Exiles Traveling: Exploring Displacement, Crossing Boundaries in German Exile Arts and Writings 1933-1945.


If the process of crossing borders and moving between countries is taken as a category of experience, then the concepts of travel and exile must have common elements to compare, both in theory and in application to historical materials. Yet the theoretical overlap between these two approaches, so the claim of the editor in introducing these nineteen essays, has not often been explored and there is a need to examine “their connectedness as critical categories, human experiences, or (post)modern practices” (9). The discourse history of “exile” is quickly delineated from a narrow “separation as punishment” in antiquity to broader modern uses that can include “intellectual expatriation,” the much more specific meaning for political refugees, or the postmodern query: “but are we now all rootless, cosmopolitan, frictionless practitioners of displacement, nomads?” (19). The theory of travel is also outlined with early ideas of its educational value supplemented by the cultural criticism of mass tourism, and the possibilities or impositions of “enabling genuine encounters with otherness” (22) that are the basis of new models of travel and cultural exchanges. With all the “semantic slipperiness” inherent in these two terms, the area which is proposed as most productive for inquiry is to see if the common-sense definition that travel “seems light and is by and large positively charged” while “exile is heavy, and dark” (25) always holds true or whether there can be commonalities of “exile and travel as aesthetic and critical postures” (28) within the tension between necessity or freedom.
of the activity of displacement. Evelein's introductory essay gives an excellent overview of critical approaches to exile and travel that keeps the focus on significant scholarship and is illustrated with well-chosen examples from the works and experiences of relevant writers.

As might be expected from a conference collection, the individual authors vary in their interest in applying such a theoretical framework. In the first section of seven essays on "Topographies and Chronotopes of Exile," Wolf Koepke compiles a vocabulary of travel concepts and associations grouped around famous exile authors' experience of departures, arrivals, waiting, and impossible returns. Another successful synthesis is the study of Susanne Utsch, which examines Klaus Mann's mental coming to terms with his exile in America and how this was shaken and reevaluated by memories released through his travels to Morocco and into locations of his childhood in Germany as a U.S. soldier. Henrike Walter also finds connections in analysis of the idiosyncratic novels of Wolfgang Hildesheimer, where imaginary parallel travels to spaces in Norway and Italy become coping mechanisms for the losses of exile. With a more difficult task than the focus on a single author, Reinhard Andress organizes a large number of documents from an important collection of German exiles in Brazil to align with a more general anthropological theory which is successful in its own terms but perhaps less conducive to insights into travel processes. Detailed reports on Jewish exile in Japan, exile literature in Belgium, and the adventures and unpublished travel accounts of Paul Zech in South America provide research on these specific paths of exile.

The second section on "Crossing Borders" focuses more on individual cases studies than on a critical examination of concepts and process. These provide well-researched and detailed histories of the humorous writer and illustrator Adolf Hoffmeister, the film director Robert Siodmak, the travels of what might be called a reverse exile, the activities of the poet and Nazi cultural propagandist Hans Friedrich Blunck, and two articles on classical music and effects of exile, primarily using materials from the life stories of Eric Zeisl and Arnold Schoenberg.

In the final section on "Narrating Exilic Travel" the contributors engage more with the combined theory methods, contrasting perspectives of travel over the period of exile and evolving views on cultural evaluations. Using concepts from Georg Simmel and Eduard Said, Patrick B. Farges looks at displacement and concepts of otherness in works of Anna Seghers. Birgit Maier-Katkin also contrasts the assumptions framing three narratives of journeys of Anna Seghers touching on her childhood in Mainz and reactions to contact with Mexican society that highlight the function of travel and exile in cross-cultural thought. Helga Schreckenberg applies travel theories of James
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Clifford to discuss social, familial, gender, and racial perspectives in Irmgard Keun’s *Kind aller Länder* as the ten-year-old narrator tells of the trek into exile across Europe and America. Of all the articles, Jacqueline Vansant’s perhaps makes the best effort to review several theoretical approaches, using the work of literary historian Susan L. Roberson, anthropologist Clifford, and sociologist Erik Cohen to set up the concepts of “voluntary/involuntary,” “negotiating boundaries,” “contemplating spaces,” and “con founding difference” for the analysis of Egon Schwarz’s writings. The explicit changes in narrator position over time, “the different frames of reference between the travel book and the autobiography” (383), show the value of these theoretical categories in the discussion of specific passages.

Judging by the strength of these contributions, the effort to bring together and discuss the methods of the related fields of travel literature and exile studies is an encouraging development.

*Rex Clark*

University of Kansas

*August Rauschenbusch (1816-1899): Ein Pioneer der deutschen Baptisten in Nordamerika.*


Historians who analyze the religious views and acculturation patterns of German immigrants ordinarily focus on Lutherans and Catholics and less frequently evaluate German Baptists or Methodists. Scholars have mentioned August Rauschenbusch, one of several founders of German Baptist congregations in the United States, in brief and superficial fashion either in association with or as having influenced the philosophy of his more famous son Walter R. Rauschenbusch. This newest volume in the New German-American Studies series changes that, as it introduces August Rauschenbusch as a dedicated missionary, witty philosopher, esteemed professor, intelligent scientist, and passionate theologian and thus as an influential person in North American ethnic and religious history. Author Andreas Schumacher also asserts that the study of Rauschenbusch as the immigrant from Germany, who became a Baptist but not an American, demonstrates the difference between religious and socio-cultural assimilation.

