

Book Reviews

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German Culture in Nineteenth-Century America: Reception, Adaptation, Transformation.

Edited by Lynne Tatlock and Matt Erlin. Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture, edited by James Hardin. Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2005. xxi + 336 pp. \$75.00.

The following volume contains fourteen essays from the symposium "Transfer Effects: German Culture in Nineteenth-Century Europe" which took place at Washington University in St. Louis in April 2004. The focus of all of the essays is the investigation of the creative adaptation of cultural material emanating from German-speaking countries on the local, regional, and national level in the United States during the so-called long nineteenth century, through World War I. As such, the essays are not concerned with the immigrant experience, per se; but rather the Americanizing of German ideas and the reshaping and reframing of German culture to serve political, social, or cultural purposes. Furthermore, the essays concentrate on the individual agents or texts of this cultural transfer between spaces and reveal that Germans themselves played a larger role in the process of Americanization than what may be expected.

All fourteen essays are framed and informed by the theory of cultural transfer, and especially the scholarship of Michel Espagne and Michael Werner at the Sorbonne and Bernd Kortländer, all of whom underscore the essential permeability of culture. Espagne and Werner argue that cultural transfer is a process of mutual transfer which takes place in multiple directions and spaces and at the same time. Kortländer's terms "Entgrenzung" and "Begrenzung" prove invaluable for the contributors. "Entgrenzung" refers to the "reducing effects of borders by establishing international cooperation," as Lützel cogently writes in his essay (59); whereas "Begrenzung" refers to the reinforcement of old borders and/or the creation of new ones. These terms are applied to the "circulation of German cultural goods beyond German-identified and German-speaking communities in the United States, and in the agents, enterprises, and the causes that prompted such circulation and, ultimately, deliberate appropriation by American cultural agents" (xii), as Tatlock and Erlin write in their introduction.

The essays are organized into four categories, the first of which contains four essays which deal with cultural transfer in the first two decades of the twentieth century and address politics of culture during a period in American history when German culture was under attack. Hinrich C. Seeba investigates the fate of the German historian, Karl Lamprecht and his notion of cultural history in Germany and the United States, and submits that Lamprecht, with his internationalist orientation, was an effective agent

of German-American communication at a time when Americans were increasingly suspicious of Germans. Investigating how culture can be employed to serve political agendas, Eric Ames argues that Germany of the early twentieth century failed to recognize how it could assert political and cultural influence abroad through professorial exchanges at American universities, and concentrates specifically on Hugo Münsterberg, director of the Amerika-Institut in Berlin, and his film *Photoplay* (1916). Proceeding from an interdisciplinary perspective, Ames argues that *Photoplay* was Münsterberg's last ditch effort to preserve the prospects of German culture in the United States and discredit the anti-German propaganda films from Hollywood during World War I. Claudia Liebrand investigates how A.B. Faust counters anti-German sentiment in his two-volume tome *The German Element in the United States with Special Reference to Its Political, Moral, Social, and Educational Influence*, published in English in 1909, and demonstrates how Faust borrows from Tacitus and rewrites all of his negative German traits into positive ones in order to stress the superiority of German culture. The backdrop for Paul Michael Lützel's contribution is the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis which he argues is an ideal example of competing political agendas and institutional frameworks which shape cultural transfer. He demonstrates that three cultural segments from Germany, the United States, and the German-American community influenced the relations between cultures by coming into contact with each other at the World's Fair where each culture sought to propagate its achievements and values.

Section two of this volume contains three essays, each of which investigates how German cultural materials helped legitimize or reconceptualize American culture and society in the nineteenth century when many American intellectuals feared that American cultural achievements did not match its economic power. In one of the volume's most insightful essays, Matt Erlin writes about the St. Louis Hegelians and two of their most famous members, Denton Snider and William Torrey Harris, who perceived a political and cultural crisis in the wake of the Civil War. Erlin argues that Snider and Harris viewed Hegel as essentially a universalist whose historical dialectic provided a framework to criticize America's political problems without calling into questions their belief in the mission of the country. In this manner, Snider and Harris served as agents of cultural transfer, appropriating European cultural materials while maintaining their belief in American superiority and the continued moral and intellectual development of the country. Kirsten Belgium demonstrates convincingly that Alexander von Humboldt was attractive to Americans as an internationalist and embodiment of education and cultivation to which all Americans aspired. Because he was not viewed as a German, Belgium suggests, it was easier to appropriate him and his ideas without appearing to be indebted or inferior to another country. Robert C. Holub addresses the selective appropriation of Friedrich Nietzsche by groups to which Nietzsche would have diametrically opposed, such as anarchists, socialists, and feminists. Nietzsche appealed to these groups because of his contempt for middle-class values and, submits Holub, conferred intellectual legitimacy on these groups, even though he was not taken seriously as a philosopher prior to World War II in the United States.

Section three contains essays which investigate literary rewritings of European cultural materials by translators, literary historians, and others. Lynne Tatlock examines how Annis Lee Wister's translations of German women writers mediated popular German sentimental literature and appealed to middle-class American values. Wister's popularity, Tatlock demonstrates, owes much to J. B. Lippincott who aggressively

marketed her translations not as literary works which educated Americans should read, "but rather simply as Americanized or even American products that provided access to German life" (167). Jeffrey Grossman examines how translators, editors, and literary historians appropriated and even domesticated Heinrich Heine's ironic and irreverent side to make him correspond to American expectations of German literary culture. Grossman's essay sheds light on rewriting as a cultural performance and how agents sought to reshape Heine's literary works to promote their own political or social agendas. In his essay on Louis Untermeyer, once the leading Heine translator in America, Jeffrey L. Sammons argues that like Heine, Untermeyer suffered anxiety because of his minority origins. In the last published biography of Heine in the United States before World War II, Untermeyer removes Heine from his German identity and emphasizes his Jewishness, and in doing so removes Heine from mainstream literary culture and separates him into a defining ethnicity. Linda Rugg investigates the nature of American and European racism in her essay on Mark Twain's performances in Vienna between 1897 and 1899. She argues that Twain maintained an ambivalent relationship to his European heritage and "Jewishness and Blackness are racial categories with which he identifies and is identified" (233). During his performances in Vienna, Rugg submits, Twain manipulates racial stereotypes to destabilize racial categories.

Textual revisions by German-born, German-speaking immigrants who sought to change the United States serve as the focal point for the last section. Gerhild Scholz Williams investigates how the German-American writer, Heinrich Börnstein, adapts a popular European genre, the "Gehemnisliteratur," to the United States and weaves a narrative with a specific historical, political, and regional landscape. *Die Geheimnisse von St. Louis* (1851), published simultaneously in Germany and the United States, is the story about the Böttcher family who arrives in St. Louis, Missouri only to encounter obstacles and many secrets, ranging from corruption, gangs, and secret societies, especially the Jesuits. Börnstein, argues Williams, supports the idea that Germans can live freer and more prosperously in America, yet his Old World religious, political, and social views inform how he evaluates the struggles of Germans in America. Gerhard Weiss discusses Franz Lieber, who tailored his entire intellectual enterprise to an American audience. Often considered the father of political science, Lieber arrived in the United States in 1827 and within a year conceived a vast encyclopedic project which he planned as an English translation of the influential German *Brockhaus Conversationslexicon*. Lieber soon realized that a direct translation of the encyclopedia would not be appropriate because the conditions in the United States varied too much from those in German territories. The result was his *Encyclopedia Americana* (1829-1833), the first encyclopedia in the United States. Lorie A. Vanchena investigates Reinhold Solger's drama, *The Hon. Anodyne Humdrum; or, The Union Must and Shall be Preserved* (1860), which she argues is unlike most German-American literature of the period in that it is not concerned with the German immigrant's experience; rather it is an "Americanization" of the original German material . . . that reflects the author's evolving relationship to the new culture" (297). Vanchena demonstrates convincingly how Solger, a Forty-Eighter, adapts his own material, *Der Reichstagsprofessor: Posse in einem Akt*, set in the German territories and which addresses political issues of the failed revolution in 1848-49, and then transfers it to the new context of the United States between 1850-1860 and the political issue of slavery.

This volume, with its fourteen thematically and theoretically related essays, is

a welcomed contribution in the field of German and American studies. The essays should further discussion on how American culture was influenced and informed by culture from German-speaking countries, and how German culture was appropriated by agents, many of them German-speaking or German-born, to serve their political, social, educational, and cultural agendas.

North Central College

Gregory H. Wolf

Adventures Abroad: North American Women at German-Speaking Universities, 1868-1915.

By Sandra L. Singer. Westport, CT and London: Praeger, 2003. 268 pp. \$76.95.

Although thoroughly researched and competently written, this book will probably not be at the top of the reading list of most subscribers to the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*. First, it does not concern people of German ethnicity in North America. Most of the women described here were economically advantaged people of Anglo heritage. Second, this work is pedestrian; sometimes it is scarcely more than a listing of North American women who studied in Germany and the very limited facts available about most of them.

Women in the United States, although comprising 32% of the American undergraduate enrollment by 1880, could not attend the better American graduate schools for another dozen years. The German-speaking universities in Switzerland, Germany and Austria enjoyed great academic prestige in these years, especially in medicine and philology. Thus, some 1,350 women from the United States and Canada went to German-speaking universities for graduate work from 1868 to 1915.

At first, most went to Zürich. The university there had allowed women to audit classes since it opened in 1833. It welcomed women as regular students in 1864. Down to 1915, more than fifty North American women matriculated there in medicine alone. Leipzig allowed women to register as auditors, sometimes with humiliating restrictions, beginning in 1870. The University of Berlin, attended by most of the women of this study, allowed female auditors in 1895. All Prussian universities began to register women in degree programs in 1908. Since few women in Germany had the opportunity to obtain undergraduate degrees before that time and thus did not qualify for graduate studies, foreign female graduate students helped open opportunities for German women. To some extent, the North Americans stood in contrast to the much more numerous Russian women graduate students who flocked to Zürich and elsewhere whenever possible. The Russians, most of whom studied medicine, were often anarchists and often Jewish. For both of these reasons, they were feared and hated in this conservative, anti-Semitic era.

The era was also male-dominated so that most of the North American women, however successfully educated in Europe, came home to live relatively obscure lives. But there were interesting exceptions: M. Carey Thomas became the second president of Bryn Mawr College and the first female trustee of Cornell University. Edith Hamilton, a classicist, wrote books on the Greeks, the Romans and mythology that were staples of book club offerings as late as the 1970s. Emily Green Balch, an academic economist

and sociologist, won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1946 for her work with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. This was after Cornell had fired her in 1919 for her peace advocacy work. Florence Kelley, in addition to translating Marx and Engels, worked in Chicago with Jane Addams at Hull House, conducted research that helped lead to protective legislation for employed women and children in Illinois, and helped organize the NAACP.

Everyone interested in historic accomplishments of women will find this book to be a useful factual compilation.

Northwest Missouri State University

Robert W. Frizzell

The Heimat Abroad: The Boundaries of Germanness.

Edited by Krista O'Donnell, Renate Bridenthal, and Nancy Reagin. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2005. 258 pp. \$29.95.

