Germany. As one resident remarked to Fuchs: "When you hear Eudora, you don't think German" (129).

University of Kansas

William D. Keel

Gentlemen Bootleggers: The True Story of Templeton Rye, Prohibition, and a Small Town in Cahoots.

By Bryce T. Bauer. Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2014. v, 282 pp. \$33.95.

This book's significance lies in its unconventional portrayal of a German American community. Bryce Bauer has written a delightful narrative in a practical, efficient and nuanced manner. He describes in magnificent detail how the inhabitants of one German American small town in Iowa responded to the changing world of 1920–40. He has marshaled impressive documentation from various types of proof to recreate the lifestyle people who lived Templeton, and the surrounding Eden Township and Carroll County.

Besides a useful bi-county map which shows the general area of activities in the German American Carroll County, with the nearby "American" Audubon County, Bauer has created an excellent bibliography and a useful index. In addition, he mentions the four books which provided "significant domain knowledge not fully reflected here" (239), placing the book into a

context of previous research. He also explains that contextual information by interviewed residents are enumerated in the Acknowledgement (237–38). On this very solid structure, Bauer erects an astonishing narrative in proving his interpretations of post-1917 German-American life. His Source Notes appear in abbreviated form, but by using key words in the text, they quickly become a very manageable way to check his sources (239–61). He also explains that some quoted conversation has been left out, while some has been created from paraphrase, but is carefully documented in the source notes. The result is an enjoyable reading experience, with reassuring documentation.

Moreover, the storyline is enhanced by Bauer's style. He manages to write a solid narration with carefully selected playful comments, which enliven the text and allow the reader to place himself in the "Roaring Twenties" on Iowa farmland. In an early chapter, his description of growing anti-German sentiment in southwestern Iowa is carefully crafted. Anti-immigrant fears were carefully played upon in early propaganda: the German Kaiser was demonized, Germans were reduced to the Huns, uncultured tribes attacking the Roman Empire (with a typical poster, 26), and Iowa-born and future President Herbert Hoover approved of Food Department posters using the Hun image to convince Americans that they needed to conserve food. The major incident of anti-German hysteria in this area was the near-lynching in nearby

Audubon County of the richest farmer, Fred Konnigkeit, and attempted attacks on the Rev. Ernest Starck of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Bauer carefully follows the connections with the appearance of the newly reconstituted Ku Klux Klan a few years later in Audubon county, which was primarily anti-German, anti-Catholic, and anti-Carroll County. Unexpectedly, Bauer found an indigenously formed anti-Klan group called the Knights of the Flaming Circle in rural Iowa which vigorously attacked the Klan (an extremely rare photo of the Cherokee Klavern, some 80 miles away is reproduced, 95).

These developments ran into the powerfully entrenched folkways of Carroll County. The original settlers brought their traditional foodways including beer, "one of many customs associated with people who attached with a hyphen the old identity to the new American one" (10). Templeton supported the traditional music of the "little German band" which consisted of 6–8 musicians roving from saloon to saloon while playing German folk songs, and getting free glasses of beer (217). With the emerging economic woes of the farm economy in the early 1920s, Templeton's Main Street business owners were complicit in breaking Prohibition laws (76). This was strongly supported by the local Catholic priest (who later became a Monsignor in 1929), Fr. F. H. Huesmann, who had migrated from Oldenburg, and would

readily hide barrels of "hooch" in the rectory upon occasion! (148–51). Within the town, township and county it quickly became accepted that "illicit booze was now vital to their local economy" (90). Bauer explains the geographical connections which quickly were created for distribution. In Iowa, Templeton rye, with its distinctively high quality flavor was well known in other towns and cities: Humboldt (72), Cherokee (75), Davenport (113), Burlington (222–23), Esterville (205) and Des Moines. There were occasionally brief encounters with Capone's bootleggers, but Bauer leaves out all apocryphal tales as unsubstantiated. The only real connection is the 1931 tax evasion case against Capone in Chicago, which was similar to a case against Templeton's top bootlegger in Ft. Dodge, Iowa (170–73).

Bauer also traces the beginning of the end in the early 1930s, shortly before Prohibition was lifted. A front page feature story in the Sunday, state-wide edition of the *Des Moines Register* (20 December 1931), contained a photograph of the "little brown jug" symbol, in every piece of Christmas decorations along Templeton's Main Street (195–97). It received national attention and created an immediate media frenzy in a backlash against Templeton, Iowa as a bastion of bootlegging. Bauer depicts how within two years, Franklin Delano Roosevelt had publicly declared his opposition to Prohibition in a speech in St. Louis, and shortly after his election in 1933, alcoholic beverages became legal once again in most areas of the country. The glory days were over for Templeton.