The author conveys Rauschenbusch’s life in chronological order, which at times contributes to a rather cursory notation of the subject’s actions and thoughts. Rauschenbusch grew up as the son of a Lutheran minister in Altena, Westphalia. Following family tradition, he studied theology at universities in Berlin and Bonn and upon graduation became the sixth pastor in
direct family succession. Unlike millions of emigrants from northwestern Germany who left for economic or political reasons, Rauschenbusch left his home country in 1846 as a missionary for the Evangelische Gesellschaft für die protestantischen Deutschen in Nordamerika in Langenberg, Westphalia, with the specific intent of providing spiritual guidance to German pioneers in the American West.

His becoming a member of the American Tract Society in New York City within days of arrival in the United States was one important step in fulfilling that goal. The society published religious books and tracts specifically for distribution to people of various Protestant denominations; the books sought to save their souls and to preserve and spread the Christian faith. Rauschenbusch initially served as a colporteur for the society, handing out tracts to hundreds of German settlers in New York and Missouri. He soon became the editor of the society’s monthly, the Amerikanischer Botschafter, edited for several years the society’s cultural journal and annual almanac, the Christlicher Volkskalender für die Deutschen in den Vereinigten Staaten; and authored several articles on behalf of the society.

Rauschenbusch made Missouri his home for a few years, traveled extensively between the German communities along the Missouri River, conducted sermons at various churches, and returned several times to Germany to guide groups of German settlers on behalf of the Langenberg society to the Second Creek region near Mt. Sterling in Gasconade County. He also authored a travel advice book, Einige Anweisungen für Auswanderer nach den westlichen Staaten von Nordamerika, which related information learned during his journey from New York to Missouri. Schumacher notes correspondence with Leopold Gast in Germany as evidence that people there actually bought and read this work. Schumacher, however, could have also noted that Leopold Gast and his brothers indeed immigrated to America around 1849 and settled in St. Louis and Washington, Missouri; he thus could have emphasized Rauschenbusch’s significance in regard to advice literature. (Leopold Gast’s autobiography, Ein Gast auf Erden, more than 1000 pages long, and an English translation are located at the Washington Historical Society in Washington, Missouri.)

The life-long search for true faith and Christianity convinced Rauschenbusch in 1850 to become a Baptist through a baptism ceremony in the Mississippi River. He had long believed in the Baptist principles of religious tolerance, free will of the individual, and the desire to proclaim oneself publicly as a Christian and dedicated the rest of his life to the propagation of his faith. He founded the first German Baptist congregation in Waterloo County, Canada, in 1851, established the German Baptist congregation at Pin Oak Creek in Gasconade County in 1855, and between 1858 and 1890 taught as
the first German Baptist professor in the German department at Rochester Theological Seminary in New York, thus educating future German Baptist ministers.

Rauschenbusch authored several books, hymnals, treatises, and countless articles on religious thought and temperance, as well as important histories on Baptists, Dunkers, and Mennonites. This dedication to faith, passion for teaching, and shaping the philosophies of future ministers convinced colleagues and Baptist leaders to call him the "father of our German Baptist congregations in America" (129).

Schumacher conducted extensive research using primary documents such as Rauschenbusch's diaries, autobiography, and personal correspondence to understand his subject's actions and philosophy. The author included several of Rauschenbusch's publications in the appendix, including his baptism certificate, *Reisebilder aus Nordamerika*, and a sampling of hymnals. Schumacher supplemented these sources with newspapers and secondary literature on immigration, church histories, and Baptists.

The author expertly places August Rauschenbusch in the context of German immigration to the United States and Missouri during the first half of the nineteenth century, the history of Baptists in North America, as well as the growth of the Baptist faith in Germany. This reviewer, however, would have liked to have seen more. Schumacher, for example, could have contrasted the history of German Baptists in the United States with that of other minority German religious faiths or sects such as German Methodists in order to demonstrate Rauschenbusch's significance more effectively. Although the author notes the names and brief histories of three additional ministers who founded German Baptist communities in the United States independently of each other at the same time, a more detailed comparison would have been helpful. Finally, what if any role did August Rauschenbusch play in the conference in November 1851 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, that united the six separate German Baptist congregations as one subgroup of American Baptists?

Despite these shortcomings, this biography nevertheless adds new information to the understanding of German Baptists in the United States, a subject that deserves further scholarly attention. Furthermore, by placing the real Rauschenbusch and his actions in the context of the history of American Baptists and their ability to publish one of their journals, *Der Sandbote*, in the German language well into the twentieth century, Schumacher demonstrates the difference between religious assimilation and socio-cultural acculturation. Rauschenbusch, who spoke, taught, preached, and published in German was a Baptist but never became an American. Indeed, he opposed the use of English and the full adoption of American culture in his own household as well as
for all German immigrants and permanently returned to Germany in 1890. This biography, although relatively brief and at times cursory, is therefore an essential read for any historian, student, and general reader with German language skills interested in the immigrant experience, German-American religious development, and the history of Baptists in the United States, Canada, and Germany.