This superbly edited, attractive collection of essays is a recent addition to the series "Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany." The series title and the volume title taken together give some insight into the breadth and direction of the argument. However, it is the introductory essay which truly outlines the impressive scope of the discussion. Almost nonchalantly the editors note early on that: "Beyond trying to define who is German and what makes them so, this volume seeks to reconceptualize German identity in global terms" (4).

The twelve essays in the collection are distributed relatively evenly across three sections: The Legal and Ideological Context of Diasporic Nationalism; Bonds of Trade and Culture; and Islands of Germanness. The three contributions in the first section frame the overall discussion in terms of two phenomena familiar to most students of German history: a unique definition of citizenship which ties membership to ethnic identity rather than place of residence; and the related and complementary tendency of Germans abroad to maintain cultural, economic, and even political ties to the homeland through generations. The second and third parts together examine the specific history of most identifiable enclaves of Germans abroad. Additionally, the final chapter examines the contemporary implications Germany's transition from an "emigrant nation to immigrant destination" (12).

Editing an anthology is a formidable task. The individual contributions must be independently valuable, coherent, and comprehensible, yet the separate chapters must be interdependent and the whole must be thematically unified. The editors of this collection have succeeded admirably in their task. Despite the somewhat daunting ambitiousness of their stated goals, the editors have brought together an impressive array of very readable and informative articles which illuminate a complex and multi-faceted topic. The unity of the volume is aided in no small measure by a remarkably clear yet thorough overall introduction as well as short overviews for each of the three parts. The introduction in particular moves deftly from well-known concepts, such as the German sense of *Heimat*, to thorny questions of ethnic and cultural identity, assimilation, and

the debate over what constitutes a diaspora. The collection is a welcome addition to the literature.

Loyola College in Maryland

Randall P. Donaldson

Gerstäcker's Louisiana: Fiction and Travel Sketches from Antebellum Times through Reconstruction.

Edited and Translated by Irene S. Di Maio. Baton Rouge: University of Louisiana Press, 2006. 344 pp. \$49.95 (cloth).

Friedrich Gerstäcker (1816-1872) is the author of travel sketches as well as fiction about the time he spent in North America, Mexico, Ecuador, the West Indies, and Venezuela, to name just a few. In her book, Irene Di Maio translated the works of Gerstäcker in which he describes his time in Louisiana. This book is not only for people who are interested in Louisiana, however, but also for readers who are interested in American history and the history of immigrants and travels in the United States during the nineteenth century.

Gerstäcker went to Louisiana three times during his life. The first time he was a young man of twenty-one years in March of 1838, and his ambition was "to go to America", and, as Di Maio puts in her introduction, "the journey itself was his purpose". The second time he came to Louisiana was just four years later, in 1842, "and for a year he managed the Ferry Hotel in Pointe Coupée, then considered the most beautiful garden and plantation land along the Mississippi" (1). The reader will learn about this first stay in the first part of the book, which covers the Antebellum Period, the time before the American Civil War. The observations he made were published in the author's first travel book, *Adventures and Hunting Expeditions in the United States of North America* (1844). Di Maio chooses sketches from this publication as well as from a later ones, *Pictures of the Mississippi – Light and Dark Sides of Transatlantic Life* (1847-1848), *From My Diary – Collected Stories* (1863), "Louisiana Sketches," *Wild World* (1865 -1867), and *Hustle and Bustle* (1870). In the first story the reader learns how Gerstäcker came to Louisiana in his canoe, and what he observes in this young country full of people of different countries. His observations are very witty and many of his descriptions of the people he met sound like caricatures. Some of the stories seem like fiction, and this is what makes them so interesting and easy to read. They paint a great picture of Louisiana and the United States in general and the people who lived there during the time of the author's visit. Gerstäcker shows how the young country started to become the melting pot that it is today, and how hard it was for some people fresh from Europe to get used to new customs.

He not only uses his first experiences in Louisiana for his travel sketches, but he also in his immigration novel *To America! A Book for the People*. Like in his nonfiction travel sketches the stories are mostly about the people, people of all races. "Gerstäcker mixes real people he knew or may have heard of with invented characters" (85). He especially focuses on the injustices of slavery, which he opposed. This fiction section closes with the excerpt from *To America!*. "The author intends this novel to be a cautionary tale,

a prophylaxis against the immigrants' unrealistic expectations and exaggerated hopes" (85).

The second part of the book, which examines the Reconstruction Period, is far shorter than the first part. Here Di Maio introduces Gerstacker's travel sketches that he wrote after his third and last visit to the United States and Louisiana in 1867. He had not been there in seventeen years, and he describes this visit in a book that was published in 1868, *New Travels through the United States, Mexico, Ecuador, the West Indies, and Venezuela*. Here the reader learns his disappointment about how the plantation country, that was so beautiful during his first two visits, had changed. "He finds it just that cruel slavery has been abolished and the arrogant planters punished, yet he is saddened by the disarray and devastation" (237). This is only a short part of the book (twenty pages), and here he reflects on the outlook of the United States and the people who live there, including the German immigrants and the freed slaves, "and comparing them with the prospects of Germany and its people" (237).

The final part of the book deals with Gerstacker's fiction about the Reconstruction and it consists of an excerpt from his novel *In America – A Picture of American Life in Recent Times* (1872), the sequel to *To America!*. Like in his travel sketches, he addresses Reconstruction from the point of view of Germans, white planters, and freed slaves. "His portrayal of the newly liberated blacks' insistence on their right to public accommodations [...] is based on actual demonstrations. Indeed these protests foreshadow the continuing struggle of the Civil Rights movement in the twentieth century" (261). This excerpt is only thirteen pages long, making the entire Reconstruction section's thirty-three pages somewhat of an afterthought to the Antebellum's 215 pages.

Even though over 150 years have passed since the first publication of Gerstacker's work, it is still an interesting read in the twenty-first century. Di Maio does not make her translation too modern and she tries to keep the text in a nineteenth century tone. She says herself that she broke up some long and complex German sentences to make the English sound simpler, but the reader can still recognize Gerstacker's original tone. Di Maio edited a volume that readers, who are interested in Louisiana will enjoy but it is also for readers interested in the history of the Southern United States shortly before and after the Civil War. It is a great book to introduce Friedrich Gerstacker to an English speaking audience and, perhaps, reintroduce him to scholars of German literature.

University of Kansas

Julia Trumpold

Alexander von Humboldt und die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika: Briefwechsel.

Herausgegeben von Ingo Schwarz. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2004. 692 pp. €89.80.

For German-American scholars, the correspondence of Alexander von Humboldt is of enormous value. This volume contains selected letters illustrating von Humboldt's friendship and influence upon Thomas Jefferson, Washington Irving, and Albert Gallatin among many intellectuals of the nineteenth century. There are also selections from three acquaintances who represent life-long areas of interest for von Humboldt: Louis Aggasiz and the natural sciences; George Catlin and the social sciences; and John

C. Fremont and exploration of the Americas. In addition, Ingo Schwarz has written a brilliant introduction, describing the broad context for von Humboldt's influential life.

Schwarz has done a superb job of collecting, collating, selecting, organizing, editing and footnoting, in four languages, the correspondence of one of the great thinkers in Western Civilization. In particular Schwarz has done an extraordinarily service for his readers in editing. For selected examples, he has systematically displayed the pertinent information on all of von Humboldt's references to names, meetings, events and literary passages. The editorial notes display judiciousness throughout, so that the notes are largely informative, rather than interpretative, thus allowing von Humboldt to stand on his own as the cynosure of American thinking about ideas. There are 351 letters, preceded by forty-seven documents illustrating aspects of the letters, such as von Humboldt's toll declaration in 1804, the diary notations of George Ticknor and Benjamin Rush, ancillary correspondence between acquaintances concerning von Humboldt, and a massive bibliography, running to sixty pages.

Another consideration is the impact that von Humboldt had upon many American intellectuals. Probably the most important one was the continuing friendship with Washington Irving. They may have met on March 30, 1805, but Schwarz has found no convincing proof. There were other comments between 1823 and 1825, but their scholarly and literary relationship emerged in 1827, and continued for more than thirty years. Von Humboldt admired Irving's historical book, *Columbus* (1828), because it unified the imagination with facts, and it was based on the best historical documents. It also resulted in von Humboldt identifying Martin Waldseemüller's map of 1507, with the name Amerigo or America on it.

Three other Americans were influenced in various ways by von Humboldt. The clearest instance of this relationship, can be found in the work of Matthew Maury, the first American oceanographer (1806-73). Von Humboldt had discussed ocean currents as part of the marine science section of his last major work, *Cosmos* (1845); Maury visited von Humboldt in Berlin on September 13, 1853, and the title of Maury's major work, *The Physical Geography of the Sea* (1855) reflected their talks, since it was suggested by von Humboldt. Another American was George Ticknor (1791-1871), an influential Harvard Professor of French and Spanish language and literature; they met in Paris in 1817, and von Humboldt guided Ticknor around Berlin on two of his visits in 1836 and 1856, continuing their correspondence for more than forty years. The last example is the friendship with Thomas Jefferson, who prior to the presidency, enjoyed a considerable reputation for his *Notes on Virginia*. Von Humboldt had found the prehistoric remains of mammoth teeth near equator, and had lots to discuss with Jefferson who had examined a similar Paleolithic find in frontier Pennsylvania. They spend a considerable amount of time together from May 19 through June 13, 1804, as part of von Humboldt's journey to the Americas.

This volume is a significant contribution towards furthering the understanding of German-American thought in the nineteenth century. Von Humboldt shaped the assumptions and ideas of three generations of American scientists. This work also suggests ways in which von Humboldt's influence stretched into many other areas of

research. Schwarz's volume will be the cornerstone of future research into German-American intellectual history.

Scott Community College

William Roba

Die Familie Erlanger: Bankiers, Mäzene, Künstler.

By Gabriele Mendelssohn. Ingelheim: Leinpfad Verlag, 2005. 104 pp. €9.90.

Gabriele Mendelssohn's *Die Familie Erlanger* is a companion volume to a two-part exhibition at the *Museum bei der Kaiserpfalz* in Ingelheim, Germany, held in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the death of Carlo von Erlanger (1872–1904), an ornithologist from Ingelheim. The first part of the exhibition focused on Carlo von Erlanger and his renowned work in Africa, and the second part on the Erlanger family itself. For scholars of German-American history, Mendelssohn's research provides a much-needed foundation for understanding one of the world's premier banking families, who invested heavily in railroads in the United States, financed the first France-to-the-U.S. transatlantic telegraph in 1869, married into the Slidell family of Louisiana, floated the only foreign loan to the Confederate States of America, donated the initial funds to establish the Erlanger Medical Center in Chattanooga, Tennessee, and gave their name to a city in the Northern Kentucky suburbs of Cincinnati.

To date, no complete history of the Erlanger family and its international connections has been written. Mendelssohn's book is not intended to be such a volume, but it is the most complete to date and complements other scattered works relating to the Erlanger family including: Baron E. B. d'Erlanger, *Quelques Souvenirs de France* and *My English Souvenirs* (London: Privately Printed, 1978), Wanda V. Poole and Susan S. Sawyer, *The Baroness Collection: Erlanger Medical Center, 1891–1991* (Chattanooga: Erlanger Medical Center, 1993), Judith Fenner Gentry, "A Confederate Success in Europe: The Erlanger Loan," *The Journal of Southern History* 36.2 (May 1970): 157–87; Paul A. Tenkotte, "The 'Chronic Want' of Cincinnati: A Southern Railroad," *Northern Kentucky Heritage* 6.1 (Fall/Winter 1998): 24–33; and Richard I. Lester, "An Aspect of Confederate Finance during the American Civil War: The Erlanger Loan and the Plan of 1864," *Business History* (Great Britain) 16.2 (July 1974): 130–44.