The retelling of this community story, suggests the continuity of ethnic roots after 1917. One of Bauer's strongest elements is the creation of biosketches which explain the individual's initial German American background, and by identifying the region or town in Germany of immigrant origin. With a marvelous writing style, Bauer brings alive five interesting active participants: William Saul, the locally successfully bootlegger lawyer (221); Mayor Otis P. Margenthaler (193–4); Millard Lowman (221–22); Joe Irlbeck, one of the biggest local bootleggers (228–30, 234); and the arc of life in tracing Kenneth Sonderleiter's career, another of the biggest bootleggers (226–28). These individuals, and thousands more created a generation of "whisky cookers"; not all were German-Americans but in the rural areas of Iowa and the Midwest, the ethnic background proved to be the result of German settlement.

Scott Community College/Eastern Iowa Colleges

William Roba

Humboldt and Jefferson: A Transatlantic Friendship of the Enlightenment.

By Sandra Rebok. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014. 220 pp. \$23.95.

This important book focuses upon the friendship of Alexander von Humboldt and Thomas Jefferson. As a synthesis of the last generation of German American scholarship, this fascinating work is a major source for researchers and readers interested in the significant influence of Humboldt upon early American thought. Sandra Rebok is very successful in placing the two friends into the international setting of the late Enlightenment. As an *intellektuell Leiter* on a world stage, Humboldt helped to define the assumptions of a newly emerging American elite in the early nineteenth century. As the spiritual heir of the Roman polymath, Pliny the Elder, Humboldt created his major work, *Cosmos*, which “articulated a grand theory of natural history [extending] . . . through the unification of all creation on earth as well as in the universe, . . .” (107).

In a number of places in her book, Rebok makes a major connection between his holistic scientific concept, and his iconic paintings of landscapes. Science and art complemented each other. She explains that for Humboldt, it represented the “integration of careful observation with the aesthetic response to nature (73).” As she explains, his influence remains with the classic illustrations of two mountain cross-sections: “the Tiede, the highest mountain in Spain, situated on Tenerife [in the Canary Islands] and the other the Chimborazo in Ecuador, where he showed the distinct ‘zones of habitation’ . . . (110). After his death, a younger generation of American painters, such as Frederick Church showed his abiding influence. This famous member of the Hudson River Valley School of painting, produced “Chimbarago” (1864) from Humboldt’s vision.

She carefully delineates with precision the accomplishments of Humboldt as “the greatest public intellectual of the nineteenth century.” (13) According to Rebok, among his major discoveries were being the first to scientifically describe the importance of the ocean current, described in greater detail over 60,000 new and catalogued plant life, and developed ethno-geographical notes about the Volga German settlements in Russia. He was recognized in America by honorary memberships in the American Philosophical Society, American Antiquarian Society, and nine other American scientific and scholarly societies.

Thomas Jefferson became part of Humboldt’s international network of correspondents, having written six letters to Humboldt, and receiving eight in return (53–54). Rebok’s attention to detail appears in her analysis of those

letters. They referred to each other in the third person with Humboldt using "magistrate" several times, while Jefferson had a preference for using the term "the baron." He was a member of the emerging American elite, which was based initially in joining the American Philosophical Society in 1780. By 1804 when the "Baron" visited the United States, President Jefferson had joined "all the men of science and learning," according to his secretary, William Burwell (26). He had gained his early European reputation for writing the first draft of the *Declaration of Independence* (1776), and his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1781–85). Their careers had a mirror-like similarity with both having transatlantic sojourns of about five years in the "other's" world and during Humboldt's six weeks in America they had many conversations in Philadelphia, ratifying their intellectual relationship by later exchanging signed copies of their major works (69.)