*Missouri University of Science and Technology*  
*Petra DeWitt*

**Weimar on the Pacific: German Exile Culture in Los Angeles and the Crisis of Modernism.**  

The Society for German American Studies has not, for the most part, dealt with major German-speaking cultural figures. To be sure, among the stream of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century peasant and artisan immigrants on which the SGAS usually focuses were intellectuals such as Karl Follen and Franz Lieber, who made important cultural contributions to their adopted country. But Goethe, Hegel, Beethoven, Nietzsche, Ranke, and Wagner did not come to America. Theodor Adorno, Berthold Brecht, Franz Werfel, Alfred Döblin, Arnold Schönberg, and Thomas Mann did spend part of their lives in America; in fact, they all lived in Los Angeles in the 1940s. We should be aware of what they created there.

Ehrhard Bahr in *Weimar on the Pacific* treats the above-named Los Angeles exiles both as individuals and in relation to each other. Bahr posits that a specific German exile modernism existed in Los Angeles in the 1940s that encompassed various disciplines, including music, drama, novels, poetry, and aesthetic theory. He claims his book is not a study of exile literature, but "a study of a significant chapter in the cultural history of Los Angeles" (9). One might suppose such a book would include explaining how the exiles fit within a broader cultural history of Los Angeles, but no such explanation is given. Instead, the reader encounters detailed examinations of selected exiles and their chief works created in Los Angeles—works that scholars in Germany, we are told, often do not realize were created in America.

Bahr introduces the reader to *Dialectic of Enlightenment* by Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer and then to Adorno’s *Aesthetic Theory*. A discussion of Adorno includes some information about the development of the Frankfurt School and critical theory. A chapter on Brecht’s California poetry, which Bahr finds to be more positive than generally realized, is followed by a chapter on Brecht’s work with Charles Laughton to create the play *Galileo*. A
third chapter on Brecht describes his work with émigré director Fritz Lang on the anti-Nazi film Hangmen Also Die.

The Austrian-born architects Rudolph Schindler and Richard Neutra were immigrants rather than exiles who came to America to work with Frank Lloyd Wright in 1914 and 1923 respectively. After being trained by Otto Wagner and Adolph Loos in Vienna, they created California modern architecture in the 1920s. Schindler and Neutra did have contacts with Los Angeles's German-speaking exile community, seventy percent of which was Jewish, as they were. Yet, in this reviewer's opinion, Bahr's claim that they belong in a book on exiles' response to a crisis in cultural modernism is a weak one.

Franz Werfel is described as dealing with the dialectical nature of or cultural counter-currents within modernism, after which he produced three novels celebrating naïve Catholic peasant piety that rejected modernist dialectic.

Alfred Döblin's tetralogy November 1918: A German Revolution contradicts much of the avant-garde reputation that he gained from his novel Berlin Alexanderplatz, which was published in 1929. In the tetralogy, the revolutionary Jewish socialist Rosa Luxemburg becomes a kind of Christian believer. This seems to have less to do with what the author experienced in Los Angeles than with the religious conversion this Jewish writer had while escaping from France in June 1940. For all Döblin's complexities, Bahr devotes his most subtle analysis to Thomas Mann's Doctor Faustus. The complex role Mann played in America as the German exile best known to American cultural and political leaders filled his life in America with dialectical currents. Mann and his composer character Adrian Leverkühn in Doctor Faustus were related in a complex way to the exile composer Arnold Schönberg. Bahr sees the latter as "the true modernist, the composer who overcame the crisis of modernism in exile" (288).

Few reviewers, and certainly not the present one, have the expertise to evaluate thoroughly the whole of Bahr's effort in this volume. But it is well researched, plausibly argued, for the most part clearly presented, and richly informative. The book is a real contribution to German American studies.

Maryville, Missouri

Robert W. Frizzell

Hoffnung Amerika: Europäische Auswanderung in die Neue Welt.

Unter einem etwas nüchternen Titel verbirgt sich eine der umfang- und informationsreichsten Veröffentlichungen, die während der letzten Jahre zur Amerika-Auswanderung erschienen sind: der von Karin Schulz im Auftrag


Der ersten Begegnung der Auswanderer mit Amerika folgend, beginnt der Band mit mehreren Beiträgen zur Geschichte von Ellis Island (und Castle Garden)—immerhin bildete während der großen Migrationsbewegung für die überwältigende Mehrheit der Einwanderer New York das Eingangstor zur Neuen Welt, gwissermaßen als Zielhafen und somit Gegenstück zu Bremerhaven. An beiden Orten befindet sich nun ein Museum, das der bewegten Zeit der Auswanderung gewidmet ist.


Das besondere Verdienst dieses Bandes liegt jedoch darin, dass der Blick des Redaktionsteams nicht auf Bremen/Bremerhaven beschränkt bleibt, sondern sich auch auf andere deutsche sowie ausländische Häfen richtet, die für die Amerika-Auswanderung von Bedeutung waren: Cuxhaven, Hamburg, Le Havre, Rotterdam, Liverpool. Dadurch erhält dieses Werk eindeutig eine europäische Perspektive.