From Mendelssohn and the above sources, we know that Löb Moses (1780–1857, later called Ludwig Mortiz) Erlanger moved to Frankfurt am Main in 1816 and earned his fortune as an exchange broker (58). The Erlangers were originally Jewish, but Ludwig's son, Baron Raphael von Erlanger (1806–78), converted to Christianity (59). Raphael von Erlanger became an exchange broker and, by about 1840, founded a bank in Frankfurt am Main (70). Later, he created a cooperative, or syndicate, of smaller banks as a counterweight to the dominance of the powerful financial house of the Rothschild family (61). The Erlanger's banking operations, which became known in 1865 as "*von Erlanger & Söhne*" ("von Erlanger and Sons") (68) eventually included headquarters in Frankfurt am Main and branches in Vienna, Austria; Paris, France; and London, England. The Erlanger family became important financiers to the Swedish, Norwegian, Portuguese, Prussian, Austro-Hungarian, and Greek governments, as well as to Cecil Rhodes and the British South Africa Company. They made investments on

five continents—Africa, Asia, Europe, North America, and South America, and they were stalwart supporters of the English Channel Tunnel Company.

Raphael's son, Baron Emile Frédéric d'Erlanger (1832–1911; also called F. Emile d'Erlanger) moved to France, began referring to himself by the French name “d'Erlanger,” and assumed control of the family's banking branch in Paris. There, he met his future wife, Margu rite Mathilde Slidell, a refugee of the Confederate States of America. Mathilde was the daughter of John Slidell, Confederate commissioner to France. In November 1861, she was aboard the British mail ship, the *Trent*, bound from Cuba to Europe when it was captured by Union forces. The “Trent Affair” caused an international crisis, nearly drawing Great Britain into the Civil War. Mathilde was allowed to continue her passage to Europe, but her father and his compatriot, commissioner to England James Murray Mason, were imprisoned until British pressure forced Lincoln's administration to release them. F. Emile d'Erlanger married Mathilde, a Roman Catholic, in October 1864, and they raised their four sons as Catholics. In 1870, the d'Erlanger family left Paris during the Franco-Prussian War, and established a banking branch in London, England, which subsequently became known as “Erlangers Limited” in 1928. Upon the death of his father, Raphael, in 1878, F. Emile's younger brother, Ludwig (1836–1898) became chief of the Frankfurt and Vienna operations, which were eventually sold in 1904 (71).

The Erlanger family floated the only foreign loan to the Confederate States of America, called the “Erlanger Loan” in American History textbooks. They financed the first transatlantic telegraph cable connecting France to the United States (1869), and Mathilde Slidell d'Erlanger spoke the first words over the cable. They also gained majority control over more than 1,100 miles of railroads in the American South, including the Alabama Great Southern, and the Cincinnati, New Orleans and Texas Pacific Railway. The latter acquired the lease of the municipally-owned Cincinnati Southern Railroad, connecting Cincinnati, Ohio to Chattanooga, Tennessee. A city along the line was named for the family, Erlanger, Kentucky. During an 1889 trip to the United States to examine his railroad holdings, Baron F. Emile d'Erlanger donated \$5,000 to establish a hospital in Chattanooga that bore his wife's name, Baroness Erlanger Hospital, and is now called Erlanger Medical Center. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Erlanger family purchased \$500,000 worth of bonds in the San Francisco North Pacific Railroad Co., which passed through the wine country of the Sonoma Valley (71).

Mendelssohn's book contains detailed genealogical charts of the Erlanger family, and never-before-published photographs. Her research into the family's German roots is impressive. The book achieves its purpose admirably, and should be read by anyone interested in learning more about international banking, as well as foreign investment in the United States in the late nineteenth century.

Thomas More College

Paul A. Tenkotte

The Making of Milwaukee.

By John Gurda. *Milwaukee: Milwaukee County Historical Society, 2006. ix + 462 pp. \$29.95.*

Miller Time: A History of Miller Brewing Company, 1855-2005.

By John Gurda. *Milwaukee: Miller Brewing Company, 2005. 180 pp. \$39.95.*

Two recent publications by noted Milwaukee writer and historian John Gurda showcase the importance of the German element to the Cream City on both a general and specific level. Certainly the credentials of the author are beyond question with regard to the expansive nature of each work: born in Milwaukee, Gurda has published fifteen books on the city since 1972 and local history columns for the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* since 1994, and is an eight-time recipient of the Award of Merit from the Wisconsin Historical Society.

The latest release of *The Making of Milwaukee* represents the third edition of this popular work, originally issued in 1999 and which in the interim has served as the basis of a five-hour series of documentaries created by Milwaukee Public Television. As the first feature-length history of the city since 1948, the book does much to update in chronological fashion existing information on Milwaukee's origins and years of prosperity and maturity through the end of World War II. Needless to say it also continues the story for the following half-century and more, the new material encompassing approximately one quarter of the entire text. Of primary interest to German-American specialists are the middle chapters ("Here Come the Germans, 1846-1865"; "Wheat, Iron, Beer, and Bloodshed, 1865-1886"; and "Triumph of the Workingman, 1886-1910"), which chronicle extensively and articulately the many German contributions to Milwaukee's social, economic, religious, and political evolution. Dozens of duotone photographs, along with reproductions of noteworthy historical documents, add a useful visual element to the text and further contextualize the significance of German immigrant culture to the city. A subsequent chapter ("A Bigger, Brighter, and Blander Milwaukee, 1910-1930") reinforces the importance of the German element by calling attention to its relative absence, driven underground by the impact of World War I, denied full fruition of its flowering Socialist movement as pioneered by Victor Berger and shaped by mayor Emil Seidel before the war, and crippled industrially and socially through the prohibition-engendered decimation of an expansive local brewing industry and a thriving drink culture. Well-written and informative throughout, *The Making of Milwaukee* offers a thorough introduction to the city for recent arrivals or those simply with a casual interest, and at an affordable price. Longtime residents and scholars in the area likely will find much already familiar in the book, but also should encounter enough new information and previously unseen photographs to make a purchased copy a worthwhile investment.

Much more topic-specific is *Miller Time*, commissioned by the brewing giant in commemoration of its one hundred fiftieth anniversary. While the company and its production history (most notably in Jerry Apps, *Breweries of Wisconsin*, 1992; updated second edition 2005) as well as the role of Miller family members as brewery executives (Tim John, *The Miller Beer Barons*, 2005) have been chronicled adequately in recent years, Gurda manages to break new ground in his portrayal of the founding father, German immigrant Frederick J. Miller; his early background as a brewer in Sigmaringen,

a Swabian town along the Danube River; Miller's preparations for emigration and journey to America; and relocation to Milwaukee, where he blazed a difficult trail in building up the Plank Road Brewery off of the far western edge of the city. Here Gurda benefits greatly from access to the Miller corporate archives: copies of photographs, old German-language newspaper clippings, and handwritten letters provide precise information on Miller's life and work in Germany, while other photographs and reproductions of ledger and brewer's journal pages, even the deed of purchase for the brewery from 1856, provide an exact snapshot of Miller's life and labor in his earliest days as a Milwaukee German entrepreneur. Wisely Gurda also ties in Miller's work with his clientele, emphasizing social connections with groups such as the Milwaukee Männerchor and strong marketing efforts within the German-American community which, by virtue of the company's own successful beer garden and the prevailing tied house saloon system of the day, made Miller's product the best-selling beer in Milwaukee by the onset of Prohibition, although it was no better than the third- or fourth-largest brewery in the city at the time.

The narrative inevitably loses much of its German focus with the onset of Prohibition and a subsequent homogenization of the industry, but it does not lose steam, as Gurda ably chronicles the rise of the company in the post-Prohibition era from a single-location Milwaukee brewery to the second-largest brewing conglomerate in the nation by the 1980s, ultimately the last surviving major brewer in the city after its larger rivals for many years—Blatz, Schlitz and Pabst—ceased operations there in 1959, 1981, and 1996 respectively. Again, access to Miller's archival holdings proves instrumental in Gurda's ability to chronicle with precision the reasons for the company's rise to superpower status and distinguish his narrative from other historical surveys of the brewer. Dozens of photographs of Miller family members in both professional and personal settings give the story a welcome human touch, while reproductions of rarely-seen advertising materials, frequently in full-color, provide a definitive overview of the company's successful marketing focus in a time of great consolidation within the brewing industry. Impressive also is the relatively even-handed tone of the work, given that it is published by Miller: Gurda emphasizes the successes of the company without use of hyperbole, but also is refreshingly frank about occasional Miller failures and shortcomings, including an ill-advised attempt to establish a second brewery in Bismarck, Dakota Territory in the 1880s; the loss of family control of the firm after its sale in 1969 to cigarette giant Philip Morris and later still to the South African Breweries conglomerate; and an indifferent public response to some poorly-conceived products, such as Miller Clear Beer, in an increasingly cutthroat competitive marketplace.

In sum, while both of the books presented extend their glance beyond German-American interests to a considerable degree, each work has ample material within its subject matter to expand the knowledge of anyone with a specific interest in Milwaukee's German-American community. Well-written and engaging, they are convenient both for leisure reading and as handy reference guides, and thus are not likely candidates to gather dust on a bookshelf.

Reizenstein: Die Geschichte eines deutschen Officers.

By David Christoph Seybold. Herausgegeben, kommentiert und mit einem Nachwort versehen von Wynfrid Kriegleder. Vienna: Edition Praesens, 2003. 412 pp. €37.00.

The text on the back cover of this book aptly summarizes the salient reasons for interest in Seybold's novel and the contributions that the new edition makes to scholarship: „Der 1778/79 veröffentlichte Roman „Reizenstein“, der mit dieser Neuedition wieder zugänglich gemacht wird, ist der erste deutschsprachige Roman, der sich mit den zeitgenössischen Ereignissen in Nordamerika, ‚der amerikanischen Revolution‘ auseinandersetzt. Was den Text besonders interessant macht, ist die Tatsache, dass er geschrieben wurde, noch bevor der Krieg in Amerika zu Ende war, also noch bevor fest stand, ob die englischen Kolonien tatsächlich unabhängig werden würden, und lange bevor sich die künftigen Vereinigten Staaten eine politische Verfassung gaben. Der Roman, der eine Gegenwartshandlung utopisch in die unmittelbare Zukunft weiterspinnt, erlaubt einen faszinierenden Einblick in die zeitgenössischen europäischen Erwartungen an Amerika; er etabliert ein USA-Image, das in der fiktionalen Literatur der nächsten sechzig Jahre, bis hin zu Charles Sealsfield, fortgeführt werden sollte. Die vorliegende Edition bietet einen diplomatischen Abdruck der Erstausgabe, einen Stellenkommentar und ein ausführliches Nachwort, das den Autor vorstellt, Interpretationshinweise liefert und den Text in die Geschichte des deutschen Amerikaromans einordnet.“

It must be noted, however, that the greatest part of the novel is not focused on America and that it is not simply the story of a German officer. It is rather an epistolary novel consisting of 163 letters to and from several members of the gentry and bourgeoisie who write about their lives as well as their views on contemporary European events and literature. On one occasion, they gathered for Schäferspiel that embodied the bucolic ideals to which they aspired. Originally published in two volumes, the first starts with a letter dated July 12, 1775, and covers the time before Lieutenant Reizenstein decides to go to America to support the American cause, having been drummed out of the army and banished from his native Franconia because of remarks which criticized the use of German mercenaries in America. The second volume contains letters that relate the experiences of Reizenstein and secondarily also those of his friend Müller in America, as well as those of their friends and loved ones in Germany. In America Reizenstein becomes an officer in the Revolutionary Army, where he and a fellow officer, a planter from South Carolina named Lord Babington, become close friends. While spending the winter on Lord Babington's plantation, Reizenstein falls in love with his sister Auguste. Eventually Reizenstein and Müller unite in America and decide to remain there. Since the lives of their friends and loved ones in Germany are a series of setbacks and disappointments and Reizenstein describes life in rural South Carolina in such enthusiastic terms, they decide one after another to follow Reizenstein's call to join him and Müller and start a new life in America. The novel develops an increasingly anti-European tone, as it contrasts the restriction and corruption of Germany with the liberty and idealism of America.