Rebok carefully describes how Humboldt introduced Jefferson to a European audience of intellectuals as a writer, not President of the United States. (62). She shows how Humboldt manipulated public opinion from his concern for ensuring future visits, much as he had done with Carlos IV of Spain (p. 35). Jefferson followed many of his colleagues by inventing labor-saving devices, especially his polygraph which made copies of all letters which he wrote from 1806–26, insuring a massive trove of correspondence for generations of historians. She mentions his life-long interests in meteorology, astronomy and botany (113–16). Of particular interest to German American scholars, and readers in general, is the way Rebok deconstructs Humboldt's handling of Jefferson's life of slave ownership. Humboldt's opposition to slavery made a profound impact upon German-American thought. What remains puzzling was Humboldt's portrayal of Jefferson as an opponent of the institution of slavery, while owning slaves! She reinforces the importance of this topic by clearly explaining that he "owned one of the largest populations of slaves in Virginia. (43)." She continues by showing how Humboldt chose to finesse this paramount issue, as a way of continuing the possibility of future invitations to America. One of the underlying aspects is that he never visited Monticello, where he would have observed the more than 80 slaves (including Sally Hemings, his alleged mistress) running Jefferson's farming and nail production operations. The strength of this book is its continual balance in not going far afield from the topic at hand. Her narrative remains on point by not going unnecessarily into related topics in depth, which have not been conclusively proven, or are not at the core of her narrative.

There are only a few quibbles concerning this very attractive and useful book, with excellent source citations, and an adequate index. Some readers turning to this book and topic for the first time, might wish for a few more maps to show his travels, especially during his six weeks travel in the eastern

portion of the United States. One early question which is not directly touched on concerns how well Humboldt spoke English. In addition, we learn about the views of his American hosts, but did any of Jefferson's friends speak German? Finally, there are only a few minor computer editing "passes": it would appear that "literary" should be "literature" (69).

Sandra Rebok has written a carefully researched and stylistically balanced narrative of this important relationship. She provides nuanced conclusions throughout, while offering important benchmarks in an orderly fashion. She is careful in relating the specific historical reality to the general issues of interest. Humboldt's influence was before the age of Darwin, and the later emergence of academic disciplines over-shadowed his operating assumption that all science is unified. He has also been overlooked in being a champion of the method of comparison and contrast in evaluating major regions such as Cuba and New Spain. He was certainly one of the first advocates of thinking globally. This book should be found on the growing shelf of German-American "classics."

Scott Community College/Eastern Iowa Colleges

William Roba

Germany and the Black Diaspora: Points of Contact, 1250-1914.
Edited by Mischa Honeck, Martin Klimke, and Anne Kuhlmann. New York: Berghahn Books, 2013. 262 pp. \$90.00.

This is a wide-ranging and fascinating if somewhat exploratory collection of articles. Half of the twelve chapters deal with the interactions of Africans and Germans across the last millennium; the personal interactions between Americans and Germans that are analyzed involve African-Americans who traveled to Germany or its African colonies. It appears that encounters between black Americans and German-American immigrants were excluded from this anthology, perhaps because they have been sufficiently analyzed elsewhere, among others by co-editor Honeck. The only Germans treated in the volume who spent any length of time in America were sojourning Hessian mercenaries who brought some black recruits and slaves home with them when they returned. Many of the interactions analyzed here were purely intellectual, involving German *Gelehrten* such as Friedrich Tiedemann (1781-1861), or Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904) and Karl Andree (1808-75), who published upon the intellectual capacities of Africans and African-Americans--Tiedemann positively, Ratzel and Andree negatively--without any significant personal exposure to the United States. Several chapters do contain hints of

what kind of cultural baggage with respect to race immigrants took with them to America. James W.C Pennington, whose 1849 honorary doctorate from the University of Heidelberg was the first granted to an African-American in any European country (154-68), attracted occasional attention in the immigrant press. "Scientific" racists such as Ratzel and Andree felt the need to correct the "pseudophilanthropy" (172) of liberal racial idealists on both sides of the Atlantic and point out that "Nature has organized humanity hierarchically, not democratically" (175).

The book's cover is graced by a reproduced 1890 portrait, "Preußisches Liebesglück," of a historical Afro-German military musician, Gustav Sabec el Cher, embraced by a blue-eyed young woman. On the face of it a friendly portrayal, as the introduction indicates. But at least to this reviewer, it seems that the artist must have exaggerated the color contrast. Sabec el Cher, whose mother was German, appears much darker there than he does in a photograph from the same era (2), while the woman seems almost translucently white. Without knowing more about the artist, it is impossible to say what conscious or subconscious factors were at work. But in any case, the book's cover adds yet another enigma of German-African relations to those explored in its various chapters.

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Walter D. Kamphoefner