Überhaupt ist dieser Band eine Fundgrube von ungewöhnlichen Materialien, Zeugnissen und Dokumenten. Wenn auch die Herausgeberin in ihrer Einleitung jeden Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit zurückweist (was verständlich ist bei solch einem komplexen Thema), so kann man ihr guten Gewissens Fast-Vollständigkeit bescheinigen und ihr Buch vorbehaltlos als grundlegende Einleitung in die Materie empfehlen.

Point Pleasant, New Jersey  
Gert Niers


ohne Humor vorgetragen, so dass die autobiografisch gefärbten Selbstvergewisserungsversuche bei aller ernstzunehmenden Kunst- und Kulturkritik letztlich nicht in steriles Dozieren verfallen.


Point Pleasant, New Jersey  
Gert Niers

Francis Lieber’s Brief and Practical German Grammar.  

Francis Lieber (1798-1872) is best known as the founder of the Encyclopedie Americana (designed along the lines of the Brockhaus Encyclopedia), as an eminent legal scholar, and as an educator; he was a professor at South Carolina College, now the University of South Carolina, and later at Columbia College, now Columbia University. In addition to these achievements, Lieber also prepared a grammar of German. Originally written in 1835, this grammar remained unpublished and was largely forgotten until it was rediscovered among Lieber’s papers at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, by Stuart Davis, professor of linguistics at Indiana University. Lieber’s German grammar has now been transcribed and edited for publication by Achim Kopp. The volume also includes an introduction by the editor.
Lieber's goal was "nothing more than to give a practical grammar by which a scholar might be enabled in the shortest and soundest way to learn German" (36). His teaching method uses "the many points of affinity existing between" German and English as "starting points of instruction" (35), and he therefore often cites English parallels to German usage. In Lesson XIX, on adverbs, for instance, he points out that -lich corresponds to English -ly. Lieber had great confidence in his method, writing that it had "enabled [his] pupils to read fluently common German prose within about twelve weeks...if a fair disposition to study...was not wanting in the scholar" (37). His grammar consists of 34 lessons on various grammatical topics, the shortest of which is Lesson XVI, on equivalents of English some and French de (two paragraphs), while the longest is Lesson XVIII (a) on pronouns (23 paragraphs). It is not a complete treatment of German grammar; certain grammatical topics (e.g. subjunctive) are not covered. A typical lesson lays out the facts of the topic being discussed, notes exceptions and parallels to English, and provides the student with some practice exercises. In addition to the lessons, there are several appendices: a word list "to show the use of prepositions in connection with them" (167), a list of verbs showing which auxiliary verb they are used with; and part of a letter from Wilhelm von Humboldt to Friedrich Schiller, with accompanying commentary. Lieber also intended to include "a copious collection of extracts from some of the best German writers" in his grammar, as indicated on the title page (33), but this goal was largely unrealized; in addition to the letter from von Humboldt to Schiller, only two short extracts were included.

Kopp notes that "Lieber's manuscript...reveals much about the author himself" (19). Some comments suggest that "Lieber could be amused or even offended by the incorrect use of German by his American students and other people with whom he came into contact on a daily basis" (19), as when Lieber contends that "it sounds inexpressibly ludicrous to a German" if one mistakenly uses a weak verb as if it were strong (120). Other comments and examples reflect Lieber's personal and political views (e.g. sentences such as "Die Freiheit begeistert gewaltig. Liberty inspires mightily" [100]).

The manuscript version of Lieber's grammar consists of "almost four hundred densely written pages" (15), which can be divided into two parts: the first 220 pages consist of the final version of the grammar, while the last 180 pages contain a partial draft of the final version. Parts of it are fairly easy to read, while other portions are apparently far less legible (Kopp includes photographs of several pages in his edition). Kopp points out that Lieber's grammar was a manuscript and that one therefore expects somewhat more errors and inconsistencies than one would with a published work. For example, Lieber is sometimes inconsistent in his use of abbreviations (e.g. "masculine"
is abbreviated both as “mascul.” and “mas.”) and his spelling is sometimes outdated; he uses <tz> where today <tз> would be used, such as when he spells Gesetz <Gезх>, a decision he justifies by claiming that it is incorrect to use <tз> “because z. already has the sound of t in it” [45]). Lieber also sometimes uses obsolete English words; in Lesson XXVI he gives chidden and holpen as the past participles of chide and help, respectively. In general, Kopp exercised a light editorial hand; he “strove to preserve Lieber’s idiosyncratic style in all its manifold appearances” (31) and therefore left many such passages untouched. He did take “the liberty to make gentle emendations...in Lieber’s English orthography” (31), marking each of these changes with brackets. He also added footnotes correcting a few “obvious errors” (31) in Lieber’s German.

Kopp’s introduction focuses mainly on the history of Lieber’s grammar, especially the various and frustrating attempts on Lieber’s part to have it published. Unfortunately for Lieber, he completed his grammar at a time when several other such works were already available, most prominently Charles Follen’s A Practical Grammar of the German Language (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins, 1828), which seems to have dominated the market for German grammars to such an extent that no publisher was willing to take the financial risk that publishing Lieber’s grammar would have entailed. In addition, Follen’s “presentation appears to be more comprehensive, structured, and edited than Lieber’s” (29), thus compounding the problem.

Although Lieber’s grammar can no longer serve its intended purpose (it is difficult to imagine that anyone learning German would choose it as a manual), it should not go unnoticed. The work will appeal to those interested in German-American studies, Francis Lieber, and language pedagogy, among other subjects, and can be read with profit. Achim Kopp deserves commendation for making this long-forgotten work available.