The preface to the second volume is dated March 24, 1779. The narrated time of the novel, however, extends into the future, i.e. to the last letter, dated April 26, 1780. In the novel, the Americans win the Revolutionary War with the capture of New York on May 30, 1779, and make peace with the British the following October. On December 1,

1779, Reizenstein writes to Auguste to report about the military putsch that he, together with Benedict Arnold and Thomas Conway, carries out against Congress with the help of German troops fighting on the American side. Congress is forced to resign because it wishes to impose slavery and an aristocratic constitution on the newly liberated colonies. With the help of the richest and most respected planters from several former colonies, a national assembly (*Nationalversammlung*) is convened to discuss the future constitution for America. On March 6, 1780, Reizenstein writes to his new wife Auguste that he is hopeful that the colonies will ratify the new constitution that her brother had convinced the national assembly to adopt. Reizenstein describes the document in a letter to a German friend by portraying life in America under this constitution in the year 1850. In this America, all cities and villages have been abandoned. Each family lives in a hut that is surrounded by as much land as it can cultivate. All land, however, belongs to the state, not individual families. Since luxuries are banned and everyone works the land in harmony with his neighbors, America has no need for doctors, judges, or laws. Religious services are simple prayer meetings that require no clergy. Slavery does not exist and the former slaves either have returned to their own countries or have settled on the land like everyone else. The Jews too have settled as farmers in certain districts. This America is also extremely isolationist and has almost no contact with decadent Europe. In short, America is a Rousseauesque utopia.

Seybold's Reizenstein is certain to interest readers interested in the eighteenth century German novel in general and its portrayal of America in particular. It is also an interesting reading experience for those, like this reviewer, who do not often read works from this era.

Wabash College

John Byrnes

A German Town: A History of New Ulm, Minnesota.

By Daniel J. Hoisington. New Ulm: Edinborough Press, 2004. 216 pp. \$19.95.

The city of New Ulm, Minnesota, situated about ninety miles southwest of Minneapolis/St. Paul, can look back over 150 years since its founding. Anyone who has ever been to this lovely city in the Minnesota River Valley will probably gladly attest to its "charm and tradition," two nouns the city of New Ulm boasts to describe the town on its web site.

In his historical account of New Ulm, Daniel Hoisington captures this city's history and its remarkable German-American heritage exceptionally well. Hoisington depicts the town from its founding by German immigrants who mostly came from the Württemberg area of Germany, to its modern days. Hoisington's work includes numerous people and events that shaped New Ulm's history dramatically as a German-American town. Although Hoisington's volume displays some minor misprints of words, such as "Fredrich Engels" (8) instead of Friedrich Engels, or "picked up and ax" (38) instead of picked up an ax, or "Hermannsohne" (66) instead of Hermannsöhne, and neglects to list chapter four in the table of contents entitled "The most German of German Cities" (66-95), his account of the history of New Ulm is a fascinating piece of work. He does not purely list the facts, but rather uses a narrating style in brilliantly

detailing New Ulm's past and exploring the German-American heritage that has made this Minnesotan city "a German town." A copious amount of pictures of people and city buildings, illustrations, as well as events important in the history of New Ulm complement this work and inevitably captivate the reader to read on.

In chapter one Hoisington describes the settlement and trade beginnings of New Ulm by the Chicago Land Company, consisting of a group of German immigrants from Chicago. These, the author proceeds, were joined a little later by members of the German Land Company from Cincinnati, and whose president was a man by the name of William Pfaender, who also became one of the founders of the New Ulm Turnverein.

Chapter two covers the Civil War involvement by the inhabitants of New Ulm and their military service in the First Minnesota Artillery. Hoisington then focuses on the controversy with the Dakota Indians in the midst of the Civil War in 1862, when New Ulm was attacked twice by the Dakotas, who finally retreated in defeat. Chapter three is chiefly devoted to Father Alexander Berghold, a priest who came to New Ulm from Austria in 1868. He played a significant role in the town's history during his ministry in New Ulm. His foremost achievements were the attraction of new immigrants to Minnesota through his writings and lectures (most notably the many German-Bohemian immigrants that settled in the area around New Ulm with the arrival of the railroad in 1872), and a successful fundraising campaign for the first local hospital. It was built in 1883 after a devastating cyclone had hit the city in 1881, and was named after him. The reader is also informed about the founders of the industries that started to flourish during the 1870s in New Ulm, such as the breweries. Hoisington proceeds to say that at the same time the cultural life was enthusiastically supported by New Ulm's citizens in conjunction with the building of a second Turner Hall and the opening of the Arbeiter Hall a few years later. In the fourth chapter the reader learns the story of Julius Berndt, a New Ulm architect, and his efforts and struggles to construct the Hermann Monument in the city. The monument erected in 1897 and accompanied by a big celebration, was to symbolize the German-American heritage of "the Germans in this Country" (67). Hoisington goes on to talk about the St. Paul's Lutheran Church and its proposal for a Lutheran College in New Ulm. These plans came to fruition through the efforts of the pastor Christian Johann Albrecht, and Doctor Martin Luther College was built in 1884. New Ulm is described as "a lively place" (73) in the 1890s, because not only was there tremendous industrial and commercial activity in New Ulm, but the social and cultural life was very vibrant as well. Many theatrical productions were staged and local artists, such as Anton Gag, enriched the visual arts immensely. A big school controversy "about educational philosophy and religious values" (86) though led to political tensions among residents of New Ulm.

Chapter five deals with the success and growth of a variety of businesses such as breweries, mills, or nurseries in New Ulm at the turn and in the early years of the twentieth century. The author gives ample examples of people who with their stores and businesses played a key role in the prosperity of the city at that time. The town's infrastructure improved, and houses and churches were built. Life was good in New Ulm only to be tarnished by the gruesome murder of a local dentist named Louis Gebhardt. Hoisington concludes this chapter by stating that New Ulm "remained German at its core" (114) be it that the city had its own *Stadt Musikanten* (114) for example, or that

people recognized typical German celebrations in Turner Hall along with American holidays.

In chapter six Hoisington discusses in detail the events resulting from the New Ulmites' loyalty to their German ways during the World War I era while struggling with the issue of the draft and America's participation in the war. This friction resulted in the removal of the mayor Louis Fritsche and the city attorney Albert Pfaender by the governor, as well as some economic ramifications for the city. The author demonstrates in chapter seven how the two major breweries in New Ulm, Schell and Hauenstein, coped with Prohibition in the 1920s, while the unpopular legislation took its toll on many breweries in the state of Minnesota. He elaborates on the enforcement of dry laws in New Ulm while residents frequented a "soft drink parlor" (144) downtown. Social life, though, he claims, was not dampened by this restriction and people resorted to different options such as the theater, cinema, music, and dance. Hoisington explains the heyday of the Saffert Cement Construction Company in the time between the two World Wars and the impact it had on the construction of homes and buildings in the city. Furthermore, the author points out that New Ulm took various steps to beautify the city under the auspices of the New Ulm Park Association taking into account the growing importance of the automobile in everyday life as well. People's German heritage, he goes on to say, was reclaimed after the tumultuous time surrounding the first World War and the use of German continued to play a major role in the community, in church services, theater productions, and in the press with the advent of a new German-language paper in town. The negative impact of the Great Depression on the local economy and subsequent Federal Relief Projects administered by the Works Progress Administration are discussed in chapter eight. Hoisington states that some downtown store fronts "embraced the "modern" look" (169) in the mid 1930s and a public library and a museum were added to the city's attractions, while several bands and groups of singers continued to enrich New Ulm's cultural scene. He then analyzes New Ulm's stance and public opinion at the beginning of and during World War II ending with reactions of local residents to German prisoners of war held in a nearby camp. The topic of chapter nine, Hoisington's final chapter, centers around New Ulm's progress after the second World War. He illustrates the changing economy by exemplifying the milling industry, which was changing dramatically in the United States in the early postwar years. With the cultural scene ever thriving, especially through the popularity of band music, and with the city's acquisition of a radio station in 1949, New Ulm was labeled the "Polka Capital of the World" (192). New Ulm faced many transitions, Hoisington elucidates, with the opening of national and regional retail stores being just one example. In the 1970s the future of downtown New Ulm became the focal point of discussion and renovation plans were drawn. The *Heritagefest* was introduced, a festival that gained fast in popularity and attracts visitors from all over the country. In addition the construction of a *Glockenspiel* was deliberated for downtown and was finally dedicated in 1980. New Ulm, Hoisington writes, had renewed its commitment to the past, but also "had transformed itself into a unique community" (201). Extensive notes for each chapter and an index complete Hoisington's publication.

A German Town: A History of New Ulm, Minnesota is a masterfully researched and written work on the history of this town. It is not just a must-read for anyone interested

in historical accounts, and particularly in the history of the unique city of New Ulm. It will also surely draw the attention of those in German Studies and related fields.

Washburn University

Gabriele Lunte

Diplomat ohne Eigenschaften?: Die Karriere des Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff (1884–1952).

By Sylvia Taschka. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006. 289 pp. €45.00.

The title of Sylvia Taschka's biography of the diplomat Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff contains a question mark, and it is this question mark which underlies her own scholarly investigation as well as the reader's attempts to assess this historical figure. Together with the question mark, the title contains another salient characteristic—the presence of a familiar literary allusion—in some way suggesting that this allusion encapsulates the principal thesis of the book.

The title, of course, immediately evokes one of the established classics of modernist literature: Robert Musil's *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften* (1930). Only one difficulty, however, arises here. There is neither equivalence nor parallelism between Musil's figure and Taschka's historical protagonist. Musil's figure Ulrich, whose last name is withheld from the reader and hence is devoid of patrimony, is the proverbial Modernist outsider, not only living on the periphery of physical and cultural space, but also of time and history. As the narrator suggests, the house or rather castle Ulrich purchased is redolent of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with, significantly enough, an abortive renovation occurring in the nineteenth century. All this is linked intertextually with another famous literary house, one rendered by one of Musil's most eminent literary forbears and certainly influences, Adalbert Stifter, whose *Rosenhaus* in his canonical novel *Der Nachsommer* (1855) fulfilled a different ideological and metaphysical purpose, namely, to provide a bastion against the disintegrative influences of modernity. Ulrich's house, by contrast, has already been overrun by modernity.