University of Texas at Austin

Marc Pierce

German Diasporic Experiences: Identity, Migration, and Loss.

The volume under consideration here consists of revised versions of nearly forty papers presented at a conference on “Diasporic Experiences: German Immigrants and their Descendants,” held at the University of Waterloo in August 2006. The papers stem from a wide range of academic disciplines, including linguistics, history, film studies, and literary studies and address questions related to German migrant groups in a number of locales, includ-
ing the United States, Canada, Ireland, Poland, and Kazakhstan. The book is divided into three parts, ‘Identity’, ‘Migration’, and ‘Loss’ (as the title indicates). There is also a brief excerpt from The Speckled People, by the Irish writer Hugo Hamilton, about his experience one Christmas when his German aunt came to visit, and an introductory essay by the two lead editors describing the conference and the contents of the volume. As a detailed discussion of every paper is precluded by the limitations of this forum, I shall comment only on a few papers from each section, focusing on contributions that deal with German emigrant groups in North America in the hope of giving an accurate snapshot of the contents.

Part I, ‘Identity’, contains twelve papers. Janet M. Fuller’s contribution, “Language and Identity in the German Diaspora,” deals with the construction of German identity by German emigrant groups. Fuller argues that the use of the German language can serve as a marker of German identity, but that this connection is not crucial, as other factors can mark German identity and factors beyond ethnic group identity can motivate language use. Fuller also points out that different German emigrant groups construct different types of German identities, and thus that “[i]n the diaspora, Germanness is a hybrid entity—individuals have identities that are German American, Russian German, Chilean of German descent, and so on” (15). Her arguments are supported with evidence drawn from studies of German emigrant groups in geographical locations ranging from South Carolina to Namibia. Grit Liebscher and Jennifer Dailey-O’Cain consider a similar subject in their paper, “Canadian German: Identity in Language.” They focus on three speakers, one from Alberta and two from Ontario, examining how “German immigrants in Canada and their direct descendants construct their identities through their use of language” (74). In the case of their speaker from Alberta, for instance, they show that she “positions herself as a German living abroad” (78) through her use of non-standard German, “but still shows an attempt (conscious and deliberate positioning) to pass as a standard German speaker” (78). Thus, this speaker “positions herself flexibly, foregrounding her German Canadian identity at times…and at other times showing her ties to the German mainland” (78). A much different area of interest is represented in the late Christiane Harzig’s “Creating Transcultural Space: Ethnicity, Gender, and the Arts in Chicago, from the 1890s to the 1950s.” This article concentrates on the Columbia Damen Club (CDC), a Chicago women’s club founded in 1893. The CDC sponsored lectures by both local residents and visitors from Germany (Alfred Adler was one of their lecturers) and sometimes engaged in community service. The CDC was connected to both the German and American communities in Chicago and as such strove to “create a new space, a space filled with art, intellectual exchange, and knowledge” (139), i.e. a transcultur-

Part II, "Migration," contains fifteen papers. James M. Skidmore's paper, "Moving beyond Hyphenated German Culture: Establishing a Research Agenda for Expatriate and Heritage German Literary Studies," discusses research agendas past, present, and future in this scholarly area. In Skidmore's view, German-Canadian and German-American literary studies must move away from the "model of historical presentation" (161) and toward a new grounding in "interpretative strategies that are more closely connected to recent advances in literary scholarship" (161), e.g. drawing on ideas like cultural mediation, comparative analysis, and interdisciplinarity. Nora Faires offers an article called "Conversion as a 'Two-Edged Sword': Evangelicalism among Pittsburgh's German Immigrants," in which she discusses the spread of Methodism among Germans in nineteenth-century Pittsburgh. Faires notes that German Methodism was never very successful (out of over 40,000 German immigrants living in the Pittsburgh area in 1880, only 600 were Methodists), often for cultural reasons (adapting Methodism involved renouncing various German traditions, such as those governing Sunday activities). Despite this relative lack of success, German Methodism "escalated the somewhat vitriolic debates that raged within the ethnic group regarding right belief and right behavior [and] helped to splinter an already religiously diverse ethnic group, heightening a sectarianism that both cut across and reinforced other lines of division within the group" (201). The German idiom "der Onkel aus Amerika" ("a rich man") serves as the starting point for Carsten Würmann's "*Der Onkel aus Amerika*: The German Emigrant as a Figure of Speech and Fictional Character." Würmann reviews the origins and spread of this image, discussing its usage in vaudeville, literature, and film/television (e.g. the character of the American uncle in the 1984 TV series *Heimat—eine deutsche Chronik*). Other papers in this section include: "Immigration of German-Speaking People to the Territory of Modern-Day Turkey (1850-1918)," by Christin Pschichholz; "The German Language in the South Seas: Language Contact and the Influence of Language Politics and Language Attitudes," by Stefan Engelberg; and "The Domestication of Radical Ideas and Colonial Spaces: The Case of Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche," by Karin Bauer.