Curiously enough, Ulrich's father, who is referred to in the narrative as *der Vater mit Eigenschaften*, resembles more closely the diplomat Hans Heinrich Diethoff, as presented by Taschka. Born into a prosperous family, Ulrich's father moves progressively upward in the world of the bourgeoisie, acquiring the titles of university professor and legal adviser to the well entrenched aristocracy, until he finally fulfills his deepest longing—to be ennobled and to become a member of the Austrian *Herrenhaus*. However, as the narrator ironically notes, although Ulrich's father never lost his loyalty and devotion (*Ergebenheit*) to the class he served, he was nonetheless regarded by his new friends as a parvenu, someone who represented the lower orders.

In the same way, Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff, as described by Taschka, grew up in bourgeois surroundings. In a pattern familiar to his class, he went to the university, graduated with a degree in law, and soon attained what most German burghers recognized as an indispensable cachet of advancement—the title of doctor. Enamored of *Bildung*, Dieckhoff followed the path of many Germans before him, traveling to Italy and other places said to be rich in culture, emulating Goethe's example in the *Italienische Reise* to complete his education. Choosing the Foreign Office (*Auswärtiges Amt*) as his

career path, he proceeded to rise through the diplomatic ranks, overcoming the obstacle of his non-aristocratic origins, eventually to acquire a series of ambassadorships, most notably to the United States (1937–38).

Dieckhoff was a success in conventional terms. Amid the turbulence of German history following the defeat in the Great War, Dieckhoff always was adept at finding his place, whether in the fragile Weimar Republic or in the new halls of power of the Third Reich. Wherever he was, he ingratiated himself with the powers that be. Just as he embodied a proverbial German success story for a person of his origins and background, so did he also epitomize a predictable mentality for his education and social position during the period in which he lived (1884–1952). Consonant with his peers, he harbored a strong antipathy towards Bolshevism as well as a mistrust of Social Democracy. Initially skeptical of democracy, he became what many Germans of his background liked to call a *Vernunftrepublikaner*, which in practice did not connote a healthy ambivalence toward the fledgling state of Weimar, but, instead, a readiness to jump ship when the times became precarious.

In his writings on America, which resulted from his five-year tenure as counselor (*Botschaftsrat*) at the German embassy in Washington (1922–27), Dieckhoff followed the script of his culture. Although he tentatively learned to embrace what he believed were the virtues of American democracy, together with its infatuation with technological progress and permanent change—Dieckhoff even claimed to have become a “modernere Republikaner”—his was apparently not a deep attachment. Before his conversion, Dieckhoff, in a letter to his wife in 1922, unreservedly invoked the Lenauian imagery of America, cultivated by his class and occupational group, berating America in stock terms for being without a sense of history and devoid of culture and art. Twenty years later in another letter to his wife, when Germany and America were again at war, he reverted to the same stereotypes, adding yet a new motif: the Jewish corruption of America (*jüdische Zersetzung*).

If all of this did not establish Dieckhoff as *ein Mann mit Eigenschaften*, his anti-Semitism effaced all doubts about conforming to societal norms. The question of Dieckhoff's anti-Semitism illustrates one of Taschka's principal modes of argumentation—her tendency to relativize Dieckhoff's beliefs and actions. Of course it is essential to place Dieckhoff in a larger context in order to achieve a more balanced assessment of his historical significance. However, in this particular case, one wonders whether comparing Dieckhoff's attitudes to Jews with those of his contemporaries ultimately obfuscates his person and his role in the cataclysm of German politics. For example, when Taschka writes, “Das liegt daran, daß selbst Dieckhoffs Vorurteile gegenüber dem Judentum in eine liberal geprägte Überzeugung eingebettet und nicht zuletzt durch eine pragmatische Toleranz gemäßregelt waren” (134), one can agree that there were different gradations of anti-Semitism, from the “eliminationist anti-Semitism,” discussed by Goldhagen, to the less virulent forms cultivated by various strata of German society, without losing sight of the fact that the propagation of the latter made the former possible.

Taschka's study ultimately provides an answer to the question posed in the title of her work. Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff was indeed “a diplomat with qualities.” The great contribution of this study, in addition to its meticulous scholarship and its uncovering of newly discovered sources, is to illuminate by dint of a single life the so-called German *Sonderweg* and its abysmal failure. Despite his education and cultivation, his belief

in reason and moderation, Dieckhoff could not escape the allures of authority and hence ended up repudiating the promises proffered by modernity. Dieckhoff's life ultimately epitomized Erich Fromm's famous formulation: the "escape from freedom," as evidenced by his finally becoming a member of the National Socialist Party in 1941, even though he had already compromised himself by joining the *NS-Volkswohlfahrt* institution (National Socialist People's Welfare Agency) in 1935. Dieckhoff reveled in the early triumphs of the Nazis and eventually succumbed to the *Führerkult*, becoming during the period of its initial successes an impassioned advocate of the regime. Was it opportunism ignited by the restless ambition of the aspiring bourgeois? Was it a deficiency in "civil courage," as Taschka suggests? Was it Dieckhoff's passion to establish Germany's place among the great powers?

Taschka offers us all of these answers, including another tantalizing aspect of Dieckhoff's character: his propensity to silence amid the presence of atrocity and crime. When Dieckhoff was stationed at the German embassy in Constantinople during the First World War, he was confronted with the Armenian genocide. The usually voluble Dieckhoff chose silence as a position. Years later on November 9, 1938, the date of the notorious *Reichspogromnacht*, Dieckhoff also opted for silence. In general, silence was his overriding response to the unfolding genocide of European Jewry.

We are grateful to Taschka for her engagement with complexity with regard to Dieckhoff's personal tragedy. Still, despite her preoccupation with Dieckhoff's ambivalence, with his ideological twists and turns, as well as with his moments of insight and humanity, Taschka's study, contrary to its express intention, illuminates some plain truths about the moral collapse of what was generally considered to be a nation of refined sensibility and culture. Simply stated, Dieckhoff's failure was the failure of personal and collective narcissism—the despoilment of individual and national ideals. In the end, Taschka's study transforms Dieckhoff into a paradigmatic figure embodying the conflicts and tensions of German political culture in the first half of the twentieth century and hence makes significant inroads in apprehending what Friedrich Meinecke has called "die deutsche Katastrophe."

University of Turku

Jerry Schuchalter

Train Up a Child: Old Order Amish and Mennonite Schools.

By Karen M. Johnson-Weiner. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007. 289 pp. \$49.95.

Old Order Amish and Mennonites have been successful in running their own private schools, and their numbers have been growing steadily since the 1960s and 1970s respectively (7-8). Karen M. Johnson-Weiner's book *Train Up a Child* is a very comprehensive ethnological study of Old Order communities and their educational system. In her study Johnson-Weiner examines how private schools of the Old Order Amish and Mennonite groups prepare children for an Old Order life by integrating core community values and ethnic identity. The author emphasizes that this Old Order Amish and Mennonite education is critical to instilling among children a resistance to the lifestyle and beliefs of the dominant society. Johnson-Weiner bases her descriptive

work on participant observation “in Amish communities of upstate New York and in Old Order Mennonite communities in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania” (ix), interviews with “students, parents, teachers, and school board members” (ix), and correspondence with other members of the communities. In addition, researching Old Order textbooks in heritage libraries and talking with Old Order publishers allowed her a singular insight into Old Order educational practices. Furthermore, assessing nine different settlements in five states, in Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York, Johnson-Weiner asserts that Amish and Mennonite parochial schools differ in their interpretation of Old Order education, but show parallels in their behavioral norms. She finds that decisions on pedagogy, curriculum, textbooks, and school design made by each community are crucial for their own community’s cultural, linguistic, and religious integrity. Johnson-Weiner’s inclusion of various pictures of Old Order schools, school scenes, classrooms, and school-related documents such as a class schedule (80) complement her captivating volume of the Old Order Amish and Mennonite schools. The proverb at the beginning of the first chapter, and a brief utterance by a member of an Old Order community at the beginning of each of the following chapters, certainly stirs the reader’s curiosity in going through the respective chapters.

In her preface Johnson-Weiner states that there are many different Old Order church-communities which distinguish themselves from each other in various ways, but all commonly resist modernity. She characterizes her study as a description of “Old Order schools in the context of Old Order culture” (ix), briefly explains how she conducted her field research, and gives a short synopsis of the chapters in the book. In the first chapter Johnson-Weiner delineates the scope of her work and talks in detail about the Old Order communities whose schools are studied. She discusses why Old Order parochial schools are important for the perpetuation of Old Order life and explains the demographic differences of the nine Old Order settlements examined. The author goes on to explore patterns of interaction by these Old Order church-communities with the main non-Old Order society, in the process illuminating the reasons why the nine communities she focused on in her study “demonstrate what it means to be “Old Order” (12). She also highlights the diversity in Old Order private education and provides a clear overview of the characteristics of Old Order schools and communities studied.

Chapter two centers around how Old Order identities are perpetuated in Old Order education, at the same time schools strive to meet educational standards required by the state. Johnson-Weiner points out Old Order communities distinguish education from schooling, asserting that while schooling is “book learning” (23), education means teaching and inculcating values. They contend that in order for a child to commit to the traditional beliefs of a church-community, he or she has to be educated through labor and chores at home, as well as joint fellowship. The author sets forth that in response to a change in school attendance regulations in the middle of the twentieth century, many more Old Order private schools were established which in turn reflected different community standards. This is exemplified by distinctive architectural designs of two newly-built schoolhouses for two different Old Order communities. She details designs and sizes of a variety of Old Order Amish and Mennonite schools, and concludes that Old Order schools “vary greatly as a result of the choices communities make about pedagogy, curriculum, textbooks, assessment, [and] parent-teacher-student interaction” (38-39).

Chapters three through seven profile the schools in the nine Old Order

communities examined, shedding light on the way each community relates to other Old Order groups and to mainstream society. Johnson-Weiner holds that each particular relationship impacts several facets of Old Order education, extending from pedagogy for instance and student-teacher interaction to the look and the site of the school in the community and the teaching of religion. Chapter three concentrates on the schools of the extremely conservative Swartzentruber Amish settlements in upstate New York. The reader is informed about the plain life and church-community standards of the Swartzentruber Amish, as well the educational goals of these distinct groups of Amish. According to Johnson-Weiner these plain people expect their schools to strengthen "the teachings of parents and church" (44), and reflect community values in their curriculum. The functional exterior and interior design of their schools also gives evidence of the determination of the Swartzentruber Amish to adhere to the customs and beliefs of their church community. Johnson-Weiner demonstrates these values by detailing a day in a Swartzentruber school and describing teachers' and students' expectations alike. This enables the reader to gain insight into Swartzentruber Amish education. The reader also learns that German plays a principal role in the lives of the Swartzentruber Amish. While the children have English lessons, in order to enable them to interact with surrounding societies, German dominates the school environment otherwise. Furthermore, limited subjects taught, including "phonics, spelling, reading, and arithmetic, and . . . Bible German" (58), reflect community boundaries of these ultra-conservative Amish communities. Johnson-Weiner underscores this by discussing archaic texts used for reading, spelling, and arithmetic in the Swartzentruber Amish schools. She ends the chapter by pointing out that school plays a minor role in the Swartzentruber life. Parental and community involvement in school activities and administration hardly exists, and teachers are not paid well, which, in turn, only attracts female teachers. Cultural coherence is achieved, integrating education and the church-community.