Part III, "Loss," contains eleven papers. Jörg Meindl tackles the question of "Pennsylvania German in Kansas: Language Change or Loss?" Meindl looks at some linguistic characteristics of the Pennsylvania German spoken in an Old Order Amish community in Anderson County, Kansas (e.g. the
use of duhn, 'to do', as an auxiliary verb), with an eye to determining if these characteristics reflect language change or language loss. He notes that many of these developments are often attributed to contact with English, but points out that some of them have parallels in other dialects of German that are not in contact with English. Meindl proposes five factors that must be considered to determine "whether a changing language is in the process of language loss" (438), including comparison to other dialects, extralinguistic factors, and functionality. Monique Laney's paper, "Wernher von Braun and Arthur Rudolph: Negotiating the Past in Huntsville," looks at German rocket specialists brought to Huntsville, Alabama, after World War II. The paper focuses on how archival sources "construct the past...and...negotiate the presumably divergent roles of the German rocket specialists" (444). The roles of Wernher von Braun and Arthur Rudolph serve as case studies; Laney views them as opposite ends of a continuum, with von Braun symbolizing "the vision and success of the pioneering years of the space program" and Rudolph representing "an unwelcome reminder of the engineers' past in Nazi Germany" (443). Other papers in this section include "Dissolving the German Diaspora in Poland: A Different Approach," by Dieter K. Buse; and "Use It or Lose It? Language Use, Language Attitudes, and Language Proficiency among German Speakers in Vancouver," by Monika S. Schmid.

Conference proceedings tend to be a mixed bag, and this volume is no exception. Its most serious flaw, in my view, is that far too many of the papers are too short to deal fully with their topics. This is presumably due to the editors' desire to include as many papers as possible, which is indeed a laudable goal, but perhaps readers would have been better served if the collection had contained fewer papers and if these papers had been longer and consequently more in-depth. This aside, many of the papers in this volume are thought provoking and informative, and those interested in German emigrant groups would be well advised to read them with care.

University of Texas at Austin

Marc Pierce


Jeffrey L. Sammons has long been a major presence in nineteenth-century German literature in America. Not only has he composed seminal studies on Heinrich Heine (five to be exact), but he has also written significantly on Wilhelm Raabe, Friedrich Spielhagen, Gustav Freytag, and most interesting
for an American audience, on the German novelists of the Amerikaroman—inter alia Charles Sealsfield and Friedrich Gerstäcker. His work has been characterized by judiciousness, clarity of perspective, and an almost old-fashioned fidelity to assiduous scholarship.

His latest monograph *Kuno Francke's Edition of the German Classics (1913-1915)* is a study of a compendium of works collated and edited by Kuno Francke, the Harvard professor and successor to the unfortunate Karl Follen. Sammons admiringly describes Francke as "probably the most prestigious and certainly the most visible Germanist in North America" (21) at the time the project was inaugurated. Francke recruited numerous contributors for this gargantuan project, all of whom Sammons carefully pays tribute to, albeit not uncritically. Francke's opus, as Sammons explains, is an attempt to revive an interest in German literature, understood in the broader sense to include philosophy and political writings, for American readers. The pathos of such an undertaking is not lost upon Sammons. Francke's work was published between the years 1913-1915, a time when German language and culture were vilified in America in the wake of the Great War. Sammons, however, notes wisely that the interest in German literature and culture had already begun to recede well before the First World War, that the much heralded German-American symbiosis was a fragile union at best. In fact, Francke's work, as Sammons points out, was a poignant attempt to revitalize a culture that had long ceased to generate interest, even among its own members, who were well down the path toward assimilation.

Sammons's erudition in this volume is astonishing, even for present-day Germanists. At his best Sammons is a historicist, delving into antecedent mentalities, lucidly and dispassionately, all the while refraining from succumbing to any egregious judgments. Since he is above all a literary historian fond of exploring other periods and charting their sensibilities and preoccupations, Sammons is able to offer an alternative perspective on our own time with all of its fashions and prejudices and styles of thought. The result is that we encounter a dissenting viewpoint vis à vis contemporary German studies, a viewpoint that could exert a salutary influence on German studies in the future.

Coupled with its heterodox viewpoint, Sammons's study is anchored in a well-established narrative structure:

One day a good many years ago I was poking around in an antiquarian bookstore on the edge of the Yale campus when I came across a set of *The German Classics*, edited by Kuno Francke, with the imprint 1913 and 1914. I thought the price of seventy-five dollars quite reasonable for twenty morocco-bound, illustrated volumes with the Im-
perial eagle embossed in gold on each, and set about purchasing it. But the employee—very likely a student—could not believe I wanted it and tried to dissuade me. The idea that one might voluntarily acquire ten thousand pages of German literature in English translation would not go into his head. He seemed to be looking around for someone to conduct me back to the institution from which I had wandered off. (3)

This accidental encounter not only initiates an array of intellectual discoveries, but also a Bildungsreise, since the reader gleans, however obliquely, insights into Sammons’s own intellectual development and what constituted a serious study of German literature and culture in the second half of the twentieth century at American high schools and universities. The reader soon surmises that Sammons’s encyclopedic knowledge of German literature, history, and culture is devotional, resembling a calling more than a mere academic career.