Focusing on modest-sized schools in the small and rather homogeneous settlements in Somerset, Ashland, and Fredericktown, Ohio, and Norfolk, New York, Johnson-Weiner turns the reader's attention to four Old Order Amish communities which are socially and religiously interrelated, that accept certain technology, and whose employment is frequently sought with non-Old Order employers. The author affirms that they apply a broader definition of educational goals than the Swartzentruber Amish and react to change, but at the same time retain their separation from the surrounding world. This perspective is revealed in the physical appearance of their schools, which do not display the same modesty as the Swartzentruber schools. Schools are regarded as central to the education of their children "for the economic and spiritual demands of life in the church-community" (78). Johnson-Weiner states the school curriculum of their schools reflects the broader definition of their educational methods as well, with more subjects, such as art, health, geography, and history included in the basic curriculum. English plays a much more important role as the language of instruction. The teacher models a parental role whereby upholding the order and authority of the church-community. The parents and the community are involved in school matters and activities, and every school invites visitors to come.

Chapter five treats the schools in the Amish settlement in Holmes County, Ohio. Describing the Amish communities in Holmes County as diverse, Johnson-Weiner explicates that "each church-community has chosen for itself where to draw the

boundary between the church and the world and how to define non-conformity" (104). The Old Order private schools host children of many Amish church-communities, often displaying a normal educational approach which is neither too progressive nor too conservative. They provide a school education that prepares children for economic engagement in the dominant society, but which at the same time ensures the values of their Old Order lives. For instance, the choice of textbooks, mostly published by Old Order presses, and other materials mirrors these teaching methods. Johnson-Weiner notes that religious instruction is not a part of the curriculum, but moral values are solidified by the examples the teacher uses during a lesson. Regular exchanges between the school board, the teachers, and the parents guarantee communal support for curricular changes and necessary expenditures. Parents and other members of the community are likely to be drawn into everyday school life, for instance, by helping pupils or cooking a hot lunch once a month. Teachers' meetings are held regularly, and their salaries, although not up to par with wages in other professions, are noticeably higher than those of their colleagues in the Swartzentruber communities. Johnson-Weiner concludes that by holding a middle ground and by considering the needs of different church-communities, while keeping up educational standards, the Old Order private schools in the Holmes County area have become vital to the continued existence of the Amish settlement.

Progressive Amish schools in the settlements of Elkhart and LaGrange Counties, Indiana, and across the state line in Centreville, Michigan, are depicted in chapter six. These schools are situated in a wealthy region where Old Order Amish and non-Old Order Amish interact on a regular basis. Many Amish hold factory jobs, and a variety of Amish businesses cater to non-Old Order people. As the lifestyle of the Old Order Amish becomes more and more similar to that of their non-Amish neighbors, Old Order schools in this area respond to these changes with a school curriculum that prepares children to succeed economically in the surrounding world. Johnson-Weiner informs the reader about the history and makeup of the community schools in these settlements and talks about the resemblance of school classrooms in the Elkhart-LaGrange and Centreville communities stemming from shared fellowship and having similar *Ordnungs*. Student art on classrooms walls is the norm, and in contrast to schools in Holmes County and other more conservative schools, inspirational posters and banners, for example, praise the value of learning and reinforce Christian beliefs. Johnson-Weiner remarks that textbooks used teach skills and values, and do not differ much from those utilized in other Old Order schools. She explores the various texts and series employed in the schools and cites teachers' opinions of some of them. Teachers train children to become future church members by expecting them to do much of their work on their own. They serve as authority figures for the pupils, but also offer them hands-on experiences accomplished through field trips, for example. Parents have to become involved in all aspects of school life and cooperate with the teacher. The pupils' basic skills are drilled through the use of the Iowa tests to meet state-imposed school standards. In the same vein teachers often take a voluntary state-administered GED (General Educational Development) examination and participate in regular teachers' training to strengthen Old Order education in that area.

Old Order Mennonite Schools in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, are the subject of chapter seven. Here Johnson-Weiner contends that Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonite children study together in schools where the teacher is often not a member

of his or her own church. The author explains the Old Order school movement in Lancaster County and ascertains that the Old Order Amish and Mennonite children also face a diverse society with suburban sprawl surrounding them. As in the Old Order Amish schools in Holmes County, Ohio, Lancaster Old Order Mennonite schools accommodate children from different churches. School architecture varies among the different Lancaster County Old Order Mennonite parochial schools, mostly because many of them were old public schoolhouses at different times. Johnson-Weiner observes that these schools vary in classroom arrangement and amenities such as electricity. With their instructions teachers stress individual responsibility of their pupils, and engage them in keeping an orderly conduct in class. The author describes in detail how teachers achieve these goals in Old Order Mennonite schools in Lancaster County. She purports that the schools' daily schedules do not look very much different from those in the Holmes County area and Elkhart-LaGrange and Centreville schools, and elaborates on the individual teacher's freedom to schedule different subjects. Beyond that, English clearly dominates the curriculum in the Lancaster Old Order Mennonite schools, one reason being that not every Lancaster Old Order group uses German, and texts used are standardized, "a combination of old public school texts and new publications by Old Order and more mainstream Christian presses" (186). Predicating that Old Order Mennonite teachers are encouraged to attend meetings on teachers' training, Johnson-Weiner informs the reader about different meetings Lancaster Old Order Mennonite teachers held and cites some experiences teachers had. Special needs education has become more important in Lancaster Old Order Mennonite schools, the author contends, and support for tutors and teachers is increasing. Parents are expected to be involved in their children's school, support the teachers and pay regular visits to the schools, where the guest books tend to be "elaborate affairs" (200).

Chapter eight centers around textbooks used in the various schools and Old Order publishers whose texts help reinforce Old Order cultural values and lifestyles. Johnson-Weiner looks into the ways these various Old Order presses react to issues of change which Old Order church-communities often face. She asserts that these responses range from the printing of archaic texts that highlight traditional practices and are utilized by rather conservative Old Order communities, to the revision of materials and the production of new texts to prepare students to interact with the dominant society and yet stay true to the church.

Johnson-Weiner concludes her work in chapter nine by examining the challenges that lie ahead for Old Order private schools. Already displaying a spectrum of differences, Old Order education, she states, is imperative to the preservation of Old Order identity by training children to become actively involved with the surrounding world. An appendix includes detailed information on how Johnson-Weiner conducted this study, a list of schools and locations she visited, a recipe for a hectograph submitted to her by a Swartzentruber Amish teacher, as well as a listing of representative school schedules. Comprehensive notes for each chapter, an extensive bibliography, and an index complete the author's work.

Train Up a Child is an admirably complete study of Old Order Amish and Mennonite schools. The publication should draw the attention of anthropologists,

ethnographers, linguists, sociologists, historians, and religious and school educators alike, and will definitely appeal to anyone interested in Amish cultures.

Washburn University

Gabriele Lunte

The Search for the First English Settlement in America: America's First Science Center.

By Gary Carl Grassl. Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2006. 251 pp. \$14.99.

Gary Grassl has been investigating the history of the early English settlements in America for more than twenty years. Thus it seems quite fitting that he should publish a compilation of his work on the eve of the year-long celebration of the founding of Jamestown, certainly the best-known of the English settlements in North America and arguably the first successful one. Although the title of the volume does not indicate as much, the individual chapters do indeed incorporate much of Grassl's previous research, most particularly his work on the role of Germans in the early development of the American colonies.

The volume itself consists of thirteen chapters divided among four sections, named respectively: Solving the Enigma of "Fort Raleigh;" The first English Settlement in America; Prospecting in Virginia; and Finale. Six chapters, almost one half of the total, make up the first part, which together with the two chapters of the second part address the topic suggested by the primary title. Four of the five remaining chapters focus on the scientific interests of the earliest expeditions, which explains in part the seeming incongruity of the subtitle, which at first glance appears unrelated to the discussion of Fort Raleigh and the first British expeditions to the New World.

The table of contents provides some insight into the overall structure of the discussion. However, even a brief summary of the contents does not convey the disconcerting imbalance between primary or secondary source material and scholarly interpretation of the evidence throughout the volume. Fully seventy pages, more than one quarter of the pages devoted to an examination of the issues indicated in the title, are appendices. Moreover, the appendices themselves have footnotes; one even has its own addendum. Individual chapters, including the introduction, all have footnotes. My own admittedly imprecise estimate is that sixty percent or more of the space devoted to the main argument consists of illustrations, extended quotations, or references to primary sources or the work of others.

Certainly one of the strengths of the volume is the richness of the evidence it presents. The maps and other illustrations allow the reader visual access to the debate. The material on metallurgy in the sixteenth century is fascinating. The whole is a repository for a remarkable variety of valuable information. Yet Grassl ultimately presents the evidence without truly making an argument. The reader must assemble the material into a meaningful pattern by him- or herself. Moreover, the dichotomy of the title is reflected in the discussion itself. Although the thrust of the argument certainly addresses the basic question of the true location of the first English settlement, Grassl's interest in and work on Joachim Gans and the scientific goals of Sir Walter Raleigh's two expeditions to North America as well as Grassl's considerable work on the earliest

German settlers in North America pervades and motivates the discussion. Indeed, one element of Grassl's argument for the true location of Fort Raleigh seems to be that it could not be the site designated by the National Park Service because that site was occupied by the metallurgical laboratory set up by Joachim Gans and his colleagues.

In his forward Ivor Noël Hume speaks of the mysteries surrounding the first settlements on Roanoke Island. The enigma surrounding the so-called "Lost Colony" in particular has fascinated and frustrated historians and archeologists for more than a century. Hume suggests that Grassl has provided the means for solving at least a part of the puzzle, yet the volume itself is somewhat of a mystery. Even the format is puzzling. The outsized (8.25 by 11 inches) softcover edition with its numerous illustrations, large typeface, and mix of font sizes and type styles seems to suggest an informal discussion aimed at a general audience of non-specialists. Yet the footnotes, the appendices, and the source materials constitute a formidable scholarly apparatus worthy of a doctoral dissertation. The volume bears witness to Grassl's extensive research and his considerable erudition, but like the enigma it seeks to unravel, it is likely to be both fascinating and frustrating for the reader, specialist and generalist alike.

Loyola College in Maryland

Randall P. Donaldson

Das Buch zum Deutschen Auswandererhaus/The Book to the German Emigration Center.

By the Deutsches Auswandererhaus. Bremerhaven: Edition DAH, 2006. 111 pp. €12.80.

As the title of this work indicates, its purpose is to attract visitors to the German Emigration Center, a museum and research center that opened in Bremerhaven in August, 2005. In the interest of full disclosure, this reviewer won a contest sponsored by the Center which provided round-trip transportation from Kansas City to Bremerhaven, two nights' lodging, meals and a tour of the Center as it was being constructed. The resulting experience allows the reviewer to verify that the book accurately reflects the innovation, energy and ingenuity that went into planning and constructing its sponsoring institution. As with most products of the Emigration Center, the book is completely dual language in German and English.