In his new work, Sammons adopts the role of the judicious commentator. Not only does he feel obliged to correct factual inaccuracies, but he also intervenes to impose reason and good sense on certain opinions and judgments that deviate from contemporary wisdom, employing a variety of perspectives, most notably that of empathy, irony, and understatement. For example, Sammons writes compassionately about Francke, “When such a man must give up, must quit, it has an almost tragic dimension. His sorrow is difficult to fathom. His life work, though not destroyed, was diminished and rendered equivocal” (20). On the other hand, Sammons can almost be sardonic in commenting on the specious utterances of one eminent professor: “One would hardly suppose from this formulation that it was Hitler who had declared war on the United States eighteen days earlier. Nevertheless, we have recourse to Goethe, who remained above such things, who understood everything and foresaw everything, and can be a guide to the future” (65). Furthermore, Sammons frequently uses the rhetorical ploy of understatement when he is certain that there is an intrinsic consensus between author and reader. For example, in characterizing the activities of the eminent Germanist Rudolf Hohlfeld (1865-1956) at a conference of the American Association of Teachers of German in 1933, he writes dispassionately, “He and his colleagues felt that this was a project of Jews attempting to impose a political program on the purity and objectivity of scholarly study” (64).

Throughout his study Sammons assumes the role of the Aufklärer, attempting to bring Francke’s work in line with contemporary scholarship, addressing certain literary questions that have continued to preoccupy students of German literature. For example, the fact that Schiller receives half the
space granted to Goethe in Francke’s edition is explained as “a distillate of a
long, often foolish, and totally ideological debate in the nineteenth century
as to whether Goethe or Schiller were the greater or, at any rate, more ‘Ger­
man’ writer” (118-119). On the question of whether Goethe and Schiller
were more closely aligned to Romanticism, Sammons answers carefully in
the negative, arguing that both writers, especially in their attitudes to history
and Christianity, could be more easily situated in the Enlightenment, since
the Romantics tended to invoke retrospective mentalities and ideologies that
were at odds with the standard tenets of Enlightenment thought.

On the crucial question of German realism, Sammons is once again per­
spicacious: “However, Realism caused more anxiety to the Germans, as it
seems to me, than it did to other peoples. For the turn to the quotidian, the
commonplace, possibly the vulgar, threatened the idealism and spirituality
that certified the superiority of the Germans to other peoples, especially the
French” (177). Nonetheless, this did not belie the fact, Sammons argues, that
German readers entertained other literary interests besides that of “poetic re­
alism,” as exemplified by their inordinate fascination with Zola, not to speak
of Sue and Flaubert. Still, what makes Sammons’s writing compelling is his
seemingly endless penchant for revising his previous judgments. For example,
after dismissing the literary significance of German Realism, compared with
the achievements of other European countries, Sammons can still write, “A
case could be made that the peripheralization of German Realism has gone
too far, that much of genuine value has been put at a distance from us” (178).

Sammons’s study of Francke’s compendium turns out to be his own liter­
ary history of nineteenth-century German literature. It is here that we per­
haps detect the underlying motivation for undertaking such an ambitious
enterprise. Whether it be questions of periodization or literary movements
or thorny problems of canonization or the merits and legacies of individual
writers, Sammons is invariably fresh and insightful and at the same time def­
ferential to the weight of a great tradition. Although he remarks that he was
never aware of the special significance of German culture and literature, it is
obvious that this is no chance encounter. The idiosyncracies of German cul­
ture and its literature, its desperate struggle to appropriate a quasi-religious
status and its abysmal failures, never cease to fascinate those concerned with
the human condition and its myriad expressions. However, another voice is
discernible in Sammons’s study. Despite the obvious value attached to study­
ing and interpreting a human culture and its artifacts, the project, Sammons
bemoans, remains in doubt. Sammons’s work is ultimately a swan song to
German studies, not necessarily because there is a waning of interest from
within, but because of a massive indifference from without. As Sammons
gloomily notes, American university publishing houses have decidedly lost
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interest in German studies, no longer regarding it as a lucrative investment. Thus, Sammons’s intellectual achievement, his attempt to reinterpret nineteenth-century German literature, may become more increasingly difficult for future American scholars to replicate.

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From All Points. America’s Immigrant West, 1870s-1952.

Within the current atmosphere of contentious debates about and controversial laws affecting immigrants and immigration in the U.S., Elliott Robert Barkan’s groundbreaking multi-ethnic and interdisciplinary study From All Points. America’s Immigrant West, 1870s-1952 provides an invaluable context for the history of immigration in the West and the ever changing notion of who and what an immigrant is. With engaging style, Barkan gives immigrants their rightfully earned voice and indeed tells the story of immigrants and immigrant groups, from the Mexicans, Chinese, and Japanese, to the Armenians, Basques, Filipinos, Germans, Greeks, Italians, Jews, Koreans, Portuguese, and Scandinavians (Danes, Fins, Norwegians, and Swedes). Whereas scholarship has traditionally focused on just one immigrant group, state, or region, Barkan explores the collective experience of many immigrants and ethnic groups and reveals how they contributed to the economic, cultural, and social development of the West. In doing so, he presents an often overlooked image of the American West of the latter half of the 19th and first half of the 20th century: a multi-ethnic society with a rich and diverse history where groups assimilated, integrated, and shared experiences, values, and customs.

In a thought-provoking introduction and prelude, Barkan defines three themes which give his study its parameters: The West, Westerners, and Whiteness. Underscoring how each of these terms has shifted historically and continues to shift, Barkan defines the West as 14 states, comprising the “Primary West” (New Mexico, Arizona, California, Oregon, Washington, Alaska, Hawai’i, and Texas) and the “Secondary” or “Interior West” (Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, and Nevada). This study is theoretically supported by a deliberate use of immigration and census data to frame broad discussions and avoid anecdotal representations of ethnic groups and it presents a focused analysis of laws and court decisions affecting immigrants and their rights. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 serve as legal parameters for this study.

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The study is organized into four primary sections beginning with “Laying the Groundwork. Immigrants and Immigration Laws, Old and New, 1870s-1903.” Barkan suggests this period signals a shift from the Old West to New West characterized by more immigration from eastern and southern Europe and Asia, especially Japan, and increased federal control over immigration and naturalization procedures in response to demands to halt Chinese immigration and perceived influence of immigrants in general. Having already noted that by 1900 15.4% of the West’s population was foreign born compared to only 13.5% in the rest of the nation, Barkan suggests this period is characterized by a “new sense of the nation, a surge of nationalism and the widespread belief that the country shared the responsibility of carrying out the ‘White Man’s Burden’—conveying ‘civilization’ on the less civilized” (36). Through personal stories and narratives of many different immigrants and their families, Barkan touches on issues of race, legal regulations, economic possibilities, and internal migration to present a compelling and authentic image of the lives of immigrants. Individual chapters focus on ethnic groups, the Chinese, Scandinavians, and Germans, for example, and how these groups lived and worked, but also how they addressed the task of assimilating while maintaining aspects of their culture and how they dealt with racism and shifting perception of immigrants.

The second section “Opening and Closing Doors, 1903-1923” focuses initially on groups who immigrated prior to 1903, such as the Chinese and Scandinavians, and then turns to groups arriving at the turn of the new century, such as Japanese, Armenians, Basques, Greeks, Italians, Portuguese, and especially Mexicans, in order to compare and contrast how they lived and contributed to society. Personal narratives from first- and second-generation immigrant families provide a nuanced and rich image of the experiences and complexities of everyday life for immigrants. A masterful storyteller and impressively thorough researcher, Barkan’s study contains topic-focused chapters which could read independently, such as “The Continuing Evolution of Immigration and Naturalization Issues and Policy (Asians)” and “Miners, Merchants, and Entrepreneurs.” Of particular interest to scholars of German-American history are the chapters “The First World War and Americanization” and “State and Federal Laws and Decisions, 1917-1920,” which provide an overarching context for anti-immigrant resentment and nativism in the West, as well as the laws passed affecting immigrants and immigration. He suggests that anti-German responses may have been less numerous and less concerted in the West than in other parts of the United States (206).

In Section three, “Give me a bug, please: Restriction and Repatriation, Accommodation and Americanization, 1923-1941,” Barkan focuses on the experiences of immigrants in a period characterized by a public awareness of a
multicultural society and the important economic roles of immigrants during which the national economic situation evolved from the relative prosperity of the 1920s, through the Great Depression of the 1930s, to the advent of World War II. Immigrants faced questions of possible voluntary return and involuntary deportation to their homeland due to financial hardship, political struggles, national legislation, and anti-immigrant hostility in the face of economic collapse. In separate chapters Barkan touches on major issues, such as evolving demographic trends in the West, the quota system affecting immigration, and differences between rural and urban immigration and patterns. Deserving attention is the chapter “From ‘Reoccupation’ to Repatriation. Mexicans in the Southwest between the Wars,” in which Barkan suggests that Mexicans had not only provided the West considerable economic labor and become a vital economic factor, but they also influenced and contributed greatly to everyday culture, folklore, customs, and beliefs in all parts of the West. However, even before the Great Depression, Barkan suggests, Mexicans had good reason to fear deportation, which began in earnest in Texas by 1930 and which coincided with a precipitous fall in Mexican immigration.

In the concluding section, “America’s Dilemma. Races, Refugees, and Reforms in an Age of World War and Cold War, 1942-1952,” Barkan tells the story of a variety of Asian and European immigrant groups and Mexicans to explore how World War II, its aftermath, and the advent of the Cold War affected immigrants, their lives, and the West. Two well researched chapters, “War Against All of Those of Japanese Decent” and “The Second World War’s Other Enemy Aliens, Italians and Germans,” reveal how first- and second-generation Japanese, German, and Italian immigrants struggled in the U.S. during war, suffered humiliation and internment, and were forced to prove their loyalty. Throughout the entire study, Barkan gives special attention to the many different immigrant groups in Hawai‘i, hitherto in need of more scholarly attention, and provides a human picture of the horrors, fears, and shock that Japanese immigrants and their families throughout the West endured, even while fighting courageously in the U.S. armed forces. The immediate post-war years brought profound change throughout the West with continued rapid urbanization, population growth, and the growing concerns about the Cold War.

Barkan’s thoroughly researched and exceptionally well-written study provides scholars, students, and all interested in history or ethnic studies a composite image of immigrants and immigration in the American West. This “big picture” approach underscores the interconnectedness of the immigrants’ experience, be they from Asia, Europe, or Mexico. Readers will be excited by the plan for a second volume focusing on the 1950s to the present.

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