Between 1830 and 1974, some 7.2 million Europeans left Europe from Bremerhaven, the port of the city of Bremen. Included were millions of Germans and 3.4 million eastern Europeans. From the 1830s down to the post-World War II period, Bremerhaven was the most significant port of departure for Germans who wanted to leave Europe. The German Emigration Center attempts to memorialize this historic exodus in imaginative ways that are appropriate to a twenty-first century post-modern culture. The building itself, which this book describes as "modern", seems more "post-modern" to this reviewer. So do the Center's methods of presenting its story. The displays consist not just of objects mounted on walls or in cases but of large rooms which attempt to convey the feeling that must have been experienced by people leaving their homeland for good. The very different experiences of departure and a long voyage by sailing ship, steam ship and modern ocean liner are recreated. Hungry peasant families of the 1840s, single and hopeful young men and women of the late nineteenth century, and Jews and

political outcasts escaping the Nazis are all represented. Considerable emphasis is put on the biographies of individuals and families. Facilities allowing visitors to research their own emigrant forebears are given substantial space.

The book contains a historical essay, short vignettes on representative emigrants, a glossary, and some textual descriptions of the displays. But in keeping with our increasingly visual culture, quite arresting pictures are the heart of this work. Some are two-page spreads in this large-format book, and all are carefully chosen. The text is aimed at the general public rather than at scholars, but the charts and graphs about migration to and from Germany in the last half-century will inform everyone.

"Old fashioned" text-based scholars will not only question some interpretations but will find a few factual inaccuracies. The Dietel Family that left Upper Franconia in the 1840s settled in Oswego, Illinois, not Oswego, Texas (15) nor Owego, Iowa (61). This is clear from the 1848 mailing envelope so carefully reproduced as an illustration. In another case, "Alzbeta K." entered America in 1921, and, after a trip home, came once again in 1927. She had indeed "return[ed] home to what is now the Czech Republic", but it was NOT "then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire." The "Donaumonarchie" dissolved in 1918. Other small errors have also crept into the text.

Much more important is that this book accurately reflects its parent institution which, in turn, is a bold attempt to make history come alive for our historically challenged age.

Northwest Missouri State University

Robert W. Frizzell

Anton in America: A Novel from German-American Life.

By Reinhold Solger. Translated and introduced by Lorie A. Vanचना. New Directions in German-American Studies, Volume 3. New York: Peter Lang, 2006. 317 pp. \$82.95.

Lorie Vanचना's (Creighton University) translation and meticulous commentaries appearing as Volume 3 of the Series *New Directions in German-American Studies* fill an important gap in the field of German-American literary studies. More than one hundred and forty years after its first serialized publication (from March to September 1862) in the *New-Yorker Criminal Zeitung und Belletristisches Journal*, non-German reading students and scholars can now read the original text of *Anton in America*, "probably the best known of all works of German American prose fiction of the nineteenth century."

Anton in America is a parody and satirical follow-up of Gustav Freytag's best-selling novel *Debit and Credit* (1855). Antonio, son of Anton Wohlfahrt, merchant in Breslau and main character of *Soll und Haben*, turns his back on the Prussian middle-class tainted by bureaucracy and a "petty shopkeeper mentality." The doomed revolution of 1848, Anton's growing estrangement from his family (his father shows excessive respect for monarchic authority), and his political emancipation toward the ideal of a liberal state are strong motivations to emigrate to the New World. From Antonio's arrival in New York in March 1857 to his country life with Mary Dawson and their daughter Susie, Solger's fast-paced novel portrays a young and naïve Prussian immigrant

discovering nineteenth-century American life and adapting to cultural, socio-political and historical realities that differ greatly from those of the Old World.

In his *Foreword*, Werner Sollors, the series editor, does a fine job setting the stage for Lorie Vanchena's vivid translation. Sollors invites the reader to reconsider the German-American tradition. He underlines the uniqueness of America, where the cultural notion of "one nation, one language" just doesn't apply. Americans "have expressed themselves in more than a hundred languages" from five continents. Sollors illustrates this sociocultural particularity with a rich and diverse German-American literary tradition that ranges from the seventeenth century to the present. A diversity of genres like autobiographies, essays, poems, plays, novels are "still waiting to be discovered by twentieth-century readers."

Sollors then raises significant questions on the *identity* of the German-American literary tradition. Was it either homogeneous or heterogeneous? How did German-American authors relate to German-speaking areas and countries in Europe? How did they communicate with their ethnic, cultural and linguistic environment in the United States? Which new research paths can be taken into the wider field of German-speaking emigration and "transatlantic history?" What is the overall *quality* of this literature and its connection with the field of cultural studies? Solger's novel provides answers to these questions, as it gives us a kaleidoscopic view of the American society in the second half of the nineteenth century. Sollors encourages graduate students and scholars to build bridges between the mid-nineteenth century German-American novel and the wider field of Cultural and American Studies. Sollors suggests that we see the concepts of German and American literature from the perspective of their unique multilingual identity.

Professor Vanchena's *Introduction* spans five sections and presents valuable contextual information on *Anton in America* and develops notions first mentioned by Sollors such as the "multilingual features of American literature." In Vanchena's preliminary remarks, she identifies an important "red thread" that spans throughout Solger's novel, i.e. the relationships between German-American immigrants and the American landscape. This multifaceted term shows the richness of Solger's narrative. Landscape stands first for distinctive geographical environments in Solger's novel (Manhattan, the White Mountains of New Hampshire). Landscape also means a society with its distinctive socioethnic groups, habits, behaviors and stereotypes in reaction to the "restless confusion" of American life, for example the Irish immigrant family O'Shea living on Lower Manhattan; the rich dry goods merchant William Dawson as the perfect embodiment of Fifth Avenue bourgeoisie with Presbyterian connections; the honest and hardworking German-American businessman Justus Wilhelmi, struggling to avoid bankruptcy due to Wall-Street "bull and bear speculation;" the Cartwright family from rural New Hampshire; the enlightened and humanistic schoolteacher Miss Parson and her social project of an asylum for fallen women; the biased prosecuting attorney at Anton's trial, as a virulent representative of the nativist anti-immigrant Know-Nothing movement.

This non-exhaustive list illustrates the depth of Solger's novel in depicting the psychological aspects of human nature in its universality. All the aforementioned individuals have their own voices and tell us their own personal stories. Solger's novel is a unique insight into the dreams, illusions, disillusionments and hopes of German immigrants, but also of American citizens reacting to European immigration. As

Vanchena rightfully remarks, Solger doesn't hesitate to portray the "darker sides" of the evolution of American society: extreme poverty (Annie Cartwright as the abused beggar woman) and gang activity and violent crime, represented by the ruthless Jack O'Dogherty who attempts to murder Antonio, and the French villain Grenier who does, in fact, murder Annie Cartwright. The graphic and blood-stained description of Grenier's attack in chapter nine (*Murder*) of part two clearly contains dark elements of crime fiction. But Vanchena stresses also the humor and parody that pervades Solger's novel, as exemplified by the portrayal of the O'Shea family, the butler Pompey, Mr. Snobbs and Mr. Sewerage.

In the section *Reception and Scholarly Assessment of Anton in America*, Vanchena presents and comments on past and current scholarly contributions focusing on Solger's novel. The reader and researcher alike will appreciate this vast source of information. Carefully edited endnotes and a five-page bibliography complete Vanchena's well-rounded introduction.

This book review would be incomplete without mentioning Vanchena's achievement as a skilled translator. Her aim was by no means "to recreate nineteenth-century English but to translate more freely." The result is a lively but accurate translation of Antonio's German-American *Lehr-und Wanderjahre*. Vanchena's translation takes the reader into the immediate flow of Solger's narration, as the English text artfully captures the distinctive linguistic expressions of all characters. The reader doesn't even notice that this text is a translation, as it retains the spirit of Solger's original text.

I highly recommend Lorie A. Vanchena's translation of Reinhold Solger's *Anton in America*. This well-structured book is an excellent translation and a user-friendly research tool that takes the reader on a captivating journey through urban and rural nineteenth-century America. Lorie Vanchena persuades us to discover new fields of interdisciplinary research within the wider framework of the social, political, ethnical and historical aspects of the hybrid and dynamic identity of German-American literature.

Colombier, Switzerland

Lambro Bourodimos

Ethnicity Matters: A History of the German Society of Pennsylvania.

Birte Pflieger. Washington, D. C.: German Historical Institute, 2006. vi + 138 pp. Free.

The German Society of Pennsylvania: A Guide to Its Book and Manuscript Collections. Reference Guide 20. Kevin Ostoyich. Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute, 2006, 131 pp. Free.

Ethnicity Matters. A History of the German Society of Pennsylvania, a joint publication of the German Historical Institute and the German Society of Pennsylvania, explores the German Society of Pennsylvania against the backdrop of social, cultural, and political change in Philadelphia in particular and in the United States in general. In this short work, Birte Pflieger traces the GSP from its founding in 1764 as an aid society for newly arriving German immigrants to its current incarnation as "the oldest German ethnic organization in the Western Hemisphere" (1). In so doing, she documents the

evolution of German ethnic identity in the United States from pre-colonial times through the World Wars to the twenty-first century when almost one third of Americans have German ancestors.

Pfleger makes it clear that German ethnicity in America has been contested from the beginning. While the majority of early German immigrants were farmers or artisans, the early members of the GSP were men of some standing in Philadelphia society, educated urbanites who could afford the membership fees. As these early GSP members determined who would receive the Society's assistance, they defined cultural ideals. In the eighteenth century, the membership committed itself to creating an educated German elite and to ensuring that there would be German speaking clergy for the churches. The Society created a library of German literature. Nevertheless, by the early nineteenth century, English had become the dominant language among German Americans, popular English-language fiction had almost come to outnumber German-language literary works, and the GSP had made English its official language. In the twentieth century, the GSP has been influenced by the competing interests of American-born members of German descent and immigrants arriving from Germany anxious to shed the burdens of World War defeats.

In this work, Pfleger demonstrates the cultural and political differences that have shaped interaction between German Americans and their Anglo-American neighbors. Pointing out that the GSP owes its survival to the actions of the Women's Auxiliary, which took over the charity work of the Society, Pfleger argues convincingly that German-American women faced different gender norms than their Anglo-American counterparts. Noting the conflicted loyalties of many German Americans during the first and second world wars, she explores the fascist leanings of several of the Society's leaders and suggests that the Society's inability to question German actions has had lasting impact on membership. Finally, Pfleger investigates the Society's involvement in urban renewal as it debates relocation.

This is not the definitive work on the history of the German Society of Pennsylvania, and it is clear that the membership of the German Society of Pennsylvania has not been inclusive or even representative of the majority of Americans of German ancestry. As Pfleger herself points out, *Ethnicity Matters* does "not claim to come even close to telling the entire story" (3). Yet this work provides an excellent starting point for further study of German American ethnicity. It makes the reader eager to learn more, and it highlights the possibilities of further research for understanding the evolution of ethnic identity in America.

The companion text to *Ethnicity Matters*, Kevin Ostoyich's *The German Society of Pennsylvania: A Guide to Its Book and Manuscript Collections*, explores the holdings of the Joseph P. Horner Memorial Library, one of the most important endeavors of the German Society of Pennsylvania. Hardly a comprehensive bibliography, this work nevertheless makes clear the importance of this collection. The library was founded in 1817 to provide a collection of "works in the German language" because Philadelphia was "unprovided with them" (3). As Pfleger points out in *Ethnicity Matters*, the balance in the number of English language texts versus German language texts reflects changing membership in the GSP, immigration patterns, and patterns of library usage as Philadelphia established public libraries.

According to Ostoyich, the Horner Library currently has six collections, including a manuscript collection, a newspaper collection, and a collection of pamphlets.

Ostoyich follows this organization in the guide, each section corresponding to a particular collection. The different sections begin with a brief description of the scope of the collection and then present a list of the different kinds of holdings in each. The over 70,000 items, approximately eighty percent of which are in German, are organized according to the library's own cataloging system. Together they constitute an important resource for researchers of German American life and ethnic identity in the United States.

Ostoyich's work provides the researcher with a good introduction to what is to be found in the Horner Library. It is unfortunate that, as Pflieger points out (119), that "the society has not employed a trained librarian since 2002" and that the library lacks consistent climate control. Moreover, as Ostoyich notes, not all of the different collections have been cataloged.

The goal of these two publications is to draw attention to the German Society of Pennsylvania and its Horner Library. They succeed admirably. Well written and accessible, they leave the reader eager to know more. Both texts are well-documented. *Ethnicity Matters* has endnotes after each chapter, while Ostoyich's *Guide* is footnoted. Both volumes are indexed. Each book is available free of charge from the German Historical Institute by e-mail request (info@ghi-dc.org) or inquiry via standard mail at: 1607 New Hampshire Avenue, NW; Washington, DC 20009-2562.

SUNY College at Potsdam

Karen M. Johnson-Weiner

German-Iowan Studies: Selected Essays

By William Roba. New German-American Studies / Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien, Vol. 28. New York: Peter Lang 2004, 132 pp. \$54.95.

William Roba's book reflects the author's research in eight essays, some of which had been presented in lecture form as early as from 1986 to 1998 yet at the time in substantially different forms. The author now has adapted the essays and has rearranged the work into eight chapters. They did „loosely fit together," as Roba says, and are now brought together to trace German migration experience in Iowa and even more to "understand the German dimension in the basic foundation of Iowa history" (xi).

Admittedly some essays are fairly old, but they also reflect Roba's longtime involvement in and dedication to the field of German American Studies and its institutions, be it as scholar, lecturer or advisor in cultural projects in Iowa. The focus of the book is placed upon Eastern Iowa and the Upper Mississippi Valley generally, and more specifically the metropolitan area in and around Davenport. It is not out to the farmland that Roba takes us, where from a German perspective the barn is the icon for Iowa history. We rather follow him into political and social clubs, election campaigns, editorial offices, and board rooms of German-American associations—in short to a network of mid-nineteenth century intellectual German life, including of course dance halls and beer gardens. In a nice example that Roba provides, German socialists finish a barrel of beer on Independence Day 1853 and, since the invited American band can

only play one German song, they continue to hear "Ach, du lieber Augustin" in an endless loop (3).

Nevertheless the life of the pioneers is always present in the issues discussed, as a retrospective examination of a German-American culture in its many and diverse manifestations up until the twentieth century. Consequently Roba "delineates the creation of a unique German-Iowan society in the second half of the nineteenth century" (xii) and emphasizes its cultural imprint by early migration patterns and attitudes which were generated as a result. In his first essay Roba summarizes immigration from Germany to the Midwest and illustrates the German influence in Iowa with significant figures and examples. Although he also identifies several myths in the self-perception of German immigrants (22 ff.), he nevertheless proposes to use the term "German Iowans."

From early immigration Roba traces these German Iowans in various settings of conflict and social interaction: as foreigners and as important voters (chapter one), as actors in public pageantry (chapter two), as carriers of a specific *Erinnerungskultur* and finally as opponents and victims likewise of World War I anti-German attitudes and "Super-Patriotism" (73). And it is not only interaction with other ethnicities that Roba illustrates: there is likewise analysis of the self-perception of the "German Iowans."

Roba presents case studies for Milwaukee (chapter five) and for the "Contemporary Club" in Davenport (chapter six) as well as biographical portraits (chapters seven and eight). One essay is on Buffalo Bill Cody; it is surprising to see him in the context of German Iowan Studies, given that he only spent eight childhood years in the state. Also one is leery of considering Cody's road shows in Europe as pageants in the otherwise discussed sense. So as a sort of an interesting bonus this chapter illustrates reactions in imperial Germany to Bill Cody's Western shows and their impact upon prevailing stereotypes of the American West in Germany.

All essays included within the volume are rich in detail and local flavor. Roba's examples range to the 1920s and of course include German Iowan culture under the threat of American entry into World War I. The struggle of Congressman Henry Vollmer and the Friends of Peace to organize antiwar movements against American military deliveries to the European battlefield serves as a significant example of the conflict of ethnically-motivated pacifist attitudes with war-engendered American patriotism.

The biographical portrait of journalist August Richter and his role in the German Iowan press is another significant example which summarizes a lot of the issues in Roba's book. The reader witnesses Richter's luckless attempts to publish his long-planned and researched book on Iowa history in a time of political changes to anti-German attitudes. In a likewise biographical as well as historical dramatic situation Richer presents himself as obstinate and swears to a "Siegreiche Germania" and a triumphant Germany. A stubborn Iowa German or a victim of "Iowa Deutschtum" in the early twentieth century? Ultimately the answer is both, but in particular the latter. German America, as with all ethnic cultures, needed to assert and sustain its position, and the more conflicts are generated in this course of acculturation, the more an offensive character is unveiled. Every parade, every speech, every laudation, every awards ceremony, every erection of a monument, every festival and every *Sängerfest*, even a public reading of Schiller's literary output, then becomes likewise a defense and a provocation and a struggle to remain visible and recognized, even if the result was identification with or proactive support of

imperial Germany and of a *Deutschtum* that clouded the horizons of a Europe on the brink of war.

The media of this struggle is pageantry. This is what Roba proposes (chapter two) to summarize the many expressions of “provincial ethnicity” and local banners as described in his book. Pageantry is indeed a useful concept “for understanding the emotional expressions of ethnic hopes and dreams” (21) and serves to connect the eight essays. It was fairly early that a German Iowan culture created this pageantry. This is very obvious in the social clubs, intellectual networks, and associations in the urban areas that Roba presents. It may have been different on Iowa farms. Should the author likewise undertake to research this historic and social habitat, this reviewer would be only too pleased to read another book with the same level of interest as has been the case with the present work.

Oldenburg, Germany

Wolfgang Grams

Long Road to Liberty: The Odyssey of a German Regiment in the Yankee Army: The 15th Missouri Volunteer Infantry.

By Donald Allendorf. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2006. xxxii + 344 pages. \$39.00.

Largely relying on *Five Years in the Sunny South* (1890), the personal account of his military service during the Civil War by Maurice Marcoot of Highland, Illinois, a soldier who served in the 15th Missouri from its formation in the summer of 1861 until it was mustered out of service in January 1866, Allendorf weaves a narrative that brings to life the experiences of the common soldier in an ethnic German regiment. The reader relives the daily life of the soldiers from setting up pup tents to being ravaged by disease; we learn how to cook raw corn kernels from the cob received as the daily food ration and remove body lice. We march without proper footwear through mud and snow. The reader also encounters the anguish and fear before going into battle, wondering whether this attack will be the soldier's last moment on this earth. We also relive the horrors of such encounters. We hear the moans of the wounded and smell the stench of the dead men and horses.

The 15th Missouri was an ethnic regiment. At its formation at the federal arsenal in St. Louis in 1861, seventy-five percent of its recruits were of German or Swiss ancestry. There was some attempt to name the regiment the “Swiss Regiment” or “Swiss Rifles” since the first two companies mustered into service hailed from Highland, Illinois, a Swiss immigrant community east of St. Louis (and later the place of origin of the Pet Milk Company—originally in 1885 the Helvetia Milk Condensing Company). In Company B, the so-called “Swiss Company” twenty-four of eighty-one soldiers were indeed from Switzerland. However, in that same company were at least thirty-nine others from various German principalities: Baden, Prussia, Hesse, Bavaria, Saxony, among others—all of these had furnished some of the recruits for the company.

Following its formation, the regiment left St. Louis in the fall of 1861 and operated in southwestern Missouri, eventually participating in the Battle of Pea Ridge in northern Arkansas in February 1862. The path of the regiment took it to Cincinnati

and engagement at the Battle of Perryville (Kentucky) in October 1862. By the last day of that year they were in Tennessee at the Battle of Stones River where the regiment suffered many casualties: "The dead and wounded were legion in every direction" (quoted from Marcoot, 89).

The year 1863 saw the regiment having to deal with anti-German sentiment following the debacle at Chancellorsville in Virginia. Some officers tried to resign in protest. Others wondered why the bravery shown by the 15th Missouri holding its ground at Stones River did not offset the retreat by Schurz's "German" division at Chancellorsville. Now moving south into Georgia, the 15th was involved in a bayonet charge at the Battle of Chicamauga (September 1863). Marcoot later wrote: "The fight now became a desperate hand to hand encounter with bayonets and clubbed muskets, and heroic blood flowed, as it were, in streams" (124). Later that fall, the 15th was again in the thick of the fight at Chattanooga in the attack on Missionary Ridge (November 1863).

In the final year of the war, the 15th Missouri saw action in Sherman's Atlanta Campaign and then went north to defend Nashville from Hood's Army, seeing action at both the Battle of Franklin (November 1864) and again at Nashville (December 1864). Following the defeat of the Confederates at Nashville, the war in the West was largely over. There were no more pitched battles, yet the 15th Missouri found itself travelling through parts of Alabama and then by steamboat down the Mississippi all the way to Texas before finally learning in November 1865 that they were to be mustered out. But the unit still had to wait until January 1866 for the return to St. Louis where "the citizens had prepared a fine feast" (Marcoot, 286).

In January 1866, those of the remaining German and Swiss boys, who had enlisted in the summer of 1861, had fought in twenty-five pitched battles, marched over 3,000 miles, travelled over 2,300 miles by rail and 4,500 miles by water. "Of the 904 who had served in the regiment, more than half had been killed, died of disease, or would bear a wound or the memory of one for the rest of their lives" (286). The 15th Missouri had been one of the "fightingest" regiments of the Civil War.

Allendorf is to be commended for providing such an engaging and emotionally wrenching account of the day-by-day experience of a common Civil War soldier in a largely ethnic German regiment. This is truly a contribution to Civil War historiography and also to German-American Studies. This reader's one criticism is Allendorf's rather odd use of German words throughout the text. Rather than use the correct spelling of German words, the author apparently chooses to use misspellings. For instance, "*Unabhängiges deutsches Regiment für Missouri!*" (11). There is no good reason why the umlaut vowels could not have been used. Another instance is the quotation of a German recruit saying: "*Nicht forstehen*" (16) rather than "*verstehen*." This also includes misspelling of German place names where an umlaut would be used: *Wurzburg*, *Mublhausen*, etc. This occurs sporadically throughout the text. My assumption is that the author believed that adding a pseudo-German word or two added color to the story and that there never was any intent to use correct German. That is really too bad given the otherwise exemplary treatment of this fascinating subject.

